

# Syntax of Dutch

## Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

Hans Broekhuis

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1. TOC of the volume devoted to nouns (p.4-6)
2. Abbreviations and conventions (p.7-8)
3. A sample chapter on the partitive genitive construction (p.9-51)
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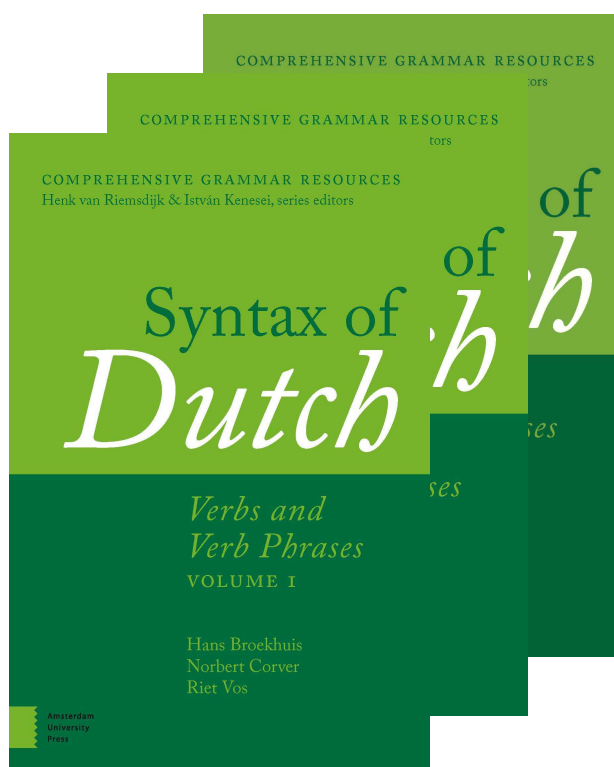
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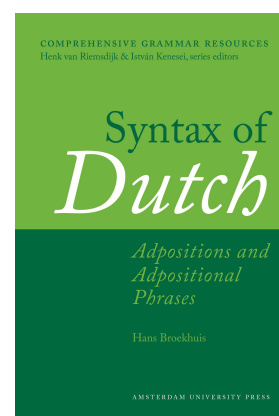
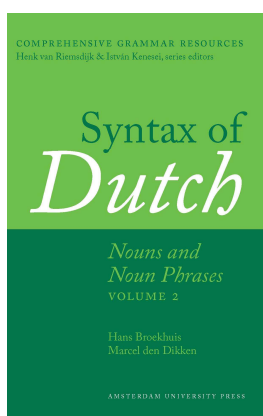
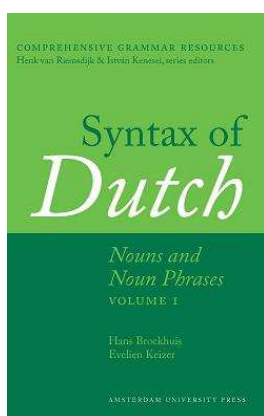
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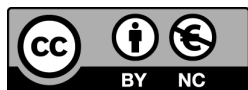
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# Abbreviations and symbols

This appendix contains a list of abbreviations and symbols that are used in this volume. Sometimes conventions are adopted that differ from the ones given in this list, but if this is the case this is always explicitly mentioned in the text.

°xxx	Refers to the XXX in the glossary
Domain D	Domain of discourse
N+section #	N3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Hans Broekhuis & Evelien Keizer (2012) and Hans Broekhuis & Marcel den Dikken (2012), <i>Grammar of Dutch: nouns and noun phrases</i> , Vol. 1 & 2.
P+section #	P3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Hans Broekhuis (to appear). <i>Grammar of Dutch: Adpositions and adpositional phrases</i> .
QC	Quantificational binominal construction
V+section #	V3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Hans Broekhuis & Norbert Corver (in prep). <i>Grammar of Dutch: Verbs and verb phrases</i> .

## Abbreviations used in both the main text and the examples

AP	Adjectival Phrase	PP	Prepositional Phrase
DP	Determiner Phrase	QP	Quantifier Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase*	VP	Verb Phrase
NumP	Numeral Phrase		

\*) *Noun phrase* is written in full when the NP-DP distinction is not relevant.

## Symbols, abbreviations and conventions used in the examples

<i>e</i>	Phonetically empty element
Ref	Referent argument (external °thematic role of nouns/adjectives)
Rel	Related argument (internal thematic role of relational nouns)
OP	Empty operator
PG	Parasitic gap
PRO	Implied subject in, e.g., infinitival clauses
PRO <sub>arb</sub>	Implied subject PRO with arbitrary (generic) reference
<i>t</i>	Trace (the original position of a moved element)
xxx	Small caps indicates that xxx is assigned contrastive accent

## Abbreviations used as subscripts in the examples

1p/2p/3p	1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	nom	nominative
acc	accusative	pl	plural
dat	dative	poss	possessor
dim	diminutive	pred	predicate
fem	feminine	rec	recipient
masc	masculine	sg	singular

### Abbreviations used in the glosses of the examples

AFF	Affirmative marker
COMP	Complementizer: <i>dat</i> ‘that’ in finite declarative clauses, <i>of</i> ‘whether/if’ in finite interrogative clauses, and <i>om</i> in infinitival clauses
prt.	Particle that combines with a particle verb
PRT	Particle of different kinds
REFL	The short form of the reflexive pronoun, e.g., <i>zich</i> ; the long form <i>zichzelf</i> is usually translated as <i>himself/herself/itself</i>
XXX	Small caps in other cases indicates that XXX cannot be translated

### Diacritics used for indicating acceptability judgments

*	Unacceptable
*?	Relatively acceptable compared to *
??	Intermediate or unclear status
?	Marked: not completely acceptable or disfavored form
(?)	Slightly marked, but probably acceptable
no marking	Fully acceptable
%	Not (fully) acceptable due to non-syntactic factors <i>or</i> varying judgments among speakers
#	Unacceptable under intended reading
\$	Special status: old-fashioned, archaic, very formal, incoherent, etc.

### Other conventions

xx/yy	Acceptable both with xx and with yy
*xx/yy	Unacceptable with xx, but acceptable with yy
xx/*yy	Acceptable with xx, but unacceptable with yy
(xx)	Acceptable both with and without xx
*(xx)	Acceptable with, but unacceptable without xx
(*xx)	Acceptable without, but unacceptable with xx
.. <xx>	Alternative placement of xx in an example
.. <*xx> ..	Impossible placement of xx in an example
⇒	Necessarily implies
⇏	Does not necessarily imply
<i>XX ... YY</i>	Italics indicate binding
XX <sub>i</sub> ... YY <sub>i</sub>	Coindexing indicates coreference
XX <sub>i</sub> ... YY <sub>j</sub>	Counter-indexing indicates disjoint reference
XX <sub>*i/j</sub>	Unacceptable with index <i>i</i> , acceptable with index <i>j</i>
XX <sub>i/*j</sub>	Unacceptable with index <i>j</i> , acceptable with index <i>i</i>
[XP ... ]	Constituent brackets of a constituent XP

# Chapter 7

## The partitive genitive construction

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## Introduction

Partitive genitive constructions such as *iets grappigs* ‘something funny’ and *iets fijns* ‘something nice’ in the primeless examples in (1) are productively formed and consist of an indefinite nominal-like element, followed by an adjective with an *-s* suffix. The Dutch tradition refers to these adjectives as partitive genitives, due to the fact that the *-s* suffix on the adjective is also used in genitive constructions like *Jans trui* ‘Jan’s sweater’. The term “partitive” is used because it is claimed that the construction expresses a set-subset or part-whole relation: the nominal element is said to denote or to range over a subdomain in the domain denoted by the adjective. Perhaps this terminology is not very fortunate; the ungrammaticality of the primed examples in (1) shows that the noun is always indefinite, and hence does not denote a fixed set of entities. Still, partitive genitive constructions like (1a&b) express that the property denoted by the adjective is attributed to the nominal part: the entities we refer to by means of (1a) and (1b) are funny and nice, respectively.

- |     |    |             |                  |     |           |                  |
|-----|----|-------------|------------------|-----|-----------|------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>iets</i> | <i>grappig-s</i> | a’. | *dat/dit  | <i>grappig-s</i> |
|     |    | something   | funny            |     | that/this | funny            |
|     | b. | <i>iets</i> | <i>fijn-s</i>    | b’. | *dat/dit  | <i>fijn-s</i>    |
|     |    | something   | nice             |     | that/this | nice             |

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 7.1 reviews some proposals concerning the internal structure of the partitive genitive construction. Section 7.2 discusses the construction and its two constituting parts, the noun and the adjective, in more detail. Section 7.3 investigates the possible ways of modifying the adjectival part of the construction. Section 7.4, finally, discusses the construction *iets/iemand anders* ‘something/someone else’ that resembles the partitive genitive construction in some respects, but probably constitutes a construction in its own right.

### 7.1. The structure of the partitive genitive construction

The internal structure of the partitive genitive construction is still subject to debate, concerning not only the question of what should be considered the head of the construction, but also the question of what the status of the *-s* ending on the adjective is. Below, we discuss three proposals that have been given in the literature.

#### 1. Nominalization

Haeseryn et al. (1997:413) suggest that the *-s* ending functions as a nominalization affix, and the adjective in the partitive genitive construction is consequently seen as a deadjectival noun; cf. also Van Marle (1996). Deadjectival nouns ending in *-s* do indeed occur in Dutch. Some examples are: *moois* ‘beautiful-s’, *nieuws* ‘new-s’, *lekkers* ‘tasty-s’, and *fraais* ‘beautiful-s’. Unlike the adjectives in (1a&b), however, these nouns have undergone idiosyncratic meaning changes. This is quite clear in the case of *nieuws* and *lekkers*: the English translations show that the partitive genitives in (2a&b) retain their full meaning, whereas the corresponding nominalizations in the primed examples have undergone meaning specialization.

- (2) a. Ik heb iets nieuws.                      a'. Ik heb nieuws.  
       'I have something new.'                'I have news.'  
       b. Hij eet iets lekkers.                b'. Hij eet lekkers.  
       'He is eating something tasty.'        'He is eating candy.'

The deadjectival nouns in the primed examples in (2) exhibit various typical properties of ordinary nouns: (3a) shows that they can appear with or without a determiner, with the concomitant definite and indefinite interpretation; (3b) shows that they can be combined with a demonstrative; and (3c), finally, shows that modification by an adjective is possible.

- (3) a. Opa gaf het kind Ø/het lekkers.  
       grandpa gave the child Ø/the candy  
       b. Waar komt dat lekkers vandaan?  
       where comes that candy from  
       'Where are those candies coming from?'  
       c. Het kind keek gretig naar het verleidelijke lekkers.  
       the child looked.at eagerly to the tempting candy  
       'The child was looking eagerly at the tempting candy.'

The claim that partitive genitives are nouns is problematic for various reasons. First, we would expect that all adjectives ending in *-s* could be used without the preceding quantificational pronoun *iets*, whereas the examples in (4) show that they generally require that the pronoun be present.

- (4) a. Ik heb \*(iets) vreselijks gezien.  
       I have something terrible seen  
       'I have seen something terrible.'  
       b. Ik heb \*(iets) fjns meegemaakt.  
       I have something nice experienced  
       'I have experienced something nice.'

Second, the partitive genitives and the deadjectival nouns in (2) behave differently with respect to modification by means of an °intensifier: the examples in (5) show that such modification is possible with the partitive genitives, but excluded with the nominalizations. This strongly suggests that the partitive genitives are adjectives, whereas the other forms are truly nominal; cf. also the discussion of (3).

- (5) a. Ik heb iets heel nieuws.            a'. \*Ik heb heel nieuws.  
       I have something very new  
       b. Hij eet iets zeer lekkers.        b'. \*Hij eet zeer lekkers.  
       he eats something very tasty

Finally, the claim that the partitive genitive is a noun leads to the conclusion that the quantificational pronoun *iets* can be combined with a noun, a pattern that normally leads to an ungrammatical result; cf. (6).

- (6) \*iets water/boeken  
       something water/books

*II. Empty noun analysis*

Kester (1996) has proposed that the partitive genitive is in fact a common attributively used adjective that modifies a phonetically empty noun [*e*], the presence of which is indicated by the *-s* ending on the adjective. According to this proposal, the structure of the partitive genitive construction is as given in (7).

- (7)        iets [<sub>NP</sub> nieuw-*s* [*e*] ]

This proposal is supported by the fact that the partitive genitives resemble attributively used adjectives with respect to the internal structure of the AP. Section 5.3.1.2 has shown, for example, that an attributively used adjective must be preceded by its PP-complement and (8) illustrates that the same thing holds for the partitive genitive; note that we give the clause in (8b) in embedded order to avoid the interference of PP-extraposition.

- (8) a.    het    voor dit karwei    geschikte    gereedschap  
          the    for this job        suitable    tools  
          ‘the tools that are suitable for this job’  
   a'. \*het geschikte voor dit karwei gereedschap  
   b.    ?dat    dit    iets                voor dit karwei    geschikts is.  
          that this something for this job    suitable    is  
   b'. \*dat dit iets geschikts voor dit karwei is.

That partitive genitives resemble attributively used adjectives is also shown by the examples in (9); when the adjective does not permit the order PP-A, the adjective is excluded both in attributive position and in the partitive genitive construction.

- (9) a.    ??de/een voor dit karwei    handige    hamer  
          the/a    for this job        handy    hammer  
   b.    \*iets                voor dit karwei    handigs  
          something for this job        handy

Note in passing that examples like (10) are only apparent counterexamples to the claim that the PP must occur pre-adjectivally in the partitive genitive construction: the fact that the partitive adjectives can be omitted in the primeless examples suggests that the PP is not directly related to the adjective, but functions as a modifier of the complete noun phrase.

