

Syntax of *Dutch*

*Adjectives
and Adjective
Phrases*

Hans Broekhuis



Syntax of Dutch

Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

Comprehensive Grammar Resources

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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 _{arb}	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 st , 2 nd , 3 rd 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 _i ... YY _i	Coindexing indicates coreference
XX _i ... YY _j	Counter-indexing indicates disjoint reference
XX _{*i/j}	Unacceptable with index <i>i</i> , acceptable with index <i>j</i>
XX _{i/*j}	Unacceptable with index <i>j</i> , acceptable with index <i>i</i>
[XP ...]	Constituent brackets of a constituent XP

Preface and acknowledgments

1. General introduction

Dutch is an official language in the Netherlands, Belgium-Flanders, Surinam, Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles. With about 22 million native speakers it is one of the world's greater languages. It is taught and studied at about 250 universities around the world (www.minbuza.nl/en/you-and-netherlands/about-the-netherlands/general-information/the-country-and-its-people.html). Furthermore, Dutch is one of the most well-studied living languages; research on it has had a major, and still continuing, impact on the development of formal linguistic theory, and it plays an important role in various other types of linguistic research. It is therefore unfortunate that there is no recent comprehensive scientifically based description of the grammar of Dutch that is accessible to a wider international audience. As a result, much information remains hidden in scientific publications: some information is embedded in theoretical discussions that are mainly of interest for and accessible to certain groups of formal linguists or that are more or less outdated in the light of more recent findings and theoretical developments, some is buried in publications with only a limited distribution, and some is simply inaccessible to large groups of readers given that it is written in Dutch. The series *Syntax of Dutch* (SoD) aims at filling this gap for syntax.

2. Main objective

The main objective of *SoD* is to present a synthesis of currently available syntactic knowledge of Dutch. It gives a comprehensive overview of the relevant research on Dutch that not only presents the findings of earlier approaches to the language, but also includes the results of the formal linguistic research carried out over the last four or five decades that often cannot be found in the existing reference books. It must be emphasized, however, that *SoD* is primarily concerned with language description and not with linguistic theory; the reader will generally look in vain for critical assessments of theoretical proposals made to account for specific phenomena. Although *SoD* addresses many of the central issues of current linguistic theory, it does *not* provide an introduction to current linguistic theory. Readers interested in such an introduction are referred to one of the many existing introductory textbooks, or to handbooks like *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, edited by Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk, or *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax*, edited by Marcel den Dikken. A recent publication that aims at providing a description of Dutch in a more theoretical setting is *The Syntax of Dutch* by Jan-Wouter Zwart in the *Cambridge Syntax Guides* series.

3. Intended readership

SoD is not intended for a specific group of linguists, but aims at a more general readership. Our intention was to produce a work of reference that is accessible to a large audience that has some training in linguistics and/or neighboring disciplines and that provides support to all researchers interested in matters relating to the

syntax of Dutch. Although we did not originally target this group, we believe that the descriptions we provide are normally also accessible to advanced students of language and linguistics. The specification of our target group above implies that we have tried to avoid jargon from specific theoretical frameworks and to use as much as possible the *lingua franca* that linguists use in a broader context. Whenever we introduce a notion that we believe not to be part of the *lingua franca*, we will provide a brief clarification of this notion in a glossary; first occurrences of such notions in a certain context are normally marked by means of °.

4. Object of description

The object of description is aptly described by the title of the series, *Syntax of Dutch*. This title suggests a number of ways in which the empirical domain is restricted, which we want to spell out here in more detail by briefly discussing the two notions *syntax* and *Dutch*.

1. *Syntax*

Syntax is the field of linguistics that studies how words are combined into larger phrases and, ultimately, sentences. This means that we do not systematically discuss the internal structure of words (this is the domain of morphology) or the way in which sentences are put to use in discourse: we only digress on such matters when this is instrumental in describing the syntactic properties of the language. For example, Chapter N1 contains an extensive discussion of deverbal nominalization, but this is only because this morphological process is relevant for the discussion of complementation of nouns in Chapter N2. And Section N8.1.3 will show that the word order difference between the two examples in (1) is related to the preceding discourse: when pronounced with neutral (non-contrastive) accent, the object *Marie* may only precede clause adverbs like *waarschijnlijk* ‘probably’ when it refers to some person who has already been mentioned in (or is implied by) the preceding discourse.

- (1) a. Jan heeft waarschijnlijk *Marie* gezien. [Marie = discourse new]
 Jan has probably Marie seen
 ‘Jan has probably seen Marie.’
 b. Jan heeft *Marie* waarschijnlijk gezien. [Marie = discourse old]
 Jan has Marie probably seen
 ‘Jan has probably seen Marie.’

Our goal of describing the internal structure of phrases and sentences means that we focus on competence (the internalized grammar of native speakers), and not on performance (the actual use of language). This implies that we will make extensive use of constructed examples that are geared to the syntactic problem at hand, and that we will not systematically incorporate the findings of currently flourishing corpus/usage-based approaches to language: this will be done only insofar as this may shed light on matters concerning the internal structure of phrases. A case for which this type of research may be syntactically relevant is the word order variation of the verb-final sequence in (2), which has been extensively studied since Pauwels

(1950) and which has been shown to be sensitive to a large number of interacting variables, see De Sutter (2005/2007) for extensive discussion.

- (2) a. dat Jan dat boek *gelezen heeft*.
 that Jan that book read has
 ‘that Jan has read that book.’
 b. dat Jan dat boek *heeft gelezen*.
 that Jan that book has read
 ‘that Jan has read that book.’

This being said, it is important to point out that *SoD* will pay ample attention to certain aspects of meaning, and reference will also be made to phonological aspects such as stress and intonation wherever they are relevant (e.g., in the context of word order phenomena like in (1)). The reason for this is that current formal grammar assumes that the output of the syntactic module of the grammar consists of objects (sentences) that relate form and meaning. Furthermore, formal syntax has been quite successful in establishing and describing a large number of restrictions on this relationship. A prime example of this is the formulation of so-called ‘binding theory, which accounts (among other things) for the fact that referential pronouns like *hem* ‘him’ and anaphoric pronouns like *zichzelf* ‘himself’ differ in the domain within which they can/must find an antecedent. For instance, the examples in (3), in which the intended antecedent of the pronouns is given in italics, show that whereas referential object pronouns like *hem* cannot have an antecedent within their clause, anaphoric pronouns like *zichzelf* ‘himself’ must have an antecedent in their clause, see Section N5.2.1.5, sub III, for more detailed discussion.

- (3) a. *Jan* denkt dat Peter *hem*/**zichzelf* bewondert.
 Jan thinks that Peter *him*/himself admires
 ‘Jan thinks that Peter is admiring him [= Jan].’
 b. Jan denkt dat *Peter* *zichzelf*/**hem* bewondert.
 Jan thinks that Peter *himself*/him admires
 ‘Jan thinks that Peter is admiring himself [= Peter].’

II. Dutch

SoD aims at giving a syntactic description of what we will loosely refer to as Standard Dutch, although we are aware that there are many problems with this notion. First, the notion of Standard Dutch is often used to refer to written language and more formal registers, which are perceived as more prestigious than the colloquial uses of the language. Second, the notion of Standard Dutch suggests that there is an invariant language system that is shared by a large group of speakers. Third, the notion carries the suggestion that some, often unnamed, authority is able to determine what should or should not be part of the language, or what should or should not be considered proper language use. See Milroy (2001) for extensive discussion of this notion of standard language.

SoD does not provide a description of this prestigious, invariant, externally determined language system. The reason for this is that knowledge of this system does not involve the competence of the individual language user but “is the product of a series of educational and social factors which have overtly impinged on the

linguistic experiences of individuals, prescribing the correctness/incorrectness of certain constructions” (Adger & Trousdale 2007). Instead, the notion of standard language in *SoD* should be understood more neutrally as an idealization that refers to certain properties of linguistic competence that we assume to be shared by the individual speakers of the language. This notion of standard language deviates from the notion of standard language discussed earlier in that it may include properties that would be rejected by language teachers, and exclude certain properties that are explicitly taught as being part of the standard language. To state the latter in more technical terms: our notion of standard language refers to the core grammar (those aspects of the language system that arise spontaneously in the language learning child by exposure to utterances in the standard language) and excludes the periphery (those properties of the standard language that are explicitly taught at some later age). This does not mean that we will completely ignore the more peripheral issues, but it should be kept in mind that these have a special status and may exhibit properties that are alien to the core system.

A distinguishing property of standard languages is that they may be used among speakers of different dialects, and that they sometimes have to be acquired by speakers of such dialects as a second language at a later age, that is, in a similar fashion as a foreign language (although this may be rare in the context of Dutch). This property of standard languages entails that it is not contradictory to distinguish various varieties of, e.g., Standard Dutch. This view is also assumed by Haeseryn et al. (1997: section 0.6.2), who make the four-way distinction in (4) when it comes to geographically determined variation.

- (4) • Types of Dutch according to Haeseryn et al. (1997)
 - a. Standard language
 - b. Regional variety of Standard Dutch
 - c. Regional variety of Dutch
 - d. Dialect

The types in (4b&c) are characterized by certain properties that are found in certain larger, but geographically restricted regions only. The difference between the two varieties is defined by Haeseryn et al. (1997) by appealing to the perception of the properties in question by other speakers of the standard language: when the majority of these speakers do not consider the property in question characteristic for a certain geographical region, the property is part of a regional variety of *Standard Dutch*; when the property in question is unknown to certain speakers of the standard language or considered to be characteristic for a certain geographical region, it is part of a regional variety of *Dutch*. We will not adopt the distinction between the types in (4b) and (4c) since we are not aware of any large-scale perception studies that could help us to distinguish the two varieties in question. We therefore simply join the two categories into a single one, which leads to the typology in (5).

- (5) • Types of Dutch distinguished in *SoD*
 - a. Standard Dutch
 - b. Regional variety of Dutch
 - c. Dialect of Dutch

We believe it to be useful to think of the notions in (5) in terms of grammatical properties that are part of the competence of groups of speakers. Standard Dutch can then be seen as a set of properties that is part of the competence of all speakers of the language. Examples of such properties in the nominal domain are that non-pronominal noun phrases are not morphologically case-marked and that the word order within noun phrases is such that nouns normally follow attributively used adjectives but precede PP-modifiers and that articles precede attributive adjectives (if present); cf. (6a). Relevant properties within the clausal domain are that finite verbs occupy the co-called second position in main clauses whereas non-finite verbs tend to cluster in the right-hand side of the clause (see (6b)), and that finite verbs join the clause-final non-finite verbs in embedded clauses (see (6c)).

- (6) a. de oude man in de stoel [word order within noun phrases]
 the old man in the chair
 b. Jan *heeft* de man een lied *horen zingen*. [verb second/clustering]
 Jan has the man a song hear sing
 ‘Jan has heard the man sing a song.’
 c. dat Jan de man een lied *heeft horen zingen*. [verb clustering]
 that Jan the man a song has hear sing
 ‘that Jan has heard the man sing a song.’

Varieties of Dutch arise as the result of sets of additional properties that are part of the competence of larger subgroups of speakers—such properties will define certain special characteristics of the variety in question but will normally not give rise to linguistic outputs that are inaccessible to speakers of other varieties; see the discussion of (7) below for a typical example. Dialects can be seen as a set of properties that characterizes a group of speakers in a restricted geographical area—such properties may be alien to speakers of the standard language and may give rise to linguistic outputs that are not immediately accessible to other speakers of Dutch; see the examples in (9) below for a potential case. This way of thinking about the typology in (5) enables us to use the language types in a more gradient way, which may do more justice to the situation that we actually find. Furthermore, it makes it possible to define varieties of Dutch along various (e.g., geographical and possibly social) dimensions.

The examples in (7) provide an example of a property that belongs to regional varieties of Dutch: speakers of northern varieties of Dutch require that the direct object *boeken* ‘books’ precede all verbs in clause-final position, whereas many speakers of the southern varieties of Dutch (especially those spoken in the Flemish part of Belgium) will also allow the object to permeate the verb sequence, as long as it precedes the main verb.

- (7) a. dat Jan <boeken> wil <*boeken> kopen. [Northern Dutch]
 that Jan books wants buy
 ‘that Jan wants to buy books.’
 b. dat Jan <boeken> wil <boeken> kopen. [Southern Dutch]
 that Jan books wants buy
 ‘that Jan wants to buy books.’

Dialects of Dutch may deviate in various respects from Standard Dutch. There are, for example, various dialects that exhibit morphological agreement between the subject and the complementizer, which is illustrated in (8) by examples taken from Van Haeringen (1939); see Haegeman (1992), Hoekstra & Smit (1997), Zwart (1997), Barbiers et al. (2005) and the references given there for more examples and extensive discussion. Complementizer agreement is a typical dialect property as it does not occur in (the regional varieties of) Standard Dutch.

- (8) a. As_{sg} Wim $komp_{sg}$, mot jə zorgə dat je tuis ben.
 when Wim comes must you make.sure that you at.home are
 ‘When Wim comes, you must make sure to be home.’
 b. Azz_{pl} Kees en Wim $komm_{pl}$, mot jə zorgə dat je tuis ben.
 when Kees and Wim come must you make.sure that you home are
 ‘When Kees and Wim come, you must make sure to be home.’

The examples in (9) illustrate another property that belongs to a certain set of dialects. Speakers of most varieties of Dutch would agree that the use of possessive datives is only possible in a limited set of constructions: whereas possessive datives are possible in constructions like (9a), in which the possessee is embedded in a °complementive PP, they are excluded in constructions like (9b), where the possessee functions as a direct object. Constructions like (9b) are perceived (if understood at all) as belonging to certain eastern and southern dialects, which is indicated here by means of a percentage sign.

- (9) a. Marie zet Peter/hem_{possessor} het kind op de knie_{possessee}.
 Marie puts Peter/him the child onto the knee
 ‘Marie puts the child on Peter’s/his knee.’
 b. %Hij wast Peter/hem_{possessor} de handen_{possessee}.
 he washes Peter/him the hands
 ‘He is washing Peter’s/his hands.’

Note that the typology in (5) should allow for certain dialectal properties to become part of certain regional varieties of Dutch, as indeed seems to be the case for possessive datives of the type in (9b); cf. Cornips (1994). This shows again that it is not possible to draw sharp dividing lines between regional varieties and dialects and emphasizes that we are dealing with dynamic systems; see the discussion of (5) above. For our limited purpose, however, the proposed distinctions seem to suffice.

It must be stressed that the description of the types of Dutch in (5) in terms of properties of the competence of groups of speakers implies that Standard Dutch is actually not a language in the traditional sense; it is just a subset of properties that all non-dialectal varieties of Dutch have in common. Selecting one of these varieties as *Standard Dutch in the more traditional sense described in the beginning of this subsection* is not a linguistic enterprise and will therefore not concern us here. For practical reasons, however, we will focus on the variety of Dutch that is spoken in the northwestern part of the Netherlands. One reason for doing this is that, so far, the authors who have contributed to *SoD* are all native speakers of this variety and can therefore simply appeal to their own intuitions in order to establish whether this variety does or does not exhibit a certain property. A second reason is

that this variety seems close to the varieties that have been discussed in the linguistic literature on “Standard Dutch”. This does not mean that we will not discuss other varieties of Dutch, but we will do this only when we have reason to believe that they behave differently. Unfortunately, however, not much is known about the syntactic differences between the various varieties of Dutch and since it is not part of our goal to solve this problem, we want to encourage the reader to restrict the judgments given in *SoD* to speakers of the northwestern variety (unless indicated otherwise). Although in the vast majority of cases the other varieties of Dutch will exhibit identical or similar behavior given that the behavior in question reflects properties that are part of the standard language (in the technical sense given above), the reader should keep in mind that this cannot be taken for granted as it may also reflect properties of the regional variety spoken by the authors of this work.

5. Organization of the material

SoD is divided in four main parts that focus on the four LEXICAL CATEGORIES: verbs, nouns, adjectives and adpositions. Lexical categories have denotations and normally take arguments: nouns denote sets of entities, verbs denote states-of-affairs (activities, processes, etc.) that these entities may be involved in, adjectives denote properties of entities, and adpositions denote (temporal and locational) relations between entities.

The lexical categories, of course, do not exhaust the set of word classes; there are also FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES like complementizers, articles, numerals, and quantifiers. Such elements normally play a role in phrases headed by the lexical categories: articles, numerals and quantifiers are normally part of noun phrases and complementizers are part of clauses (that is, verbal phrases). For this reason, these functional elements will be discussed in relation to the lexical categories.

The four main parts of *SoD* are given the subtitle *Xs and X phrases*, where *X* stands for one of the lexical categories. This subtitle expresses that each part discusses one lexical category and the ways in which it combines with other elements (like arguments and functional categories) to form constituents. Furthermore, the four main parts of *SoD* all have more or less the same overall organization in the sense that they contain (one or more) chapters on the following issues.

1. Characterization and classification

Each main part starts with an introductory chapter that provides a general characterization of the lexical category under discussion by describing some of its more conspicuous properties. The reader will find here not only a brief overview of the syntactic properties of these lexical categories, but also relevant discussions on morphology (e.g., inflection of verbs and adjectives) and semantics (e.g., the aspectual and tense properties of verbs). The introductory chapter will furthermore discuss ways in which the lexical categories can be divided into smaller natural subclasses.

II. Internal syntax

The main body of the work is concerned with the internal structure of the °projections of lexical categories/heads. These projections can be divided into two subdomains, which are sometimes referred to as the lexical and the functional domain. Taken together, the two domains are sometimes referred to as the EXTENDED PROJECTION of the lexical head in question; cf. Grimshaw (1991). We will see that there is reason to assume that the lexical domain is embedded in the functional domain, as in (10), where LEX stands for the lexical heads V, N, A or P, and F stands for one or more functional heads like the article *de* ‘the’ or the complementizer *dat* ‘that’.

- (10) [FUNCTIONAL ... F ... [LEXICAL LEX]]

The lexical domain of a lexical head is that part of its projection that affects its denotation. The denotation of a lexical head can be affected by its complements and its modifiers, as can be readily illustrated by means of the examples in (11).

- (11) a. Jan leest.
 Jan reads
 b. Jan leest een krant.
 Jan reads a newspaper
 c. Jan leest nauwkeurig.
 Jan reads carefully

The phrase *een krant lezen* ‘to read a newspaper’ in (11b) denotes a smaller set of states-of-affairs than the phrase *lezen* ‘to read’ in (11a), and so does the phrase *nauwkeurig lezen* ‘to read carefully’ in (11c). The elements in the functional domain do not affect the denotation of the lexical head but provide various sorts of additional information.

A. The lexical domain I: Argument structure

Lexical heads function as predicates, which means that they normally take arguments, that is, they enter into so-called thematic relations with entities that they semantically imply. For example, intransitive verbs normally take an agent as their subject; transitive verbs normally take an agent and a theme that are syntactically realized as, respectively, their subject and their object; and verbs like *wachten* ‘to wait’ normally take an agent that is realized as their subject and a theme that is realized as a prepositional complement.

- (12) a. Jan_{Agent} lacht. [intransitive verb]
 Jan laughs
 b. Jan_{Agent} weet een oplossing_{Theme}. [transitive verb]
 Jan knows a solution
 c. Jan_{Agent} wacht op de postbode_{Theme}. [verb with PP-complement]
 Jan waits for the postman

Although this is often less conspicuous with nouns, adjectives and prepositions, it is possible to describe examples like (13) in the same terms. The phrases between straight brackets can be seen as predicates that are predicated of the noun phrase

Jan, which we may therefore call their logical SUBJECT (we use small caps to distinguish this notion from the notion of nominative subject of the clause). Furthermore, the examples in (13) show (a) that the noun *vriend* may combine with a PP-complement that explicates with whom the SUBJECT *Jan* is in a relation of friendship, (b) that the adjective *trots* ‘proud’ optionally may take a PP-complement that explicates the subject matter that the SUBJECT *Jan* is proud about, and (c) that the preposition *onder* ‘under’ may take a nominal complement that refers to the location of its SUBJECT *Jan*.

- (13) a. Jan is [*een vriend van Peter*].
 Jan is a friend of Peter
 b. Jan is [*trots op zijn dochter*].
 Jan is proud of his daughter
 c. Marie stopt Jan [*onder de dekens*].
 Marie puts Jan under the blankets

That the italicized phrases are complements is somewhat obscured by the fact that there are certain contexts in which they can readily be omitted (e.g., when they would express information that the addressee can infer from the linguistic or non-linguistic context). The fact that they are always semantically implied, however, shows that they are semantically selected by the lexical head.

B. The lexical domain II: Modification

The projection consisting of a lexical head and its arguments can be modified in various ways. The examples in (14), for example, show that the projection of the verb *wachten* ‘to wait’ can be modified by various adverbial phrases. Examples (14a) and (14b), for instance, indicate when and where the state of affairs of Jan waiting for his father took place.

- (14) a. Jan wachtte *gisteren* op zijn vader. [time]
 Jan waited yesterday for his father
 ‘Jan waited for his father yesterday.’
 b. Jan wacht op zijn vader *bij het station*. [place]
 Jan waits for his father at the station
 ‘Jan is waiting for his father at the station.’

The examples in (15) show that the lexical projections of nouns, adjectives and prepositions can likewise be modified; the modifiers are italicized.

- (15) a. Jan is een *vroegere* vriend van Peter.
 Jan is a former friend of Peter
 b. Jan is *erg* trots op zijn dochter.
 Jan is very proud of his daughter
 c. Marie stopt Jan *diep* onder de dekens.
 Marie puts Jan deep under the blankets

C. The functional domain

Projections of the lexical heads may contain various elements that are not arguments or modifiers, and thus do not affect the denotation of the head noun.

Such elements simply provide additional information about the denotation. Examples of such functional categories are articles, numerals and quantifiers, which we find in the nominal phrases in (16).

- (16) a. Jan is *de/een* vroegere vriend van Peter. [article]
 Jan is the/a former friend of Peter
 b. Peter heeft *twee/veel* goede vrienden. [numeral/quantifier]
 Jan has two/many good friends

That functional categories provide additional information about the denotation of the lexical domain can readily be demonstrated by means of these examples. The definite article *de* in (16a), for example, expresses that the set denoted by the phrase *vroegere vriend van Peter* has just a single member; the use of the indefinite article *een*, on the other hand, suggests that there are more members in this set. Similarly, the use of the numeral *twee* ‘two’ in (16b) expresses that there are just two members in the set, and the quantifier *veel* ‘many’ expresses that the set is large.

Functional elements that can be found in verbal projections are tense (which is generally expressed as inflection on the finite verb) and complementizers: the difference between *dat* ‘that’ and *of* ‘whether’ in (17), for example, is related to the illocutionary type of the expression: the former introduces embedded declarative and the latter embedded interrogative clauses.

- (17) a. Jan zegt [*dat* Marie ziek is]. [declarative]
 Jan says that Marie ill is
 ‘Jan says that Marie is ill.’
 b. Jan vroeg [*of* Marie ziek is]. [interrogative]
 Jan asked whether Marie ill is
 ‘Jan asked whether Marie is ill.’

Given that functional categories provide information about the lexical domain, it is often assumed that they are part of a functional domain that is built on top of the lexical domain; cf. (10) above. This functional domain is generally taken to have an intricate structure and to be highly relevant for word order: functional heads are taken to project, just like lexical heads, and thus to create positions that can be used as landing sites for movement. A familiar case is *wh*-movement, which is assumed to target some position in the projection of the complementizer; in this way it can be explained that, in colloquial Dutch, *wh*-movement may result in placing the interrogative phrase to the immediate left of the complementizer *of* ‘whether’. This is shown in (18b), where the trace *t* indicates the original position of the moved *wh*-element and the index *i* is just a convenient means to indicate that the two positions are related. Discussion of word order phenomena will therefore play a prominent role in the chapters devoted to the functional domain.

- (18) a. Jan zegt [*dat* Marie een boek van Louis Couperus gelezen heeft].
 Jan says that Marie a book by Louis Couperus read has
 ‘Jan said that Marie has read a book by Louis Couperus.’
 b. Jan vroeg [*wat_i* (of) Marie *t_i* gelezen heeft].
 Jan asked what whether Marie read has
 ‘Jan asked what Marie has read.’

Whereas (relatively) much is known about the functional domain of verbal and nominal projections, research on the functional domain of adjectival and prepositional phrases is still in its infancy. For this reason, the reader will find independent chapters on this issue only in the parts on verbs and nouns.

III. External syntax

The discussion of each lexical category will be concluded with a look at the external syntax of their projections, that is, an examination of how such projections can be used in larger structures. Adjectives, for example, can be used as °complementives (predicative complements of verbs), as attributive modifiers of noun phrases, and also as adverbial modifiers of verb phrases.

- (19) a. Die auto is *snel*. [complementive use]
 that car is fast
 b. Een *snelle* auto [attributive use]
 a fast car
 c. De auto reed *snel* weg. [adverbial use]
 the car drove quickly away
 ‘The car drove away quickly.’

Since the external syntax of the adjectival phrases in (19) can in principle also be described as the internal syntax of the verbal/nominal projections that contain these phrases, this may give rise to some redundancy. Complementives, for example, are discussed in Section V2.2 as part of the internal syntax of the verbal projection, but also in Sections N8.2, A6 and P4.2 as part of the external syntax of nominal, adjectival and adpositional phrases. We nevertheless have allowed this redundancy, given that it enables us to simplify the discussion of the internal syntax of verb phrases in V2.2: nominal, adjectival and adpositional complementives exhibit different behavior in various respects, and discussing all of these in Section V2.2 would have obscured the discussion of properties of complementives in general. Of course, a system of cross-references will inform the reader when a certain issue is discussed from the perspective of both internal and external syntax.

6. History of the project and future prospects

The idea for the project was initiated in 1992 by Henk van Riemsdijk. In 1993 a pilot study was conducted at Tilburg University and a steering committee was installed after a meeting with interested parties from Dutch and Flemish institutions. However, it took five more years until in 1998 a substantial grant from the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO) was finally obtained.

Funding has remained a problem, which is the reason that *SoD* still is not completed yet. However in the meantime financial guarantees have been created for Hans Broekhuis to finish all four main parts of *SoD* in the next four years. Due to the size of the complete set of materials comprising *SoD*, we have decided that the time has come to publish those parts that are currently available. In what follows we want to inform the reader of what has been done so far and what is to be expected in the near future.

I. Noun and noun phrases (Hans Broekhuis, Evelien Keizer and Marcel den Dikken)

This work was published in two volumes in 2013; we refer to these volumes for further information about their realization.

II. Adjectives and adjective phrases (Hans Broekhuis)

A first version of the current work was completed in 1999 and has been updated, revised and prepared for publication in 2008-2011.

III. Adpositions and adpositional phrases (Hans Broekhuis)

A first version of this work was completed in 2002 and has been updated, revised and prepared for publication in 2008-2011. This part is about 450 pages and will be published by Amsterdam University Press in Fall 2013.

IV. Verbs and Verb phrases (Hans Broekhuis and Norbert Corver)

This work will consist of three volumes of about 600 pages each. The first volume is currently in the process of being prepared for publication. It will be published by Amsterdam University Press in Spring 2014. The two remaining volumes are in progress and are expected to be ready for publication before Spring 2016.

In addition to the three main parts in I-IV, we have planned a separate volume in which topics like coordination and ellipsis (conjunction reduction, gapping, etc.) that cannot be done full justice within the main body of this work are discussed in more detail. Furthermore, the *SoD* project has become part of a broader project initiated by Hans Bennis and Geert Booij, called *Language Portal Dutch/Frisian*, which includes similar projects on the phonology and the morphology of Dutch. We may therefore expect that the *SoD* will at some point be complemented by a *PoD* and a *MoD*. The Language Portal also aims at making a version of all this material accessible via internet before January 2016, which will add various functionalities including advanced search options. Finally, we want to note that Henk van Riemsdijk and István Kenesei are currently in the process of initiating a number of grammar projects comparable to *SoD*: languages under discussion include Basque, Hungarian, Japanese, Mandarin, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Swedish, and Turkish. For this reason, the volumes of *SoD* are published as part of the *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* series, which will bring together the future results of these initiatives.

7. Acknowledgments

Over the years many Dutch linguists have commented on parts of the work presented here and since we do not want to tire the reader by providing long lists of names, we simply thank the whole Dutch linguistic community; this will also safeguard us from the embarrassment of forgetting certain names. Still, we do want to mention a couple of persons and institutions without whom/which this project would never have been started or brought to a good end. First we would like to thank the members of the steering committee (chaired by Henk van Riemsdijk) consisting of Hans Bennis, Martin Everaert, Liliane Haegeman, Anneke Neijt, and Georges de Schutter. All members provided us with comments on substantial parts of the manuscript. Second, we should mention Evelien Keizer and Riet Vos, who

discussed the full manuscript with us and provided numerous suggestions for improvement.

The pilot study for the project, which was performed from November 1993 to September 1994, was made possible by a subsidy from the *Center for Language Studies* and the *University of Tilburg*. This pilot study resulted in a project proposal that was eventually granted by *The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO) in 1998 and which enabled us to produce the main body of work mentioned in Section 6, sub I to III, during the period from May 1998 to May 2001. The work could be prepared for publication in the period from April 2008 to October 2010 thanks to a subsidy to Hans Broekhuis from the *Truus und Gerrit van Riemsdijk-Stiftung*. Since November 2010 Hans Broekhuis continues his work on *SoD* as an employee of the *Meertens Institute* (KNAW) in Amsterdam. *SoD* has become part of the project *Language Portal Dutch/Frisian*, which is again financed by *The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO). We gratefully acknowledge the financial and moral support of these institutions and thank them for the opportunity they have given us to develop *SoD*.

December 2012

Hans Broekhuis
Co-author and editor of *Syntax of Dutch*

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Introduction

Verbs (V), adjectives (A), nouns (N) and prepositions (P) constitute the four major word classes. The present study deals with both adjectives and their projections (adjective phrases). Chapter 1 starts by giving a survey of some of the syntactic, morphological and semantic characteristics of this word class. Like the other word classes, adjectives can project in the sense that they select complements and can be modified by adverbial phrases; comparative and superlative formation can also be seen as involving projection. This will be discussed in Chapter 2 through Chapter 4. We will take a closer look at the syntactic uses of the AP in Chapter 5 through Chapter 8; subsequently, we will discuss its attributive, predicative, partitive genitive and adverbial use. Chapter 9 will discuss the adjectival use of participles and modal infinitives, and Chapter 10 will conclude with a discussion of some special constructions that do not naturally fit in the other parts of this study.



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Chapter 1

Adjectives: characteristics and classification

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Introduction

There are several features that are often considered characteristic of adjectives, but that are nevertheless insufficient to fully delimit the set of adjectives. For instance, many adjectives can be used both in prenominal attributive and in clause-final predicative position, as is illustrated for *aardig* ‘nice’ in, respectively, (1a) and (1a’). However, given that this does not hold for all adjectives, the ability to be used in these positions is not a necessary condition for calling something an adjective: *deksels* and *onwel* in the (b)- and (c)-examples are normally considered adjectives despite the fact that the former can only be used attributively and the latter can only be used predicatively.

(1)	a.	de aardige jongen	a’.	De jongen is aardig.
		the nice boy		the boy is nice
	b.	die dekselse jongen	b’.	*De jongen is deksels.
		that confounded boy		the boy is confounded
	c.	*een onwelle jongen	c’.	Jan is onwel.
		an ill boy		Jan is ill

Two other features are often considered characteristic of the class of adjectives: modification by means of an adverbial phrase of degree such as *zeer/heel* ‘very’ or *vrij* ‘rather’, as in (2a), and comparative/superlative formation, as in (2b&c). The primed examples show, however, that these features again single out only a subset of adjectives, namely the set of so-called gradable adjectives.

(2)	a.	zeer/heel/vrij aardig	a’.	*zeer dood	[degree modification]
		very/very/rather nice		very dead	
	b.	aardiger	b’.	*doder	[comparative]
		nicer		deader	
	c.	aardigst	c’.	*doodst	[superlative]
		nicest		deadest	

Since the properties discussed above only characterize subsets of adjectives, the best way of characterizing this category is perhaps by comparing it to the categories of verbs and nouns.

Verbs and (at least a subset of the) adjectives both have the property that they may be predicated of a noun phrase in the clause. The most conspicuous difference between the two categories is, however, that only the former can be inflected with a tense morpheme: finite verbs may express present or past tense; cf. *Ik wandel/wandelde* ‘I walk/walked’. When adjectives are predicated of the subject of the clause, they are not inflected in Dutch and a copula must be inserted in order to express tense; cf. *Ik ben/was ziek* ‘I am/was ill’. Further, finite verbs agree in number and person with the subject of the clause, whereas Dutch predicative adjectives never show agreement when they are predicated of the subject of the clause.

Nouns are typically used to refer to an entity (or set of entities) in the domain of discourse. Due to this property, noun phrases may refer to participants in an event, and thus have the syntactic function of subject or direct/indirect object of a clause. In general, adjectives do not perform these syntactic functions (but see Section 6.7

for exceptions), and certainly not in those cases where the clause is a projection of a main verb with descriptive contents.

Despite the fact that it is difficult to characterize the class of adjectives, we will try to discuss some of the prominent properties of this class in this chapter: Section 1.1 will give a brief overview of the syntactic uses of the adjectives, and Section 1.2 will discuss the inflectional properties of the attributively used adjectives. Section 1.3 will provide a semantic classification of the adjectives, which at least partly coincides with classifications that can be made on syntactic or morphological grounds.

1.1. Syntactic uses

This section will exemplify the syntactic uses of adjectives, which are summarized in Table 1; a more comprehensive discussion of these uses will be given in the sections indicated in the final column of the table.

Table 1: The syntactic uses of adjectives

1. attributive			Chapter 5
2. predicative	complementive	copular construction	Section 6.2
		resultative construction	
		<i>vinden</i> -construction	
	supplementive		Section 6.3
	appositive		Section 6.4
3. partitive genitive			Chapter 7
4. adverbial			Chapter 8

1. Attributive use of the adjective

One of the basic syntactic environments in which APs can be found is the prenominal attributive position, as in the examples in (3). When an adjective is used attributively, it normally restricts the reference of the complete noun phrase to those entities denoted by the noun that also have the property denoted by the adjective; the noun phrase in (3a), for example, refers to the subset of the boys that are clever; see Section 1.3.2.1.1 for a more precise and detailed discussion of the semantic contribution of attributively used adjectives.

- (3)
- Attributive adjectives

a. (de) slimme jongens
the clever boys

b. (de) snuggere meisjes
the brainy girls

Attributively used APs do not modify the full noun phrase, but some smaller, intermediate projection of the noun. This is clear from the fact that two coordinated adjective-noun combinations can be associated with a single determiner. The presence of two articles in (4a) shows that we are dealing with coordination of two full noun phrases; the fact that the coordinated phrase refers to two separate sets consisting of clever boys and brainy girls, respectively, adds further support to this

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analysis. The fact that we find only a single article in (4b) strongly suggests that we are dealing with the coordination of some smaller nominal projection, which is supported by the fact that the full phrase refers to a single set of entities consisting of clever boys and brainy girls. See Section N3.2.5.5 for a detailed discussion of the contrast between the two examples in (4).

- (4) a. [_{NP} [_{NP} de slimme jongens] en [_{NP} de snuggere meisjes]]
 the clever boys and the brainy girls
 b. [_{NP} de [[slimme jongens] en [snuggere meisjes]]]
 the clever boys and brainy girls

The ability to occur in the prenominal attributive position seems sufficient to conclude that we are dealing with an adjective. First, the examples in (5) show that modifiers in the form of PPs or a (relative) clauses always follow the modified noun. Second, nouns and noun phrases cannot be used as modifiers at all: examples like *hoekhuis* ‘house on a corner’ or *bushalte* ‘bus stop’ should be considered compounds, which is clear from, e.g., the fact that these formations exhibit the typical intonation contour with stress on the first member of the compound.

- (5) a. het <*op de hoek> huis <op de hoek>
 the at the corner house
 ‘the house at the corner’
 b. het <*dat op tafel ligt> boek <*dat op tafel ligt>
 the that on table lies book
 ‘the book that is lying on the table’

II. Predicative use of the adjective

When an AP is used predicatively, it specifies a property of some noun phrase that occurs in the same clause: for example, the copular construction *Jan is aardig* ‘Jan is nice’ in (6a) below expresses that the property denoted by the adjective *aardig* is applicable to the referent of the noun phrase *Jan*; see Section 1.3.2.1.1 for a more detailed discussion of the semantics of predicatively used adjectives. As previously indicated in Table 1, three different types of predicatively used adjectives can be distinguished: complementives, supplementives and appositives. These uses will be briefly discussed in the three subsections below; see Chapter 6 for detailed discussion.

A. Complementives

Complementive adjectives function as secondary predicates within in their clause. The examples in (6) show that they normally immediately precede the verb(s) in clause-final position in Dutch. Three typical constructions that contain a secondary predicate are the copular construction, the resultative construction, and the *vinden*-construction, illustrated in (6).

- (6) • Complementive adjectives
 a. dat Jan aardig is. [copular construction]
 that Jan nice is
 ‘that Jan is nice.’

- b. dat Jan het gras plat loopt. [resultative construction]
 that Jan the grass flat walks
 'that Jan walks the grass flat.'
- c. dat Marie Jan aardig acht/vindt. [vinden-construction]
 that Marie Jan nice considers
 'that Marie considers Jan nice.'

The complementive adjectives in (6) are clearly part of the VP given that the verb and the AP satisfy the constituency test, according to which the position immediately preceding the finite verb in a main clause can only be occupied by a single constituent: the primeless examples in (7) show that the AP can be °piped under °VP-topicalization. The primed examples show the AP can also be part of a °left-dislocated VP, which must likewise be a constituent.

- (7) a. [Aardig zijn] zullen de jongens niet.
 nice be will the boys not
 a'. [Aardig zijn] dat zullen de jongens niet.
 nice be that will the boys not
 b. [Plat lopen] zal Jan het gras niet.
 flat walk will Jan the grass not
 b'. [Plat lopen] dat zal Jan het gras niet.
 flat walk that will Jan the grass not
 c. [Dom achten/vinden] zal Marie de kinderen niet.
 stupid consider will Marie the children not
 c'. [Dom achten/vinden] dat zal Marie de kinderen niet.
 stupid consider that will Marie the children not

The examples in (8) show that the complementive adjectives in (6) are even a necessary part of the VP: they cannot be dropped. A related feature is that the meaning of these adjectives is an inherent part of the meaning expressed by the VP as a whole. For these reasons, we will consider them °complements of the verb, hence their name "complementive adjectives".

- (8) a. dat de jongens aardig/*Ø zijn.
 that the boys nice are
 b. dat Jan het gras plat/*Ø loopt.
 that Jan the grass flat walks
 c. dat Marie de kinderen dom/*Ø acht/vindt.
 that Marie the children stupid considers

The examples in (9) show that the ability to occur in clause-final predicative position is normally not sufficient to conclude that we are dealing with an AP: the examples in (9) show that, at least in examples like (6a&c), the AP can readily be replaced by means of a predicatively used noun phrase like *een aardige jongen*.

- (9) a. dat Jan een aardige jongen is.
 that Jan a kind boy is
 b. dat Marie Jan een aardige jongen acht/vindt.
 that Marie Jan a kind boy considers

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Things may be different in resultative constructions: the examples in (10) show that using a resultative nominal complementive seems to give rise to a severely degraded result.

- (10) a. Haar compliment maakte Jan gelukkig.
her compliment made Jan happy
b. ^{??}Haar compliment maakte Jan een gelukkig mens.
her compliment made Jan a happy person

B. Suppletives

Suppletive adjectives differ from the complementive adjectives in that they need not be present and do not contribute to the meaning expressed by the VP; instead, suppletive adjectives add independent meaning of their own to the meaning of the full clause. Generally, suppletives are predicated of either the subject or the direct object of their clause. These two possibilities are illustrated in (11a) and (11b), respectively.

- (11) • Suppletive adjectives
a. Jan streek zijn overhemd (dronken).
Jan ironed his shirt drunk
'Jan ironed his shirt (while he was drunk).'
- b. Jan streek zijn overhemd (nat).
Jan ironed his shirt wet
'Jan ironed his shirt (while it was wet).'

The English paraphrases in (11) are designed to express that the meaning of the VP and the suppletive adjective are relatively independent of each other. In the examples in (11) the semantic relation between the suppletive and the VP can be loosely defined as "simultaneousness", but Section 6.3 will show that this relation can be much more complex.

As in the case of the complementive adjectives, the suppletive and the VP form a constituent. This is clear from the fact, illustrated in (12), that the suppletive can be pied piped under VP-topicalization, and can be part of a left-dislocated VP.

- (12) a. [Zijn overhemd dronken strijken] (dat) zal Jan niet.
his shirt drunk iron that will Jan not
b. [Zijn overhemd nat strijken] (dat) zal Jan niet.
his shirt wet iron that will Jan not

Still, the syntactic relation between the suppletive and the verb (phrase) is of a totally different nature than the syntactic relation between the complementive and the verb: instead of acting as a complement of the main verb, the suppletive adjective acts as an °adjunct of the VP. This is especially clear with suppletives that are predicated of a(n agentive) subject, like *dronken* in (11a); example (13) shows that the suppletive can be expressed in an *en hij doet dat ...* clause in such cases, which is a sufficient test for assuming adjunct status (see Section 8.2.2 for a detailed discussion of this adverb test).

- (13) Jan streek zijn overhemd en hij deed dat dronken.
 Jan ironed his shirt and he did that drunk

Example (14) shows that ambiguity may occasionally arise between the resultative and the supplementive construction. Chapter 6 will discuss a number of means that may help to distinguish the two constructions.

- (14) Jan streek zijn overhemd droog.
 Jan ironed his shirt dry
 'Jan ironed (made) his shirt dry.' [resultative]
 'Jan ironed his shirt, while it was dry.' [supplementive]

C. Appositives

The notion of appositive is often restricted to nominal modifiers like *de voorzitter van onze vereniging* in (15), but we will extend the use of this notion to the postnominal APs in the (b)-examples of (16), (17) and (18), below.

- (15) Jan, de voorzitter van onze vereniging, zei ...
 Jan the chairman of our society said

In some respects, appositive adjectives resemble both the supplementive and the attributive adjectives. Although the linear string of words is identical in (16a) and (16b), there is reason to assume that we are dealing with a supplementive and an appositive adjective, respectively. First, the examples differ in intonation contour: appositive adjectives are often preceded and followed by brief intonation breaks, which are indicated by commas in (16b), whereas this is never the case with supplementives. Second, the two examples also have a distinct difference in meaning; the English renderings show that whereas the supplementive can be paraphrased by means of an adjunct clause, the appositive is more appropriately paraphrased by means of a parenthetic clause.

- (16) a. dat Jan kwaad een gepeperde brief schreef. [supplementive]
 that Jan angry a spicy letter wrote
 'that Jan wrote a spicy letter, while he was angry.'
 b. dat Jan, kwaad, een gepeperde brief schreef. [appositive]
 that Jan angry a spicy letter wrote
 'that Jan —he was angry— wrote a spicy letter.'

Finally, the examples in (17) show that the appositive is part of the noun phrase it modifies whereas the supplementive acts as an independent constituent of the clause: in (17a) two independent constituents appear in first position of the main clause and the sentence is ungrammatical as a result, whereas in (17b) only a single (complex) noun phrase precedes the finite verb and the result is fully acceptable.

- (17) a. *Jan kwaad schreef een gepeperde brief. [supplementive]
 a'. [NP Jan] [AP kwaad] schreef ...
 b. Jan, kwaad, schreef een gepeperde brief. [appositive]
 b'. [NP [NP Jan] [AP kwaad]] schreef ...

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Example (17b) thus shows that appositives resemble attributively used adjectives in that they are part of a complex noun phrase. The primeless examples in (18) show, however, that appositives differ from attributively used adjectives in that they must occur postnominally and do not inflect. The primed examples further show that appositives can modify pronouns, whereas attributively used adjectives normally cannot.

- (18) a. De kwade man schreef een gepeperde brief. [attributive]
the angry man wrote a spicy letter
a'. *De kwade hij schreef een gepeperde brief.
the angry he wrote a spicy letter
b. De man , kwaad , schreef een gepeperde brief. [appositive]
the man angry wrote a spicy letter
b'. Hij , kwaad , schreef een gepeperde brief.
he angry wrote a spicy letter

To conclude, note that the appositives in the (b)-examples above all have a non-restrictive interpretation. Adjectival appositives can, however, also be used as restrictors, in which case the first intonation break is absent; cf. Section 6.4.2. We have ignored the restrictive appositives here given that they behave syntactically just like non-restrictive ones.

III. The partitive genitive use of the adjective

The partitive genitive construction is illustrated in (19). It consists of an inanimate existentially quantified pronominal element like *iets* 'something' or *niets* 'nothing', which is followed by an adjective inflected with the suffix *-s*. When some element has the ability to occur in the second part of this construction, this is sufficient for assuming that we are dealing with an adjective. We will not dwell on this construction here, but refer the reader to Chapter 7 for extensive discussion.

- (19) • Partitive genitive construction
a. iets bijzonder-s
something special
b. niets grappig-s
nothing funny

IV. The adverbial use of the adjective

In contrast to English, adverbially used adjectives are not inflected and therefore not morphologically distinguished from the other adjectives in Dutch; there is no such thing as the English *-ly* suffix in Dutch. Consequently, we can only conclude that we are dealing with an adverbially used adjective by taking recourse to the meaning of the construction under discussion, that is, by determining whether the adjective modifies a noun phrase or an AP, VP or PP. For example, the attributively used adjectives *geweldig*, *snel* and *diep* from the primeless examples in (20) are used adverbially in the primed examples to modify, respectively, an AP, a VP, and a PP. Further discussion of this adverbial use will be postponed to Section 1.3.2.1.2 and Chapter 8.

- (20)
- Attributive use
 - a. een geweldig boek
a great book
 - b. een snel besluit
a fast decision
'A fast car'
 - c. een diep gat
a deep hole
'a deep ditch'
 - Adverbial use
 - a'. Zijn huis is [_{AP} geweldig groot].
his house is extremely large
 - b'. Hij [_{VP} rende snel naar huis].
he ran quickly to home
'He ran home quickly.'
 - c'. Hij ging [_{PP} diep het bos in].
he went deeply the wood into
'He went deeply into the wood.'

1.2. Inflection

One of the typical properties of attributively used adjectives is that they can be followed by an inflectional *-e* ending. The distribution of the attributive *-e* ending depends on the nominal features gender and number as well as the definiteness of the noun phrase as a whole.

Nouns can be divided into two groups on the basis of the definite determiner they select in the singular: (i) the *de*-group, which consists of masculine and feminine nouns, and (ii) the *het*-group, which consists of neuter nouns. The examples in Table 2 show that the attributive *-e* ending is generally obligatorily present on the adjective when it precedes a (non-neuter) *de*-noun.

Table 2: Adjectival inflection with *de*-nouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>de oude/*oud stoel</i> the old chair	<i>de oude/*oud stoelen</i> the old chairs
INDEFINITE	<i>een oude/*oud stoel</i> an old chair	<i>oude/*oud stoelen</i> old chairs

With (neuter) *het*-nouns, on the other hand, the attributive *-e* ending is absent from the adjective in indefinite singular noun phrases. In the remaining cases, the ending is obligatory. This is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3: Adjectival inflection with *het*-nouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>het oude/*oud paard</i> the old horse	<i>de oude/*oud paarden</i> the old horse
INDEFINITE	<i>een *oude/oud paard</i> an old horse	<i>oude/*oud paarden</i> old horses

In the case of non-count nouns the number feature is, of course, neutralized, as a result of which only gender and definiteness are relevant: Table 4 shows that adjectives modifying a non-count noun of the *de*-class always receive the attributive *-e* ending, whereas those modifying a neuter non-count noun only get the *-e* ending when they are preceded by a definite determiner like *het*.

Table 4: Adjectival inflection with non-count nouns

	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN
DEFINITE	<i>de lekkere rijst</i> the tasty rice	<i>het lekkere bier</i> tasty beer
INDEFINITE	<i>lekkere rijst</i> tasty rice	<i>lekker-Ø bier</i> tasty beer

The discussion above describes the general pattern, but it must be noted that several exceptions are found. The examples in (21), for instance, show that the attributive *-e* ending is not realized when the adjective ends in a schwa, as in (21a), or in one of the long vowels /a:/, /o:/ or /i:/, as in (21b-d).

- (21) a. een oranje-Ø jas [cf. *de jas*]
an orange coat
b. een prima-Ø opmerking [cf. *de opmerking*]
an excellent remark
c. een albino-Ø muis [cf. *de muis*]
an albino mouse
d. de kaki-Ø muts [cf. *de muts*]
the khaki cap

This will be discussed more extensively in Section 5.1, along with other exceptions to the general pattern, which is summarized schematically in Table 5.

Table 5: The inflection of attributively used adjectives (summary)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL		NON-COUNT	
	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN
DEFINITE	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>
INDEFINITE	A+- <i>e</i>	A+-Ø	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>	A+- <i>e</i>	A+-Ø

The inflectional properties of attributively used adjectives can be useful for distinguishing the attributive adjectives from other elements that are placed between the determiner and the noun, such as the cardinal numeral *vier* ‘four’ in (22a’) or the adverbially used adjective *goed* ‘well’ in (22b’); cf. Section 5.2.

- (22) a. de fier-*e* mannen [fieri = attributive adjective]
the proud men
a’. de vier/*vier-*e* mannen [vier = cardinal numeral]
the four men
b. de goede, leesbare roman [goede = attributive adjective]
the good readable novel
b’. de goed leesbare roman [goed = adverbially used adjective]
the well readable novel

We conclude this subsection on adjectival inflection with a brief remark on the adjectival use of participles and modal infinitives. The participles are divided into two groups: present participles, such as *vechtend* ‘fighting’, and past/passive

participles, such as *gekust* ‘kissed’. Both types can be used as attributive adjectives, which is clear from the fact that they exhibit the pattern of attributive inflection in Table 5. This is illustrated in (i) and (ii) in Table 6 for the present and past participles, respectively.

Table 6: The inflection of attributively used past/passive and present participles

DE-NOUNS	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	(i) <i>de vechtende jongen</i> the fighting boy	(i) <i>de vechtende jongens</i> the fighting boys
	(ii) <i>de gekuste jongen</i> the kissed boy	(ii) <i>de gekuste jongens</i> the kissed boys
INDEFINITE	(i) <i>een vechtende jongen</i> a fighting boy	(i) <i>vechtende jongens</i> fighting boys
	(ii) <i>een gekuste jongen</i> a kissed boy	(ii) <i>gekuste jongens</i> kissed boys
HET-NOUNS	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	(i) <i>het vechtende kind</i> the fighting child	(i) <i>de vechtende kinderen</i> the fighting children
	(ii) <i>het gekuste kind</i> the kissed child	(ii) <i>de gekuste kinderen</i> the kissed children
INDEFINITE	(i) <i>een vechtend-Ø kind</i> a fighting child	(i) <i>vechtende kinderen</i> fighting children
	(ii) <i>een gekust-Ø kind</i> a kissed child	(ii) <i>gekuste kinderen</i> kissed children

If exhibiting attributive inflection is a sufficient condition for assuming adjectival status, the examples in Table 6 unambiguously show that the past/passive and present participles can occasionally be used as adjectives (see Section 3.1.2.1, sub I and II, however, for a severely restricted set of adverbially used adjectives that seem to be inflected as well). We will return to this use of participles in Chapter 9.

The examples in (23) show that modal infinitives can also be used in attributive position (the notion *modal* is used here because the infinitive is deontic in the sense that it inherently expresses some notion of “ability” or “obligation”). In accordance with the observation illustrated earlier in (21a), modal infinitives never get the attributive *-e* ending given that they are pronounced with a word-final schwa, which is orthographically represented as *-en*. This use of the modal infinitives is also more extensively discussed in Chapter 9.

- (23) *de te lezen boeken*
 the to read books
 ‘the books that must be read’

1.3. A semantic classification

This section proposes a semantic division of adjectives on the basis of two binary semantic features: [±QUALIFYING] and [±KIND-OF-RELATION]. Section 1.3.1 will

show that the four main classes of adjectives thus defined exhibit certain characteristic syntactic and morphological properties. The subsequent sections will discuss the four classes in more detail.

1.3.1. *Set-denoting, relational, and evaluative adjectives and the residue*

Although the distinctions are not always as clear-cut as one would wish, we will distinguish four semantic classes: the set-denoting, relational and evaluative adjectives, and a residual class consisting of various sorts of adjectives (modal adjectives, emphasizeers, etc.). This classification is based on two semantic properties of the adjectives, which, for the sake of convenience, will be represented by means of the features $[\pm\text{QUALIFYING}]$ and $[\pm\text{KIND-OF-RELATION}]$. A positive value for the first feature indicates that the adjective ascribes some property or positive/negative value to the modified noun (phrase). A positive value for the latter feature indicates that the adjective expresses some relation between the denotation of the noun and something else (we will clarify this below). By means of these two features, the four classes of adjectives in Table 7 can be distinguished. Some examples are given in (24).

Table 7: *A semantic classification of adjectives*

	[+KIND-OF RELATION]	[-KIND-OF RELATION]
[+QUALIFYING]	set-denoting adjectives	evaluative adjectives
[-QUALIFYING]	relational adjectives	the residue

- (24) a. de grote auto [set-denoting]
the big car
- b. een Amerikaanse auto [relational]
an American car
- c. die verdomde auto [evaluative]
that damned car
- d. een zekere auto [residue]
a certain car

Section 1.3.1.2 will show that at least the distinction between set-denoting adjectives and adjectives belonging to the three remaining classes is reflected in their syntactic and/or morphological behavior. But before we do this, Section 1.3.1.1 will briefly characterize each of the four semantic subtypes.

1.3.1.1. *A brief characterization of the four adjectival classes*

This section provides a brief characterization of the four adjectival classes we have distinguished in Table 7.

1. *Set-denoting adjectives*

Set-denoting adjectives, such as *aardig* ‘nice’ and *blauw* ‘blue’ in (25), denote a property of the modified noun (phrase), and have the syntactic property that they can normally be used both attributively and predicatively. In the (a)-examples of (25), for example, the property of BEING KIND is ascribed to *(de) jongen* ‘(the) boy’

by means of, respectively, an attributively and a predicatively used adjective. The set-denoting adjectives also express a KIND-OF RELATION, which can be informally described as “N *has the property A*”; see Section 1.3.2 for a detailed discussion.

- (25) • Set-denoting adjectives
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. de aardige jongen
the kind boy | b. de blauwe ballon
the blue balloon |
| a'. De jongen is aardig.
the boy is nice | b'. de ballon is blauw.
the balloon is blue |

II. Relational adjectives

Relational adjectives differ from set-denoting adjectives in that they do not denote a property. Nevertheless, they do express a KIND-OF RELATION between two separate entities. Normally, these adjectives can only be used attributively. Some typical examples are given in (26).

- (26) • Relational adjectives
- | | |
|--|---|
| a. het morfologische handboek
the morphological companion | c. de dagelijkse krant
the daily newspaper |
| a'. *Het handboek is morfologisch. | c'. *De krant is dagelijks. |
| b. het adellijke slot
the noble castle | d. de Nederlandse duinen
the Dutch dunes |
| b'. *Het slot is adellijk. | d'. *De duinen zijn Nederlands. |

The KIND-OF RELATION expressed in (26a) can be paraphrased as “N *is about* morphology”, the one in (26b) as “N *belongs to* the nobility”, the one in (26c) as “N *appears* everyday”, and the one in (26d) as “N *is situated* in the Netherlands”. Observe that the adjectives in (26a-d) are all derived from nouns, and this seems indeed to be a characteristic of this type of adjective. Note further that the expressed KIND-OF RELATION is often contextually or culturally determined and may require substantial knowledge of the actual world. This will become clear when we consider the examples in (27).

- (27) a. een freudiaanse verspreking
a Freudian lapsus.linguae
'a Freudian slip'
- b. chomskiaanse taalkunde
Chomskyan linguistics

Example (27a) expresses that we are dealing with a lapsus linguae that is in some relation with the psychologist Sigmund Freud. The precise interpretation, which is culturally determined in this case, is that we are dealing with a slip of the tongue caused by some subconscious mechanism that expresses something about the disposition of the speaker, a topic that has been studied by Freud. In the apparently similar case in (27b), the relation is of a totally different nature: *chomskiaanse taalkunde* refers to the branch of linguistics developed by (the followers of) the American linguist Noam Chomsky.

Occasionally, the relation is metaphorical in nature. *Een vorstelrijk salaris* in (28a), for example, refers to a very high salary (a salary that would be appropriate

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for a monarch), and *een vaderlijke terechtwijzing* in (28b) need not refer to a reproof given by a father, but by someone who behaves like a father. In other cases, like (28c&d), we are dealing with more or less fixed combinations, often belonging to a certain jargon. The relational adjectives are more extensively discussed in Section 1.3.3.

- (28)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| a. | een vorstelijk salaris | c. | vrouwelijk rijm |
| | a princely salary | | feminine rhyme |
| b. | een vaderlijke terechtwijzing | d. | bezittelijk voornaamwoord |
| | a fatherly admonition | | possessive pronoun |

III. Evaluative adjectives

Although the evaluative adjectives attribute a positive or negative value to the modified noun, this is generally not done by virtue of their descriptive content, as in the case of the predicative adjectives, but in a more indirect way. Neither do they (synchronically speaking) establish a KIND-OF RELATION with another entity. Example (29a) is probably self-explanatory in this respect. Example (29b) shows that evaluative adjectives cannot be used predicatively. See Section 1.3.4 for more discussion.

- (29)
- Evaluative adjectives
 - a. die verdomde/dekselse jongen
that damned/confounded boy
'that damned/confounded boy'
 - b. *Die jongen is verdomd/deksels.

IV. The residue

The three classes above leave us with a residue, which consists of adjectives that are often comparable to adverbial phrases. MODAL ADJECTIVES, for instance, resemble modal adverbs in the sense that they express a modal meaning. The adjective *vermeend* 'alleged/supposed' in (30a), for instance, expresses that the person we are talking about *has been mistaken for* or *is supposed to be* the culprit, and the adjective *potentieel* 'potential' in (30b) expresses that the entity we are talking about *may turn out to be* a counterexample. Like the relational and evaluative adjectives, the modal adjectives cannot be used predicatively. See Section 1.3.5 for more discussion.

- (30)
- Modal adjectives
 - a. de vermeende dader
the alleged/supposed culprit
 - a'. *De dader is vermeend.
 - b. het potentiële tegenvoorbeeld
the potential counterexample
 - b'. *Het tegenvoorbeeld is potentieel.

1.3.1.2. Distinctive properties of set-denoting adjectives

It is easy to distinguish the set-denoting adjectives from the three other semantic types of adjectives, given that only the former can be used predicatively. This was

illustrated earlier in the examples in (25), (26), (29), and (30) from Section 1.3.1.1 by means of the behavior of these adjectives in the copular construction; some of these examples are repeated in (31). Section 1.3.2.1 will show that the ability of the set-denoting adjective to occur in predicative position is intimately related to their set-denoting property.

- (31) a. Jan is aardig. [set-denoting]
 Jan is nice
 b. *De duinen zijn Nederlands. [relational]
 the dunes are Dutch
 c. *Die jongen is verdomd. [evaluative]
 that boy is damned
 d. *De dader is vermeend. [residue]
 the culprit is alleged

There is, furthermore, a subset of set-denoting adjectives that can readily be distinguished from adjectives that are not set-denoting on different grounds. These are the so-called gradable adjectives, which refer to properties that are situated on some tacitly assumed scale; cf. Section 1.3.2.2.1. These gradable set-denoting adjectives can be modified by means of an °intensifier (degree adverb) like *erg/zeer* ‘very’, as is shown in (32a). The remaining examples in (32) show that adjectives that are not set-denoting lack this possibility.

- (32) a. de erg/zeer aardige jongen [set-denoting]
 the very kind boy
 b. *het erg/heel morfologische handboek [relational]
 the very morphological companion
 c. *die erg/heel drommelse jongen [evaluative]
 that very damned boy
 d. *het zeer/heel potentiële tegenvoorbeeld [residue]
 the very potential counterexample

The gradable adjectives can also be input for comparative and superlative formation. The examples in (33b-d) again show that this is impossible for adjectives that are not set-denoting.

- (33) a. de aardigere/aardigste jongen [set-denoting]
 the kinder/kindest boy
 b. *het adellijker/adellijkste slot [relational]
 the more/most noble castle
 c. *de drommelser/drommelste jongen [evaluative]
 the more/most damned boy
 d. *het potentiëler/potentieelste tegenvoorbeeld [residue]
 the more/most potential counterexample

Finally, a subset of the gradable set-denoting adjectives allows *on-* prefixation; the output form either negates the property expressed by the positive input form of the adjective, or denotes a property on the opposite side of the implied scale. Some examples are given in (34).

- (34) a. *onaardig* ‘unkind’ e. *onrein* ‘impure’
b. *onbegaafd* ‘untalented’ f. *onschadelijk* ‘harmless’
c. *onhandig* ‘clumsy’ g. *onvoldoende* ‘insufficient’
d. *onmatig* ‘immoderate’ h. *onzacht* ‘rude’

The examples in (35) show that *on-* prefixation is categorically blocked with input adjectives that are not set-denoting.

- (35) a. **het onadellijke slot* [relational]
the un-noble castle
b. **de ondrommelse jongen* [evaluative]
the un-damned boy
c. **de onvermeende dader* [residue]
the un-alleged culprit

For completeness’ sake, observe that the negative marker *on-* can be combined with adjectives and nouns only. Some examples with nouns are *(on)geduld* ‘(im)patience’, *(on)recht* ‘(in)justice’, and *(on)trouw* ‘(in)fidelity’.

1.3.1.3. *Summary*

This section has shown that the class of set-denoting adjectives can be readily distinguished from the other adjective classes on syntactic and morphological grounds. As we will see in the following sections, the other adjective classes also have their own characteristic properties: for instance, we have already observed that relational adjectives are typically derived from a nominal base. However, before we proceed to a more detailed discussion of the distinguished adjectival classes, let us first summarize the discussion above by means of Table 8. The second column of the table indicates whether the adjective ascribes some property, value, etc. to the modified noun (phrase); the third column indicates whether a KIND-OF relation is expressed, including the “N *has the property* A” relation expressed by the set-denoting adjectives; the fourth and fifth columns indicate whether the adjective can be used attributively and/or predicatively; the last two columns, finally, express whether degree modification (i.e., modification by means of an intensifier or comparative/superlative formation) or *on-* prefixation is possible.

Table 8: *Set-denoting, relational, evaluative adjectives and the residue*

	QUALIFY- ING	KIND-OF	ATTRIBU- TIVE	PREDICA- TIVE	GRAD- ABLE	ON- PREFIX
SET- DENOTING	+	+	+	+	+ (subset)	+ (subset)
RELATIONAL	—	+	+	—	—	—
EVALUATIVE	+	—	+	—	—	—
RESIDUE	—	—	+	—	—	—

1.3.2. *Set-denoting adjectives*

This section will discuss set-denoting adjectives from a set-theoretic point of view. Section 1.3.2.1 will start with the set-theoretic difference between the attributive

and predicative use of the adjective, and will also briefly discuss the adverbial use of these adjectives. Although making more semantic distinctions does not result in a further systematic subdivision of the set-denoting adjectives, Section 1.3.2.2 will discuss some of these distinctions since they will be useful in describing the morphological and syntactic properties of the set-denoting adjectives. Section 1.3.2.3 concludes by providing a morphological classification of the set-denoting adjectives.

1.3.2.1. The set-denoting property

From a semantic point of view, set-denoting adjectives denote properties and in this respect they differ from verbs and nouns, which normally denote events and entities, respectively. From the perspective of set theory, on the other hand, verbs, nouns and adjectives are similar in the sense that they all denote sets of entities. An intransitive verb such as *wandelen* ‘to walk’ denotes all entities in the domain of discourse that are walking, e.g., “Jan”, “Peter” and “Marie”. A noun such as *jongen* ‘boy’ denotes all entities that have the property of being a boy, e.g., “Jan”, “Peter” and “Henk”. And, finally, an adjective such as *groot* ‘big’ denotes all entities that have the property of being big, e.g., “Jan”, “Henk” and “het gebouw” (the building). The domain of discourse that has been set up can be represented as in (36); the entities that are mentioned between the curly brackets are part of the sets that are denoted by the relevant word.

- (36) a. WANDELEN_V: {Jan, Peter, Marie}
b. JONGEN_N: {Jan, Peter, Henk}
c. GROOT_A: {Jan, Henk, het gebouw}

Given that some entities are placed within more than one set, a more proper representation of our domain of discourse can be given as in Figure 1, where the relevant entities are placed in the intersections of the three sets.

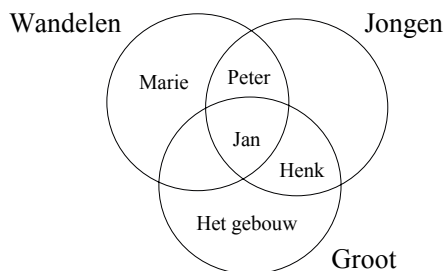


Figure 1: Set-theoretical representation of domain of discourse

Note that we have simplified the discussion above by ignoring the fact that, e.g., transitive verbs or adjectives that take a PP-complement do not denote entities but ordered pairs of entities: a verb like *slaan* ‘to hit’ denotes all ordered pairs $\langle x, y \rangle$ such that x hits y ; similarly, an adjective like *trots* ‘proud’ denotes all ordered pairs $\langle x, y \rangle$ such that x is proud of y . Some verbs and adjectives may even denote ordered triples or quadruples of entities. We will not discuss this any further here since this will lead us into a discussion of complementation, which is the topic of Chapter 2.

This section will continue with a brief discussion of the syntactic uses of the set-denoting adjectives: Section 1.3.2.1.1 will begin with their attributive and predicative uses, which are the most common ones, followed by their adverbial use in Section 1.3.2.1.2.

1.3.2.1.1. *Attributive and predicative uses*

This section briefly discusses the attributive and predicative uses of adjectives. Subsection I will start by discussing the interpretation that is typically associated with these uses: an attributive adjective normally enters into an intersection relation with the modified noun, giving rise to a so-called restrictive interpretation, whereas a predicative construction instead enters into an inclusion relation with the noun phrase it is predicated of. Subsection II will show, however, that there are also cases in which attributive adjectives enter into an inclusion relation with the modified noun, giving rise to a so-called non-restrictive interpretation. Subsection III discusses various types of predicative uses of adjectives, and show that the inclusion relation is also apt for describing these cases. Subsection IV concludes with a note on the use of attributive adjectives in complex proper nouns like *de Stille Oceaan* ‘the Pacific’.

I. Intersection and inclusion

Set-denoting adjectives are typically used to specify the properties that are attributed to nouns or noun phrases. Two typical environments in which these adjectives occur can be distinguished: the prenominal ATTRIBUTIVE position shown in (37a) and the COMPLEMENTIVE position immediately preceding the verb(s) in clause-final position in (37b).

- (37) a. grote jongens
big boys
b. dat de jongens groot zijn.
that the boys big are
‘that the boys are big.’

However, the formulation that set-denoting adjectives specify the properties of nouns or noun phrases is still too general, since there is a difference in function between the adjectives in (37a) and (37b): due to the placement of the adjective in the prenominal attributive position in (37a), the noun phrase *grote jongens* denotes those entities that are both big and a boy, that is, it denotes the intersection of the two sets denoted by, respectively, *jongen* and *groot*. Thus, in the domain of discourse we have set up in Figure 1, this noun phrase refers to “Jan” and “Henk”. The predicative use of the adjective in (37b), on the other hand, asserts that (all of) the boys are big, that is, that we are dealing with an inclusion relation between the set of entities referred to by the noun phrase *the boys* and the set denoted by *big*. Clearly, this inclusion relation does not hold in our domain of discourse in Figure 1, since “Peter” is not included in the set of *big*. This difference between the attributive and predicative use of the set-denoting adjectives can be schematically represented as in Figure 2.

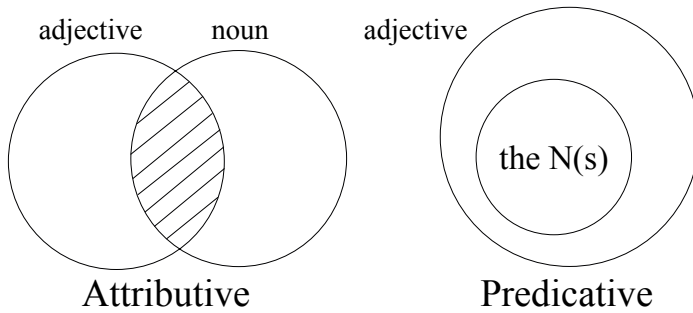


Figure 2: Attributive and predicative use of set-denoting adjectives

II. Restrictive and non-restrictive uses of attributive adjectives

The intersection relation between the noun and the attributive adjective depicted in Figure 2 amounts to saying that the adjective restricts the denotation of the noun, and this reading is therefore generally referred to as the restrictive interpretation of the attributive adjective. Sometimes, however, attributive adjectives also allow a non-restrictive interpretation, and in that case their function is very similar to that of predicatively used adjectives.

A. Nouns denoting singleton sets

Both examples in (38) are fully acceptable in case there is just a single crown prince in the domain of discourse. This means that the attributively used adjectives in (38a) are not needed to restrict the denotation of the noun *kroonprins* ‘crown prince’, but added to express additional information about the crown prince: just like the predicative adjectives in (38b), the attributive adjectives are used to inform the addressee about the fact that the crown prince is tall and fair.

- (38) a. De lange, blonde kroonprins trok in China veel aandacht.
the tall fair crown prince drew in China much attention
‘The tall, fair crown prince got a lot of attention in China.’
b. De kroonprins is lang en blond.
the crown prince is tall and fair

We need not construe the non-restrictive interpretation of (38a) as an exception to the general pattern given in Figure 2, but can simply consider it a special case of the left-hand representation. Given that the noun *kroonprins* denotes a singleton set, the intersection of the sets denoted by the noun and the two adjectives is either the singleton set denoted by the noun or empty. Since it would not be informative to attribute the properties of being long and fair to the empty set, it is clear that the speaker intends to refer to the singleton set; this gives the false impression that (38a) involves an inclusion relation, whereas we are actually dealing with a special case of the intersection relation.

Adjectives modifying proper nouns may also receive a non-restrictive interpretation, due to the fact that proper nouns are normally not used to denote a set, but an individual. The examples in (39a&b) therefore express that *de*

- Something similar holds for (40b): under the restrictive interpretation there are several contextually determined amounts of water with different properties, and it is contended that the water that was cold made Peter shiver: under the (more likely)

non-restrictive reading, there is just one amount of water, and we will infer that the water made Peter shiver because it was cold. The ambiguity can again be dissolved by means of the intonation pattern.

- (42) a. Het KOUde water deed Peter RILlen. [restrictive]
 b. Het koude water deed Peter RILlen. [non-restrictive]

Similar ambiguities may also arise in constructions with a demonstrative determiner or a possessive pronoun. Example (43a) can be used in order to ask for a certain pen from a contextually determined set of pens, in which case the adjective is used restrictively to identify the intended object. The adjective may, however, also be used when there is only one entity that answers to the description of the noun *pen*, in which case the adjective has a non-restrictive, purely descriptive function, which may help the addressee to recognize the object referred to, but does not serve to identify the intended object. Similarly, example (43b) can be used in a context where the speaker had an old computer that didn't function well, in which case the adjective is used restrictively and will be emphasized. A non-restrictive interpretation is, however, also possible; in that case no comparison with other computers is involved, and the intended computer may in fact be the very first one the speaker ever had.

- (43) a. Kun je mij die rode pen aangeven?
 can you me that red pen prt.-hand
 'Can you hand me that red pen?'
 b. Mijn nieuwe computer werkt prima.
 my new computer works fine

Sometimes, the context also favors the non-restrictive reading. In (44), for example, it is clearly the non-restrictive reading of the adjective that is intended: the intended message is not that only the well-informed advisors will be glad to be of service, but that all advisors are well informed and will be glad to be of service.

- (44) Onze welingelichte adviseurs zijn u graag van dienst.
 our well.informed advisors are you gladly of service
 'Our well-informed advisors are glad to be of service to you.'

Example (45) shows that certain construction types may also favor the non-restrictive reading. The pseudo-partitive construction *van die heerlijke truffels*, which is more extensively discussed in N4.1.1.6, looks like a PP but in fact functions as a noun phrase that refers not to a particular subset of truffles but to a certain type of truffles, which is claimed to be delicious. The attributive adjective does not serve to restrict the denotation of the noun, because this is assumed to be known to the addressee, but is used purely descriptively; we may infer from (45) that the speaker wants to have more truffles of the intended type, because he considers them delicious.

- (45) Mag ik een half pond van die heerlijke truffels?
 may I a half pound of those lovely truffles
 'Can I have half a pound of those lovely truffles?'

Indefinite noun phrases do not readily allow a non-restrictive interpretation of the attributive adjective; in all examples in (46), the adjective restricts the set denoted by the noun, thus (implicitly) contrasting this subset with the remaining members of the set.

- (46) a. Kun je mij een rode pen aangeven?
 can you me a red pen prt.-give
 'Can you hand me a red pen?'
 b. Nieuwe computers werken prima.
 new computers work excellent
 c. Wij hebben alleen welingelichte adviseurs in dienst.
 we have only well.informed advisors in employ
 'We only employ well-informed advisors.'

III. Supplementives and appositions

The semantic representation of the predicative use of the adjective depicted in Figure 2 was based on a discussion of complementive adjectives. The set-theoretic interpretation of supplementive adjectives like *dronken* in (47) is, however, very similar.

- (47) • Supplementive use of the set-denoting adjectives
 a. De gasten gingen *dronken* naar huis.
 the guests went drunk to home
 'The guests went home drunk.'
 b. Ik bracht de gasten gisteren *dronken* naar huis.
 I took the guests yesterday drunk to home
 'Yesterday, I took the guests home, drunk.'

The examples in (47) express that the guests were drunk when they went/were taken home, that is, that the set denoted by *de gasten* 'the guests' is a subset of the set denoted by *dronken*. Therefore, as far as the noun phrase and the adjective are concerned, the same set-theoretical implication is expressed as in the case of the predicative use of the adjective in *de gasten zijn dronken* 'the guests are drunk'. For simplicity, we have ignored that (47b) is actually ambiguous and that the adjective may also be predicated of the subject *ik* 'I'; we will return to this fact in Section 6.3.

The set-theoretic interpretation of appositively used adjectives is also very similar to that of the complementive adjectives: example (48a), for instance, implies that all of the men are angry about the rejection. The appositive phrase in this example can be paraphrased by means of the nonrestrictive relative clause in (48b), which contains a copular construction; see Section 6.4.2 for restrictive appositives.

- (48) • Appositive use of the set-denoting adjectives
 a. De mannen, kwaad over de afwijzing, schreven een gepeperde brief.
 the men angry about the rejection wrote a spicy letter
 b. De mannen, die kwaad waren over de afwijzing, schreven een gepeperde brief.
 the men who angry were about the rejection wrote a spicy letter
 'The men, who were angry about the rejection, wrote a spicy letter.'

IV. A note on complex proper nouns and classifying adjectives

The primeless examples in (49) show that adjectives are sometimes an inherent part of proper nouns. We are not dealing with attributively used adjectives in cases like these, which is clear from the fact, illustrated in (49b), that complex proper nouns like *Magere Hein* cannot be preceded by a definite determiner; the discussion of the examples in (39) has shown that a determiner normally must be present when a proper noun is preceded by an attributive adjective. For completeness' sake, example (49b') shows that the complex proper noun *Magere Hein* does not behave differently in this respect.

- (49) a. de Middellandse zee
the Mediterranean Sea
b. (*de) Magere Hein
the Grim Reaper
b'. *(de) schrikrijke Magere Hein
the terrifying Grim Reaper

The examples in (50) show that an attributive adjective may sometimes also form a fixed collocation with a common noun. It would not be proper to say that the attributive adjective *wit* 'white' has a restrictive function in (50a): rather the adjective and the noun function as a lexical unit that refers to a certain type of wine. The adjectives in (50) are sometimes referred to as classifying adjectives; cf. Alexiadou et al. (2007:part III, §3.3).

- (50) a. *witte wijn* 'white wine' c. *Chinese thee* 'Chinese/China tea'
b. *magere melk* 'skim(med) milk' d. *Franse kaas* 'French cheese'

The collocations in (50) come close to compounds. In this respect we may refer to the difference between Dutch *witte wijn* and its German counterpart *Weißwein*, which does not exhibit attributive inflection and therefore must be the result of compounding; cf. Booij (2002:12). A similar contrast between Dutch and German is more or less consistently found with color adjectives in the names of animal species; this is illustrated in (51) by means of a number of bird names, taken from an extensive list found at www.ess.sohosted.com/mezen/VogelnamenWereld.xls

- (51) a. blauwe reiger a'. Graureiher a''. Grey Heron
b. bruine vliegenvanger b'. Braunschnäpper b''. Brown Flycatcher
c. gele ral c'. Gelbralle c''. Yellow Rail
d. grijze spotlijster d'. Grau-Spottdrossel d''. Grey Thrasher
e. rode wouw e'. Rotmilan e''. Red Kite
f. witte specht f'. Weißspecht f''. White Woodpecker

Note, however, that when the bird name is based on some characteristic body part, as in (52a), Dutch invariantly uses a compound form. This may be to avoid confusion with attributive constructions like (52a'), although this leaves open the question why compounding is also preferred in examples like (52b), where such confusion is not likely to arise, given that the form *borstbijeneter* does not exist. We will leave the contrast between the primeless examples in (51) and (52) for future research.

- (52) a. *blauwborst* ‘Bluethroat’
a’. *blauwe borst* ‘blue throat’
b. *blauwborstbijeneter* ‘Blue-breasted Bee Eater’
b’. **blauwe borstbijeneter*

1.3.2.1.2. Adverbial use

Adverbially used adjectives are not morphologically distinguished from attributively or predicatively used adjectives in Dutch; that is, Dutch has no equivalent of the English suffix *-ly*. This means that the forms in (53) can be translated in English either as adjectives or as adverbs. Note that, although it is not clear whether there is a categorial distinction between the English adjectives and adverbs in (53), we will treat the adverbs in question as (inflected) adjectives here.

- (53) • Adjectives and adverbs
a. *snel*: quick (A), quickly (ADV)
b. *langzaam*: slow (A), slowly (ADV)
c. *behoedzaam*: cautious (A), cautiously (ADV)

Due to the lack of morphological marking, predicative and adverbial uses of adjectives are sometimes hard to distinguish in Dutch; cf. Sections 5.2.4 and 8.2.2. Often, we can only appeal to the meaning of the example to determine whether we are dealing with the former or the latter. The crucial difference between attributively and predicatively used adjectives, on the one hand, and adverbs, on the other, is that whereas the former only modify nouns and noun phrases, the latter specify VPs, APs (including adverbial phrases), and PPs. Consider the examples in (54a&b). Although the syntactic frames in which *boos* ‘angry’ and *snel* ‘quick’ are used seem identical, we are dealing with a supplementive adjective in (54a) and with an adverbially used adjective in (54b). This can be made clear by using the paraphrases in the primed examples, which show that *boos* modifies the noun phrase *Jan*, whereas *snel* modifies the VP *weg lopen* ‘walk away’. The paraphrase in (54b’’) may be clumsy, but the contrast with (54a’’) is pretty sharp.

- (54) a. Jan liep boos weg.
Jan walked angry away
a’. Jan liep weg, terwijl hij boos was. a’’. *Zijn weggaan was boos.
Jan walked away while he angry was his going away was angry
‘Jan walked away while being angry.’
b. Jan liep snel weg.
Jan walked quickly away
b’. *Jan liep weg, terwijl hij snel was. b’’. Zijn weglopen was snel.
Jan walked away while he quick was his walking away was quick

In example (55a), too, we are dealing with an adverbially used adjective, since what is expressed is not that Jan is cautious (he may be reckless in several respects), but that the activity of investigating the meal was undertaken cautiously. Example (55b), on the other hand, is ambiguous: it can be interpreted either as meaning that Jan was greedy or as meaning that the investigation was undertaken eagerly.

- (55) a. Jan onderzocht de maaltijd behoedzaam.
 Jan investigated the meal cautiously
 b. Jan onderzocht de maaltijd gretig.
 Jan investigated the meal greedy/eagerly

In (56a), the adverbially used adjective *goed* ‘well’ modifies an adjective. There are reasons to assume that °intensifiers like *erg* ‘very’ and *afdoende* ‘sufficiently’ in (56b&c) also belong to the adjectival class; cf. the primed examples and the discussion in Section 3.1.2.

(56)	• Adverbially used adjective	• Attributive adjective
a.	een <i>goed</i> leesbaar handschrift	a'. een <i>goed</i> handschrift
	a well readable handwriting	a good handwriting
b.	een <i>erg</i> mooi boek	b'. een <i>erg</i> ongeluk
	a very beautiful book	a bad accident
c.	een <i>afdoende</i> gemotiveerd antwoord	c'. een <i>afdoende</i> antwoord
	a sufficiently motivated answer	a conclusive answer

In (57), we are dealing with adverbially used adjectives modifying, respectively, a locational and a temporal PP.

- (57) a. De kerk stond *ver* buiten het dorp.
 the church stood far outside the village
 ‘The church was far from the village.’
 b. Jan voltooide zijn artikel *lang* voor de deadline.
 Jan finished his paper long before the deadline

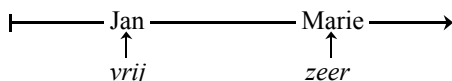
1.3.2.2. Semantic classification

Many semantic subclassifications have been proposed for the set-denoting adjectives, but most of them seem to have a rather arbitrary flavor. Nevertheless, some of these distinctions have been claimed to be syntactically relevant (especially in the realm of modification, which is extensively discussed in Chapter 3), which is why we will briefly discuss these distinctions here. It should be kept in mind, however, that in principle many other distinctions can be made, for other purposes, and that the classes discussed below exhibit a considerable overlap; see Section 1.3.2.2.3 for discussion.

1.3.2.2.1. Scales and scalar adjectives

Many set-denoting adjectives are scalar. The primeless examples in (58) express that both Jan and Marie are part of the set denoted by the adjective *ziek* ‘ill’, which will be clear from the fact that they imply the primed examples. The function of the intensifiers *vrij* ‘rather’ and *zeer* ‘very’ is to indicate that Jan and Marie do not exhibit the property of being ill to the same degree. This means that the possibility of adding an intensifier indicates that some scale is implied; the function of intensifiers *vrij* and *zeer* is to situate the illness of Jan and the illness of Marie at different places on this scale. This can be schematized as in (58c).

- (58) a. Jan is vrij ziek. $\Rightarrow$ a'. Jan is ziek.
 Jan is rather ill Jan is ill
 b. Marie is zeer ziek. $\Rightarrow$ b'. Marie is ziek.
 Marie is very ill Marie is ill
 c. • Scale of illness:



The schema in (58c) indicates that Jan is less ill than Marie. Further, it indicates that there is some point to the left of Jan where we start to talk about illness; the scale is bounded at its left side. However, as long as the person involved stays alive, there is no obvious point on the right side of the scale where we stop talking about illness; the scale is unbounded at the right side. This section will discuss several types of scalar adjectives on the basis of the properties of the scales that they imply.

I. Antonymous adjectives

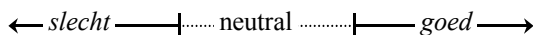
Many set-denoting adjectives come in antonym pairs, which can be situated on a single scale. Some examples are given in (59). The following subsections will show, however, that the scales implied by these antonym pairs may differ in various respects.

- (59) a. *slecht* 'evil/bad' a'. *goed* 'good'
 b. *klein* 'small' b'. *groot* 'big'
 c. *vroeg* 'early' c'. *laat* 'late'
 d. *gezond* 'healthy' d'. *ziek* 'ill'
 e. *leeg* 'empty' e'. *vol* 'full'

A. Scales that are unbounded on both sides

First consider the scale implied by the pair *goed* 'good' and *slecht* 'evil/bad', given in (60). The two adjectives each indicate a range on the scale, that is, they are both scalar. Further, the implied scale is unbounded on both sides. However, between the two ranges denoted by *goed* and *slecht*, there is a zone where neither of the two adjectives is applicable, and which we will call the neutral zone.

- (60) • Scale of "goodness":

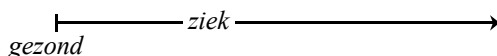


That there is a neutral zone is clear from the fact that *slecht* 'evil/bad' and *niet goed* 'not good' are not fully equivalent. The difference can be made clear by looking at the logical implications in (61a&b). The fact that *slecht* implies *niet goed*, but that *niet goed* does not imply *slecht* can be accounted for by making use of the scale of "goodness" in (60). As can be seen in (61c), *niet goed* covers a larger part of the scale than *slecht*: it includes the neutral zone.

D. Scales with one absolute and one gradable adjective

In the examples above, the two antonyms are both gradable. This need not be the case, however. The adjective *gezond* 'healthy' in (59d), for instance, does not seem to be scalar itself; rather, it is absolute (see the discussion of (68)), and indicates one end of the scale. In other words, we may represent the scale of illness as in (65).

- (65) • Scale of illness:



Many gradable adjectives that imply a scale that is bounded on one side are deverbal or pseudo-participles; cf. the primeless examples in (66) and (67). Their antonyms, which are situated at the boundary of the scale, are often morphologically derived by means of *on-* prefixation. In the case of the pseudo-participles occasionally no antonym exists, so that we must express the negative counterpart by means of the negative adverb *niet*.

(66) a.	<i>brandbaar</i> 'combustible'	a'. <i>onbrandbaar</i> 'incombustible'
b.	<i>bereikbaar</i> 'attainable'	b'. <i>onbereikbaar</i> 'unattainable'
c.	<i>begroeid</i> 'overgrown'	c'. <i>onbegroeid</i> 'without plants'
d.	<i>toegankelijk</i> 'accessible'	d'. <i>ontoegankelijk</i> 'inaccessible'
(67) a.	<i>bekend met</i> 'familiar with'	a'. <i>onbekend met</i> 'unfamiliar with'
b.	<i>bestand tegen</i> 'resistant to'	b'. <i>niet bestand tegen</i> 'not resistant to'
c.	<i>gewond</i> 'wounded'	c'. <i>ongewond</i> 'not wounded'
d.	<i>opgewassen tegen</i> 'up to'	d'. <i>niet opgewassen tegen</i> 'not up to'
e.	<i>verwant aan</i> 'related to'	e'. <i>niet verwant aan</i> 'not related to'

That *gezond* and the adjectives in the primed examples in (66) and (67) are not scalar but absolute is clear from the fact that they can be modified by adverbial phrases like *absoluut* 'absolutely', *helemaal* 'completely' and *vrijwel* 'almost', as in (68). We show these examples with topicalization of the AP in order to block the reading in which *absoluut/vrijwel* is interpreted as a sentence adverb. The examples are perhaps stylistically marked but at least the cases with *absoluut* become fully acceptable when we add the negative adverb *niet* 'not' at the end of the clause.

- (68) a. *Absoluut/vrijwel gezond* is Jan.
absolutely/almost healthy is Jan
- b. *Absoluut/vrijwel onbrandbaar* is deze stof.
absolutely/almost incombustible is this material
- c. *Helemaal/vrijwel onbekend met onze gewoontes* is Jan.
completely/almost not.familiar with our habits is Jan

The examples in (69) show that these adverbial phrases cannot be combined with scalar adjectives; cf. Section 1.3.2.2.2.

- (69) a. *Absoluut/vrijwel goed/klein/ziek is Jan.
 absolutely/almost good/small/ill is Jan
 b. *Absoluut/vrijwel brandbaar is deze stof.
 absolutely/almost combustible is this material
 c. *Helemaal/vrijwel bekend met onze gewoontes is Jan.
 completely /almost familiar with our habits is Jan

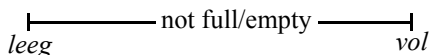
For completeness' sake note that the adjective *gezond* 'healthy' can also be used as a scalar adjective, provided that it is the antonym of *ongezond* 'unhealthy'. In this use, *gezond* cannot be modified by the adverbial phrases *absoluut* and *vrijwel*. This is shown in (70).

- (70) *Absoluut/vrijwel gezond/ongezond is spinazie.
 absolutely/almost healthy/unhealthy is spinach

E. Scales with two absolute adjectives

The fact that *gezond* (i.e., the antonym of *ziek* 'ill') is not scalar shows that the placement of an antonym pair of adjectives on a scale is not sufficient to conclude that the adjectives are both scalar. In fact, they can both be absolute. This is the case with the adjectives *leeg/vol* 'empty/full' in (59e); they both typically denote the boundaries of the implied scale. That *leeg* and *vol* are not scalar but absolute is clear from the fact that they can be modified by adverbial phrases like *helemaal* 'totally', *vrijwel* 'almost', etc.

- (71) a. • Scale of "fullness"



- b. Het glas is helemaal/vrijwel leeg/vol.
 the glass is totally/almost empty/full

II. Context dependent adjectives — the placement of the neutral zone

In the scales in (60), (63) and (64), we have indicated a neutral zone to which neither of the two adjectives is applicable. This zone is often more or less fixed for the speaker in question. With some adjectives, however, the neutral zone is more flexible and may be determined by the entity the adjectives are predicated of, or the context in which the adjectives are used. This holds in particular for the measure adjectives, of which some examples are given in (72).

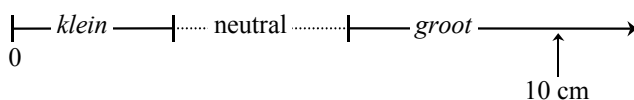
(72) a. <i>dik</i> 'thick'	a'. <i>dun</i> 'thin'
b. <i>oud</i> 'old'	b'. <i>jong</i> 'young'
c. <i>groot</i> 'big'	c'. <i>klein</i> 'small'
d. <i>lang</i> 'tall'/'long'	d'. <i>kort</i> 'short'/'brief'
e. <i>hoog</i> 'high'	e'. <i>laag</i> 'low'
f. <i>zwaar</i> 'heavy'	f'. <i>licht</i> 'light'
g. <i>breed</i> 'wide'	g'. <i>smal</i> 'narrow'

That the placement of the neutral zone, that is, that the interpretation of the measure adjectives depends on the argument the adjective is predicated of can be demonstrated by means of the examples in (73a) and (73b). Below, we will discuss the examples with the adjective *groot*, but the discussion is also applicable to *klein*.

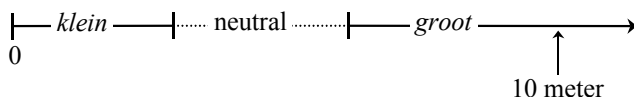
- (73) a. Deze muis is klein/groot.
 this mouse is small/big
 b. Deze olifant is klein/groot.
 the elephant is small/big

Although *groot* can be predicated of both the noun phrase *deze muis* ‘this mouse’ and the noun phrase *deze olifant* ‘this elephant’, it is clear that the two entities these noun phrases refer to cannot be assumed to be of a similar size: the mouse is considerably smaller than the elephant. This is due to the fact that the placement of the neutral zone on the implied scales of size differs. In the case of mice the scale will be expressed in term of centimeters, as in (74a), while in the case of elephants the scale will instead be expressed in meters, as in (74b).

- (74) a. • Scale of size for mice in centimeters:



- b. • Scale of size for elephants in meters:



This shows that the placement of the neutral zone is at least partly determined by the argument the adjective is predicated of; it indicates the “normal” or “average” size of mice/elephants. In other words, examples like (73) implicitly introduce a comparison class, namely the class of mice/elephants, which determines the precise position of the neutral zone on the implied scale. Often, a *voor*-PP can be used to make the comparison class explicit, and clarify the intended neutral zone, as in (75).

- (75) Jan is groot voor een jongen van zijn leeftijd.
 Jan is big for a boy of his age

The comparison class and, hence, the neutral zone are not fully determined by the argument the adjective is predicated of; the context may also play a role. When we are discussing mammals in general, the statement in (76a) is true while the statement in (76b) is false: the comparison class is constituted by mammals, and therefore the neutral zone is determined by the average size of mammals, and Indian Elephants are certainly bigger than that. However, if we discuss the different subspecies of elephants, the statement in (76a) is false while the statement in (76b) is true: the comparison class is constituted by elephants, and the Indian Elephant is small compared to the African Elephant.

- (76) a. De Indische Olifant is groot.
the Indian Elephant is big
b. De Indische Olifant is klein.
the Indian Elephant is small

III. Subjective/objective adjectives

Although the placement of the neutral zone on the scale implied by the measure adjective depends on extra-linguistic information, the scale itself can be considered objective in the sense that once speakers have established the neutral zone, they can objectively establish whether a certain statement is true or false. The fact that the scale implied by the measure adjectives is objective is also supported by the fact that (in some cases) the precise position on the scale can be indicated by means of nominal measure phrases like *twee dagen* and *twintig meter* in (77).

- (77) a. Dit poesje is twee dagen oud.
this kitten is two days old
b. De weg is twintig meter lang.
the road is twenty meters long

In the case of adjectives like *lelijk/mooi* 'ugly/beautiful' and *saai/boeiend* 'boring/exciting', on the other hand, establishing the precise position of the relevant entities on the implied scale is a more subjective matter; in fact, it can depend entirely on the language user, which can be emphasized by embedding the adjective under the verb *vinden* 'consider', as in the (a)-examples in (78). Occasionally, the entity whose evaluation is assumed can be syntactically expressed by means of a *voor*-PP; some examples are given in the (b)-examples.

- (78) a. Ik vind *De Nachtwacht* lelijk/mooi.
I consider *The Night Watch* ugly/beautiful
a'. Ik vind Shakespeares drama's saai/boeiend.
I consider Shakespeare's tragedies boring/exciting
b. Dit gereedschap is handig voor een timmerman.
this tool is handy for a carpenter
'These tools are handy for a carpenter.'
b'. Dit boek is interessant voor elke taalkundige.
this book is of interest to every linguist

The pairs of measure adjectives in (72) can be considered true antonyms. This is clear from the fact that the two (a)-examples in (79) are fully equivalent. However, this equivalence does not seem to hold for the subjective adjectives in the (b)-examples, which suggests that the comparative forms *mooier* and *lelijker* are not true but quasi-antonyms.

- (79) a. Jan is groter dan Marie. ⇔ a'. Marie is kleiner dan Jan.
Jan is bigger than Marie Marie is smaller than Jan
b. *De Nachtwacht* is mooier dan *De anatomieles*. ⇔
The Night Watch is more beautiful than *The Anatomy Lesson*
b'. *De anatomieles* is lelijker dan *De Nachtwacht*.
The Anatomy Lesson is uglier than *The Night Watch*

This difference may be related to the following observation. The use of the comparative form of objective adjectives like *klein* ‘small’ and *groot* ‘big’ in the (a)-examples of (79) does not necessarily imply that the argument the adjective is predicated of is actually small or big. The use of the comparative form of the subjective adjectives *mooi* ‘beautiful’ and *lelijk* ‘ugly’, on the other hand, at least strongly suggest that the argument the adjective is predicated of is indeed beautiful or ugly. This difference between objective and subjective adjectives may be lexically encoded; reasons for assuming this will be given in Subsection VI below.

For completeness’ sake, it can be observed that the true antonym of *mooier* is the comparative form *minder mooi* ‘less beautiful’, as is clear from the fact that the equivalency does hold between (80a) and (80b). The true antonymy relation of course also holds for *groter* ‘bigger’ and *minder groot* ‘less big’.

- (80) a. *De Nachtwacht* is mooier dan *De anatomieles*. $\Leftrightarrow$
The Night Watch is more beautiful than *The Anatomy Lesson*
 b. *De anatomieles* is minder mooi dan *De Nachtwacht*.
The Anatomy Lesson is less beautiful than *The Night Watch*

IV. Measure adjectives — the (non)neutral form of the antonymous adjectives

The examples in (77) have already shown that the measure adjectives can be modified by means of a nominal measure phrase. However, for each antonym pair in (72), only the adjective in the primeless example can be used. Some examples are given in (81). Observe that the acceptable example in (81a) does not express the fact that the kitten is old; on the contrary, it is quite young, which can be emphasized by using the evaluative particle *pas* ‘only’. Therefore, it is clear that the adjective *oud* has lost the antonymous part of its meaning. The same thing holds for the adjective *lang* in (81b). Since these adjectives have lost this part of their meaning, *oud* and *lang* can be considered as neutral forms of the relevant pairs; the adjectives *jong* and *kort* cannot be used in this neutral way.

- (81) a. Het poesje is (pas) twee dagen oud/[%]jong.
 the kitten is only two days old/young
 b. De weg is (maar) twintig meter lang/[%]kort.
 the road is only twenty meters long/short

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the interrogative sentences in (82): the neutral form *oud/lang* gives rise to a perfectly natural question and does not presuppose that the subject of the clause should be characterized as being old/long, whereas the non-neutral form *jong/kort* gives rise to a marked result and seems to express the presupposition that the kitten is young/the road is short.

- (82) a. Hoe oud/[%]jong is het poesje?
 how old/young is the kitten
 b. Hoe lang/[%]kort is deze weg?
 how long/short is this road

In this context it is also relevant to observe that only the neutral forms of the measure adjectives can be the input of the morphological rule that derives nouns from adjectives by suffixation with *-te*. The formation **oudte* in (83c) is probably

blocked by the existing noun *leeftijd* ‘age’. See Section 3.1.3.2 for further discussion of measure adjectives.

(83) a.	<i>breedte</i> ‘width’	a’.	* <i>smalte</i>
b.	<i>dikte</i> ‘thickness’	b’.	* <i>dunte</i>
c.	* <i>oudte</i> ‘age’	c’.	* <i>jongte</i>
d.	<i>lengte</i> ‘length’	d’.	* <i>kortte</i>
e.	<i>hoogte</i> ‘height’	e’.	# <i>laagte</i>
f.	<i>zwaarte</i> ‘weight’	f’.	* <i>lichtte</i>

The adjectives in (84) exhibit a behavior similar to the measure adjectives in (82): the primeless examples are unmarked, and do not presuppose that the property denoted by the adjective is applicable; the primed examples, on the other hand, are marked, and strongly suggest that the property denoted by the adjective is applicable.

(84) a.	Hoe schoon is de keuken?	a’.	%Hoe vies is de keuken?
	how clean is the kitchen		how dirty is the kitchen
b.	Hoe veilig is die draaimolen?	b’.	%Hoe onveilig is die draaimolen?
	how safe is that merry-go-round		how unsafe is that merry-go-round

V. Positively/negatively valued adjectives

Often, the subjective adjectives not only imply a subjective scale, but also express a negative or positive evaluation. Of the pair *slecht* ‘bad/evil’ and *goed* ‘good’, the first adjective clearly denotes a negatively valued property, whereas the latter denotes a positively valued property. The examples in (85) show that this distinction is also reflected in their modification possibilities: the primeless examples contain negatively valued adjectives, and modification by the elements *knap* ‘quite’ and *flink* ‘quite’ is possible; the primed examples, on the other hand, contain positively valued adjectives and modification by *knap* and *flink* is excluded.

(85) a.	knap	brutaal/moeilijk/lastig/ongehoorzaam
	quite	cheeky/difficult/troublesome/disobedient
a’.	*knap	beleefd/makkelijk/eenvoudig/gehoorzaam
	pretty	polite/easy/simple/obedient
b.	flink	moeilijk/lastig/ongehoorzaam
	quite	difficult/troublesome/disobedient
b’.	*flink	makkelijk/eenvoudig/gehoorzaam
	quite	easy/simple/obedient

The examples in (86) show that LITOTES (the trope in literary and formal language by which one emphasizes a property by means of the negation of its antonym) also requires an adjective denoting a negatively valued property; when the adjective denotes a positively valued property, as in the primed examples, the desired interpretation does not normally arise; a notable exception is colloquial *Da’s niet goed!*, in which the deictic force of the demonstrative has bleached; cf. English *That’s not good!* (Carole Boster, p.c.).

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- (86) a. Dat boek is niet slecht. a'. [#]Dat boek is niet goed.
 that book is not bad that book is not good
 'That is very good.' Not: 'That is very bad.'
- b. Hij is niet lelijk. b'. [#]Hij is niet knap.
 he is not ugly he is not handsome
 'He is quite handsome.' Not: 'He is quite ugly.'

The modifier *wel* 'rather', on the other hand, requires an adjective that denotes a positively valued property. This is illustrated in (87). Note that the primed examples are fully acceptable when *wel* is interpreted as the affirmative marker *wel*; the two forms differ in that the affirmative marker receives accent, whereas the modifier does not. These uses of *niet* and *wel* in (86) and (87) are more extensively discussed in Section 3.3.2.

- (87) a. Jan is wel aardig. a'. *Jan is wel onaardig.
 Jan is WEL kind Jan is WEL unkind
 'Jan is rather kind.'
- b. Hij is wel knap. b'. *Hij is wel lelijk.
 he is WEL handsome he is WEL ugly
 'He is rather handsome.'

Occasionally, the modifier is sensitive both to the positive/negative value of the adjective and the syntactic environment. The modifier *een beetje* 'a bit', for example, requires a negatively valued adjective in declarative clauses (or an adjective that does not have an antonym such as *verliefd* 'in love'). In questions and imperatives, on the other hand, this modifier prefers an adjective that denotes a positively valued property.

- (88) a. Hij is een beetje onaardig/^{*/?}aardig.
 he is a bit unkind/kind
- b. Is hij een beetje aardig/[?]onaardig?
 is he a bit kind/unkind
- c. Wees een beetje aardig/[#]onaardig!
 be a bit kind/unkind

VI. Truly antonymous adjectives and the licensing of negative polarity items

This subsection discusses the fact that negative polarity items can be licensed by the subset of antonymous adjectives that were called true antonyms in subsection III above. In order to be able to do that we must first discuss certain logical properties of these adjectives. True antonyms have the defining property that they allow the inference in (89a), where A and A' represent antonymous adjectives; cf. Subsection III. In (89b), we repeat example (79a): when we say that Jan is bigger than Marie, we may conclude that Marie is smaller than Jan, and, similarly, when we claim that Marie is smaller than Jan, we may conclude that Jan is bigger than Marie. This equivalency does not hold for quasi-antonymous adjectives like *mooi* 'beautiful' and *lelijk* 'ugly'; see example (79b) for discussion.

- (89) • True antonyms
- a. x is more A than y $\Leftrightarrow y$ is more A' than x
 - b. Jan is groter dan Marie. $\Leftrightarrow$ Marie is kleiner dan Jan.
Jan is bigger than Marie Marie is smaller than Jan

True and quasi-antonymous adjectives are similar in that the implications in (90a) do not hold for either, which is due to the fact that in both cases the implied scale may have a neutral zone. This was already discussed for the quasi-antonymous adjectives *slecht* 'bad' and *goed* 'good' in Subsection I, so we confine ourselves here to giving similar examples for the true antonymous adjectives *groot* 'big' and *klein* 'small'.

- (90) a. $\text{not } A \not\Rightarrow A'$; $\text{not } A' \not\Rightarrow A$
 b. Jan is niet groot. $\not\Rightarrow$ Jan is klein.
 Jan is not big Jan is small
 b'. Jan is niet klein. $\not\Rightarrow$ Jan is groot.
 Jan is not good Jan is evil

Despite the fact that the implications in (90a) do not hold, we will show in this subsection that for the true antonyms above, the pair *not A* and A' as well as the pair *not A'* and A do exhibit certain similarities in semantic behavior, which may be relevant when it comes to the licensing of negative polarity items like *ook maar iets* 'anything'. In order to demonstrate this, we have selected the adjectives in (91). These adjectives were chosen because they may take a clausal complement, which is crucial for our purposes below because negative polarity items like *ook maar iets* are normally only possible in embedded clauses.

- (91) a. *gemakkelijk* 'easy' a'. *moeilijk* 'difficult'
 b. *verstandig* 'clever' b'. *onverstandig* 'foolish'
 c. *veilig* 'safe' c'. *gevaarlijk* 'dangerous'

A. Upward and downward entailments

Consider the examples in (92). In the primeless examples, the complement clause refers to a wider set of events than the complement in the primed examples; the addition of an adverb in the latter cases makes the event the complement clause refers to more specific, and hence applicable to a smaller number of situations. For example, there are a lot of occasions in which a problem is solved, but only in a subset of those occasions is the problem solved fast.

- (92) a. Het is gemakkelijk om dat probleem op te lossen.
 it is easy COMP that problem prt. to solve
 'It is easy to solve that problem.'
 a'. Het is gemakkelijk om dat probleem snel op te lossen.
 it is easy COMP that problem quickly prt. to solve
 'It is easy to solve that problem fast.'
 b. Het is verstandig om een boek voor Peter te kopen.
 it is clever COMP a book for Peter to buy
 'It is clever to buy a book for Peter.'

- b'. Het is verstandig om hier een boek voor Peter te kopen.
it is clever COMP here a book for Peter to buy
'It is clever to buy a book for Peter here.'
- c. Het is veilig om hier over te steken.
it is safe COMP here prt. to cross
'It is safe to cross the road here.'
- c'. Het is veilig om hier met je ogen dicht over te steken.
it is safe COMP here with your eyes closed prt. to cross
'It is safe to cross the road here with your eyes closed.'

Now, it is important to note that one cannot conclude from the truth of the primeless examples that the primed examples are true as well. However, one could conclude from the truth of the primed examples that the primeless ones are true as well. The environments in (92), in which an expression like *snel oplossen* 'to solve quickly' can be replaced by a more general one like *oplossen* 'to solve' without changing the truth-value of the expression, are called UPWARD ENTAILING.

The inferences change radically if we replace the adjectives in (92) by their antonyms, as in (93). Now, we may conclude from the truth of the primeless examples that the primed examples are true as well, and not vice versa. The environments in (93), in which an expression like *oplossen* 'to solve' can be replaced by a more specific one like *snel oplossen* 'to solve quickly' without changing the truth-value of the expression, are called DOWNWARD ENTAILING.

- (93) a. Het is moeilijk om dat probleem op te lossen.
it is difficult COMP that problem prt. to solve
'It is difficult to solve that problem.'
- a'. Het is moeilijk om dat probleem snel op te lossen.
it is difficult COMP that problem quickly prt. to solve
'It is difficult to solve that problem fast.'
- b. Het is onverstandig om een boek voor Peter te kopen.
it is foolish COMP a book for Peter to buy
'It is foolish to buy a book for Peter.'
- b'. Het is onverstandig om hier een boek voor Peter te kopen.
it is foolish COMP here a book for Peter to buy
'It is foolish to buy a book for Peter here.'
- c. Het is gevaarlijk om hier over te steken.
it is dangerous COMP here prt. to cross
'It is dangerous to cross the road here.'
- c'. Het is gevaarlijk om hier met je ogen dicht over te steken.
it is dangerous COMP here with your eyes closed prt. to cross
'It is dangerous to cross the road here with your eyes closed.'

From the examples in (92) and (93) we may conclude that the adjectives in the primeless examples of (91) create upward entailing environments, whereas the adjectives in the primed examples of (91) create downward entailing environments. It must be observed that negation is able to change this property into its reverse. When we add the adverb *niet* 'not' to the examples in (92) the environments become downward entailing, and when we add *niet* to the examples in (93) the

environments becomes upward entailing. For example, *niet gemakkelijk* ‘not easy’ in (94a&a’) behaves just like *moeilijk* ‘difficult’ in (93a&a’), and *niet moeilijk* ‘not difficult’ in (94b&b’) behaves just like *gemakkelijk* ‘easy’ in (92a&a’) in this respect.

- (94) a. Het is niet gemakkelijk om dat probleem op te lossen.
 it is not easy COMP that problem prt. to solve
 ‘It is not easy to solve that problem.’
 a’. Het is niet gemakkelijk om dat probleem snel op te lossen.
 it is not easy COMP that problem quickly prt. to solve
 ‘It is not easy to solve that problem fast.’
 b. Het is niet moeilijk om dat probleem op te lossen.
 it is not difficult COMP that problem prt. to solve
 ‘It is not difficult to solve that problem.’
 b’. Het is niet moeilijk om dat probleem snel op te lossen.
 it is not difficult COMP that problem quickly prt. to solve
 ‘It is not difficult to solve that problem fast.’

B. Negative Polarity Items

Another respect in which *niet gemakkelijk* and *moeilijk*, and *niet moeilijk* and *gemakkelijk* behave similarly concerns the licensing of negative polarity items like *ook maar iets* ‘anything’. These elements are only licensed in downward entailment environments. Therefore, they can occur in contexts like (95), but not in contexts like (96).

- (95) a. Het is moeilijk/niet gemakkelijk om ook maar iets te zien van de wedstrijd.
 it is difficult/not easy COMP anything to see of the match
 ‘It is difficult/not easy to see anything of the match.’
 b. Het is onverstandig/niet verstandig om er ook maar iets over te zeggen.
 it is foolish/not clever COMP there anything about to say
 ‘It is foolish/not clever to say anything about it.’
 c. Het is gevaarlijk/niet veilig om ook maar even te aarzelen.
 it is dangerous/not safe COMP OOK MAAR a moment to hesitate
 ‘It is dangerous/not safe to hesitate even for a second.’
 (96) a. *Het is gemakkelijk/niet moeilijk om ook maar iets te zien van de wedstrijd.
 it is easy/not difficult COMP anything to see of the match
 b. *Het is verstandig/niet onverstandig om er ook maar iets over te zeggen.
 it is clever/not foolish COMP there anything about to say
 c. *Het is veilig/niet gevaarlijk om ook maar even te aarzelen.
 it is safe/not dangerous COMP OOK MAAR a moment to hesitate

This means that although the phrase *not A* is not semantically equivalent to *A’*, we may conclude from the data above that in the case of truly antonymous adjectives, the two give rise to the same kind of environment: if *A’* creates a downward or upward entailment environment, the same thing holds for *not A*.

1.3.2.2.2. *Absolute (non-scalar) adjectives*

Not all set-denoting adjectives are scalar. Typical examples of absolute adjectives are *dood* ‘dead’ and *levend* ‘alive’. The two adjectives denote complementary sets of entities that have the absolute property of being dead/alive. That the adjectives are not scalar is clear from the fact that they (normally) cannot be modified by °intensifiers like *vrij* ‘rather’ or *zeer* ‘very’. Similarly, comparative/superlative formation is normally excluded.

(97) a. %een vrij	dode plant	b. %een zeer	levende hond
a	rather dead plant	a	very living dog
a'. %een dodere	plant	b'. %een levender	hond
a	more.dead plant	a	more.living dog
a''. %de doodste	plant	b''. %de levendste	hond
	the most.dead plant		the most.living dog

This does not imply, however, that modification is excluded categorically. Consider the examples in (98). The modifiers in (98a), which we may call approximatives, indicate that the argument that the adjective *dood* is predicated of has nearly reached the condition that can be denoted by the adjective. The approximatives differ from the intensifiers in (98b) in that one has to conclude from (98a) that the plant is not dead (yet), whereas one must conclude from (98b) that the plant is beautiful. The approximatives in (98a) have the absolute counterpart *helemaal* ‘completely’ in (98c), which emphasizes that the predicate does apply.

(98) a. Die plant is vrijwel/zo goed als dood.	⇒	a'. Die plant is <i>niet</i> dood.
that plant is almost/as good as dead		that plant is not dead
b. Die plant is vrij/zeer mooi.	⇒	b'. Die plant is mooi.
that plant is rather/very beautiful		that plant is beautiful
c. Die plant is helemaal dood.	⇒	c'. Die plant is dood.
that plant is completely dead		that plant is dead

The examples in (99) shows that the approximative and absolute modifiers in (98) normally cannot be combined with scalar adjectives.

- (99) a. *Die plant is vrijwel/zo goed als/helemaal mooi.
that plant is almost/as good as/completely beautiful
- b. *Jan is vrijwel/zo goed als/helemaal aardig.
Jan is almost/as good as/completely nice

It must be noted, however, that it is not always crystal clear whether we have to classify a certain adjective as absolute or scalar. The adjective *vol* ‘full’ may be a good example of a case where the distinction is somewhat vague. The examples in (100) show that this adjective can be modified by approximative and absolute adverbs, which suggests that it must be considered an absolute adjective.

- (100) a. De fles is vrijwel/zo goed als vol.
the bottle is almost/as good as full
- b. De fles is helemaal vol.
the bottle is completely full

In the examples in (101), however, the adjective *vol* can also be modified by intensifiers like *vrij* ‘quite’ or *erg* ‘very’, which is a hallmark of scalar adjectives. This paradox may be due to the fact that in everyday practice *vol* is generally not used in the sense of “100% filled”. For example, a cup of coffee is normally *vol* when it is filled to, say, 90 percent; when it is filled up to the rim, it would actually be called *too* full. It seems that intensifiers can be used to specify the range between 90 and 100 percent full. This suggests that, although *vol* is normally used as an absolute adjective, it can also be used as a scalar adjective when we discuss the periphery of the scale.

- (101) a. Dit kopje is vol. [filled to 90 percent]
 this cup is full
 b. Dit kopje is vrij vol. [filled to nearly 90 percent]
 this cup is quite full
 c. Dit kopje is erg vol. [filled to more than 90 percent]
 this cup is very full
 d. Dit kopje is te vol. [filled to much more than 90 percent]
 this cup is too full

1.3.2.2.3. The distinction between gradable and scalar adjectives

This section will argue that we must make a distinction between gradable and scalar adjectives. A crucial role in this discussion will be played by absolute adjectives that do not come in antonymous pairs, such as the color adjectives *rood* ‘red’, *geel* ‘yellow’, *blauw* ‘blue’, etc., and adjectives that denote geometrical properties like *vierkant* ‘square’, *rond* ‘round’, *driehoekig* ‘triangular’. It will be shown that these adjective are gradable but not scalar.

Gradable adjectives are generally defined as adjectives that can be modified by means of an °intensifier like *vrij/zeer* ‘rather/very’ and undergo comparative and superlative formation, as in (102). These are also typical properties of the class of adjectives that we have called scalar above; example (58) in Section 1.3.2.2.1 has already shown that the intensifiers determine the position of the °logical SUBJECT of the adjective on the implied scale, and example (107) below will show that the comparative/superlative forms determine the relative position of the compared entities on the implied scale.

- (102) a. Deze hond is vrij/zeer intelligent.
 this dog is rather/very intelligent
 a'. Deze hond is intelligenter/het intelligentst.
 this dog is more/the most intelligent
 b. Deze ballon is vrij/zeer groot.
 this balloon is rather/very big
 b'. Deze ballon is groter/het grootst.
 this balloon is bigger/the biggest

However, this does not necessarily imply that the notions of scalar and gradable adjectives are equivalent. Consider the examples in (103) that involve the geometrical adjective *rond* ‘round’. Just like the adjective *dood* ‘dead’, the adjective

rond ‘round’ can be modified by the approximate adverb *vrijwel* ‘almost’ and the absolute adverb *helemaal* ‘perfectly’, from which we may conclude that *rond* is an absolute adjective; cf. the discussion of (98).

- (103) a. De tafel is vrijwel rond.
 the table is almost round
 ‘The table is nearly perfectly round.’
 b. De tafel is helemaal rond.
 the table is perfectly round
 ‘The table is perfectly round.’

However, example (104a) shows that the adverbs *vrij* ‘rather’ and *zeer* ‘very’ can also be used. If this is indeed a defining property of gradable adjectives, we have to conclude that *rond* is gradable. The same thing would follow from (104b), which shows that *rond* is eligible for comparative and superlative formation. Consequently, if the notions scalar and gradable were identical, we would end up with a contradiction: the adjective *rond* would then be both scalar and absolute (non-scalar).

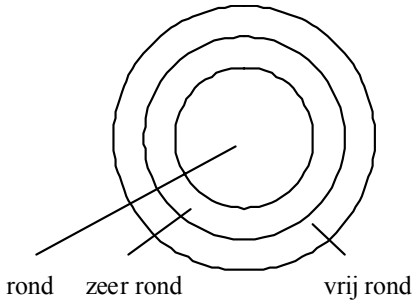
- (104) a. Jans gezicht is vrij/zeer rond.
 Jan’s face is rather/very round
 b. Jans gezicht is ronder/het rondst.
 Jan’s face is rounder/the roundest

If one were to insist on maintaining that the notions scalar and gradable are the same, one could argue that, despite appearances, we are actually not dealing with intensifiers in (104a). As we have seen in (58c), intensifiers are used to specify the place on the (range of the) scale implied by the scalar adjective. From this it follows that *vrij/zeer A* implies that *A* holds. This is shown in (105a) for example (102a). However, this implication does not hold for example (104a); on the contrary, the implication is that the geometrical property denoted by *rond* does *not* hold perfectly.

- (105) a. Deze hond is vrij/zeer intelligent. $\Rightarrow$ a’. Deze hond is intelligent.
 this dog is rather/very intelligent this dog is intelligent
 b. Jans gezicht is vrij/zeer rond. $\Rightarrow$ b’. Jans gezicht is *niet* rond.
 Jan’s face is rather/very round Jan’s face is not round

In this respect, the adverbs *vrij* and *zeer* in (105b) behave like the approximatives discussed in 1.3.2.2.2; they just indicate that the shape of Jan’s face resembles a round shape. The adverb *vrij* indicates that Jan’s face just vaguely resembles a round shape, and *zeer* indicates that it comes close to being round. In other words, there is no scale of roundness implied, but we are dealing with several sets that properly include each other as indicated in (106). In order to avoid confusion, note that the circles in this graph indicate *sets*, and do not represent the geometrical shapes.

(106)

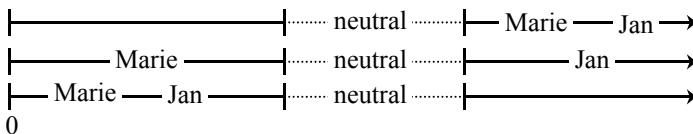


The discussion above has shown that, as far as the intensifiers are concerned, we can in principle maintain the assumption that the notions scalar and gradable are interchangeable, provided that we assume that *vrij* and *zeer* can be used both as intensifying and as approximative adverbs. When we take the comparative and superlative forms in (104b) into consideration, things become more intricate, though. Consider the examples in (107).

- (107) a. Jan is groter dan Marie. $\Rightarrow$ Jan is groot/niet groot.
 Jan is bigger than Marie Jan is big/not big
 b. De eettafel is ronder dan de salontafel. $\Rightarrow$
 the dining table is rounder than the coffee table
 De eettafel is rond/niet rond.
 the dining table is round/not round

Example (107) with the scalar adjective *groot* 'big' implies neither that Jan is big, nor that he is small: as long as Marie is placed to the left of Jan on the scale of size, the statement in (107a) is true. In other words, (107a) applies to all situations indicated in (108).

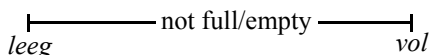
- (108) • Scale of size:



Similarly, example (107b) provides no clue about whether the dining table is round or not (although it does imply that the coffee table is not round). This can be illustrated by means of the figure in (106). When the dining table is part of the set denoted by the adjective *rond* 'round', and the coffee table is only included in the larger set denoted by *zeer rond*, the sentence in (107b) is true. But this is also the case when the dining table is part of the set denoted by *zeer rond*, and the coffee table is part of the set denoted by *vrij rond*. Consequently, no inference can be made on the basis of (107b) concerning the shape of the dining table.

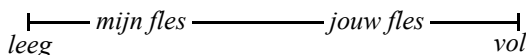
If one still wishes to maintain that the notions scalar and gradable are the same, one has to assume that there are two types of comparatives (and superlatives, but we will not discuss this here), just as in the case of the adverbs *vrij* and *zeer*. Since we have just seen that we cannot appeal to the logical implications to determine whether we are dealing with a gradable adjective or not, we have no other option than to claim that we are dealing with gradable adjectives when the comparison can be expressed by means of a scale. However, this would run into problems with absolute adjectives like *leeg* ‘empty’ and *vol* ‘full’. As was discussed in 1.3.2.2.1, these adjectives denote the boundaries of the scale in (71), repeated here as (109).

- (109) • Scale of “fullness”



Nevertheless, an example such as (110a) can be represented as in (110b), where the comparison is represented by means of a scale. As a result, we would have to conclude that the adjectives *leeg* and *vol* are gradable, contrary to fact.

- (110) a. Mijn fles is leger dan de jouwe.
 my bottle is emptier than the yours
 ‘My bottle is emptier than yours.’
 b. • Scale of “fullness”



The discussion above has shown that identification of the notions scalar and gradable gives rise to terminological confusion. Therefore, we will henceforth use the opposition between scalar and absolute adjectives. The notion of gradable adjective will be used in its traditional sense for any adjective that can be combined with approximative adverbs such as *vrij* ‘rather’ or *zeer* ‘very’, and undergo comparative/superlative formation.

1.3.2.2.4. *Stage/individual-level adjectives*

This section discusses a semantic distinction that is independent of the distinction between scalar and absolute adjectives. Some adjectives, such as *boos* ‘angry’ or *ziek* ‘ill’, express a transitory (stage-level) property of the entity they modify, whereas others, such as *intelligent*, denote a more permanent (individual-level) property. This distinction seems to be syntactically relevant in several respects. The stage-level predicates, for instance, (i) can be used in °expletive, resultative and absolute *met*-constructions like (111a-c), (ii) allow the copula *worden* ‘to become’, and (iii) can be combined with a time adverb such as *vandaag*; these patterns lead to odd results in the case of individual-level adjectives.

- (111) a. Er is iemand ziek/?intelligent.
there is someone ill/intelligent
b. De spaghetti maakte Jan ziek/?intelligent.
the spaghetti made Jan ill/intelligent
c. [Met Jan ziek/?intelligent] kan de vergadering niet doorgaan.
with Jan ill/intelligent can the meeting not take.place
d. Jan wordt ziek/*intelligent.
Jan becomes ill/intelligent
e. Jan is vandaag ziek/*intelligent.
Jan is today ill/intelligent

The examples in (112) show that some individual-level adjectives are derived from (simple) stage-level adjectives by means of affixation with *-(e)lijk*. This is clear from the fact that these adjectives seem to denote a defining property of the modified noun phrase.

(112)	• Stage-level	• Individual-level
a.	Jan is arm. 'Jan is poor'	a'. Jan is armelijk.
b.	Jan is bang. 'Jan is afraid'	b'. Jan is bangelijk.
c.	Jan is ziek. 'Jan is ill'	c'. Jan is ziekelijk.
d.	Jan is zwak. 'Jan is feeble'	d'. Jan is zwakkelijk.

Furthermore, the examples in (113) show that the derived adjectives in the primed examples behave just like the adjective *intelligent* in (111).

- (113) a. ??Er is iemand ziekelijk.
b. ??De spaghetti maakte Jan ziekelijk.
c. ??[met Jan ziekelijk] kan de vergadering niet doorgaan
d. ??Jan wordt ziekelijk.
e. ??Jan is vandaag ziekelijk.

Note that affixation with *-elijk* occasionally gives rise to a change in the semantic selection properties of the adjective: whereas the simple adjective *lief* 'sweet' typically denotes a property of animate beings, the derived adjective *liefelijk* is applied to non-animate objects like houses, landscapes or paintings.

- (114) a. Jan/?Het huis is lief.
Jan/the house is sweet
b. Het huis/?Jan is liefelijk.
the house/Jan is charming

Note further that not all adjectives derived by *-elijk* are individual-level adjectives; this affix also derives adjectives that are used as adverbs. An example is the adjective *rijkelijk* in (115), which is mainly used as a kind of degree adverb; it sounds rather marked when used in attributive position (although many instances of this use can be found on the internet) and gives rise to a severely degraded result when used in predicative position. We refer the reader to Chapter 8 for more examples of derived adjectives that are mainly used as adverbs.

- (115) a. ?een rijkelijke maaltijd
 a rich meal
 b. *De maaltijd was rijkelijk.
 c. De tafel was rijkelijk beladen met heerlijke gerechten.
 the table was richly loaded with lovely dishes

The stage/individual-level reading need not be an inherent property of the adjective itself, but can be determined by the context or by our knowledge of reality. Consider the primeless examples in (116). Given the fact that the adverb *vandaag* ‘today’ can be added to the copular construction in (116a), the adjective *grappig* ‘funny’ clearly expresses a stage-level property in this example. In (116b), on the other hand, addition of *vandaag* gives rise to an odd result, apparently because *erg grappig* ‘very funny’ is not considered to be a transitory property of books; after all, books do not change in this respect over the course of time. Accordingly, the adjective *grappig* can be used in an expletive copular construction when the subject is [+ANIMATE] but not when it is [-ANIMATE], as is demonstrated in the primed examples in (116).

- (116) a. Jan was vandaag erg grappig.
 Jan was today very funny
 a'. Er was iemand erg grappig (vandaag).
 there was someone very funny today
 b. %Het boek *Bezorgde ouders* van Gerard Reve was vandaag erg grappig.
 the book *Worried Parents* by Gerard Reve was today very funny
 b'. %Er was een boek erg grappig (vandaag).
 there was a book very funny today

For completeness’ sake, note that example (117) is perfectly acceptable, provided that we are discussing the episode of the comedy series *Mr. Bean* that was broadcast today. This does not imply, however, that being funny is a transitory property of a comedy; the adverbial phrase *vandaag* ‘today’ functions to identify a certain episode, and does not imply that we are dealing with a stage-level property; being funny can simply be seen as an individual-level property of the intended episode.

- (117) De komedie *Mr. Bean* was vandaag erg grappig.
 the comedy *Mr. Bean* was today very funny
 ‘Today’s episode of *Mr. Bean* was very funny.’

1.3.2.3. *A morphological classification*

From a morphological point of view, the set-denoting adjectives undoubtedly constitute the largest adjectival class. In fact, a description of the morphological properties of these adjectives covers practically all productive word formation processes by which adjectives can be created. Since we do not intend to give a full description of the morphology of Dutch, the small sample in (118) should suffice to illustrate these processes; see De Haas and Trommelen (1993) and Booij (2002) for more comprehensive descriptions.

(118) Morphological classes of set-denoting adjectives

TYPE		EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
Simple adjectives		<i>aardig</i> <i>mooi</i>	nice beautiful
Compounds	N+A	<i>bloedmooi</i> (blood + beautiful) <i>boterzacht</i> (butter + soft)	extremely beautiful soft as butter
	V+A	<i>fonkelnieuw</i> (sparkle + new) <i>spilziek</i> (waste + ill)	brand-new wasteful
	A+A	<i>donkerrood</i> (dark + red) <i>stomdronken</i> (mute + drunk)	deep red dead drunk
	P+A	<i>inriest</i> (in + sad) <i>doornat</i> (through + wet)	very sad soaked
Derived adjectives	denominal	<i>deugdzaam</i> (virtue + affix) <i>rotsachtig</i> (rock + affix)	virtuous rocky
	deverbal	<i>zwijgzaam</i> (be.silent + affix) <i>weigerachtig</i> (refuse + affix)	reticent inclined to refuse
	deadjectival	<i>gel(er)ig</i> (yellow + affix) <i>ziekelijk</i> (ill + affix)	yellowish sickly
	deadpositional	<i>achterlijk</i> (behind + affix) <i>voorlijk</i> (in.front + affix)	retarded precocious

Instead of providing a full description of the morphological categories that can be used as set-denoting adjectives, it is easier to list the morphological categories that cannot readily be used as such, because these constitute the subset of the denominal adjectives that are used as relational adjectives; cf. Section 1.3.3. This complementarity shows that the semantic distinction between the set-denoting and the relational adjectives also has a morphological reflex.

1.3.3. Relational adjectives

This section will discuss various types of relational adjectives. As we have noted in Section 1.3.1, relational adjectives differ from set-denoting adjectives in that they do not denote a property of the noun they modify, but express a relation between two entities; cf. also Heynderickx (1992). Compare the two typical examples in (119a&b), which can be paraphrased as shown in the primed examples.