- (10) a.    iets            (leuks)    voor 's avonds            a'. \*iets voor 's avonds leuks  
          something nice    for the evening  
   b.    iets            (lekkers) voor bij de thee        b'. \*iets voor bij de thee lekkers  
          something tasty    for    with the tea  
          ‘something tasty to eat with one's tea’

A second reason to draw a parallel between attributively used and partitive genitive adjectives is that there is a similarity between the distribution of the *-e* inflection on the attributive and the *-s* ending on the partitive genitive: when adjectives are coordinated in attributive position, the inflectional *-e* ending appears on all of them; similarly, when adjectives are coordinated in the partitive genitive construction, the *-s* ending appears on all adjectives. This is illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. Ik heb goedkopere en modernere studieboeken nodig.  
I have cheaper and more modern text-books need  
'I need cheaper and more modern text-books.'
- a'. Ik heb iets goedkopers en moderners nodig.  
I have something cheaper and more modern need  
'I need something cheaper and more modern.'
- b. Er gebeurden vreemde maar intrigerende dingen in dat huis.  
there happened strange but intriguing things in that house  
'Strange but intriguing things happened in that house.'
- b'. Er gebeurde iets vreemds maar intrigerends.  
there happened something strange but intriguing  
'Something strange but intriguing happened.'

This does not apply, of course, to the complex adjectives in example (12). Like the attributive *-e* ending, the partitive genitive *-s* suffix is expressed on the final adjective only.

- (12) a. een kant-en-klare maaltijd      a'. iets kant-en-klaars  
an instant meal                      something instant
- b. de rood-wit-blauwe vlag      b'. iets rood-wit-blauws  
the red-white-blue flag              something red-white-blue

A third argument Kester puts forward in favor of this analysis is based on the examples in (13), in which the element *specifiek* 'specifically' acts as the modifier of the adjective *christelijk* 'Christian'. According to some speakers, the modifier may bear the attributive *-e* ending, as in (13a'), and it has also been claimed that it can have the partitive genitive *-s* ending, as in (13b').

- (13) a. een specifiek christelijke doelstelling  
a specifically Christian goal
- a'. <sup>%</sup>een specifieke christelijke doelstelling
- b. iets specifiek christelijks  
something specifically Christian
- b'. <sup>%</sup>iets specifieks christelijks

There may be a flaw in this argument, however, given that the modifiers *heel/erg* 'very', which are accepted by most speakers with the inflectional *-e* ending in examples like (14a) (cf. Section 3.1.2.1), never occur with the partitive genitive *-s* ending in examples like (14b).

- (14) a. een heel/hele grappige voorstelling  
a very funny performance
- b. iets heel/\*heels grappigs  
something very funny

Furthermore, the claim that (13a') involves modification of the adjective may actually be wrong; according to our informants that (marginally) accept it, this example has a stacked instead of a modification reading; cf. the discussion of example (17b) below.

The fact that (14b) is unacceptable when *heel* is inflected in fact constitutes an argument against the analysis in (7) according to which the partitive genitive functions as an attributive adjective. Another problem for this proposal is that it leads to the same conclusion as the nominalization approach, namely that the quantificational pronoun *iets* can be combined with a noun, which is not possible in other cases; cf. (6).

### III. N-movement analysis

The N-movement analysis, which is due to Abney (1987), is similar to the empty noun analysis in that it assumes that the partitive genitive is followed by an empty noun, but differs from it in assuming that the empty noun is not directly inserted but results from movement. More specifically, the analysis assumes that the constructions in (15a) and (15b) are closely related; (15b) is derived by moving the noun *iets* into the position that is occupied by the determiner *een* in (15a). The representations of (15a&b) are given in the corresponding primed examples, in which *DP* stands for the projection of the determiner (D), and *t* stands for the °trace left by movement of the noun *iets*.

- |         |                |   |
|---------|----------------|---|
| (15) a. | een leuk iets  | a'. [DP een [NP leuk iets]]                           |
|         | a nice thing   |   |
| b.      | iets leuks     | b'. [DP iets <sub>i</sub> [NP leuks t <sub>i</sub> ]] |
|         | something nice |   |

A clear advantage of the N-movement analysis in (15b') over the nominalization and empty noun analyses is that it does not imply that the pronoun *iets* can be followed by a noun phrase in other cases, whereas it provides a natural account for the facts that have been given in favor of the empty noun analysis; cf. the discussion of the examples in (8), (9) and (11).

In addition, the N-movement analysis can readily account for the fact that *iets* can be premodified in the construction in (15a), where it functions as a regular noun preceded by the indefinite article *een*, but not in the partitive genitive construction in (15b), where it occupies the position of the article, by pointing out that the article *een* cannot be premodified by an adjective either. Similarly, the analysis accounts for the fact that the partitive genitive construction cannot be preceded by a determiner, given that the position normally occupied by the determiner is occupied by *iets* itself. It must be noted, however, that these facts are not conclusive given that the quantificational pronoun *iets* normally cannot be premodified or preceded by a determiner in other cases either; see the discussion of the examples in (35) and (36) below.

Finally, the N-movement analysis also provides a natural account for the placement of the intensifier *zo* 'so' in (16b). Section 3.1.3.1, sub II, has shown that the modifier *zo* in the (a)-examples in (16) can either precede or follow the indefinite determiner *een*. As is illustrated in the (b)-examples, it can also precede or follow the noun *iets* in the partitive genitive construction. If the noun *iets* occupies the same position as *een*, as in the analysis in (15b'), this similarity follows immediately; see section 7.3.4 for further discussion of these data.



- (16) a. Het was een zo saaie vergadering [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].  
           it was a so boring meeting [that I thereof in sleep fell]  
       a'. Het was zo'n saaie vergadering [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].  
       b. iets zo saais [dat ik ervan in slaap viel]  
           something so boring [that I thereof in sleep fell]  
       b'. zo iets saais [dat ik ervan in slaap viel]

Although we have seen that the N-movement analysis has several advantages, there are also some problems. First, consider again the examples in (11), which have been given as evidence in favor of both the empty noun and the N-movement analysis. It should be noted that these data do not provide unambiguous evidence in favor of these analyses. As is discussed in Section 5.5.1, co-occurring attributives can be either coordinated or stacked, as in (17a). In the partitive genitive construction in (17b), on the other hand, the adjectives must be coordinated, as is clear from the fact that leaving out the conjunction *en/maar* is impossible for the vast majority of speakers. In this respect the partitive genitive adjectives resemble the predicatively used adjectives in (17c).

- (17) a. Dat was een goedkope (en/maar) goede auto.  
           that was a cheap and/but good car  
       b. iets goedkops \*(en/maar) goeds  
           something cheap and/but good  
       c. Die auto was goedkoop \*(en/maar) goed.  
           that car was cheap and/but good

Second, if the partitive genitive construction is indeed derived from an attributive construction by means of movement, we would wrongly expect that all adjectives that can be used attributively are also possible in the partitive genitive construction, that is, that the primed examples in (18) would be grammatical; see Section 7.2.3 for a more thorough discussion.

- (18) a. de zaterdagse bijlage                      a'. \*iets zaterdagse  
           the Saturday's supplement                      something Saturday  
       b. het dominicaner klooster                      b'. \*iets dominicaners  
           the Dominican monastery                      something Dominican

Third, we need to account for the fact that the pronoun cannot be the [+ANIMATE] quantificational pronoun *iemand* 'someone'; despite the fact that *iets* can be replaced by *iemand* in the attributive construction in (15a), this is not possible in the partitive genitive construction in (15b). In this respect Dutch crucially differs from English which does allow constructions like *someone nice*. The use of the percentage sign is to indicate that, although all our informants reject examples like (19b), the construction with *iemand* can readily be found on the internet; it requires further investigation in order to establish whether we are dealing with an ongoing language change or with something else.

- (19) a. een leuk iemand  
           a nice person  
       b. %iemand leuks

Finally, the proposal does not straightforwardly account for the fact that the quantificational pronoun *iets* can be replaced by quantifier nouns such as *een heleboel* or quantifiers like *veel*, as these elements cannot appear as the head of a common noun phrase. Note that (20a') is also a problem for the N-movement approach given that *een heleboel* is not a head but a phrase.

- |      |     |                    |     |                |
|------|-----|--------------------|-----|----------------|
| (20) | a.  | *een leuk heleboel | b.  | *een leuk veel |
|      | a'. | een heleboel leuks | b'. | veel leuks     |
|      | a   | lot                |     | nice           |
|      |     | nice               |     | much nice      |

#### *IV. Conclusion*

It will be evident from the discussion above that it is far from clear what the proper analysis of the partitive genitive construction is. We will therefore put this problem aside, while referring to Broekhuis & Strang (1996) who suggest an analysis based on the assumption that the noun and the adjective are in a predicative (and not in an attributive) relationship. Such an approach would be supported by the fact that the adjectives in partitive genitive constructions must be set-denoting, just as in predicative construction; cf. Section 7.2.3. Broekhuis & Strang do not develop this idea and Hoeksema (1998) has pointed out a number of potential problems for a proposal of this sort. Schoorlemmer (2005), on the other hand, has suggested that such an approach is tenable but only for a subset of the partitive genitive constructions. We leave the proper analysis of the partitive genitive to future research and focus instead on the properties of the construction that any analysis should be able to account for.

### **7.2. The partitive genitive construction and its constituents**

This section will consider the partitive genitive construction in more detail. Section 7.2.1 will start with a discussion of some characteristics of the construction as a whole; it will turn out that the partitive genitive construction can be used in more or less the same environments as the nominal part of the construction, which suggests that it is this part that acts as the syntactic head of the construction; cf. the °omission test. After this, Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 will go more deeply into the characterization and syntactic behavior of the nominal and the adjectival part of this construction, respectively.

#### *7.2.1. Syntactic functions and properties*

The partitive genitive construction consists of an indefinite nominal-like element and an adjective ending in *-s*: *iets bijzonders* 'something special' (although the *-s* ending has been reported to be increasingly omitted in the standard variety of Dutch spoken in Belgium; see <http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/vraag/1317>). That the nominal and the adjectival part constitute a syntactic unit is clear from the fact that they can be placed in clause-initial position (the °constituency test), although it should be noted that, due to the indefinite nonspecific interpretation of the whole construction, this triggers a contrastive interpretation. This is illustrated in (21a). Other constituency tests, like contrastive left dislocation in (21b) and coordination in (21c), also have a positive result.

- (21) a. [iets groens] heb je voor de deur nodig  
 something green have you for the door need  
 (en [iets blauws] voor de kozijnen).  
 and something blue for the frames  
 'You need something green for the door (and something blue for the frames).'
- b. [iets groens] dat heb je voor de deur nodig.  
 something green that have you for the door need  
 'Something green, that is what you need for the door.'
- c. Je hebt [[iets groens] en [iets roods]] nodig.  
 you have something green and something red need  
 'You need something green and something red.'

That the two parts of the partitive genitive construction form a constituent is also supported by the fact that they are always strictly adjacent to each other, that is, they cannot be split by means of movement. This is illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. Hij heeft toen *iets ellendigs* meegemaakt.  
 he has then something terrible prt.-experienced  
 'Something terrible happened to him.'
- b. \*Hij heeft toen *iets* meegemaakt *ellendigs*.
- c. \**Iets* heeft hij toen *ellendigs* meegemaakt.

There are various reasons to assume that the nominal part functions as the syntactic head of the partitive genitive construction. The arguments below are mainly based on the similarity in behavior between indefinite noun phrases and the partitive genitive construction.

### I. The partitive genitive construction triggers singular agreement on the verb

With respect to agreement with the finite verb, the partitive genitive construction behaves like the nominal part of the construction in isolation: it triggers singular agreement. This is illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. Er is/\*zijn [iets spannends] gebeurd.  
 there is/are something exciting happened  
 'Something exciting has happened.'
- a'. Er is/\*zijn iets gebeurd.  
 there is/are something happened  
 'Something has happened.'
- b. Er staat/\*staan [iets grappigs] op het bord.  
 there stands/stand something funny on the blackboard  
 'Something (funny) is written on the blackboard.'
- b'. Er staat/\*staan iets op het bord.  
 there stands/stand something on the blackboard  
 'Something is written on the blackboard.'

### II. The partitive genitive construction is indefinite

The presence of the °expletive *er* 'there' in (23) above shows that both the quantificational pronoun *iets* and the partitive genitive construction can be

nonspecific (cf. also the discussion of (21a)); in general, only nonspecific indefinite subjects license expletive *er*. When expletive *er* is not present, the partitive genitive construction is given a specific or a generic interpretation, just as is the case with other indefinite subjects. This is illustrated in (24): on its specific interpretation in (24a), which is marginal for some speakers, the partitive genitive construction refers to a certain exciting thing known to the speaker; on its generic reading in (24b), which is fully acceptable for all speakers, the sentence expresses that any exciting thing would be welcome.

- (24) a. <sup>%</sup>Iets spannends is gebeurd.  
           something exciting has happened  
       b. Iets spannends is altijd welkom.  
           something exciting is always welcome

### *III. The partitive genitive construction can be modified by a relative clause*

Like other noun phrases, partitive genitive constructions can be modified by means of a relative clause. The examples in (25) show that relative clauses can also modify the quantificational pronoun (*n*)*iets*, that is, the partitive genitive adjective need not be present.

- (25) a. Jan heeft iets (handigs) [dat je daarvoor kan gebruiken].  
           Jan has something handy that you therefore can use  
           ‘Jan has something handy that you can use for that.’  
       b. Ik heb niets (warms) [om aan te trekken].  
           I have nothing warm COMP on to put  
           ‘I have nothing (warm) to wear.’

Note in passing that it is not the case that all clauses that follow the partitive genitive construction modify the noun phrase as a whole. Comparative *dan*-clauses, for example, follow the noun phrase as well, but since they are dependent on the comparative *-er* morpheme on the adjective, the adjective is obligatorily present. Something similar holds for intensifying phrases licensed by the modifier *te*.

- (26) a. iets \*(harders) [dan ik had gedacht]  
           something harder than I had thought  
       b. iets \*(<sup>?</sup>te leuks) [om waar te zijn]  
           something too nice COMP true to be  
           ‘Something too nice to be true.’

### *IV. The partitive genitive construction may occur in most regular NP-positions*

The fact that the partitive genitive construction may occur in most regular NP-positions has already been illustrated for the subject and object positions in (23) and (21), respectively. In (27), this is illustrated for the prepositional object position: (27a) involves a prepositional complement of the verb and (27b) an adverbial adjunct.

- (27) a. Zij zocht naar iets spannends in de bibliotheek.  
           she looked for something exciting in the library  
       b. Zij liep met iets zwaars de trap op.  
           she walked with something heavy the stairs up  
           ‘She climbed the stairs with something heavy.’

Partitive genitive constructions are not readily used as indirect objects, which is related to the fact that indirect objects generally refer to [+ANIMATE] entities or institutions, whereas the partitive genitive construction generally refers to [-ANIMATE] entities; cf. the discussion of the examples in (57) to (62). Some relatively acceptable examples are given in (28), where the partitive genitive construction refers to some sort of institution.

- (28) a. <sup>?</sup>Hij heeft iets vaags al zijn geld geschonken.  
 he has something vague all his money given  
 'He gave all his money to something vague.'  
 b. <sup>?</sup>Hij heeft al zijn geld aan iets liefdadigs geschonken.  
 he has all his money to something charitable given  
 'He gave all his money to charity.'

#### V. Conclusion

Given the similarity in syntactic behavior and distribution between indefinite noun phrases and the partitive genitive construction, it seems safe to conclude that the quantificational pronoun *iets* is the head of the complex construction. This of course coincides with the fact that the partitive genitive adjective cannot be used in isolation in the NP-positions in (21) to (27); the noun *iets* is obligatorily present in these examples (see the discussion of (4)). The fact that the partitive genitive construction is headed by the indefinite noun does not imply, however, that it is always possible to omit the adjective; omitting the adjective in (29a&b), for example, causes the example to be less acceptable under the intended reading. The fact that the two (c)-examples are fully acceptable shows, however, that something special is going on in the (a)- and (b)-examples.

- (29) a. Ik denk niet graag aan iets naars.  
 I think not gladly about something nasty  
 'I don't like to think about something nasty.'  
 a'. <sup>??</sup>Ik denk niet graag aan iets.  
 b. Je kan bij deze mensen niet met iets goedkoops aankomen.  
 one can at these people not with something cheap prt.-arrive  
 'One cannot give these people something cheap.'  
 b'. <sup>\*?</sup>Je kan bij deze mensen niet met iets aankomen.  
 c. Jan dacht aan iets (naars).  
 Jan thought about something nasty  
 c'. Jan dacht aan iets.

The difference in acceptability between (29a'&b') and (29c') is probably related to the presence of the sentential negation in the first two examples. The examples in (30) show that the quantificational pronoun *iets* 'something' normally cannot be preceded by the sentential negator *niet* 'not'; instead, the negative pronoun *niets* 'nothing' is used.

- (30) a. <sup>\*?</sup>Ik zie niet iets.  
 I see not something  
 b. Ik zie niets.  
 I see nothing

When we apply the same merging rule to (29a'), we get the result in (31a). However, this structure expresses constituent negation, and not sentential negation. In order to express sentential negation, the negative noun phrase must be moved into the position that is otherwise occupied by the negative marker; cf. the discussion of the examples in (67) in Section 2.3.1.2, sub IIB. This can be done by applying °R-pronominalization and °R-extraction. This results in the acceptable structure in (31a'), and for the same reason, (29b') surfaces as (31b).

- (31) a. Ik denk graag aan niets.  
           I think gladly about nothing  
           'I like to think about trivial things.'  
       a'. Ik denk nergens graag aan.  
           I think nowhere gladly about  
           'I don't like to think about anything.'  
       b. Je kan (bij deze mensen) nergens mee aankomen.  
           one can at these people nowhere with prt.-arrive  
           'One cannot give (these people) anything.'

The fact that the sentential negator is possible in (29a&b) may be related to the fact that R-pronominalization is not possible when the pronoun is part of a larger phrase: the examples in (32) are therefore ungrammatical, and this leaves us with (29a&b) as the only means to express the intended meanings. This may account for the contrast in acceptability between (29a'&b') and (29c').

- (32) a. \*Ik denk nergens<sub>i</sub> graag aan [<sub>i</sub> naars].  
           I think nowhere gladly about  
       b. \*Je kan (bij deze mensen) nergens mee [<sub>i</sub> goedkoopt] aankomen.  
           one can at these people nowhere with cheap prt.-arrive

### 7.2.2. *The nominal part*

This section discusses the nominal part of the partitive genitive construction. Four classes of nominal(-like) elements can be distinguished, which are given in (33). These classes will be discussed in the following sections.

- (33) a. [-ANIMATE] existential quantificational pronouns, e.g., *iets* 'something'  
       b. quantifier nouns, e.g., *een heleboel* 'a lot'  
       c. quantifiers, e.g., *veel* 'much/many'  
       d. the sequence *wat voor* 'what sort of'

#### 7.2.2.1. *Class 1: [-ANIMATE] existential quantificational pronouns*

The quantificational pronouns *iets* 'something', *niets* 'nothing' and *wat* 'something' in (34) are the most common nominal elements in the partitive genitive construction.

- (34) a. iets           zachts  
           something soft  
       b. niets       interessants  
           nothing interesting  
       c. wat         warms  
           something warm

Section 7.2.1 has already shown that the partitive genitive construction can be used in the same syntactic environments as the quantificational pronoun in isolation. Partitive genitive constructions also behave like pronouns in other respects. First, the examples in (35) show that the pronouns *iets*, *niets* and *wat* are never preceded by a determiner (although *het niets* is acceptable when *niets* is interpreted as a noun meaning “nothingness”).

- (35) a. \*een/het iets (zachts)  
           a/the something warm  
       b. \*een/het niets (interessants)  
           a/the nothing interesting  
       c. \*een/het wat (warms)  
           a/the something warm

Second, the examples in (36) show that modification of the quantificational pronoun by an adjective or an intensifier is excluded regardless of whether the pronoun is followed by the partitive genitive or not. Note, however, that more or less fixed phrases like *een aangenaam iets* ‘a pleasant thing’ can be encountered; cf. the discussion of (15)).

- (36) a. \*aangenaam iets (zachts)  
           pleasant something soft  
       b. \*erg niets (interessants)  
           very nothing interesting  
       c. \*zeer wat (warms)  
           very something warm

Example (37) shows that, although the [+ANIMATE] pronouns *iemand* ‘someone’ and *niemand* ‘no one’ belong to the same class as the pronouns in (34), they are nevertheless excluded in the partitive genitive construction. Note that Section 7.4 will discuss a construction with *(n)iets* and *(n)iemand* that can easily be confused with the partitive genitive construction.

- (37) \**(n)iemand* vreemde/aardige  
        someone/no one strange/nice

#### 7.2.2.2. Class 2: Quantifier nouns

Quantifier nouns like *(hele)boel* ‘lot’, *massa* ‘mass’ and *hoop* ‘lot’ in (38) constitute the second class of nominal expressions that can occur in the partitive genitive construction, although speakers tend to have somewhat varying judgments about the acceptability of these cases. Just like the [-ANIMATE] existential quantificational pronouns, these nominal expressions can be used without the partitive genitive. Observe that the quantifier noun is obligatorily preceded by the indefinite determiner *een* ‘a’.

- (38) a. Zij heeft een heleboel (interessants) gehoord.  
           she has a lot interesting heard  
           ‘She has heard a lot of interesting things.’

- b. Ik heb een massa (leuks) gezien.  
 I have a mass nice seen  
 'I have seen a lot of nice things.'
- c. Hij heeft een hoop (ellendigs) meegemaakt.  
 he has a lot terrible prt.-experienced  
 'He has experienced many terrible things.'

The quantifier nouns in (38) may also be combined with plural or substance nouns to form quantificational binominal constructions like those in (39); cf. Section N4.1.1.

- (39) a. Hij heeft een heleboel/massa/hoop vogels gezien.  
 he has a lot/mass/lot birds seen  
 'He has seen a lot of birds.'
- b. Hij koopt elke dag een heleboel/massa/hoop snoep.  
 he buys everyday a lot/mass/lot sweet  
 'Every day, he buys a lot of sweets.'

It seems that quantifier nouns can only occur in the partitive genitive construction when they can be combined with a substance noun in the binominal construction: quantifier nouns that co-occur with plural nouns only give rise to an unacceptable result in the partitive genitive construction. This is shown in (40).

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (40) | • Partitive genitive construction              | • Binominal construction                                     |
| a.   | *een paar zachts<br>a couple soft              | a'. een paar snoepjes/*wijn<br>a couple [of] candies/wine    |
| b.   | *een aantal kinderachtigs<br>a number childish | b'. een aantal kinderen/*wijn<br>a number [of] children/wine |

Binominal constructions also occur with measure nouns like *kilo* 'kilo', container nouns like *pak* 'pack', part nouns like *stuk* 'piece' and collective nouns like *berg* 'pile', but these never occur in the partitive genitive construction, not even when they can be combined with a substance noun. Of course, examples like *een kilo/pak/berg lekkers* 'a kilo/pack/pile of sweets' are acceptable but this is due to the fact that *lekkers* also occurs as a nominalized form with the specialized meaning "sweets".

- |         |                                       |  |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (41) a. | *een kilo grappigs<br>a kilo funny    | a'. een kilo kaas<br>a kilo [of] cheese        |
| b.      | *een pak griezelligs<br>a pack creepy | b'. een pak rijst<br>a pack (of) rice          |
| c.      | *een stuk zachts<br>a piece soft      | c'. een stuk chocola<br>a piece [of] chocolate |
| d.      | *een berg geweldigs<br>a pile great   | d'. een berg speelgoed<br>a pile [of] toys     |

The quantifier nouns *heleboel*, *massa* and *hoop* in (38) are obligatorily preceded by the indefinite determiner *een*. Using the plural form of the noun (provided that it has one) decreases the acceptability of the construction considerably. The



same thing holds when the quantifier noun is modified by an adjective. This will become clear by comparing the examples in (42) to example (38c). The decreased acceptability is probably due to the fact that the nouns are more referential in these cases; *een grote hoop boeken* no longer indicates an unbounded quantity of books but is interpreted literally as “a big pile of books”.

- (42) a. <sup>??</sup>Hij heeft hopen ellendigs meegemaakt.  
           he has lots terrible prt.-experienced  
       b. \*Hij heeft een grote hoop ellendigs meegemaakt.  
           he has a big pile terrible prt.-experienced

### 7.2.2.3. Class 3: Quantifiers

Quantifiers like *veel* ‘many/much’, *meer* ‘more’, *weinig* ‘few/little’, *minder* ‘less’, *genoeg/voldoende* ‘enough’, *hoeveel* ‘how many/much’, and *evenveel* ‘as many/much as’ are generally used as modifiers of nouns, and the examples in (43) show that many of them can also be used without the noun, in which case they have the same distribution as the corresponding full noun phrases.

- (43) a. We hebben veel (boeken) gekocht.  
           we have many books bought  
           ‘We bought many books.’  
       b. Ik hoop dat we voldoende/genoeg (kandidaten) hebben.  
           I hope that we enough candidates have  
           ‘I hope we have enough (candidates).’

These quantifiers may also act as the nominal part of the partitive genitive construction. Some examples are given in (44).

- |                           |                                  |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (44) a. veel overbodigs   | a'. veel boeken/wijn             |
| much redundant            | many books/much wine             |
| b. voldoende/genoeg kouds | b'. voldoende/genoeg boeken/wijn |
| enough cold               | enough books/wine                |
| c. hoeveel interessants   | c'. hoeveel boeken/wijn          |
| how much interesting      | how many books/how much wine     |

The primed examples in (44) show that these quantifiers can be combined both with plural and substance nouns. The examples in (45) show that quantifiers like *alle* ‘all’, *elke/ieder* ‘every’ and cardinal numerals like *vier* ‘four’, which cannot co-occur with substance nouns, cannot be used in the partitive genitive construction either.

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| (45) a. *alle kleins | a'. alle boeken/*water |
| all small            | all books/water        |
| b. *elk nuttigs      | b'. elk boek/*water    |
| every useful         | every book/water       |
| c. *vier hard        | c'. vier boeken/*water |
| four hard            | four books/water       |

Given that we have seen a similar distinction in the previous section, the examples in (44) and (45) suggest that the notion of non-countability seems to be a crucial factor in the delimitation of the set of nominal elements that may occur in the partitive genitive construction. It must be noted that the universal quantifier *alle* poses a potential problem for this claim: although it cannot be combined with neuter substance nouns like *water* in (45a'), most speakers do accept the combination of *alle* and a non-neuter substance noun like *wijn* 'wine'; cf. N6.2.2.1, sub VII. Note also that *elk* 'each' can be used with noun like *brood* 'bread' or *wijn* 'wine', which are normally used as substance nouns, but in this case the quantifier triggers an interpretation as a common noun; such cases can therefore be put aside as irrelevant.