- (119) a. vaderlandse geschiedenis a'. geschiedenis over het vaderland
national history history of the native country
b. normatief taalgebruik b'. taalgebruik volgens de norm
normative usage usage according to the norm

Section 1.3.1 has shown that the relational adjectives (i) cannot be used predicatively, (ii) are not gradable, that is, have no comparative/superlative form and cannot be modified by means of an intensifier, and (iii) cannot be prefixed by means of the negative affix *on-*. However, these adjectives occasionally have a tendency to shift their meaning in the direction of the set-denoting adjectives. As a consequence, the distinction between qualifying and relational adjectives is not

always easy to make. Whenever this is the case, we will point this out in the more comprehensive discussion below.

1.3.3.1. A morphological classification

As will be clear from the examples in (119), the relation expressed by the relational adjectives involves the entity denoted by the modified noun and an entity denoted by the adjective itself. In view of this, it is not surprising that relational adjectives are generally denominal. Some systematic morphological classes of denominal relational adjectives are given in the first four rows of Table 9. Some less systematic cases are given in the final row. The abbreviations *g* and *n* in the column labeled AFFIX indicate whether we are dealing with an affix of a Germanic or non-Germanic origin; cf. De Haas and Trommelen (1993) for discussion.

Table 9: Morphological classification of the relational adjectives

TYPE ADJECTIVE	TYPE STEM	AFFIX		EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
geographical (§1.3.3.2)	person noun	-s	g	<i>Turks</i>	Turkish
		-isch	n	<i>Aziatisch</i>	Asiatic
		-er	g	<i>Groninger</i>	from Groningen
movement or trend (§1.3.3.3)	person noun	-s	g	<i>chomskiaans</i>	Chomskyan
		-isch	n	<i>kapitalistisch</i>	capitalistic
		-er	g	<i>dominicaner</i>	Dominican
time or frequency (§1.3.3.4)	time noun	-(e)lijk	g	<i>nachtelijk</i>	nocturnal
		-s	g	<i>zaterdag-s</i>	Saturday-s
		-(e)lijks	g	<i>wekelijks</i>	weekly
substance (§1.3.3.5)	substance noun	-en	g	<i>houten</i> <i>gouden</i>	wooden gold
other cases §1.3.3.6	native noun	-ig	g	<i>taalkundig</i>	linguistic
		-(e)lijk	g	<i>vrouwelijk</i>	feminine
	non-native noun	-isch	n	<i>morfologisch</i>	morphological
		-aal	n	<i>fiscaal</i>	fiscal
		-eel		<i>cultureel</i>	cultural
		-air	n	<i>primair</i>	primary
		-ief	n	<i>administratief</i>	administrative
		-iek	n	<i>diplomatiek</i>	diplomatic
		-iel	n	<i>tactiel</i>	tactile

Note that most affixes in the final row can also be used to derive set-denoting adjectives; some examples are *misdad-ig* ‘criminal’, *vriend-elijk* ‘friendly’, *symbol-isch* ‘symbolic’, *paradox-aal* ‘paradoxical’, and *element-air* ‘elementary’.

1.3.3.2. Geographical and place adjectives: *Turks* ‘Turkish’

The geographical adjectives are generally derived from nouns by means of affixation. In De Haas and Trommelen (1993), three typical cases are distinguished, which we will discuss below. We will not discuss the exceptions to the general

rules, but simply refer the reader to the comprehensive list of person nouns and geographical adjectives in Haeseryn et al. (1997:748-782) for details.

I. Type Turks 'Turkish'

Table 10 shows that adjectives of the type *Turks* are derived from geographical person nouns, which in their turn can be derived from geographical names. The geographical adjective is derived by means of suffixation of the person noun with *-s*, unless the latter already has an *-s* ending; cf. the examples in rows (i) and (ii). When the person noun is derived from the geographical name by means of the nominal suffix *-er* (or more incidentally *-ing*, *-(e)ling*, *-(e)naar*), the corresponding geographical adjective is derived by means of truncation, that is, the person affix is replaced by the adjectival suffix *-s*; cf. row (iii). Adjectives like *buitenlands* 'foreign', *binnenlands* 'domestic' and *vaderlands* 'national' probably also belong to this class.

- (120) a. *buitenland* 'foreign country' a'. *buitenlander* a''. *buitenlands*
 b. *binnenland* 'home land' b'. *binnenlander* b''. *binnenlands*
 c. *vaderland* 'native country' b'. *vaderlander* c''. *vaderlands*

When the person noun is not morphologically derived from the geographical name, the adjective can still be derived from the person noun by means of the suffix *-s*; cf. row (iv).

Table 10: Geographical adjectives ending in *-s* derived from person nouns

	GEOGRAPHICAL NAME	TRANSLATION	PERSON NOUN	ADJECTIVE
(i)	<i>Amerika</i>	America	<i>Amerikaan</i>	<i>Amerikaans</i>
	<i>Palestina</i>	Palestine	<i>Palestijn</i>	<i>Palestijns</i>
(ii)	<i>China</i>	China	<i>Chinees</i>	<i>Chinees</i>
	<i>Libanon</i>	Lebanon	<i>Libanees</i>	<i>Libanees</i>
(iii)	<i>Nederland</i>	the Netherlands	<i>Nederlander</i>	<i>Nederlands</i>
	<i>Gent</i>	Gent	<i>Gentenaar</i>	<i>Gents</i>
	<i>Vlaanderen</i>	Flanders	<i>Vlaming</i>	<i>Vlaams</i>
(iv)	<i>Zweden</i>	Sweden	<i>Zweed</i>	<i>Zweeds</i>
	<i>Zwitserland</i>	Switzerland	<i>Zwitser</i>	<i>Zwitsers</i>
	<i>Wallonië</i>	Wallonia	<i>Waal</i>	<i>WaaIs</i>

II. Type Aziatisch 'Asiatic'

Table 11 shows that geographical adjectives ending in *-isch* are all derived from person nouns, which in their turn are normally derived from geographical names. Row (i) of this table shows that, when the geographical name ends in *-ië* and the person noun is derived by means of the Germanic person suffix *-er*, the resulting complex *-iër* is replaced by *-isch*. Otherwise, the affix *-isch* is simply added to the person affix, as shown in rows (ii) and (iii). Occasionally, the *-isch* ending is also possible when the person noun is not morphologically derived from a geographical name, as shown in row (iv).

Table 11: Geographical adjectives ending in -isch derived from person nouns

	GEOGRAPHICAL NAME	TRANSLATION	PERSON NOUN	ADJECTIVE
(i)	<i>Australië</i>	Australia	<i>Australiër</i>	<i>Australisch</i>
	<i>Ethiopië</i>	Ethiopia	<i>Ethiopiër</i>	<i>Ethiopisch</i>
(ii)	<i>Azië</i>	Asia	<i>Aziaat</i>	<i>Aziatisch</i>
(iii)	<i>Moskou</i>	Moscow	<i>Moskoviet</i>	<i>Moskovitisch</i>
	<i>Monaco</i>	Monaco	<i>Monegask</i>	<i>Monegaskisch</i>
(iv)	<i>Rusland</i>	Russia	<i>Rus</i>	<i>Russisch</i>
	<i>Koerdistan</i>	Koerdistan	<i>Koerd</i>	<i>Koerdisch</i>

III. Type Urker ‘from Urk’

When we are dealing with a Dutch geographical name, the geographical adjective can occasionally be formed by means of the affix *-er*. These adjectives are generally used in fixed collocations; two examples of such collocations are given in (121b&c). The geographical adjectives with *-er* are special in that they never allow the attributive *-e* inflection; cf. Section 5.1.2.2.

- (121) a. het Urker Mannenkoor
 ‘the male voice choir from Urk’
- b. Edammer kaas
 ‘cheese from Edam’
- c. Groninger koek
 ‘gingerbread from Groningen’

IV. Other cases

Occasionally, place adjectives occur that do not have a clear nominal stem, are not semantically transparent, or do not fall into the classes I to III. Often, these involve elements that are mostly used as adverbs of place. Examples are given in (122).

- (122) a. *buitengaats* ‘offshore’
- b. *ginds* ‘yonder’
- c. *plaatselijk* ‘local’

Further, there are adjectives that seem to have been derived from a preposition or a particle by means of the affix *-ste*, which is also used to derive superlatives. Some examples are given in (123). Like superlatives, which are derived by means of the suffix *-ste*, these adjectives do not readily appear in indefinite noun phrases: *del^m een onderste plank* ‘the/a bottom shelf’.

- (123) a. *onderste* ‘bottom/undermost’
- b. *bovenste* ‘top/upmost’
- c. *middelste* ‘middle’
- d. *buitenste* ‘outermost’

It must be noted, however, that it is not clear whether the adjective *middelste* is indeed derived from a preposition, given that the corresponding preposition would be *midden*, not *middel*. Similar doubt may arise for the other cases given that their meanings are only loosely related to the meanings of the presumed input prepositions *onder* 'under', *boven* 'above' and *buiten* 'outside'.

V. The meaning contribution of the geographical adjectives

Instead of denoting a set, the geographical adjectives seem to express an underspecified KIND-OF RELATION in the sense that they can express almost any conceivable relationship between the head of the modified noun phrase and the input noun of the adjective: the noun phrases in (124a-c) refer to, respectively, the dunes *situated in* the Netherlands, the lifestyle that is *common in* the Netherlands or *typical of* the Dutch, and cheese *made in* the Netherlands. Example (124d), finally, may be construed as involving a thematic relation: this relation is preferably agentive in nature, in which case the noun phrase refers to the repression by the Dutch of, e.g., the Netherlands Indies, but, for at least some speakers, the adjective may also express the theme of the input verb of the deverbal noun, in which case the noun phrase refers to the repression of the Dutch by, e.g., the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

- (124) • Attributive use of the geographical adjectives
- a. de Nederlandse duinen
the Dutch dunes
 - b. de Nederlandse levensstijl
the Dutch lifestyle
 - c. Nederlandse kaas
Dutch cheese
 - d. de Nederlandse onderdrukking
the Dutch repression

The examples in (125) show that geographical adjectives cannot readily be used predicatively. This is due to the fact that it is not clear to what set of entities an adjective such as *Turks* should refer: it is not evident that there is a set of entities that can be properly characterized as being "Turkish".

- (125) • Predicative use of the geographical adjectives
- a. de Turkse vloot
the Turkish fleet
 - a'. *Deze vloot is Turks.
 - b. de Aziatisch kust
the Asiatic coast
 - b'. *Deze kust is Aziatisch.
 - c. Edammer kaas
from Edam cheese
 - c'. *Deze kaas is Edammer.
 - d. de plaatselijke krant
the local newspaper
 - d'. *Deze krant is plaatselijk.

Nevertheless, in certain contexts the meaning of the geographical adjectives tends to shift in the direction of the set-denoting adjectives. This tendency can be enforced by adding the adverb *typisch* 'typically' to the adjective, as in (126).

- (126) a. [?]Deze duinen zijn typisch Nederlands.
 these dunes are typically Dutch
 b. Deze levensstijl is typisch Nederlands.
 this lifestyle is typically Dutch
 c. Deze kaas is typisch Nederlands.
 this cheese is typically Dutch
 d. [?]Deze onderdrukking is typisch Nederlands.
 this repression is typically Dutch

Occasionally, as in (127), the prefix *on-* yields a reasonably acceptable result, too, in which case an ^ointensifier can also be added; the meaning of *onnederlands* is approximately “not typically Dutch”. This “extended” use is especially common with the adjective types discussed in Subsections I and II, and completely excluded with the adjectives of the type discussed in Subsection III.

- (127) a. [?]Deze duinen zijn (erg) onnederlands.
 these dunes are very un-Dutch
 b. Deze levensstijl is (erg) onnederlands.
 c. Deze kaas is (erg) onnederlands.
 d. [?]Deze onderdrukking is (erg) onnederlands.

1.3.3.3. “Movement/trend” adjectives: kapitalistisch ‘capitalist’

Table 12 shows that, like geographical adjectives, “movement/trend” adjectives are derived from person nouns. Three subclasses can be distinguished: suffixation with *-s*, with *-isch* and with *-er*. The person nouns from which the “movement/trend” adjectives are derived are often morphologically complex themselves.

Table 12: Movement/trend adjectives derived from person nouns

	STEM	PERSON NOUN	MOVEMENT/TREND ADJECTIVE
(i)	<i>Chomsky</i>	<i>chomskiaan</i>	<i>chomskiaans</i>
	<i>Popper</i>	<i>popperiaan</i>	<i>popperiaans</i>
	<i>Freud</i>	<i>freudiaan</i>	<i>freudiaans</i>
(ii)	<i>kapitaal</i> capital	<i>kapitalist</i> capitalist	<i>kapitalistisch</i> capitalist(ic)
	<i>commune</i>	<i>communist</i>	<i>communistisch</i>
	<i>Marx</i>	<i>marxist</i>	<i>marxistisch</i>
(iii)	<i>Dominicus</i>	<i>dominicaan</i>	<i>dominicaner</i>
	<i>Franciscus</i>	<i>franciscaan</i>	<i>franciscaner</i>

Occasionally, it is not clear (at least not from a synchronic point of view) what the stem of the person noun is; cf. (128a). In other cases, the person noun seems to be lacking or the adjective seems to be derived from the stem directly; cf. (128b’). Seemingly simple adjectives of this type occur as well; cf. (128c).

(128) Irregular cases

	STEM	PERSON NOUN	ADJECTIVE	TRANSLATION
a.	(protest)	protestant	protestants	protestant
a'	—	fascist	fascistisch	fascist
b.	Elizabeth	?elizabethaan	elizabethaans	Elizabethan
b'.	Siegenbeek	??siegenbekiaan	siegenbeeks	
c.	—	katholiek	katholiek	catholic
c'.	(Rome)	—	rooms	roman catholic

The “movement/trend” adjectives are used to express relations of several kinds, and a proper interpretation often requires substantial knowledge of the world. Some examples are given in (129).

(129) • Attributive use of “movement/trend” adjectives

- a. een elizabethaans toneelstuk
an Elizabethan drama
‘a drama from the Elizabethan era’
- b. de popperiaanse aanpak
the Popperian method
‘the method described by Popper’
- c. een dominicaner monnik
a Dominican friar
‘a friar of the Dominican order’

Although “movement/trend” adjectives cannot readily be used predicatively, they may shift their meaning towards the set-denoting adjectives, especially when they are used to refer to a certain cultural or scientific period or movement, as in (130a&b). In these cases, modification by an intensifier such as *zeer* ‘very’ or *on-*prefixation is allowed, too.

(130) • Predicative use of “movement/trend” adjectives

- a. Dit toneelstuk is (zeer) (on-)elizabethaans.
this drama is very (un-)Elizabethan
- b. ?Dit denkbeeld is (typisch) communistisch.
this concept is typically communist

This predicative use of “movement/trend” adjectives is blocked, however, when the lexicon contains a set-denoting adjective that is derived from the same nominal stem, as in the case of *dominicaner*. This is shown in (131).

- (131) a. *Deze opvatting is typisch dominicaner.
this concept is typically Dominican
- b. Deze opvatting is typisch dominicaans.
this concept is typically Dominican

1.3.3.4. Time/frequency adjectives: maandelijks ‘monthly’

This section discusses the class of adjectives that express a temporal notion. These adjectives can be derived from nouns in various ways, as exemplified in (132a-c).

Next to these main types there are several other time adjectives: some of these, like *regelmatig* ‘regular’ in (132d), are also derived from a nominal base, whereas others, like *voormalig* ‘former’ in (132e), are simply basic forms.

(132) • Attributive use of time adjectives

a.	het nachtelijk bezoek	‘the nocturnal visit’	[Type I: -(e)lijk]
b.	de zaterdagse bijlage	‘the Saturday supplement’	[Type II: -s]
c.	zijn maandelijks column	‘his monthly column’	[Type III: -(e)lijks]
d.	de (on)regelmatige klachten	‘the (ir)regular complaints’	
e.	de voormalige president	‘the former president’	

I. Type nachtelijk ‘nocturnal’

The first type is derived by means of the suffix *-(e)lijk* from nouns denoting certain parts of the day, like *ochtend* ‘morning’, *nacht* ‘night’, and *middag* ‘afternoon’. These adjectives are especially used as modifiers of nouns that denote “events” that occur at the time denoted by the input noun of the derived adjective. The examples in (133) are all taken from the internet, but it must be noted that the frequency with which they occur varies tremendously: whereas *nachtelijk* is very frequent (over 100,000 hits), *avondlijk* is clearly less common (4,000 hits), and *middaglijk* is simply rare (just a few hits). Note that these adjectives all frequently occur as a modifier of the noun *uur*, e.g. *middaglijk uur* ‘some time during the afternoon’.

- (133) a. *nachtelijk debat* ‘debate during the night’
 b. *avondlijk vertier* ‘pleasure during the evening’
 c. *middaglijk pintje* ‘a glass of beer drunk in the afternoon’

II. Type zaterdagse ‘on Saturdays’

The examples in (134a) show that time adjectives can readily be derived from the names of days by means of the suffix *-s*: *maandags*. This is harder when the input noun is the name of a month of the year, although the adjective *maarts* derived from *maart* ‘March’ is fairly common in fixed collocations like *maartse buien* ‘Spring rains’ or names such as *maarts viooltje* ‘Sweet Violet’. Other forms are much rarer but do occur in, e.g., weather reports: some examples taken from the internet are given in (134b). The derivational process seems to be phonologically restricted in the sense that the input noun must end in a consonant; we didn’t find any adjectives derived from *januari* ‘January’, *februari* ‘February’, *mei* ‘May’, *juni* ‘June’, and *juli* ‘July’. Furthermore, we did not find any form derived from *augustus* ‘August’, which might be related to the fact that this form already ends in /s/. Time adjectives can also be derived from the names of the seasons of the year: the adjectives *zomers* ‘summery’ and *winters* ‘wintery’ are very common; the adjective *herfst*s (lit.: fall-s) does occur, but seems to give rise to a more marked result; the adjective **lentes* (lit.: spring-s) is not attested, which seems to fit in with our earlier observation that names of the month of the year must end in a consonant in order to enter the derivational process.

- (134) a. Days of the week: *maandags* ‘on Monday’, *dinsdags*, *woensdags*, *donderdags*, *vrijdags*, *zaterdags*, *zondags*
 b. Months of the year: *maartse buien* ‘spring rains’; *aprilse grillen* ‘changeabilities’, *septemberse nazomerdag* ‘an Indian Summer day in September’, *oktoberse temperaturen* ‘temperatures that are typical for October’, *novemberse storm* ‘storm in November’
 c. Seasons; *zomers weer* ‘summery weather’, *herfstse kleuren* ‘the color of autumn leaves’, *winterse kou* ‘wintery cold’

More complex combinations also occur; common examples are cases like *zeventiende-eeuws* ‘from the seventeenth century’ (lit.: seventeenth-century-s) and *driedaags* ‘three-day’.

- (135) a. een zeventiende-eeuws schilderij
 ‘a painting from the seventeenth century’
 b. een driedaags bezoek
 ‘a visit that lasts three days’

III. Type maandelijks ‘monthly’

The third type of time adjective is also derived by means of the suffix *-(e)lijks*. This group is derived from nouns like *dag* ‘day’, *week* ‘week’, *maand* ‘month’, and *jaar* ‘year’, and is used to indicate some notion of frequency.

- (136) a. ons dagelijks brood ‘our daily bread’
 b. het wekelijks uitje ‘the weekly outing’
 c. het maandelijks tijdschrift ‘the monthly journal’
 d. het jaarlijks bal ‘the yearly ball’

More complex combinations like *driemaandelijks* ‘three-monthly’ are also possible. Again, these formations indicate some notion of frequency; in this respect the formations *tweejaarlijks* ‘biennial’ and *halfjaarlijks* ‘half yearly’ in (137b&c) differ from their counterparts ending in *-ig* in *een tweejarig/halfjarig verblijf in het buitenland* ‘a two years/six months’ stay abroad’, which denote a certain span of time.

- (137) a. een driemaandelijks tijdschrift
 ‘a journal that appears once in every three months’
 b. een tweejaarlijkse bijeenkomst
 ‘a meeting that is held once in every two years’
 c. een halfjaarlijkse bijeenkomst
 ‘a meeting that is held once in every six months’

IV. Other cases

Occasionally, time adjectives occur that have no clear nominal stem, are not semantically transparent, or do not fall into the classes discussed in the previous subsections. Generally, these involve elements that are mostly used as adverbial phrases of time, such as *tijdelijk* ‘temporary(-ily)’, *(on)regelmatig* ‘(ir)regular(ly)’, and *onmiddellijk* ‘immediate(ly)’. Not surprisingly, therefore, the primeless examples can often be paraphrased by means of a clause in which the adjective is

used adverbially. The (b)-examples in (138) show that when the adjective can be prefixed with *on-* on its adverbial use, this is also possible on its attributive use.

- (138) a. een tijdelijke maatregel
a temporary measure
a'. een maatregel die tijdelijk van kracht is
a measure that temporarily in force is
b. (on)regelmatige gezondheidsklachten
(ir)regular health problems
b'. gezondheidsklachten die regelmatig optreden
health problems that regularly prt.-occur
c. een onmiddellijke terugtrekking
the immediate retreat
c'. een terugtrekking die onmiddellijk plaatsvindt
a retreat that immediately takes place

Furthermore, there are some isolated cases like *huidig* 'present(-day)' and *voormalig* 'former', which cannot be used adverbially; see Section 1.3.5 for further discussion.

- (139) de huidige/voormalige president
the present/former president

V. Predicative and adverbial uses of time/frequency adjectives

The examples in (140) show that time and frequency adjectives generally cannot be used as predicates, which is clearly related to the fact that there is no set of entities that can be characterized as being, e.g., "monthly" or "former". Similarly, comparative and superlative formation, modification by an intensifier and *on-* prefixation are excluded (with the exception of *regelmatig* 'regular' in (138b), which allows *on-* prefixation and comparative formation on its adverbial use, too).

- (140) • Predicative use of time adjectives
a. *?Zijn column is/lijkt maandelijks.
his column is/seems monthly
b. *De bijlage is/lijkt zaterdags.
the supplement is/seems Saturdays
c. *De terugtrekking is/lijkt dadelijk.
the retreat is/seems immediate
d. ??Deze klachten zijn/schijnen (on)regelmatig.
these complaints are/seems (ir)regular
e. *Deze president is/lijkt voormalig.
this president is/seems former

Occasionally, however, the time adjectives do occur in predicative position, which shows that they tend to shift their meaning towards the set-denoting adjectives. As is shown in (141), whether predicative use of the adjective is possible often depends on the nature of the subject of the clause.

(141) a.	een zomerse bui	c.	de voorlopige/tijdelijke voorzitter
	a summery shower		the provisional/temporary chairman
a'.	*De bui is zomers.	c'.	*De voorzitter is voorlopig/tijdelijk.
b.	zomers weer	d.	een voorlopige/tijdelijke oplossing
	summery weather		a provisional/temporary solution
b'.	Dit weer is erg zomers.	d'.	Deze oplossing is voorlopig/tijdelijk.
	this weather is very summery		this solution is provisional/temporary

When predicative use of the adjective is possible, the time adjective can often also be modified by means of an intensifier, as shown by (142a). When the adjective refers to a certain historical or cultural period, the predicative use of the time adjective is always fully acceptable; cf. (142b).

- (142) a. Een dergelijke opvatting is/lijkt (typisch) middeleeuws.
 such an opinion is/seems typically medieval
 b. Dit schilderij is/lijkt zeventiende-eeuws.
 this painting is/seems seventeenth-century

The examples in (138) have already shown that many time adjectives can also be used adverbially. This seems especially common with those adjectives that express frequency: the examples in (143) show that the adjectives *dagelijks* and *maandelijks* have meanings comparable to those of the adverbially used noun phrases *elke dag* 'every day' and *elke maand* 'every month'.

- (143) a. We gaan dagelijks/elke dag naar de bioscoop.
 we go daily/every day to the cinema
 b. Dit tijdschrift verschijnt maandelijks/elke maand.
 this journal appears monthly/every month

For completeness' sake, note that copular constructions like (140a) must not be confused with expletive constructions like (144), in which the time adjective is used adverbially. A clear difference between the two constructions is that the time adjective is optional in (144) but not in (140a).

- (144) a. Zijn column is er (maandelijks/elke maand).
 his column is there monthly/every month
 b. Zijn column is er (dagelijks/elke dag).
 his column is there daily/every day

1.3.3.5. Substance adjectives: houten 'wooden'

Substance adjectives, such as *houten* 'wooden' and *gouden* 'gold' in (145), are derived from substance nouns by means of suffixation with *-en*, and can only be used attributively. Given that the suffix is pronounced as schwa /ə/, they are never inflected in attributive position. The substance adjectives are non-gradable in the sense that they cannot be modified by means of an intensifier or undergo comparative/superlative formation. The relation that is expressed in the primeless examples in (145) can be paraphrased by means of the predicate *is gemaakt van* 'is made of', as in (146).

- (145) a. de (*zeer) houten kom a'. *De kom is/lijkt houten.
 the very wooden bowl the bowl is/seems wooden
 b. de (*zeer) gouden ring b'. *De ring is/lijkt gouden.
 the very gold ring the ring is/seems gold
- (146) a. De kom is gemaakt van hout.
 the bowl is made of wood
 b. De ring is gemaakt van goud.
 the ring is made of gold

The examples in (145a&b) alternate with the nominal constructions in the primeless examples in (147), in which the substance adjective is replaced by the PP *van hout/goud* 'of wood/gold'. The primed examples in (147) show that when we replace the substance adjective in the ungrammatical predicative constructions in (145) by such a PP, the predicative construction becomes completely acceptable.

- (147) a. de kom van hout a'. De kom is/lijkt van hout.
 the bowl of wood the bowl is/seems of wood
 b. de ring van goud b'. De ring is/lijkt van goud.
 the ring of gold the ring is/seems of gold

Kester (1993) claims that the acceptability of the predicative constructions in (147) indicates that the impossibility of the predicative constructions in (145) is not due to the fact that substance adjectives lack set-denoting properties. She suggests instead that the contrast between the primeless and the primed examples of (145) is due to the fact that, even from a synchronic point of view, the *-en* ending is not an adjectivizing affix but a non-nominative (probably genitive) case-marker (Te Winkel 1849); if so, we are not dealing with adjectives but with noun phrases, so the unacceptability of the primed examples in (145) could be made to follow from the fact that the predicatively used noun phrases must receive (abstract) nominative case in the copular construction (just as in, e.g., German).

1.3.3.6. Other cases

Besides the systematic morphological classes discussed in the previous sections, there are many less systematic cases of relational adjectives. Some examples are given in the primeless examples of (148). The fact that these adjectives are derived by means of non-Germanic suffixes (see the final column of Table 9 in Section 1.3.3.1) suggests that they are simply loanwords and not the result of a productive derivational process. The primeless examples in (149) show that the adjectives under discussion often belong to a certain technical jargon. Finally, the primed examples show that, like all relational adjectives, the adjectives in (148) and (149) cannot readily be used as the predicate in a copular construction

- (148) a. een culturele bijeenkomst a'. *?De bijeenkomst is cultureel.
 a cultural meeting the meeting is cultural
 b. administratief personeel b'. *?Het personeel is administratief.
 administrative staff the staff is administrative
 c. diplomatieke betrekking c'. ??De betrekking is diplomatiek.
 diplomatic position the position is diplomatic

(149) a. een taalkundig lexicon a linguïstisch lexicon b. vrouwelijk rijm feminine rhyme c. een morfologisch handboek a morphological companion	a'. *Het lexicon lijkt taalkundig. the lexicon seems linguistic c'. *Het rijm lijkt vrouwelijk. the rhyme seems feminine b'. *Het handboek is morfologisch. the companion is morphological

Occasionally, however, non-technical adjectives such as those in (148) do occur in predicative position, which shows that they tend to shift their meaning towards the set-denoting adjectives. As is shown in (150a&b), the question whether predicative use of the adjective is possible sometimes depends on the nature of the subject of the clause. When predicative use of the adjective is possible, the adjective can often also be modified by means of an intensifier, or be prefixed with the negative prefix *on-*.

- (150) a. Jan/*Deze bijeenkomst is (erg) cultureel.
 Jan/this meeting is very cultural
 b. Deze maatregel/*medewerker is (puur) administratief.
 this measure/staff member is purely administrative
 'The measure is for administrative reasons.'
 c. Jan/Zijn antwoord is (erg) diplomatiek/ondiplomatiek.
 Jan/his answer is very diplomatic/undiplomatic

1.3.4. Evaluative adjectives

Evaluative adjectives attribute some value to the modified noun. This is not done, however, by virtue of their own descriptive content (that is, we are not dealing with an "N is A" relation), but in a more indirect way. Neither do the evaluative adjectives establish a KIND-OF relation with some other entity, at least not synchronically speaking; although *drommels* in (151a) is derived from the obsolete noun *drommel* 'devil', most present-day speakers will not be aware of this fact. The examples in (151) further show that evaluative adjectives can only be used attributively, and that modification by an intensifier is impossible.

- (151) • Evaluative adjectives
 a. die (*erg) drommelse jongen
 that very damned/devilish boy
 'that damned boy'
 b. *Die jongen is drommels.

Evaluative adjectives normally express some negative value: *drommels/duivels* 'devilish', *bliksems* (lit: lightning-ly), *deksels* 'confounded', *jammerlijk* 'deplorable', *verrekt/verdomd* 'damned', *vermaledijd* 'cursed'. Evaluative adjectives that express a positive value seem rare, if they exist at all; some potential positive examples are *hemels* 'celestial', and *idyllisch* 'idyllic', but since these examples can readily be used in predicative position, we may actually be dealing with set-denoting adjectives.

(152) a.	een hemelse maaltijd	a'.	Deze maaltijd is hemels.
	a celestial dish		this dish is celestial
b.	een idyllische plek	b'.	Deze plek is idyllisch.
	an idyllic spot		this spot is idyllic

Occasionally, set-denoting adjectives may shift their meaning in the direction of evaluative adjectives. Some typical examples of this extended use are given in (153), in which the adjectives certainly do not denote an attribute of the head noun. Neither do they imply a KIND-OF relation. The primed examples show that due to the fact that these set-denoting adjectives do not denote a property of the modified noun, they cannot be used predicatively either.

(153) a.	een luie stoel	a'.	*Deze stoel is/lijkt lui.
	a lazy chair		this chair is/seems lazy
b.	een stoere trui	b'.	*?Deze trui is/lijkt stoer.
	a tough sweater		this sweater is/seems tough
c.	een verliefde uitdrukking	c'.	*De uitdrukking was/bleek verliefd.
	an in.love expression		the expression was/appeared in.love
d.	een kwade dronk	d'.	*Deze dronk is/bleek kwaad.
	a mean drink		this drink is/appeared mean

The evaluation of the head noun expressed by the adjectives in (153) is established rather indirectly; (153a) expresses that we are dealing with a chair in which one can be lazy, (153b) expresses that we are dealing with a sweater that makes one feel/look tough, and (153c) refers to the expression one has when one is in love. The noun phrase *een kwade dronk* in (153d) is used in the fixed expression *een kwade dronk hebben* 'to be quarrelsome in one's cup'.

Observe that the attributively used adjectives in the primeless examples of (154) seem to be related to the adjunct middle construction in the doubly-primed examples; cf., e.g., Hoekstra & Roberts (1993) and Ackema & Schoorlemmer (2006). This construction is discussed in Section V3.2.2.3.

(154) a.	een lekkere stoel	a'.	*Deze stoel is/lijkt lekker.	a''.	Deze stoel zit lekker.
	a nice chair		this chair is/seems nice		This chair sits nicely
b.	een lekker mes	b'.	*Dit mes is lekker.	b''.	Dit mes snijdt lekker.
	a nice knife		this knife is nice		this knife cuts nicely

When we are dealing with nouns such as *opmerking* 'remark' or *brief* 'letter', the evaluative adjective often refers to the supposed disposition of the source of the referent of the nominal phrase. The examples in (155) show that such phrases often function as the subject of the verb *klinken* 'to sound'. In examples like (156), the adjective may refer to the (resulting) mood of the perceiver.

(155) a.	een droevige opmerking	a'.	De opmerking klinkt droevig.
	a sad remark		the remark sounds sad
b.	de emotionele brief	b'.	De brief klinkt emotioneel.
	the emotional letter		the letter sounds emotional

- (156) a. een vrolijk concert
 a merry concert
 ‘a concert that makes one merry’
 b. een opbeurende boodschap
 an up-cheering message
 ‘a message that cheers one up’

Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a set-denoting adjective in its regular or in its extended, evaluative use. Example (157a), for instance, certainly does not express the fact that it is the food that is in an unhealthy state. Still, the adjective *ongezond* can be used as a predicate of the noun phrase *dit voedsel* in (157b). Therefore, this adjective should probably not be considered an evaluative adjective, but an elliptic form of the complex AP *voor mensen ongezond* ‘unhealthy for people’, which can likewise be used both as an attributive and as a predicative phrase.

(157) a.	ongezond voedsel unhealthy food	a’.	voor mensen ongezond voedsel for people unhealthy food
b.	Dit voedsel is ongezond. this food is unhealthy	b’.	Dit voedsel is voor mensen ongezond. this food is for people unhealthy

1.3.5. *The residue*

The three adjective classes above leave us with a residue of adjectives that neither attribute a property to the head noun, nor express a KIND-OF relation, nor imply some negative or positive evaluation. Often, these adjectives seem to be related to adverbs. Below, we will discuss some subclasses of this residue.

I. Modal adjectives

The modal adjectives are comparable to the modal adverbs in that they express some notion of modality. In (158a), for instance, *vermeend* ‘alleged/supposed’ expresses the fact that the person we are talking about *has been mistaken for* or *is supposed to be* the culprit. In (158b) we express the fact that the thing we are talking about *may turn out to be* a counterexample. In (158c), finally, we express the fact that Peter *may possibly* leave. As is illustrated in the primed examples, the modal adjectives, not being set-denoting, cannot be used predicatively.

(158) a.	de vermeende dader the alleged culprit	a’.	*De dader is vermeend. the culprit is alleged
b.	het potentiële tegenvoorbeeld the potential counterexample	b’.	*Het tegenvoorbeeld is potentieel. the counterexample is potential
c.	Peters eventuele vertrek Peter’s possible departure	c’.	*Peters vertrek is eventueel. Peter’s departure is possible

II. Amplifiers

The second subclass is constituted by the amplifiers like those in (159), which scale upwards from some implicitly assumed norm. These adjectives do not attribute a property to the head noun but emphasize that the description provided by noun

- ### III. Quantifiers

The third subclass is constituted by quantifiers like *gedeeltelijk* 'partial', *half* 'half', *volledig* 'total' in (160). With (perhaps) the exception of the last example, quantifiers cannot be used predicatively. They are, however, clearly related to the adverbs in the doubly-primed examples.

- #### IV. Restrictors

The fourth subclass is constituted by restrictors such as those in (161), which restrict the reference of the noun. Like the subclasses above, they cannot be used predicatively (with the intended meaning). They differ from these classes, however, in that the restrictors do not have an adverbial counterpart.

(161) a.	een zeker persoon a certain person	a'. #Deze persoon is zeker.
b.	de enige gelegenheid the only occasion	b'. #Deze gelegenheid is enig.
c.	het precieze antwoord the precise answer	c'. #Het antwoord is precies.

Perhaps time adjectives such as *gewezen/voormalig/vroeger* 'former', *huidig* 'present(day)', *toekomstige* 'future', and *vorige* 'previous' also fall into this class.

(162) a.	de voormalige koningin the former queen	a'. *De koningin is voormalig.
b.	de huidige koningin the present queen	b'. *De koningin is huidig.
c.	de toekomstige koning the future king	c'. *De koning is toekomstig.
d.	de vorige vergadering the previous meeting	d'. *De vergadering is vorig.

V. Adjectives related to adverbial phrases

Besides the cases discussed above, there are many adjectives that do not seem to fall into a well-defined class, but which do seem to be related to adverbs. Some typical examples are given in (163); observe that the nouns are all deverbal.

(163) a.	een snelle berekening a quick calculation	b.	een harde werker a hard worker
a'.	*De berekening is snel.	b'.	*De werker is hard.
a''.	Hij berekent het snel. he calculates it quickly	b''.	Hij werkt hard. he works hard
c.	een zware roker a heavy smoker	d.	een frequente bezoeker a frequent visitor
c'.	#De roker is zwaar.	d'.	*De bezoeker is frequent.
c''.	Hij rookt zwaar. he smokes heavily	d''.	Hij bezoekt de bioscoop frequent. he visits the cinema frequently

Some more or less idiomatic examples in which the relation of the attributively used adjectives to the adverbially used adjectives is less direct are given in (164). Observe that these adjectives can also be used predicatively, but then the meaning is slightly different. In this respect they resemble the adjectives discussed in Subsection VI.

(164) a.	het late journaal 'the late news; the news that is broadcast late in the evening'
a.	Het journaal is laat (vandaag). 'The news is late/later than usual (today).'

- b. een goede moeder
'a good mother; a mother who takes care of her children well'
- b'. Zijn moeder is goed.
'His mother is good (not necessarily as a mother).'
- c. een snelle auto
'a fast car; a car that can drive fast'
- c'. ?Die auto is snel.
that car is fast

VI. Non-prototypical use of set-denoting adjectives

Some set-denoting adjectives can be used attributively in a non-qualifying manner, which is excluded when they are used predicatively; the predicatively used adjectives in the primed examples in (165) cannot be interpreted in the same manner as the attributively used adjectives in the primeless examples. Example (165c'') shows that the attributively used adjectives cannot be used adverbially either. Examples of this sort have a more or less idiomatic flavor.

- (165) a. een oude vriend van me a'. [#]Deze vriend van mij is oud.
 an old friend of mine this friend of mine is old
 b. de gewone man b'. [#]Deze man is gewoon.
 the common man this man is common
 c. een grote eter c'. [#]Deze eter is groot.
 a big eater this eater is big
 c''. *Hij eet groot.
 he eats big

For completeness' sake, compare the examples in (165a&c) to those in (166a&b); the latter do seem to behave like set-denoting adjectives, given that they give rise to a more or less acceptable result on the intended reading when they are used in predicative position.

- (166) a. een oude vriendschap a'. [?]Onze vriendschap is oud.
 an old friendship
 b. een grote eetlust b'. Mijn eetlust is groot.
 a big appetite

1.4. Bibliographical notes

This general introduction has much profited from Haeseryn et al. (1997) and Paardekooper (1986), as well as from Quirck et al. (1985) and Drosdowski & Eisenberg (1995). More discussion on inflection and derivation of adjectives can be found in, e.g., De Haas & Trommelen (1993), Van der Putten (1997), and Booij (2002). The semantic descriptions in this chapter are inspired by De Schutter (1976), Heynderickx (1992) and Zwarts (1992). See the bibliographical notes to the following chapters for references to more specific topics.

Chapter 2

Projection of adjective phrases I: Complementation

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Introduction

Like verbs and nouns, adjectives can combine with other phrases to form a larger °projection. These other phrases with which adjectives combine can be divided into °arguments and °modifiers. An adjective such as *boos* ‘angry’ in (1a), for instance, takes the PP *op zijn vader* ‘at his father’ as its complement, and can also be modified by an °intensifier such as *erg* ‘very’. The projection (*erg*) *boos op zijn vader* thus formed acts as a constituent, which is clear from the fact illustrated by (1b) that it can be moved as a whole into clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test. However, the adjective and its complement may also occur discontinuously, as is illustrated in (1c&d).

- (1) a. Jan is nooit (*erg*) *boos op zijn vader*.
 Jan is never very angry at his father
 b. [(*Erg*) *boos op zijn vader*] is Jan nooit.
 c. (*Erg*) *boos* is Jan nooit *op zijn vader*.
 d. *Op zijn vader* is Jan nooit (*erg*) *boos*.

Sections 2.1 and 2.2 discuss complementation by means of, respectively, prepositional and nominal complements. Section 2.3, finally, discusses the fact that adjectives and their complements may occur discontinuously. Modification of the adjective (phrase) is discussed in Chapter 3. Although this section is devoted to complementation, it should be noted that adjectives also take a subject in an extended sense of the notion, for which we will introduce the notion of °logical SUBJECT in Chapter 6. Broadly speaking, the SUBJECT of an adjective is the element that the adjective is predicated of. In (1), the SUBJECT of *boos* would therefore be the noun phrase *Jan*.

2.1. Prepositional complements

The examples in (2) show that complements of adjectives are normally PPs, which are often optional.

- (2) a. Jan is niet *boos (over die opmerking)*.
 Jan is not angry about that remark
 b. Jan is niet *tevreden (over zijn beloning)*.
 Jan is not satisfied with his reward

The examples in (3) further show that complements of adjectives can sometimes be clauses, which are introduced by the (often optional) °anticipatory pronominal PP *er + P* ‘P + it’; given that, due to the phonological weakness of the pronominal element *er*, this PP is normally split by means of °R-extraction, we will use italics to make it easier for the reader to detect the constituting parts of this PP.

- (3) a. Jan is (*er*) *boos (over)* dat Peter niet gekomen is.
 Jan is there angry about that Peter not come is
 ‘Jan is angry (about it) that Peter did not come.’
 b. Jan is (*er*) *tevreden (over)* dat hij ontvangen is.
 Jan is there satisfied with that he received is
 ‘Jan is satisfied (about it) that he has been received.’

The option of having an anticipatory pronominal PPs in (3) indicates that these examples are related to the examples in (2). The following two sections will discuss examples of this sort more extensively.

2.1.1. Prepositional complements: Adjective + P-NP

Adjectives typically select a PP as their complement. Although this PP-complement can often either precede or follow the adjective, it is normally assumed that its base-position is the one following the adjective, whereas the pre-adjectival position is derived by leftward movement.

- (4) a. Jan is <over die opmerking> boos <over die opmerking>.
 Jan is about that remark angry
 b. Jan is <over zijn beloning> tevreden <over zijn beloning>.
 Jan is about his reward satisfied

There are at least two arguments in favor of the claim that the pre-adjectival position is derived by movement. The first argument is based on the fact that stranded prepositions must occupy their base-position, as expressed by the so-called °freezing principle; the fact that the stranded preposition *over* must follow the adjectives in the examples in (5) therefore shows that the PP originates in post-adjectival position.

- (5) a. Jan is *er* <°over> boos <over>.
 Jan is there about angry
 b. Jan is *er* <°over> tevreden <over>.
 Jan is there about satisfied

The second argument is based on the general claim that complements are generated closer to the selecting head than modifiers; if the PP is base-generated in pre-adjectival position, we wrongly predict that it should be able to follow modifiers like *erg* ‘very’; the fact that PP-complements can only precede such modifiers therefore shows that the pre-adjectival placement of PP-complements is the result of leftward movement. This discussion suffices for our present limited purpose, but we will see in Section 2.3.1 that there are various complicating factors.

- (6) a. Jan is <over die opmerking> erg <°over die opmerking> boos.
 Jan is about that remark very angry
 b. Jan is <over zijn beloning> erg <°over zijn beloning> tevreden.
 Jan is about his reward very satisfied

From the examples above we may conclude that PP-complements are base-generated in post-adjectival position. This is further supported by the examples in (7); if the PP is base-generated in post-adjectival position, we would expect that the string A-PP forms a constituent, and the fact that this string can be preposed into the clause-initial position shows that this expectation is indeed borne out; cf. the °constituency test.

- (7) a. [Boos over die opmerking] is Jan niet.
angry about that remark is Jan not
b. [Tevreden over zijn beloning] is Jan niet.
satisfied with his reward is Jan not

That the PPs in (4) are complements of (selected by) the adjectives is clear from the fact that the latter determine which prepositions must be used: the small sample of adjectives in Table 1 shows that we are dealing with fixed adjective-preposition collocations. The PP-complements in Table 1 are all optional. Some adjectives can be combined with more than one prepositional complement at the same time, as can be exemplified by means of *boos op Peter over die opmerking* ‘angry with Peter about that remark’; see the discussion of (16) for more details. Some of the adjectives in Table 1 are marked by means of the diacritic “#” for reasons that will become clear shortly.

Table 1: *Optional prepositional complements of adjectives*

PREPOSITION	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
aan	(on)schuldig aan	(not) guilty of
	gehoorzaam aan	obedient to
in	bedreven in	skilful in
met	blij met	glad with
	(on)gelukkig met	(un)happy with
	#vergelijkbaar met	comparable to
naar	nieuwsgierig naar	curious about
op	boos/kwaad/woedend/woest op	angry with
	jaloers op	jealous of
	trots op	proud of
	verliefd op	in-love with
over	bedroefd/verdrietig over	sad about
	boos/kwaad/woedend/woest over	angry about
	tevreden/voldaan over	satisfied about
	verbaasd over	astonished about
	verontwaardigd over	indignant about
van	#afhankelijk van	dependent on
voor	bang voor	afraid of
	behulpzaam voor	helpful to
	bevreesd voor	fearful of
	#geschikt voor	suitable to/appropriate for
	#gevoelig voor	perceptive to/susceptible to

The actual choice of the preposition is largely unpredictable. However, when the adjective is derived from a verbal stem, such as *verbaasd* or *afhankelijk*, the selected preposition often coincides with the preposition that is used with the verb. This is shown in the examples in (8).

- (8) a. Jan is *verbaasd over* het verhaal.
 Jan is astonished about the story
 a'. Jan *verbaast zich over* het verhaal.
 Jan wonders REFL about the story
 b. Het verkrijgen van steun is *afhankelijk van* een gunstig rapport.
 the obtaining of support is dependent on a positive report
 b'. Het verkrijgen van steun *hangt af van* een gunstig rapport.
 the obtaining of support depends prt. on a positive report

Some adjectives obligatorily take a prepositional object. Three cases can be distinguished: (i) the adjective shows an unpredictable shift in meaning when the prepositional object is dropped, (ii) the meaning of the adjective remains constant but the adjective must appear in a different syntactic frame when the prepositional object is omitted, and (iii) no form exists without a prepositional object. We start with the first group, a sample of which is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Adjectives with and without a prepositional complement (meaning difference)

PREPOSITION	WITH PREPOSITION		WITHOUT PREPOSITION	
	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
<i>aan</i>	<i>gewoon aan</i>	used to	<i>gewoon</i>	ordinary
<i>met</i>	<i>bekend met</i>	familiar with	<i>bekend</i>	well-known
	<i>onbekend met</i>	not familiar with	<i>onbekend</i>	unknown
	<i>vertrouwd met</i>	familiar with	<i>vertrouwd</i>	common ^(?)
<i>op</i>	<i>dol/gek op</i>	fond of	<i>dol/gek</i>	mad/crazy
<i>van</i>	<i>gek/verrukt van</i>	fond of	<i>gek/verrukt</i>	mad/delighted
	<i>vol van</i>	full of/occupied with	<i>vol</i>	filled
	<i>kapot van</i>	cut up	<i>kapot</i>	broken
	<i>(on)zeker van</i>	(not) convinced of	<i>(on)zeker</i>	(in)secure
	<i>ziek van</i>	fed up with	<i>ziek</i>	ill/sick
<i>voor</i>	<i>blind/doof voor</i>	not susceptible to	<i>blind/doof</i>	blind/deaf
<i>tot</i>	<i>bereid tot</i>	willing to	<i>bereid</i>	prepared

A conspicuous difference between the two sets of examples in Table 2 is that the logical SUBJECTS of adjectives that take a prepositional object are human or, at least, animate, whereas the logical SUBJECTS can also be inanimate when the adjectives do not take a prepositional object. This is shown in (9).

- (9) a. Jan/*Het boek is bekend met dit probleem.
 Jan/the book is familiar with this problem
 a'. Jan/Het boek is bekend.
 Jan/the book is well-known
 b. Jan/*De vaas is kapot van die gebeurtenis.
 Jan/the vase is cut.up by this event
 b'. Jan/De vaas is kapot.
 Jan/the vase is broken

In this connection, it should be noted that the adjectives from Table 4 below that obligatorily take a PP-complement also require an animate SUBJECT. Given that the adjectives marked with “#” in Table 1 may take an inanimate subject regardless of whether the PP-complement is present or not, we may perhaps conclude that adjectives that take an obligatory PP-complement are special in that they must denote properties of human (or, at least, animate) entities.

A sample of the adjectives of the second type is given in Table 3. An important difference between the adjectives with and the adjectives without a PP-complement is that the logical SUBJECTS of the former can be singular whereas the logical SUBJECTS of the latter must be plural. This is illustrated in the final column of the table. Apart from the fact that the relation holding between the entities involved is expressed in an asymmetric way when the PP-complement is present and in a symmetric way when it is absent, the two cases are more or less synonymous.

Table 3: *Adjectives with and without a prepositional complement (syntactic difference)*

PREPOSITION	EXAMPLE	ILLUSTRATION
<i>met</i>	<i>bevriend (met)</i> ‘friendly with’	<i>Marie is goed bevriend *(met Peter).</i> Marie is well friendly with Peter ‘Marie is good friends with Peter.’
		<i>Marie en Peter zijn goed bevriend.</i> Marie and Peter are well friendly ‘Marie and Peter are good friends.’
<i>aan</i>	<i>verwant (aan)</i> ‘related to’	<i>De mens is nauw verwant *(aan de chimpansee).</i> The human is closely related to the chimpanzee ‘Man is closely related to the chimpanzee.’
		<i>De mens en de chimpansee zijn nauw verwant.</i> The human and the chimpanzee are closely related

Participial adjectives such as *getrouwd (met)* ‘married (to)’ and *verloofd (met)* ‘engaged (to)’ may also belong to this class, although the adjective without a PP-complement does occasionally occur with a singular noun phrase, as shown in (10c); perhaps, we may assume that the PP-complement has been left implicit or underspecified in this case.

- (10) a. Marie bleek getrouwd/verloofd met Jan.
 Marie turned.out married/engaged to Jan
 b. Marie en Jan bleken getrouwd/verloofd.
 Marie and Jan turned.out married/engaged
 c. Marie bleek getrouwd/verloofd.
 Marie turned.out married/engaged

A sample of adjectives that cannot occur without a prepositional object is given in Table 4. All these adjectives are deverbal, or at least have the appearance of a past/passive participle; see Section 2.3.1.3 for a discussion of these so-called pseudo-participles.

Table 4: Adjectives with an obligatory prepositional complement

PREPOSITION	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
<i>aan</i>	<i>gehecht aan</i>	attached/devoted to
<i>met</i>	<i>ingenomen met</i>	delighted with
<i>om</i>	<i>rouwig om</i>	sorry about
<i>op</i>	<i>gebrand op</i>	keen on
	<i>gespitst op</i>	especially alert to
	<i>gesteld op</i>	keen on
	<i>verkikkerd op</i>	crazy about
<i>tegen</i>	<i>gekant tegen</i>	opposed to
<i>van</i>	<i>afkerig van</i>	(to have) an aversion to

2.1.2. Clauses introduced by the anticipatory PP-complement *er* + *P*

This section discusses clausal complements of the adjectives introduced by the anticipatory PP *er* + *P*. The clausal complement can be finite or infinitival; we will discuss the two types in separate subsections.

1. Finite clauses

Many of the adjectives discussed in Section 2.1.1 can also occur with a clausal complement, especially those that express a mental state of their SUBJECT. The adjectives *boos* ‘angry’, *tevreden* ‘satisfied’ and *verontwaardigd* ‘indignant’ in (11), for example, may take a declarative clausal complement, while the adjectives *benieuwd* ‘curious’ and *geïnteresseerd* ‘interested’ in (12) sometimes take an interrogative clausal complement. The examples in (11) and (12) also show that the clausal complement is not adjacent to the selecting adjective, but placed after the verbs in clause-final position.

- (11) • Declarative clausal complement
- dat Jan (*er*) boos (*over*) is [dat Peter niet uitgenodigd is].
that Jan there angry about is that Peter not invited is
‘that Jan is angry (about it) that Peter is not invited.’
 - dat Jan (*er*) tevreden (*over*) is [dat Peter uitgenodigd is].
that Jan there satisfied about is that Peter invited is
‘that Jan is satisfied (about it) that Peter is invited.’
 - dat Jan (*er*) verontwaardigd (*over*) is [dat Els niet mocht komen].
that Jan there indignant about is that Els not allowed.to come
‘Jan is indignant (about it) that she was not allowed to come.’
- (12) • Interrogative clausal complement
- dat Jan (*er*) benieuwd (*naar*) is [of hij uitgenodigd is].
that Jan there curious about is whether he invited has.been
‘that Jan is eager to know whether he has been invited.’
 - dat Jan (*er*) benieuwd (*naar*) is [wie Peter uitgenodigd heeft].
that Jan there curious about is who Peter invited has
‘that Jan is eager to know who Peter invited.’

- b. dat Jan (*er*) (*in*) geïnteresseerd was [of Els zou komen].
 that Jan there in interested was whether Els would come
 ‘that Jan was interested in whether Els would come.’
- b’. dat Jan (*er*) (*in*) geïnteresseerd was [wie er zou komen].
 that Jan there in interested was who there would come
 ‘that Jan turned out to be interested in who would come.’

It is plausible that the clausal complements in (11) and (12) are in fact not the syntactic complements of the adjective. The reason for this is that, as the material within parentheses shows, an °anticipatory pronominal PP can be added to these examples, which acts as the semantic complement of the adjective and in which the element *er* is a “place-holder” of the clause-final sentence; see V4 for a discussion of comparable cases in the verbal domain. Observe in passing that the °stranded preposition is placed to the right of the adjective *benieuwd* ‘curious’ in (12a) and to the left of the adjective *geïnteresseerd* ‘interested’ in (12b); see Section 2.3.1.3 for a discussion of this fact.

The examples in (13) and (14) show that the anticipatory pronominal PP becomes obligatory when the clausal complements of the examples in (11) and (12) are placed in clause-initial position. The primeless examples show that the PP has the demonstrative form *daar* P ‘P that’, which suggests that we are dealing with a form of °left dislocation in these examples. That we are not dealing with topicalization is clear from the fact, illustrated in the primed examples, that the clause cannot occupy the clause-initial position immediately preceding the finite verb, irrespective of whether the pronominal PP *er* + P is present or not.

- (13) a. [Dat Peter niet uitgenodigd is] *daar* is Jan boos *over*.
 a’. *[Dat Peter niet uitgenodigd is] is Jan (*er*) boos (*over*).
 b. [Dat Peter uitgenodigd is] *daar* is Jan tevreden *over*.
 b’. *[Dat Peter uitgenodigd is] is Jan (*er*) tevreden (*over*).
 c. [Dat Els niet mocht komen] *daar* is Jan verontwaardigd *over*.
 c’. *[Dat Els niet mocht komen] is Jan (*er*) verontwaardigd (*over*).
- (14) a. [Of Peter uitgenodigd is] *daar* is Jan benieuwd/nieuwsgierig *naar*.
 a’. *[Of Peter uitgenodigd is] is Jan (*er*) benieuwd/nieuwsgierig (*naar*).
 b. [Of Els zou komen] *daar* bleek Jan *in* geïnteresseerd.
 b’. *[Of Els zou komen] bleek Jan (*er*) (*in*) geïnteresseerd.

The possibility of omitting the anticipatory pronominal PP is restricted to those adjectives that optionally take a PP-complement; with the adjectives in Table 2 and Table 4 the anticipatory pronominal PP must therefore be present, as shown by the examples in (15).

- (15) • Obligatory pronominal prepositional complement
- a. Jan is *er* ziek *van* [dat jij steeds zeurt].
 Jan is there fed.up with that you continually nag
 ‘Jan is fed up with it that you are nagging all the time.’
- a’. *Jan is ziek [dat jij steeds zeurt].

- b. Jan is *er tegen* gekant [dat Marie uitgenodigd wordt].
 Jan is there against opposed that Marie invited is
 'Jan is opposed to it that Marie is invited.'
 b'. *Jan is gekant [dat Marie uitgenodigd wordt].

Occasionally, the anticipatory pronominal PP cannot be used at all. This is especially the case when the adjective takes two prepositional objects at the same time. Consider example (16a). That both PPs are complements of the adjective *boos* is clear from the fact illustrated in (16a') that the complete string *boos op Peter over die opmerking* can be placed in clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test. Note that we added the adverb *niet* 'not' to the primed example since this facilitates topicalization. When we replace the noun phrase *die opmerking* in (16a) by a clause, it turns out that the result is still acceptable, provided that the pronominal prepositional object is absent, as is clear from the contrast between the examples in (16b) and (16c).

- (16) a. Jan is *boos op Peter over die opmerking*.
 Jan is angry with Peter about that remark
 a'. [*Boos op Peter over die opmerking*] is Jan *niet*.
 b. Jan is *boos op Peter dat hij niet gekomen is*.
 Jan is angry with Peter that he not come is
 'Jan is angry with Peter about the fact that he didn't come.'
 c. *Jan is *er boos op Peter over dat hij niet gekomen is*.
 Jan is there angry with Peter about that he not come is

The unacceptability of (16c) is probably related to the fact illustrated by (17) that examples like (16a) do not allow R-extraction from any of the two PP-complements; the fact noted earlier that anticipatory pronominal PPs obligatorily split immediately accounts for the impossibility of (16c). Note further that the ungrammaticality of (17b) may in principle be due to the fact that the stranded preposition *over* is not immediately adjacent to the selecting adjective; cf. Section P5.3.4. The fact that the example is also excluded when the stranded preposition *over* precedes the *op*-PP (**Jan is er boos over op Peter*) shows, however, that more is going on than a simple violation of some adjacency requirement.

- (17) a. *Jan is *er boos op over die opmerking*.
 b. *Jan is *er boos op Peter over*.
 c. *Jan is *er boos op over*.

II. Infinitival clauses

The clausal complements in the previous subsection are finite clauses, but they can also appear in the form of an infinitival clause. This is illustrated in (18), in which the infinitival clause is given within square brackets. A property of these examples is that the reference of the implied subject of the infinitival clause, which is indicated by °PRO, is controlled by the subject of the matrix clause, that is, the subject and PRO refer to the same referent, which is indicated here by means of co-indexing. Like in (11), the anticipatory pronoun can be dropped in (18), although this may sometimes give rise to a somewhat marked result. The examples in (18)

also show that the clausal complement is not adjacent to the selecting adjective but placed after the verbs in clause-final position.

- (18) • Optional pronominal prepositional complement
- a. dat Jan_i (*er*) boos (*over*) is [PRO_i niet uitgenodigd te zijn].
that Jan there angry about is not invited to have.been
'that Jan is angry (about it) not to have been invited.'
 - b. dat Jan_i (*er*) tevreden (*over*) is [PRO_i uitgenodigd te zijn].
that Jan there satisfied about is invited to have.been
'that Jan is satisfied (about it) to have been invited.'
 - c. dat Jan_i (*er*) verontwaardigd (*over*) is [PRO_i niet te mogen komen].
that Jan there indignant about is not to be.allowed come
'that Jan is indignant (about it) not to be allowed to come.'

Unlike finite clauses, infinitival clauses cannot readily be fronted. The examples in (19) show that, insofar as this is acceptable, the anticipatory pronominal PP must be present in the demonstrative form *daar* 'P that'. The primed examples show again that we are dealing with left dislocation, and not with topicalization of the clause into the clause-initial position immediately preceding the finite verb.

- (19) a. [?][PRO niet uitgenodigd te zijn] *daar* is Jan boos *over*.
a'. *[PRO niet uitgenodigd te zijn] is Jan (*er*) boos (*over*).
b. [?][PRO uitgenodigd te zijn] *daar* is Jan tevreden *over*.
b'. *[PRO uitgenodigd te zijn] is Jan tevreden.
c. [?][PRO niet te mogen komen] *daar* is Jan verontwaardigd *over*.
c'. *[PRO niet te mogen komen] is Jan (*er*) verontwaardigd (*over*).

The possibility of omitting the anticipatory pronominal PP is again restricted to those adjectives that optionally take a PP-complement; the examples in (20) show that the adjectives in Table 2 and Table 4 require the pronominal PP to be present.

- (20) • Obligatory pronominal prepositional complement
- a. dat Jan *er* ziek *van* is [PRO steeds op zijn zusje te moeten passen].
that Jan there fed.up with is always after his sister to have.to look
'that Jan is fed up with it to be obliged to look after his sister all the time.'
 - a'. *dat Jan ziek is [PRO steeds op zijn zusje te moeten passen].
 - b. dat Jan *er* *tegen* gekant is [PRO Marie uit te nodigen].
that Jan there against opposed is Marie prt. to invite
'that Jan is opposed to it to invite Marie.'
 - b'. *dat Jan gekant is [PRO Marie uit te nodigen]

Finally, the examples in (21) and (22) seem to show that the possibility of omitting the anticipatory pronominal PP correlates with the possibility of introducing the infinitival clause by means of the complementizer *om*: when the pronominal PP is optional, the complementizer *om* cannot be used, whereas the complementizer can be freely added when the PP is obligatory. We are not aware of any proposal that aims at accounting for this correlation (if true at all).

- (21) a. *Jan is (er) boos (over) [om PRO niet uitgenodigd te zijn].
 b. *Jan is (er) tevreden (over) [om PRO uitgenodigd te zijn].
 c. *Jan is (er) verontwaardigd (over) [om PRO niet te mogen komen].
- (22) a. Jan is er ziek van [om PRO steeds op zijn zusje te moeten passen]
 b. Jan is er tegen gekant [om PRO Marie uit te nodigen].

2.1.3. A note on adjectives modified by *te*, *genoeg*, and *voldoende*

Many adjectives do not readily take a prepositional complement. Consider for instance the examples in (23); the number sign indicates that (23b) is acceptable but only on an adverbial reading of the PP *voor de training* ‘before the training’, which is irrelevant here.

- (23) a. *Jan is jong/oud voor de disco.
 Jan is young/old for the disco
 b. #Els bleek aangesterkt voor de training.
 Els turned.out recuperated for the training

These examples in (24) show that this becomes fully acceptable, however, once the adjectives are modified by an intensifier like *te* ‘too’, *genoeg* ‘enough’, *voldoende* ‘sufficiently’, or *tamelijk/behoorlijk/nogal*.

- (24) a. Jan is te/tamelijk jong voor de disco.
 Jan is too/fairly young for the disco
 b. Marie is oud genoeg voor de disco.
 Marie is old enough for the disco
 c. Els bleek voldoende aangesterkt voor de training.
 Els turned.out sufficiently recuperated for the training

That the modified adjective and the PP in (24) form a constituent is clear from the fact illustrated by (25) that they can be preposed as a whole; cf. the °constituency test. Examples of this kind are more extensively discussed in Section 3.1.3.

- (25) a. [Te/²tamelijk jong voor de disco] is Jan niet.
 too young for the disco is Jan not
 b. [Oud genoeg voor de disco] is Marie nog niet.
 old enough for the disco is Marie not yet
 c. [Voldoende aangesterkt voor de training] is Els nog niet.
 sufficiently recuperated for the training is Els not yet

2.2. Nominal complements

Although the typical complement of an adjective is a PP, Section 2.2.1 will discuss some adjectives that may also take a noun phrase as their complement. Section 2.2.2 will show that these adjectives can occasionally also occur with a clause introduced by the anticipatory pronoun *het*.

2.2.1. *Genitive and dative nominal complements*

This section will discuss a relatively small set of adjectives and adjectival constructions that may take a nominal complement. Although such adjectives occur both in German and in Dutch, they seem somewhat rarer in the latter language; cf. Van Riemsdijk (1983) for an extensive discussion of the German counterparts of the adjectives discussed in this section. This section will not discuss adjectives in the form of past/present participles or modal infinitives, which may occur with nominal complements inherited from the base verb; these will be extensively discussed in Section 9.2.

1. *The case of the nominal complement*

Although case is not morphologically realized in Dutch, we can divide the set of adjectives that take a nominal complement into three groups on the basis of the case that would be assigned to the nominal complement in German. The German counterparts of the adjectives in parts A and B of Table 5 take, respectively, genitive and dative complements, and the German counterpart of the adjective *waard* ‘worth’ in the C part takes an accusative complement.

Table 5: *Nominal complements of adjectives*

CASE	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
A. Genitive	<i>zich iets bewust zijn</i>	to be conscious of something
	<i>iets deelachtig worden</i>	to acquire something
	<i>iets gewend/gewoon zijn</i>	to be accustomed to something
	<i>iets indachtig zijn</i>	to be mindful of something
	<i>iets moe/zat/beu zijn</i>	to be weary of something
	<i>iets machtig zijn</i>	to be in command of something.
B. Dative	<i>aangeboren</i>	innate
	<i>beschoren</i>	given
	<i>bespaard</i>	spared
	<i>duidelijk/helder</i>	clear
	<i>gehoorzaam</i>	obedient
	<i>goedgezind</i>	well-disposed
	<i>(on)bekend</i>	(un)known
	<i>toegewijd/toegedaan</i>	devoted
	<i>trouw</i>	loyal
	<i>vertrouwd/vreemd</i>	familiar/foreign
C. Accusative	<i>waard</i>	worth

These case distinctions seem to correlate with the semantic complement type: the dative complements of the adjectives in Table 5B are normally [+HUMAN] or [+ANIMATE], whereas the genitive and accusative complements of the adjectives in Table 5A can also be [-ANIMATE]. This is illustrated in (26); the nominal complements are given in italics.

- (26) a. Jan is zich *dat probleem* bewust.
 Jan is REFL that problem aware
 'Jan is aware of that problem.'
- b. Het probleem werd *Peter* maar niet duidelijk.
 the problem became Peter PRT not clear
 'The problem didn't become clear to Peter.'
- c. Dit boek is mij *veel geld* waard.
 this book is me much money worth
 'This book is worth a lot of money to me.'

The adjectives in Table 5A&B can be readily used in copular constructions, which is shown in the primeless examples of (27) and (28); in the German translations in the primed examples, we have indicated the case of the nominal complement by means of a subscript.

- (27) a. Peter is het Frans machtig. [Dutch]
 a'. Peter ist des Französischen_{genitive} mächtig. [German]
 Peter is the French in.command.of
 'Peter is able to speak French.'
- b. Peter is deze opera zat. [Dutch]
 b'. Peter ist dieser Oper_{genitive} überdrüssig. [German]
 Peter is this opera weary
 'Peter is weary of this opera.'
- (28) a. Deze omgeving is hem erg vertrouwd. [Dutch]
 a'. Diese Umgebung ist ihm_{dative} sehr geläufig. [German]
 this area is him very familiar
 'This area is very familiar to him.'
- b. De universele grammatica is de mens aangeboren. [Dutch]
 b'. Die Universalgrammatik ist dem Menschen_{dative} angeboren. [German]
 the universal grammar is the man innate
 'Universal Grammar is innate to man.'

The nominal complements differ from the prepositional ones discussed in 2.1 in that they cannot follow the adjective. This is illustrated in the (a)-examples in (29) for the Dutch examples in (27) and by the (b)-examples for the Dutch examples in (28).

- (29) a. *Peter is machtig het Frans.
 a'. *Peter is zat deze opera
 b. *Deze omgeving is erg vertrouwd hem.
 b'. *De universele grammatica is aangeboren de mens.

The examples in (30a&b) show that the adjectives in Table 5 cannot readily be used in resultative constructions. An apparent counterexample is given in (30c), in which *bekendmaken* (which is normally written as a single word) is a fixed collocation with the meaning "to announce".

- (30) a. *Ik maak Jan deze opera_{genitive} zat (door hem te vaak te spelen).
 I make Jan this opera weary by playing it too often
 b. *Ik maak Jan_{dative} deze omgeving bekend.
 I make Jan this area familiar
 c. Ik maak Jan mijn plannen bekend.
 I make Jan my plans familiar
 ‘I announced my plans to Jan.’

Adjectives that take a genitive or a dative object differ in that only the former can be marginally used in the *achten/vinden*-construction; this is shown by the examples in (31a&b). However, when the dative noun phrase in (31b) is dropped, the construction becomes fully acceptable, although it is not clear why omitting the complement should have this effect; see the discussion of (35) for a suggestion that may be helpful in this respect.

- (31) a. [?]Ik acht Jan het Frans_{genitive} machtig.
 I consider Jan the French in.command.of
 b. *[?]Ik acht de mens_{dative} de universele grammatica aangeboren.
 I consider the man the universal grammar innate
 b'. Ik acht de universele grammatica aangeboren.
 I consider the universal grammar innate

An example with the adjective *waard* in Table 5C is given in (32a). This adjective also occurs in the syntactic frame in (32b); in this frame, the pronoun *mij* is assigned dative case in German, and the noun phrase *het geld* receives accusative case.

- (32) a. Peter is die onderscheiding waard. [Dutch]
 a'. Peter ist die Unterscheidung_{accusative} wert. [German]
 Peter is that distinction worth
 ‘Peter deserves that distinction.’
 b. Dit boek is mij het geld niet waard. [Dutch]
 b'. Dieses Buch ist mir_{dative} den Preis_{accusative} nicht wert. [German]
 this book is me the money not worth
 ‘This book is not worth the money to me.’

II. The obligatoriness of the nominal complement

The genitive arguments of the adjectives in Table 5A are normally obligatory, although they can occasionally be replaced by a *van*-PP, as is illustrated in (33). The use of the number sign in (33b) indicates that omitting the genitive argument is possible, but will have a dramatic effect on the meaning of the sentence: *Jan is moe/zat* ‘Jan is tired/drunk’.

- (33) a. Jan is zich *(het probleem_{genitive}) bewust.
 Jan is REFL the problem conscious
 a'. Jan is zich bewust van dat probleem.
 Jan is REFL conscious of that problem
 ‘Jan is aware of that problem.’

- b. Jan is [#](die opera_{genitive}) moe/zat.
 Jan is that opera weary
 b'. [?]Jan is moe/zat van die opera.
 Jan is weary of that opera

It seems that the adjectives in Table 5B can be divided into two subclasses in this respect: *beschoren*, *bespaard*, *goedgezind* and *toegewijd/toegedaan* require that the dative argument be present, whereas *aangeboren*, *duidelijk*, *gehoorzaam*, *helder*, *(on)bekend*, *trouw*, *vertrouwd* and *vreemd* can also occur without a dative argument. This is illustrated in (34).

- (34) a. Peter is *(hem_{dative}) goedgezind.
 Peter is him well-disposed
 'Peter is well-disposed towards him.'
 b. Dit probleem is (hem_{dative}) bekend.
 this problem is him known
 'This problem is known (to him).'

It must be noted, however, that omitting the dative argument from the second subclass sometimes affects the meaning/denotation of the adjective. This is illustrated in (35). This raises the question of whether our claim that the dative argument is optional with adjectives of the second subclass is actually correct; it may be the case that we are simply dealing with two homophonous forms.

- (35) a. Deze karaktereigenschap is hem_{dative} vreemd.
 this quality is him foreign
 'He does not possess this quality of character.'
 b. Deze karaktereigenschap is vreemd.
 this quality is weird

In some cases the dative noun phrases can be replaced by a *voor*- or an *aan*-PP. The former is possible with the adjectives *duidelijk/helder*, and the latter with the adjectives *gehoorzaam* and *trouw*.

- (36) a. Het probleem is mij duidelijk/helder.
 the problem is me clear/clear
 'The problem is clear to me.'
 a'. [?]Het probleem is duidelijk/helder voor me.
 the problem is clear/clear to me
 b. De hond is Peter gehoorzaam.
 the dog is Peter obedient
 'The dog is obedient to Peter.'
 b'. De hond is gehoorzaam aan Peter.
 the dog is obedient to Peter
 c. De hond is Peter trouw.
 the dog is Peter loyal
 'The dog is loyal to Peter.'
 c'. De hond is trouw aan Peter.
 the dog is loyal to Peter

III. Order of the subject of the clause and the nominal complement of the adjective

The genitive complement of the adjectives in Table 5A always follows the subject of the clause, which is illustrated in (37) by the contrast between the primeless and primed examples.

- (37) a. dat Jan het Frans_{genitive} machtig is.
 that Jan the French in.command.of is
 ‘that Jan has a firm grasp of French’
 a’. *dat het Frans Jan machtig is.
 b. dat Jan deze opera_{genitive} zat is.
 that Jan this opera weary is
 ‘that Jan had enough of this opera.’
 b’. *dat deze opera Jan zat is.

The adjectives in Table 5B, however, can again be divided into two subclasses in this respect. The adjectives *gehoorzaam* and *trouw* in (38a) require the dative object to follow the subject of the clause; the order in example (38b) forces the reading that it is Jan who is loyal/obedient to the dog.

- (38) a. dat de hond Jan_{dative} trouw/gehoorzaam is.
 that the dog Jan loyal/obedient is
 ‘that the dog is loyal/obedient to Jan.’
 b. #dat Jan de hond trouw/gehoorzaam is.

The adjectives in (39), on the other hand, allow the dative object to precede the subject. Since we also find this kind of order variation with the subject of dyadic °unaccusative verbs, it has been suggested that the subject of the clause is in fact an internal argument of the adjective; cf. Bennis (2004) and also Cinque (1990). More evidence in favor of this claim can be found in Section 6.5.

- (39) a. dat de universele grammatica de mens_{dative} aangeboren is.
 that the universal grammar the man innate is
 ‘that Universal Grammar is innate to man.’
 a’. dat de mens_{dative} de universele grammatica aangeboren is.
 b. dat dat probleem Jan_{dative} nu eindelijk duidelijk/helder is.
 that that problem Jan now finally clear is
 ‘that the problem is finally clear to Jan now.’
 b’. dat Jan_{dative} dat probleem nu eindelijk duidelijk/helder is.

IV. Constituency of the adjective and the nominal complement

The genitive/dative noun phrase is a complement of the adjective (and not of the verb). One fact supporting this claim is that, in German, the case assigned to the noun phrase is determined by the adjective. Furthermore, when the noun phrase can be replaced by a complement PP, the combination A + PP can be placed in clause-initial position and must therefore be a constituent; cf. the °constituency test.

- (40) a. Ik was me dat probleem_{genitive} bewust.
 I was REFL that problem aware
 a'. Ik was me bewust van dat probleem.
 I was REFL aware of that problem
 'I was aware of that problem.'
 a''. [Bewust van dat probleem] was ik me niet.
 aware of that problem was I REFL not
 b. De ridder bleef zijn heer_{dative} trouw.
 the knight remained his lord loyal
 b'. De ridder bleef trouw aan zijn heer.
 the knight remained loyal to his lord
 b''. [Trouw aan zijn heer] bleef de ridder niet.
 loyal to his lord remained the knight not

Given that the combination A + PP forms a constituent, it seems relatively safe to assume that the same thing holds for the combination NP + A, although it must be noted that there is a potential problem: the primeless examples in (41) show that at least for some speakers, topicalization of the combination NP + A gives rise to a degraded result, and all speakers clearly prefer the split patterns in the primed examples. We return to these patterns in Section 2.3, while noting that German speakers seem to have much fewer problems with the primeless orders in (41).

- (41) a. %_{[AP} Dat probleem_{genitive} bewust] was ik me niet.
 that problem aware was I REFL not
 'I wasn't aware of that problem.'
 a'. Bewust was ik me dat probleem niet.
 a''. Dat probleem was ik me niet bewust.
 b. %_{[AP} Zijn heer_{dative} trouw] bleef de ridder/hij niet.
 his lord loyal remained the knight/he not
 'The knight/he didn't remain loyal to his lord.'
 b'. Trouw bleef de ridder/hij zijn heer niet.
 b''. Zijn heer bleef de ridder/hij niet trouw.

V. Dative complements with adjectives modified by te 'too' and genoeg 'enough'

Although the set of adjectives that take a nominal complement is quite small in Dutch, it should be noted that virtually any gradable adjective can be combined with a dative object when it is modified by the (evaluative) intensifying element *te* 'too'; cf. Section 3.1.3.2. The examples in (42) show that, in the resulting structure, the dative object refers to the individual whose evaluation is given. Note further that the subject of the clause can always follow the dative object; cf. the examples discussed in (38b&c) above.

- (42) a. dat het boek Jan/mij *(te) moeilijk is.
 that the book Jan/me too difficult is
 'that the book is too difficult for Jan/me.'
 a'. dat Jan/mij het boek te moeilijk is.

- b. dat het water *Jan/mij* *(te) koud is.
that the water Jan/me too cold is
'that the water is too cold for Jan/me.'
- b'. dat *Jan/mij* het water te koud is.

The examples in (43) show that similar facts can sometimes be observed in the case of the modifier *genoeg* 'enough'; cf. Section 3.1.3.4.

- (43) a. dat het boek *Jan/mij* al moeilijk *(genoeg) is.
that the book Jan/me already difficult enough is
'that the book is already difficult enough for Jan/me.'
- a'. dat *Jan/mij* het boek al moeilijk genoeg is.
- b. dat het water *Jan/mij* al koud *(genoeg) is.
that the water Jan/me already cold enough is
'that the water is cold enough for Jan/me.'
- b'. dat *Jan/mij* het water al koud genoeg is.

The primeless examples in (44) illustrate that the dative phrases in (42) and (43) alternate with *voor*-PPs. The primed examples show that these PP's can be readily pied piped by topicalization of an AP modified by *te* 'too', but that this is harder in the case of the modifier *genoeg*. The fact that (44b') is also marked without the PP suggests that this is not due to problems with pied piping of the PP but to problems with topicalization of the modified adjective.

- (44) a. dat het boek te moeilijk is voor Jan.
that the book too difficult is for Jan
- a. Te moeilijk voor Jan is dat boek niet.
too difficult for Jan is that book not
- b. dat het boek al moeilijk *(genoeg) is voor Jan.
that the book already difficult enough is for Jan
- b'. ^{??}Moeilijk genoeg (voor Jan) is het boek nog niet.
difficult enough for Jan is the book not yet

VI. Some less clear cases

Besides the examples in Table 5, there are some more or less fixed expressions in which the categorial status of the predicative element is not clear; examples like (45) are often considered lexicalized phrasal verbs.

- (45) a. Hij is het spoor bijster.
he is the track lost
'He has lost his way.'
- b. Hij is de stad meester.
he is the city in.command.of
'He is in command of the city.'
- c. Hij is zijn sleutels steeds kwijt.
he is his keys all.the.time lost
'He mislays/loses his keys all the time.'

2.2.2. Clauses introduced by the anticipatory pronoun *het*

A small subset of the adjectives in Table 5A, which take a genitive noun phrase as their complement, may also occur with a clausal complement, which can be finite or infinitival; the clearest cases involve the adjectives *bewust* ‘conscious’ and *moe/zat/beu* ‘weary’, illustrated in (46a) and (46b), respectively. The examples in (46) show that the clause is obligatorily introduced by means of the anticipatory pronoun *het* ‘it’, which suggests that we can consider these examples as special cases of the examples with a nominal complement discussed in Section 2.2.1. Observe that the implied subject °PRO of the infinitival clauses in the primed examples must be construed as identical to the subject of the matrix clause.

- (46) a. Ik ben ^{??}(het) me bewust [dat hij ziek is].
 I am it REFL conscious that he ill is
 ‘I am aware of the fact that he is ill.’
 a’. Ik_i ben *(het) me bewust [PRO_i ziek te zijn].
 I am it REFL conscious ill to be
 ‘I am aware of the fact that I am ill.’
 b. Ik ben *(het) moe/zat/beu [dat jij steeds zeurt].
 I am it weary that you all.the.time nag
 ‘I am tired of it that you are nagging all the time.’
 b’. Ik_i ben *(het) moe/zat/beu [(om) PRO_i steeds te moeten dansen].
 I am it weary COMP all.the.time to have.to dance
 ‘I am weary of being obliged to dance all the time.’

The anticipatory pronoun *het* ‘it’ cannot be present when the clausal complement is placed in clause-initial position; this occurs with finite clauses only, as infinitival clauses generally resist placement in this position. The fact that an anticipatory pronoun is impossible suggests that this pronoun acts as a kind of “placeholder” for the clause-final clauses in (46). Perhaps this may even lead to the conclusion that the clause is not even a constituent of the matrix or main clause when the anticipatory pronoun is present, given that clausal constituents normally can occupy the clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test.

- (47) a. [Dat hij ziek is] ben ik *(het) me bewust.
 a’. *[PRO ziek te zijn] ben ik (het) me bewust.
 b. [Dat jij steeds zeurt] ben ik *(het) moe/zat/beu.
 b’. *[Om PRO steeds te moeten dansen] ben ik (het) moe/zat/beu.

Perhaps this conclusion can also be supported by means of the °left dislocation constructions in (48). Given that the clause-initial position immediately preceding the finite verb is occupied by the demonstrative *dat* ‘that’, which has a similar function as the anticipatory pronoun *het* in (46), we must conclude that the complement is external to the main clause. Observe that in these constructions infinitival clauses are at least marginally acceptable.

- (48) a. [Dat hij ziek is] dat ben ik me bewust.
 a'. ?[PRO ziek te zijn] dat ben ik me bewust.
 b. [Dat jij steeds zeurt] dat ben ik moe/zat/beu.
 b'. ?[Om PRO steeds te moeten dansen] dat ben ik moe/zat/beu.

Given that example (40b) has shown that the nominal complement of *bewust* can be replaced by a PP-complement, it does not come as a surprise that the anticipatory pronoun *het* in (46a) can be replaced by an anticipatory pronominal *van*-PP, as shown by the (a)-examples in (49). The (b)-examples show that *moe/zat/beu* 'weary' allow the same option. Section 2.1.2 provides a more extensive discussion of clausal complements introduced by an anticipatory pronominal PP.

- (49) a. Ik ben me *er* bewust *van* [dat hij ziek is].
 I am REFL there conscious of that he ill is
 a'. Ik ben me *er* bewust *van* [PRO ziek te zijn].
 I am REFL there conscious of ill to be
 b. ?Ik ben *er* moe/zat/beu *van* [dat jij steeds zeurt].
 I am there weary of that you all.the.time nag
 b'. ?Ik ben *er* moe/zat/beu *van* [om PRO steeds te moeten dansen].
 I am there weary of COMP all.the.time to have.to dance

Finally, we can note that the adjectives in Table 5B, which take a dative noun phrase as their complement, never take a clausal complement. This is of course not surprising given our earlier observation that the dative arguments of adjectives always refer to [+ANIMATE] entities.

2.3. Discontinuous adjective phrases

Sections 2.1 and 2.2 have discussed complementation of the adjective, and we have amply demonstrated that at least adjectives and their PP-complement(s) constitute a larger phrase, which is clear from the fact that they can be moved together into clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test. This is demonstrated again in (50b) for the adjective *trots*. However, given the fact that the adjective and its PP-complement can also be moved into clause-initial position in isolation, as in (50c) and (50d), it is clear that the AP can occur discontinuously. Below, we show that discontinuous APs arise as a result of various movement processes, which arguably play a role in the verbal domain as well.

- (50) a. Jan is [_{AP} trots op zijn vader].
 Jan is proud of his father
 'Jan is proud of his father.'
 b. [_{AP} Trots op zijn vader] is Jan niet.
 proud of his father is Jan not
 c. Trots is Jan op zijn vader.
 proud is Jan of his father
 d. Op zijn vader is Jan trots.
 of his father is Jan proud

Section 2.3.1 starts by discussing movement of PP-complements. We show that the discontinuity of the AP may arise as a result of PP-over-V and PP-preposing (*wh*-

movement, topicalization and focus movement). Section 2.3.2 concludes with a discussion of movement of nominal complements.

2.3.1. Movement of the PP-complement

This section shows how discontinuous APs may arise by movement of PP-complements. We start by discussing PP-over-V, which results in placement of the PP after the verb(s) in clause-final position. After this we will discuss several processes that place the PP-complement in a position preceding the adjective. This section is concluded by a brief discussion of PP-complements of pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives, which exhibit somewhat deviant behavior.

2.3.1.1. PP-over-V

When we consider the relative order of PPs and main verbs in clause-final position, it turns out that many PPs may occur on both sides of the verb as a result of °PP-over-V. This is illustrated in (51): (51b) involves PP-over-V of the adverbial adjunct of place *op het station*; (51c) involves PP-over-V of the PP-complement *op zijn vader* of the main verb, and in (51d) both PPs follow the main verb.

- (51) a. Jan heeft op het station op zijn vader gewacht.
 Jan has at the station for his father waited
 ‘Jan has waited for his father at the station.’
 b. Jan heeft op zijn vader gewacht op het station.
 c. Jan heeft op het station gewacht op zijn vader.
 d. Jan heeft gewacht op zijn vader op het station.

Now consider the examples in (52), which involve an adjective that takes a PP-complement. Example (52b) shows that this PP-complement may also undergo PP-over-V, which results in a structure in which the AP and its PP-complement are no longer adjacent; note that we indicated the original position of the moved PP by means of the °trace *t*.

- (52) a. Jan is nooit [_{AP} trots op zijn vader] geweest.
 Jan is never proud of his father been
 ‘Jan has never been proud of his father.’
 b. Jan is nooit [_{AP} trots *t*_i] geweest [op zijn vader]_i.

Given the structure in (52b), it does not come as a surprise that the adjective can be topicalized in isolation; the structure in (53a) involves movement of the same constituent as in (50b), namely AP (the indices, *i* and *j* in this case, keep track of what moves where). Observe that the adjective normally cannot be topicalized when the PP occurs between the adverb *nooit* and the participle *geweest*, as in (53b); this is only possible when the frequency adverb *nooit* receives focus accent. This suggests that PP-over-V must apply in order to make topicalization of the adjective in isolation possible (although there is an alternative option that may license this, which will be discussed in Section 2.3.1.2, sub II).

- (53) a. [_{AP} Trots *t*_i]_j is Jan nooit *t*_j geweest [op zijn vader]_i.
 b. ^{??}Trots is Jan nooit op zijn vader geweest.

Example (50c), repeated here as (54a), may have a similar structure as (53a). The main difference would be that PP-over-V cannot be observed because the verb is not in clause-final position, but occupies the second position of the main clause as a result of °Verb-Second. However, since the finite verb occupies the clause-final position in embedded clauses, this predicts that when movement of the adjective takes place in an embedded clause, the PP may show up after the finite verb. That this is indeed borne out is shown in (54b), which contains an embedded interrogative clause.

- (54) a. Trots is Jan op zijn vader.
proud is Jan of his father
b. (Je weet niet) [hoe trots Jan is op zijn vader].
you know not how proud Jan is of his father

2.3.1.2. PP-preposing

Section 2.3.1.1 has shown that discontinuity may arise as a result of PP-over-V, and this section will show that it may also be the result of PP-preposing. Two cases can be distinguished: leftward movement of the PP into the initial position of the clause (topicalization and *wh*-movement) and leftward movement into some clause-internal position (focus- and negation-movement).

1. Topicalization and *wh*-movement

Another source of discontinuous APs is PP-preposing. One case involves movement of the PP into clause-initial position. Consider again example (51a). The primeless examples in (55) show that both the adverbial PP *op het station* and the complement PP *op zijn vader* can be moved into clause-initial position by topicalization. The primed examples show that the same result can be obtained by means of *wh*-movement when the nominal complement of the preposition is questioned.

- (55) a. Op het station_i heeft Jan *t_i* gewacht.
at the station has Jan waited
a'. Op welk station_i heeft Jan *t_i* gewacht?
at which station has Jan waited
b. Op zijn vader_i heeft Jan *t_i* gewacht.
for his father has Jan waited
b'. Op wie_i heeft Jan *t_i* gewacht?
for whom has Jan waited

The examples in (56) show that PP-complements of adjectives can undergo the same processes. This is another source for the discontinuity of the AP.

- (56) a. Jan is nooit [_{AP} trots op zijn vader] geweest.
Jan is never proud of his father been
'Jan has never been proud of his father.'
b. [Op zijn vader]_i is Jan nooit [_{AP} trots *t_i*] geweest.
of his father is Jan never proud been
c. [Op wie]_i is Jan nooit [_{AP} trots *t_i*] geweest?
of whom is Jan never proud been

II. Short leftward movement

Leftward movement of PP-complements need not always involve movement into clause-initial position, but may also target some clause-internal position. This kind of movement will be referred to as short leftward movement. At least two types of short leftward movement can be distinguished: focus- and negation-movement.

A. Focus-movement

The (a)-examples in (57) illustrate short leftward movement of the PP-complement of the verb *praten* ‘to talk’ across the adverbial phrase *niet langer* ‘no longer’. Short leftward movement of PPs normally results in a word order that is perceived as marked, and is only possible when the nominal complement of the preposition is able to bear accent; when the nominal complement is a weak pronoun, as in the (b)-examples, short leftward movement of the PP is excluded. Although this goes against a popular belief (which finds its origin in Neeleman, 1994b, and Vikner, 1994/2006), we will assume that short leftward movement of PPs is an instance of °focus-movement; see Broekhuis (2008:67ff.) for more extensive discussion.

- (57) a. Jan wil niet langer op zijn vader wachten.
 Jan wants no longer for his father wait
 ‘Jan doesn’t want to wait for his father any longer.’
 b. Jan wil [op zijn vader]_i niet langer *t_i* wachten.
 b. Jan wil niet langer op ’m wachten.
 Jan wants no longer for him wait
 ‘Jan doesn’t want to wait for him any longer.’
 b’. *Jan wil [op ’m]_i niet langer *t_i* wachten.

Example (58b) shows that focus-movement is also possible with PP-complements of adjectives. Example (58c) further shows that this movement is only possible when the nominal complement of the preposition is able to bear accent; when the complement is a weak pronoun, short leftward movement of the PP is excluded.

- (58) a. Jan is altijd al [_{AP} trots op zijn vader/’m] geweest.
 Jan has always proud of his father/him been
 ‘Jan has always been proud of his father.’
 b. Jan is [op zijn vader]_i altijd al [_{AP} trots *t_i*] geweest.
 c. *Jan is [op ’m]_i altijd al [_{AP} trots *t_i*] geweest.

Since the adverbial phrase of frequency *altijd al* in (58) modifies the clause and focus-movement of the PP crosses this modifier, we can safely assume that the landing site of focus-movement is an AP-external position. This is further confirmed by the fact that the adjective can be topicalized and *wh*-moved in isolation, albeit that topicalization may require that the adjective be contrastively stressed.

- (59) a. [_{AP} Trots *t_i*]_j is Jan [op zijn vader]_i *t_j* geweest.
 b. [_{AP} Hoe trots *t_i*]_j is Jan [op zijn vader]_i *t_j* geweest?

This does not automatically preclude, however, that there may be an additional AP-internal landing site. If this were the case, we would expect that the PP could also follow the adverbial phrase and that the preposed PP could be pied piped under AP-

topicalization. Since the resulting structures in (60b&c) are highly marked, these expectations do not seem to be borne out.

- (60) a. Jan is altijd al [_{AP} trots op zijn vader] geweest.
 Jan has always proud of his father been
 b. ??Jan is altijd al [_{AP} [op zijn vader]_i trots _{t_i}] geweest.
 c. ??[_{AP} [Op zijn vader]_i trots _{t_i}] is Jan altijd al _{t_j} geweest.

It must be noted, however, that (60b) improves considerably when the adverbial phrase *altijd al* is assigned emphatic accent, as in (61a). Still, given that AP-topicalization cannot pied pipe the PP in this case either, we have to maintain that the landing site of the preposed PP is AP-external, but has simply not crossed the emphatically focused adverbial phrase.

- (61) a. Jan is ALTIJD AL op zijn vader_i trots _{t_i} geweest.
 b. [_{AP} Trots _{t_i}]_j is Jan ALTIJD AL [op zijn vader]_i _{t_j} geweest.
 c. ??[_{AP} [Op zijn vader]_i trots _{t_i}] is Jan ALTIJD AL geweest.

The discussion above has shown that as a result of focus movement, many adjectives allow their PP-complement to their left. The examples in (62) simply provide an additional illustration of the resulting word order variation. The (a)-examples show that the adjective and the postadjectival PP form a clausal constituent that may be topicalized as a whole. The adjective and the preadjectival PP, on the other hand, do not form a constituent, which is clear from the fact, illustrated in the (b)-examples, that AP-topicalization cannot pied pipe the PP.

- (62) a. dat Els bang voor de hond is.
 that Els afraid of the dog is
 a'. [_{AP} Bang voor de hond]_j is Els niet _{t_j}.
 b. dat Els [voor de hond]_i bang _{t_i} is.
 b'. [_{AP} Bang _{t_i}]_j is Els [voor de hond]_i niet _{t_j}.
 b''. ??[_{AP} [Voor de hond]_i bang _{t_i}]_j is Els niet _{t_j}.

The examples in (63) show that focus-movement of the PP-complement is less felicitous with some of the adjectives in Table 2, that is, those adjectives that show a change of meaning when the PP is omitted/added. The reason for this seems to be that focus movement appears to block the lexicalized meaning of the A+P collocation in favor of a more compositional one: when the PP follows the adjective, the idiomatic meaning “fed up with” is possible; after focus movement, on the other hand, only the compositional meaning “ill as a result of” survives.

- (63) a. dat Jan ziek van die zuurkool is.
 that Jan fed.up with this sauerkraut is
 ‘that Jan is fed up with this sauerkraut.’
 b. dat Jan van die zuurkool ziek is.
 Not: ‘that Jan is fed up with this sauerkraut.’
 Possible: ‘that this sauerkraut made Jan ill.’

When the compositional meaning leads to gibberish, as in (64), short leftward movement simply leads to a degraded result.

- (64) a. dat Jan dol/gek op zijn kinderen is.
 that Jan fond of his children is
 a'. ??dat Jan op zijn kinderen dol/gek is.
 b. dat Jan vol van die gebeurtenis is.
 that Jan full of that incident is
 b'. ??dat Jan van die gebeurtenis vol is.

It must be noted, however, that assigning contrastive accent to the adjective or the addition of an accented °intensifier may considerably improve the result of focus-movement of the PP-complement. This is illustrated by the examples in (65), which seem to be fully acceptable.

- (65) a. dat Jan op zijn kinderen DOL/GEK is.
 a'. dat Jan op zijn kinderen HARTstikke dol is.
 that Jan of his children extremely fond is
 b. dat Jan van die gebeurtenis VOL is.
 b'. dat Jan van die gebeurtenis HElemaal vol is.
 that Jan of that incident completely full is

Needless to say, topicalization of the adjectives in (63) and (64) can only pied pipe the PP-complement when it follows the adjective, e.g., [*gek/dol op zijn kinderen*] is Jan versus *[*op zijn kinderen (HARTstikke) gek/dol*] is Jan.

Topicalization and *wh*-movement of the PP-complement contrast sharply with focus-movement; these movements leave the idiomatic reading intact and, as a result, always give rise to a completely acceptable result. We illustrate this in (66) for the topicalization/*wh*-movement counterparts of the primed examples of (64).

- (66) a. Op zijn kinderen is hij dol/gek.
 of his children is he fond
 a'. Op wie is hij dol/gek?
 of whom is he fond
 b. Van die gebeurtenis is hij vol.
 of that incident is he full
 b'. Van welke gebeurtenis is hij vol?
 of which incident is he full

This section has shown that PP-complements that precede their selecting adjectives have been moved from their original postadjectival position into some other position in the clause. Section 2.3.1.3 will show, however, that there are certain exceptions to this general rule: pseudo-participles and certain deverbal adjectives may take their PP-complement to their left.

B. *Neg-movement*

This subsection discusses another case of short leftward movement of PP-complements, which does not involve focus but takes place when the nominal complement of the preposition is negated. We will refer to this movement, which is illustrated in (67), as *neg-movement*; cf. Haegeman (1991/1995).

- (67) a. ??dat Marie tevreden over niets is.
 that Marie satisfied about nothing is
 a'. dat Marie [over niets]_i tevreden *t*_i is.
 b. ??dat Jan gevoelig voor geen enkel argument is.
 that Jan susceptible to no single argument is
 b'. dat Jan [voor geen enkel argument]_i gevoelig *t*_i is.
 c. ??dat Els bang voor niemand is.
 that Els afraid of no one is
 c'. dat Els [voor niemand]_i bang *t*_i is.
 d. ??dat Jan trots op niemand is.
 that Jan proud of no one is
 d'. dat Jan [op niemand]_i trots *t*_i is.

Neg-movement seems to be obligatory and it has been suggested that it is needed in order to allow negation to take °scope over the complete clause, which results in the following meaning for example (67c): “it is not the case that Els is afraid of someone”. In fact, it seems that the need for *neg*-movement also blocks the application of PP-over-V, as will be clear from the degraded status of the examples in (68).

- (68) a. ??dat Marie tevreden is over niets.
 b. ??dat Jan gevoelig is voor geen enkel argument.
 c. ??dat Els bang is voor niemand.
 d. ??dat Jan trots is op niemand.

Note in passing that when the nominal complement of the preposition is inanimate, *neg*-movement can also affect the negative element in isolation by means of extraction of the negative °R-pronoun *nergens* from a pronominal PP. So, besides the examples in (67a'&b'), we also find the constructions in (69); we will ignore these alternatives in what will follow, while noting that the leftward movement of the *nergens* suffices to assign negation °scope over the complete clause.

- (69) a. dat Jan *nergens* tevreden over is.
 that Jan nowhere satisfied about is
 ‘that Jan isn’t satisfied about anything.’
 b. dat Jan *nergens* gevoelig voor is.
 that Jan nowhere susceptible to is
 ‘that Jan isn’t susceptible to anything.’

When *neg*-movement does not apply, we are dealing with constituent negation. The constituent negation reading does not give rise to a very felicitous result for the examples in (67), but is possible in (70), where the two examples form a minimal pair.

- (70) a. dat Jan tevreden met niets is.
 that Jan satisfied with nothing is
 ‘that Jan is satisfied with very little.’
 b. dat Jan met niets tevreden is.
 that Jan with nothing satisfied is
 ‘that Jan is not satisfied with anything.’

Example (70a), in which the PP-complement occupies its original postadjectival position, involves constituency negation; this example literally means that Jan will be happy when he has got nothing, but is normally used in an idiomatic sense to express that Jan has virtually no needs. This interpretation contrasts sharply with the one associated with example (70b), in which *neg*-movement has applied; this example expresses that Jan will not be happy, no matter what he obtains. For completeness' sake, note that PP-over-V in *dat Jan tevreden is met niets* is compatible with the constituent negation reading in (70a), but not with the sentential negation reading in (70b).

The data in (70) support the claim that *neg*-movement is needed in order to express sentential negation. Another argument in favor of this claim can be based on the fact illustrated in (71) that the negative polarity verb *hoeven* requires the presence of a negative adverb *niet* 'not' or some other negated element like *niemand* 'no one' that takes clausal scope.

- (71) a. Je hoeft *(niet) te komen.
 you need not to come
 'You don't have to come.'
 b. Je hoeft niemand/*iemand te overtuigen.
 you need nobody/someone to convince
 'You don't have to convince anybody.'

When the negated element is part of the PP-complement of an adjective, and the PP stays in its original position, the use of *hoeven* is completely unacceptable. However, when the PP is moved to the left, as in (72b), the result is perfect. This would be consistent with the fact that sentential negation requires *neg*-movement. For completeness' sake, (72c) shows that PP-over-V is also excluded in this context.

- (72) a. *Je hoeft bang voor niemand te zijn.
 you need afraid of no one to be
 b. Je hoeft voor niemand bang te zijn.
 c. *Je hoeft bang te zijn voor niemand.

To conclude this section, we want to note that West-Flemish provides morphological evidence in favor of the claim that negation can only have clausal scope when the PP-complement has undergone *neg*-movement. Sentential negation can be morphologically expressed by supplementing the finite verb with the (optional) negative marker *en-*. This marker is possible when the PP-complement of the adjective has undergone *neg*-movement, as in (73a), but not when the PP occupies its original position or has undergone PP-over-V, as in (73b).

- (73) a. da Valère van niemand ketent en-is.
 that Valère of no one satisfied NEG-is
 'that Valère isn't pleased with anyone.'
 b. *da Valère ketent <van niemand> en-is <van niemand>.
 that Valère satisfied of no one NEG-is

2.3.1.3. *An exceptional case: pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives*

The previous section has shown that PP–A orders are normally the result of leftward movement of the PP-complement. This section discusses adjectives that are different in that the original position of their PP-complement may be on their left.

I. PP–A orders in clause-initial position

Section 2.3.1.2, sub II, has shown that the PP–A order normally gives rise to a degraded result when the AP is moved into clause-initial position; cf. (60c), (61c) and (62b’). The examples in (74) show, however, that some adjectives behave differently in this respect. The acceptability of the primed examples could be accounted for by assuming that, at least in some cases, leftward movement of the PP-complement into some AP-internal position is possible after all, but we will argue instead that the PP–A order in clause-initial position is restricted to two morphologically definable classes that in some sense show verbal behavior.

- (74) a. [_{AP} Geschikt voor deze functie] is hij niet.
 suitable for this office is he not
 a’. [_{AP} Voor deze functie geschikt] is hij niet.
 b. [_{AP} Afhankelijk van zijn toestemming] ben ik niet.
 dependent on his permission am I not
 b’. [_{AP} Van zijn toestemming afhankelijk] ben ik niet.

Most adjectives that allow the PP–A order in clause-initial position have the appearance of a past/passive participle; cf. Table 6. However, since the adjectives in Table 6A–C do not have a verbal counterpart, they must be considered pseudo-participles. The irregular forms in Table 6D do have a verbal counterpart but these have a completely different meaning: the verb *voldoen* means “to pay” or “to be sufficient”; the verb *begaan* means “to commit”.

Table 6: *Pseudo-participles that take a prepositional complement*

FORM	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
A. <i>ge- ... -d/t/en</i>	<i>gebrand op</i>	keen on
	<i>gekant tegen</i>	opposed to
	<i>geschikt voor</i>	suitable for
	<i>gespitst op</i>	especially alert to
	<i>gesteld op</i>	keen on
	<i>ingenomen met</i>	delighted with
B. <i>ver- ... -d/t</i>	<i>verliefd op</i>	in-love with
	<i>verrukt over</i>	delighted at
	<i>verwant aan</i>	related to
C. <i>be- ... -d/t</i>	<i>bedacht op</i>	cautious for
	<i>bekend met</i>	familiar with
	<i>bereid tot</i>	willing to
	<i>bevreesd voor</i>	fearful of
D. <i>irregular forms</i>	<i>voldaan over</i>	content with
	<i>begaan met</i>	emotionally involved with

In addition there are a small number of adjectives that are derived from a verb by means of the suffixes *-baar* and *-elijk*; the preposition of their PP-complement is identical to the one in the corresponding verbal construction. Three examples are given in (75).

(75)	• Deverbal adjectives	• Verbal stem
a.	<i>verenigbaar met</i> 'compatible with'	a'. <i>verenigen met</i> 'to reconcile with'
b.	<i>vergelijkbaar met</i> 'comparable to'	b'. <i>vergelijken met</i> 'to compare with'
c.	<i>afhankelijk van</i> 'dependent on'	c'. <i>afhangen van</i> 'to depend on'

Given that topicalized past participles and infinitives allow their PP-complement both on their left and on their right (cf. (76)), it may not be accidental that the pseudo-participles in Table 6 and the deverbal adjectives in (75) also allow both orders in topicalized position.

- (76) a. [_{VP} Gewacht op zijn vader] heeft Jan niet.
 waited for his father has Jan not
 'Jan has not waited for his father.'
- a'. [_{VP} Op zijn vader gewacht] heeft Jan niet.
- b. [_{VP} Wachten op zijn vader] wil Jan niet.
 waiting for his father wants Jan not
 'Jan doesn't want to wait for his father.'
- b'. [_{VP} Op zijn vader wachten] wil Jan niet.

The next subsections will show that there are indeed reasons to assume that pseudo-participles and certain deverbal adjectives exhibit verbal behavior. This suggests that the PP–A order with these adjectives can be accounted for by other means than by taking recourse to AP-internal movement; the data in fact suggest that the PP is base-generated to the left of the adjective.

II. R-extraction from the PP-complement

When the preposition of a PP-complement of a verb is stranded by means of °R-extraction, it always *precedes* the verb. The stranded preposition of the complement of an adjective, on the other hand, normally *follows* the adjective. This is illustrated in, respectively, (77) and (78).

- (77) a. *Jan heeft er niet <op> gewacht <*op>.* [verb]
 Jan has there not for waited
 'Jan did not wait for it.'
- b. *Jan heeft er niet <naar> gezocht <*naar>.* [verb]
 Jan has there not for searched
 'Jan did not search for it.'
- (78) a. *Jan is er nog steeds <*op> trots <op>.* [adjective]
 Jan is there still of proud
 'Jan is still proud of it.'
- b. *Jan is er nog steeds <*voor> bang <voor>.* [adjective]
 Jan is there still of afraid
 'Jan is still afraid of it.'

The pseudo-participles in Table 6 and the deverbal adjectives in (75), however, are more equivocal in this respect; they allow the stranded preposition on both sides.

- (79) a. Jan is *er* niet <voor> geschikt <voor>. [pseudo-participle]
 Jan is there not for suitable
 'Jan is not suitable for it.'
- b. Jan is *er* niet <mee> bekend <mee>. [pseudo-participle]
 Jan is there not with familiar
 'Jan is not familiar with it.'
- c. Jan is *er* helemaal <van> afhankelijk <van> [deverbal adjective]
 Jan is there completely on dependent
 'Jan is completely dependent on it.'

The judgments on the degree of acceptability of the examples in (79) with the stranded preposition preceding the adjective may vary somewhat from speaker to speaker, but they are consistently considered much better than those on the corresponding examples in (78). As is illustrated in (80), the stranded preposition is occasionally even rejected in post-adjectival position.

- (80) a. Jan is *er* niet <mee> ingenomen <??mee>. [pseudo-participle]
 Jan is there not with pleased
 'Jan is not pleased with it.'
- b. Jan is *er* niet <tegen> gekant <?*tegen>. [pseudo-participle]
 Jan is there not to opposed
 'Jan is not opposed to it.'

Often, the position of the stranded preposition is taken to indicate the unmarked position of the PP-complement. The fact that stranded prepositions are situated to the left of the past participle in the examples of (77) is then derived from the general OV-character of Dutch; like nominal complements, PP-complements have an unmarked position immediately to the left of the verb. If this is on the right track, the (78) indicate that PP-complements of adjectives should have an unmarked position immediately to the right of the adjective. The pseudo-participles in Table 6 and the deverbal adjectives in (75) should then be equivocal in this respect: the unmarked position of their PP-complement may be either to their right or to their left. The following subsection will provide more evidence in favor of this conclusion.

III. The position of the PP-complement with respect to intensifiers

The introduction to this chapter has shown that intensifiers like *erg* 'very' can be °pied piped under AP-topicalization, and hence that such intensifiers are part of the AP; cf. the discussion of (1). Further, we have seen that focus movement of the PP-complement probably targets a position external to AP. From this, it follows that focus movement places the PP-complement in front of intensifiers such as *zeer/erg* 'very'. The examples in (81) show that this is indeed borne out; the PP-complement cannot intervene between the modifier and the adjective.

- (81) a. dat Jan zeer trots op zijn kinderen is.
 that Jan very proud of his children is
 a'. dat Jan <op zijn kinderen> zeer <*op zijn kinderen> trots is.
 b. dat Marie erg tevreden over het resultaat is.
 that Marie very satisfied about the result is
 b'. dat Marie <over het resultaat> erg <*over het resultaat> tevreden is.
 c. dat Els zeer bang voor de hond is.
 that Els very afraid of the dog is
 c'. dat Els <voor de hond> zeer <*voor de hond> bang is.

The previous subsection suggested that the pseudo-participles in Table 6 and the deverbal adjectives in (75) may take their PP-complement to their left. Since modifiers are more peripheral to the phrase than complements, this correctly predicts that the PP-complement of these adjectives can be placed between the intensifier *zeer* 'very' and the adjective.

- (82) a. Jan is erg met dat voorstel ingenomen.
 Jan is very with that proposal delighted
 'Jan is very delighted with that proposal.'
 b. Jan is zeer tegen dat voorstel gekant.
 Jan is very to that proposal opposed
 'Jan is strongly opposed to that proposal.'

Of course, the PP-complement may also precede the modifier as the result of focus-movement or *neg*-movement. Note that the negative PP in the primed examples of (83) cannot occupy the position in between the intensifier and the adjective, which is, of course, due to the already established fact that *neg*-movement is obligatory; cf. the discussion in 2.3.1.2, sub IIB.

- (83) a. Jan is <met dat voorstel> erg <met dat voorstel> ingenomen.
 Jan is with that proposal very delighted
 'Jan is very delighted with that proposal.'
 a'. Jan is <met niemand> erg <*met niemand> ingenomen.
 Jan is with no one very delighted
 b. Jan is <tegen dat voorstel> zeer <tegen dat voorstel> gekant.
 Jan is to that proposal very opposed
 'Jan is strongly opposed to that proposal.'
 b'. Jan is <tegen niemand> zeer <*tegen niemand> gekant.
 Jan is to no one very opposed

The claim that the stranded preposition indicates the unmarked position of the PP-complement correctly predicts that it must be situated between the adverbial modifier and the adjective. The data in (84) therefore provide additional support for the claim that the pseudo-participles in Table 6 and the deverbal adjectives in (75) differ from the other adjectives in that they may take their PP-complement to their immediate left.

- (84) a. Jan is *er* niet *erg* *mee* ingenomen.
 Jan is there not very with delighted
 'Jan is not very delighted with it.'
 a'. *Jan is *er* niet *mee* *erg* ingenomen.
 b. Jan is *er* zeker *erg* *tegen* gekant.
 Jan is there certainly very to opposed
 'Jan is certainly strongly opposed to it.'
 b'. *Jan is *er* zeker *tegen* *erg* gekant.

IV. On the categorial status of pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives

The fact that the stranded preposition may be placed either before or after pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives suggests that these adjectives exhibit mixed adjectival and verbal behavior. The primed examples in (85) show that this mixed categorial behavior disappears when the pseudo-participle or deverbal adjective is prefixed by *on-* (a typical property of adjectives); the stranded preposition can then only occur to the right, which shows that we are dealing with true adjectives.

- (85) a. Jan is *er* al jaren <*van*> afhankelijk <*van*>.
 Jan is there for years on dependent
 'Jan has been dependent on it for years.'
 a'. Jan is *er* al jaren <**van*> onafhankelijk <*van*>.
 Jan is there for years on independent
 'Jan has not been dependent on it for years.'
 b. Jan is *er* natuurlijk <*mee*> bekend <*mee*>.
 Jan is there of course with familiar
 'Of course, Jan is familiar with it.'
 b'. Jan is *er* natuurlijk <**mee*> onbekend <*mee*>.
 Jan is there of course with un-familiar
 'Of course, Jan isn't familiar with it.'

V. A concluding remark on preposition stranding

The discussion in the preceding subsections more or less followed the traditional claim that stranded prepositions occupy the base position of the prepositional complement. This assumption is not without its problems, of which we will mention one. Consider the examples in (86). When the stranded preposition occupies its base-position, and when topicalization preposes the complete AP, that is, the adjective and its arguments, we would expect the stranded preposition to be obligatorily pied piped by topicalization of the AP. This means that we would wrongly predict the primeless examples in (86) to be ungrammatical, and the primed examples to be grammatical; it is instead the reverse that is true.

- (86) a. Trots is Jan *er* niet *op*.
 proud is Jan there not of
 a'. *[_{AP} Trots *op*] is Jan *er* niet.
 b. Boos is Jan *er* niet *over*.
 angry is Jan there not about
 b'. *[_{AP} Boos *over*] is Jan *er* niet.

The situation becomes even more mysterious when we consider the topicalized counterparts of the examples in (84) in (87). At first sight, the grammatical examples (87a'-b') seem to have been derived by means of AP-topicalization from the ungrammatical examples in (84a'-b'), whereas application of AP-topicalization to the grammatical examples in (84a-b) results in the ungrammatical examples in (87a-b).

- (87) a. *Erg *mee* ingenomen is Jan *er* niet. [cf. the grammaticality of (84a)]
 a'. Erg ingenomen is Jan *er* niet *mee*. [cf. the ungrammaticality of (84a')]
 'Jan is not very delighted with it.'
 b. *Erg *tegen* gekant Jan is *er* zeker. [cf. the grammaticality of (84b)]
 b'. Erg gekant is Jan *er* zeker *tegen*. [cf. the ungrammaticality of (84b')]
 'Jan is certainly very opposed to it.'

We will not discuss this intriguing problem here any further; we leave it to future research to solve it, while noting that we find similar problems with PP-complements of verbs; cf. Den Besten and Webelhuth (1990).

2.3.2. Movement of the nominal complement

Section 2.2.1 has discussed adjectives that take a nominal complement and noticed that the adjective and its nominal complement cannot readily undergo topicalization as a whole. The examples in (88) and (89) illustrate this again for, respectively, genitive and dative complements.

- (88) a. ^{??}[_{AP} Het Frans machtig] is hij niet.
 the French in.command.of is he not
 'He is not able to speak French.'
 b. ^{??}[_{AP} Deze opera zat] zal hij niet worden.
 this opera weary will he not become
 'He will not get tired of this opera.'
- (89) a. ^{*?}[_{AP} Die jongen vertrouwd] is de omgeving niet.
 this boy familiar is the area not
 'This area is not familiar to this boy.'
 b. ^{*?}[_{AP} De mens aangeboren] is de Universele Grammatica zeker.
 the man innate is the Universal Grammar certainly
 'Universal Grammar is certainly innate to man.'

The degraded status of these examples is not due to a general prohibition on topicalization, given that the primeless examples in (90) and (91), in which the noun phrase is stranded, are completely acceptable, just like the primed examples that involve topicalization of the noun phrase. Observe that the noun phrases precede the clausal modifiers *niet* 'not' and *zeker* 'certainly', which shows that they have been moved leftward into some AP-external position.

- (90) a. [_{AP} *t_i* Machtig]_j is hij het Frans_i niet/zeker *t_j*.
 a'. Het Frans_i is hij niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* machtig].
 b. [_{AP} *t_i* Zat]_j zal hij deze opera_i niet/zeker *t_j* worden.
 b'. Deze opera_i zal hij niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* zat] worden.

- (91) a. [_{AP} *t_i* Vertrouwd]_j is de omgeving die jongen_i niet/zeker *t_j*.
 a'. Die jongen_i is de omgeving niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* vertrouwd].
 b. [_{AP} *t_i* Aangeboren]_j is de Universele Grammatica de mens_i niet/zeker *t_j*.
 b'. De mens_i is de Universele Grammatica niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* aangeboren].

The examples in (92) and (93) show that in constructions without topicalization, the noun phrase also preferably precedes the clausal modifier, that is, that leftward movement is also strongly preferred in this case. Observe that in (92) the effect is less strong with the clause adverb *zeker* 'certainly', especially when it is assigned emphatic accent.

- (92) a. Hij is [?]niet/[?]zeker [_{AP} het Frans machtig].
 a'. Hij is het Frans_i niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* machtig].
 b. Hij zal [?]niet/[?]zeker [_{AP} deze opera zat] worden.
 b'. Hij zal deze opera_i niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* zat] worden.
- (93) a. *De omgeving is niet/zeker [_{AP} die jongen vertrouwd].
 a'. De omgeving is die jongen_i niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* vertrouwd].
 b. *De Universele Grammatica is niet/zeker [_{AP} de mens aangeboren].
 b'. De Universele Grammatica is de mens_i niet/zeker [_{AP} *t_i* aangeboren].

The data above suggest that the noun phrase cannot remain in its base position immediately to the left of the adjective. This conclusion can also be supported by taking into account the position of the nominal complement with respect to the adverbial modifier of the adjective. Since modifiers are more peripheral in the projection of the head than complements, we would expect that the nominal complement can be placed between the adverbial modifier and the adjective; cf. the discussion of (82). As can be seen in (94), however, this leads to ungrammaticality; the nominal complement must precede the modifier *vreselijk/erg* 'extremely/very'.

- (94) a. *Hij zal vreselijk deze opera zat worden.
 he will extremely this opera weary become
 'He will become very tired of this opera.'
 a'. Hij zal deze opera vreselijk zat worden.
 b. *De omgeving is erg deze jongen vertrouwd.
 this area is very this boy familiar
 'The area is very familiar to the boy.'
 b'. De omgeving is deze jongen erg vertrouwd.

To conclude, we can say that the data in this section have shown that the nominal complements of adjectives cannot remain in their base position immediately to the left of the adjective, but are obligatorily moved leftward into some AP-external position. Why the noun phrase cannot remain in its base position is not clear at this moment.

2.4. Pronominalization of the adjective (phrase)

This section discusses pronominalization of the AP. Pronominalization is a common phenomenon in the case of nominal arguments, but it is also possible in the case of

predicates. Consider the examples in (95). In (95a), the pronoun *het/dat* ‘it/that’ has the same function as the VP *op zijn vader wachten*, so that we may conclude that the VP is pronominalized. Sometimes a smaller constituent than a full VP is pronominalized; in (95b), for example, the pronoun performs the function of the verb only.

- (95) Jan wil [_{VP} op zijn vader wachten] ..
 Jan wants for his father wait ..
 a. .. en ik wil het/dat ook.
 .. and I want it/that too
 b. .. en ik wil het/dat op mijn moeder.
 .. and I want it/that for my mother

The examples in (96) show that predicatively used APs can also be pronominalized. In (96a) the pronoun *het* ‘it’ performs the same function as the complex AP *bang voor honden* ‘afraid of dogs’. Just as in the VP case in (95), the pronoun may also replace a smaller constituent; in (96b) the pronoun replaces only the adjective *bang* ‘afraid’.

- (96) Jan is [_{AP} bang voor honden] ..
 Jan is afraid of dogs ..
 a. .. en ik ben het ook.
 .. and I am it too
 b. .. en ik ben het voor spinnen.
 .. and I am it of spiders

The use of the pronoun *het* is very normal in coordination contexts and discourse. In left dislocation contexts, such as given in (97), the demonstrative pronoun *dat* ‘that’ is used; observe that *dat* cannot be analyzed as a complementizer given that the finite verb does not occupy the clause-final position.

- (97) a. [_{AP} Bang voor honden], dat is Jan.
 afraid of dogs that is Jan
 b. Bang, dat is Jan voor honden.
 afraid that is Jan of dogs

The position occupied by the pronoun *het* ‘it’ differs from the position occupied by the adjective (phrase). The examples in (98) show that predicatively used APs are normally placed in the predicative position immediately left-adjacent to the verbs in clause-final position (if present), that is, after adverbs like *ook* ‘too’ or *altijd* ‘always’; see Section 6.2.4 for a more precise and detailed discussion. The pronoun, on the other hand, must precede the adverb, as is illustrated in (99).

- (98) a. Jan is <*bang voor honden> ook/altijd <bang voor honden> geweest.
 Jan is afraid of dogs too/always been
 b. Jan is <*bang> ook/altijd <bang> voor honden geweest.
 Jan is afraid too/always of dogs been
 ‘Jan has always been afraid of dogs, too.’

- (99) Peter is bang voor honden ..
 Peter is afraid of dogs ..
- a. .. en Jan is <het> ook <*het> geweest.
 .. and Jan is it too been
- b. .. en Jan is <het> altijd <*het> voor spinnen geweest.
 .. and Jan is it always of spiders been

This difference in placement suggests that the pronoun does not function as a predicative phrase, but like a regular nominal argument. If the pronoun indeed functions as a regular nominal argument, this may perhaps also provide an answer to the question how it is possible that a pronoun *het/dat*, which should probably be seen as a MAXIMAL PROJECTION, can refer to the adjectival HEAD in (96b), (97b) and (99b). Given that a proper analysis of the behavior of the pronominal element is beyond the scope of the present discussion, we leave it as a topic for future research. We refer the reader to Sections 3.4 and 4.4 for more discussion of pronominalization of the adjective (phrase).

2.5. Bibliographical notes

Complementation of adjectives has so far been a neglected topic in the domain of syntax. Grammars like Paardekooper (1986), Haeseryn et al. (1997) and Klooster (2001) have relatively little to say about it; their focus of attention is mainly on modification and the degrees of comparison, which will be the topic of the next two chapters. In the remaining literature there is also relatively little attention paid to this topic. A notable exception is the seminal work by Van Riemsdijk (1983), which discusses nominal complementation within the adjectival phrase (which is of course not entirely ignored by the grammars mentioned above). Other important studies are Bennis (2004) and Cinque (1990), where it is argued that certain adjectives are similar to unaccusative verbs in that they may be predicated of an internal argument. Corver (1997b) has been a rich source of inspiration for the discussion of pseudo-participles and pronominalization of the adjective (phrase).

Chapter 3

Projection of adjective phrases II: Modification

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Chapter 2

Projection of adjective phrases I: Complementation

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3.1.1. On the semantics of scalar adjectives

Section 1.3.2.1 has shown that set-denoting adjectives denote sets of entities in the domain of discourse that have the property the adjectives refer to. A copular construction like (3a) expresses that the °logical SUBJECT *Jan* of the adjective *slecht* ‘bad’ is part of the denotation set of the adjective, which is expressed in predicate calculus as in (3a’). The attributive construction in (3b) expresses that the intersection of the set denoted by the noun *jongen* ‘boy’ and the set denoted by the adjective *slecht* contains at least one entity, which is expressed in predicate calculus as in (3b’). The semantic representations in (3) express more or less the same thing as the set-theoretical representations in Figure 2 in Section 1.3.2.1.1.

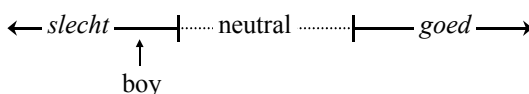
- (3) a. Jan is slecht.
 Jan is bad
 a’. SLECHT (Jan)
 b. een slechte jongen
 a bad boy
 b’. $\exists x [(JONGEN(x) \& SLECHT(x))]$

Although these semantic representations are good approximations of the meanings of the examples in (3), they do not express their meanings fully. When we use (3a), we imply that Jan *has a certain place* on the implied scale of “goodness” in (2), as in (4a), and when we use (3b), we imply that there is at least one boy that *has a certain place* on the scale, as in (4b).

- (4) a. • Scale of “goodness”:



- b. • Scale of “goodness”:



In other word, scalar adjectives seem to have the additional property of relating entities to certain positions on the scale that they imply. When we assume that the range on the implied scale denoted by a scalar adjectives consists of a set of ordered degrees, this can easily be expressed by means of predicate calculus.

Consider the representations in (5), in which *d* stands for “degree”, that is, a position on the implied scale. The copular construction in (3a) now has the semantic representation in (5a): this representation expresses that there is a degree *d* which is part of the range on the implied scale of “goodness” denoted by *slecht*, such that Jan occupies that position on the scale. The attributive construction (3b) can be represented as in (5b): this representation expresses that there is an entity *x* such that *x* is a boy, and that there is a degree *d* which is part of the range on the implied scale of “goodness”, denoted by *slecht*, such that *x* occupies that position on the scale.

- (5) a. $\exists d$ [SLECHT (Jan,d)]
 b. $\exists x$ [JONGEN (x) & $\exists d$ [SLECHT (x,d)]]

In contrast to the semantic representations in (3a') and (3b'), the representations in (5) do take into account that the examples in (3) imply a mapping of entities onto certain positions on the implied scale.

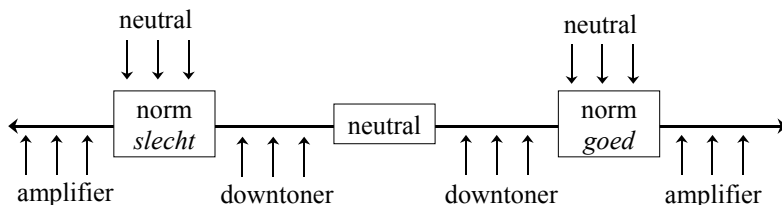
3.1.2. Modification by an intensifier

Three different types of intensifiers can be distinguished: AMPLIFIERS like *zeer* 'very', which scale upwards from some tacitly assumed standard value or norm, DOWNTONERS like *vrij* 'rather', which scale downwards from some tacitly assumed standard value or norm, and NEUTRAL INTENSIFIERS like *min of meer* 'more or less', which are neutral in this respect.

- (6) • Three types of intensifiers
- Amplifiers scale upwards from a tacitly assumed standard value/norm
 - Downtoners scale downwards from a tacitly assumed standard value/norm
 - Neutral intensifiers are neutral with regard to the tacitly assumed standard value/norm.

The implied norm can be represented as an interval of the range indicated by the two scalar adjectives, as in (7). The downtoners refer to a certain point or interval on the implied between the neutral zone and the norm, whereas the amplifiers refer to a point/interval at the opposite site of the norm. The neutral intensifiers indicate a point/interval in or in the vicinity of the norm.

- (7) • Scale of "goodness":



The semantic effect of the use of a downtoner can be expressed by making use of the semantic representations introduced in 3.1.1. First, let us assume that of two degrees d_1 and d_2 , d_1 is lower than d_2 ($d_1 < d_2$), if d_1 is closer to the neutral zone than d_2 . And, further, let us refer to the implied norm by means of d_n . Now, consider the examples in (8), along with their semantic representations in the primed examples.

- (8) a. Jan is *zeer* goed. [amplifier]
 Jan is very good
 a'. $\exists d$ [GOED (Jan,d) & $d > d_n$]
 b. Jan is *vrij* goed. [downtoner]
 Jan is rather good
 b'. $\exists d$ [GOED (Jan,d) & $d < d_n$]
 c. Jan is *min of meer* goed. [neutral]
 Jan is more or less good
 c'. $\exists d$ [GOED (Jan,d) & $d \approx d_n$]

The semantic effect of the amplifier *zeer* ‘very’ can then be described by means of the semantic representation in (8a’). This representation is similar to the semantic representation in (5a) with the addition of the part that expresses that the degree to which Jan is good exceeds the implied norm ($d > d_n$). The semantic effect of the downtoner is expressed in the semantic representation in (8b’) by the addition of the part that expresses that the degree to which Jan is good is lower than the implied norm ($d < d_n$). The effect of the neutral intensifier, finally, is expressed by the addition of the part that states that the degree to which Jan is good is approximately equal to the norm ($d \approx d_n$).

Intensifiers can be of several categories: they can be APs, NPs or PPs. Their categorial status may be clear from their internal structure, their morphological behavior, or from the fact that the same forms can be used in positions that are typical of APs, NPs, or PPs. The intensifier *ernstig* ‘seriously’ in (9a), for example, is an adjective, which is clear from the following two facts: it can be modified by means of the adverbial intensifiers *zeer* ‘very’ and *vrij* ‘rather’, which are never used to modify a noun (cf. the examples in (9a) and (9b)), and it may undergo comparative formation, as in (9a’). Given the presence of the indefinite determiner *een* ‘a’ and the possibility of adding an attributive adjective such as *klein* ‘little’, the intensifier *een beetje* ‘a bit’ in (9b) clearly has the internal makeup of a noun phrase. The presence of the preposition *in* in example (9c) clearly indicates that the intensifier *in hoge mate* ‘to a high degree’ is a PP.

- (9) a. Jan is (zeer/vrij) ernstig ziek.
 Jan is very/rather seriously ill
 a’. Jan is ernstiger ziek dan Peter.
 Jan is more seriously ill than Peter
 b. Jan is een (klein/*zeer/*vrij) beetje ziek.
 Jan is a little/very/rather bit ill
 c. Jan is in hoge mate ziek.
 Jan is to high degree ill
 ‘Jan is ill to a high degree.’

Many intensifiers cannot easily be classified as belonging to one of the three categories AP, NP, or PP, because the possibilities for modifying them are themselves limited, and their morphological behavior and their internal makeup provide few clues. Following tradition, we call these intensifiers adverbs, although it may be the case that we are in fact dealing with regular adjectives; cf. Chapter 8.

The remainder of this section is organized as follows. We will start the discussion on intensification with the amplifiers (Section 3.1.2.1), downtoners (Section 3.1.2.2), and neutral intensifiers (Section 3.1.2.3). This is followed by a discussion of the interrogative intensifier *hoe* ‘how’ in Section 3.1.2.4. The exclamative element *wat*, which constitutes a category in its own right, will be discussed in Section 3.1.2.5.

3.1.2.1. Amplification

Amplifiers scale upwards from a tacitly assumed norm. In order for an intensifier to be characterized as an amplifier, we must be able to infer from the combination

intensifier + adjective that the state described by the adjective exceeds the assumed norm. This can be tested by placing the modified scalar adjective in the frame shown in (10a), where co-indexation expresses that the subject of the first clause is coreferential with the subject of the second clause. The element *zelfs* ‘even’ requires that the following AP scale upwards: the degree d_2 implied by the second clause must be higher than the degree d_1 implied by the first clause ($d_2 > d_1$). If the result is acceptable, we are dealing with an amplifier; if it is not, the modifier is most likely a downtoner. This is illustrated for the amplifier *zeer* ‘very’ in (10b), and for the downtoner *vrij* ‘rather’ in (10c).