An alternative way of delimiting the relevant set is to appeal to the fact that whereas the quantifiers in (44) can be used without a following noun or partitive genitive (cf. (43)), the quantifiers and numerals in (45) cannot. The examples in (46) are a problem for such an approach, given that the more or less archaic forms *allerlei/allerhande* 'all kinds of' and *velerlei* 'many' may enter the partitive genitive construction but cannot be used without a following partitive genitive or noun; cf. Kester (1996:306). For completeness' sake, note that some speakers tend to judge both the partitive constructions in the primeless examples and the primed examples with a substance noun as marked.

- |         |   |     |  |
|---------|---|-----|--|
| (46) a. | allerlei/velerlei fraais.<br>all kinds beautiful<br>'all kinds of beautiful things' | a'. | allerlei sieraden/spelgoed<br>all kinds [of] jewels/toys |
| b.      | allerhande aardigs<br>all kinds nice<br>'all kinds of nice things'                  | b'. | allerhande boeken/wijn<br>all kinds [of] books/wine      |

Example (47a) shows that the quantifier cannot be preceded by a determiner, and the two (b)-examples show that modification of the quantifier by an intensifier is possible in the partitive genitive construction, provided that this is also possible when the quantifier modifies a noun.

- (47) a. \*een veel geweldigs  
a much terrific
- b. zeer veel/\*genoeg overbodigs  
very much/enough redundant
- b'. zeer veel/\*genoeg boeken  
very much/enough books

#### 7.2.2.4. Class 4: Wat voor leuks

The sequence *wat voor* 'what sort of', which is discussed extensively in Section N.4.2.2, is often combined with a noun, which is either bare or preceded by the (spurious) indefinite article *een*. Being interrogative, the *wat voor*-phrase is generally moved into the clause-initial position, but it can also be split. In the latter case the interrogative element *wat* occupies the clause-initial position, the remnant phrase *voor (een) N* occupying a clause-internal position.

- (48) a. Wat voor (een) boek/wijn heb je gekocht?  
 what for a book/wine have you bought  
 ‘What sort of book/wine did you buy?’  
 b. Wat heb je voor (een) boek/wijn gekocht?  
 what have you for a book/wine bought  
 ‘What sort of book/wine did you buy?’

The string *wat voor* also occurs as the nominal part of the partitive genitive construction, and, again, both the unsplit and the split pattern occur. Modification of the *wat voor*-phrase by means of an adjective or an adverb is not possible.

- (49) a. Wat voor interessants heeft hij je verteld?  
 what for interesting has he you told  
 ‘What (sort of) interesting things did he tell you?’  
 b. Wat heeft hij je voor interessants verteld?  
 what has he you for interesting told  
 ‘What (sort of) interesting things did he tell you?’

The use of the spurious article *een* seems to give rise to a somewhat marked result, although it is readily possible to find examples of that sort on the internet. The table in (50) gives the number of hits that resulted from a Google search performed in May 2009. For comparison, it can be noted that a similar search showed that the string [*wat voor*] is only twice as frequent as the string [*wat voor een*]; the former resulted in 3.49 million and the latter in 1.77 million hits.

(50) Partitive genitive constructions with and without the spurious article *een*

search strings	WITHOUT	WITH
<i>Wat voor (een) interessants</i>	351	5
<i>Wat voor (een) leuks</i>	3,400	314
<i>Wat voor (een) moois</i>	10,800	171

The constructions in (49) also seem to alternate with partitive genitive *wat voor* constructions that contain the quantificational pronoun *iets* ‘something’. It is not clear to us whether (49) can be analyzed as the counterpart of (51) with deleted *iets*. Table (52) shows that these constructions never feature the spurious article *een*.

- (51) a. Wat voor iets interessants heeft hij je verteld?  
 what for something interesting has he you told  
 ‘What (sort of) interesting things did he tell you?’  
 b. Wat heeft hij je voor iets interessants verteld?  
 what has he you for something interesting told  
 ‘What (sort of) interesting things did he tell you?’

(52) Partitive genitive constructions with and without the spurious article *een*

search strings	WITHOUT	WITH
<i>Wat voor (een) iets interessants</i>	3	0
<i>Wat voor (een) iets leuks</i>	13	0
<i>Wat voor (een) iets moois</i>	240	0

The *wat voor* construction can also be used as an exclamative. As is shown in (53a&b), both the unsplit and the split pattern are possible then. For completeness' sake, observe that the finite verb of the exclamative clause must appear in clause-final position; the primed examples in (53) are excluded.

- (53) a. Wat voor grappigs ik nu gezien heb!  
          what for funny I now seen have  
      a'. \*?Wat voor grappigs heb ik nu gezien!  
      b. Wat ik nu voor grappigs gezien heb!  
          what I now for funny seen have  
      a'. \*?Wat heb ik nu voor grappigs gezien!

To conclude this section we want to note that the fact that the *wat voor*-phrases in (48) may contain a substance noun, but become ungrammatical when the noun is omitted, supports the suggestion from the previous section that it is the notion of non-countability that functions as the crucial factor in the delimitation of the set of nominal-like elements that can enter the partitive genitive construction, and not whether that element can be used independently of the following adjective.

7.2.2.5. *Summary*

This section has shown that the four classes of elements in Table 1 can be used as the nominal part of partitive genitive constructions; some examples are given in the second column. Recall that it is only a subset of the quantifier nouns and quantifiers that can appear in the partitive genitive construction: those that cannot be followed by a substance noun give rise to an unacceptable result. The third column indicates whether the nominal part can be used independently as a subject or a direct object argument or whether it obligatorily enters a binominal or partitive genitive construction. The fourth and fifth columns indicate whether the nominal part can be followed by a noun, and, if so, whether it can be a substance noun in that case. The final column indicates whether the nominal part can be modified by means of an intensifier. The table does not show that modification of the nominal part by means of an attributive adjective is never possible.

Table 1: *The nominal part of the partitive genitive construction*

	EXAMPLES	INDEP	NOUN	SUBST	INT
[-ANIMATE] QUANTIFICATIONAL PRONOUNS	<i>iets</i> 'something'	+	—	n.a.	—
	<i>wat</i> 'something'	+	—	n.a.	—
	<i>niets</i> 'nothing'	+	—	n.a.	—
QUANTIFIER NOUNS (SUBSET)	<i>een (hele)boel</i> 'a lot'	+	+	+	—
	<i>een hoop</i> 'a lot'	+	+	+	—
	<i>een massa</i> 'a mass'	+	+	+	—
QUANTIFIERS (SUBSET)	<i>veel</i> 'much'	+	+	+	+
	<i>weinig</i> 'little'	+	+	+	+
	<i>allerlei</i> 'all kinds of'	—	+/?	+/?	—
<i>WAT VOOR</i>	<i>wat voor (een)</i> 'what kind of'	—	+	+	—

### 7.2.3. The adjectival part

This section discusses the adjectival part of the partitive genitive construction. We will focus especially on the question of what adjective types can be used in this construction. Anticipating what follows, we can say that the correct generalization seems to be that the adjectives that occur in the partitive genitive construction constitute a proper subset of the adjectives that can be used as °complementives: in other words, adjectives that can be used attributively only are excluded from this construction.

- (54) **Adjectival part of the partitive genitive construction:** the set of partitive genitive adjectives is a proper subset of the adjectives that can be used as complementives.

Section 1.3 has distinguished four semantic classes of adjectives: (i) the set-denoting, (ii) the relational, and (iii) the evaluative adjectives, and what we have called (iv) the residue. It has been shown there that all adjectives in class (i), a restricted set of adjectives from class (ii), and virtually none of the adjectives in classes (iii) and (iv) can be used as complementives. This section will show that these findings correspond nicely with what we find in the partitive genitive construction.

#### 7.2.3.1. Set-denoting adjectives

Generally speaking, set-denoting adjectives can be readily used both in prenominal attributive position and as complementives; cf. Section 1.3.2. The doubly-primed examples in (55) show that these adjectives also occur as partitive genitives.

- |      |                                       |   |  |
|------|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| (55) | • Attributive                         | • Predicative                                       | • Partitive genitive                     |
| a.   | een handige doek<br>a handy towel     | a'. Deze doek is handig.<br>this towel is handy     | a''. iets handigs<br>something handy     |
| b.   | een klein doosje<br>a small box       | b'. Het doosje is klein.<br>the box is small        | b''. iets kleins<br>something small      |
| c.   | een speciale kleur<br>a special color | c'. Die kleur is speciaal.<br>that color is special | c''. iets speciaals<br>something special |

This does not mean, however, that all set-denoting adjectives can be used in the partitive genitive construction; the subsections below will show that the six subclasses of set-denoting adjectives in (56) cannot.

- (56) • Predicative adjectives that cannot occur as partitive genitives
- adjectives that can only be predicated of [+ANIMATE] noun phrases;
  - adjectives that take a proposition as their logical SUBJECT;
  - adjectives that take weather *het* as their SUBJECT;
  - adjectives that take a nominal complement;
  - superlatives;
  - adjectives that end in /a/, /o/, /i/, /e/, /y/ or schwa.

*I. Adjectives predicated of [+ANIMATE] entities*

The first subclass consists of adjectives that, at least in their predicative use, express properties that can only be attributed to a [+ANIMATE] entity. Some examples are given in (57) to (59); see Section 1.3.4 for a discussion of the examples in (57b) and (58b).

- |      |    |                       |     |                            |      |                     |
|------|----|-----------------------|-----|----------------------------|------|---------------------|
| (57) | a. | een dronken man       | a'. | Die man is dronken.        | a''. | *iets dronkens      |
|      |    | a drunk man           |     | that man is drunk          |      | something drunk     |
|      | b. | een dronken bui       | b'. | *Die bui is dronken.       |      |                     |
|      |    | a drunken fit         |     | that fit is drunk          |      |                     |
| (58) | a. | een verlegen jongen   | a'. | De jongen is verlegen.     | a''. | *iets verlegens     |
|      |    | a shy boy             |     | the boy is shy             |      | something shy       |
|      | b. | een verlegen glimlach | b'. | *Die glimlach is verlegen. |      |                     |
|      |    | a shy smile           |     | that smile is shy          |      |                     |
| (59) | a. | een zwangere vrouw    | a'. | De vrouw is zwanger.       | a''. | *iets zwangers      |
|      |    | a pregnant woman      |     | the woman is pregnant      |      | something pregnant  |
|      | b. | een loopse teef       | b'. | Deze teef is loops.        | b''. | *iets loops         |
|      |    | an in.season bitch    |     | this bitch is in.season    |      | something in.season |

Subsection VI will show that adjectives that end in a schwa, such as *beige* 'beige' or *frêle* 'delicate', give rise to a marked result in the partitive genitive construction: *\*iets beiges/frêles*. One might therefore want to claim that the doubly-primed examples in (57) and (58) are excluded because the adjectives *dronken* and *verlegen* are normally pronounced with a final schwa. However, other cases of adjectives ending in *-en* do occasionally occur in this construction, in which case the /n/ seems to be phonetically realized; cf. (68b) below. In fact, the relevant examples are judged acceptable by some (but not all) speakers in contexts like (60a&b), which show that they are not blocked for phonological reasons. The cases in (60) are special in that the adjectives do not attribute a property to an animate being: *iets dronkens* in (60a) refers to some aspect of Jan's appearance, *iets verlegens/loops* in (60b&c) refers to some aspect of the behavior of Peter/the dog, and *iets zwangers* in (60d) refers to Marie's way of walking.

- |      |    |                                   |                             |
|------|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (60) | a. | Jan heeft iets dronkens           | over zich.                  |
|      |    | Jan has something drunk           | about him                   |
|      | b. | Er zit iets verlegens             | in Peters gedrag.           |
|      |    | there is something shy            | in Peter's behavior         |
|      | c. | Er zit iets loops                 | in het gedrag van de hond.  |
|      |    | there is something in.season      | in the behavior of the dog  |
|      | d. | <sup>?</sup> Er zit iets zwangers | in Maries manier van lopen. |
|      |    | there is something pregnant       | in Marie's way of walking   |

Note that the constructions with the verb *zitten* in (60b-d) alternate with the construction with the verb *hebben* 'to have' in (61), in which the entity to which the partitive genitive construction attributes the relevant property appears as the subject of the clause. The examples in (60) and (61) clearly deserve more attention in the future; see Schoorlemmer (2005) for some discussion.

- (61) a. Peters gedrag heeft iets verlegens.  
b. Het gedrag van de hond heeft iets loops.  
c. <sup>?</sup>Maries manier van lopen heeft iets zwangers.

The exclusion of adjectives that modify [+ANIMATE] nouns only is probably related to the fact that the quantifiers *iemand* 'someone' and *niemand* 'no one' cannot be used as the nominal part of a partitive genitive construction. Moreover, the partitive genitive construction as a whole never refers to a [+ANIMATE] entity: *iets slims* 'something smart' denotes a thing, e.g., a plan, not an animate being. The examples in (62) illustrate this again by showing that the predicatively used partitive genitive construction *iets leuks* can be predicated of a [-ANIMATE] noun phrase such as *een feest* 'a party' but not over a [+ANIMATE] noun phrase like *die man* 'that man'. This can be accounted for if we assume that the features of the nominal predicate and its SUBJECT must match, from which it follows that the partitive genitive construction has the feature [-ANIMATE].