(10) • Amplifier test

a.	NP _i is A;	proun _i	is <i>zelfs</i>	MODIFIER	A
	NP is A		is even		
b.	Jan is aardig;	hij	is <i>zelfs</i>	<i>zeer</i>	aardig.
	Jan is nice	he	is even	very	nice
c.	% Jan is aardig;	hij	is <i>zelfs</i>	<i>vrij</i>	aardig.
	Jan is nice	he	is even	rather	nice

Below, we will discuss the categories that may function as an amplifier. Adverbs apart, amplifiers belong to the categories AP and PP.

I. Adverbs

There are a limited number of elements that function as amplifiers for which it cannot readily be established whether they are APs, NPs or PPs, and which we will refer to as adverbs for convenience. Some examples are given in (11).

(11)

a.	<i>heel</i> goed	‘very good’
b.	<i>hogelijk</i> verbaasd	‘highly amazed’
c.	<i>hoogst</i> interessant	‘most interesting’
d.	<i>uitermate</i> gevaarlijk	‘extremely dangerous’
e.	<i>uiterst</i> belangrijk	‘extremely important’
f.	<i>zeer</i> zacht	‘very soft’

The adverb *heel* ‘very’ is special in that, at least in colloquial speech, it optionally gets the attributive *-e* ending when it modifies an attributively used adjective ending in *-e*. This is completely excluded with the other adverbs in (11). This contrast is illustrated in (12).

(12)

a.	een <i>heel/hel-e</i> aardig- <i>e</i> jongen
	a very nice boy
b.	een <i>uiterst/*uiterst-e</i> aardig- <i>e</i> jongen
	an extremely nice boy

The examples in (13) show that the adverbs in (11) cannot be modified themselves, and are normally not used in negative clauses (except in denials of some previously made contention). In that respect, they differ from the adjectival amplifiers in (20) below.

(13) a. *zeer heel goed very very good	a'. Dat boek is ([?] niet) heel goed. that book is not very good
b. *zeer hogelijk verbaasd very highly amazed	b'. Jan is (*niet) hogelijk verbaasd. Jan is not highly amazed
c. *zeer hoogst interessant very most interesting	c'. Dat artikel is (*niet) hoogst interessant. that article is not most interesting
d. *heel uitermate gevaarlijk very extremely dangerous	d'. Vuurwerk is (*niet) uitermate gevaarlijk. Firework is not extremely dangerous
e. *heel uiterst belangrijk very extremely important	e'. Het probleem is (*niet) uiterst belangrijk. the problem is not extremely important
f. *heel zeer zacht very very soft	f'. De deken is ([?] niet) zeer zacht. the blanket is not very soft

The adverbs *typisch* 'typically', *specifiek* 'specifically' and *echt* 'truly' may also belong to this group, but they have the distinguishing property that they combine with relational adjectives, not with scalar set-denoting adjectives (cf. **typisch groot* 'typically big'). Although as a rule the relational adjectives do not occur in predicative position, addition of these amplifiers generally makes this possible due to the fact that the modified adjective is then construed as a set-denoting adjective referring to some typical property or set of properties; cf. Section 1.3.3. Example (14), for instance, expresses that the cheese under discussion has properties that are characteristic of Dutch cheese.

- (14) Deze kaas is typisch Nederlands.
 this cheese is typically Dutch

II. APs

The group of adjectival amplifiers is extremely large and seems to constitute an open class to which new forms can be readily added. The adjectival amplifiers can be divided into two groups on the basis of whether they have retained their original meaning.

A. Adjectival amplifiers that have lost their original meaning

The adjectival amplifiers in (15) resemble the adverbs in (11) in that they only have an amplifying effect; their original meaning, which is given in the glosses, has more or less disappeared.

(15) a. <i>knap</i> moeilijk handsomely difficult	e. <i>verschrikkelijk</i> geinig terribly funny
b. <i>flink</i> sterk firmly strong	f. <i>vreselijk</i> aardig terribly nice
c. <i>oneindig</i> klein infinitely small	g. <i>waaninnig</i> goed insanely good
d. <i>ontzettend</i> aardig terribly nice	h. <i>geweldig</i> lief tremendously sweet

Like the adverbs in (11), the amplifiers in (15) cannot be amplified themselves, and cannot occur in negative clauses. Two examples are given in (16).

- (16) a. *heel vreselijk geinig a'. Jan is (*niet) vreselijk geinig.
 very terribly funny Jan is not terribly funny
 b. *erg waanzinnig goed b'. Jan is (*niet) waanzinnig goed.
 very insanely good Jan is not insanely good

We can probably include the evaluative adjectives in (17) in the same group as the adjectives in (15): the examples in (18) show that they cannot be amplified or occur in negative clauses either.

- (17) a. *jammerlijk* slecht c. *verduiveld* goed
 deplorably bad devilishly good
 b. *verdomd* leuk d. *verrekt* moeilijk
 damned nice damned difficult
- (18) a. *erg jammerlijk slecht a'. Dat boek is (*niet) jammerlijk slecht.
 very deplorably bad that book is not deplorably bad
 b. *zeer verdomd leuk b'. Dat boek is (*niet) verdomd leuk.
 very damned nice that book is not damned nice

However, example (17d) is somewhat special since the amplifier *verrekt* can be intensified by the addition of an *-e* ending, as illustrated in (19a). As the AP *verrekte moeilijk* is used in predicative position, this ending on *verrekte* cannot, of course, be an attributive ending. Actually, the use of the additional schwa has a degrading effect when the AP is used attributively, as is shown in (19b).

- (19) a. Dit is verrekte moeilijk.
 this is damned difficult
 b. *?de verrekte moeilijke opgave
 the damned difficult exercise

B. Adjectival amplifiers that have retained their original meaning

The adjectival amplifiers of the second group have more or less retained the meaning they have in attributive or predicative position. As a result of this, giving a satisfactory translation in English is occasionally quite difficult. Some examples are given in (20) and (21).

- (20) a. *druk* bezig c. *hard* nodig
 lively busy badly needed
 b. *erg* ziek d. *hartstochtelijk* verliefd
 badly ill passionately in love
- (21) a. *absurd* klein f. *buitengewoon* groot
 absurdly small extraordinarily big
 b. *afgrijselijk* lelijk g. *enorm* groot
 atrociously ugly enormously big
 c. *behoorlijk* dronken h. *extra* goedkoop
 quite drunk extra cheap
 d. *belachelijk* groot i. *ongelofelijk* mooi
 absurdly big unbelievably handsome
 e. *bijzonder* groot j. *opmerkelijk* mooi
 especially big strikingly beautiful

The use of the adjectival amplifiers in (20) and (21) is very productive, although it must be observed that they cannot be used to modify an adjective of the same form. This is illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. erg/*bijzonder bijzonder
very special
b. bijzonder/*erg erg
very bad

Note also that there are also adjectival modifiers that have fully retained their lexical meaning, but whose main function is not intensification; cf. Section 8.3. Some examples are given in (23).

- (23) a. De tafel is *onherstelbaar* beschadigd.
the table is irreparably damaged
b. De soep is *lekker* zout.
the soup is tastily salty

The main semantic difference between the two sets of amplifiers in (20) and (21) is that amplification is less strong with the former than with the latter: the amplifiers in (20) express that the state denoted by the modified adjective holds to a high degree, whereas the amplifiers in (21) express that the state holds to an extremely high or even the highest degree. In other words, the amplifiers in (20) are more or less on a par with the prototypical amplifier *zeer* 'very', whereas the amplifying force of the amplifiers in (21) exceeds the amplifying force of *zeer*. This can be made clear by means of the frame in (24a), in which the element *zelfs* 'even' requires that the second AP scale upward with respect to the first one; cf. the discussion of (10). Given that the amplifiers in (20) cannot be felicitously used in this frame, we may conclude that their amplifying force does not surpass the amplifying force of *zeer*. The fact that the amplifiers in (21) can be readily used in this frame, on the other hand, shows that their amplifying force is stronger than that of *zeer*.

(24) • Strength of amplifier

a.	NP _i is zeer A;	pronoun _i	is zelfs	MODIFIER	A.
	NP is very		is even		
b.	% Jan is zeer ziek.	Hij	is zelfs	erg	ziek.
	Jan is very ill	he	is even	very	ill
c.	Gebouw B is zeer lelijk.	Het	is zelfs	afgrijpselijk	lelijk.
	building B is very ugly	it	is even	atrociously	ugly

This difference between the amplifiers in (20) and (21) is also reflected in their gradability. The examples in (25) show that the amplifiers in (20) can themselves be amplified by, e.g., the adverbs in (11) and undergo comparative/superlative formation.

- (25) a. een *heel erg* zieke jongen
a very very/badly ill boy
a'. Jan is *erger* ziek dan Peter.
Jan is more.very/worse ill than Peter
a''. Jan is *het ergst* ziek.
Jan is the worst ill
b. Een nieuwe computer is *heel hard* nodig.
a new computer is very badly needed
b'. Een nieuwe computer is *harder* nodig dan een nieuwe printer.
a new computer is more.badly needed than a new printer
b''. Een nieuwe computer is *het hardst* nodig.
a new computer is the most.badly needed

The examples in (26), on the other hand, show that amplification of the amplifiers in (21) is excluded and that the same thing holds for comparative and superlative formation.

- (26) a. *[?]een *heel afgrijselijk* lelijk gebouw
a very atrociously ugly building
a'. *Gebouw B is *afgrijselijker* lelijk dan gebouw C.
building B is more atrociously ugly than building C
a''. *Gebouw B is *het afgrijselijkst* lelijk.
building B is the most atrociously ugly
b. *Dit boek is *uiterst opmerkelijk* mooi.
this book is extremely strikingly beautiful
b'. *Dit boek is *opmerkijker* mooi dan dat boek.
this book is more strikingly beautiful than that book
b''. *Dit boek is *het opmerkelijkst* mooi.
this book is the most strikingly beautiful

It is important to note that the unacceptability of the examples in (26) is not due to some idiosyncratic property of the adjectives; modification and comparative and superlative formation are both possible when these adjectives are used attributively or predicatively, as is demonstrated in (27).

- (27) a. een *heel afgrijselijk* gebouw
a very atrocious building
a'. Gebouw B is *afgrijselijker* dan gebouw C.
building B is more atrocious than building C
a''. Gebouw B is *het afgrijselijkst*.
building B is the most atrocious
b. een *uiterst opmerkelijk* boek
an extremely remarkable book
b'. Dit boek is *opmerkijker* dan dat boek.
this book is more remarkable than that book
b''. Dit boek is *het opmerkelijkst*.
this book is the most remarkable

Finally, amplification can often be enhanced in the case of the amplifiers in (20) by means of reduplication of the amplifier, whereas this is categorically excluded with the amplifiers in (21). This is illustrated by the examples in (28).

- (28) a. Een nieuwe computer is *hard*, *hard* nodig.
 a new computer is badly badly needed
 ‘A new computer is very badly needed.’
 b. *Dit boek is *opmerkelijk*, *opmerkelijk* mooi.
 this book is strikingly strikingly beautiful

Although there seem to be differences between the individual members of the two sets of amplifiers in (20) and (21), they all seem possible in negative clauses (see Section 3.3.1 for more discussion of negation). This is shown in (29) and (30).

- (29) a. Jan is niet erg groot.
 Jan is not very big
 b. Jan is niet bepaald hartstochtelijk verliefd.
 Jan is not exactly passionately in love
 (30) a. Jan is niet bijzonder/buitengewoon groot.
 Jan is not especially/extraordinarily big
 b. Jan is niet opmerkelijk mooi.
 Jan is not strikingly beautiful

The amplifier *erg* ‘very’ is special in that, at least in colloquial speech, it optionally receives an attributive *-e* ending when it modifies an attributively used adjective ending in *-e*, just like the adverb *heel* in (12a). This is not readily possible with the other adjectival amplifiers. This contrast is illustrated in (31); note that *enorme* is acceptable when it is interpreted as an attributive adjective modifying the noun phrase *donkere kamer*, that is, under the interpretation ‘an enormous dark room’.

- (31) a. een erg/erg-*e* donker-*e* kamer
 a very dark room
 b. een behoorlijk/?behoorlijk-*e* zwar-*e* klus
 a pretty difficult job
 c. een enorm/#enorm-*e* donker-*e* kamer
 an extremely dark room

When the adverb *heel* ‘very’ and the adjectival modifier *erg* are combined, the adverb must precede the adjective, and the following possibilities with respect to inflection arise; the percentage sign in (32b) indicates that speakers seem to differ in their judgments on this example.

- (32) a. een heel erg donker-*e* kamer
 b. %een heel erg-*e* donker-*e* kamer
 c. een hel-*e* erg-*e* donker-*e* kamer
 d. *een hel-*e* erg donker-*e* kamer

III. Noun phrases

Noun phrases do not occur as amplifiers with the possible exception of exclamative *wat* 'how', which is discussed in Section 3.1.2.5.

IV. PPs

The prepositional phrase *in mate* 'to a degree', where the dots indicate an adjective modifying the noun *mate* 'degree', can also be used as an intensifier. Depending on the nature of the adjective, the PP is interpreted either as an amplifier or as a downtoner. The former is the case in example (33a). Another PP that can be used as an amplifier is given in (33b).

- (33) a. *in hoge/ruime mate* ongelukkig
 'unhappy to a high degree'
 b. *bij uitstek* geschikt
 'suitable par excellence'

Special cases are the use of the coordinated prepositions illustrated in the examples in (34a&b); cf. also the examples in (37a) below. The isolated preposition *in* (34a') can also be used to express amplification, in which case it must receive heavy accent.

- (34) a. een *in en in* schone was
 'a through and through clean laundry'
 a'. een *in* schone was
 'a thoroughly clean laundry'
 b. een *door en door* bedorven kind
 'a through and through spoiled child'

Finally, the examples in (35) show that there are a number compound-like adverbs, the first member of which seems to be a preposition.

- (35) a. *boven: bovengemiddeld intelligent* 'more than averagely intelligent';
 bovenmate mooi 'extraordinarily beautiful'
 b. *buiten: buitengemeen knap* 'unusually handsome'; *buitengewoon groot*
 'extraordinarily large'
 c. *over: overmatig ijverig* 'overly diligent'

When the preposition *over* occurs as the first member of a compound adjective, it may also have an amplifying effect and sometimes even expresses that a certain standard value or norm has been exceeded; some examples taken from the Van Dale dictionary are *overactief* 'hyperactive', *overmooi* 'very beautiful', *overheerlijk* 'delicious', and *overstil* 'very/too calm'.

V. Other means of amplification

Amplification need not involve the use of an amplifier but can also be obtained by various other means, which we will briefly discuss in the subsections below.

A. Morphological

Some adjectives are morphologically amplified. This is the case with complex adjectives, such as *beeldschoon* ‘gorgeous’ (lit.: statue-beautiful), *doodeng* ‘really scary’ (lit.: death-scaring), *oliedom* ‘extremely stupid’ (lit.: oil-stupid), and *beregoed* ‘terrific’ (lit.: bear-good), in which the first part of the compound expresses the amplification. As is illustrated in (36), these complex adjectives cannot be modified by additional downtoners or amplifiers.

- (36) a. een (*vrij/erg) beeldschoon schilderij
 a rather/very gorgeous painting
 b. een (*nogal/ontzettend) doodenge film
 a rather/terribly really.scary movie
 c. *een (*vrij/zeer) oliedomme jongen
 a rather/very extremely.stupid boy
 d. *een (*nogal/zeer) beregoed optreden
 a rather/very terrific act

However, further amplification can often be obtained by reduplication of the first morpheme, as in (37). When the first morpheme of the compound is monosyllabic, use of the coordinator *en* ‘and’ seems preferred. When the first morpheme is disyllabic, the reduplicated morphemes can be separated by means of a comma intonation. We are dealing with tendencies here, as is clear from the fact that all forms in (37) can be found on the internet.

- (37) a. Dat schilderij is beeld- en beeldschoon. [ʔbeeld-, beeldschoon]
 ‘That painting is gorgeous.’
 b. Die film is dood- en doodeng. [ʔdood-, doodeng]
 ‘That movie is really scary.’
 c. Die jongen is olie-, oliedom. [ʔolie- en oliedom]
 ‘That boy is extremely stupid.’
 d. Dat optreden was bere-, beregoed. [ʔbere- en beregoed]
 ‘That performance was terrific.’

The compounds in (36) are generally idiomatic, that is, it is not the case that the first member of the compound can be productively used to form inherently amplified adjectives. On the basis of the morphemes in (36) no other compounds can be formed: *olieschoon, *doodschoon, *bereschoon, *beelddood, #oliedood, *beredood, *beelddom, *dooddom, *beredom, *beeldgoed, *doodgoed, *oliegoed. The possible combinations are listed in the lexicon as separate lexical elements. It must be noted, however, that in certain circles of young people the amplifying affixes *dood-* and *bere-* are more generally used (which is clear from the fact that some of the starred examples can in fact be found on the internet); this shows that this morphological process of amplification is an easy locus of language change.

B. The comparative meer dan A ‘more than A’ construction

The primeless examples in (38) show that amplification can also be expressed by the *meer dan A* construction, which involves the comparative form of the adjective *veel* ‘much/many’. Observe that, as is illustrated in the primed examples, the comparative form of *weinig* ‘little/few’ cannot enter a similar construction.

C. The equative construction

In the equative construction in (42), two properties can be compared: example (42a), for instance, indicates that the length and width of the table are equal. Note that this example does not imply that the table under discussion is actually long or wide; it may actually be quite short and narrow. This shows that the measure adjectives that enter this construction are neutral in the sense of Section 1.3.2.2.1, sub IV. This is further supported by the fact that the use of the non-neutral forms in (42b) is marked.

- (42) a. De tafel is even lang als breed.
 the table is as long as wide
 b. ??De tafel is even kort als smal.
 the table is as short as narrow

However, when we compare two adjectives of which at least one is not a measure adjective, it is implied that both properties exceed the neutral norm: example (43a) implies that Jan is both quite old and quite cunning, and (43b) implies that Jan is both quite intelligent and quite crazy. The constructions in (43) are therefore amplifying in nature. See Section 4.1.4 for more discussion of these constructions.

- (43) a. Jan is even doortrapt als oud.
 Jan is as cunning as old
 b. Jan is even intelligent als gek.
 Jan is as intelligent as crazy

D. Nog + Comparative

Both comparative constructions in (44) express that Jan exceeds Marie in height. However, example (44a) need not express that Jan is actually tall; he can in fact be rather small. Similarly, (44b) need not express that Marie is actually small; she can be rather tall.

- (44) a. Jan is groter dan/als Marie.
 Jan is taller than Marie
 b. Marie is kleiner dan/als Jan.
 Marie is smaller than Jan

When we add the adverb *nog* ‘even’ to the examples in (44), as in (45), the meaning changes radically. Example (45a) expresses that both Jan and Marie are (quite) tall, and (45b) expresses that both Marie and Jan are (quite) small. In other words, the addition of *nog* leads to an amplifying effect.

- (45) a. Jan is nog groter dan/als Marie.
 Jan is even taller than Marie
 b. Marie is nog kleiner dan/als Jan.
 Marie is even smaller than Jan

E. Exclamative constructions

An amplifying effect can also be obtained by stressing the adjective, as in the primeless examples of (46), an effect that can even be enhanced by means of

reduplication of the adjective, as in the primed examples. The (a)-examples involve complementives, the (b)-examples attributive adjectives, and the (c)-examples adverbially used adjectives.

- (46) a. Dat boek is MOOI! [predicative]
 that book is beautiful
 a'. Dat boek is MOOI, MOOI!
 b. Hij heeft een GROOT huis gekocht! [attributive]
 he has a big house bought
 b'. Hij heeft een GROOT, GROOT huis gekocht!
 c. Jan heeft HARD gewerkt! [adverbial]
 Jan has hard worked
 'Jan has worked hard!'
 c'. Jan heeft HARD, HARD gewerkt!

The examples in (46) are exclamative. Other exclamative constructions may have a similar amplifying effect. This is illustrated in (47) for the exclamative constructions involving the exclamative element *wat*, which is discussed more extensively in Section 3.1.2.5.

- (47) a. Wat is dat boek mooi! [predicative]
 what is that book beautiful
 b. Wat is dat een groot huis! [attributive]
 what is that a big house
 c. Wat heeft Jan hard gewerkt! [adverbial]
 what has Jan hard worked

The same thing holds for the exclamative *dat* constructions in (48). In these constructions, the (phrase containing the) adjective is immediately followed by a clause introduced by the complementizer *dat* 'that' with the finite verb in clause-final position. The construction as a whole cannot be used as a clausal constituent. The attributive construction in (48b') is added to show that *dat* is not a relative pronoun; the neuter relative pronoun *dat* cannot take the non-neuter noun *vader* 'father' as its antecedent, and the use of the correct relative form *die* leads to ungrammaticality.

- (48) a. MOOI dat dat boek is! [predicative]
 beautiful that that book is
 b. Een GROOT huis dat hij gekocht heeft! [attributive]
 a big house that he bought has
 b'. Een AARDIGE vader dat/*die hij heeft! [attributive]
 a nice father that/who he has
 c. HARD dat Jan gewerkt heeft! [adverbial]
 hard that Jan worked has

3.1.2.2. Downtoning

Downtoners scale downwards from some tacitly assumed norm. In order for an intensifier to be characterized as a downtoner, we must be able to infer from the combination intensifier + adjective that the state described by the adjective does *not*

hold to the extent of the implicit norm. This can be tested by placing the modified scalar adjective in the frame in (49a), where the co-indexation expresses that the subject of the first clause is coreferential with the pronominal subject of the second clause. The phrase *in ieder geval* ‘in any case’ requires that the following AP scales downward: the degree d_2 implied by the second clause must be lower than the degree d_1 implied by the first clause ($d_2 < d_1$). If the result is acceptable, we are dealing with a downtoner; if it is not possible, the modifier is most likely an amplifier. This is illustrated for the downtoner *vrij* ‘rather’ in (49b), and for the amplifier *zeer* ‘very’ in (49c).

(49) • Downtoner test

a.	NP _i is A; NP is A	Pronoun _i	is in ieder geval is in any case	MODIFIER	A
b.	Jan is aardig; Jan is nice	hij he	is in ieder geval is in any case	<i>vrij</i> rather	aardig. nice
c.	* Jan is aardig; Jan is nice	hij he	is in ieder geval is in any case	<i>zeer</i> very	aardig. nice

On the whole, there seem to be fewer options for downtoning than for amplification: amplifiers are typically adverbs and noun phrases; the use of PPs is limited, and adjectival downtoners are extremely rare, perhaps even non-existent.

I. Adverbs

There are a limited number of adverbs that function as downtoners. Some examples are given in (50). Like adverbial amplifiers, the adverbial downtoners cannot be intensified or undergo comparative/superlative formation.

(50) a.	<i>enigszins</i> nerveus somewhat nervous	b.	<i>lichtelijk</i> overdreven somewhat exaggerated
c.	<i>tamelijk</i> pretentius fairly pretentious	d.	<i>vrij</i> saai rather boring

II. APs

Adjectival downtoners seem rare and are certainly far outnumbered by the adjectival amplifiers, which implies that most adjectival amplifiers in (20) and (21) do not have antonyms. A possible exception is *aardig*, which can perhaps be seen as the antonym of the amplifier *knap*; the examples in (51a&b) show that, for at least some speakers, they both preferably combine with negatively valued adjectives. The examples in (51b') show, however, that the correspondence does not hold in full: examples like *aardig actief* are readily possible and certainly feel less marked than examples like *knap actief*. That the contrast indicated in (51) does not hold for all speakers is clear from the fact that most examples marked by a percentage sign can be readily found on the internet.

- (51) a. Hij is knap/aardig brutaal/moeilijk/lastig/ongehoorzaam.
 he is quite/rather cheeky/difficult/troublesome/disobedient
 b. %Hij is knap/aardig beleefd/makkelijk/eenvoudig/gehoorzaam.
 he is quite/rather polite/easy/simple/obedient
 b'. Hij is aardig/%knap actief/rijk/verbeterd.
 he is rather/quite active/rich/improved

Although the acceptability of the examples in (52) unambiguously shows that the amplifying force of *knap* exceeds the amplifying force of *aardig*, it is not entirely clear whether *aardig* is really a downtoner: speakers of Dutch seem to differ with respect to their judgments on the downtoner/amplifier test in (53). Therefore, it may be the case that *aardig* is actually not a downtoner, but a neutral intensifier; cf. Section 3.1.2.3.

- (52) a. Jan is aardig brutaal. Hij is zelfs knap brutaal.
 Jan is rather cheeky he is even quite cheeky
 b. Jan is knap brutaal. Hij is in ieder geval aardig brutaal.
 Jan is quite cheeky he is in any case rather cheeky
- (53) Jan is brutaal.
 a. %Hij is in ieder geval aardig brutaal.
 b. %Hij is zelfs aardig brutaal.

Another possible example of an adjectival downtoner is *redelijk* 'reasonably'. For at least some speakers, this intensifier seems to prefer a positively valued adjective, although it must be noted again that the examples in (54b) can readily be found on the internet.

- (54) a. redelijk beleefd/makkelijk/eenvoudig/gehoorzaam
 reasonably polite/easy/simple/obedient
 b. %redelijk brutaal/moeilijk/lastig/ongehoorzaam
 reasonably cheeky/difficult/troublesome/disobedient

When the modified adjective is not inherently positively or negatively valued, the use of *redelijk* may have the effect that a positive value is assigned to the adjective. Whether the examples in (55) can be felicitously used therefore depends on the context: when Jan is looking for a big TV set, he would most likely use (55a) to indicate that the TV set comes close to what he is looking for; when he is looking for a small device, on the other hand, he would use (55b) to refer to a TV set of more or less the correct size.

- (55) a. Die televisie is redelijk groot.
 that TV.set is reasonably big
 b. Die televisie is redelijk klein.
 that TV.set is reasonably small

As is shown in (56a), *redelijk* seems to pass the downtoner test. However, given that the use of *zelfs* 'even' is not as marked as one would expect in case of a downtoner, it may again be the case that we are dealing with a neutral intensifier. This would also be in accordance with the examples in (56b&c), which show that

the downtoning/amplifying force of *redelijk* is exceeded by that of unambiguous downtoners and amplifiers like *vrij* ‘quite’ and *erg* ‘very’.

- (56) a. Die televisie is groot. Hij is in ieder geval/[?]zelfs redelijk groot.
 that TV.set is big he is in any case/even reasonably big
 b. Die televisie is vrij groot. Hij is zelfs redelijk groot.
 that TV.set is quite big he is even reasonably big
 c. Die televisie is erg groot. Hij is in ieder geval redelijk groot.
 that TV.set is very big he is in any case reasonably big

This subsection has discussed two adjectival intensifiers that can possibly be used as downtoners. The evidence in favor of downtoner status is, however, scant and it may well be the case that these adjectives are actually neutral intensifiers.

III. Noun phrases

Although noun phrases do not occur as amplifiers (see Section 3.1.2.1), they are readily possible as downtoners. This holds especially for the noun phrase *een beetje* ‘a little’ in (57). As is also demonstrated in these examples, the noun *beetje* can be modified by the attributive adjective *klein* ‘little’.

- (57) a. *een (klein) beetje* gek
 a little bit strange
 b. *een (klein) beetje* verliefd
 a little bit in.love
 c. *een (klein) beetje* zout
 a little bit salty

The modifiers in (58) do not occur as regular noun phrases, and the nouns cannot be modified by means of an attributively used adjective. Still, the presence of the indefinite determiner *een* ‘a’ strongly suggests that we are dealing with noun phrases. Observe further that each of the nominal downtoners in (58a-c) must appear in the shape of a diminutive, and that the downtoner *een weinig* in (58d) has an archaic flavor. Noun phrases are also very common as modifiers of measure adjectives and comparatives, but we will postpone the discussion of these to, respectively, Section 3.1.3.2 and Section 4.3.2.

- (58) a. *een tikkeltje* saai
 a tiny.bit boring
 b. *een ietsje* kouder/[?]koud
 a little.bit colder/cold
 c. *een (ietsie)pietsie* kouder/[?]koud
 a tiny.bit colder/cold
 d. Jan is *een weinig* verwaand/onzeker.
 Jan is a little vain/insecure

The element *wat* ‘somewhat’ in (59), which may also appear in the form *ietwat*, should probably also be seen as a nominal downtoner; see Section 3.1.2.5 for a discussion of so-called exclamative *wat*.

- (59) *wat/ietwat* vreemd
somewhat odd

The use of nominal downtoners often has a negative connotation when combined with an adjective in the positive degree. As is shown in (60a), they readily combine with negatively, but not with positively valued adjectives. When they are used with a positively or neutrally valued adjective, the adjective may receive a negative value: (60b) expresses that the cold/warmth is not appreciated by the speaker. This negative connotation can be stressed by adding the particle *wel* to the clause.

- (60) a. Hij is (wel) een beetje vervelend/^{??}aardig.
he is WEL a bit nasty/nice
b. Het is daar (wel) een beetje koud/warm.
it is there WEL a bit cold/warm

It must be noted, though, that these negative connotations are typical for factive, declarative contexts; they are absent in, e.g., the questions and imperative constructions in (61).

- (61) a. Is hij een beetje aardig?
is he a bit nice
a'. Wees een beetje aardig!
be a bit nice
b. Is het daar een beetje warm?
Is it there a bit warm
b'. Maak het eens een beetje warm!
make it PRT a bit warm

IV. PPs

The prepositional phrase *in mate* 'to a degree', where the dots indicate the position of an adjective, can also be used as an intensifier. Depending on the nature of the adjective, the PP is interpreted as an amplifier or a downtoner. The latter is the case in (62).

- (62) a. *in geringe mate* nieuw
'new to a low degree'
b. *in zekere mate* nieuw
'new to a certain degree'

V. Other means of downtoning

With non-derived adjectives, a downtoning effect can also be obtained by affixation with the suffix *-tjes* (and its allomorphs *-jes*, *-pjes* and *-etjes*). Some examples are given in (63). Note that these adjectives cannot be used attributively.

- (63) a. *bleekjes* 'a bit pale' e. *stijffes* 'slightly stiff'
b. *gladjes* 'a bit slippery' f. *stilletjes* 'a bit quiet'
c. *frisjes* 'a bit cold' g. *witjes* 'a bit white'
d. *natjes* 'a bit wet' h. *zwakjes* 'somewhat feeble'

Formations like these differ from the inherently amplified adjectives in (36), such as *beeldschoon* ‘gorgeous’ and *oliedom* ‘extremely stupid’, in that the addition of an intensifier is possible. The examples in (64) show that the intensifier can be either a downtoner or an amplifier, provided at least that the latter do not indicate an extremely high degree; whereas amplifiers like *heel* ‘quite’ and *zeer* ‘very’ are readily possible, those of the type in (21) give rise to a marked result at best.

- (64) a. nogal/heel/?ontzettend bleekjes
 rather/quite/extremely pale
 b. vrij/zeer/?vreselijk stilletjes
 rather/very/terribly quiet
 c. een beetje/heel/?afgrijselijk zwakjes
 a bit/very/*atrociously feeble

The examples in (65), finally, show that downtoners cannot be modified themselves and cannot occur in negative clauses; see Section 3.3.1 for more discussion of negation. This need not surprise us given that amplifiers can only be modified or occur in negative contexts when they are adjectival in nature; cf. Section 3.1.2.1. The lack of these options can therefore be attributed to the fact that there are no adjectival downtoners.

- (65) a. *Die jongen is enigszins vrij nerveus.
 that boy is slightly rather nervous
 a'. *Die jongen is vrij enigszins nerveus.
 b. *Die jongen is niet enigszins/vrij/een beetje nerveus.
 that boy is not slightly/rather/a bit nervous

3.1.2.3. Neutral intensification

Sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2 gave two tests for determining whether an intensifier must be considered an amplifier or a downtoner: if an intensifier can be placed in the frame in (66a), it is an amplifier; if it can be placed in the frame in (66b), it is a downtoner. The (c)-examples in (66) show that some intensifiers, like *nogal* ‘fairly’, cannot readily be placed in either of the frames. We will call these modifiers neutral intensifiers.

- (66) a. NP_i is A; pronoun_i is zelfs MODIFIER A.
 NP is A is even
 b. NP_i is A; pronoun_i is in ieder geval MODIFIER A.
 NP is A is in any case
 c. ?Jan is aardig; hij is zelfs nogal aardig.
 Jan is nice he is even fairly nice
 c'. ?Jan is aardig; hij is in ieder geval nogal aardig.
 Jan is nice he is in any case fairly nice

Other intensifiers that may belong to this group are given in (67), although it must be noted that speakers tend to differ in their judgments with respect to the result of the tests in (66). For example, for some speakers the intensifier *betrekkelijk* ‘relatively’ can be used as a downtoner, and the intensifier *tamelijk* ‘fairly’ can be used as an amplifier with the meaning “quite” in at least some contexts: *dat is*

tamelijk beledigend ‘that is fairly/quite insulting’. See in this connection also the discussion of *aardig* in the examples in (51) to (53).

- (67) a. *betrekkelijk tevreden*
relatively satisfied
b. *nogal aardig*
fairly nice
c. *min of meer bang*
less or more afraid
‘more or less afraid’
d. *redelijk tevreden*
reasonably satisfied
e. *tamelijk koud*
fairly cold

The examples in (68) show that neutral intensifiers resemble downtoners in that they cannot be modified and cannot occur in negative clauses. But given that the neutral intensifier *redelijk* ‘reasonably’ is clearly adjectival in nature, we cannot account for this in this case by appealing to their categorial status.

- (68) a. **Jan is nogal redelijk tevreden.* a’. **Jan is niet redelijk tevreden.*
Jan is fairly reasonably satisfied Jan is not reasonably satisfied
b. **Jan is redelijk nogal tevreden.* b’. **Jan is niet nogal tevreden.*
Jan is reasonably fairly satisfied Jan is not fairly satisfied

3.1.2.4. The interrogative intensifier *hoe* ‘how’

This section will discuss the interrogative intensifier *hoe*. This element can be used in all contexts where we can find intensifiers, that is, as a modifier of a gradable set-denoting adjective or as the modifier of an intensifier of a set-denoting adjective. We will discuss the two cases in separate subsections.

1. Interrogative *hoe* as modifier of a set-denoting adjective

The interrogative intensifier *hoe* may occur with all adjectives that can be modified by an intensifier. Semantically, the intensifier *hoe* can be characterized as a question operator, which leads to the semantic representation of (69a) in (69b). The answer to a question like (69a) will provide an amplifier ($d > d_n$), a downtoner ($d < d_n$), a neutral intensifier ($d \approx d_n$), or some other element like the deictic element *zo*, which is discussed in Section 3.1.3.1, that can determine more precisely what position on the implied scale is intended.

- (69) a. *Hoe goed is Jan?*
how good is Jan
b. ?*d [GOED (Jan,d)]*

The examples in (70) show that in the case of attributively used adjectives, the modified adjective must always follow the determiner *een*; constructions of the English type *how big a computer* are not acceptable in Dutch.

- (70) a. *Een hoe grote computer heeft hij gekocht?*
a how big computer has he bought
‘How big a computer did he buy?’
b. **Hoe groot een computer heeft hij gekocht?*
how big a computer has he bought

II. Interrogative *hoe* as modifier of an intensifier

Interrogative *hoe* can also be used as an interrogative modifier of adverbially used gradable adjectives like *druk* in *druk bezig* ‘very busy’; cf. example (20). A remarkable fact is that the resulting interrogative adverbial phrase is often placed in clause-initial position in isolation, that is, that *wh*-movement may strand the modified adjective and thus give rise to discontinuous APs. In fact, movement of the full AP often yields a less felicitous result. This is shown in (71).

- (71) a. [Hoe druk]_i is Jan [AP *t_i* bezig]?
 how lively is Jan busy
 a'. ??[AP Hoe druk bezig]_i is Jan *t_i*?
 b. [Hoe erg]_i is Jan [AP *t_i* ziek]?
 how badly is Jan ill
 b'. ??[AP Hoe erg ziek]_i is Jan *t_i*?
 c. [Hoe hard]_i is die nieuwe computer [AP *t_i* nodig]?
 how badly is that new computer needed
 c'. ??[AP Hoe hard nodig]_i is die nieuwe computer *t_i*?

The examples in (72) show, however, that the modifier *hoe* itself can never be *wh*-moved in isolation but must pied pipe the adjective it modifies: (72a) corresponds to (69a), in which *hoe* directly modifies the adjective, and (72b) corresponds to (71a), in which *hoe* modifies the amplifier of the adjective.

- (72) a. *Hoe is Jan goed?
 b. *Hoe is Jan druk bezig?

The primeless examples in (73) show that extraction of the adjectival amplifier is also possible when it is preceded by the deictic element *zo* (cf. Section 3.1.3.1, sub *I*), but in this case movement of the complete AP is possible as well, as is illustrated by the primed examples of (73). The acceptability of these primed examples is important given that it unambiguously shows that the adverbial phrase is part of the adjectival phrase (the °constituency test), as was already suggested by the representations in (71).

- (73) a. [Zo druk]_i is Jan nou ook weer niet [AP *t_i* bezig].
 so lively is Jan now also again not busy
 ‘It is not precisely the case that Jan is that busy.’
 a'. [AP Zo druk bezig]_i is Jan nou ook weer niet *t_i*.
 b. [Zo erg]_i is Jan nou ook weer niet [AP *t_i* ziek].
 so badly is Jan now also again not ill
 ‘It is not precisely the case that Jan is that ill.’
 b'. [AP Zo erg ziek]_i is Jan nou ook weer niet *t_i*.
 c. [Zo hard]_i is die nieuwe computer nou ook weer niet [AP *t_i* nodig].
 so badly is that new computer now also again not needed
 ‘It is not precisely the case that we need that computer that badly.’
 c'. [AP Zo hard nodig]_i is die nieuwe computer nou ook weer niet *t_i*.

The examples in (74) show that the interrogative intensifier can be extracted from an embedded clause and put in clause-initial position of the matrix clause, just as in the case of regular *wh*-movement.

- (74) a. [Hoe druk]_i denk je [dat Jan [_{AP} *t_i* bezig] is]?
 how lively think you that Jan busy is
 b. [Hoe erg]_i denk je [dat Jan [_{AP} ziek *t_i*] is]?
 how badly think you that Jan ill is
 c. [Hoe hard]_i denk je [dat die nieuwe computer [_{AP} *t_i* nodig] is]?
 how badly think you that a new computer needed is

For completeness' sake, the primeless examples in (75) show that extraction of the adjectival intensifier from an embedded clause is also possible when it is modified by the deictic element *zo*. The primed examples show, however, that extraction of the complete adjectival phrase gives rise to a degraded result.

- (75) a. [Zo druk]_i denk ik nou ook weer niet [dat Jan [_{AP} *t_i* bezig] is].
 so lively think I now also again not that Jan busy is
 'It is not precisely the case that I think that Jan is that busy.'
 a'. ??[_{AP} Zo druk bezig]_i denk ik nou ook weer niet [dat Jan *t_i* is].
 b. [Zo erg]_i denk ik nou ook weer niet [dat Jan [_{AP} ziek *t_i*] is].
 so badly think I now also again not that Jan ill is
 'It is not precisely the case that I think that Jan is that ill.'
 b'. ??[_{AP} Zo erg ziek]_i denk ik nou ook weer niet [dat Jan *t_i* is].
 c. [Zo hard]_i denk ik nou ook weer niet
 so badly think I now also again not
 [dat die nieuwe computer [_{AP} *t_i* nodig] is].
 that that new computer needed is
 'It is not precisely the case that I think that that new computer is that essential.'
 c'. ??[Zo hard nodig]_i denk ik nou ook weer niet [dat die nieuwe computer *t_i* is].

The movement behavior of the interrogative intensifiers and the intensifiers modified by deictic *zo* is special, given that the primeless examples in (76) show that in other cases splitting the AP gives rise to a degraded result. Preposing of the complete AP, as in the primed examples, is clearly preferred in these cases.

- (76) a. *[?]Druk/^(?)Erg druk is Jan niet bezig.
 lively/very lively is Jan not busy
 a'. (Erg) druk bezig is Jan niet.
 b. *Erg/*[?]Heel erg is Jan niet ziek.
 badly/very badly is Jan not ill
 b'. (Heel) erg ziek is Jan niet.
 c. *[?]Hard/^(?)Heel hard hebben we die nieuwe computer niet nodig.
 badly/very badly have we that new computer not needed
 c'. (Heel) hard nodig hebben we die nieuwe computer niet.

The examples in (77) show that intensifiers can only be modified by interrogative *hoe* when they can be modified by other intensifiers as well; adverbial intensifiers like *zeer* 'very' and *vrij* 'rather' in (77a) are not gradable and therefore

resist modification by intensifiers and interrogative *hoe* alike. Examples (77b&c) show that the same thing holds for the non-gradable adverbially used adjectives in (21).

- (77) a. *Hoe/erg zeer/vrij ziek is hij?
 how/very very/rather ill is he
 b. *Hoe/erg afgrijselijk lelijk is dat gebouw?
 how/very atrociously ugly is that building
 c. *Hoe/erg opmerkelijk mooi is dat boek?
 how/very strikingly beautiful is that book

The examples in (78) show, finally, that the morphologically amplified adjectives in (36) likewise reject modification both by intensifiers and by interrogative *hoe*.

- (78) a. *Hoe/erg beeldschon is dat schilderij?
 how/very gorgeous is that painting
 b. *Hoe/erg doodeng is die film?
 how/very really.scary is that movie
 c. *Hoe/erg oliedom is die jongen?
 how/very extremely.stupid is that boy
 d. *Hoe/erg beregoed is dat optreden?
 how/very terrific is that act

3.1.2.5. The exclamative element *wat* 'how'

We conclude this section on intensification with a discussion of the exclamative marker *wat*. As we have seen in (59), the element *wat* can be used as a downtoner, in which case it can be replaced by the element *ietwat*. This is illustrated again in (79).

- (79) a. Jan is *wat/ietwat* vreemd. [complementive]
 Jan is somewhat weird
 b. Jan is een *wat/ietwat* vreemde jongen. [attributive]
 Jan is a somewhat weird boy
 c. Jan loopt *wat/ietwat* vreemd. [adverbial]
 Jan walks somewhat weird

As is illustrated in (80a), preposing the adjectival complementive in (79a) into clause-initial position leads to a marginal result. Example (80a) with *wat* becomes completely acceptable, however, when we give the sentence an exclamative intonation contour, as in (80b), in which case *wat* no longer functions as a downtoner, but as an amplifier. Alternatively, the construction as a whole may express emotional involvement or surprise on the part of the speaker. Observe that the downtoner *wat* and the exclamative element *wat* differ in that the former cannot, whereas the latter must receive an accent.

- (80) a. ^{??}Wat vreemd is Jan. [downtoner]
 b. Wàt vréemd is Jan! [exclamative]

The subsections below will show that the use of the exclamative element *wat* is not restricted to complementive adjectives such as *vreemd* in (80b), but is also possible

with °supplementives and attributively or adverbially used adjectives. We will start the discussion of exclamative *wat* in complementive constructions.

1. Complementives

The exclamative element *wat* should probably be considered an intensifier (or more precisely: an amplifier), which is clear from the fact illustrated by the examples in (81) that it seems to block the presence of other intensifiers; see (112) for potential counterexamples.

- (81) a. *Wàt* (**zeer*/**vrij*) *vréemd* is Jan!
 what very/rather weird is Jan
 ‘How weird Jan is!’
 b. *Wàt* (**erg*/**nogal*) *áárdig* is jouw vader!
 what very/rather nice is your father
 ‘How nice your father is!’

The examples in (82) show that the modified adjective cannot occur in the comparative/superlative form either. This need not surprise us, given that Section 4.3 will argue that comparative/superlative formation can be considered on a par with modification and is therefore likewise blocked by the presence of an intensifier; cf. the unacceptability of **zeer vreemder* ‘very stranger’.

- (82) a. **Wàt* *vréemder*/het *vreemdst* is Jan!
 what weirder/the weirdest is Jan
 b. **Wàt* *áárdiger*/het *aardigst* is jouw vader!
 what nicer/the nicest is your father

A noteworthy property of the exclamative element *wat* is that it need not be adjacent to the adjective it modifies, but also allows the split pattern in (83). Observe that in these cases the presence of an additional intensifier is also blocked.

- (83) a. *Wàt* is Jan (**zeer*/**vrij*) *vréemd*!
 b. *Wàt* is jouw vader (**erg*/**nogal*) *áárdig*!

The examples in (84) show that extraction of the exclamative element from its clause is never possible, either with pied piping of the adjective or in isolation.

- (84) a. **Wàt* *vréemd*_i zei Marie [dat Jan *t_i* is]!
 what weird said Marie that Jan is
 a'. **Wàt* zei Marie [dat Jan *vréemd* is]!
 b. **Wàt* *áárdig*_i zei Jan [dat jouw vader *t_i* is]!
 what nice said Jan that your father is
 b'. **Wàt* zei Jan [dat jouw vader *áárdig* is]!

Nor can the exclamative be placed in clause-initial position of an embedded clause. The examples in (85) show that this holds again irrespective of whether the modified adjective is stranded or pied piped. In this respect, the exclamative phrase *wat vreemd/aardig* differs from the interrogative phrase *hoe vreemd/aardig* ‘how weird/nice’, which can replace the *wat*-phrases in the primeless examples in (84) and (85) without any problem. The split pattern in the primed examples, of course,

does not occur with the interrogative phrase given that this pattern is categorically blocked with these phrases; see Section 3.1.2.4 for examples.

- (85) a. *Marie vertelde wàt vréemd Jan is.
 Marie told what weird Jan is
 a'. *Marie vertelde wàt Jan vréemd is.
 b. *Ik vertelde wàt áárdig jouw vader is.
 I told what nice your father is
 b'. *Ik vertelde wàt jouw vader áárdig is.

The examples in (86) show that the result is generally marginal when the exclamative element *wat* appears clause-internally, although it should be observed that the result improves considerably when the exclamative phrase is preceded by the particle *maar*.

- (86) a. Jan is ??(maar) wàt vréemd!
 b. Jouw vader is ??(maar) wàt áárdig!
 c. Je gezicht is ??(maar) wàt róód!

The examples above all involve copular constructions, but exclamative *wat* is also possible in *vinden*- and resultative constructions. The split pattern is marked in the former case, though, and the same thing holds for the unsplit pattern in the latter case.

- (87) a. ??Wàt vind ik jouw vader vréemd!
 what consider I your father strange
 a'. Ik vind jouw vader maar wàt vréemd!
 b. Wàt maak je die deur vís, zeg!
 what make you that door dirty hey
 b'. ??Je maakt die deur maar wàt vís, zeg!

The examples in (88) show that the split pattern is also excluded in imperative constructions with perception verbs like *kijken* 'to look', but there are various reasons to consider this construction as special. First, the phrase containing exclamative *wat* can be placed in the initial position of a dependent clause, which is normally excluded; cf. example (85). That the complement of the imperative *kijk* 'look' is indeed an embedded clause is shown by the fact that the finite copular verb *is* is placed in clause-final position. Second, the construction is special because *hoe* 'how' can replace exclamative *wat* without any notable change in meaning; more specifically, the embedded clause with *hoe* does not receive the interpretation of an embedded question. For completeness' sake, note that the embedded clause in (88a) can also be reduced: *Kijk (eens) wat/hoe mooi!*

- (88) a. Kijk (eens) [_S wàt/hoe móói die tafel is]!
 look PRT what beautiful that table is
 'Look how beautiful that table is!'
 b. *Kijk (eens) [_S wat/hoe die tafel mooi is]!

II. Supplementives

In (89), some examples are given with supplementives. In this case the split pattern is strongly preferred over the unsplit pattern.

- (89) a. Wàt liep Jan bóós weg!
 what walked Jan angry away
 a'. ??Wàt bóós liep Jan weg!
 b. Wàt ging Jan tréurig naar huis, zeg!
 what went Jan sad to home hey
 b'. ??Wàt tréurig ging Jan naar huis, zeg!

The fact that the split pattern is possible suggests that exclamative *wat* does not originate within the adjectival phrase but can be base-generated in clause-initial position. This is because extraction from a supplementive adjectival phrase is normally blocked, which is demonstrated in (90): whereas R-extraction is possible from the complementive in (90a), it is excluded from the supplementive in (90b). In other words, supplementives are °islands for extraction, so that it seems unlikely that *wat* has been extracted from the supplementives in (89a&b). As we will see, similar conclusions can be reached on the basis of the data in III and IV below.

- (90) a. Jan is [_{AP} boos over de afwijzing]. [complementive]
 Jan is angry about the rejection
 a'. Jan is daar_i [_{AP} boos over *t_i*].
 b. Jan liep [_{AP} boos over de afwijzing] weg. [supplementive]
 Jan walked angry about the rejection away
 b'. *Jan liep daar_i [_{AP} boos over *t_i*] weg.

A problem for the assumption that exclamative *wat* does not originate within the adjectival phrase, however, is that when the exclamative is placed clause-internally, it must be adjacent to the adjective, which suggests that they do form a constituent. The examples in (91) show that, just as in (86), the clause-internal placement of *wat* requires the presence of the particle *maar*.

- (91) a. Jan liep *(maar) wàt bóós weg!
 b. Jan ging *(maar) wàt tréurig naar huis!

The unsplit pattern is also possible in imperative constructions with perception verbs like *kijken* 'to look' like those in (92), but again these constructions are special in that the phrase containing exclamative *wat* can be placed in the initial position of an embedded clause, *hoe* 'how' can be substituted for exclamative *wat* without any notable change in meaning, and the split pattern is entirely blocked. Note that (92a) cannot be reduced while maintaining the supplementive reading of the AP: **Kijk (eens) wat/hoe boos!* can at best be marginally construed as a reduced copular construction.

- (92) a. Kijk (eens) [_S wàt/hoe bóós Jan weg loopt]!
 look PRT what angry Jan away walks
 'Look how angry Jan walks away!'
 b. *Kijk (eens) [_S wàt/hoe Jan bóós weg loopt]!

III. Attributively used adjectives

The exclamative element *wat* can also be used with attributively used adjectives. The examples in (93) show that, unlike the downtoner *wat* in (79b), exclamative *wat* need not immediately precede the adjective, but can be separated from the adjective by the indefinite article *een* 'a'. The two construction types differ slightly in meaning: placement of *wat* after the article *een* enhances the amplifying effect, whereas the split pattern emphasizes emotional involvement or surprise on the part of the speaker.

- (93) a. Een wàt vreemde jongen!
 a what strange boy
 a'. Wàt een vréemde jongen!
 what a strange boy
 b. Een wàt aardige vader!
 a what nice father
 b'. Wàt een áárdige vader!
 what a nice father

Observe in passing that a definite article is not possible; the primeless examples of (94) are possible with the definite article when *wat* is interpreted as a downtoner, but then *wat* cannot have accent.

- (94) a. *De wàt vreemde jongen!
 a'. *Wàt de vréemde jongen!
 b. *De wàt aardige vader!
 b'. *Wàt de áárdige vader!

The examples in (95) show that the primeless and primed examples in (93) differ syntactically in that only the former can appear in clause-internal position; the orders in the primed examples of (95) are entirely impossible.

- (95) a. Jan is een wàt vreemde jongen!
 Jan is a what strange boy
 a'. *Jan is wàt een vreemde jongen.
 b. Jij hebt een wàt aardige vader!
 you have.got a what kind father
 b'. *Je hebt wàt een áárdige vader!

The examples in (96) show that primed examples in (95) improve somewhat when exclamative *wat* is preceded by the particle *maar*, but certainly not to the same extent as in the complementive and supplementive constructions in (86) and (91). For completeness' sake the primeless examples in (96) show that the particle *maar* can also be used with the primeless examples of (95); the particle must follow the indefinite article and be left adjacent to exclamative *wat*.

- (96) a. Jan is een maar wàt vreemde jongen!
 a'. ??Jan is maar wàt een vréemde jongen!
 b. Jij hebt een maar wàt aardige vader!
 b'. ??Je hebt maar wàt een áárdige vader!

The ungrammatical primed examples in (95) become fully acceptable when the complete exclamative phrase or the exclamative element *wat* is placed in clause-initial position, as shown in (97).

- (97) a. Wàt een vréemde jongen is Jan!
 a'. Wàt is Jan een vréemde jongen!
 b. Wàt een áárdige vader heb jij!
 b'. Wàt heb jij een áárdige vader!

Another difference between the primed and primeless examples in (93) concerns the status of the element *een*. In the primeless example *een* must be construed as the indefinite article. This is clear from the fact that it must be replaced by the phonetically empty article when the noun is plural, as is shown in (98).

- (98) a. Dat zijn Ø/*een wàt vreemde jongens!
 that are Ø/a what strange boys
 b. Je hebt Ø/*een wàt aardige ouders!
 you have Ø/a what nice parents

In the primed examples in (93), on the other hand, the element *een* is a spurious article, given that it can be maintained when the noun is plural. This is obligatory when the full noun phrase is placed in clause-initial position, but optional when we are dealing with the split pattern. It is not clear what causes this difference.

- (99) a. Wàt een/*Ø vréemde jongens zijn dat!
 what a/Ø strange boys are that
 a'. Wàt zijn dat een/Ø vréemde jongens!
 b. Wàt een/*Ø áárdige ouders heb jij!
 what a/Ø nice parents have you
 b'. Wàt heb jij een/Ø áárdige ouders!

That *een* is a spurious article is also clear from the fact that it does not determine number agreement on the verb in (99a&a'); verb agreement is triggered by the number of the subject noun *jongens* 'boys'. This is illustrated again in (100) by means of a construction with the lexical, intransitive verb *lopen* 'to walk'.

- (100) a. Wàt loopt_{sg} daar een vréemde jongen_{sg}!
 what walks there a weird boy
 b. Wàt lopen_{pl} daar een vréemde jongen_{sgpl}!
 what walk there a weird boys

It is very unlikely that clause-initial exclamative *wat* in (100) originates within the attributively used adjectival phrase, given that extraction from a noun phrase is generally blocked. The idea that *wat* is base-generated in clause-initial position is also consistent with the fact, illustrated in (101), that the noun phrase associate can function as the complement of a prepositional phrase; subextraction from PPs is normally impossible.

- (101) a. Wàt ga jij met een ráre mensen om, zeg!
 what go you with a weird people prt. hey
 ‘You are meeting such weird people!’
 b. Wàt zit jij op een móóie stoel, zeg!
 what sit you on a nice chair hey

Occasionally, it seems possible to have exclamative *wat* in the absence of an attributively used adjective. Example (102a) implies that Jan works in an impressive manner, and (102b) implies that we are dealing with heavy rains.

- (102) a. Wat is Jan een werker, zeg!
 what is Jan a worker hey
 b. Wat een regen, zeg!
 what a rain hey

The examples in (102) may be instances of the nominal exclamative construction, which behaves quite similarly to the primed examples in (93): the (a)-examples in (103) show that the modified nominal construction cannot occur in clause-internal position, but must be preposed as a whole or be split, and the (b)-examples that *een* is a spurious article and that number agreement is determined by the noun.

- (103) a. *Jan heeft wat een boeken!
 Jan has what a books
 a'. Wàt <een bóeken> heeft Jan <een bóeken>!
 ‘What a lot/a nice set of books John has got!’
 b. Wàt een bóek_{sg} is_{sg} dat!
 what a book is that
 ‘What a nice/weird/... book is that.’
 b'. Wàt een bóeken_{pl} zijn_{pl} dat!
 what a books are that

The exclamatives in the examples in (103) may express that the books have some contextually determined extraordinary property (they are magnificent, worn-out, etc.), or, if the noun is plural, that there was an extraordinary number of books. Consequently, examples like (104) are ambiguous: the exclamative may be associated with the attributive modifier, in which case the sentence expresses that there were a number of magnificent books for sale, or with the number marking on the noun, in which case the sentence expresses that there were loads of beautiful books for sale.

- (104) Wat waren er een mooie boeken te koop!
 what were there a beautiful books for sale
 ‘There were a number of magnificent books for sale.’
 ‘There were loads of beautiful books for sale.’

For completeness’ sake, we want to conclude by noting that the attributive construction can also be used in imperative constructions with perception verbs like *kijken* ‘to look’. The examples in (105) differ in various ways, however, from the corresponding complementive and supplementive constructions in (88) and (92):

first, the unsplit and the split pattern are both fully acceptable and, second, *hoe* 'how' cannot be substituted for exclamative *wat*.

- (105) a. Kijk (eens) [_S wat/*hoe een mooie jurk ik gekocht heb]!
 look PRT what a beautiful dress I bought have
 'Look how beautiful a dress I have bought!'
 b. *Kijk (eens) [_S wat/hoe ik een mooie jurk gekocht heb]!

The embedded clause in (105a) can also be reduced provided that the context provides sufficient clues to identify the semantic content of the elided verb: If not, an example like *Kijk (eens) wat een mooie jurk!* will typically be interpreted as a copular construction.

IV. Adverbially used adjectives

Some examples of exclamative constructions with adverbially used adjectives are given in (106). As in the case of the supplementives in Subsection II, the split pattern seems to be preferred over the unsplit pattern. The possibility of the split patterns shows again that the exclamative must be base-generated in clause-initial position given that adverbial phrases are normally °islands for extraction.

- (106) a. Wàt loop jij ráár!
 what walk you weird
 a'. ?Wàt ráár loop jij!
 b. Wàt werk jij hárd!
 what work you hard
 b'. ?Wàt hárd werk jij!

The examples in (107) show that, as in the case of the complementive and supplementive adjectives, exclamative *wat* can only be placed in clause-internal position when it is preceded by the particle *maar*.

- (107) a. Jij loopt ^{??}(maar) wàt ráár!
 b. Jij werkt ^{??}(maar) wàt hárd!

It can further be noted that exclamative *wat* seems to be able to perform an adverbial function if used in isolation. Example (108) implies that Jan has been working very hard; cf. the discussion of the attributive examples in (102).

- (108) Wat heeft Jan gewerkt, zeg!
 what has Jan worked hey

In accordance with the fact that the adverbially used adjectives in (20) behave like gradable adjectives, the primeless examples in (109) show that it is normally possible to combine them with exclamative *wat*. The primed and doubly-primed examples show that the unsplit patterns are not possible; placement of the complete adverbial modifier or the complete adjectival phrase in clause-initial position leads to a severely degraded result.

- (109) a. Wàt is Jan drùk bezig!
 what is Jan lively busy
 a'. *?Wàt druk is Jan bezig!
 a''. ??Wàt druk bezig is Jan!
 b. Wàt is die nieuwe computer hàrd nodig!
 what is that new computer badly needed
 b'. *?Wàt hard is die nieuwe computer nodig!
 b''. ??Wàt hard nodig is die nieuwe computer!

It must be noted that exclamative *wat* cannot be used to amplify the amplifier *erg*, despite the fact that this modifier can normally be preceded by an amplifier itself.

- (110) a. Jan is heel erg ziek.
 Jan is very very ill
 b. ??Wàt is Jan erg ziek!

The examples in (111) show that exclamative *wat* blocks modification and comparative/superlative formation of the intensifier; cf. (81) and (82). Whereas the intensifier *hard* allows modification and comparative/superlative formation in the primeless examples, this is blocked in the exclamative primed examples.

- (111) a. Die nieuwe computer is *zeer hàrd* nodig.
 that new computer is very badly needed
 a'. *Wàt is die nieuwe computer *zeer hàrd* nodig!
 b. Die nieuwe computer is *hàrder/het hàrdst* nodig.
 that new computer is harder/the hardest needed
 b'. *Wàt is die nieuwe computer *hàrder/het hàrdst* nodig!

Despite the fact that the adverbially used adjectives in (21) cannot be modified by an intensifier, the primeless examples in (112) show that they do occur in the exclamative construction. The primed and doubly-primed examples show that the unsplit patterns are degraded; placement of the intensifier phrase in clause-initial position is unacceptable, and placement of the complete adjectival phrase is at least marked.

- (112) a. Wàt is dat gebouw afgrijselijk lelijk!
 what is that building atrociously ugly
 a'. *Wàt afgrijselijk is dat gebouw lelijk!
 a''. ?Wàt afgrijselijk lelijk is dat gebouw!
 b. Wàt is dat boek opmèrkelijk mooi!
 what is that book strikingly beautiful
 b'. *Wàt opmerkelijk is dat boek mooi!
 b''. ?Wàt opmerkelijk mooi is dat boek!

Exclamative adverbial phrases can also occur in imperative constructions with perception verbs like *kijken* 'to look'. Like the attributive construction, but unlike the complementive and supplementive constructions, both the unsplit and the split pattern seem acceptable. Exclamative *wat* again alternates with *hoe*, but only in the unsplit pattern.

- (113) a. Kijk [_S wat/hoe hard die jongen rent]!
 look what fast that boy runs
 'Look how fast that boy is running!'
 b. Kijk [_S wat/*hoe die jongen hard rent]!

3.1.3. *Modification by a complex intensifying phrase*

This section discusses modification of scalar adjectives by means of complex (and sometimes discontinuous) intensifying phrases. We will discuss intensifying phrases headed by *zo* 'so/as', *te* 'too', *(on)voldoende* '(in)sufficiently', and *genoeg* 'enough'. Some preliminary examples are given in (114).

- (114) a. *zo*: *zo snel dat* ... 'so fast that ...'; *zo snel mogelijk* 'as fast as possible'
 b. *te*: *te mooi om* ... 'too pretty to ...'
 c. *(on)voldoende*: *(on)voldoende hersteld om* ... '(in)sufficiently recovered to ...'
 d. *genoeg*: *mooi genoeg om*... 'pretty enough to ...'

Before we discuss these complex phrases in more detail, it must be noted that they cannot be inherently considered amplifiers or downtoners. Section 3.1.2 has argued that amplifiers and downtoners can be distinguished by placing them in the frames in (115): intensifiers that can occur in the context of (115a) must be considered amplifiers, and intensifiers that can occur in (115b) must be considered downtoners.

- (115) a. NP_i is A; Pronoun_i is zelfs MODIFIER A.
 NP is A is even
 b. NP_i is A; Pronoun_i is in ieder geval MODIFIER A.
 NP is A is in any case

Now, consider the examples in (116): the two (b)-examples show that the complex phrases *zo ziek dat* ... 'so ill that ...' and *te ziek om* ... 'too ill to ...' can occur in both frames in (115).

- (116) a. Jan is ziek.
 Jan is ill
 b. Hij is zelfs/in ieder geval zo ziek dat hij thuis moet blijven.
 he is even/in any case so ill COMP he home must stay
 'He is even/in any case so ill that he must stay home.'
 b'. Hij is zelfs/in ieder geval te ziek om te kunnen komen.
 he is even/in any case too ill COMP to be.able come
 'He is even/in any case too ill to be able to come.'

The examples in (117) show that the same thing holds for the complex phrases *voldoende aangesterkt om* ... 'sufficiently recuperated to ...' and *sterk genoeg om* ... 'strong enough to ...'.

- (117) a. Marie is aangesterkt.
 Marie is recuperated
 a'. Ze is zelfs/in ieder geval voldoende aangesterkt om weer te trainen.
 she is even/in any case sufficiently recuperated COMP again to train
 'She is even/in any case sufficiently recuperated to train again.'

- b. Marie is sterk.
 Marie is strong
- b'. Ze is zelfs/in ieder geval sterk genoeg om die tafel op te tillen.
 she is even/in any case strong enough COMP that table prt. to lift
 'She is even/in any case strong enough to lift that table.'

The fact that the complex modifiers under discussion can be used in both frames shows that it largely depends on the extra-linguistic context whether the complex intensifier in question functions as an amplifier or a downtoner.

3.1.3.1. Intensifying phrases headed by *zo*

The intensifier *zo* can occur with or without a complement. In the former case, the complement can be a finite or infinitival clause, the element *mogelijk*, or an *als*-phrase. The different options will be discussed in separate subsections.

I. *Zo without a complement*

Generally speaking, the modifier *zo* must be combined with a complement; when the examples in (118) are pronounced with a neutral intonation pattern, the result is not very felicitous.

- (118) a. [#]Zijn computer is zo klein.
 his computer is that small
- b. [#]Hij knipte haar haar zo kort.
 he cut her hair that short

When these examples are pronounced with accent on the element *zo*, the result improves considerably, but it is disputable whether *zo* acts as an intensifier in such cases. It instead seems to function as a deictic element: sentences like (118) are normally accompanied by a manual gesture that specifies the size or length of the object under discussion, and stressed *zo* refers to this gesture. Observe this deictic element *zo* may also occur in isolation as in *zijn computer is zò* [gesture: thumb up], which means "His computer is terrific".

- (119) a. Zijn computer is ZO klein.
 his computer is that small
- b. Hij knipte haar haar ZO kort.
 he cut her hair that short

Another way of making the examples in (118) acceptable is by lengthening the vowel of the element *zo*; cases like these are also characterized by an intonational "hat" contour, that is, with a rising accent on *zóóó* and a falling accent on the following adjective, and do exhibit an amplifying effect. This use of *zóóó* is especially possible when the speaker intends to give special emphasis or to express feelings of sympathy, endearment, etc. Some typical examples are given in (120).

- (120) a. Dat boek is ZÓÓÓ geinig.
 that book is so.very funny
- b. Haar dochter is ZÓÓÓ lief.
 her daughter is so.very sweet

The element *zo* can be also used in isolation in a number of very specific syntactic contexts. In (121), some examples are given of negative imperatives. In this construction, *zo* may be added to the predicate of a copular construction with *zijn* 'to be', as in (121a), to supplementives predicated of the object of the clause, as in (121b), and to manner adverbs, as in (121c).

- (121) a. Wees niet zo dom!
 be not that stupid
 'Don't be so stupid!'
 b. Eet je soep niet zo heet!
 eat your soup not that hot
 'Don't eat your soup so hot!'
 c. Loop niet zo snel!
 walk not that fast
 'Don't walk so fast!'

In these cases, the interpretation of *zo* is evoked by the non-linguistic context: in (121a) the speaker expresses that the addressee must not be as stupid as he apparently is at the time of utterance, in (121b) the addressee is advised to not eat the soup as hot as it is at that very moment, and in (121c) the addressee is requested to not walk as fast as he is doing at that time.

When *zo* is preceded by the negative adverb *niet* in a declarative clause, as in (122a), a downtoning effect arises. This downtoning effect is lost as soon as an *als*-phrase of comparison is added: (122a) implies that the bag is not very heavy, but this implication is entirely absent in (122b), which just expresses that the bag is less heavy than the suitcase.

- (122) a. Die tas is niet zo zwaar.
 that bag is not so heavy
 b. Die tas is niet zo zwaar als die koffer.
 that bag is not as heavy as that suitcase

The examples in (123a) and (123b) show that *zo* can also be used in contrastive or concessive constructions. In these examples, an amplifying effect arises: it is implied that Jan is quite young/smart. For completeness' sake, observe that the examples in (123) do not allow the addition of the *als*-phrase of comparison.

- (123) a. Jan wil op kamers gaan wonen, maar hij is nog zo jong (*als Peter).
 Jan wants on rooms go live but he is still so young as Peter
 'Jan wants to move into lodgings, but he is still so young.'
 b. Al is Jan nog zo slim (*als Peter), hij kan niet voor zichzelf zorgen.
 even is Jan PRT so smart as Peter he can not for himself take.care
 'Although admittedly Jan is quite smart, he is unable to look after himself.'

When deictic or emphatic *zo* is combined with an attributively used adjective, it must precede the indefinite determiner *een*. The combination *zo + een* is generally phonetically reduced to *zo'n*. This is illustrated for (118a) and (120b) in (124).

- (124) a. Jan heeft zo'n kleine computer.
 Jan has that.a small computer
 b. Marie heeft zóóó'n lieve dochter.
 Marie has such.a sweet daughter

Example (124a) (but not example (124b)) is actually ambiguous: either the element *zo* may function as a modifier of the adjective, in which case the sentence may be combined with a gesture that indicates the size of the computer, or *zo 'n* may act as a complex demonstrative, in which case the sentence may be combined with a pointing gesture to a computer of a comparable size or type; the latter, demonstrative use of *zo 'n* is discussed in Section N.5.2.3. Observe that the modified adjective must follow the indefinite article *een*, that is, constructions of the English type *that/so big a computer*, in which the adjective precedes the article, are not acceptable in Dutch.

- (125) a. Jan heeft zo'n grote computer gekocht.
 Jan has that.a big computer bought
 b. *Jan heeft zo groot een computer gekocht.
 Jan has so/that big a computer bought

Note, finally, that *zo 'n* cannot be used when the head noun is plural; Dutch employs the determiner *zulke* 'such' in such cases. Like *zo 'n*, the determiner *zulke* can be used both as a modifier of the adjective and as a demonstrative.

- (126) a. Jan heeft zulke/*zo'n kleine computers.
 Jan has such/such.a small computers
 b. Marie heeft zulke/*zo'n lieve dochters.
 Marie has such sweet daughters

II. *Zo* + finite clause

The modifier *zo* is normally accompanied by some other element and we will argue that it can be considered the head of a complex intensifying phrase. This section discusses cases like (127), where *zo* is combined with a finite clause, which we will henceforth call DEGREE CLAUSES.

- (127) a. Die lezing was zo saai [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 that talk was so boring that I thereof in sleep fell
 'That talk was so boring that I fell asleep.'
 b. De taart was zo lekker [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].
 the cake was so tasty that everyone yet a piece wanted
 'The cake was so tasty that everyone wanted to have another piece.'

The string *zo A dat ...* forms a constituent, which is clear from the fact illustrated in (128) that it can be placed in clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test.

- (128) a. Zo saai [dat ik ervan in slaap viel] was die lezing niet.
 so boring that I thereof in sleep fell was that talk not
 b. Zo lekker [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde] was die taart ongetwijfeld.
 so tasty that everyone yet a piece wanted was that cake undoubtedly

There is at least one reason for assuming that it is the element *zo*, and not the adjective, that selects the degree clause. The availability of the clause depends on the presence of the element *zo*; when the latter is dropped, the result is completely ungrammatical. This is shown in (129).

- (129) a. *Die lezing was saai dat ik ervan in slaap viel.
 b. *De taart was lekker dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde.

Since the phrase *zo A dat ...* must be considered a constituent, and the presence of the degree clause depends on the presence of *zo*, we may conclude that the degree clause is selected by (that is, is a complement of) *zo*. When the clauses in (127) are embedded, as in (130), the degree clause must be extraposed, that is, follow the finite verb in clause-final position. The fact that °extraposition is obligatory is a hallmark of a larger set of dependent clauses.

- (130) a. dat die lezing zo saai was [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 b. dat de taart zo lekker was [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].

Given that the adjective and its complement clause must occur discontinuously in (130), it does not really come as a surprise that the modified adjective can be topicalized in isolation, as illustrated by the primeless examples in (131). The primed examples show, however, that the degree clause cannot be topicalized, that is, it cannot be placed in a position preceding the AP.

- (131) a. Zo saai was die lezing niet [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 a'. *[dat ik ervan in slaap viel] was die lezing zo saai.
 b. Zo lekker was die taart [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].
 b'. *[dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde] was de taart zo lekker.

A pattern similar to that of the predicatively used adjectives in (130) emerges when the adjective is used attributively; as is shown in (132), the degree clause cannot be adjacent to the prenominal adjective, but must be placed in postnominal position; see Section 6.4.2 for cases in which the complete AP occurs postnominally.

- (132) a. Het was een zo saaie lezing [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 it was a so boring talk that I thereof in sleep fell
 b. Het was een zo lekkere taart [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].
 it was a so tasty cake that everyone yet a piece wanted

The fact that the finite clause cannot be adjacent to the adjective reflects a general property of attributive adjectives, which can be expressed by means of the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives in (133), which requires that adjectives carrying the attributive *-e/-Ø* ending be adjacent to the noun they modify; see Section 5.3.1.2 for a more thorough discussion of this filter.

- (133) Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives: The structure [_{NP} .. [_{AP} ADJ XP] N[#]] is unacceptable, when XP is phonetically non-null and N[#] is a bare head noun or a noun preceded by an adjective phrase: [(AP) N].

This is not all, however, given that the examples in (134) show that the degree clause is not only postnominal, but must also follow the finite verb in clause-final position in the embedded counterparts of the main clauses in (132); the degree clauses are extraposed, just as in the examples in (130).

- (134) a. dat het een zo saaie lezing was [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 b. dat het een zo lekkere taart was [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].

In (132) and (134), the indefinite article precedes the element *zo*. Although this gives rise to an acceptable result, this order sounds somewhat marked; the element *zo* is preferably placed in front of the article, which is illustrated in (135) for the examples in (132). Observe that, in contrast to the cases we discussed in Subsection I, these examples are not ambiguous; the reading in which *zo* 'n acts as a complex demonstrative is not available.

- (135) a. Het was zo'n saaie lezing [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 b. Het was zo'n lekkere taart [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].

Note that the construction in which *zo* follows the indefinite determiner *een* 'a' differs from the construction in which it precedes it in that only in the former case can *zo* be replaced by the (somewhat formal) demonstrative *dusdanig* 'such'.

- (136) a. Het was een dusdanig saaie lezing [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 it was a such boring talk that I thereof in sleep fell
 a'. *Het was dusdanig een saaie lezing [dat ik ervan in slaap viel].
 b. Het was een dusdanig lekkere taart [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].
 it was a such tasty cake that everyone yet a piece wanted
 b'. *Het was dusdanig een lekkere taart [dat iedereen nog een stuk wilde].

III. *Zo* + infinitival clause

The element *zo* can also be combined with an infinitival degree clause. The examples in (137) show that infinitival degree clauses differ from finite ones in that they must precede the element *zo*. Furthermore, the primeless examples show that they must be strictly adjacent to *zo*: separating the degree clause and *zo* by, e.g., an adverbial phrase like *weer* 'again' leads to ungrammaticality. Note that (137a') is fully acceptable under the irrelevant reading "Jan is so kind to kiss someone".

- (137) a. Jan is <weer> [om PRO te zoenen] <*weer> zo lief.
 Jan is again COMP to kiss so sweet
 'Jan is again so sweet that one would like to kiss him.'
 a'. #Jan is weer zo lief [om PRO te zoenen].
 b. De lezing was <weer> [om PRO bij in slaap te vallen] <*weer> zo saai.
 the talk was again COMP at in sleep to fall so boring
 'The talk was again so boring that one would fall asleep during it.'
 b'. *De lezing was weer zo saai [om PRO bij in slaap te vallen].

The examples in (138) show that the infinitival and finite degree clauses are mutually exclusive, which indicates that the two have a similar or identical function.

- (138) a. *Jan is [om PRO te zoenen] zo lief
 Jan is COMP to kiss so sweet
 [dat iedereen hem wou vasthouden].
 that everyone him wanted prt.-hold
- b. *De lezing was [om PRO bij in slaap te vallen] zo saai
 the talk was COMP with in sleep to fall so boring
 [dat iedereen vroeg wegging].
 that everyone early left

The primeless examples in (139) illustrate that the infinitival degree clause and the adjective can be placed in clause-initial position together, which shows that they make up a constituent; cf. the °constituency test. The primed examples show that the infinitival clause cannot be moved into clause-initial position in isolation, which is consistent with the fact illustrated by the primeless examples in (137) that the infinitival clause must be strictly left-adjacent to the adjective.

- (139) a. [_{AP} [Om PRO te zoenen] zo lief] is Jan.
 a'. *[Om PRO te zoenen]_i is Jan [_{AP} *t_i* zo lief].
 b. [_{AP} [Om PRO bij in slaap te vallen] zo saai] was die lezing.
 b'. *[Om PRO bij in slaap te vallen]_i was die lezing [_{AP} *t_i* zo saai].

For completeness' sake, note that the primed examples in (139) become fully acceptable when the sequence *zo* + A functions as an afterthought, in which case it must be preceded by an intonation break, as in (140a&b). In these examples, the infinitival clause does not function as a degree clause but as a complementive of the copular construction; that the AP does not function as the predicate is clear from the fact that it can be dropped and must follow the clause-final verb in the primed examples.

- (140) a. [Om PRO te zoenen] is Jan (, zo lief).
 a'. dat Jan [om PRO te zoenen] is (, zo lief)
 b. [Om PRO bij in slaap te vallen] was die lezing (, zo saai).
 b'. dat die lezing [om PRO bij in slaap te vallen] is (, zo saai.)

The infinitival degree clauses in (137) contain two interpretative gaps. The first one is the implied subject °PRO, which is normally found in infinitival clauses and which, in this case, must be construed as disjoint in reference from the °logical SUBJECT of the AP, *Jan*. The second interpretative gap, on the other hand, is interpreted as identical to *Jan*. The second gap can perform several functions in the infinitival clause: it functions as the direct object of the verb *zoenen* 'to kiss' in (137a), and in (137b) it functions as the complement of the preposition *bij* 'at'. The examples in (141) show that these implied arguments cannot be overtly realized.

- (141) a. *Jan is [om PRO hem te zoenen] zo lief.
 Jan is COMP him to kiss so sweet
- b. *De lezing was [om PRO er bij in slaap te vallen] zo saai.
 the talk was COMP there at in sleep to fall so boring

There are good reasons to assume that the second gap is the result of movement. This is clear from the fact that the preposition *met* surfaces in its stranded form *mee* in (142); see the contrast between *Jan pronkt [met zijn ring]* ‘Jan is showing off his ring’ versus *de ring waari Jan pronkt [mee ti]* ‘the ring that Jan is showing off’. Therefore, the degree clauses in (137) and (142) probably involve an empty operator OP which has been moved into clause-initial position, and which is construed as co-referential with the SUBJECT of the adjective.

- (142) Die ring_i is [OP_i om PRO mee/*met *t_i* te pronken] zo mooi.
 that ring is COMP with to show.off so beautiful
 ‘That ring is so beautiful that one should be showing it off.’

Although we have seen that an empty operator may be present, the construction does not require it; when the infinitival degree clause is in the passive voice or contains an ‘unaccusative verb, only the implied subject PRO is present. In the passive construction in (143a), PRO is interpreted as co-referential with the SUBJECT of the adjective (the infinitival is a fixed expression meaning ‘to look as neat as a new pin’). When we are dealing with an unaccusative verb, such as *bevriezen* ‘to freeze’ in (143b), PRO will be construed arbitrarily.

- (143) a. Jan is [om PRO door een ringetje gehaald te worden] zo netjes.
 Jan is COMP through a ring gotten to be so neat
 ‘Jan was so cleanly that he looked as neat as a new pin.’
 b. Het is hier [om PRO te bevriezen] zo koud.
 it is here COMP to freeze so cold
 ‘It is so cold here that one may freeze.’

The infinitival degree clauses in (137) resemble the infinitival clauses that we find in the so-called *easy-to-please*-construction in (144), which is discussed in Section 6.5.4.1. They differ, however, in several respects. First, the presence of an empty operator, that is, the second interpretative gap, is obligatory in the *easy-to-please*-construction. Second, the infinitival clause of the *easy-to-please*-construction must follow the adjective, as is shown by the (a)-examples in (144). Finally, example (144b) shows that when the adjective in the *easy-to-please*-construction is preceded by *zo*, the AP must contain an additional degree clause.

- (144) a. De film was leuk [OP_i om PRO naar *t_i* te kijken].
 the movie was nice COMP at to look
 ‘It was nice to watch that movie.’
 a’. *De film was [OP_i om PRO naar *t_i* te kijken] leuk.
 b. De film was zo leuk [OP_i om PRO naar *t_i* te kijken]] ..
 the movie was so nice COMP at to look ..
 .. *([dat ik er geen genoeg van kon krijgen]).
 that I there not enough of could get
 ‘It was so nice to watch that movie that I could not get enough of it.’

Because the adjective is leftmost in its phrase, the Head-final Filter in (133) leads us to expect that the complex phrases in (137) can also be used attributively.

As can be seen in (145), this expectation is indeed borne out. Observe that *zo* never precedes the indefinite article in these cases.

- (145) a. een [[om te kussen] zo lieve] jongen
 a'. *zo'n om te kussen lieve jongen
 b. een [[om bij in slaap te vallen] zo saaie] lezing
 b'. *zo'n om bij in slaap te vallen saaie lezing

The infinitival clause can also be preceded by the negative element *niet* 'not'. Despite the fact that *niet* is external to the infinitival clause (it precedes the complementizer *om*), it must be assumed to be part of the AP given that it can be pied piped under topicalization, as is shown in (146b).

- (146) a. Die pinda's zijn niet [om PRO te eten] zo zout.
 those peanuts are not COMP to eat so salty
 'Those peanuts are so salty that one cannot eat them.'
 b. [_{AP} Niet [om PRO te eten zo zout]] zijn die pinda's.

Note that the examples in (146) can be readily confused with the near synonymous constructions without the complementizer *om* in (147).

- (147) a. Die pinda's zijn niet [PRO te eten] zo zout.
 those peanuts are not to eat so salty
 'Those peanuts are so salty that they are inedible.'
 b'. Niet [PRO te eten] zo zout zijn die pinda's.

There are several differences between these constructions, though. The first is illustrated in (148) and involves the placement of the AP *zo zout*: when *om* is present, it must precede the clause-final verbs, whereas it is possible (and perhaps even preferred) to place it after these verbs when *om* is absent.

- (148) a. dat die pinda's niet om te eten zo zout zijn.
 that those peanuts not COMP to eat so salty are
 a'. *dat die pinda's niet om te eten zijn zo zout.
 b. ?dat die pinda's niet te eten zo zout zijn.
 that those peanuts not to eat so salty are
 b'. dat die pinda's niet te eten zijn zo zout.

The second difference concerns whether the presence of the AP *zo zout* is obligatory: only when *om* is absent can *zo zout* be dropped. Given that the resulting construction in (149b) clearly involves a modal infinitive (cf. Chapter 9), we want to suggest that the same thing holds for the constructions in (147), but we realize that this may require further research in the future.

- (149) a. *dat die pinda's niet om te eten zijn.
 that those peanuts not COMP to eat are
 b. dat die pinda's niet te eten zijn.
 that those peanuts not to eat are
 'that those peanuts are inedible.'

IV. Zo + mogelijk 'possible'

A special case of intensification with *zo* is constituted by the discontinuous degree phrase *zo A mogelijk* 'as A as possible'. As with the degree clauses in (127), the presence of the element *zo* is required for the element *mogelijk* 'possible' to occur. The *zo A mogelijk* phrase does not readily occur in copula and *vinden*-constructions for semantic reasons (hence the percentage sign in (150a&b)), but it is possible in resultative constructions and adverbial phrases like (150c&d). The unacceptability of the primed examples in (150) shows that the element *mogelijk* must be right-adjacent to the adjective and thus cannot undergo °extraposition.

- (150) a. %dat het artikel zo kort mogelijk is.
 that the article as short as.possible is
 b. %dat ik Jan zo aardig mogelijk vind.
 that I Jan as nice as.possible consider
 c. dat Jan zijn artikel zo kort mogelijk maakte.
 that Jan his article as short as.possible made
 'that Jan made his paper as short as possible.'
 c'. *dat Jan zijn artikel zo kort maakte mogelijk.
 d. dat Marie zo snel mogelijk rende.
 that Marie as quickly as.possible ran
 d'. *dat Jan zo snel rende mogelijk.

When the adjective takes a prepositional complement, the element *mogelijk* must be placed between the adjective and the complement, which is unexpected given the general rule that a selecting head is normally closer to its complement than to its modifiers. We will not discuss this problem here but postpone it to Section 4.3.1, where it is argued that the word order results from leftward movement of the adjective across *mogelijk*: *zo bang_i mogelijk t_i voor honden*.

- (151) dat ik Jan zo bang <mogelijk> voor honden <*mogelijk> maak.
 that I Jan as afraid as.possible of dogs make

Since *mogelijk* must be right-adjacent to the adjective, the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives in (133) would lead to the prediction that the string *zo A mogelijk* cannot be used in attributive position. As example (152a) shows, this prediction is clearly false. the acceptability of this example is Probably due to the fact that the attributive -e ending is added to the element *mogelijk* itself; see Section 5.3.2.2 for further discussion. Finally, it can be noted that the element *zo* preferably follows the indefinite article when it is combined with *mogelijk*; although the sequence *zo 'n A mogelijk(e) N* can readily be found on the internet, its frequency is much lower than the competing sequence *een zo A mogelijk(e) N*.

- (152) a. Jan maakte een zo kort mogelijke nota.
 Jan made an as short as possible paper
 b. %Jan maakte zo'n kort mogelijke nota.

V. *Zo + als phrase*

This section concludes the discussion of the intensifier *zo* by discussing its occurrence in the discontinuous phrase *zo A als ...* 'as A as ...'. The *als*-part of the phrase can entertain two kinds of relationship with the modified noun (phrase), which we will refer to as METAPHORIC and DEICTIC, respectively.

A. *The metaphoric use of the zo + als phrase*

Some examples in which the complex *zo + als* phrase creates metaphoric comparison are given in (153): (153a) expresses that Jan is extremely strong (just like a bear), (153b) expresses that Jan is very hungry (just like a horse), and (153c) expresses that Jan is extraordinarily wealthy (just like king Croesus). Often, these cases are fixed expressions, but new combinations are readily created: (153d) gives an example that was quite popular in the seventies, and which was invented by Kees van Kooten and Wim de Bie, two popular Dutch entertainers.

- (153) a. Jan is *zo sterk als een beer*.
 Jan is as strong as a bear
 b. Jan is *zo hongerig als een paard*.
 Jan is as hungry as horse
 c. Jan is *zo rijk als Croesus*.
 Jan is as wealthy as Croesus
 d. We zijn *zo stoned als een garnaal*.
 we are as stoned as a shrimp

The examples in (154) show that the *als*-phrase need not necessarily follow the adjective, but can also precede the sequence *zo + A*, although the result may be judged somewhat marked compared to the examples in (153).

- (154) a. ^(?)Jan is *als een beer zo sterk*.
 b. ^(?)Jan is *als een paard zo hongerig*.
 c. ^(?)Jan is *als Croesus zo rijk*.
 d. ^(?)Jan is *als een garnaal zo stoned*.

The placement of the *als*-phrase is probably not the result of °scrambling, because this generally results in placement of the moved element in front of the clause adverbs. As can be seen in (155), the *als*-phrase cannot precede but must follow the clause adverb *zeker* 'certainly'.

- (155) a. Jan is <[?]*zeker*> *als een beer* <*<[?]*zeker*> *zo sterk*.
 b. Jan is <[?]*zeker*> *als een paard* <*<[?]*zeker*> *zo hongerig*.
 c. Jan is <[?]*zeker*> *als Croesus* <*<[?]*zeker*> *zo rijk*.
 d. Jan is <[?]*zeker*> *als een garnaal* <*<[?]*zeker*> *zo stoned*.

The same thing is suggested by the °constituency test: the examples in (156) show that the *als*-phrase can be pied piped by topicalization of the modified adjective regardless of its position. From this, we may conclude that it occupies an AP-internal position in both (153) and (154).

- (156) a. Zo sterk als een beer is Jan. a'. ^(?)als een beer zo sterk is Jan.
 b. Zo hongerig als een paard is Jan. b'. ^(?)als een paard zo hongerig is Jan.
 c. Zo rijk als Croesus is Jan. c'. ^(?)als Croesus zo rijk is Jan.
 d. Zo stoned als een garnaal zijn we. d'. ^(?)als een garnaal zo stoned zijn we.

If, as we have implicitly assumed so far, the *als*-phrase were selected by the element *zo*, we would expect the latter to be obligatorily present in order to license the former. The examples in (157) show that this expectation is only partly borne out: *zo* is only obligatory when the *als*-phrase precedes the adjective; the postadjectival *als*-phrase, on the other hand, seems not to depend on the presence of *zo*.

- (157) a. Jan is sterk als een beer. a'. *Jan is als een beer sterk.
 b. Jan is hongerig als een paard. b'. *Jan is als een paard hongerig.
 c. [?]Jan is rijk als Croesus. c'. *Jan is als Croesus rijk.
 d. We zijn stoned als een garnaal. d'. *We zijn als een garnaal stoned.

When we embed the clauses in (153), as in (158), the *als*-phrase may either precede or follow the finite verb in clause-final position. This shows that the *als*-phrase may but need not undergo extraposition, and in this respect it resembles the PP-complement of an adjective; cf. Section 2.3.1.1.

- (158) a. dat Jan zo sterk als een beer is.
 a'. dat Jan zo sterk is als een beer.
 b. dat Jan zo hongerig als een paard is.
 b'. dat Jan zo hongerig is als een paard.
 c. dat Jan zo rijk als Croesus is.
 c'. dat Jan zo rijk is als Croesus.
 d. dat we zo stoned als een garnaal zijn.
 d'. dat we zo stoned zijn als een garnaal.

However, the primeless examples in (159) show that, unlike PP-complements, the *als*-phrase cannot be placed in clause-initial position; cf. Section 2.3.1.2, sub I. The primed examples show that topicalization of the AP cannot strand the *als*-phrase either.

- (159) a. *Als een beer is Jan zo sterk. a'. *Zo sterk is Jan als een beer.
 b. *Als een paard is Jan zo hongerig. b'. *Zo hongerig is Jan als een paard.
 c. *Als Croesus is Jan zo rijk. c'. *Zo rijk is Jan als Croesus.
 d. *Als een garnaal zijn wij zo stoned. d'. *Zo stoned zijn wij als een garnaal.

The complex phrase *zo A als ...* cannot readily be used in attributive position. The ungrammaticality of the primeless examples in (160) of course follows from the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives in (133). This does not hold, however, for the primed examples, for which we need some alternative explanation. We have not given an example with *stoned* because this adjective is never used attributively.

- (160) a. *een zo sterke als een beer jongen
 an as strong as a bear boy
 a'. *?een zo sterke jongen als een beer
 b. *een zo hongerige als een paard jongen
 an as hungry as a horse boy
 b'. *?een zo hongerige jongen als een paard
 c. *een zo rijke als Croesus man
 an as wealthy as Croesus man
 c'. *?een zo rijke man als Croesus

Since problems with the Head-final Filter do not arise with the order *als ... zo A*, we correctly predict that the examples in (161) are grammatical.

- (161) a. ^(?)een als een beer zo sterke jongen
 b. ^(?)een als een paard zo hongerige jongen
 c. ^(?)een als Croesus zo rijke man

The *zo A als ...* construction under discussion must express metaphoric comparison. This is clear from the fact illustrated in (162a) that it cannot be used to express that two entities are equally A (although Liliane Haegeman informs us that this is possible in some Flemish dialects). In order to express this contention, one would rather make use of the equative construction in (162b); cf. Section 4.1. Observe that, unlike *zo*, *even* is obligatory when a postadjectival *als*-phrase is present; compare (162b') with (157a-d). *even A als ...* 'as A as ...' in (162b).

- (162) a. *?Marie is zo sterk als Peter.
 Marie is as strong as Peter
 b. Marie is even sterk als Peter.
 Marie is as strong as Peter
 b'. *Marie is sterk als Peter.

However, modification of the complex phrase *zo A als ...* results in the loss of the metaphoric force of the construction. Example (163a), in which the complex phrase is modified by the adverb *net* 'just', for instance, no longer expresses that Marie is very much under the influence of dope, but that the extent of her stonedness equals the stonedness of a shrimp (which is not very likely, since shrimp do not use dope in this world, so that the example becomes pragmatically odd). For this reason, the equative construction in (162b) and the construction in (163b) are nearly synonymous. The complex phrase can also be modified by nominal phrases such as *twee/drie keer* 'two/three times', as in (163c), with a similar effect on interpretation.

- (163) a. %Marie is net zo stoned als een garnaal.
 Marie is just as stoned as a shrimp
 b. Marie is net zo sterk als Peter.
 Marie is just as strong as Peter
 c. Marie is twee/drie keer zo slim als Peter.
 Marie is two/three times as smart as Peter

The similarities between (162b) and (163b-c) go beyond the observation that both involve literal comparison. First, this is clear from the fact illustrated in (164) that both *even A als ...* and *net/twee keer zo A als ...* can be used in attributive position when the *als*-phrase is placed postnominally; compare the contrast with the primed examples in (160).

- (164) a. een even sterke jongen als Peter
 an as strong boy as Peter
 b. een net/twee keer zo sterke jongen als Peter
 a just/two times as strong boy as Peter

Second, the pre-adjectival placement of the *als*-phrase is excluded in both cases, as shown in (165); compare the contrast with the examples in (154).

- (165) a. *Jan is als Peter even sterk.
 Jan is as Peter as strong
 b. *Jan is als Peter net/twee keer zo sterk.
 Jan is as Peter just/two times as strong

To conclude this subsection, it must be observed that metaphoric comparison is possible not only with scalar adjectives but also with absolute ones that normally do not allow intensification. For example, the adjective *dood* 'dead' in (166) can enter the metaphoric *zo ... als* construction. When the *zo A als* phrase is modified by *net* 'just', the resulting structure is unacceptable, which is due to the fact established earlier that this results in the loss of the metaphoric force of the construction; cf. the examples in (163). For the same reason, the adjective *dood* cannot enter the *even ... als* 'as ... as' construction.

- (166) a. Jan is zo dood als een pier.
 Jan is as dead as a worm
 'Jan is as dead as a doornail.'
 b. *Jan is net zo dood als een pier.
 c. *Jan is even dood als een pier.

B. The deictic use of the *zo + als* phrase

Some examples of the deictic use of the *zo + als* phrase are given in (167). In these examples the *als*-phrase typically contains a deictic element or a proper noun. Unlike the metaphorically used *zo + als* phrase, the *als*-phrase must follow the modified noun; compare the examples in (167) to those in (160) and (161).

- (167) a. een <*als vandaag> zo grote vertraging <als vandaag>
 an as today as big delay
 b. een <*als jij/Jan> zo sterke jongen <als jij/Jan>
 an as you/Jan as strong boy
 c. een <*als deze> zo belangrijke beslissing <als deze>
 an as this.one as important decision

The function of the complement of *als* is to fix the referent of the noun phrase as a whole; comparison does not play a role. The noun phrase in (167b), for example, simply refers to the addressee/the person called Jan, and while doing so attributes to

this entity the property of being strong. In other words, example (168b) is less informative but more or less equivalent to (168a). Similarly, the noun phrases in (167a&c) are more informative but more or less equivalent to the noun phrases *de vertraging van vandaag* ‘today’s delay’ and *deze beslissing* ‘this decision’, respectively.

- (168) a. Een zo sterke jongen <als jij/Jan> kan die tas wel wegbrengen.
 an as strong boy as you/Jan can that bag PRT away.bring
 b. Jan/jij kan die tas wel wegbrengen.
 you/Jan can that bag PRT away.bring

In this respect, the examples in (167) crucially differ from the examples in (169), which do involve comparison of different entities: example (169), for example, does not refer to Jan but denotes the set of boys that equal Jan in strength.

- (169) a. een even grote vertraging als vandaag
 an as big delay as today
 b. een even sterke jongen als Jan
 an as strong boy as Jan
 c. een even belangrijke beslissing als deze
 an as important decision as this.one

That the noun phrases in (167) and (169) differ in their referential properties is also clear from the fact that they differ in syntactic distribution. The noun phrases in (167) refer to some known entity from the domain of discourse and they therefore cannot occur in °expletive constructions, whereas the noun phrases in (169) can be used to introduce new discourse entities and therefore can occur in expletive constructions. This is shown in (170).

- (170) a. Een zo/*even grote vertraging als vandaag is zeldzaam.
 an as big delay as today is rare
 b. Er is morgen vast een even/*zo grote vertraging als vandaag.
 there is tomorrow surely an as big delay as today
 ‘Surely, there will be another big delay like today’s, tomorrow.’

Another difference related to the referential properties of (167) and (169) is that the noun phrases in (167) cannot be used as the predicate in a copular construction, whereas this is perfectly acceptable with the noun phrases in (169). Example (171a) is excluded since the construction expresses the awkward meaning that yesterday’s and today’s delay refer to the same entity, (171b) is excluded because it expresses that Peter is Jan, and (171c) is excluded as it is implied that the referent of the demonstrative *dit* is identical to the referent of the demonstrative *deze*. The acceptable examples in (172), on the other hand, lack such implications completely.

- (171) a. *De vertraging van gisteren was een zo grote vertraging als vandaag.
 the delay of yesterday was an as big delay as today
 b. *Peter is een zo sterke jongen als Jan.
 Peter is an as strong boy as Jan
 c. *Dit is een zo belangrijke beslissing als deze.
 this is an as important decision as this.one

- (172) a. De vertraging van gisteren was een even grote vertraging als die van vandaag.
 the delay of yesterday was an as big delay as this.one of today
 b. Peter is een even sterke jongen als Jan.
 Peter is an as strong boy as Jan
 c. Dit is een even belangrijke beslissing als deze.
 this is an as important decision as this.one

Observe that the deictic *als*-phrase may also occur in the absence of a modified adjective. This is illustrated in (173). As is shown in the primed examples, the complex demonstrative *zo 'n* can also be used in this case. As in the deictic examples above, the *als*-phrase determines the reference of the complete noun phrase.

- (173) a. een vertraging als vandaag a'. zo'n vertraging als vandaag
 a delay as today such.a delay as today
 b. een jongen als jij/Peter b'. zo'n jongen als jij/Peter
 a boy as you/Peter such.a boy as you/Peter
 c. een beslissing als deze c'. zo'n beslissing als deze
 a decision as this.one such.a decision as this.one

However, when *zo 'n* is preceded by *net* 'just', as in (174), the comparison reading arises. This is also the case when *zo 'n* is preceded by *net* and is used with a modified noun, as is illustrated by (175).

- (174) a. Dat was *(net) zo'n vertraging als vandaag.
 'That was a delay comparable to today's.'
 b. Jan is *(net) zo'n jongen als jij/Peter.
 'Jan is a boy comparable to you/Peter.'
 c. Dit is *(net) zo'n beslissing als deze.
 'This is a decision comparable to this one.'
- (175) a. Dat was *(net) zo'n grote vertraging als vandaag.
 'That was a delay comparable in duration to today's.'
 b. Jan is *(net) zo'n sterke jongen als jij/Peter.
 'Jan is a boy comparable in strength to you/Peter.'
 c. Dit is *(net) zo'n belangrijke beslissing als deze.
 'This is a decision comparable in importance to this one.'

Finally, observe that the grammatical versions of the examples in (175) are actually ambiguous. On one reading the *zo 'n + als* phrase is construed with the noun (cf. the primeless examples in (176)), and on the second reading the *zo + als* phrase is construed with the adjective (cf. the primed examples in (176)).

- (176) a. zo'n vertraging als vandaag a'. zo groot als vandaag
 b. zo'n jongen als jij/Peter b'. zo sterk als jij/Peter
 c. zo'n beslissing als deze c'. zo belangrijk als deze

3.1.3.2. Intensifying phrases headed by *te* 'too'

The intensifying phrase *te* 'too' indicates that the logical SUBJECT of the adjective possesses the property denoted by the adjective to an extent that exceeds a certain

standard value or norm. This norm may remain implicit or be determined by the context, but it can also be explicitly indicated by means of a *voor*-PP. Some examples are given in (177).

- (177) a. Jan is te jong (voor de disco).
 Jan is too young for the disco
 b. Jan is te intelligent (voor die baan).
 Jan is too intelligent for that job

The examples in (178) show that the *voor*-PP cannot readily be replaced by a finite clausal complement.

- (178) a. *[?]Jan is (er) te jong (voor) dat hij naar de disco gaat.
 Jan is there too young for that he to the disco goes
 b. *[?]Jan is (er) te intelligent (voor) [dat hij in een magazijn werkt].
 Jan is there too intelligent for that he in a warehouse works

Replacement of the *voor*-PP by an infinitival clausal complement, on the other hand, is possible, in which case an °anticipatory pronominal PP may be optionally present. Observe that the implied subject °PRO of the infinitival clauses in (179) must be interpreted as coreferential with the SUBJECT of the adjective, which is expressed here by means of coindexation of the two noun phrases.

- (179) a. Jan_i is (er) te jong (voor) [om PRO_i naar de disco te gaan].
 Jan is there too young for COMP to the disco to go
 ‘Jan is too young to go to the disco.’
 b. Jan_i is (er) te intelligent (voor) [om PRO_i in een magazijn te werken].
 Jan is there too intelligent for COMP in a warehouse to work
 ‘John is too intelligent to work in a warehouse.’

Note that examples like (179) can be readily confused with examples like (180a&b), which are characterized by the fact that the infinitival clauses contain a second interpretative gap, indicated by means of *e*. In these examples, it is not the implied subject PRO, which receives an arbitrary interpretation, but the second gap *e* that is interpreted as coreferential with the matrix subject. The anticipatory pronominal PP cannot occur in these examples. These examples are probably instances of the so-called *easy-to-please*-construction, which is discussed in Section 6.5.4.1.

- (180) a. Jan is te jong [om PRO_{arb} mee *e* naar de disco te nemen].
 Jan is too young COMP with to the disco to take
 ‘Jan is too young to take [him] to the disco.’
 a’. *Jan is *er* te jong voor [om PRO_{arb} mee *e* naar de disco te nemen].
 b. Het ijs is te zacht [om PRO_{arb} *e* lang te bewaren].
 the ice.cream is too soft COMP long to preserve
 ‘The ice-cream is too soft to preserve [it] long.’
 b’. *Het ijs is *er* te zacht voor [om PRO_{arb} *e* lang te bewaren].

In examples like (181a), the *voor*-PP does not determine the norm, but instead refers to the person whose evaluation is given, that is, the person who sets the norm.

Constructions like these alternate with construction like (181b), in which the complement of the preposition *voor* in (181a) appears as a dative noun phrase.

- (181) a. Die soep is te zout voor mij.
that soup is too salty for me
b. Die soep is mij te zout.
that soup is me too salty

The string *te A voor ...* in (177) forms a constituent, which is clear from the fact that it can be placed in clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test. This is illustrated in (182a) for example (177a). Similarly, the string *te A om ...* from the examples in (179) can be placed in clause-initial position. When this is done, however, the anticipatory pronominal PP *er voor* is preferably absent. This is demonstrated for (179a) in the (b)-examples of (182).

- (182) a. [Te jong voor de disco] is Jan niet.
too young for the disco is Jan not
b. [Te jong [om naar de disco te gaan]] is Jan niet.
too young COMP to the disco to go is Jan not
b'. ??[Er te jong voor [om naar de disco te gaan]] is Jan niet.
there too young for COMP to the disco to go is Jan not

The examples in (183) show, however, that the *voor*-PP and dative noun phrase from (181) cannot readily be pied piped by topicalization of the modified adjective. Stranding of the PP and the dative noun phrase seems to provide a distinctly better result (although some speakers may consider it somewhat marked in the case of the dative phrase).

- (183) a. ?Te zout voor mij is die soep niet.
too salty for me is that soup not
a'. Te zout is die soep niet voor mij.
b. ??Mij te zout is die soep niet.
me too salty is that soup not
b'. (?)Te zout is die soep mij niet.

There are at least two reasons to assume that the *voor*-PP is not selected by the adjective but by the intensifier *te*. First, the availability of the *voor*-PP depends on *te*; when the latter is dropped, realization of the *voor*-PP becomes completely impossible. This is shown in (184) for the examples in (177b), (179b) and (181a).

- (184) a. *Jan is intelligent voor die baan.
b. *Jan is (er) intelligent (voor) om in een magazijn te werken.
c. *Die soep is zout voor mij.

Example (185a) shows that the same thing holds for the dative noun phrase in (181b). Observe that (185b) is only a seeming counterexample to the claim that the dative noun phrase is selected by the intensifier *te*; the copular/epistemic verb *lijken* 'to seem' differs from *zijn* 'to be' in that it is able to select a dative phrase. This is clear from the fact that the dative noun phrase in this example can be combined with a *voor*-PP selected by the adjective, as illustrated by (185b'). This example also

shows that in this case the *voor*-PP cannot be replaced by a dative noun phrase, which may be related to the more general tendency in languages to avoid the presence of two (adjacent) dative noun phrases in a single clause; see Den Dikken (1995:253ff.) for a good summary of some French data and references.

- (185) a. *Die soep is mij zout.
 b. Die soep lijkt mij zout.
 ‘That soup seems salty to me.’
 b’. Die soep lijkt mij <*hem> te zout <voor hem>.
 ‘That soup seems to me to be too salty for him.’

The second reason to assume that the *voor*-PP is not selected by the adjective but by the intensifier *te* is related to the complementizer *om* of the infinitival clause. The examples in (186) show that this infinitival complementizer is obligatorily present.

- (186) a. Jan is (*er*) te jong (*voor*) [om PRO naar de disco te gaan].
 a’. *Jan is (*er*) te jong (*voor*) [PRO naar de disco te gaan].
 b. Jan is (*er*) te intelligent (*voor*) [om PRO in een magazijn te werken].
 b’. *Jan is (*er*) te intelligent (*voor*) [PRO in een magazijn te werken].

However, when an adjective combines with an infinitival complement optionally introduced by an anticipatory pronominal PP, the complementizer *om* is excluded; cf. Section 2.1.2, sub I, example (21). This suggests that the infinitival clause has adjunct status with respect to the adjective due to the fact that it is part of the complex modifier headed by *te* ‘too’. Note that this argument carries over to the infinitival clauses that are part of the complex intensifying phrases headed by *voldoende* ‘sufficiently’ and *genoeg* ‘enough’, which are discussed in the following sections.

The examples in (187) show that complex APs headed by *te* cannot be modified by means of an intensifier such as *erg/vrij* ‘very/rather’, whereas modification by means of *enigszins* ‘somewhat’ and *een beetje* ‘a bit’ is possible. However, unlike the case in (57), these elements do not have the function of a downtoner but quantify the extent to which the assumed norm is exceeded.

- (187) a. **erg/vrij* te jong (voor ...)
 very/rather too young for
 b. *een beetje* te jong (voor ...)
 a bit too young for
 c. *enigszins* te jong (voor ...)
 somewhat too young for

One might try to account for the unacceptability of (187a) by appealing to the fact illustrated in (188) that the addition of the intensifiers *erg* ‘very’ and *vrij* ‘rather’ seems to have the same result as the addition of *te* in the sense that it licenses the occurrence of a *voor*-phrase.

- (188) a. Jan is te dik voor die broek.
 Jan is too fat for those trousers
 ‘As for the trousers, Jan is too fat.’

- b. Jan is *erg/vrij dik* voor die broek.
 Jan is very/rather fat for those trousers
 ‘As for the trousers, Jan is very/rather fat.’

This similarity is only apparent, however, given that (189a) shows that the topicalization of the modified *erg/vrij A* cannot pied pipe the *voor*-PP, which suggests that the AP and the *voor*-PP do not form a constituent. Furthermore, example (189b) shows that replacement of the noun phrase *die broek* in (188b) by a clause leads to a strange result. This shows that the *voor*-phrases in these examples differ from the *voor*-phrases selected by the intensifier *te*, which can be pied piped under topicalization and be replaced by infinitival clause; see the discussion above. The PP in (188b) can probably be seen as an independent adverbial phrase that restricts the contention expressed by the clause as a whole.

- (189) a. **Erg/vrij dik* voor die broek is Jan niet.
 very/rather fat for those trousers is Jan not
 b. *Jan is (*er*) *erg/vrij dik* (*voor*) [om PRO die broek te dragen]
 Jan is there very/rather fat for COMP those trousers to wear

Given that the modifiers in (187b&c) do not function as downtoners, it will not come as a surprise that the complex phrase *te A* ‘too A’ can also be modified by other elements that do not occur as amplifiers or downtoners. Some examples are given in (190a) and (190b), which contain, respectively, the quantifier *veel* and the noun phrase *een stuk* ‘lit: a piece’. The case in (190c), in which the noun phrase *twee jaar* ‘two years’ indicates the precise extent to which the norm has been exceeded, is interesting, given that nominal modifiers like these are normally restricted to the class of so-called measure adjectives; cf. Section 3.1.3.2. Besides the noun phrase *een ietsje*, the elements *iets/ietwat* and *wat* can also be used as modifiers of *te*, as is shown in (190d-f).

- (190) a. *veel* te jong (voor ...) d. *een ietsje* te jong (voor ...)
 much too young for somewhat too young for
 b. *een stuk* te jong (voor ...) e. *iets/ietwat* te jong (voor ...)
 much too young for somewhat too young for
 c. *twee jaar* te jong (voor ...) f. *wat* te jong (voor ...)
 two years too young for somewhat too young for

The examples in (191) show that the *voor*-PPs in (177) and (181a) need not necessarily follow the adjective, but can also precede it. When this is the case, the *voor*-PP must also precede the modifier of the complex phrase *te A* (if there is one).

- (191) a. Jan is <voor de disco> een stuk <*voor de disco> te jong.
 Jan is for the disco a lot too young
 b. Jan is <voor die baan> veel <*voor die baan> te intelligent.
 Jan is for that job much too intelligent
 c. De soep is <voor mij> veel <*voor mij> te zout.
 the soup is for me much too salty

The examples in (192) show that *voor*-phrases in post- and pre-adjectival position differ in that only the former allow °R-extraction, which suggests that the pre-adjectival position of the *voor*-PP is the result of movement; cf. °freezing. This is also supported by the fact that the *voor*-PP also precedes sentence adverbs such as *zeker* ‘certainly’: *Jan is voor de disco zeker een stuk te jong*, and must therefore occupy an AP-external position.

- (192) a. Jan is *er* een stuk te jong *voor*.
 Jan is there a lot too young for
 a'. *Jan is *er voor* een stuk te jong.
 b. Jan is *er* veel te intelligent *voor*.
 Jan is there much too intelligent for
 b'. *Jan is *er voor* veel te intelligent.
 c. De jongen *waar* de soep veel te zout *voor* is.
 the boy whom the soup much too salty for is
 c'. *De jongen *waar* de soep *voor* veel te zout is.

Since the anticipatory pronominal PP that introduces the infinitival clause obligatorily undergoes R-extraction, we also expect that the clause cannot occur when the anticipatory pronominal PP *er voor* precedes the adjective. That this expectation is borne out is demonstrated in (193); see (179) for the grammatical counterparts of these examples.

- (193) a. *Jan is *er voor* te jong [om naar de disco te gaan].
 Jan is there for too young COMP to the disco to go
 b. *Jan is *er voor* te intelligent [om in een magazijn te werken].
 Jan is there for too intelligent COMP in a warehouse to work

The examples in (194) show that the *voor*-PP may either precede or follow the finite verb in clause-final position.

- (194) a. dat Jan te jong <voor de disco> is <voor de disco>.
 that Jan too young for the disco is
 b. dat Jan te intelligent <voor die baan> is <voor die baan>.
 that Jan too intelligent for that job is
 c. dat die soep te zout <voor mij> is <voor mij>.
 that that soup too salty for me is

The infinitival complement, on the other hand, must follow the verb in clause-final position; if present, the anticipatory pronominal PP of course obligatorily precedes the verb due to the fact that R-extraction is only possible from this position. This is shown in (195).

- (195) a. dat Jan (*er*) te jong (*voor*) is [om naar de disco te gaan].
 that Jan there too young for is COMP to the disco to go
 a'. ??dat Jan te jong [om naar de disco te gaan] is.
 b. dat Jan (*er*) te intelligent (*voor*) is [om in een magazijn te werken].
 that Jan there too intelligent for is COMP in a warehouse to work
 b'. ??dat Jan te intelligent [om in een magazijn te werken] is.

Given that the examples in (194) and (195) show that the adjectival phrase may occur discontinuously, it does not come as a surprise that the adjective can be topicalized in isolation.

- (196) a. Te jong is Jan niet voor de disco.
 b. Te intelligent is Jan niet voor die baan.
 c. Te zout is die soep niet voor mij.
- (197) a. Te jong is Jan niet [om naar de disco te gaan].
 b. Te intelligent is Jan niet [om in een magazijn te werken].

The *voor*-PP can be moved not only into some clause-internal position, as in (191), but also into the clause-initial position, as in (198).

- (198) a. Voor de disco is Jan nog te jong.
 for the disco is Jan still too young
 b. Voor die baan is Jan eigenlijk te intelligent.
 for that job is Jan actually too intelligent
 c. Voor mij is die soep veel te zout.
 for me is that soup much too salty

The infinitival clause, on the other hand, normally cannot. The exception is the °left dislocation construction, shown in (199), in which the preposed constituent is immediately followed by (the pronominal part of) a resumptive PP, which in this case has a function similar to the anticipatory pronominal PP discussed earlier.

- (199) a. *[Om naar de disco te gaan] is Jan te jong.
 COMP to the disco to go is Jan too young
 a'. [Om naar de disco te gaan], *daar* is Jan te jong *voor*.
 COMP to the disco to go there is Jan too young for
 a''. [Om naar de disco te gaan], *daarvoor* is Jan te jong.
 COMP to the disco to go for that is Jan too young
 b. *[Om in een magazijn te werken] is Jan te intelligent.
 COMP in a warehouse to work is Jan too intelligent
 b'. [Om in een magazijn te werken] *daar* is Jan te intelligent *voor*.
 COMP in a warehouse to work there is Jan too intelligent for
 b''. [Om in een magazijn te werken] *daarvoor* is Jan te intelligent.
 COMP in a warehouse to work for that is Jan too intelligent

Intensifying phrases headed by *te* can also be used in attributive position. The *voor*-phrase, however, can never intervene between the adjective and the modified noun, which follows from the Head-final Filter in (133).

- (200) a. een <voor de disco> veel te jonge <*voor de disco> knul <voor de disco>
 a for the disco much too young kid
 b. een <voor die baan> te intelligente <*voor die baan> student <voor die baan>
 a for that job much too intelligent student
 c. een <voor mij> te zoute <*voor mij> soep <voor mij>
 a for me too salty soup

The discussion of (192) and (193) has shown that anticipatory pronominal PPs are obligatorily split and that the stranded preposition must follow the adjective. When the AP is used attributively, this necessarily gives rise to a violation of the Head-final Filter. The examples in (201) show that, as a result of this, the anticipatory pronominal PP cannot be realized overtly when the intensifying phrase is used attributively.

- (201) a. *een *er* <voor> te jonge <voor> knul [om naar de disco te gaan]
 a there for too young kid COMP to the disco to go
 a'. een te jonge knul [om naar de disco te gaan]
 a too young kid COMP to the disco to go
 b. *een *er* <voor> te intelligente <voor> student [om in een magazijn te werken]
 a there for too intelligent student COMP in a warehouse to work
 b'. een te intelligente student [om in een magazijn te werken]
 a too intelligent student COMP in a warehouse to work

3.1.3.3. Intensifying phrases headed by (on)voldoende '(in)sufficiently'

The intensifying phrase *voldoende* 'sufficiently' indicates that the extent to which the logical SUBJECT of the adjective has the property denoted by the adjective satisfies a certain standard value or norm. Its negative counterpart *onvoldoende* 'insufficiently' indicates that this norm is not satisfied. The norm may remain implicit or be determined by the context, but it can also be explicitly expressed by means of a *voor*-PP. Some examples are given in (202).

- (202) a. Els bleek (on)voldoende aangesterkt (voor de training).
 Els appeared (in)sufficiently recuperated for the training
 'Els turned out (not) to be sufficiently recuperated (for the training).'
- b. De soep was (on)voldoende afgekoeld (voor directe consumptie).
 the soup was (in)sufficiently cooled.off for immediate consumption
 'The soup was (not) sufficiently cooled off (for immediate consumption).'

The examples in (203) show that complex adjectival constructions with (on)voldoende are not eligible for further modification. Since *voldoende* and *onvoldoende* behave the same way in all relevant respects, we will henceforth illustrate the discussion by means of the former only.

- (203) a. *erg/vrij/een beetje (on)voldoende aangesterkt
 very/rather/a bit (in)sufficiently recuperated
 b. *erg/vrij/een beetje (on)voldoende afgekoeld
 very/rather/a bit (in)sufficiently cooled.off

A remarkable property of the modifier *voldoende* is that it combines most naturally with adjectivally used past/passive participles, as in (202), or with pseudo-participles, as in (204). With the latter group, the addition of a *voor*-PP leads to a certain degree of markedness, which may be related to the fact that the pseudo-participles generally take a PP-complement of their own; cf. Section 2.3.1.1.

- (204) a. Marie is voldoende gebrand op promotie (??voor een betere baan).
 Marie is sufficiently keen on promotion for a better job
 b. De redacteur is voldoende ingenomen met het artikel (??voor publicatie ervan).
 the editor is sufficiently pleased with the article for publication of it

Simple scalar adjectives, such as *deskundig* ‘adept’ or *goed* ‘good’, normally give rise to marked results. They are instead modified by the modifier *genoeg* ‘enough’, which will be discussed in the next section.

- (205) a. Jan is voldoende ?deskundig/*goed voor die baan.
 Jan is sufficiently adept/good for that job
 b. Jan is deskundig/goed genoeg voor die baan.
 Jan is adept/good enough for that job

The examples in (206) show that, like the intensifier *te* ‘too’, *voldoende* can be combined with an infinitival clause, in which case an anticipatory pronominal *voor*-PP is optionally present: for the moment we will ignore the preadjectival placement of the stranded preposition in (206), but we will return to it later in this section. The implied subject °PRO of the embedded clauses in (206a) must be interpreted as coreferential with the SUBJECT of the AP, but this does not hold for PRO in (206b), which refers to the person(s) for whom the soup is sufficiently cooled off for immediate consumption.

- (206) a. Els_i bleek (er) voldoende (voor) aangesterkt
 Els appeared there sufficiently for recuperated
 [om PRO_i weer te trainen].
 COMP again to train
 ‘Els turned out to be sufficiently recuperated to train again.’
 b. De soep bleek (er) voldoende (voor) afgekoeld
 the soup appeared there sufficiently for cooled.off
 [om PRO_{arb} hem direct op te eten].
 COMP him immediately up to eat
 ‘The soup turned out to be sufficiently cooled off to eat it immediately.’

Note in passing that example (206a) should not be confused with example (207a), in which the infinitival clause contains an additional interpretative gap, which is indicated by means of *e*. In this example, it is not the implied subject *PRO*, which receives an arbitrary interpretation, but the gap *e* that is interpreted as coreferential with the matrix subject. The fact illustrated in (207b) that the anticipatory pronominal PP cannot be used suggests that we are probably dealing with a so-called *easy-to-please*-construction; cf. Section 6.5.4.1.

- (207) a. Els is voldoende aangesterkt [om PRO_{arb} weer *e* te laten trainen].
 Els is sufficiently recuperated COMP again to let train
 ‘Els is sufficiently recuperated to let [her] train again.’
 b. *Els is *er* voldoende *voor* aangesterkt [om PRO_{arb} weer *e* te laten trainen].

The primeless examples in (208) show that, despite the fact that the pseudo-participles in (204) cannot readily be combined with a *voor*-PP, they can take an infinitival degree clause. The primed examples show that the anticipatory

pronominal PP must then be absent; note that alternative placements of the stranded preposition (e.g., after the adjective) do not improve the result.

- (208) a. Marie_i is voldoende gebrand op promotie
 Marie is sufficiently keen on promotion
 [om PRO_i snel carrière te maken].
 COMP quickly career to make
 'Marie is sufficiently keen on promotion to make a fast career.'
 a'. *Marie is *er* voldoende voor gebrand op promotie om ...
 b. De redacteur_i is voldoende ingenomen met het artikel
 the editor is sufficiently pleased with the article
 [om PRO_i het te plaatsen].
 COMP it to publish
 'The editor is sufficiently pleased with the article to publish it.'
 b'. *De redacteur is *er* voldoende voor ingenomen met het artikel om ...

Unlike with the constructions with *te*, the *voor*-PP cannot readily be used to refer to a person whose evaluation is given. Consistent with this is the finding that a dative noun phrase is not possible either. The primed examples in (209) become grammatical when we replace the copula *blijken/zijn* by *lijken* 'to seem', but this is due to the fact that *lijken* can take a dative argument of its own; see the discussion of example (185) in Section 3.1.3.2.

- (209) a. *Els bleek voldoende aangesterkt voor mij.
 Els appeared sufficiently recuperated for me
 a'. *Els bleek mij voldoende aangesterkt.
 b. *?De soep is voldoende afgekoeld voor mij.
 the soup is sufficiently cooled.off for me
 b'. *De soep is mij voldoende afgekoeld.

That the string *voldoende A voor ...* forms a constituent is clear from the fact that it can be placed in clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test. This is illustrated in (210a) for the positive example in (202a). Similarly, the string *voldoende A om ...* from the examples in (206) can be placed in clause-initial position, in which case the anticipatory pronominal PP *er voor* is preferably absent; cf. the discussion of the corresponding examples in (182). This is demonstrated in (210b&b') for example (206a).

- (210) a. [Voldoende aangesterkt voor de training] is Els zeker.
 sufficiently recuperated for the training is Els certainly
 b. [Voldoende aangesterkt [om PRO weer te trainen]] is Els zeker.
 sufficiently recuperated COMP again to train is Els certainly
 b'. ??[*Er* voldoende voor aangesterkt [om PRO weer te trainen]] is Els zeker.
 there sufficiently for recuperated COMP again to train is Els certainly

There are at least two reasons to assume that it is the modifier *voldoende*, and not the adjective, that selects the *voor*-PP or the infinitival clause. First, whether the *voor*-PP/infinitival clause is possible depends on whether the element *voldoende* is

present; when the latter is dropped, the result is completely ungrammatical. This is shown in (211) for the examples (202a) and (206a).

- (211) a. *Els bleek aangesterkt voor de training.
 Els appeared recuperated for the training
 b. *Els bleek aangesterkt [om PRO weer te trainen].
 Els appeared recuperated COMP again to train

Second, the examples in (212) show that the infinitival complementizer *om* must be present in (206) and (208). When the adjective itself selects an infinitival complement optionally introduced by an anticipatory pronominal PP, on the other hand, the complementizer *om* is excluded; cf. the discussion of example (186) in Section 3.1.3.2.

- (212) a. *Els bleek voldoende aangesterkt [PRO weer te trainen].
 b. *De soep bleek voldoende afgekoeld [PRO hem direct op te eten].
 c. *Marie is voldoende gebrand op promotie [PRO snel carrière te kunnen maken].
 d. *De redacteur is voldoende ingenomen met het artikel [PRO het te plaatsen].

As we have seen in (204) and (205), a remarkable property of the modifier *voldoende* is that it most naturally combines with adjectivally used past/passive participles or pseudo-participles. Section 2.3.1.3 has shown that the base position of the complement of these adjectives may either precede or follow the (pseudo-)participle. Concomitant with this, preposition stranding may take place from both positions. The same thing can be observed with the PP-complement of the modifier *voldoende*, although placement of the full *voor*-phrase in pre-adjectival position is perhaps slightly marked. This is illustrated in (213).

- (213) a. Els bleek voldoende <[?]voor de training> aangesterkt <voor de training>.
 Els appeared sufficiently for the training recuperated
 ‘Els appeared to be sufficiently recuperated for the training.’
 a’. Els bleek *er* voldoende <*voor*> aangesterkt <*voor*>.
 Els appeared there sufficiently for recuperated
 ‘Els turned out to be sufficiently recuperated (for it).’
 b. De soep bleek voldoende <[?]voor directe consumptie> afgekoeld
 the soup appeared sufficiently for immediate consumption cooled.off
 <voor directe consumptie>.
 ‘The soup turned out to be sufficiently cooled off for immediate consumption.’
 b’. De soep bleek *er* voldoende <*voor*> afgekoeld <*voor*>.
 the soup appeared there sufficiently for cooled.off
 ‘The soup turned out to be sufficiently cooled off for it.’

The Head-final Filter in (133) now correctly predicts that the complex intensifying phrases headed by *voldoende* can only be used attributively when the *voor*-phrase or stranded preposition *voor* precedes the adjective. This is illustrated in (214).

- (214) a. de voldoende <[?]voor de training> aangesterkte <*<voor de training> turnster
 the sufficiently for the training recuperated gymnast
- a'. de *er* voldoende <voor> aangesterkte <*<voor> turnster
 the there sufficiently for recuperated gymnast
- b. de voldoende <[?]voor directe consumptie> afgekoelde
 the sufficiently for direct consumption cooled.off
 <*<voor directe consumptie> soep
 soup
- b'. de *er* voldoende <voor> afgekoelde <*<voor> soep
 the there sufficiently for cooled.off soup

The examples in (215) show that, like complex intensifying phrases headed by *te*, the *voor*-PP can be moved into some AP-external position, which can be either clause-internal or clause-initial.

- (215) a. Els lijkt voor de training nog niet voldoende aangesterkt.
 Els seems for the training yet not sufficiently recuperated
 'Els did not seem to be sufficiently recuperated for the training.'
- b. Voor de training lijkt Els nog niet voldoende aangesterkt.
 for the training seems Els yet not sufficiently recuperated

Despite the fact illustrated by the (a)-examples in (216) that the infinitival complement must be extraposed, (216b) shows that it cannot be topicalized in isolation. However, it can occupy the clause-initial position in the °left dislocation construction in (216b'), in which case it functions as the antecedent of a pronominal PP with a similar function as the anticipatory PP discussed earlier.

- (216) a. dat Els voldoende aangesterkt lijkt [om PRO weer te trainen].
 that Els sufficiently recuperated seems COMP again to train
 'that Els turned out be sufficiently recuperated to train again.'
- a'. *dat Els voldoende aangesterkt [om PRO weer te trainen] lijkt.
- b. *[om PRO weer te trainen] lijkt Els voldoende aangesterkt.
- b'. [om PRO weer te trainen] *daar* lijkt Els voldoende *voor* aangesterkt.
 COMP again to train there seems Els sufficiently for recuperated

3.1.3.4. Intensifying phrases headed by *genoeg* 'enough'

Like the intensifier *voldoende* 'sufficiently', the intensifier *genoeg* 'enough' indicates that the extent to which the SUBJECT of the adjective has the property denoted by the adjective satisfies a certain norm. The norm may remain implicit or be determined by the context, but it can also be explicitly expressed by means of a *voor*-PP, as in (217). However, these examples also illustrate an important difference between the two modifiers; whereas *voldoende* precedes the adjective, *genoeg* normally follows it.

- (217) a. Jan is oud genoeg (voor de disco).
 Jan is old enough for the disco
- b. Jan is intelligent genoeg (voor die opdracht).
 Jan is intelligent enough for that commission

The only exception is when the modified adjective belongs to the class of (pseudo-)participles; example (218) shows that *genoeg* may then at least marginally occur in front of the adjective. Note that, on the whole, the use of the modifier *voldoende* is normally preferred with these adjectives.

- (218) a. Jan is <[?]genoeg> onderlegd <genoeg> in wiskunde voor die opdracht.
 Jan is enough grounded in mathematics for that commission
 b. Jan is <[?]genoeg> bekend <genoeg> met het onderwerp voor die opdracht.
 Jan is enough familiar with the subject for that commission

Example (219a) shows that, as with *voldoende*, complex adjectival constructions with *genoeg* are not eligible for further modification by means of an adjectival intensifier. It is, however, marginally possible to use the phrase *meer dan* 'more than', as in (219b); the fact that this example feels somewhat marked is possibly due to the fact that the intended meaning can also be expressed by means of the modifier *zat* 'plenty' in (219b'), which exhibits the same syntactic behavior as *genoeg*.

- (219) a. *heel/vrij/een beetje oud genoeg
 very/rather/a bit old enough
 b. [?]Jan is meer dan oud genoeg om naar de disco te gaan.
 Jan is more than old enough COMP to the disco to go
 b'. Jan is oud zat om naar de disco te gaan.
 Jan is old more.than.enough COMP to the disco to go

As in the case of *te* 'too' and *voldoende* 'sufficiently', the complement of the preposition *voor* need not be a noun phrase, but can also be an infinitival clause, in which case an anticipatory pronominal PP may be present. This is illustrated in (220). As with the examples in (179) and (206a), the implied subject °PRO of the embedded clauses in (220) must be interpreted as coreferential with the SUBJECT of the AP, which is expressed here by means of coindexation.

- (220) a. Jan_i is (er) oud genoeg (voor) [om PRO_i naar de disco te gaan].
 Jan is there old enough for COMP to the disco to go
 'Jan is old enough to go to the disco.'
 b. Jan_i is (er) intelligent genoeg (voor) [om PRO_i die opdracht aan te kunnen].
 Jan is there intelligent enough for COMP that comm. prt. to handle
 'John is intelligent enough to handle that commission.'