- (62) a. Dat feest wordt iets leuks.  
that party becomes something nice  
b. \*Die man is iets leuks.  
the man is something nice

Constructions like those in (63) can of course be found, but these contentions are offensive given that they represent the [+HUMAN] subject as an object. The primed examples show that replacement of the indefinite noun phrase by a proper noun or a referential pronoun renders the examples unacceptable.

- (63) a. Een slaaf is iets onmisbaars. a'. \*Jan/Hij is iets onmisbaars.  
a slave is something indispensable Jan/he is something indispensable  
b. Een vrouw is iets ongrijpbaars. b'. \*Marie/Zij is iets ongrijpbaars.  
a woman is something impalpable Marie/she is something impalpable

Finally, it can be noted that adjectives that take a PP-complement can only be used as a partitive genitive if the PP can precede the adjective; cf. the discussion of (8) and (9) in Section 7.1. Since Section 2.1.1 has shown that adjectives like these generally select a [+ANIMATE] SUBJECT, it does not come as a surprise that they hardly ever occur in the partitive genitive construction.

## II. Adjectives predicated of a proposition

The examples in (64) give examples from the second subset of set-denoting adjective that cannot be used in the partitive genitive construction. These involve adjectives like *jammer* 'a pity', *mogelijk* 'possible' and *zeker* 'certain', which normally take a proposition as their logical SUBJECT; Section 6.5 has shown that the proposition is normally expressed by a clausal subject preceded by the anticipatory non-referential pronoun *het* 'it', or referred to by the anaphoric neuter demonstrative *dit/dat* 'this/that'.

- (64) a. [Dat Anke ziek wordt] is mogelijk.                      a'. \*?iets mogelijks  
           that Anke ill becomes is possible                      something possible  
           'It is possible that Anke will be ill.'
- b. [Dat Jan er morgen niet is] is jammer.                b'. \*iets jammers  
           that Jan there tomorrow not is is a pity                something pitiful  
           'It is a pity that Jan won't be there tomorrow.'

In contrast to the adjective *mogelijk* in (64a), the adjective *onmogelijk* may take a noun phrase as its SUBJECT, and, as expected, it can also appear in the partitive genitive construction.

- (65) a. Jans gedrag is (volstrekt) onmogelijk/\*mogelijk.  
           Jan's behavior is completely impossible/possible  
           'Jan's behavior work is completely unacceptable.'
- b. iets (volstrekt) onmogelijks

### III. Weather adjectives

The third subclass consists of adjectives like *bewolkt* 'cloudy', *regenachtig* 'rainy' and *benauwd* 'hard to breathe' that take so-called weather *het* as their SUBJECT in predicative structures. Some examples are given in (66).

- (66) a. een bewolkte dag    a'. Het is bewolkt.                a''. \*iets bewolchts  
           a cloudy day        it is cloudy                something cloudy
- b. regenachtig weer    b'. Het is regenachtig.        b''. \*iets regenachtigs  
           rainy weather        it is rainy                something rainy

### IV. Adjectives that take a nominal complement

The fourth subclass consists of adjectives that take a nominal complement. Section 2.2 has shown that we must distinguish between adjectives that take a genitive and adjectives that take a dative complement; we will discuss these in separate subsections. A third subsection is devoted to adjectives with a nominal complement that cannot be used attributively.

#### A. Adjectives with a genitive complement

Adjectives that take a genitive nominal complement, such as *bewust* 'conscious', *moe/zat/beu* 'tired', *machting* 'in command of', are always predicated of a [+ANIMATE] noun phrase. Consequently, these adjectives cannot occur as partitive genitives for the same reasons as those indicated in Subsection I above.

- (67) a. Hij is deze opera zat.                                      a'. \*iets deze opera zats  
           he is this opera weary  
           'He is weary of this opera.'
- b. Hij is het Frans machting.                                b'. \*iets het Frans machtings  
           he is the French in.command.of  
           'He is able to speak French.'



### B. Adjectives with a dative complement

Adjectives that take a dative nominal complement, such as *aangeboren* 'innate', *bespaard* 'spared', *duidelijk* 'clear', *(on)bekend* ' (un)known', *vreemd* 'foreign' and *vertrouwd* 'familiar', may be predicated of a [-ANIMATE] noun phrase.

- (68) a. Deze omgeving is Peter erg vertrouwd.  
           this area           is Peter very familiar  
           'This area is very familiar to Peter.'  
       b. De Universele Grammatica is de mens aangeboren.  
           the Universal Grammar    is the man innate  
           'Universal Grammar is innate to man.'  
       c. Deze oplossing is Peter onduidelijk.  
           this solution    is Peter unclear  
           'This solution is unclear to Peter.'

Nevertheless, the primeless examples in (69) show that the partitive genitive use of these adjectives often leads to a degraded result. It should be noted, however, that the result improves somewhat when the noun phrase is replaced by a pronoun. The primed examples show that, when the dative noun phrase is optional, the partitive genitive constructions become fully acceptable when the noun phrase is dropped.

- (69) a. iets           \*Peter/?mij vertrouwd           a'. iets vertrouwd  
           something Peter/me familiar  
       b. iets           \*de mens/?ons aangeborens       b'. iets aangeborens  
           something the man/us innate  
       c. iets           \*Peter/?mij onduidelijks       c'. iets onduidelijks  
           something Peter/me unclear

Most gradable adjectives can also be combined with a dative nominal complement when the °intensifier *te* 'too' is added.

- (70) a. Dat boek is Peter te moeilijk.  
           that book is Peter too difficult  
           'That book is too difficult for Peter.'  
       b. Het water is Marie te koud.  
           the water is Marie too cold  
           'The water is too cold for Marie.'

Again, the partitive genitive use of the adjective is excluded when the noun phrase is present, although the same distinction between full noun phrases and pronouns arises as in the primeless examples in (69).

- (71) a. iets           \*Peter/?mij te moeilijks           a'. iets te moeilijks  
           something Peter/me too difficult  
       b'. iets           \*Marie/?mij te koude           b'. iets te koude  
           something Marie/me too cold

*C. Adjectives that can only be used a predicative complement*

Some adjectives that take a nominal complement can be used as a complementive only; cf. Section 6.2.5.5. As expected, the partitive genitive use of these adjectives is not possible.

- |         |   |                                      |
|---------|---|--------------------------------------|
| (72) a. | Hij is zijn trui kwijt.<br>he is his sweater lost<br>'He has lost his sweater.' | a'. *iets kwijts<br>something lost   |
| b.      | Hij is het spoor bijster.<br>he is the track lost<br>'He lost his way.'         | b'. *iets bijsters<br>something lost |

It is not clear, however, whether this must be attributed to the fact that the adjectives select a nominal argument or to the fact that they cannot be used attributively. The latter is suggested by the fact that adjectives like *braak* 'fallow' and *gelegen* 'convenient' in (73), which are like the adjectives in (72) in that they can be used predicatively only but unlike them in that they do not select a nominal complement, cannot be used in the partitive genitive construction either. Other examples are *afhandig maken* 'deprive of' and *gewaar worden* 'to become aware'. Note that the examples in this subsection are all more or less fixed expressions.

- |         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| (73) a. | Dit weiland ligt braak.<br>this meadow lies fallow  | a'. *iets braaks<br>something fallow       |
| b.      | dit boek komt gelegen<br>this book comes convenient | b'. *iets gelegens<br>something convenient |

*V. Superlatives*

The final subclass consists of the (absolute) superlatives. Example (74c'') shows that superlatives are excluded from the partitive genitive construction, whereas their corresponding positive and comparative forms are fully acceptable. The examples in (74d&e) show that periphrastic comparatives and superlatives behave just like the morphological comparatives in the doubly-primed examples in (74b&c).

- |         |   |  |  |
|---------|---|--|--|
| (74) a. | een leuk boek<br>a nice book                | a'. Dit boek is leuk.<br>this book is nice                     | a''. iets leuks<br>something nice                      |
| b.      | een leuker boek<br>a nicer book             | b'. Dit boek is leuker.<br>this book is nicer                  | b''. iets leukers<br>something nicer                   |
| c.      | het leukste boek<br>the nicest book         | c'. Dit boek is het leukst.<br>this book the nicest            | c''. *iets (het)leuksts<br>something nicest            |
| d.      | een minder leuk boek<br>a less nice book    | d'. Dit boek is minder leuk.<br>this book is less nice         | d''. iets minder leuks<br>something less nice          |
| e.      | het minst leuke boek<br>the least nice book | e'. Dit boek is het minst leuk.<br>this book is the least nice | e''. *iets (het) minst leuks<br>someth. the least nice |

We will see below, however, that we cannot immediately conclude from the unacceptability of (74c''&e'') that superlatives cannot occur as partitive genitives. First, observe that the predicatively used adjectives in (74c'&e') are preceded by the determiner(-like) element *het*. We have seen in Section 4.3.2, however, that there

are superlative forms preceded by *aller-* that can be used as a predicate without *het*, the so-called pseudo-superlative. The English renderings in (75) show that the presence or absence of *het* corresponds to a semantic difference: *alleraardigst* in (75a) is preceded by *het* and the copular construction expresses that Jan has the property of being kind to the highest degree; *alleraardigst* in (75b), on the other hand, is not preceded by *het*, and the copular construction expresses that Jan has the property of being kind to a very high degree.

- (75) a. Jan is het alleraardigst.  
Jan is the ALLER-nicest  
'Jan is the nicest.'  
b. Jan is alleraardigst.  
Jan is ALLER-nicest  
'Jan is very nice.'

Now consider the examples in (76), where the pseudo-superlatives are predicated of [-ANIMATE] SUBJECTS and can appear as partitive genitives. The form of the partitive genitive is, however, rather special. The expected form A-*sts* is reduced to A-*s*: in (76a), for instance, the expected form *allerleuksts* surfaces as *allerleuks*, cf. Paardekooper (1986:691). Note, however, that some speakers have difficulty with both forms in the primed examples.

- (76) a. Dit boek is allerleukst.                      a'. iets allerleuks/\*<sup>9</sup>allerleuksts  
this book is very nice  
b. Dit verhaal is alleraardigst.                      b'. iets alleraardigs/\*<sup>9</sup>alleraardigsts  
this story is very nice

Although the phonological reduction in the primed examples in (76) does not apply with partitive genitives like *juists/onbewusts* in *iets juists/onbewusts* ‘something right/unconscious’, where the sequence /sts/ is the result of adding the -s ending to an adjective ending in /st/, it is familiar from other cases as well; cf. Section 4.1.2, sub I. If the phonological reduction should also apply to the absolute superlative forms in (74c&e), the form *leuksts* would be reduced to *leuks*. This implies that the partitive genitive *leuks* should be the corresponding partitive genitive of both the positive degree and the absolute superlative. Given that the partitive genitive construction *iets leuks* semantically corresponds to the positive degree only, we can now finally conclude with confidence that there are no partitive genitives that correspond to the absolute superlative.

The fact that it is impossible for the absolute superlatives to occur as partitive genitives may be related to the fact that these forms cannot be used as such in the copular construction, but must be preceded by the element *het*. Alternatively, we may assume that the fact that partitive genitive constructions are always indefinite is incompatible with the fact that absolute superlatives pick out a fixed entity or group of entities from the domain of discourse; they are in a sense inherently definite, which is also clear from the fact that they cannot be preceded by the indefinite article *een* when they are used attributively: *\*een leukste boek* 'a nicest book'.

*VI. Phonological restrictions*

Besides the systematic restrictions above, additional phonological restrictions seem to play a role. The discussion above has been restricted to partitive genitive adjectives that end in a consonant, but it should be noted that adjectives that end in a long vowel or a schwa often give rise to a marginal result in the partitive genitive construction. In (77), examples are given with adjectives that end in /a/, /o/, /i/, /e/, /y/ and a schwa. Observe, however, that some examples are more acceptable than others, and that judgments vary among speakers. It is not clear what determines the precise degree of acceptability; the fact that adjectives like these are generally loan words may play a role as well.

- |         |                 |                      |
|---------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (77) a. | *iets prima-s   | something excellent  |
| b.      | ?iets lila-s    | something lilac      |
| c.      | iets extra-s    | something extra      |
| d.      | *iets albino-s  | something albino     |
| e.      | *iets kaki-s    | something khaki      |
| f.      | ?iets privé-s   | something private    |
| g.      | ?iets continu-s | something continuous |
| h.      | ?iets oranje-s  | something orange     |

For completeness' sake, the examples in (78) show that the partitive genitive form of adjectives ending in /s/ has the same pronunciation as the corresponding positive form.

- |         |                              |                    |
|---------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| (78) a. | <i>vies</i> 'dirty'          | a'. iets vies      |
| b.      | <i>paars</i> 'purple'        | b'. iets paars     |
| c.      | <i>kleurloos</i> 'colorless' | c'. iets kleurloos |

*7.2.3.2. Relational adjectives*

Section 7.2.3.1 has shown that, with the exception of six well-defined classes, all set-denoting adjectives can be used as partitive genitive adjectives. The most important condition for entering the partitive genitive construction seems to be that the set-denoting adjective can be predicated of (or modify) [-ANIMATE] noun phrases. If we consider the relational adjectives, however, it turns out that many adjectives that may modify a [-ANIMATE] noun cannot be used in the partitive genitive construction. Some examples are given in (79).

- |         |                    |                              |                       |
|---------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (79) a. | een Groninger koek | a'. *Deze koek is Groninger. | a''. *iets Groningers |
|         | a Groninger cake   | this cake is Groninger       | something Groninger   |
| b.      | een houten bank    | b'. *De bank is houten.      | b''. *iets houtens    |
|         | a wooden bench     | this bench is wooden         | something wooden      |

Since the set-denoting and the relational adjectives differ with respect to acceptability when used as predicates, it might be the case that the question of whether or not an adjective can occur as a partitive genitive is related to the question of whether or not predicative use of this adjective is possible. If this is the case, we make the following prediction with respect to the relational adjectives. Since Section 1.3.3 has shown that a subset of the relational adjectives have the

tendency to shift their meaning in the direction of the set-denoting adjectives, which is clear from their ability to occur in predicative position, we expect them to occur as partitive genitives as well; those relational adjectives that cannot occur in predicative position, on the other hand, are excluded from the partitive genitive construction. The discussion below, which follows the classification of the relational adjectives in Section 1.3.3, will show that this expectation is indeed borne out.

### I. Geographical adjectives

Section 1.3.3.2 has distinguished the four classes of geographical adjectives shown in (80).

- (80) • Geographical adjectives
- a. derived from person nouns by means of *-s*: *Amerikaans* ‘American’
  - b. derived from person nouns by means of *-isch*: *Russisch* ‘Russian’
  - c. derived from Dutch geographical names by means of *-er*: *Urker* ‘from Urk’
  - d. other cases: *buitengaats* ‘offshore’, *ginds* ‘yonder’, *plaatselijk* ‘local’, etc.

With respect to the classes in (80a&b), we have seen that these adjectives tend to shift in the direction of the set-denoting adjectives and may therefore occur as predicates in certain contexts; this tendency can be enforced by the addition of the adverb *typisch* ‘typically’. Consequently, we correctly expect that these adjectives may also occur as partitive genitives; cf. (81).

- (81) a. iets (typisch) Amerikaans/Nederlands  
something typically American/Dutch
- b. iets (typisch) Australisch/Russisch  
something typically Australian/Russian

Adjectives from the classes in (80c&d), on the other hand, are never used in predicative position and we therefore correctly predict their partitive genitive use to be impossible; cf. (82a).

- (82) a. \*iets (typisch) Urkers/Groningers  
something typically Urker/Groninger
- b. iets \*buitengaats/\*ginds/<sup>9</sup>plaatselijks  
something offshore/over there/local

### II. “Movement/trend” adjectives

Section 1.3.3.3 has divided the “movement/trend” adjectives into the three classes shown in (83).

- (83) • “Movement/trend” adjectives
- a. derived from person nouns by means of *-s*: *freudiaans* ‘Freudian’
  - b. derived from person nouns by means of *-isch*: *kapitalistisch* ‘capitalistic’
  - c. derived from person nouns by means of *-er*: *dominicaner* ‘Dominican’

The classes in (83a&b) tend to shift their meaning in the direction of the set-denoting adjectives, which again can be enforced by means of adding the adverb

*typisch* ‘typically’. The class in (83c), on the other hand, is never used in predicative position.

- (84) a. Deze opvatting is (typisch) freudiaans.  
           this opinion is typically Freudian  
       b. <sup>?</sup>Deze opvatting is (typisch) kapitalistisch.  
           this opinion is typically capitalistic  
       c. \*Dit klooster is (typisch) dominicaner.  
           this monastery is typically Dominican

Consequently, we expect that adjectives from the subclasses in (83a&b) can occur as partitive genitives, whereas this should be completely impossible with the adjectives from the class in (83c). The examples in (85) show that this expectation is indeed borne out.

- (85) a. iets (typisch) freudiaans  
           something typically Freudian  
       b. iets (typisch) kapitalistisch  
           something typically capitalistic  
       c. \*iets (typisch) dominicaners  
           something typically Dominican

### III. Time adjectives

Section 1.3.3.4 has divided the time adjectives into the three subclasses given in (86).

- (86) • Time adjectives
- a. derived from the nouns *dag* ‘day’, *week* ‘week’, *maand* ‘month’, etc., by means of the suffix *-(e)lijks*: *dagelijks* ‘daily’, *wekelijks* ‘weekly’, *maandelijks* ‘monthly’
- b. derived from the names of days, seasons (with the exception of *lente* ‘spring’ and some months (especially *maart* ‘March’) by means of the suffix *-s*. Such time adjectives can also be based on compounds and phrases, *middeleeuws* ‘medieval’, *zeventiende-eeuws* ‘seventeenth-century’
- c. other cases, which are mostly used as adverbs

We start our discussion with the class in (86b). These adjectives generally cannot occur in predicative position, unless they refer to a certain, e.g., historical or cultural, period. Therefore, we expect these adjectives to occur in the partitive genitive construction on the latter reading only. This is indeed borne out.

- (87) a. de zaterdagse bijlage                      c. een middeleeuwse opvatting  
           the Saturday supplement            a medieval opinion  
       a'. \*De bijlage is zaterdags.            c'. Deze opvatting is (typisch) middeleeuws.  
           the supplement is Saturday        this opinion is typically medieval  
       a''. <sup>\*?</sup>iets zaterdags                      c''. iets (typisch) middeleeuws  
           something Saturday                   something typically medieval

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| b. maartse buien<br>March showers                   | d. een zeventiende-eeuws lied<br>a seventeenth.century song                                |
| b'. *De buien zijn maarts.<br>the showers are March | d'. Dit lied is (typisch) zeventiende-eeuws.<br>this song is typically seventeenth.century |
| b''. *iets maarts<br>something March                | d''. iets (typisch) zeventiende-eeuws<br>something typically seventeenth.century           |

Adjectives from the subclass in (86a) are at best marginally possible as predicates and they also yield marginal results in partitive genitive constructions like (88c).

- (88) a. zijn maandelijkse column  
his monthly column  
b. ??Zijn column is maandelijks.  
his column is monthly  
c. ??Zijn column is iets maandelijks.  
his column is something monthly

Adjectives from the subclass in (86c) are generally used as adverbs of time. Occasionally they also occur as attributive adjectives, but they are not readily used in predicative position. As expected, the judgment on the partitive genitive use of this type of adjective seems to correlate with the one on its predicative use. In (89) and (90), this is illustrated by means of the adjectives *regelmatig* 'regular(ly)' and *vroeger* 'previous(ly)'.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (89) a. Hij klaagt regelmatig.<br>he complains regularly   | b. een regelmatige klacht<br>a regular complaint                            |
| c. *?Deze klacht is zeer regelmatig.<br>this complaint is very regular   | d. *?Zijn klacht is iets regelmatigs.<br>his complaint is something regular |
| (90) a. Dit was vroeger het stadhuis.<br>this was previously the city.hall<br>'This used to be the city hall.' | b. het vroegere stadhuis<br>the former city.hall<br>'the old city hall'     |
| c. *Het stadhuis is vroeger.<br>the city.hall is former  | d. *Het stadhuis is iets vroegers.<br>the city.hall is something former     |

#### IV. Substance adjectives

Substance adjectives can only be used in attributive position (cf. Section 1.3.3.5), and, as expected, the partitive genitive use of these adjectives is not possible.

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| (91) a. een houten kom<br>a wooden bowl         | b. een betonnen muur<br>a concrete wall              | c. een zijden draad<br>a silk thread           |
| a'. *Deze kom is houten.<br>this bowl is wooden | b'. *Deze muur is betonnen.<br>this wall is concrete | c'. *De draad is zijden.<br>the thread is silk |
| a''. *iets houtens/houts<br>something wooden    | b''. *iets betonnens<br>something concrete           | c''. *iets zijdens<br>something silk           |

For completeness' sake, note that replacement of the substance adjectives in (91) by a *van*-PP makes the predicative constructions fully acceptable; this is illustrated for *houten* in (92a). This *van*-PP can also be added to the quantificational pronoun *iets*,

as in (92b), but the structure of this construction is probably similar to the structure of the regular noun phrase in (92c).

- (92) a. Deze kom is van hout.  
           this bowl is of wood  
       b. iets van hout  
           something of wood  
       c. een kom van hout  
           a bowl of wood

#### *V. Remaining cases*

Section 1.3.3.6 has discussed some less systematic cases of denominal, relational adjectives. Again, these adjectives occasionally shift their meaning in the direction of a set-denoting adjective. When this is possible, partitive genitive use is possible as well: the partitive genitive construction in (93c) can refer to an administrative measure since the adjective *administratief* can be predicated of the noun *maatregel* in (93b).

- (93) a. een administratieve maatregel  
           an administrative measure  
       b. Deze maatregel is puur administratief.  
           this measure is purely administrative  
       c. ?Deze maatregel is iets puur administratiefs.  
           this measure is something purely administrative

The partitive genitive construction in (94c), on the other hand, cannot refer to a linguistic lexicon as the adjective *taalkundig* in (94b) cannot be predicated of the noun *lexicon*.

- (94) a. een taalkundig lexicon  
           a linguistic lexicon  
       b. \*Dit lexicon is taalkundig.  
           this lexicon is linguistic  
       c. ?Dit lexicon is iets taalkundigs.  
           this lexicon is something linguistic

#### *7.2.3.3. Evaluative and residual adjectives*

Evaluative adjectives such as *drommels*, *duivels* and *bliksems* cannot be used predicatively and the partitive genitive use of these adjectives is excluded in all cases; cf. the (a)-examples in (95). Positive evaluative adjectives such as *hemels* ‘heavenly’ seem to be more adaptable to predicative use, and consequently also to partitive genitive use; cf. the (b)-examples in (95).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(95) a. die drommelse bout<br/>             that devilish bolt<br/>         a'. *Die bout is/lijkt drommels.<br/>             that bolt is/seems devilish<br/>         a''. *iets drommels<br/>             something devilish</p> | <p>b. een hemels plekje<br/>         a heavenly place<br/>         b'. ?Deze plek is hemels.<br/>             this place is heavenly<br/>         b''. ?iets hemels<br/>             something heavenly</p> |
|---|---|



The residue consists of various classes of adjectives such as modal, amplifying, quantifying and restrictive adjectives. Modal adjectives such as *potentieel* ‘potential’ and *eventueel* ‘possible’ are never used as predicates, and their partitive genitive use is excluded as well.

- (96) a. een potentieel tegenvoorbeeld      b. Peters eventuele vertrek  
         a potential counterexample          Peter’s possible departure  
     a’. \*Dit tegenvoorbeeld is potentieel.      b’. \*Peters vertrek is eventueel.  
         this counterexample is potential          Peter’s departure is possible  
     a’’. \*iets potentiëls                          b’’. \*iets eventueels  
         something potential                          something possible

The amplifying, quantifying and restrictive adjectives can often also be used as common set-denoting adjectives and therefore can also be found in partitive genitive constructions, but crucially not under the non-set denoting interpretation. Consider the examples in (97). The examples in (97a&b) illustrate the two relevant uses of the adjective *duidelijk*, which means something like “comprehensible” when used as a set-denoting adjective but something like “obvious” when used as an amplifying adjective. In the partitive genitive only the set-denoting interpretation survives; example (97d) illustrates this by showing that the amplifying meaning cannot even be triggered by using the partitive genitive construction as a nominal predicate that is predicated of a noun phrase that corresponds to the noun in the attributive construction in (97b).

- (97) a. De tekst is duidelijk. [set-denoting]  
         the text is comprehensible  
     b. de duidelijke fout [amplifying]  
         the obvious mistake  
     c. iets duidelijk [set-denoting]  
         something clear  
     d. \*Deze fout is iets duidelijks. [amplifying]  
         this mistake is something obvious

The examples in (98) show the same for *volledig*, which has “complete” as its set-denoting meaning and “total” as its quantifying meaning, and *enige*, which has “unique/exceptional” as its set-denoting meaning and “only” as its restrictive meaning.

- (98) a. De puzzel was volledig                      a’. een volledige onderwerping  
         the puzzle was complete                  a total submission  
     a’’. ?iets volledig [s]                          a’’. \*De onderwerping was iets volledig [s]  
         something complete                          the submission was something total  
     b. dat boek was enig (in zijn soort)      b’. de enige gelegenheid  
         that book was unique/exceptional          the only occasion  
     b’’. iets enig (in zijn soort)                  b’’. \*Deze gelegenheid is iets enig  
         something unique/exceptional                  this occasion is something only

### 7.3. Modification of the adjectival part

This section discusses modification of the adjectival part of the partitive genitive construction. We will follow the discussion on modification of the adjective in Chapter 3: Section 7.3.1 discusses modification of partitive genitive adjectives by °intensifiers and Section 7.3.2 discusses modification by means of nominal measure phrases. Section 7.3.3 continues with a discussion of equatives and comparatives, which we have argued in Chapter 4 to be a special case of modification. Section 7.3.4, finally, discusses modification by means of complex intensifiers.

Before we start, a general property of modified partitive genitive constructions should be pointed out. Recall that Section 7.2.2 has distinguished four classes of nominal(-like) elements that may act as the first part of the partitive genitive construction: inanimate quantificational pronouns like *iets* ‘something’, indefinite quantifier noun phrases like *een heleboel* ‘a lot of’, quantifiers like *veel* ‘much’, and the sequence *wat voor*. When we consider modification of the partitive genitive adjective, it turns out that it only yields a fully acceptable result when the nominal part is a pronoun, as is shown by the primeless examples in (99). The same thing holds for comparative formation, as is shown in the primed examples.