Examples like (220) can be easily confused with the examples like (221) in which the infinitival clauses contain an additional interpretative gap, indicated by means of *e*. In these examples, it is not the implied subject PRO, which receives an arbitrary interpretation, but the gap *e* that is interpreted as coreferential with the SUBJECT of the AP. The fact that the anticipatory pronominal PP cannot occur in these examples suggests that these examples are probably instances of the so-called *easy-to-please*-constructions discussed in Section 6.5.4.1.

- (221) a. Jan is oud genoeg [om PRO_{arb} *e* naar de disco mee te nemen].
 Jan is old enough COMP to the disco with to take
 'Jan is old enough to take [him] to the disco.'
 a'. *Jan is *er* oud genoeg *voor* [om PRO_{arb} *e* naar de disco mee te nemen]
 b. Het ijs is koud genoeg [om PRO_{arb} *e* lang te bewaren].
 the ice.cream is cold enough COMP long to preserve
 'The ice-cream is cold enough to preserve [it] long.'
 b'. *Het ijs is *er* koud genoeg *voor* [om PRO_{arb} *e* lang te bewaren].

Example (222a) shows that, as in the case of *te* 'too', the *voor*-PP need not refer to the norm, but may also refer to the person whose evaluation is given. This *voor*-PP alternates with a dative noun phrase, as is illustrated in (222b).

- (222) a. Die soep is (niet) zout genoeg voor mij.
 that soup is not salty enough for me
 b. Die soep is mij (niet) zout genoeg.
 that soup is me not salty enough

The string *A genoeg voor ...* in (217) forms a constituent, which is clear from the fact that the constituting parts can be placed in clause-initial position together; cf. the °constituency test. This is illustrated in (223a) for example (217a). Similarly, the string *A genoeg om ...* in (220) can be placed in clause-initial position. In that case, however, the anticipatory pronominal PP *er voor* is preferably absent. This is demonstrated for (220a) in (223b&b').

- (223) a. [Oud genoeg voor de disco] is Jan zeker.
 old enough for the disco is Jan certainly
 b. [Oud genoeg [om naar de disco te gaan]] is Jan zeker.
 old enough COMP to the disco to go is Jan certainly
 b'. ^{??}[*Er* oud genoeg *voor* [om naar de disco te gaan]] is Jan zeker.
 there old enough for COMP to the disco to go is Jan certainly

There are at least two reasons to assume that it is the element *genoeg*, and not the adjective, that selects the *voor*-PP or the infinitival clause. First, whether a *voor*-PP/infinitival clause is possible depends on whether the element *genoeg* is present; when the latter is dropped, the result is completely ungrammatical. This is shown in (224) for the examples in (229b), (220b) and (222a).

- (224) a. *Jan is intelligent voor die opdracht.
 b. *Jan is (*er*) intelligent (*voor*) om die opdracht aan te kunnen.
 c. *Die soep is zout voor mij.

Second, the examples in (225) show that the infinitival complementizer *om* must be present in (220). When the adjective itself selects an infinitival complement optionally introduced by an anticipatory pronominal PP, on the other hand, the complementizer *om* is excluded; see the discussion of (186) in Section 3.1.3.2.

- (225) a. *Jan is (*er*) oud genoeg (*voor*) [PRO naar de disco te gaan].
 b. ^{??}*Jan is (*er*) intelligent genoeg (*voor*) [PRO die opdracht aan te kunnen].

Since *genoeg* normally follows the adjective, the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives predicts that the string *A + genoeg* cannot be used in attributive position. This prediction seems correct insofar the examples in (226a&b) are unacceptable (but see Section 5.3.2.2 for a more careful discussion). It seems, however, that for some speakers the attributive *-e* ending can be placed on modifier *genoeg*; although the primed examples are degraded for many speakers, examples like these are abundantly present on the internet. For the speakers that allow the primed examples, *genoeg* behaves in the same way as postadjectival *mogelijk* ‘possible’ discussed in Section 3.1.3.1, sub *IV*.

- (226) a. *de oud-e genoeg jongen
 the old enough boy
 a'. %de oud genoeg-e jongen
 b. *het koud-e genoeg ijs
 the cold enough ice.cream
 b'. %het koud genoeg-e ijs

The examples in (227) show that, as with the complex intensifying phrases headed by *te* and *voldoende*, the *voor*-PP can be moved leftward into some clause-internal or clause-initial position. That example (227a) involves movement into some AP-external position is clear from the fact that clause adverbs such as *zeker* ‘certainly’ intervene between the *voor*-phrase and the adjective.

- (227) a. Jan is voor de disco zeker oud genoeg.
 Jan is for the disco certainly old enough
 b. Voor de disco is Jan zeker oud genoeg.

Despite the fact, illustrated by the (a)-examples in (228), that the infinitival complement is preferably extraposed, (228b) shows that it cannot be topicalized in isolation. However, it can occupy the clause-initial position in the °left dislocation construction in (228b'), in which case it acts as the antecedent of a pronominal PP with a function similar to that of the anticipatory PP discussed earlier.

- (228) a. dat Jan zeker oud genoeg is [om PRO naar de disco te gaan].
 that Jan certainly old enough is COMP to the disco to go
 a'. ??dat Jan zeker oud genoeg [om PRO naar de disco te gaan] is.
 b. *[Om naar de disco te gaan] is Jan zeker oud genoeg.
 b'. [Om naar de disco te gaan] *daar* is Jan zeker oud genoeg *voor*.
 COMP to the disco to go there is Jan certainly old enough for

Example (229a) shows that when the modified adjective takes a prepositional complement, the complement is not adjacent to the adjective but follows *genoeg*. The same thing holds for the stranded preposition in (229b). This is unexpected given the general rule that a selecting head is normally closer to its complement than to its modifiers. We will not discuss this problem here but postpone it to Section 4.3.1, where it will be argued that the word order results from leftward movement of the adjective across *genoeg*: *bang_i genoeg t_i voor honden*.

- (229) a. Jan is al bang <*voor honden> genoeg <voor honden>.
 Jan is already afraid of dogs enough
 b. Jan is *er* al bang <*voor> genoeg <voor>.
 Jan is there already afraid of enough

To conclude this section we want to note that *genoeg* is used not only as an intensifier (modifier of adjectives) but also as a degree modifier of nouns, as in *We hebben al <genoeg> problemen <genoeg>* ‘We already have <enough> problems <enough>’. This use is discussed in Section N.6.2.4.

3.1.4. Modification of measure adjectives

This section discusses modification of the so-called measure adjectives. Some examples of these adjectives, which always come in antonym pairs, are given in (230). This section will show that, compared to the other types of scalar adjectives, measure adjectives exhibit rather special behavior with respect to modification.

- (230) a. *breed* 'wide' a'. *smal* 'narrow'
 b. *diep* 'deep' b'. *ondiep* 'shallow'
 c. *dik* 'thick' c'. *dun* 'thin'
 d. *lang* 'long' d'. *kort* 'short'
 e. *lang* 'long' e'. *kort* 'brief'
 f. *hoog* 'high' f'. *laag* 'low'
 g. *oud* 'old' g'. *jong* 'young'
 h. *zwaar* 'heavy' h'. *licht* 'light'

3.1.4.1. Modification by means of an intensifier

Being scalar, measure adjectives can be modified either by means of an amplifier or a downtoner, which is illustrated for some of these adjectives in (230).

- (231) a. zeer/vrij breed/smal
very/rather wide/narrow
b. heel/tamelijk oud/jong
very/rather old/young
c. absurd/een beetje lang/kort
absurdly/a bit long/short

For the same reason, measure adjectives can be combined with the interrogative intensifier *hoe* ‘how’. This is illustrated in (232) for some of the adjectives in (230). Observe that questioning the adjectives in the primed examples of (230) normally gives rise to an infelicitous result; the reasons for this will be discussed in 3.1.4.2.

- (232) a. Hoe breed^{??} smal is het zwembad?
how wide/narrow is the swimming pool
b. Hoe oud^{??} jong is dat paard?
how old/young is that horse
c. Hoe lang^{??} kort is het zwembad?
how long/short is the swimming pool

The examples in (233) show that the measure adjective can also occur in exclamative constructions with *wat*.

- (233) a. Wat is dat zwembad breed/small!
 what is that swimming pool wide/narrow
 b. Wat is dat paard oud/jong!
 what is that horse old/young
 c. Wat is dat zwembad lang/kort!
 what is that swimming pool long/short

3.1.4.2. Modification by means of a nominal measure phrase

Measure adjectives are special in that they can be modified by nominal measure phrases like *drie meter* 'three meters' in (234a). The ungrammaticality of (234b) shows that the use of such measure phrases is normally restricted to contexts in which no other intensifier is present. Nominal measure phrases are possible, however, when the adjective is modified by *te* 'too', in which case they indicate the extent to which the SUBJECT of the adjective exceeds the implied norm. The first two subsections below will discuss, respectively, examples of the type in (234a) and (234b). The third subsection concludes with a discussion of subextraction of the nominal measure phrase from complex APs.

- (234) a. De balk is drie meter lang.
 the beam is three meters long
 b. *De balk is drie meter erg lang.
 the beam is three meters very long
 c. De balk is drie meter te lang.
 the beam is three meters too long

I. The positive form of the measure adjectives

The adjectives in the primed and primeless examples in (230) differ in an important respect: adjectives of the former group can be modified not only by means of intensifiers, as in (231), but also by means of nominal measure phrases; combining the adjectives of the latter group with these measure phrases normally leads to an infelicitous result. This is demonstrated in (235).

- (235) a. drie meter breed/diep/dik/lang/hoog
 three meter wide/deep/thick/long/high
 a'. *drie meter smal/ondiep/dun/kort/laag
 three meter narrow/shallow/thin/short/low
 b. tien jaar oud/*jong
 ten year old/young
 c. twee uur lang/*kort
 two hour long/short

In the acceptable examples in (235), the adjectives have lost their antonymous meaning aspect in the sense that they no longer stand in opposition to the adjectives in the primed examples in (230). The use of the adjective *oud* 'old' in (236a), for example, does not imply that the kitten is old; in fact, the kitten is quite young

(namely two days), which can be emphasized by using an evaluative particle such as *pas* 'only' or *maar* 'only'. Therefore, it is clear that the adjective *oud* 'old' no longer stands in opposition to the adjective *jong* 'young'. Something similar holds for the adjective *lang* 'long' in (236b).

- (236) a. Het poesje is (pas) twee dagen oud/*jong.
 the kitten is only two days old/young
 b. De weg is (maar) twintig meter lang/*kort.
 the road is only twenty meter long/short

Given that measure adjectives like *oud* and *lang* do not exhibit an antonymous meaning aspect when they are modified by a measure phrase, they should be considered as NEUTRAL FORMS in such cases. Adjectives such as *jong* and *kort*, on the other hand, normally retain their full meaning, which accounts for the fact that examples such as (237) can only be used in jest.

- (237) Opa is negentig jaar jong.
 grandfather is ninety years young

When measure adjectives are questioned, it is generally the neutral form that shows up, as in (232) and (238). The non-neutral form can only be used when the context provides specific clues that the entity in question is in fact young/short and that the speaker wants to know to what degree this is the case.

- (238) a. Hoe oud/?jong is het poesje? (Het is pas) twee dagen (oud).
 how old/young is the kitten it is only two days old
 b. Hoe lang/?kort is de weg? (Hij is maar) twintig meter (lang).
 how long/short is the road he is only twenty meter long

The semantics of the examples above is rather transparent: the nominal measure phrase indicates the precise position of the SUBJECT of the adjective on the implied scale. For instance, example (236a) indicates that $d = ||2 \text{ days}||$. However, we cannot represent this example as in (239a) as this would wrongly imply that the kitten is old. A more appropriate representation would therefore be the one in (239b), where the use of boldface indicates that we are dealing with the neuter form of a measure adjective.

- (239) a. $\exists d [\text{ OUD } (\text{het poesje}, d) \ \& \ d = ||2 \text{ days}||]$
 b. $\exists d [\text{ **AGE** } (\text{het poesje}, d) \ \& \ d = ||2 \text{ days}||]$

The nominal measure phrase and the adjective form a constituent, which is clear from the fact that they can be placed in clause-initial position together; cf. the °constituency test. This is demonstrated by means of the primeless examples in (240), which correspond to the examples in (236). The singly-primed examples show that topicalization of the nominal modifier in isolation gives rise to a slightly marked result, and requires an intonation contour with heavy accent on the numeral. Stranding the nominal measure phrase, as in the doubly-primed examples, is excluded.

- (240) a. [Twee dagen oud] is het poesje pas.
 two days old is the kitten only
 a'. ^{??}TWEE dagen is het poesje pas oud.
 a''. *Oud is het poesje pas twee dagen.
 b. [Twintig meter lang] is de weg maar.
 twenty meter long is the road only
 b'. ^{??}TWINTig meter is de weg maar lang.
 b''. *Lang is de weg maar twintig meter.

Occasionally, the predicative adjective can be dropped when a nominal measure phrase is present. This is, for example, the case when we are dealing with age, as in (241a). When referring to human beings, examples such as (241b) can also be used to indicate a person's height.

- (241) a. Jan is veertig jaar (oud).
 Jan is forty year old
 b. Jan is twee meter (lang).
 Jan is two meter high

Similarly, when a certain object is partly defined by means of having a certain proportion (length, width, etc.), or when the intended proportion can be recovered from the context, the adjective is occasionally left out as well. Some examples are given in (242).

- (242) a. Deze toren is honderd meter (hoog).
 this tower is hundred meter high
 b. Deze weg is drie kilometer (lang).
 this road is three kilometer long
 c. De brief is drie kantjes (lang).
 the letter is three pages long
 d. Deze draad is twee millimeter (dik).
 this thread is two millimeter thick

As is shown in the primeless examples of (243), the temporal measure adjective *lang* differs from the other measure adjectives in that it cannot readily be used in copular constructions. The intended contentions can be expressed instead by means of the verb *duren* 'to go on' in the primed examples. Note that the adjective is preferably dropped when a nominal measure phrase is present, which may be due to the fact that the meaning expressed by the neutral form of the adjective *lang* is already implied by the measure verb *duren*.

(243) a. ^{??} De operatie is lang. the operation is long	a'. De operatie duurt lang. the operation lasts long
b. *De operatie is twee uur. the operation is two hours	b'. De operatie duurt twee uur. the operation lasts two hours
c. ^{??} De operatie is twee uur lang. the operation is two hours long	c'. ^{??} De operatie duurt twee uur lang. the operation lasts two hours long

II. Measure adjectives modified by *te* 'too' and comparatives

The examples in (248) show that nominal measure phrases can also be used to modify complex APs headed by *te* 'too'. In cases like these, the measure adjectives are always overtly expressed.

- (248) a. De kast is drie centimeter te breed.
the closet is three centimeters too wide
b. De vergadering duurde twee uur te *(lang).
the meeting lasted two hours too long
'The meeting went on for two hours.'

The fact that the measure adjective cannot be omitted may be related to the fact that we are not dealing with the neutral form of the adjectives. The examples in (249) show, at least, that non-neutral forms can enter the construction as well; cf. the contrast with the examples without *te* 'too' in (235).

- (249) a. drie centimeter te breed/diep/dik/lang/hoog
three centimeter too wide/deep/thick/long/high
a'. drie centimeter te smal/ondiep/dun/kort/laag
three centimeter too narrow/shallow/thin/short/low
b. tien jaar te oud/jong
ten year too old/young
c. twee uur te lang/kort
two hour too long/short

Note that it is not only the intensifier *te* 'too' that may license the presence of a nominal measure but that the same thing holds for the comparative form of the measure adjectives in (250); see Section 4.3.2.1 for more discussion. For convenience, we will include such comparative examples in the discussion below.

- (250) a. drie centimeter breder/dieper/dikker/lander/hoger
three centimeter wider/deeper/thicker/longer/higher
a'. drie centimeter smaller/ondieper/dunner/korter/lager
three centimeter more.narrow/more.shallow/thinner/shorter/lower
b. tien jaar ouder/jonger
ten year older/younger
c. twee uur langer/korter
two hour longer/shorter

The fact that nominal measure phrases may modify the non-neuter forms of the measure adjectives when the latter are modified by *te* or have the comparative form may also account for the fact that adjectives like *zwaar* 'heavy' and *warm* 'warm', which cannot readily be preceded by nominal measure phrases in their unmodified positive form (cf. (245)), can co-occur with them in (251).

- (251) a. Jan weegt 50 kilo *(te) zwaar/licht.
Jan weighs 50 kilo too heavy/light
a'. Jan weegt 5 kilo zwaarder/lichter.
Jan weighs 5 kilo heavier/lighter

- b. Het water is 10 graden *(te) warm/koud.
the water is 10 degrees too warm/cold
- b'. Het water is 10 graden warmer/kouder.
the water is 10 degrees warmer/colder

From a semantic point of view the examples discussed so far are not completely on a par with those in (235). Section 1.3.2.2.1 has argued that the truth-value of constructions containing a gradable adjective is generally determined in relation to a possibly contextually determined comparison class/set. In the case of an adjective in the positive degree or an adjective preceded by *te* 'too', the comparison class/set can be made explicit by means of a *voor*-PP, and in the case of a comparative by means of a *dan/als*-phrase. This is illustrated in (252).

- (252) a. Jan is lang voor een jongen van zijn leeftijd.
Jan is long for a boy of his age
- b. Jan is te lang voor een jongen van zijn leeftijd.
Jan is too long for a boy of his age
- c. Jan is langer dan Peter
Jan is longer than Peter

Things change, however, when the adjective is modified by a nominal measure phrase. The examples in (253) show that this blocks the addition of a *voor*-phrase to the adjective in the positive degree, whereas nothing changes when the adjective is preceded by *te* or in the comparative form. This suggests that, in a sense, the addition of a nominal measure phrase to adjectives in the positive degree makes the AP "absolute" in nature, whereas the gradable nature of adjectives preceded by *te* and comparatives remains unaffected.

- (253) a. Jan is 1.90 m lang (*voor een jongen van zijn leeftijd).
Jan is 1.90 m long for a boy of his age
- b. Jan is 20 cm te lang voor een jongen van zijn leeftijd.
Jan is 20 cm too long for a boy of his age
- c. Jan is 10 cm langer dan Peter
Jan is 10 cm longer than Peter

The primeless examples in (254) show that, as in the case of the measure adjectives in the positive form in (240), preposing of APs like those in (249) and (250) may pied pipe the nominal measure phrases, which demonstrates that they form a constituent. The singly-primed examples show that preposing the nominal phrase in isolation is marked, but not entirely excluded. Stranding the nominal measure phrase is normally impossible; the doubly-primed examples may perhaps be marginally acceptable when the nominal measure phrase is presented as an afterthought, in which case it must be preceded by an intonation break, but this is irrelevant here.

- (254) a. [Drie jaar te oud/jong] is Jan.
'Jan is three years too old/young.'
- a'. ??Drie jaar is Jan te oud/jong.
- a''. *Te oud is Jan drie jaar.
- b. [Drie jaar ouder/jonger] is Jan.
'Jan is three years older/younger.'
- b'. ??Drie jaar is Jan ouder/jonger.
- b''. *Ouder is Jan drie jaar.

III. Extraction of the nominal measure phrase

Examples (240) and (254) have shown that APs modified by a nominal measure phrase normally cannot be split. This is possible, however, when the nominal measure phrase is questioned. We illustrate this in (255) for some of the primeless examples in (249) and (250).

- (255) a. Hoeveel centimeter is dat zwembad te breed/diep/lang?
 how.many centimeters is that pool too wide/deep/long
 a. Hoeveel centimeter is dit zwembad breder/dieper/langer dan dat andere?
 how.many centimeters is that pool wider/deeper/longer than that other.one
 b. Hoeveel centimeter is dat zwembad te smal/ondiep/kort?
 how.many centimeters is that pool too narrow/shallow/short
 b. Hoeveel centimeter is dit zwembad smaller/ondieper/korter
 how.many centimeters is this pool narrower/shallowest/shorter
 dan dat andere?
 than that other.one
 c. Hoeveel jaar is Jan te oud/jong?
 how.many years is Jan too old/young
 c'. Hoeveel jaar is Jan ouder/jonger dan Peter?
 how.many years is Jan older/younger than Peter

Extraction of the nominal measure phrase is sometimes also allowed when it is assigned heavy accent or preceded by a focus particle like *slechts* 'only'.

- (256) a. SLECHTS DRIE jaar is Jan te oud/jong.
 only three years is Jan too young/old
 c'. SLECHTS DRIE jaar is Jan ouder/jonger.
 only three years is Jan older/younger

Given the acceptability of the examples above, we expect similar extractions to be possible in the case of neutral measure adjectives in the positive degree. This expectation, however, is not borne out; the primeless examples in (257) sound relatively odd (although examples like (257a) are given as fully acceptable by Corver, 1990, for which reason we mark it with a percentage sign). Plausibly, this should not be attributed to some syntactic restriction but to the fact that the same questions can be expressed more economically by combining the positive measure adjectives with the interrogative intensifier *hoe* 'how'; cf. example (238).

- (257) a. %Hoeveel meter is dat zwembad breed/diep/lang?
 how.many meters is that pool wide/deep/long
 a'. Hoe breed/diep/lang is dat zwembad?
 how wide/deep/long is that pool
 b. *?Hoeveel jaar is Peter oud?
 how.many years is Peter old
 b'. Hoe oud is Peter?
 how old is Peter

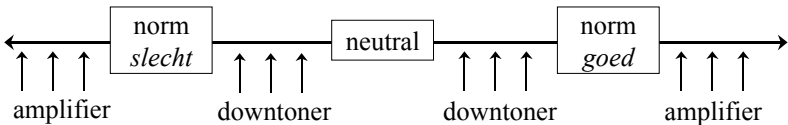
3.2. Modification of absolute adjectives

This section discusses modification of absolute (non-scalar) adjectives. Section 3.2.1 will start with briefly discussing some differences between scalar and absolute adjectives. Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 will be devoted to the two different types of modifiers that can be distinguished, which will be referred to as approximative and absolute modifiers.

3.2.1. Differences between scalar and absolute adjectives

Section 3.1 has discussed modification of the scalar adjectives. The modifier is typically an amplifier such as *zeer* ‘very’ or a downtoner such as *vrij* ‘rather’, which scale upwards or downwards from some tacitly assumed standard value or norm. In order to illustrate this, we repeat the schematic representation in (7) for the adjectives *goed* ‘good’ and *slecht* ‘bad/evil’ as (258).

(258) • Scale of “goodness”:



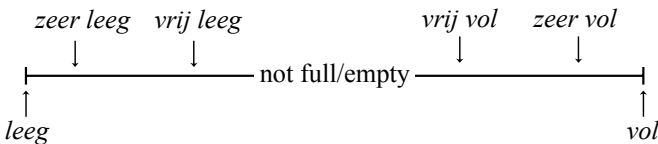
The representation in (258) will make clear that the implications in (259) are valid; the adjective in (259a) is preceded by the amplifier *zeer*, and we may conclude from the fact that *zeer A* holds that *A* also holds; the adjective in (259b) is preceded by the downtoner *vrij*, and we may conclude from the fact that *vrij A* holds that *A* holds as well.

(259) • Logical implications *zeer/vrij* + scalar adjective

a.	Dat boek is zeer goed/slecht.	⇒	a'.	Dat boek is goed/slecht.
	that book is very good/bad			that book is good/bad
b.	Dat boek is vrij goed/slecht.	⇒	b'.	Dat boek is goed/slecht.
	that book is rather good/bad			that book is good/bad

The implications are different when the adjectives are absolute. Take as an example the polar adjectives *leeg* ‘empty’ and *vol* ‘full’, which seem to refer to the boundaries of the scale in (260). The use of the modifiers *vrij* and *zeer* with these adjectives implies that we are referring to some point between the two boundaries.

(260) • Scale of “fullness”



The representation in (260) shows that, in the case of an absolute adjective, we cannot conclude from the fact that if *zeer/vrij A* holds that *A* holds as well; in fact, we have to conclude that *A* does not hold.

- (261) • Logical implications *zeer/vrij* + absolute adjective
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. | De fles is <i>zeer</i> leeg/vol. | $\Rightarrow$ | a'. De fles is <i>niet</i> leeg/vol. |
| | the bottle is very empty/full | | the bottle is not empty/full |
| b. | De fles is <i>vrij</i> leeg/vol. | $\Rightarrow$ | b'. de fles is <i>niet</i> leeg/vol. |
| | the bottle is rather empty/full | | the bottle is not empty/full |

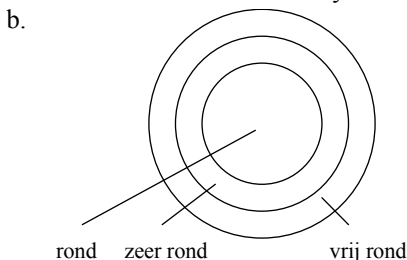
Of course, the discussion above is an idealization of reality, as the adjective *vol* 'full' can sometimes also be used as a scalar adjective. In everyday practice *vol* is generally not used in the sense of "100% filled". A cup of coffee is called *vol* even if it is not filled up to the rim (actually, if it were it would be *too* full). On this interpretation of *vol*, we can conclude from the fact that *zeer vol* is applicable that *vol* is applicable as well. For the sake of argument, however, we have assumed *vol* to mean "100% filled" in the example above.

The fact that the logical implications in (259) do not hold for absolute adjectives implies that semantic representations like those in (8) in section 3.1.2, repeated here as (262), cannot be used to express the meaning contribution of the modifiers of absolute adjectives.

- (262) a. Jan is *zeer* goed. [amplifier]
 Jan is very good
 a'. $\exists d$ [GOED (Jan,d) & $d > d_n$]
 b. Jan is *vrij* goed. [downtoner]
 Jan is rather good
 b'. $\exists d$ [GOED (Jan,d) & $d < d_n$]
 c. Jan is min of meer goed. [neutral]
 Jan is more or less good
 c'. $\exists d$ [GOED (Jan,d) & $d \approx d_n$]

This shows that modifiers of absolute adjectives do not refer to some degree on an implied scale, which is further supported by the fact that they can also be used with, e.g., geometrical adjectives, which do not involve scales at all. Just as *vrij/zeer leeg* in (261) implies that the bottle is not empty, *vrij/zeer rond* 'rather/very round' in (263a) implies that the logical SUBJECT of the AP is *not* round; Jan's face merely shows some resemblance to a round shape. This intuition can be represented as in (263b) by assuming that the modified APs denote certain mutually exclusive partitions of some larger set of entities. In order to avoid confusion, note that the circles in (263b) indicate *sets*, and do not represent the geometrical forms.

- (263) a. Jans gezicht is *vrij/zeer* rond. $\Rightarrow$ a'. Jans gezicht is *niet* rond.
 Jan's face is rather/very round Jan's face is not round



Something similar holds for color adjectives such as *rood* 'red'. When the leaves of the trees change colors in autumn, we may use the expressions in (264a), thereby indicating that *some* of the leaves have already changed colors, or that the leaves have *partly* changed colors. Similarly, we may use (264b) to indicate that Jan's face is *partly* red.

- (264) a. De bladeren zijn al vrij/zeer rood.
 the leaves are already rather/very red
 b. Jans gezicht is vrij/zeer rood.
 Jan's face is rather/very red

The examples in (261) to (264) have in common that the modifiers indicate that the SUBJECT of adjective A cannot be (fully) characterized as having the property denoted by A; it merely has some property that resembles it. The absolute adjectives can, however, also be preceded by a modifier that indicates that the property does hold in full. Some examples with the modifier *helemaal* 'completely' are given in (265).

- (265) a. De fles is helemaal leeg/vol. ⇒ a'. De fles is leeg/vol.
 the bottle is completely empty/full the bottle is empty/full
 b. De tafel is helemaal rond. ⇒ b'. De tafel is rond.
 the table is fully round the table is round
 c. De bladeren zijn helemaal rood ⇒ c'. De bladeren zijn rood.
 the leaves are completely red the leaves are red

Henceforth, we will call the modifiers with the properties of those in (261), (263) and (264) approximative, and their counterparts in (265) absolute. We will discuss these approximative and absolute modifiers in Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3.

3.2.2. *Approximative modifiers*

Many approximative modifiers indicate that the property denoted by the adjective is almost or nearly applicable. Some examples involving adverbs are given in (266).

- (266) a. een *bijna* perfect artikel c. een *praktisch* dode hond
 an almost perfect article a virtually dead dog
 b. een *nagenoeg* onmogelijke taak d. een *vrijwel* dove man
 an almost impossible task a nearly deaf man

Occasionally, more complex phrases like *zo goed als* 'as good as' in (267a) are used; the expression *op sterven na dood* in (267b) is idiomatic.

- (267) a. Opa is *zo goed als* blind.
 grandpa is as good as blind
 'Grandpa is practically blind.'
 b. De hond is *op sterven na* dood.
 the dog is OP die NA dead
 'The dog is on the verge of death.'

The examples in (268) show that approximatives normally cannot be used with scalar adjectives. The only exceptions are modifiers like *vrij* 'rather' and *zeer*

‘very’, which can be used both as an intensifier and as an approximative modifier; see Section 3.2.1 for examples.

- (268) a. *een *bijna* interessant artikel c. *een *praktisch* lieve hond
 an almost interesting article a virtually friendly dog
 b. *een *nagenoeg* moeilijke taak d. *een *vrijwel* slechthorende man
 an almost difficult task a nearly hard-of-hearing man

Possible exceptions to this general rule are given in (269). In these examples, the approximative modifier *bijna* ‘nearly’ indicates that the gradable adjective is almost applicable. These examples are, however, hard to judge, as *bijna* can also be used as a clause adverb. This is clear from the fact that topicalization of the adjective in isolation (also) seems possible.

- (269) a. Dit gedrag is bijna kinderlijk.
 this behavior is almost childlike
 a'. <Bijna> kinderlijk is dit gedrag <'bijna>.
 b. Jan was bijna boos.
 Jan was almost angry
 b'. <'Bijna> boos was Jan <bijna>.

For completeness' sake, note that *goed* ‘good’, which has been given above as a scalar adjective, can also be used as an absolute adjective, in which case it means “correct” and stands in opposition to the adjective *fout* ‘wrong’. Example (270) is therefore not a counterexample to the claim that approximatives cannot be combined with scalar adjectives; the fact that *goed* can here only be interpreted as “correct” in fact supports it.

- (270) Je antwoord is bijna goed.
 your answer is almost correct

The approximatives in (266) indicate that the adjective is nearly applicable. With those in (271) the implied “distance” is larger, but remains relatively vague. This vagueness does not arise with the modifiers in (272), which indicate quite precisely what the “distance” is.

- (271) a. De fles is zo'n beetje leeg.
 the bottle is more or less empty
 b. De fles is min of meer leeg.
 the bottle is more or less empty
 (272) a. De fles is half leeg.
 the bottle is half empty
 b. De fles is voor driekwart leeg.
 the bottle is for three-quarters empty
 ‘The bottle is three-quarters empty.’

Occasionally, approximatives can themselves be modified by an adverb like *al* ‘already’ or *nog* ‘still’. These adverbs indicate that the entity modified by the approximative is changing: *al* indicates that it is coming “closer” to the property

denoted by the adjective whereas *nog* indicates that it is moving in the other direction. While drinking wine, one may utter (273a) or (273b), but not (273a') or (273b'), as we are in the process of emptying bottles. When one is bottling wine, on the other hand, only the primed examples are appropriate.

- (273) a. Deze fles is nog vrijwel/half vol.
 this bottle is still nearly/half full
 a'. Deze fles is al vrijwel/half vol.
 this bottle is already nearly/half full
 b. Deze fles is al bijna/half leeg.
 this bottle is already nearly/half empty
 b'. Deze fles is nog bijna/half leeg.
 this bottle is still nearly/half empty

Approximative modifiers normally cannot occur in negative clauses: examples like (274) are only acceptable when used to cancel some assumption held by or attributed to the addressee. In this respect, the approximatives differ sharply from the absolute modifiers; cf. example (279).

- (274) a. Deze fles is niet vrijwel vol/leeg.
 this bottle is not nearly full/empty
 b. Deze fles is niet bijna vol/leeg.
 this bottle is not nearly full/empty
 c. Deze fles is niet half vol/leeg.
 this bottle is not half full/empty

The examples in (275) deserve special mention. In (275a), the approximative modifier *vrijwel* modifies the negative adverb *niet*, which in turn modifies the scalar antonym *versneden* 'diluted' of the absolute adjective *puur/onversneden* 'neat/undiluted'. It feels as if the combination *niet versneden* behaves as a complex absolute adjective on a par with *puur/onversneden*. In (275b), the modifier *nauwelijks* 'hardly' is inherently negative, and seems to act as a kind of approximative: *nauwelijks versneden* is more or less synonymous with *vrijwel puur* 'almost neat'. Examples (275c&d) show that the modifier *nauwelijks* can be combined neither with an absolute adjective like *puur* 'neat', nor with a scalar adjective like *lekker* 'tasty' that does not have an absolute antonym.

- (275) a. De wijn bleek vrijwel niet versneden.
 the wine turned.out almost not diluted
 b. De wijn bleek nauwelijks versneden.
 the wine turned.out hardly diluted
 c. *De wijn bleek nauwelijks puur/onversneden.
 the wine turned.out hardly neat/undiluted
 d. *De wijn bleek nauwelijks lekker.
 the wine turned.out hardly tasty

Finally, it must be observed that approximative modifiers cannot be combined with inherently amplified absolute adjectives, such as *eivol/bomvol* 'crammed-full' and *kurkdroog* 'bone-dry', in which the first morpheme emphasizes the fact that the

property denoted by the adjective holds in full. This is illustrated in (276); see also the discussion of the examples in (36) above and (280) below.

- (276) a. *[?]een vrijwel bomvolle zaal
 an almost crammed-full hall
 b. *[?]een nagenoeg kurkdroge doek
 a virtually bone.dry cloth

3.2.3. Absolute modifiers

Absolute modifiers indicate that the property denoted by the adjective applies in full. Some examples are given in the primeless examples of (277). The primed examples show that, just like approximatives, absolute modifiers cannot modify scalar adjectives.

(277) a. een <i>geheel</i> volle zaal	a. * [?] een <i>geheel</i> grote zaal
a completely full hall	a completely beautiful hall
b. een <i>helemaal</i> lege fles	b. * [?] een <i>helemaal</i> mooie fles
a completely empty bottle	a completely beautiful bottle
c. een <i>totaal</i> overbodig boek	c. * [?] een <i>totaal</i> saai boek
a totally superfluous book	a totally boring book
d. een <i>volkomen</i> ronde tafel	d. * [?] een <i>volkomen</i> gezellige tafel
a perfectly round table	a perfectly cozy table
e. een <i>volledig</i> droge doek	e. * [?] een <i>volledig</i> zachte doek
a totally dry cloth	a totally soft cloth

Like the approximatives, absolute modifiers can be modified by adverbs like *al* ‘already’ and *nog* ‘still’; *al* indicates that the logical SUBJECT of the modified AP has completed a process of change, as a result of which the adjective has become applicable; *nog* indicates that a process of change is expected to take place but has not yet started, as a result of which the adjective is still applicable. While drinking wine, one may utter the primeless, but not the primed, examples in (278), as we are in the process of emptying bottles. When one is bottling wine, on the other hand, only the primed examples are appropriate.

- (278) a. Deze fles is nog helemaal vol.
 this bottle is still completely full
 a'. Deze fles is al helemaal vol.
 this bottle is already completely full
 b. Deze fles is al helemaal leeg.
 this bottle is already completely empty
 b'. Deze fles is nog helemaal leeg.
 this bottle is still completely empty

Unlike the approximative modifiers, absolute modifiers are possible in negative clauses; cf. example (274). Observe that when the element *meer* is added, as in (279b), it is implied that the property denoted by the adjective was applicable some time before. In this respect, *niet ... meer* acts as the antonym of *al* in (278).

(280) a. ^{*/}een helemaal bomvolle zaal
 a completely crammed-full hall
 b. ^{*/}een volledig kurkdroge doek
 a fully bone.dry cloth

This section discusses the use of negative and affirmative adverbs with adjectives. Section 3.3.1 starts with the question of what negative/affirmative adverbs modify in predicative constructions like *Jan is niet/wel aardig* ‘Jan is not/AFF nice’: Is it the adjective or the clause? This is followed in section 3.3.2 by a discussion of some special uses of these negative/affirmative adverbs. Section 3.3.3 discusses cases of “quasi”-negation, that is, cases in which negation is implicitly expressed by modifiers like *weinig* ‘little/not very’ in APs like *weinig behulpzaam* ‘not very helpful’. Section 3.3.4 concludes with the discussion of a number of modifiers that only occur in negative contexts.

When negation is present in a predicative construction, it is often not a priori clear what it modifies. Consider the near synonymous sentences in the primeless and primed examples of (281). Given that the copula does not express a meaning that can be negated (its presence is instead motivated by the need to express the tense and agreement features of the clause), semantic considerations do not help to conclude whether *niet* modifies the whole clause or just the AP.

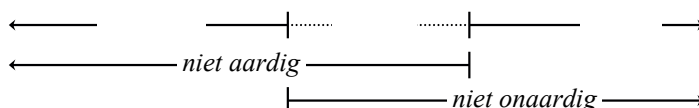
- The °constituency test shows, however, that it is the clause and not the adjective that is modified: the (a)- and (b)-examples of (282) show that whereas topicalization of the adjective alone is fully acceptable, pied piping of the negative adverb leads to ungrammaticality. The (c)-examples show that, in this respect negation behaves just

like the clause adverb *zeker* ‘certainly’ in examples like *Dit boek is zeker leuk* ‘This book is certainly funny’. We may therefore conclude that the negative adverb and the adjective do not form a constituent; negation acts as a clause adverb.

- (282) a. Aardig is Jan niet.
b. Aardig vind ik Jan niet.
c. Leuk is dit boek zeker.
- a'. *Niet aardig is Jan.
b'. *Niet aardig vind ik Jan.
c'. *Zeker leuk is dit boek.

The conclusion that the negative adverb *niet* acts as clausal negation also accounts for the fact that the two (a)-examples in (281) are not fully equivalent. This is clear from the fact that (283a) is not contradictory. The felicitousness of this example is due to the fact that *Jan is niet aardig* is applicable to a larger part of the implied scale of ‘kindness’ than *Jan is onaardig*; it also included the neutral zone. Example (283a) therefore entails that Jan’s kindness is situated in the neutral zone, as can be seen from the schematized representation in (283b).

- (283) a. Jan is niet aardig, maar ook niet onaardig.
Jan is not kind, but also not unkind
'Jan is not kind, but he is not unkind either.'
b. • Scale of "kindness"



The semantic difference between the two (a)-examples in (281) can also be expressed by means of the logical formulae in (284): in the former the negation expressed by *niet* has sentential scope, whereas the scope negation expressed by the prefix *-on* is restricted to the adjective.

- (284) a. $\neg \exists d$ [AARDIG (Jan,d)]
 b. $\exists d$ [ONAARDIG (Jan,d)]

Note, however, that the inclusion of the neutral zone is lost when the negative element *niet* is modified by an absolute modifier like *absoluut* ‘absolutely’ or *helemaal* ‘totally’. Example (285a) expresses that Jan is quite unkind, and example (285b) that Jan is quite kind.

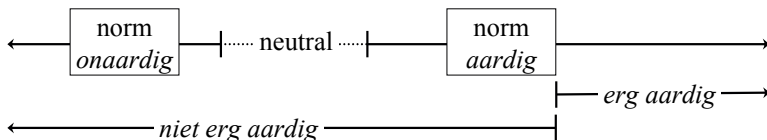
- (285) a. Jan is helemaal niet aardig.
 Jan is totally not kind
 'Jan is quite unkind.'
 b. Jan is absoluut niet onaardig.
 Jan is absolutely not unkind
 'Jan is quite kind.'

Example (286a) shows that negation can also be used when an amplifier like *erg* ‘very’ is present. In (286b), we indicate the range of scale implied by *niet erg aardig*. In (286c), the semantic representation of *niet erg aardig* is given. When the amplifier expresses an extremely high degree, such as *afgrijpselijk* ‘terribly’, the result is less felicitous: in other words, the amplifiers in (21) give rise to a marked result.

(286) a. Jan is niet *erg*⁷ *afgrijselijk aardig*.

Jan is not very/terribly kind

b. Scale of kindness:



c. $\neg \exists d [\text{AARDIG}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ (d > d_n)]$

Despite the fact that *Jan is niet erg aardig* has the meaning in (286c), the intended range of the scale can be further restricted by means of accent. When the amplifier has accent, as in (287a), the most salient interpretation is that Jan is kind, but only to a lesser extent; in other words, the degree to which Jan is kind is situated somewhere between the neutral zone and the point where the range denoted by *erg aardig* begins. When the adjective has accent, as in (287b), the most salient interpretation is that Jan is unkind, which means that we are dealing with some form of litotes; cf. Subsection 3.3.2, sub II.

(287) a. Jan is niet *ERG* aardig.

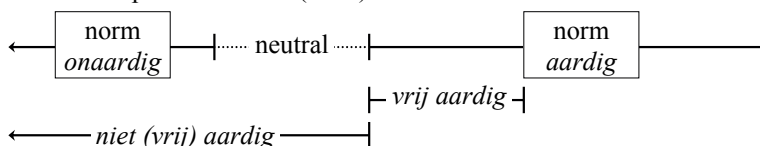
b. Jan is niet *erg AARDig*.

The contrast between (287a) and (287b) can be partly accounted for by assuming that they differ in the scope of negation. We may be dealing with constituent negation in (287a), with the scope of negation restricted to the intensifier *erg* ‘very’. If so, it is only the clause $d > d_n$ that is negated, and the sentence is assigned the interpretation $\exists d [\text{AARDIG}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ \neg(d > d_n)]$, which is equivalent to $\exists d [\text{AARDIG}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ (d \leq d_n)]$; this correctly picks out the range between the neutral zone and the range denoted by *erg aardig*. Of course, when we are dealing with clausal negation in (287b), this sentence will be assigned the interpretation in (286c). The fact that the most salient interpretation of (287b) is that Jan is unkind does not follow from this but can perhaps be accounted for by appealing to Grice’s (1975) maxim of manner: when the speaker wants to express that Jan is kind, but not very kind, he can do so straightforwardly by using (287a), and as a result (287b) can be seen as a pragmatically dispreferred means to refer to this range of the scale.

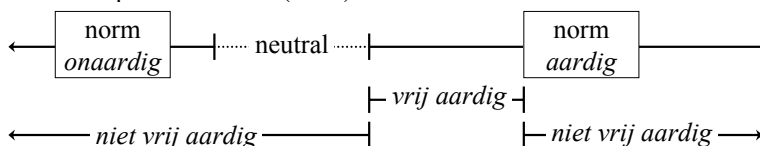
The presence of a downtoner in the scope of clausal negation normally yields an unacceptable result. One possible account of this would be to assume that the intended range on the implied scale referred can be more economically indicated by means of *niet aardig* ‘not kind’, as is shown in (288b). However, it seems unlikely that (288b) is the correct schematization of the meaning of (288a); the meaning we would expect to arise is given in (288d), which corresponds to the schema in (288c). If (288c) is indeed the correct representation, sentence (288a) can be excluded by appealing to Grice’s (1975) maxim of quantity, given that it yields an uninformative message in the sense that *niet vrij aardig* refers to two opposite sides of the scale.

- (288) a. %Jan is niet vrij aardig.
Jan is not rather kind

b. Incorrect representation of (288a):



c. Correct representation of (288a):



d. $\neg \exists d [\text{AARDIG}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ (d < d_n)]$

This solution for the infelicity of (288a) is consistent with the fact that (288a) becomes more or less acceptable when it is used to deny some presupposition or a statement that is made earlier in the discourse, as in (289).

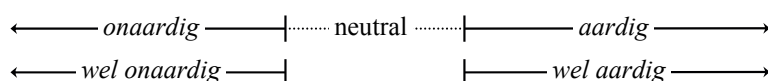
- (289) Jan is vrij aardig. Nee, hij is niet vrij aardig, maar een klootzak.
Jan is rather kind no, he is not rather kind, but a bastard

Example (288a) also becomes acceptable when used to express constituent negation, but in that case accent must be assigned to the intensifier *vrij*. The first conjunct of example (290a) will then be assigned the semantic representation in (290b), which is equivalent to the representation in (290b'), which correctly predicts that the contention in (290a) is non-contradictory and coherent.

- (290) a. Nee, hij is niet VRIJ aardig, maar ontZETTend aardig.
no he is not rather kind, but terribly kind
b. $\exists d [\text{AARDIG}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ \neg (d < d_n)]$
b'. $\exists d [\text{AARDIG}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ (d \geq d_n)]$

The use of constituent negation in (290) resembles the use of the (stressed) marker *wel*, which can be seen as the positive counterpart of *niet*. As is shown in (291b), the presence of *wel* does not affect the part of the scale that the adjectives *onaardig* 'unkind' and *aardig* 'kind' refer to. Its main function is to contradict some presupposition or statement made earlier in the discourse; (291a), for instance, is only acceptable if the presupposition is that Jan is not kind.

- (291) a. Jan is WEL aardig.
Jan is AFF kind
b. • Scale of "kindness"



When we are dealing with an absolute adjective, negation just indicates that the property denoted by the adjective does not hold. Like approximative and absolute modifiers, negation can itself be modified. However, whereas the examples in (273) and (278) have shown that the first two can be modified by both *al* ‘already’ and *nog* ‘still’, the examples in (292) show that negation can only be modified by *nog*. Again, example (292a) can only be felicitously used when we are emptying bottles, and (292b) when we are filling them.

- (292) a. De fles is nog/*al niet leeg.
the bottle is still/already not empty
b. De fles is nog/*al niet vol.
the bottle is still/already not full

When the adjective is modified by an absolute modifier like *helemaal* ‘completely’, the combination of negation and the modifier is more or less equivalent to an approximative: example (293a) is more or less synonymous with *De tafel is vrijwel rond* ‘The table is almost round’. Approximative modifiers give rise to a weird result in the presence of negation, as is shown in (293b).

- (293) a. De tafel is niet helemaal rond.
the table is not totally round
b. %De tafel is niet vrijwel rond.
the table is not almost round

Example (293b) is marked with a percentage mark because it is acceptable when used to deny some presupposition or a statement that is made earlier in the discourse; cf. (294). This use of negation resembles the use of the marker *wel* in (291) discussed above.

- (294) a. De tafel is vrijwel rond.
the table is almost round
b. De tafel is niet vrijwel rond, maar vierkant.
the table is not almost round, but square
b'. De tafel is niet VRIJwel rond, maar heleMAAL rond.
the table is not almost round, but totally round

3.3.2. Other uses of the elements *wel/niet*

Section 3.3.1 has shown that the scope of both the negative adverb *niet* and the affirmative marker *wel* is sometimes confined to the intensifier of an adjective, in which case they contradict some presupposition or statement made earlier in the discourse. This section will discuss other uses of *niet* and *wel* with restricted scope.

1. The use of *wel* as a downtoner

The affirmative marker *wel* in “denial” contexts must not be confused with the use of *wel* as a downtoner: the two can easily be distinguished, as the former must (whereas the latter cannot) receive accent and requires that accent be placed on the following adjective; below, we will orthographically represent unaccented *wel* as *wĕl*. The downtoner *wĕl* is special in that it can only be combined with adjectives

that denote properties that are positively valued; cf. van Riemsdijk (2005). This becomes clear from comparing the primeless examples with *wël* in (295) with the primed examples with the downtoner *vrij* ‘rather’.

- (295) a. Hij is *wël* aardig/*[?]onaardig. a'. Hij is vrij aardig/onaardig.
 he is WEL kind/unkind he is rather kind/unkind
 ‘He is rather nice.’
 b. Dit boek is *wël* boeiend/*[?]saai. b'. Dit boek is vrij boeiend/saai.
 this book is WEL fascinating/boring this book is rather fascinating/boring
 ‘This book is rather fascinating.’
 c. Jan is *wël* lief/*[?]stout. c'. Jan is vrij lief/stout.
 Jan is WEL sweet/naughty Jan is rather sweet/naughty
 ‘Jan is rather sweet.’

Observe that negatively valued adjectives are not the same as negative adjectives. Despite the fact that *ongedwongen* ‘relaxed’ in (296) is prefixed by the negative affix *on-*, it is a positively valued adjective and, consequently, modification by *wël* yields an acceptable result.

- (296) Het sollicitatiegesprek was *wël* ongedwongen.
 the interview was WEL relaxed
 ‘The interview took place in a rather relaxed atmosphere.’

Observe further that *wël* can be combined with a negatively valued adjective when it is followed by an intensifier, which must be assigned heavy accent. The examples in (297) show that the intensifier must be an amplifier and cannot be a downtoner, which would be consistent with the earlier observations, provided that we assume that *wel* modifies the intensifier and that amplifiers and downtoners differ in that the former are positively valued and the latter negatively.

- (297) a. Hij is *wël* ZEER/*VRIJ onaardig.
 he is WEL very/rather unkind
 b. Dit boek is *wël* ERG/*VRIJ saai.
 this book is WEL very/rather boring
 c. Jan is *wël* ontZETTend/*NOgal stout.
 Jan is WEL terribly/rather naughty

Since the sequence *wël* + adjective can be placed in clause-initial position, we must conclude that it is a constituent, in contrast to the sequence of stressed affirmative marker *wel* + adjective; cf. the °constituency test.

- (298) a. *Wël* aardig vond ik die jongen.
 WEL kind consider I that boy
 a'. *Aardig vond ik die jongen *wël*.
 b. *Wel aardig vond ik die jongen.
 AFF kind consider I that boy
 b'. Aardig vond ik die jongen *wel*.

Another difference between the downtoner *wël* and the affirmative marker *wel* is that only the first can be modified by the element *best*. This is illustrated in (299).

- (299) a. Hij is best wêl/*wel aardig.
 b. Dit boek is best wêl/*wel boeiend.
 c. Jan is best wêl/*wel lief.

II. Litotes

Examples like (300a&b) are often referred to as LITOTES, the trope by which one expresses a property by means of negation of its antonym, and require that the adjective denote a property that is negatively valued. The examples in (300) are more or less semantically equivalent to those with *wêl* in (295). It must be noted, however, that there is no one-to-one correspondence; *niet stout* in (300c), for instance, sounds distinctively odd under the intended reading, whereas *wêl lief* is perfectly acceptable. Of course, all examples in (300) are acceptable when *niet* is used to express clausal negation, hence the use of the number signs.

- (300) a. Hij is niet onaardig/[#]aardig.
 he is not unfriendly/friendly
 ‘He is rather friendly.’
 b. Dat boek is niet saai/[#]boeiend.
 that book is not boring/fascinating
 ‘That book is rather fascinating.’
 c. [#]Jan is niet stout/lief.
 Jan is not naughty/sweet

Note in passing that in the literary and formal registers, *litotes* is often used to obtain a strong amplifying effect, that is, *niet onaardig* is used to express something like “extremely friendly”. In colloquial speech, on the other hand, it is instead used to express something like “rather friendly”, and an amplifying effect is only obtained when *niet* is modified by an absolute modifier like *absoluut* ‘absolutely’: *absoluut niet onaardig* ‘very friendly’.

Since litotes requires that the adjective denote a negatively valued property, example (301a) can have only one reading, namely the one that involves clausal negation. Example (301b), on the other hand, is ambiguous: on the first reading, *niet* expresses clausal negation, just as in (301a), but on the second reading it modifies the adjective.

- (301) a. Dat boek is niet goed.
 that book is not good
 ‘It is not the case that this book is good.’
 b. Dat boek is niet slecht.
 that book is not bad
 ‘It is not the case that this book is bad.’ or ‘This book is rather good.’

The litotes reading is sometimes even strongly preferred. In order to see this we must briefly discuss the adjective *aardig* ‘kind’ on its more special meaning “nice”, which is in fact the only one possible when applied to non-human entities. The examples in (302) show that this special reading is possible when the adjective is preceded by *wêl*, but excluded when preceded by *niet* or when clausal negation is expressed by means of some other element in the clause, like *niets* ‘nothing’.

- (302) a. Dat boek is wēl/*niet aardig. [cf. *Jan is wel/niet aardig* ‘Jan is (not) kind.’]
 that book is WEL /not nice
 ‘That book is rather nice.’
 b. *Niets is aardig. [cf. *Niemand is aardig* ‘Nobody is kind’]
 nothing is nice

The adjective *onaardig* can likewise have the special meaning “not nice”, provided that it is in a litotes context: as a result *niet* cannot be construed as clausal negation in (303a). This is also clear from the fact that negation cannot be realized on some other element in the clause; this implies that we are dealing with clausal negation so that *onaardig* can only be interpreted with the regular meaning “unkind” and, consequently, (303b) is only acceptable with a human subject.

- (303) a. Dat boek is niet/*wēl onaardig.
 that book is not/WEL not.nice
 ‘That book is rather nice.’
 b. Niemand/*Niets is onaardig.
 nobody/nothing is unkind

The fact that the downtoner *wēl* and *niet* in litotes contexts can also be used in attributive constructions like (304) also shows that these elements have restricted scope; the examples in (305) show that the affirmative/negative adverbs *wel/niet* normally cannot be used internally to the noun phrase.

- (304) a. een wēl aardig/*onaardig boek
 a WEL nice/not.nice book
 a’. een niet onaardig/*aardig boek
 a not not.nice/nice book
 b. een wēl interessant/*oninteressant boek
 a WEL interesting/uninteresting book
 b’. een niet oninteressant/*[?]interessant boek
 a not uninteresting/interesting book
- (305) a. De radio is niet/wel kapot.
 the radio is not/WEL broken
 b. [?]een niet/wel kapotte radio
 a not/WEL broken radio

To conclude, note that there are some isolated cases of “anti-litotes”: the positively valued adjective *verkwikkelijk* ‘exhilarating’ in (306) is used in a metaphoric sense and requires the presence of (quasi-)negation or the negative affix *-on*.

- (306) a. Die zaak is *(niet/weinig) verkwikkelijk.
 that affair is not/little exhilarating
 ‘that is a nasty business.’
 b. een *(on-)verkwikkelijke zaak
 a nasty business

3.3.3. *Quasi-negation*

Negation can also be expressed by means of quasi-negative phrases, that is, phrases where the negation is in a sense hidden in the meaning of the phrase: *weinig* ‘little’ in (307a), for instance, can be paraphrased by means of an overt negative as *niet veel* ‘not very’. More quasi-negative modifiers are given in (307b&c); in all these cases, the use of the modifier suggests that the property denoted by the adjective does not apply.

- (307) a. *weinig behulpzaam*
 little helpful
 ‘not very helpful’
 b. *allesbehalve/allerminst/verre van behulpzaam*
 anything.but/not.the.least.bit/far from helpful
 c. *niets behulpzaam*
 nothing helpful

The modifier *weinig* ‘little’ is also compatible with a downtoning interpretation. Examples (308a) shows that under this interpretation, *weinig* can also be negated and that the resulting meaning is more or less equivalent to that of the amplifier *zeer* ‘very’. The modifiers in (307b&c) do not allow a downtoning interpretation and the examples in (308b&c) show that negation of these modifiers is excluded.

- (308) a. *niet weinig behulpzaam*
 ‘quite helpful’
 b. **niet allesbehalve/allerminst/verre van behulpzaam*
 c. **niet niets behulpzaam*

The modifier *weinig* can only be used with scalar adjectives that have an absolute antonym; example (309a) is unacceptable given that the antonym of *aardig* is also gradable; cf. *erg onaardig* ‘very unkind’. The modifiers in (307b), on the other hand, can be used in these contexts.

- (309) a. ??*weinig aardig*
 little kind
 b. *allesbehalve/allerminst/verre van aardig*
 anything but/very least/far from kind

The examples in (310) show that the modifier *weinig* also differs from the modifiers in (307b) in that it cannot be combined with an absolute adjective either.

- (310) a. **weinig leeg*
 little empty
 b. *allesbehalve/allerminst/verre van leeg*
 anything but/very least/far from empty

The examples in (311), finally, show that the nominal modifier *niets* behaves like the modifiers in (307b) in that it can be combined with scalar adjectives that have a scalar antonym, but like *weinig* ‘little’ in that it cannot be combined with absolute adjectives.

- (311) a. niets aardig
 nothing kind
 b. *?niets leeg
 nothing empty

3.3.4. Negative Polarity

A special case is constituted by the negative polarity elements *al te* and *bijster*. In colloquial speech, these elements normally must occur in the scope of negation; cf. Klein (1997). Some examples are given in (312).

- (312) a. Dit boek is *(niet) bijster spannend.
 this book is not BIJSTER exciting
 ‘This book is not very exciting.’
 b. Die auto is *(niet) al te groot.
 that car is not AL too big
 ‘That car is moderate in size.’

The combination *al te* also occurs without negation in more or less fixed expressions like *Dit gaat me al te ver* ‘This goes too far for me’, *Hij maakt het al te gortig* ‘He is going too far’, and *Dit is me al te veel* ‘This is too much for me’, and the proverb *Al te goed is buurmans gek*, which can be considered relics of the older use of *al te* as a regular amplifier; in more formal registers *al te* can still be used without negation. In older stages of Dutch, *bijster* could also be used as an amplifier in positive contexts, but, to our knowledge, such uses have virtually died out in colloquial speech.

The negative adverb *niet* and the adjective do not form a constituent, which is clear from the fact, illustrated in (313), that topicalization of the AP cannot pied pipe negation.

- (313) a. Bijster spannend is dit boek niet.
 a'. *Niet bijster spannend is dit boek.
 b. Al te groot is die auto niet.
 b'. *Niet al te groot is die auto.

The claim that *niet* and the adjective do not form a constituent is also supported by the fact that negation can be external to the clause that contains *bijster/al te*, as in the (a)-examples of (314), or expressed on some other constituent in the clause, like *nooit* ‘never’ in the (b)-examples.

- (314) a. Ik denk niet dat dit boek bijster spannend is.
 I think not that this book BIJSTER exciting is
 a'. Ik geloof niet dat zijn auto al te groot is.
 I believe not that his car AL too big is
 b. Dat soort boeken zijn nooit bijster spannend.
 that sort of books are never BIJSTER exciting
 b'. Dat soort auto's zijn nooit al te groot.
 that sort of cars are never AL too big

intensifier, pronominalization is also possible. As will become clear below, however, many aspects of this construction are in need of further investigation in order to arrive at a clearer and more coherent description of the relevant facts.

- (317) Jan is [_{AP} bang voor honden] ..
 Jan is afraid of dogs ..
 a. .. en ik ben het ook.
 .. and I am it too
 b. .. en ik ben het voor spinnen.
 .. and I am it of spiders

Consider the examples in (318). In (318a) the pronoun *het* performs the same function as the complete constituent *vrij bang voor honden* ‘rather afraid of dogs’, and in (318b) it replaces the smaller phrase *vrij bang*. In both cases the result is fully acceptable.

- (318) Jan is vrij bang voor honden ..
 Jan is rather afraid of dogs ..
 a. .. en ik ben het ook.
 .. and I am it too
 b. .. en ik ben het voor spinnen.
 .. and I am it of spiders

The pronominalizations in (318) do not seem to exhaust the possibilities. Two alternative options are given in (319a&b), which are perhaps somewhat marked but do not seem to be unacceptable. The pronoun *het* in (319a) seems to replace the phrase *bang voor honden* given that the intensifier *zeer* ‘very’ is interpreted as a modifier of this phrase, and in (319b) it only replaces the adjective *bang* given that both the PP-complement and the intensifier are overtly realized. For reasons that will become clear shortly, it is important to note that the addition of the element *erg* ‘much’ leads to an ungrammatical result; cf. the primed examples of (319).

- (319) Jan is vrij bang voor honden ..
 Jan is rather afraid of dogs ..
 a. ? .. en ik ben het zelfs zeer.
 .. and I am it even very
 a'. *? .. en ik ben het zelfs zeer erg.
 b. ? .. en ik ben het zeer voor spinnen.
 .. and I am it very of spiders
 b'. * .. en ik ben het zeer ?(*erg) voor spinnen.

Not all modifiers can occur in the pronominalization construction. The intensifier *heel* ‘very’ in (320a), for instance, gives rise to an ungrammatical result. Observe, however, that the construction becomes fully grammatical when we add the adjective *erg* to the structure, as in (320b).

- (320) a. *Jan is vrij bang voor honden en ik ben het zelfs heel.
 Jan is rather afraid of dogs and I am it even very
 b. Jan is vrij bang voor honden en ik ben het zelfs heel erg.
 Jan is rather afraid of dogs and I am it even very much
 ‘Jan is rather afraid of dogs, and I am even very much so.’

At first sight, example (320b) seems to be a special case of (319a). After all, the intensifier *erg* normally can be modified by the intensifier *heel*, as in *heel erg bang*, so (320b) may simply contain the complex intensifier phrase *heel erg*. There are, however, reasons to assume that this is not the correct analysis, and that *erg* does not function as an intensifier in this example but as a “dummy” element (comparable to English *much*) that licenses the presence of the intensifier *heel*. This will become clear when we consider the examples in (321) with the modifiers *te* ‘too’ and *zo* ‘so’, which were discussed in Section 3.1.3. The examples in (321a&b) show that replacement of the AP *bang voor honden* by the pronoun *het* is normally impossible (although (321a) without *erg* improves considerably when the modifier *te* is assigned heavy accent); however, like in (320), the structure can be saved by inserting the element *erg* ‘much’ after the modifier *te/zo*.

- (321) Jan is vrij bang voor honden.
 Jan is rather afraid of dogs
 a. Hij is het eigenlijk te *(erg).
 he is it actually too much
 ‘Actually, he is too much so.’
 b. Hij is het zelfs zo *(erg) dat hij niet meer naar buiten durft.
 he is it even so much that he no longer to outside dares
 ‘Actually, he is even so much so that he does not dare to go outside.’

In this case *erg* cannot be considered an intensifier for the simple reason that it cannot occur in APs modified by *te* and *zo* like (322). Consequently, *erg* must perform some other function.

- (322) a. Hij is eigenlijk te (*erg) bang voor honden.
 he is actually too much afraid of dogs
 b. Hij is zelfs zo (??erg) bang voor honden dat ...
 he is even so much afraid of dogs that

The same conclusion can be drawn from pronominalization constructions that involve the interrogative modifier *hoe* ‘how’; in the second conjunct in (323) *erg* must be added despite the fact that the string **hoe erg bang* is impossible.

- (323) Ik weet dat Jan bang voor honden is,
 I know that Jan afraid of dogs is
 maar hoe *(erg) is hij het eigenlijk?
 but how much is he it actually

Example (323) suggests again that *erg* does not act as an intensifier, but performs some other function in the context of AP-pronominalization. Finally, note that not all modifiers require the addition of *erg* in the pronominalization construction. The

examples in (324) show that the addition of *erg* is even prohibited in the case of the (complex) modifiers *genoeg* ‘enough’ and *voldoende* ‘sufficiently’.

- (324) Jan is niet *erg* intelligent ..
 Jan is not very intelligent ..
 a. .. maar hij is het (**erg*) *genoeg* voor deze taak.
 .. but he is it much enough for this task
 b. .. maar hij is het *voldoende* (**erg*) voor deze taak.
 .. but he is it sufficiently much for this task

The discussion above has shown that in some cases, the addition of *erg* is sometimes required to license pronominalization of the adjective, whereas in other cases the addition of *erg* leads to ungrammaticality. Here, we want to provide a speculative account of this fact, which is based on the analysis of comparable English cases featuring English *much* in Corver (1997a/1997b). Such an analysis assumes that the distribution of *erg* is determined by the relative position of the modifier in the structure. One of the standard assumptions of generative grammar is that modifiers occupy a position external to the immediate projection of the head of the phrase, which contains the complements of the phrase. This means that the base structure of a modified AP is as given in (325), where PP stands for PP-complement; cf. Section 4.3.