- |         |                      |                      |     |                      |                   |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-------------------|
| (99) a. | <i>iets</i>          | <i>heel grappigs</i> | a’. | <i>iets</i>          | <i>grappigers</i> |
|         | something            | very funny           |     | something            | funnier           |
| b.      | <i>°een heleboel</i> | <i>heel grappigs</i> | b’. | <i>°een heleboel</i> | <i>grappigers</i> |
|         | a lot of             | very funny           |     | a lot of             | funnier           |
| c.      | <i>°veel</i>         | <i>heel grappigs</i> | c’. | <i>°veel</i>         | <i>grappigers</i> |
|         | much                 | very funny           |     | much                 | funnier           |
| d.      | <i>°wat voor</i>     | <i>heel grappigs</i> | d’. | <i>*°wat voor</i>    | <i>grappigers</i> |
|         | what sort of         | very funny           |     | what sort of         | funnier           |

Section 7.2.2.1 has shown that the class of inanimate quantificational pronouns consists of three members: *iets* ‘something’, *niets* ‘nothing’ and *wat* ‘something’. These elements, too, exhibit a difference in distribution. When the partitive genitive is a non-periphrastic comparative, as in the primeless examples in (100), all three yield a fully acceptable result. However, when the partitive genitive is a periphrastic comparative, as in the primed examples of (100), the use of *niets* and *wat* leads to a marked result.

- |          |              |                   |     |               |                        |
|----------|--------------|-------------------|-----|---------------|------------------------|
| (100) a. | <i>iets</i>  | <i>grappigers</i> | a’. | <i>iets</i>   | <i>minder grappigs</i> |
|          | something    | funnier           |     | something     | less funny             |
| b.       | <i>niets</i> | <i>grappigers</i> | b’. | <i>°niets</i> | <i>minder grappigs</i> |
|          | nothing      | funnier           |     | nothing       | less funny             |
| c.       | <i>wat</i>   | <i>grappigers</i> | c’. | <i>°wat</i>   | <i>minder grappigs</i> |
|          | something    | funnier           |     | something     | less funny             |

The examples in (101) show that the use of *niets* and *wat* is also marked when the adjective is modified by an adverb.

- (101) a. iets heel grappigs  
something very funny  
b. ?niets heel grappigs  
nothing very funny  
c. \*?wat heel grappigs  
something very funny

For these reasons, the discussion in the sections below will only consider partitive genitive adjectives that are preceded by the quantificational pronoun *iets*.

### 7.3.1. Adverbial modification

The examples in (102) show that partitive genitive adjectives can be modified by regular intensifiers like *erg/heel/zeer* 'very' and *vrij/nogal* 'rather'. As with attributive and predicative adjectives, the adverb immediately precedes the partitive genitive. Observe further that only the adjective has an -s suffix attached to it; the intensifier is not inflected.

- (102) a. iets zeer/vrij merkwaardigs  
something very/rather remarkable  
b. iets behoorlijk/nogal zeldzaams  
something considerably/rather rare  
c. iets heel erg verschrikkelijks  
something very very terrible

Section 1.2 has shown that some adjectives are ambiguous between an adverbial and adjectival interpretation: *goed* 'well/good' and *erg* 'very/terrible' can either be used as an intensifier that modifies the partitive genitive, as is illustrated in the primeless examples of (103), or as a partitive genitive adjective, as in the primed examples. Despite the fact that the intensifier *heel* 'very' in (103c) may optionally carry the adjectival -e inflection in examples like *een hele lekkere boterham* 'a very nice sandwich' (cf. Section 5.2.4), it cannot be used as a predicative adjective, which correctly predicts (103c') to be ungrammatical.

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (103) a. iets goed leesbaars<br>something well readable | a'. iets goeds<br>something good    |
| b. iets erg kouds<br>something very cold                | b'. iets ergs<br>something terrible |
| c. iets heel liefs<br>something very sweet              | c'. *iets heels<br>something very   |

### 7.3.2. Nominal modification

Section 3.1.4.2 has shown that in some cases modification is also possible by means of a nominal measure phrase. This is typically the case with measure adjectives of the sort given in (104).

- (104) a. Deze plank is drie cm breed.  
this plank is three cm wide  
b. Deze muur is twee meter hoog.  
this wall is two meter high

- c. Het gebouw is honderd jaar oud.  
the building is a.hundred year old
- d. \*?De kaas is drie kilo zwaar.  
the cheese is three kilo heavy

Despite the fact that the modified APs act as predicates in these examples, they cannot readily be used in the partitive genitive construction. This is shown in (105). The relative judgments on the examples in (105) do more or less correspond to the judgments on the predicative constructions in (104).

- (105) a. iets (²drie cm) breeds  
something three cm wide
- b. iets (²twee meter) hoogs  
something two meter high
- c. iets (²honderd jaar) ouds  
something a.hundred year old
- d. iets (\*drie kilo) zwaars  
something three kilo heavy

It is not clear why the examples in (105) are marginal. Perhaps this is related to the fact that the intended meaning can be expressed by means of the constructions in (106), in which the nominal measure phrase is preceded by the preposition *van* 'of'. Observe that the adjectives are not inflected with a partitive genitive *-s* suffix in these cases, which suggests that we are dealing here with regular noun phrases comparable to *een kast van twee meter hoog* 'a cupboard of two meters high'.

- (106) a. iets van drie cm breed  
something of three cm wide
- b. iets van twee meter hoog  
something of two meter high
- c. iets van honderd jaar oud  
something of a.hundred year old
- d. \*?iets van drie kilo zwaar  
something of three kilo heavy

Partitive genitives derived from *breed*, *hoog*, *oud* and *zwaar* can be modified by means of a regular intensifier, as shown in (107). Section 1.3.2.2.1, sub IV, has shown that the measure adjectives in the copular constructions in (104) cannot be replaced by their antonyms. This is possible in the examples in (107), however, which suggests that the adjectives in (107) do not function as the "neutral" form of the measure adjectives.

- (107) a. iets zeer breeds/smals  
something very wide/narrow
- b. iets heel hoogs/laags  
something very high/low
- c. iets zeer ouds/jongs  
something very old/young
- d. iets erg zwaars/lichts  
something very heavy/light

Considered from this perspective, the partitive genitives in (108), which are modified by the nominal phrase *twee keer zo* ‘twice as’, must involve regular scalar adjectives as well. Note in passing that the primed examples show that these acceptable partitive genitive constructions do not alternate with *van*-constructions of the sort in (106), which may support the earlier suggestion that the examples in (105) are blocked by those in (106).

- (108) a. iets twee keer zo zwaars/lichts  
           something twice as heavy/light  
       a'. <sup>??</sup>iets van twee keer zo zwaar/licht  
       b. iets twee keer zo groots/kleins  
           something twice as big/small  
       b'. <sup>??</sup>iets van twee keer zo groot/klein

The primeless examples in (109) show that comparatives and adjectives that are modified by the degree element *te* ‘too’ can also be modified by nominal modifiers. The primed examples show, however, the use of such nominal modifiers yields an unacceptable result in the partitive genitive construction.

- (109) a. Die kast is een stuk/een beetje/vijftig gulden duurder.  
           that cupboard is a piece/a little/fifty guilders more.expensive  
       a' iets <sup>??</sup>een stuk/<sup>??</sup>een beetje/<sup>?</sup>vijftig gulden duurdere  
       b. Die kast is een stuk/een beetje/vijftig gulden te duur.  
           that cupboard is a piece/a little/fifty guilders too expensive  
       b'. iets <sup>??</sup>een stuk/<sup>??</sup>een beetje/<sup>?</sup>vijftig gulden te duurs

For completeness’ sake, (110) shows that nominal structures comparable to those in (106) are generally excluded as well. The examples with the nominal phrase *vijftig gulden* ‘fifty guilders’ seem fully acceptable, which is compatible with the earlier suggestion that the partitive genitive construction may be blocked by a nominal construction of the sort in (106), although it still leaves the unacceptability of *een stuk* and *een beetje* unaccounted for.

- (110) a. iets van \*een stuk/\*een beetje/vijftig gulden duurder  
       b. iets van \*een stuk/\*een beetje/vijftig gulden te duur

### 7.3.3. Equatives and comparatives

Adjectives in the equative degree may appear in partitive genitive constructions. When they are accompanied by a comparative *als*-phrase, there is a slight preference to place the latter after the verb(s) in clause-final position. This is illustrated in (111).

- (111) a. <sup>(?)</sup>Hij wilde iets even leuks als de vorige keer doen.  
           he wanted something equally nice as the previous time do  
           ‘He wanted to do something as nice as the previous time.’  
       b. Hij wilde iets even leuks doen als de vorige keer.

Example (109a) has already demonstrated that comparatives can be used in the partitive genitive construction. When the comparative is followed by a *dan*-phrase,

there is again a preference to place the latter after the verb(s) in clause-final position, as shown in the (a)- and (b)-examples in (112). The (c)-examples show that the periphrastic comparatives behave the same way as the morphologically complex ones.

- (112) a. <sup>(?)</sup>Hij wilde iets leukers dan de vorige keer doen.  
           he wanted something nicer than the previous time do  
           ‘He wanted to do something nicer than the previous time.’  
       a’. Hij wilde iets leukers doen dan de vorige keer.  
       b. <sup>(?)</sup>Hij wilde iets interessanter dan die saaie lezing horen.  
           he wanted something more.interesting than that boring lecture hear  
           ‘He wanted to hear something more interesting than that boring lecture.’  
       b’. Hij wilde iets interessanter horen dan die saaie lezing.  
       c. <sup>(?)</sup>Hij wilde iets minder moeilijks dan de vorige keer doen.  
           he wanted something less difficult than the previous time do  
           ‘He wanted to do something less difficult than the previous time.’  
       c’. Hij wilde iets minder moeilijks doen dan de vorige keer.

#### 7.3.4. *Complex intensifiers*

The Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives, discussed in Section 5.3.1.2, excludes attributive structures with the post-adjectival intensifier *genoeg* ‘enough’, regardless of the place of the *-e* inflection; see Section 5.3.2.2 for a more accurate discussion.

- (113) a. \*een groot genoeg inzet (om ...)  
       b. <sup>??</sup>een groot genoeg<sub>e</sub> inzet (om ...)  
       c. \*een grote genoeg inzet (om ...)  
       d. \*een grote genoeg<sub>e</sub> inzet (om ...)  
           a large enough dedication (to ...)

Predicative constructions, on the other hand, are grammatical when the adjective is modified by *genoeg*: *Zijn inzet was groot genoeg* ‘His dedication was big enough’. Since we have seen that partitive genitive adjectives pattern with predicative adjectives, we expect that partitive genitive constructions are possible as well, but this expectation is not borne out: the examples in (114) show that the construction is marginal, irrespective of the position of the *-s* suffix.

- (114) a. <sup>?</sup>iets groot genoeg<sub>s</sub>  
           something big enough  
       b. \*iets groots genoeg  
       c. \*iets groot genoeg  
       d. \*iets groots genoeg<sub>s</sub>

Section 3.1.3.1, sub *IV*, has shown that the intensifying phrase *zo A mogelijk* ‘as A as possible’ exhibits exceptional behavior with respect to the Head-final Filter; provided that the *-e* ending surfaces on the intensifier, attributive use of this phrase is possible: *een zo groot mogelijke inzet* ‘an as large as possible dedication’. Predicative use is of course also possible: *zijn inzet was zo groot mogelijk* ‘his

dedication was as large as possible'. In the partitive genitive construction, modification by this intensifying phrase is possible as well. The inflectional pattern is similar to that in the attributive structure: the *-s* suffix must be realized on the post-adjectival intensifier *mogelijk* and not on the adjective *groot*.

- (115) a. iets zo goedkoop mogelijk  
           something as cheap as.possible  
       b. \*iets zo goedkoops mogelijk  
       c. \*iets zo goedkoop mogelijk  
       d. \*iets zo goedkoops mogelijks

The examples in (70) have already shown that scalar adjectives in the positive degree can be modified by the intensifier *te* 'too' in the partitive genitive construction; this is illustrated again in (116a). The intensifier itself may also be modified in turn, which gives rise to the more complex constructions in (116b&c): in (116b), *te* is modified by *veel*, and in (116c), it is modified by the phrase *niet al*. Observe that the adjective itself cannot be modified by these elements: \**iets veel/niet al duurs*.

- (116) a. Hij kocht iets te duurs.  
           he bought something too expensive  
       b. Hij kocht iets veel te duurs.  
           he bought something far too expensive  
       c. Hij kocht iets niet al te duurs.  
           he bought something not AL too expensive

Adjectives modified by *te* 'too' can optionally be followed by an infinitival degree clause; cf. Section 3.1.3.2. The examples in (117) show that addition of an infinitival clause yields a degraded result in the partitive genitive construction when it is placed in preverbal position; placement of the clause in postverbal position improves the result considerably. We have seen a similar effect in the comparative/superlative constructions in Section 7.3.3.

- (117) a. \*<sup>?</sup>dat ik rennen [iets te vermoeiends om te doen] vind.  
           that I running something too tiring COMP to do consider  
           'that I consider running something too tiring to do.'  
       a'. <sup>(?)</sup>dat ik rennen iets te vermoeiends vind om te doen.  
       b. \*<sup>?</sup>dat hij [iets te kleins om te gebruiken] kocht.  
           that he something too small COMP to use bought  
           'that he bought something too little to use.'  
       b'. <sup>(?)</sup>dat hij iets te kleins kocht om te gebruiken.

The intensifying phrase *zo A* 'so A' is often accompanied by a finite degree clause. Again, the partitive genitive construction is degraded when the degree clause occupies the preverbal position, whereas placement of the clause in postverbal position improves the result considerably. This is illustrated in (118).

- (118) a. \*dat ik [iets zo saais dat ik ervan in slaap val] moet doen.  
           that I something so boring that I there.of in sleep fall must do  
           ‘that I must do something so boring that it makes me fall asleep.’  
       a’. <sup>(?)</sup>dat ik [iets zo saais] moet doen dat ik ervan in slaap val.  
       b. \*dat ik [iets zo lelijks dat ik het heb geweigerd] aangeboden kreeg.  
           that I something so ugly that I it have refused offered got  
           ‘that I got offered something so ugly that I refused it.’  
       b’. <sup>(?)</sup>dat ik [iets zo lelijks] aangeboden kreeg dat ik het heb geweigerd.

Example (119a) shows that, unlike the other modifying adverbs, the element *zo* may also precede noun phrases such as *een boek* ‘a book’, and (119b) show that it can also precede the complete partitive genitive construction. In these cases, however, *zo* seems to behave like a demonstrative rather than like a modifier; that it need not act as a modifier of the adjective in (119b) is clear from the fact that the adjective can be dropped without causing unacceptability.

- (119) a. zo een boek (zo’n boek)  
           such a book  
       b. zo iets (saais)  
           such something boring  
           ‘something (boring) like that’

Still, as is shown in (120a&b), *zo* in pre-pronominal position can license a degree clause, just like *zo* in post-determiner position; cf. the examples in (118). When we compare the primeless and primed examples in (120), it becomes clear that dropping the adjective yields a degraded result in this case. This strongly suggests that when *zo* is associated with a degree clause, it may modify the adjective, regardless of its position with respect to the pronoun.

- (120) a. <sup>(?)</sup>dat ik zo iets saais moet doen dat ik ervan in slaap val.  
       a’. \*dat ik zo iets moet doen dat ik ervan in slaap val.  
       b. <sup>(?)</sup>dat ik zo iets lelijks aangeboden kreeg dat ik het heb geweigerd.  
       b’. \*dat ik zo iets aangeboden kreeg dat ik het heb geweigerd.

#### 7.4. Special cases: *Iets anders/dergelijks* ‘something else/similar’

This section discusses some examples that seemingly constitute cases of the partitive genitive construction. We start with a discussion of examples like *iets anders* ‘something else’, as in *Ik bedoelde iets anders* ‘I meant something else’, which is followed by a discussion of *iets dergelijks* ‘something similar’.

##### *I. Iets anders ‘something else’*

This subsection will show that examples like *iets anders* behave rather differently from regular partitive genitive constructions. Although *ander* in example (121a) has a demonstrative meaning, the fact that it can be used in attributive position with the attributive *-e* ending suggests that it is an adjective. The adjective *ander* cannot be used in predicative position, but there is a slightly different form that can occur there, namely *anders*. Given the possibility of *anders* in (121b), there is no *a priori* reason to assume that (121c) is not a partitive genitive construction.



- (121) a. de andere problemen  
the other/different problems  
b. Dit probleem is anders/\*ander.  
this problem is different  
c. iets anders  
something else/different

There are, however, at least three reasons for assuming that (121c) is not an instance of the partitive genitive construction.

*A. The nominal part of the construction*

Unlike regular (non-modified) partitive genitive adjectives, *anders* can only be preceded by quantificational pronouns like *iets/wat* ‘something’ or *niets* ‘nothing’: quantifier noun phrases and numerals are excluded, and the *wat voor* construction does not arise either.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (122) a. iets/niets anders<br>something/nothing else | a'. iets/niets interessants<br>something/nothing interesting |
| b. *een heleboel anders<br>a lot of different        | b'. een heleboel interessants<br>a lot of interesting        |
| c. *veel anders<br>much different                    | c'. veel interessants<br>much interesting                    |
| d. *wat voor anders<br>what for different            | d'. wat voor interessants<br>what for interesting            |

For completeness’ sake, note that the more or less fixed expression in (123a) with the negative pronoun *niets* ‘nothing’ is somewhat special in this respect in that the quantifiers *veel* ‘much’ and *weinig* ‘little’ may occur as well. Example (123b) shows that quantifier *veel* must be preceded by the negative marker *niet* ‘not’. The quantifier *weinig* in (123c) has the inherently negative meaning “not much” and cannot be preceded by *niet*, given that this would cancel this inherent negation.

- (123) a. Er zit niets anders op.  
there sits nothing else prt.  
‘There is no alternative.’  
b. Er zit \*(niet) veel anders op.  
there sits not much else prt.  
‘There is hardly any alternative.’  
c. Er zit (\*niet) weinig anders op.  
there sits not little else prt.  
‘There is hardly any alternative.’

*Anders* also differs from the partitive genitives in that it can co-occur with the [+ANIMATE] quantificational pronouns *iemand* ‘someone’ and *niemand* ‘no one’; cf. Section 7.2.3.1. In fact, this does not exhaust the possibilities, since it can also be combined with the place adverbs *ergens* ‘somewhere’ and *nergens* ‘nowhere’, which do not occur in the partitive genitive construction either.

- (124) a. (n)iemand anders a'. \*(n)iemand interessants  
 someone/nobody else someone/nobody interesting  
 b. (n)ergens anders b'. \*(n)ergens interessants  
 somewhere/nowhere else somewhere/nowhere interesting

### B. Preposition Stranding

When the [-ANIMATE] pronoun (*n)iets* occurs as the complement of a preposition, °R-pronominalization is possible and sometimes even preferred. The two alternative realizations are given in (125).

- (125) a. <sup>(?)</sup>We hebben over (n)iets gepraat.  
 we have about something/nothing talked  
 'We talked about something/nothing.'  
 b. We hebben (*n)ergens* over gepraat.  
 we have R-PRONOUN about talked  
 'We talked about something/nothing.'

The examples in (126) show that the phrase (*n)iets anders* behaves completely on a par with the quantificational pronoun.

- (126) a. We hebben over (n)iets anders gepraat.  
 we have about something/nothing else talked  
 'We talked about something/nothing else.'  
 b. We hebben (*n)ergens* anders over gepraat.  
 we have R-PRONOUN else about talked  
 'We talked about something/nothing else.'

The acceptability of (126b) is quite remarkable given that R-pronominalization is normally excluded when the pronoun following the preposition is part of a larger phrase. This is illustrated in (127) for cases in which the preposition is followed by a partitive genitive construction.

- (127) a. We hebben over (n)iets interessants gepraat.  
 we have about something/nothing interesting talked  
 'We talked about something/nothing interesting.'  
 b. \*We hebben (*n)ergens* interessants over gepraat.  
 we have R-PRONOUN interesting about talked

The contrast between (126b) and (127b) again suggests that the phrase (*n)iets anders* is not a partitive genitive construction.

### C. Modification

The construction *iets anders* can be modified by means of the intensifier *heel* 'completely'. The primeless examples in (128) show that this modifier can be placed either after or before the quantificational pronoun *iets* without a clear difference in meaning. The topicalization construction in (128a'), which requires contrastive accent due to the fact that the phrase *iets anders* is indefinite, shows that the string *heel iets anders* behaves as a single constituent; cf. the °constituency test.

Note that *heel* can be replaced by the near-synonymous adjective *totaal* ‘completely’, but we will not illustrate this here.

- (128) a. Ik heb heel iets anders gehoord.  
 I have completely something else heard  
 ‘I heard something completely different.’  
 a’. Heel iets anders heb ik gehoord.  
 b. Ik heb iets heel anders gehoord.

The pronoun *iets* normally alternates with *wat*, and, at first sight, the examples in (129) suggest that this is also possible here, but we will see that there are at least two small differences between the two sets of examples in (128) and (129).

- (129) a. Ik heb heel wat anders gehoord.  
 I have completely something else heard  
 ‘I heard something completely different.’  
 b. ??Ik heb wat heel anders gehoord.

First, the (a)-examples with pre-pronominal *heel* differ in meaning. Although (128a) and (129a) can both be construed with the modifier *heel* as a degree modifier of the adjective *anders* as ‘something quite different’, example (129a) allows an additional reading in which *heel* is a modifier of the quantificational pronoun ‘quite a lot of different things’. The fact that *heel* cannot be construed with *iets* in (128a) is of course related to the fact that the same difference arises when the pronouns *iets* and *wat* are used as independent arguments: *heel wat*/\**iets* ‘quite a lot’. Second, example (128b) with *iets* is fully grammatical, whereas the similar construction with *wat* in (129b) seems to yield a somewhat poor result (although examples like these can be readily found on the internet). The contrast is perhaps somewhat sharper when the noun phrase is used as a subject: a Google search performed in May 2009 on the string [*er stond iets heel anders*] resulted in 12 hits, whereas there was just one case of the corresponding string with *wat*.

- (130) a. Er stond iets heel anders in de krant.  
 there stood something completely different in the newspaper  
 ‘Something totally different was said in the newspaper.’  
 b. \*?Er stond wat heel anders in de krant.

The conclusion that pre-pronominal *heel* can be construed with *wat* but not with *iets* also accounts for the contrast in (131). Example (131a), in which *wat* is both preceded and followed by *heel*, is at least marginally possible provided that the first occurrence of *heel* is construed as a modifier of the nominal part and the second one as a modifier of *anders*. Example (131b), on the other hand, is unacceptable since the first occurrence of *heel* cannot be construed with *iets* and must therefore (redundantly) be interpreted as a modifier of *anders*.

- (131) a. ??Ik heb heel wat heel anders gehoord.  
 I have all something all different heard  
 ‘I heard quite a lot of quite different stuff.’  
 b. \*Ik heb heel iets heel anders gehoord.

The main finding for our present discussion is that the pre-pronominal modifier *heel* is able to modify the adjectival part *anders*. We can now show that the partitive genitive constructions behave quite differently in this respect. Consider the examples in (132) and observe that while (132a) is fine with or without *heel*, (132b) is only acceptable without *heel*. The deviance of (132b) with *heel* suggests that the partitive genitive following the pronoun cannot be modified by pre-pronominal *heel*. This is further supported by the fact that (132a) only has a reading in which *heel* is construed as a quantifier of *wat*. In order to construe *heel* as a degree modifier of the adjective, it must be placed to the right of the pronoun, as in (132c).

- (132) a. Ik heb heel wat interessants gehoord.  
I have all something interesting heard  
'I heard quite a lot of interesting things.'
- b. \*Ik heb heel iets interessants gehoord.  
I have all something interesting heard
- c. Ik heb wat/iets heel interessants gehoord.  
I have something quite interesting heard  
'I heard something very interesting.'

For completeness' sake, the examples in (133) show that in the case of *iemand* and *ergens*, the modifier *heel* must immediately precede the noun.

- (133) a. Ik bedoel <heel> iemand <\*heel> anders.  
I mean completely someone different
- b. Ik woon <heel> ergens <\*heel> anders.  
I live completely somewhere different

Note, finally, that the same thing holds when *ergens* arises as the result of Proposition Stranding: whereas *heel* may either precede or follow *iets* in (134a), it must precede *ergens* in (134b).

- (134) a. We hebben over <heel> iets <heel> anders gepraat.  
we have about completely something different talked  
'We talked about something completely different.'
- b. We hebben <heel> ergens <\*heel> anders over gepraat.  
we have completely something different about talked  
'We talked about something completely different.'

## II. Iets dergelijks 'something similar'

The examples in (135) with the adjectives *dergelijk/soortgelijk* 'similar' can perhaps be considered the antonyms of *anders*, which was discussed in the previous subsection. Like *anders*, the nominal part of the construction must be a quantificational pronoun; combining them with the other nominal elements found in the partitive genitive construction leads to ungrammaticality.

- (135) a. iets soortgelijks/dergelijks c. \*veel soortgelijks/dergelijks  
something similar much similar
- b. \*een boel soortgelijks/dergelijks d. \*wat voor soortgelijks/dergelijks  
a lot of similar what sort of similar

However, the adjectives *dergelijk* and *soortgelijk* differ from *anders* in at least three respects. First, these adjectives can be used in attributive position, but not in predicative position, either with or without an *-s* ending. See (121) for the corresponding examples with *anders*.

- (136) a. een soortgelijk/dergelijk probleem  
           a similar problem  
       b. \*Dit probleem is soortgelijk(s)/dergelijk(s).

Second, they differ from *anders* in that they cannot be combined with the negative [-HUMAN] pronoun *niets* 'nothing', the [+HUMAN] pronoun *(n)iemand* or the indefinite place adverb *(n)ergens*. This is illustrated in (137).

- (137) a. \*niets       soortgelijks/dergelijks  
           nothing similar  
       b. \*(n)iemand       soortgelijks/dergelijks  
           someone/no one similar  
       c. \*(n)ergens       soortgelijks/dergelijks  
           somewhere/nowhere similar

Finally, it can be noted that Preposition Stranding is not possible with these constructions.

- (138) a. We hebben over iets       soortgelijks/dergelijks gepraat.  
           we have about something similar talked  
           'We talked about something/nothing similar.'  
       b. \*We hebben ergens       soortgelijks/dergelijks over gepraat.  
           we have R-PRONOUN similar about talked

The fact that *dergelijk* and *soortgelijk* differ from *anders* in the ways indicated above may lead to the idea that the examples in (135a) are genuine cases of the partitive genitive construction, which would constitute a potential problem for the hypothesis that partitive genitive adjectives are always set-denoting. The fact that the examples in (135b-d) are unacceptable can, however, be given as evidence against this idea.

## 7.5. Bibliographical notes

The notion of partitive genitive is also (and probably more appropriately) used for archaic constructions like *één mijner tantes* 'one of my aunts', in which the noun phrase following the numeral has genitive case, as well as their present-day counterpart *één van mijn tantes*. Cases like these are not discussed here but in N4.1.1.6 as partitive constructions. This chapter is mainly based on Kester (1996), who also gives an overview of a number of theoretical proposals concerning the adjectival construction, and Broekhuis and Strang (1996). More data can be found in, e.g., Haeseryn et al. (1997:863-4), Paardekooper (1986:689ff.), Hulk & Verheugd (1992), De Haas & Trommelen (1993:288), Hoeksema (1998), Schoorlemmer (2005) and Booij (2010:ch.9).