- (325) [... MODIFIER [_{AP} (PP) A (PP)]]

The modifiers of the adjective are, however, also ordered with respect to each other, which suggests that more structure is needed to provide a full account of the organization of the AP. For instance, there is reason to assume that an example like (326a), which involves modification by the complex modifier *zo ... mogelijk* ‘as ... as possible’ may have a structure like (326a’), in which the adjective is moved from its base position into a position preceding the element *mogelijk*; cf. the discussion of example (147) in Section 4.3.1. If so, we must assume that the modifier *zo* is even more to the left. Furthermore, we may assume by analogy that example (326b) has the structure in (326b’).

- (326) a. *zo mooi mogelijk*
 as beautiful as.possible
 a’. [_{XP} *zo* [_{YP} *mooi mogelijk* [_{AP} *t*]]]
 b. *zo vreselijk aardig dat ...*
 so terribly kind that
 b’. [_{XP} *zo* [_{YP} *vreselijk* [_{AP} *aardig*]] *dat ...*]

Now assume that the head of the projection labeled YP must be somehow filled when the AP is pronominalized. When the modifier is itself part of YP, this requirement is fulfilled trivially, and this may account for the fact that the addition of *erg* is impossible in examples like (327).

- (327) Jan is vrij bang voor honden ..
 Jan is rather afraid of dogs ..
- a. ^{??}.. en ik ben het vreselijk/geweldig (erg).
 .. and I am it terribly/tremendously much
 - b. .. en ik ben het *wat/^{??}tamelijk (erg).
 .. and I am it somewhat much
 - c. .. maar/en ik ben het amper [?](*erg).
 .. but/and I am it hardly much

However, when the modifier is the part of the projection labeled XP, the element *erg* must be inserted as a “dummy” to fill the head position of YP. It will be clear that the analysis suggested here, as well as the classification of modifiers that is implied by it, requires more research in the future.

3.5. Special cases

This section discusses several sorts of special and/or more or less idiomatic cases of modification of the adjective. We start in 3.5.1 by discussing two types of postadjectival *van*-PPs. This is followed in 3.5.2 by a discussion of so-called transparent free relative clauses of the type found in *Hij is wat je corpulent noemt* ‘He is what one calls corpulent’. Sections 3.5.3 and 3.5.4 conclude by paying some attention to, respectively, the use of VP adverbs as modifiers of adjectival phrases and the modification of the adjective *vol* by a noun.

3.5.1. Postadjectival *van*-PP

In some cases, adjectives seem to be modified by a postadjectival *van*-PP. There are at least two types, illustrated in (328). The *van*-PP in (328a) expresses a restriction on the adjective “big as far as stature is concerned”, and the *van*-PP in (328b) refers to the cause of the occurrence of the property denoted by the adjective “red with excitement”. We will discuss the two cases in separate subsections.

- (328) a. groot van gestalte
 big in stature
 b. rood van opwinding
 red of excitement

I. The construction groot van gestalte ‘big in stature’

Sequences of the form A + *van* + noun are mostly more or less fixed collocations. The noun in the *van*-PP is never preceded by a determiner and cannot be modified by an adjective. When the adjective is gradable, it can be modified by an intensifier but not by an approximative/absolute adverb like *vrijwel* ‘almost’ or *helemaal* ‘completely’, so that we may conclude that the sequences in (329) are scalar.

- (329) a. (erg/*helemaal) groot/klein van gestalte
 very/completely big/small of stature
 ‘very big/small in stature’
 b. (zeer/*helemaal) knap van uiterlijk
 very/completely pretty of appearance
 ‘very pretty as far as the face is concerned’

- c. (vrij/*helemaal) lang/kort van stof
rather/completely long/brief of subject.matter
'rather long-winded/brief'
- d. (nogal/*helemaal) traag/snel van begrip
rather/completely slow/quick of understanding
'rather stupid/quick-witted'
- e. (vrij/*helemaal) kort van memorie
rather/completely short of memory
'(have) a rather short memory'
- f. (erg/*helemaal) trots van aard
very/completely pride of nature
'(have) a rather proud nature'

The examples in (330) show that the A + *van* + N sequence can be used in the copular construction and the *vinden*-construction. However, the sequence cannot readily be used in resultative constructions like (330c), which suggests that the complex APs function as °individual level predicates; cf. Section 6.2.2, ex. (25). The fact, illustrated in (330d), that the sequence cannot be used as a °supplementive either is consistent with this conclusion; cf. Section 6.3.4. In this respect the examples in (329) differ from sequences such as *rood van opwindend* 'red with excitement' to be discussed in the following subsection, which typically function as stage-level predicates.

- (330) a. Jan is groot van gestalte. [copular construction]
Jan is big in stature
- b. Ik vind Jan traag van begrip. [vinden-construction]
I consider Jan slow of understanding
- c. *De visagist maakt Jan knap van uiterlijk. [resultative construction]
the cosmetician makes Jan good-looking
- d. *Knap van uiterlijk kwam Jan de kamer binnen. [supplementive use]
well-looking came Jan the room into
'Jan entered the room well-looking.'

An exception to the two generalizations above is the sequence *gelijk van lengte* in (329g): it can be modified by *vrijwel* 'almost' or *helemaal* 'completely' but not by the intensifier *zeer* and it can function as a stage-level predicate as is clear from the fact that it can be used in resultative constructions. The exceptional behavior of this sequence may be related to the fact that it is the only case that alternates with the sequence with the preposition *in*: *gelijk in lengte* 'equal in length'. For this reason, we will put this exceptional case aside in the remainder of the discussion.

- (331) a. De touwtjes zijn (vrijwel/helemaal/*zeer) gelijk van lengte.
the strings are almost/completely/very equal of length
- b. Jan maakte de touwtjes gelijk van lengte.
Jan made the strings equal of length

The sequences in (329) form a constituent, which is clear from the fact that the full sequence can be placed in clause-initial position; cf. the °constituency test. This is shown in (332).

- (332) a. Groot van gestalte is Jan niet.
 big of stature is Jan not
 b. Traag van begrip vind ik Jan niet.
 slow of understanding consider I Jan not

The sequence cannot readily be split. The examples in (333) show that *wh*-movement or topicalization of the adjective leads to a marked result when the *van*-PP is stranded; the topicalization examples improve somewhat when the adjective is assigned heavy accent.

- (333) a. [?]Hoe groot is Jan van gestalte?
 how big is Jan in stature
 a'. [?]Hoe traag is Jan van begrip?
 how slow is Jan of understanding
 b. ^{??}Groot is Jan niet van gestalte.
 big is Jan not in stature
 b'. ^{??}Traag vind ik Jan niet van begrip.
 slow consider I Jan not of understanding

The examples in (334) show that movement of the *van*-PP cannot strand the adjective either; the (a)-examples involve PP-over-V, and the (b)- and (c)-examples involve, respectively, scrambling and topicalization.

- (334) a. dat Jan groot <van gestalte> is <*van gestalte>.
 that Jan big in stature is
 a'. dat ik Jan traag <van begrip> vind <*[?]van begrip>.
 that I Jan slow of understanding consider
 b. *Jan is van gestalte groot.
 b'. *Ik vind Jan van begrip traag.
 c. *Van gestalte is Jan niet groot.
 c'. *Van begrip vind ik Jan niet traag.

Attributive use of the sequence A + *van* + N is impossible. Given the fact illustrated above that the *van*-PP must be right-adjacent to the adjective, this is correctly excluded by the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives, which requires that the adjective be immediately adjacent to the modified noun; cf. Section 5.3.1.2.

- (335) a. *een <van gestalte> grote <van gestalte> jongen <van gestalte>
 an in stature big boy
 b. *een <van begrip> trage <van begrip> jongen <van begrip>
 an of understanding slow boy

Generally, the sequence A + *van* + N denotes a property of a human being. Consequently, it cannot occur in the partitive genitive construction *iets leuks* 'something nice' as this construction can only denote [-HUMAN] entities: **iemand leuks* 'lit: someone nice'; cf. Section 7.2.3. Whether this fully accounts for the impossibility of the sequence in the partitive genitive construction is not clear, however, as the A + *van* + N sequence in (336b), which is exceptionally predicated of an [-HUMAN] noun phrase, cannot enter the partitive genitive construction either.

- (336) a. Jan/*de tafel is groot van stuk. a'. *iets groots van stuk
 Jan/the table is big of piece
 'Jan is big in bulk.'
 b. Het boek is knap van opzet. b'. *iets knaps van opzet
 the book is ingenious of design
 'The book is ingeniously designed.'

II. The construction *rood van opwinding* 'red with excitement'

In constructions like (337), the *van*-PP does not express a restriction on the adjective but instead indicates the cause of the property denoted by the adjective; this cause is generally a mental state of the argument the adjective is predicated of, or something external that may affect the physical state of the argument the adjective is predicated of. The examples in (337) resemble those discussed in Subsection I in that they denote properties of human beings and often have an idiomatic flavor. They differ, however, in that the noun must be preceded by a definite determiner when it denotes an external cause, as in (337c); when the noun denotes a mental state, the determiner is normally absent in this type as well. It must be noted, however, that in all these types, cases in which the article is present can be found on the internet.

- (337) a. rood van (??de) opwinding c. blauw van *(de) kou
 red of the excitement blue of the cold
 'red with excitement' 'blue with cold'
 b. groen van (*de) nijd d. gek van (??de) angst
 green of the envy mad of the fear

Modification of the adjective by means of an intensifier generally gives rise to a degraded result, whereas modification by means of the absolute modifier *helemaal* 'completely' is readily possible. This suggests that the sequence under discussion is not gradable and perhaps is even absolute. Perhaps this is related to the fact that the sequences are metaphorical in nature; someone who is *gek van angst* 'crazy with fear' need not be crazy. This may also account for the fact that the use of an intensifier yields a much better result in (338a) than in the other cases; one may literally turn red as the result of excitement, but one cannot become literally green as the result of envy.

- (338) a. (helemaal/?erg) rood van opwinding
 completely/very red of excitement
 'completely red with excitement'
 b. (helemaal/*erg) groen van nijd
 completely/very green of envy
 'green with envy'
 c. (helemaal/*erg) blauw van de kou
 completely/very blue of the cold
 'completely blue with cold'
 d. (helemaal/*erg) gek van angst
 completely/very mad of fear
 'completely crazy with fear'

For completeness' sake, the examples in (339) show that comparative formation gives rise to similar judgments as modification by an intensifier like *erg* 'very', shown above.

- (339) a. Jan wordt steeds roder van opwinding.
 Jan gets continuously redder of excitement
 'Jan is continuously getting redder with excitement.'
 b'. *Jan wordt steeds groener van nijd.
 c'. *Jan wordt steeds blauwer van de kou.
 d'. *Jan wordt steeds gekker van angst.

The sequence A + *van* + N(P) under discussion can be used in copular, resultative and supplementive constructions. The fact that the sequence can be used in the latter two environments is consistent with the fact that the adjective denotes a transitory property; in contrast to the constructions discussed in Subsection I, they are stage-level predicates. For some unclear reason, the sequence cannot be used in the *vinden*-construction.

- (340) a. Jan is rood van opwinding. [copular construction]
 Jan is red with excitement
 b. *Ik vind Jan blauw van de kou. [vinden-construction]
 I consider Jan blue of the cold
 c. Die film maakte Jan gek van angst. [resultative construction]
 that movie made Jan mad with fear
 d. Gek van angst rende Jan de bioscoop uit. [supplementive use]
 mad with fear ran Jan the cinema out
 'Mad with fear Jan ran out of the cinema.'

That the sequences in (337) form a constituent is clear from the examples in (341), which show that the full sequence can be placed in clause-initial position; the °constituency test.

- (341) a. Rood van opwinding is Jan.
 red with excitement is Jan
 b. Gek van angst maakte die film Jan.
 mad with fear made that movie Jan

As in the constructions discussed in subsection I, *wh*-movement and topicalization of the adjective here yields a degraded result when the *van*-PP is stranded. Note that the unacceptability of (342b) may also be due to the fact that the AP *gek van angst* is not gradable.

- (342) a. ??Hoe rood is Jan van opwinding?
 how red is Jan with excitement
 a'. ??Rood is Jan van opwinding.
 b. *Hoe Gek is Jan van angst?
 b'. ??Gek is Jan van angst.

The (a)-examples in (343) show, however, that PP-over-V does seem to lead to an acceptable result, although speakers of Dutch have varying preferences with respect

to placement of the PP; according to some, preverbal placement of the *van*-PP is preferred, whereas others strongly prefer postverbal placement (even to the point that they claim that preverbal placement is unacceptable). The (b)- and (c)-examples show that leftward movement of the PP gives rise to an ungrammatical result.

- (343) a. dat Jan rood <van opwinding> is <van opwinding>.
 that Jan red with excitement is
 a'. dat die film Jan gek <van angst> maakt <van angst>
 that that movie Jan mad with fear made
 b. *Jan is van opwinding rood.
 b'. *Die film maakte Jan van angst gek.
 c. *Van opwinding is Jan rood.
 c'. *Van angst maakte die film Jan gek.

Given that PP-over-V is possible, we may expect it to be possible for the A + *van* + N sequence to be used attributively with the *van*-PP in postnominal position, but (344) shows that this expectation is not borne out.

- (344) a. *een rode jongen van opwinding
 a red boy of excitement
 b. *een gekke jongen van angst
 a mad boy of fear

We must observe, however, that the constructions in (345a&b) are acceptable. The ungrammaticality of (345c) suggests that examples like these must be interpreted literally.

- (345) a. een rood hoofd van (de) opwinding
 a red head of excitement
 b. blauwe handen van de kou
 blue hands of the cold
 c. *een groene kop van nijd
 a green head of envy

Possibly, the examples in (345a&b) may involve a third type of construction since the AP is not predicated of a human being but of a body part. This suggestion seems to be supported by at least two facts: first, example (345a) shows that the noun *opwinding* can at least optionally be preceded by a definite article and, second, the examples in (346) show that the *van*-PP can undergo topicalization.

- (346) a. Van opwinding werd zijn hoofd helemaal rood.
 of excitement became his head completely red
 b'. Van de kou werden zijn handen helemaal blauw.
 of the cold became his hands totally blue

3.5.2. Transparent free relative clauses

Example (347) shows that adjectives can be the antecedents of non-restrictive relative clauses, in which case the relative pronoun is *wat*.

- (347) Jan is zeer goed in wiskunde [wat_i jij wel nooit t_i zal worden]
 Jan is very good at math which you PRT never will be
 'Jan is very good at math which you will probably never be.'

The constructions in (348), which have been called transparent free relative clauses, are somewhat special; cf. Van Riemsdijk (2000/2006). The free relatives, which are given within square brackets, function in the same way as the adjectives *corpulent* and *aardig* 'nice' would do; it is expressed that the subject is corpulent/kind, with the modification that the appropriateness of the term is open to debate.

- (348) a. Hij is [wat_i je t_i corpulent zou kunnen noemen].
 he is what one corpulent would can call
 'He is what one could call corpulent.'
 b. Hij is nu [wat_i ik t_i aardig noem].
 he is PRT what I nice call
 'He is what I call kind.'

Like the relative clause in (347), the transparent free relative is introduced by the relative pronoun *wat*, which can probably be considered the °logical SUBJECT of the adjective. *Wat* does not, however, refer to an entity in the discourse; it is clearly related to the deictic pronoun *dat* 'that' in examples like (349).

- (349) a. Je zou dat corpulent kunnen noemen.
 one would that corpulent can call
 'One could call that corpulent.'
 b. Ik noem dat aardig.
 I call that nice
 'I call that kind.'

The constructions in (349) are used to define or clarify the notions *corpulent* and *aardig*, which suggests that the adjectives function as °second order predicates. This seems to be supported by the fact that the relative pronoun *wat* in (348) clearly cannot be construed as coreferential with the subject of the main clause since it is never used to refer to human entities.

The primeless examples in (350) show that transparent free relatives can also occur with other predicatively used categories; in these examples the predicative element is the full noun phrase *een corpulente/aardige man*. This is consistent with the fact that the [-HUMAN] pronoun *dat* can be used in the primed examples.

- (350) a. Hij is [wat_i je t_i een corpulente man zou kunnen noemen].
 he is what one a corpulent man would can call
 'He is what one could call a corpulent man.'
 a'. Je zou dat een corpulente man kunnen noemen.
 one would that a corpulent man can call
 'One could call that a corpulent man.'
 b. Hij is [wat_i ik t_i een aardige man noem].
 he is what I a nice man call
 b'. Ik noem dat een aardige man.
 I call that a kind man

The acceptability of the attributive examples in (351) is mysterious for various reasons. In contrast to (348) and (350), the verb *noemen* is not preceded by a predicatively used constituent. Since this verb requires such a predicative complement, we must assume that either the adjective *corpulente* or the nominal projection *corpulente man* are acting as such, in violation of the requirement that a predicative complement precede the verbs in clause-final position; see (74) in Section 6.2.4. Further, if we assume that *corpulent* is the predicate of the clause, we have no account for the attributive *-e* ending, since predicatively used adjectives are normally not inflected; if we assume that *corpulente man* is the predicate of the clause, we must conclude that the determiner *een* can precede free relatives, which is not attested in other cases. In fact, the primed and doubly-primed examples show that free relatives of the type in (348) and (350) are both excluded after the determiner *een*.

- (351) a. Hij is een wat je zou kunnen noemen corpulente man.
 he is a what one would can call corpulent man
 ‘He is a what one could call corpulent man.’
 a’. *Hij is een wat je corpulent zou kunnen noemen man.
 a’’. *Hij is een wat je een corpulente man zou kunnen noemen.
 b. Hij is een wat ik noem aardige man.
 he is a what I call nice man
 b’. *Hij is een wat ik aardig noem man.
 b’’. *Hij is een wat ik een aardige man noem.

For further discussion and a possible solution for these mysteries, we refer the reader to Van Riemsdijk (2000/2006), who suggests that the adjective simultaneously functions as the predicate of the free relative and as the attributive modifier of the noun in the noun phrase.

3.5.3. VP adverbs

Consider the examples in (352) and (353). Given the fact, illustrated in the primed examples, that the adjective can be topicalized in isolation, we must conclude that the adverbial phrases are not modifiers of the adjective (although it seems that the modifiers in (352) can marginally be pied piped under topicalization).

- (352) a. Jan is *in alle opzichten* gelukkig.
 Jan is in all respects happy
 a’. Gelukkig is Jan *in alle opzichten*.
 b. Jan is *in geen enkel opzicht* geschikt.
 Jan is in no respect suitable
 b’. Geschikt is Jan *in geen enkel opzicht*.
 c. Jan is *op bijzondere wijze* actief.
 Jan is in a special way active
 c’. Actief is Jan *op bijzondere wijze*.

- (353) a. Jan is *af en toe* erg aardig.
Jan is now and then very nice
a'. Erg aardig is Jan *af en toe*.
b. Jan is *soms/meestal/altijd* erg aardig.
Jan is sometimes/generally/always very nice
b'. Erg aardig is Jan *soms/meestal/altijd*.
c. De zaak is *tot op heden* onopgelost.
the case is until now unsolved
c'. Onopgelost is de zaak *tot op heden*.

Despite the fact that the adverbial phrases in (352) and (353) probably act as clause adverbs, they can also be used as modifiers in the noun phrases in (354) and (355). Their ability to appear depends on the presence of the attributive adjective; when the adjective is dropped, the constructions are ungrammatical. It is not entirely clear how to account for this dependency relation if we are not dealing with a modification relation.

- (354) a. een *in alle opzichten* *(gelukkige) man
an in all respects happy man
b. een *in geen enkel opzicht* *(geschikte) kandidaat
an in no respect suitable candidate
c. een *op bijzondere wijze* *(actieve) jongen
an in a special way active boy
- (355) a. een *af en toe* *(erg aardige) man
a now and then very nice man
b. een *soms/meestal/altijd* *(erg aardige) man
a sometimes/generally/always very nice man
c. een *tot op heden* *(onopgeloste) zaak
an until now unsolved case

3.5.4. *The sequence vol 'full' + NP*

Another special case of modification involves the modification of the adjective *vol* 'full' by a plural or a mass noun; cf. Paardekooper (1986:265ff.). Some examples are given in (356), which involve a predicative AP-complement. The fact that the noun phrase is optional strongly suggests that the adjective is the head of the predicate. The construction is very restricted; it occurs with the adjective *vol* only. That the adjective and the noun form a constituent is clear from the fact that they can be moved into clause-initial position.

- (356) a. Jan zette de vaas vol (bloemen).
Jan put the vase full flowers
'Jan filled the vase with flowers.'
a'. Vol bloemen zette Jan de vaas.
b. Jan giet de fles vol (water).
Jan pours the bottle full water
'Jan fills the bottle full with water'
b'. Vol water giet Jan de fles.

The examples in (357) show that when *vol* modifies a noun like *vaas* ‘vase’, it exceptionally follows it; again, the nominal modifier of *vol* is optional. In contrast to what is the case in (356), the examples in (357) seem also possible without *vol*: *een vaas bloemen* ‘a vase of flowers’; *een fles water* ‘a bottle of water’. In that case we are dealing, however, with the binominal construction discussed in Section 1.4.1.

- (357) a. een vaas vol (bloemen)
 a vase full flowers
 ‘a vase filled with flowers’
 b. een fles vol (water)
 a bottle full water
 ‘a bottle filled with water’

The examples in (358) show that when *vol* is used prenominally, it can no longer be accompanied by a nominal modifier. In this connection, it must be noted that the acceptable primed examples involve compounds, and that the doubly-primed examples involve binominal constructions. In examples like these, the adjective *vol* can be replaced by any other appropriate attributive adjective.

- (358) a. een volle *(bloemen) vaas
 a full flowers vase
 a'. een volle/mooie bloemenvaas
 a full/beautiful flower.vase
 a''. een volle/mooie vaas bloemen
 a full/beautiful vase [of] flowers
 b. een volle *(water) fles
 a full water bottle
 b'. een volle/dure waterfles
 a full/expensive water.bottle
 b''. een volle/dure fles water
 a full/expensive bottle [of] water

Finally it can be noted that the constructions in (356) and (357) alternate with the constructions in (359), in which the noun is part of a PP introduced by *met* ‘with’.

- (359) a. Jan zette de vaas vol met bloemen.
 a'. een vaas vol met bloemen
 b. Jan giet de fles vol met water.
 b'. een fles vol met water

3.6. Bibliographical notes

Modification of the adjectives has received much more attention in the literature than complementation, and virtually all grammars of Dutch, including Haeseryn et al. (1997), Klooster (2001) and Paardekooper (1986), discuss the issue extensively. Other studies that extensively discuss modification of Dutch adjectives and have proved invaluable sources for this chapter are Corver (1990), Klein (1997) and Klooster (1972).



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Chapter 4

Projection of adjective phrases III: Comparison

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Introduction

This chapter discusses the degrees of comparison. Section 4.1 will start with a discussion of equative, comparative and superlative forms like those given in (1). We will see that comparative and superlative forms are generally derived by morphological means, although we will also encounter certain cases in which a periphrastic comparative/superlative may or must appear. Section 4.1 also includes a discussion of the *als/dan/van*-phrases of comparison.

- (1) a. Equative form: *even mooi als* ... ‘as pretty as ...’
 b. Comparative form: *mooier dan/als* ... ‘prettier than ...’
 c. Superlative form: *het mooiste van* ... ‘the prettiest of ...’

Section 4.2 discusses the syntactic distribution of the equative, comparative and superlative forms, that is, more specifically, the syntactic functions that they may perform. Section 4.3 will show that the forms in (1) exhibit various properties that can also be found with adjectives that are modified by a complex intensifying phrase. This is fairly obvious for equative phrases like (1a), given that Section 3.1.3.1 has shown that the equative construction *even A als* ... ‘as A as ...’ is virtually synonymous with the construction *net zo A als* ... ‘just as A as ...’, which involves a complex intensifying phrase headed by *zo*. For the comparative and superlative forms, on the other hand, this is perhaps less obvious, given that these normally do not involve modification but word formation, but we will nevertheless argue that there are reasons to treat modification and comparative/superlative formation on a par, at least as far as syntax is concerned.

Before we do all this, we want to point out that comparison is only possible with set-denoting adjectives; the examples in (2) show that relational adjectives like *houten* ‘wooden’, evaluative adjectives like *drommels* ‘devilish’, and, e.g., modal adjectives like *vermeend* ‘alleged’ are not eligible for it, and they will therefore not be discussed in this section.

(2)	a.	een houten trein	a wooden train
		*een even houten trein als ...	an as wooden train as ...
		*een houten-ere trein dan ...	a more wooden train than ...
		*de houten-ste trein van ...	the most wooden train
	b.	een drommelse jongen	a devilish boy
		*een even drommelse jongen als ...	an as devilish boy as ...
		*een drommelsere jongen dan ...	a more devilish boy than ...
		*de drommelste jongen	the most devilish boy
	c.	de vermeende dader	the alleged culprit
		*een even vermeende dader	an as alleged culprit as ...
		*een vermeendere dader	a more alleged culprit
		*de vermeendste dader	the most alleged culprit

Although some absolute adjectives, like *dood* ‘dead’ and *levend* ‘alive’, only allow comparative or superlative formation under very special conditions, the examples in (3) show that comparison generally does seem to be possible with absolute adjectives. Nevertheless this section will be mainly concerned with the scalar adjectives, assuming that, unless stated otherwise, scalar and absolute adjectives

behave more or less the same; see Section 1.3.2.2 for a general discussion of scalar, absolute, and gradable adjectives.

- (3)

a.

De fles is vol/leeg.
the bottle is full/empty

b.

%De fles is even vol/leeg als ...
the bottle is as full/empty as ...

c.

%De fles is voller/leger dan ...
the bottle is fuller/emptier than ...

d.

%De fles is het volst/leegst.
the bottle is the fullest/emptiest
- a'.

Deze tafel is rond.
this table is round

b'.

Deze tafel is even rond als
this table is as round as ...

c'.

Deze tafel is ronder dan ...
this table is rounder than ...

d'.

Deze tafel is het rondst ...
this table is the roundest

4.1. Equative, comparative and superlative formation

With gradable adjectives, three types of comparison are possible: comparison in relation to (i) a higher degree, (ii) the same degree, and (iii) a lower degree. Extending the traditional terminology, we can make the following terminological distinction both for higher and for lower degree comparison: positive, comparative and superlative degree. In order to avoid laborious terms, such as “comparative in relation to a higher degree”, we will use the notations in the third column of Table 1, which are partly new coinages. When it is not relevant whether comparison is in relation to a lower or to a higher degree, we will continue to use the traditional notions of “comparative” and “superlative”.

Table 1: The degrees of gradable adjectives

DEGREE			EXAMPLE
DESCRIPTION	NAME		
	TRADITIONAL	THIS STUDY	
no comparison	positive	positive	<i>groot</i> ‘big’
comparison in relation to a higher degree	comparative	majorative	<i>groter</i> ‘bigger’
	superlative	maximative	<i>grootst</i> ‘biggest’
comparison in relation to the same degree	—	equative	<i>even groot</i> ‘as big’
comparison in relation to a lower degree	comparative	minorative	<i>minder groot</i> ‘less big’
	superlative	minimative	<i>minst groot</i> ‘least big’

The forms in Table 1 are illustrated again in Table 2 by means of the adjective *klein* ‘small’. These examples also show that the majorative and minorative forms can be followed by a comparative *dan/als*-phrase, that the equative form can be followed by an *als*-phrase, and that the maximative and minimative forms can be followed by a prepositional *van*-phrase. These comparative phrases indicate which entities are involved in the comparison, that is, they determine the comparison set or standard of comparison.

Table 2: *The degrees of gradable adjectives (illustration)*

	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION
Positive	<i>Jan is klein.</i>	Jan is small.
Majorative	<i>Jan is kleiner dan/als Marie.</i>	Jan is smaller than Marie.
Maximative	<i>Jan is het kleinst van de klas.</i>	Jan is the smallest of the group.
Equative	<i>Jan is even klein als Peter</i>	Jan is as small as Peter.
Minorative	<i>Jan is minder klein dan/als Peter.</i>	Jan is less small than Peter.
Minimative	<i>Jan is het minst klein van de klas.</i>	Jan is the least small of the group.

This section is organized as follows. Section 4.1.1 will start with a discussion of the semantic properties and the derivation of the degrees of comparison distinguished in Table 1. This discussion will show that the majorative and maximative are normally derived by affixation with *-er* and *-st*, although in some cases a periphrastic form can or must be used; the conditions under which this is the case will be the topic of Section 4.1.2. Section 4.1.3 continues with a discussion of some of the properties of the *als/dan/van*-phrases of comparison. Section 4.1.4 concludes with a discussion of examples like *Deze tafel is even lang als breed* ‘This table is as long as wide’, where the comparison does not involve the entities that the adjectives are predicated of, but the properties denoted by the adjectives themselves.

4.1.1. *Overview*

This section gives a brief morphological and semantic characterization of the degrees of comparison distinguished in Table 1.

4.1.1.1. *Positive degree*

With adjectives in the positive degree, no comparison is involved. An example like *Jan is klein* in (4a) simply expresses that Jan is part of the set denoted by *klein*. In order to be able to follow the semantic characterization of the degrees of comparison below, it must be noted, however, that a semantic representation of the form in (4b) does not do full justice to the meaning of a scalar adjective like *klein*, given that it does not take into account that the adjective denotes an *ordered* set of entities along the degrees of the implied scale. The proper characterization is therefore rather as given in (4c), which expresses that Jan is small to the degree *d*; see also the discussion in Sections 3.1.1 and 3.2.1.

- (4) a. Jan is klein
 Jan is small
 b. KLEIN (Jan)
 c. KLEIN (Jan,d)

4.1.1.2. *Comparison in relation to a higher degree (majorative/maximative)*

Comparison in relation to a higher degree is generally expressed by morphological means: the examples in (5b&c) show that the majorative and maximative forms are derived from the adjective in the positive degree by adding, respectively, the affixes *-er* and *-st*. The superlative in the predicative construction in (5c) is preceded by the element *het*, but this is not the case when the superlative is used in an attributive

construction like (5c'); see Section 4.2, sub II, for an extensive discussion of the use of *het* in predicative constructions. More examples of majorative and maximative formation are given in (6).

(5)	a.	Marie is intelligent.	a'.	een intelligente vrouw
		Marie is intelligent		an intelligent woman
	b.	Marie is intelligent- <i>er</i> .	b'.	een intelligent- <i>er</i> -e vrouw
		Marie is more.intelligent		a more.intelligent woman
	c.	Marie is <i>het</i> intelligent- <i>st</i> .	c'.	de intelligent- <i>st</i> -e vrouw
		Marie is the most.intelligent		the most.intelligent woman

(6) Regular majorative and maximative forms

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>dof</i> 'dull'	<i>doff-er</i>	<i>dof-st</i>
<i>leuk</i> 'nice'	<i>leuk-er</i>	<i>leuk-st</i>
<i>gemakkelijk</i> 'easy'	<i>gemakkelijk-er</i>	<i>gemakkelijk-st</i>
<i>sympathiek</i> 'sympathetic'	<i>sympathiek-er</i>	<i>sympathiek-st</i>

The majorative affix *-er* has an allomorph *-der*, which surfaces when the positive form of the adjective ends in the consonant /r/, as in (7).

(7) Majorative and maximative forms of adjectives ending in /r/

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>breekbaar</i> 'fragile'	<i>breekbaar-der</i>	<i>breekbaar-st</i>
<i>duur</i> 'expensive'	<i>duur-der</i>	<i>duur-st</i>
<i>somber</i> 'somber'	<i>somber-der</i>	<i>somber-st</i>
<i>zuur</i> 'sour'	<i>zuur-der</i>	<i>zuur-st</i>

The majorative/maximative forms of *goed* 'good', *veel* 'much' and *weinig* 'few' in Table (8) are irregular. We will see later that the majorative and maximative forms of *veel* and *weinig* are also used in the formation of periphrastic comparative and superlative forms.

(8) Irregular majorative and maximative forms

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>goed</i> 'good'	<i>beter</i> 'better'	<i>best</i> 'best'
<i>veel</i> 'much'	<i>meer</i> 'more'	<i>meest</i> 'most'
<i>weinig</i> 'few'	<i>minder</i> 'fewer/less'	<i>minst</i> 'least/fewest'

Note in passing that the form *best* can also be used without a maximative meaning. This is clearly the case in (9a) given that the indefinite article *een* 'a' is normally not possible when a maximative is used attributively; cf. Section 4.2, sub I. This use of *best* also differs from the maximative use in that it can be modified by the adverbial phrase *geen al te/niet al te* 'not all too' in (9b) and be combined with amplifying prefixes like *opper-* and *bovenste-* in (9c). Although *best* behaves as an adjective in the positive degree in these cases, it does not have a comparative or

superlative form: **bester*; **bestste*. Note, finally, that *best* is also possible in fixed expressions like *mij best* ‘okay with me’ and *niet de eerste de beste* (lit: “not the first the best”) in *Hij is niet de eerste de beste taalkundige* ‘He is a prominent linguist’.

- (9) a. Hij is een beste kerel.
he is a best chap
‘He is a nice chap.’
b. Dat is een niet al/geen al te beste beurt.
that is a not AL/not.a AL too best turn
‘You did not do that well.’
c. Hij is een opper/bovenstebeste kerel.
he is an uttermost.best chap
‘He is a very, very nice chap.’

In cases like (10), there is no obvious positive form that corresponds to the majorative/maximative forms. For example, the adverbial majorative/maximative forms *liever/liefst* do not have a corresponding adverbial form *lief*, but instead correspond to the adverb *graag* ‘gladly’. Similarly, Haeseryn et al. (1997:415) claim that *kwaad* can be seen as the positive form of *erger/ergst*: this is not obvious given that we also have the positive form *erg*, but can perhaps be motivated from the fact that we do have a fixed expression *Het gaat van kwaad tot erger* ‘It is going from bad to worse’, where the two are explicitly contrasted.

(10) Potential irregular majorative and maximative forms

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>graag</i> ‘gladly’	<i>grager/liever</i> ‘rather’	<i>graagst/liefst</i> ‘preferably’
<i>erg/kwaad</i> ‘bad’	<i>erger</i> ‘worse’	<i>ergst</i> ‘worst’

Although comparative and superlative forms are normally morphologically derived, in some cases a periphrastic form can or must be used. The examples in (11) show that the periphrastic majorative and maximative forms are created by means of the forms *meer/meest* ‘more/most’ from the table in (8). We will return to the periphrastic forms of the majorative/maximative in Section 4.1.2.

- (11) a. Jan is *meer* gesteld op rundvlees (dan/als op varkensvlees).
Jan is more keen on beef than on pork
‘Jan is keener on beef (than on pork).’
b. Jan is het *meest* gesteld op rundvlees.
Jan is the most keen on beef
‘Jan is keenest on beef.’

The intended comparison set (i.e., the set of entities that enter the comparison) or standard of comparison can remain implicit, as in (5b&c), but can also be made explicit. In the case of the majoratives, this is done by means of a *dan/als*-phrase, which refers to the other entity or entities involved in the comparison: example (12a), for example, indicates that the comparison set contains Peter. In the case of the maximative, the comparison set is made explicit by means of a *van*-phrase:

example (12b) indicates that the comparison set contains all persons in the group under discussion.

- (12) a. Marie is intelligent-*er* dan/als Peter.
 Marie is more.intelligent than Peter
 b. Marie is het intelligent-*st* van de klas.
 Marie is the most.intelligent of the group

Example (12a) expresses that the degree to which Marie is intelligent is higher than the degree to which Jan is intelligent. This can be formally expressed by means of the semantic representation in (13a). Example (12b) expresses that the degree to which Marie is intelligent is higher than the degrees to which the other persons in the comparison set are intelligent. This is represented in (13b).

- (13) a. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{INTELLIGENT}(\text{Marie}, d) \ \& \ \text{INTELLIGENT}(\text{Jan}, d') \ \& \ (d > d')]]$
 b. $\exists d [\text{INTELLIGENT}(\text{Marie}, d) \ \& \ \forall x [(\text{PERSON IN THE GROUP}(x) \ \& \ (x \neq \text{Marie})) \rightarrow \exists d' [\text{INTELLIGENT}(x, d') \ \& \ (d > d')]]]$

For completeness' sake note that in colloquial speech the choice among *als* and *dan* in examples like (12a) is subject to personal preference, whereas in formal speech and writing there is strong normative pressure in favor of *dan*. For more discussion and references, see <http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/vraag/354/>.

The superlative construction in (12b) must not be confused with the construction in (14a) in which the superlative is preceded by *de* 'the'. In cases like these, we are dealing with noun phrases with a phonetically empty head noun and an attributively used adjective that modifies the empty noun. That we are dealing with an attributively used adjective is clear from the fact that it is inflected with the attributive *-e* ending, which is never found on predicatively used adjectives. In other words, example (14a) is structurally parallel to (14b) and *de* must therefore be considered a regular definite article.

- (14) a. Jan is de intelligent-st-e [e] van de klas.
 b. Jan is de intelligent-st-e leerling van de klas.
 Jan is the most intelligent student of his group

Attributively used superlatives differ from the predicatively used ones in that the comparison set need not be expressed by means of a *van*-phrase, but can also be inferred from other attributive phrases. This will be clear from the contrast between the primeless and primed examples in (15). Note that the fact that the noun *leerling* in the primed examples is optional provides additional support for the claim that example (14a) contains a phonetically empty noun.

- (15) a. *Marie is het intelligent-*st* in de klas.
 Marie is the most.intelligent in the group
 a'. Jan is de intelligent-st-e (leerling) in de klas.
 Jan is the most intelligent student of his group
 b. *Marie is het intelligent-*st* uit mijn groep.
 Marie is the most.intelligent from my group
 b'. Jan is de intelligent-st-e (leerling) uit mijn groep.
 Jan is the most intelligent student from my group

In (16a), the comparison set is restricted by means of a restrictive relative clause to those movies that I have seen in the last couple of years. In (16b) the postnominal modifier has a function similar to the adverbial phrase of time *in jaren* in (16a) and evokes a comparison set consisting all movies that have been released over the last couple of years. Other “adverbial phrases” of this sort that can frequently be found functioning in this way are *in weken/maanden/tijden/...* ‘in weeks/months/years/times/...’ and *sinds weken/maanden/tijden/...* ‘weeks/months/years/times/... since’.

- (16) a. Dit is de beste film die ik in jaren gezien heb.
 this is the best movie that I in years seen have
 ‘This is the best movie I have seen in years.’
 b. Dit is de beste film in jaren.
 this is the best movie in years

When a comparative *dan/als/van*-phrase is present, comparison generally involves two or more different entities. However, the comparison may also involve one single entity at several different stages. This is illustrated in (17a) for the comparative *sneller* ‘faster’. The time adverb *steeds/alsmaar* ‘continuously’ expresses that the speed of the train is compared at several points on the time axis and increases continuously; in other words, the train accelerates. This reading is lost when a *dan/als*-phrase is added: example (17b) expresses that the speed of the train is greater than that of the car at each relevant point on the time axis, but there is no implication that the speed of the train increases; it may in fact even diminish.

- (17) a. De trein reed steeds/alsmaar sneller.
 the train drove ever faster
 ‘The train drove faster and faster.’
 b. De trein reed steeds/alsmaar sneller dan de auto.
 the train drove always faster than the car
 ‘All the time, the train drove faster than the car.’

In examples like (18a), where the phrase *sneller en sneller* can only express that the speed of the train is increasing all the time, the addition of a comparative *dan/als*-phrase is excluded. Example (18b) provides another example.

- (18) a. De trein reed sneller en sneller (*dan de auto).
 the train drove faster and faster than the car
 ‘The train drove faster and faster.’
 b. Dit boek van Bernlef wordt beter en beter (*dan het vorige).
 this book by Bernlef becomes better and better than its predecessor
 ‘This book by Bernlef is getting better and better.’

In (19), we find something similar for the superlative *het snelst* ‘the fastest’. Example (19a) compares the speed of the train to Maastricht on all parts of its track, and claims that the speed is highest on the section between Utrecht and Den Bosch. Example (19b), on the other hand, compares the speed of the train to Maastricht on the section between Utrecht and Den Bosch to the speed of all other Dutch trains on all other sections of the railway network.

- (19) a. De trein naar Maastricht rijdt het snelst tussen Utrecht en Den Bosch.
 the train to Maastricht drives the fastest between Utrecht and Den Bosch
 b. de trein naar Maastricht rijdt tussen Utrecht en Den Bosch het snelst
 the train to Maastricht drives between Utrecht and Den Bosch the fastest
 van alle Nederlandse treinen.
 of all Dutch trains

The addition of a *van*-PP is excluded when the maximative is part of the PP *op zijn A-st* in examples like (20), where the maximative can only trigger internal comparison. Example (20a), for example, provides an evaluation of Jan at different occasions, and expresses that at the occasion yesterday he excelled himself. Note that (20a) must contain an indication of the time when the PP holds, unless this can be inferred from the non-linguistic context. In the generic statements in (20b-c), an adverbial phrase of time or place is absolutely required.

- (20) a. Jan was gisteren op zijn best (*van iedereen).
 Jan was yesterday at his best of everyone
 ‘Yesterday, Bill was at his best again.’
 b. Vlak voor het regent, zingt een merel op zijn mooist (*van alle vogels).
 just before it rains sings a blackbird at his most.beautiful of all birds
 ‘A blackbird sings at its best just before it starts raining.’
 c. Een tropische plant bloeit binnen op zijn weelderigst (*van alle planten).
 a tropical plants flowers inside at his most luxuriant of all plants
 ‘A tropical plant flowers best inside.’

Note that the PP *op zijn vroegst/laatst* ‘at the earliest/latest’ in (21) does not involve internal comparison, but modifies the time expression *in april* and claims that the point on the time axis referred to by this expression can be seen as an outer boundary in the sense that the event denoted by the clause is assumed to take place after/before that point. Unlike the possessive pronoun *zijn* in (20), the element *zijn* does not have referential properties, as is also clear from the fact that the English rendering of (21) features the article-like element *the*, and not a possessive pronoun.

- (21) Het boek wordt op zijn vroegst/laatst in april gepubliceerd.
 the book is at the earliest/latest in April published
 ‘The book will be published in April at the earliest/latest.’

The use of the majorative/maximative normally suggests that the property expressed by the positive form of the adjective can be attributed to the participants: for example, the majorative and maximative constructions in (22) both strongly suggest that Marie is indeed intelligent.

- (22) a. Marie is intelligent-er dan/als Peter.
 Marie is more.intelligent than Peter
 b. Marie is het intelligent-st van de klas.
 Marie is the most.intelligent of the group

This is, however, not the case when we are dealing with measure adjectives like *groot* ‘big’. The two comparative constructions in (23) are fully equivalent, and we

can infer neither from (23a) that Jan is big nor from (23b) that Marie is small; cf. Section 1.3.2.2.1. The latter also holds for the superlative constructions in the primed examples.

(23)	a.	Jan is groter dan/als Marie. Jan is bigger than Marie	a'.	Jan is het grootst. Jan is the biggest
	b.	Marie is kleiner dan/als Jan. Marie is smaller than Jan	b'.	Marie is het kleinst. Marie is the smallest

Nevertheless, these inferences can be forced in the comparative constructions in the primeless examples by modifying the comparatives by means of the adverb *nog* 'even': (24a) implies that both Jan and Marie are (quite) big, and (24b) implies that both Marie and Jan are (quite) small. Observe that *nog* can also be added to (22a) with a similar effect on the comparison set; whereas (22a) does not seem to imply anything about Jan's intellectual capacities, (24c) entails that he is quite intelligent.

(24)	a.	Jan is nog groter dan/als Marie. Jan is even taller than Marie
	b.	Marie is nog kleiner dan/als Jan. Marie is even smaller than Jan
	c.	Marie is nog intelligenter dan/als Peter. Marie is even more.intelligent than Peter

4.1.1.3. *The equative degree*

The equative degree can only be expressed by means of a periphrastic construction with *even* 'as', as in (25a). The intended comparison set can remain implicit, but it can also be made explicit by means of an *als*-phrase: example (25a) expresses that the comparison set contains Peter. The construction expresses that the degree to which Marie is intelligent is identical to the degree to which Peter is intelligent. This is formally represented in (25b). The phrase *even A als ...* is nearly synonymous with the phrase *net zo A als ...* 'just as A as ...'; cf. Section 3.1.3.1.

(25)	a.	Marie is <i>even intelligent</i> (als Peter). Marie is as intelligent as Peter
	b.	$\exists d \exists d'$ [INTELLIGENT(Marie,d) & INTELLIGENT(Jan,d') & (d = d')]

4.1.1.4. *Comparison in relation to a lower degree*

Comparison in relation to a lower degree can only be expressed by means of a periphrastic construction: the examples in (26) show that the minorative and minimative degrees are formed by placing, respectively, the minorative and minimative form of the adjective *weinig* 'little/few' in front of the positive form of the adjective; cf. Table (8). The intended comparison set can remain implicit, but can also be made explicit; as in the higher degree comparisons, this is done by means of a *dan/als*- or *van*-phrase.

(26)	a.	Jan is <i>minder</i> intelligent (dan/als Marie). Jan is less intelligent than Marie
	b.	Jan is het <i>minst</i> intelligent (van de klas). Jan is the least intelligent of the group

Example (26a) expresses that the degree to which Jan is intelligent is lower than the degree to which Marie is intelligent. This can be formally expressed by means of the semantic representation in (27a). Example (26b) expresses that the degree to which Jan is intelligent is lower than all degrees to which the other persons in the comparison set are intelligent. This is represented in (27b).

- (27) a. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{INTELLIGENT}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ \text{INTELLIGENT}(\text{Marie}, d') \ \& \ (d < d')]]$
 b. $\exists d [\text{INTELLIGENT}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ \forall x [(\text{PERSON IN THE GROUP}(x) \ \& \ (x \neq \text{Jan})) \rightarrow \exists d' [\text{INTELLIGENT}(x, d') \ \& \ (d < d')]]]]$

The use of the minorative/minimative does not necessarily imply that the property expressed by the adjective should not be attributed to the participants: neither the minorative construction in (26a) nor the minimative construction in (26b) entails that Jan is actually stupid; he may in fact be rather intelligent. In the comparative construction, the implication that Jan is stupid can nevertheless be forced by modifying the comparative by means of the adverb *nog* ‘even’: example (28) implies that both Marie and Jan are rather stupid.

- (28) Marie is *nog minder* intelligent *dan/als* Jan.
 Marie is even less intelligent than Jan

4.1.1.5. Summary

The discussion in this section is summarized in Table 3, where *A* stands for the base form (positive degree) of the adjective. This table shows that the majorative and maximative form can be morphologically derived, whereas all other forms are periphrastically derived. The morphologically derived forms of the majorative and maximative are the most common ones; the next section will discuss the contexts in which the more special periphrastic forms can or must be used.

Table 3: Degrees of comparison of the adjective

		DERIVED FORM	PERIPHRASTIC FORM
EQUATIVE DEGREE		—	even A (als ...)
COMPARATIVE	MAJORATIVE	A + -(d)er (dan/als ...)	meer A (dan/als ...)
	MINORATIVE	—	minder A (dan/als ...)
SUPERLATIVE	MAXIMATIVE	A + -st (van ...)	meest A (van ...)
	MINIMATIVE	—	minst A (van ...)

4.1.2. The periphrastic majorative/maximative

Section 4.1.1 has shown that the majorative and maximative forms of the adjectives are normally formed by means of affixation. In some cases, however, a periphrastic construction can or must be used. The periphrastic construction consists of the majorative/maximative form of the adjective *veel* followed by the adjective in its positive form: *meer/meest A* ‘more/most A’. The first four subsections below discuss some more or less systematic cases. Subsection V concludes with a discussion of two alleged cases of periphrastic majorative/maximative constructions.

- Observe that when the positive form of the adjective ends in the consonant /s/, the superlative affix *-st* reduces to *-t*, which is also orthographically reflected. Often, such adjectives also appear in the periphrastic maximative construction; the periphrastic majorative construction, on the other hand, sounds extremely marked.

(32) Majorative and maximative forms of adjectives ending in /s/

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>grijs</i> 'grey'	<i>grijz-er</i> ^{??} <i>meer grijs</i>	<i>grijs-t/meest grijs</i>
<i>pervers</i> 'perverse'	<i>pervers-er</i> ^{??} <i>meer pervers</i>	<i>pervers-t/meest pervers</i>
<i>wijs</i> 'wise'	<i>wijz-er</i> ^{??} <i>meer wijs</i>	<i>wijs-t/meest wijs</i>

II. Adjectives that end in /ə/

Adjectives that end in *-en* (pronounced as schwa in Standard Dutch) generally can appear in the periphrastic majorative and maximative forms. Acceptability judgments on the morphologically complex forms in the primeless examples of (33), in which the orthographic *n* must be pronounced, tend to differ among speakers. The marked status of the morphologically derived adjectives may be related to the fact that the addition of the affix *-er/-st* gives rise to a sequence of two syllables that contain a schwa.

- (33) a. [?]een gedegen-er opleiding a'. een meer gedegen opleiding
 a more.solid training a more solid training
 b. [?]de gedegen-ste opleiding b'. de meest gedegen opleiding
 the most.solid training the most solid training
 c. [?]een verlegen-er jongen c'. een meer verlegen jongen
 a more.bashful boy a more bashful boy
 d. ^{??}de verlegen-ste jongen d'. de meest verlegen jongen
 the most.bashful boy the most bashful boy
 e. ^{??}een belegen-er kaas e'. een meer belegen kaas
 a more.matured cheese a more matured cheese
 f. ^{??}de belegen-ste kaas f'. de meest belegen kaas
 the most.matured cheese the most matured cheese

III. Pseudo-participles and participles

Many pseudo-participles do not have a morphologically derived majorative or maximative form. Table (34) provides the majorative/maximative forms of the pseudo-participles from Section 2.3.1.3. Again, we should note that judgments on the acceptability of the morphologically complex forms vary among speakers.

(34) Majorative/maximative forms of pseudo-participles

FORM	EXAMPLE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
<i>ge- ... -d/t/en</i>	<i>gebrand op</i> keen on	* <i>gebrander</i> <i>meer gebrand</i>	* <i>gebrandst</i> <i>meest gebrand</i>
	<i>gekant tegen</i> opposed to	* <i>gekanter</i> <i>meer gekant</i>	* <i>gekantst</i> <i>meest gekant</i>
	<i>geschikt voor</i> suitable for	<i>geschikter</i> <i>meer geschikt</i>	<i>geschiktst</i> <i>meest geschikt</i>
	<i>gespittst op</i> especially alert to	?? <i>gespittster</i> <i>meer gespittst</i>	?? <i>gespittstst</i> <i>meest gespittst</i>
	<i>gesteld op</i> keen on	* <i>gestelder</i> <i>meer gesteld</i>	* <i>gesteldst</i> <i>meest gesteld</i>
	<i>ingenomen met</i> delighted with	* <i>ingenomener</i> <i>meer ingenomen</i>	* <i>ingenomenst</i> <i>meest ingenomen</i>
<i>ver- ... -d/t</i>	<i>verliefd op</i> in love with	<i>verliefder</i> <i>meer verliefd</i>	<i>verliefdst</i> <i>meest verliefd</i>
	<i>verrukt over</i> delighted at	? <i>verruktter</i> <i>meer verrukt</i>	? <i>verruktst</i> <i>meest verrukt</i>
	<i>verwant aan</i> related to	* <i>verwanter</i> <i>meer verwant</i>	* <i>verwantst</i> <i>meest verwant</i>
<i>be- ... -d/t</i>	<i>bedacht op</i> cautious for	* <i>bedachter</i> <i>meer bedacht</i>	* <i>bedachtst</i> <i>meest bedacht</i>
	<i>bekend met</i> familiar with	<i>bekender</i> <i>meer bekend</i>	<i>bekendst</i> <i>meest bekend</i>
	<i>bereid tot</i> willing to	* <i>bereider</i> <i>meer bereid</i>	* <i>bereidst</i> <i>meest bereid</i>
	<i>bevreesd voor</i> fearful of	<i>bevreesder</i> <i>meer bevreesd</i>	* <i>bevreesdst</i> <i>meest bevreesd</i>
<i>irregular forms</i>	<i>voldaan over</i> content with	<i>voldaner</i> <i>meer voldaan</i>	<i>voldaanst</i> <i>meest voldaan</i>
	<i>begaan met</i> to be sympathetic towards	* <i>beganer</i> <i>meer begaan</i>	* <i>begaanst</i> <i>meest begaan</i>

The fact that the pseudo-participles prefer, or at least allow, the periphrastic form may be related to the fact discussed in Subsection V below that adjectivally used past/passive participles normally do not allow majorative/maximative formation. This even holds for the compounds in (35), the adjectival status of which is unquestionable, and which do allow majorative and maximative formation provided that the affix *-er/-st* is placed on the first morpheme: the resulting majorative forms are often written as two separate words whereas the maximative forms are sometimes also written as a single word. The pattern in (35) strongly resembles the modification pattern of attributively used past/passive participles discussed in Section 9.6.

(35) Majorative/maximative forms of compounds with past participles

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>dichtbevolkt</i> ‘densely populated’	<i>dichter bevolkt</i>	<i>dichtstbevolkt</i>
<i>drukbezet</i> ‘very busy’	<i>drukker bezet</i>	<i>drukst bezet</i>
<i>drukbezocht</i> ‘well-attended’	<i>drukker bezocht</i>	<i>drukst bezocht</i>
<i>hooggeplaatst</i> ‘eminent’	<i>hoger geplaatst</i>	<i>hoogstgeplaatst</i>
<i>vergezocht</i> ‘far-fetched’	<i>verder gezocht</i>	<i>verstgezocht</i>

Compounds that take a present participle as their second member, as in (36), normally do allow regular suffixation with *-er/-st*, although they sometimes also allow affixation of their first member. For more examples, we refer the reader to <http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/tekst/22/> and [.../advies/vraag/838/](http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/vraag/838/), as well as the references cited there.

(36) Majorative/maximative forms of compounds with present participles

POSITIVE	MAJORATIVE	MAXIMATIVE
<i>hoogdravend</i> ‘grandiloquent’	<i>hoogdravender</i> <i>*hoger dravend</i>	<i>hoogdravendst</i> <i>*hoogstdravend</i>
<i>diepgravend</i> ‘in-depth/thorough’	<i>diepgravender</i> <i>dieper gravend</i>	<i>diepgravendst</i> <i>diepst gravend</i>
<i>veelomvattend</i> ‘comprehensive’	<i>veelomvattender</i> <i>meer omvattend</i>	<i>veelomvattenst</i> <i>meest omvattend</i>

IV. Emphasis

The periphrastic superlative construction can also be used to give special emphasis, as in the (a)-examples of (37). Alternatively, emphasis can be expressed by affixing the superlative with the prefix *aller-*, as in the (b)-examples; see the discussion of (171) for the pseudo-superlative use of forms with *aller-*.

- (37) a. Jan is de meest vreemde jongen die ik ken.
 Jan is the most strange boy that I know
 a'. Gezond zijn is het meest belangrijk.
 healthy being is the most important
 ‘Being healthy is the most important.’
 b. Jan is de allervreemdste jongen die ik ken.
 Jan is the strangest boy that I know
 b'. Gezond zijn is het allerbelangrijkst.
 healthy being is the most important
 ‘Being healthy is the most important of all.’

V. Two alleged cases of periphrastic majoratives/maximatives

The cases discussed above seem to exhaust the possibilities. Nevertheless, we have to discuss two other cases that have been claimed to involve a periphrastic majorative/maximative form; cf. Haeseryn et al. (1997:416-7).

A. Attributively used past/passive participles

The first case concerns attributively used past/passive participles. Attributively used participles occasionally retain some of their verbal properties; cf. Section 9.2. The participle in (38a), for example, resembles a regular passive participle in that it can license a passive *door*-phrase. Example (38b) shows that the participle cannot undergo morphological majorative formation, whereas the grammaticality of (38c) seems to suggest that the periphrastic majorative leads to an acceptable result.

- (38) a. een door Peter zeer gewaardeerde foto
 a by Peter very appreciated photo
 b. *een door Peter gewaardeerdere foto
 the by Peter more.appreciated photo
 c. een door Peter meer gewaardeerde foto
 a by Peter more appreciated photo

Example (38c) may be deceiving, however. Since Section 4.2, sub III, will show that adjectives may also appear in the majorative form when they are used adverbially, it may be the case that the element *meer* does not form a constituent with the participle *gewaardeerd*, but performs a function similar to that in example (39a). The maximative construction with *meest* 'most' casts light on this issue: when we replace the majorative *meer* in (39a) by the maximative *meest*, as in (39b), it must be preceded by the element *het*.

- (39) a. Peter waardeert deze foto meer.
 Peter appreciates this photo more
 b. Peter waardeert deze foto *het* meest.
 Peter appreciates this photo the most

Given that attributively used superlatives are never preceded by *het*, we can test whether *meer* in (38c) is part of a periphrastic majorative *meer gewaardeerd* or acts as an independent adverb by replacing it by the superlative form *meest*. Since (40) shows that *het* must be present in that case, we must conclude that *meer/meest* in (38c) and (40) are the majorative/maximative forms of the independent adverb that we also find in (39), and do not form a periphrastic majorative/maximative construction with the past/passive participle.

- (40) de door Peter *(het) meest gewaardeerde foto
 the by Peter the most appreciated photo

When the *door*-phrase in (40) is dropped, the element *het* is preferably absent, which suggests that we are dealing with a periphrastic majorative/maximative forms in the examples in (41). If this is indeed the case, the contrast with example (40) may be due to the fact that the participle has lost its verbal character in example (41) and behaves as a true adjective; cf. Section 9.2.

- (41) a. een meer gewaardeerde foto
 a more appreciated photo
 b. de ([?]het) meest gewaardeerde foto
 the the most appreciated photo

In the remainder of this subsection we will show, however, that the fact that dropping the element *het* is possible in (41b) is still not conclusive, and that we are actually *not* dealing with periphrastic majorative/maximative constructions in (41). A first, somewhat weak, argument is that the majorative/maximative form cannot be expressed by morphological means, which may be slightly suspect given that at least some of the pseudo-participles given in (34) can undergo the morphological affixation process.

- (42) a. *de gewaardeerdere foto
b. *de gewaardeerdste foto

A more compelling argument is that attributively used participles can also be accompanied by °intensifiers of a more adverbial nature, like *goed* ‘well’ in (43a). The crucial observation is that the superlative form of the adverb in (43c) need not be preceded by the element *het* either.

- (43) a. een goed opgeleide jongen
a well trained boy
b. een beter opgeleide jongen
a better trained boy
c. de (°het) best opgeleide jongen
the the best trained boy

The examples in (44) show that a similar effect can be observed when we are dealing with the superlative form of the modifier of a pseudo-participle or true set-denoting adjective.

- (44) a. de (°het) zwaarst behaarde man
the the most.heavily hairy man
b. de (°het) ergst zieke jongen
the the worst ill boy

Although it is not immediately clear what causes the degraded status of the noun phrases in (43c) and (44) when *het* is present, it is clear that we must conclude that adverbially used superlatives need not be accompanied by the element *het* when they act as modifiers of attributively used adjectives, unlike what is the case when they modify a predicatively used adjective, as in (45). We must therefore conclude that the absence of the element *het* in (41) is not sufficient to claim that we are dealing with a periphrastic superlative.

- (45) a. Deze jongen is *(het) best opgeleid.
this boy is the best trained
b. Deze man is *(het) zwaarst behaard.
this man is the most.heavily hairy
c. Deze jongen is *(het) ergst ziek.
this boy is the worst ill

We want to conclude by proposing that the markedness of the use of *het* in examples (41b), (43c) and (44) is due to the fact that it occurs adjacent to the definite article. This claim can be supported by the fact that *het* deletion also arises

with predicatively and adverbially used superlatives in the attributively used participle phrases in the primed examples in (46). When the adjacency of *het* and the determiner is indeed the relevant factor, we may also account for the fact that *het* cannot be dropped in example (40) and the primed examples of (46). We will return to the examples in (46) in Section 4.2, sub II and III.

- (46) a. de (²het) hardst/minst hard lopende jongen
 the the fastest/least fast running boy
 ‘the boy that runs the fastest/least fast’
 a'. de steeds weer *(het) hardst lopende jongen
 the always again the fastest running boy
 b. de (²het) gladst/minst glad gestreken broek
 the the smoothest/least smooth ironed trousers
 ‘the trousers that were ironed the smoothest/least smooth’
 b'. de door Peter *(het) gladst/minst glad gestreken broek
 the by Peter the smoothest/least smooth ironed trousers

B. Comparison of two adjectives

The second case involves comparison of two adjectives; it has been claimed that this is only possible when the periphrastic majorative form is used. Two examples are given in (47).

- (47) a. Deze kamer is meer praktisch/*praktischer dan gezellig.
 this room is more practical than cozy
 b. De atleet bereikte de finish meer dood/*doder dan levend.
 the sportsman reached the finish more dead than alive

It is not clear, however, whether the examples in (47) really involve periphrastic majorative phrases. A first reason to doubt this is that these examples seem more concerned with the appropriateness of the used terms, than with degrees. This is shown by the fact that *meer* in (47) can be replaced by *eerder* ‘rather’, as in (48), which is never possible with true majoratives; insofar as the examples in (49) are intelligible, *eerder* must be translated as *sooner*, which yields a pragmatically odd result because we are dealing here with °individual-level adjectives.

- (48) a. Deze kamer is eerder praktisch dan gezellig.
 this room is rather practical than cozy
 b. De atleet bereikte de finish eerder dood/*doder dan levend.
 the sportsman reached the finish rather more dead than alive

 (49) a. Jan is intelligenter dan Peter.
 Jan is more intelligent than Peter
 a'. #Jan is eerder intelligent dan Peter.
 b. Jan is meer gesteld op vlees dan Peter.
 Jan is keener on meat than Peter
 b'. #Jan is eerder gesteld op vlees dan Peter.

Second, the two examples in (50) involve a similar syntactic frame as the examples in (47), although the adjectives are replaced by noun phrases and PPs, respectively.

Obviously, the examples in (47) and (50) must receive a similar description, which casts serious doubt on any attempt to analyze the examples in (47) as cases of periphrastic comparatives.

- (50) a. Jan is meer/eerder een denker dan een doener.
 Jan is rather a thinker than a do-er
 'Jan is someone who is thinking rather than someone who acts.'
 b. Jan valt meer/eerder op mannen dan op vrouwen.
 Jan falls rather on men than on women
 'Jan fancies men rather than women.'

The discussion above does not intend to suggest that comparison of two adjectives is impossible, which is clearly not true; cf. Section 4.1.4. It only shows that the examples under discussion are not cases of periphrastic majoratives. Instead of being part of a periphrastic comparative, *meer* acts as an independent clause adverb, just like *eerder*, which is clear from the fact that, e.g., the (a)-examples in (47) and (48) can be paraphrased as in (51a); cf. °adverb tests. The examples in (51b&c) show that similar paraphrases are possible for the examples in (50).

- (51) a. Het is meer/eerder zo dat de kamer praktisch is dan dat hij gezellig is.
 it is rather the.case that the room practical is than that he cozy is
 'It is the case that the room is practical rather than that it is cozy.'
 b. Het is meer/eerder zo dat Jan een denker is dan dat hij een doener is.
 it is rather the.case that Jan a thinker is than that he a do-er is
 'It is the case that Jan is a thinker rather than that he is someone who acts.'
 c. Het is meer/eerder zo dat Jan op mannen dan dat hij op vrouwen valt.
 it is rather the.case that Jan on men than that he on women falls
 'It is the case that Jan fancies men rather than that he fancies women.'

4.1.3. The comparative *als/dan/van*-phrase

The equative degree of the adjective can be supplemented with an *als*-phrase that expresses the comparison set (the entities involved in the comparison). Similarly, the comparative degree of the adjective can be supplemented with a *dan/als*-phrase, and the superlative can be supplemented by means of a *van*-phrase. Some examples are given in (52). The use of parentheses expresses that the *als/dan/van*-phrase can be omitted when the comparison set can be determined on the basis of the linguistic or non-linguistic context.

- (52) a. Marie is even intelligent (als Jan).
 Marie is as intelligent as Jan
 b. Marie is slimmer (dan/als Jan).
 Marie is brighter than Jan
 c. Marie is het slimst (van de klas).
 Marie is the brightest of the group

It is generally assumed that there are at least two types of *als/dan*-phrases, which are known in the generative literature as COMPARATIVE DELETION and COMPARATIVE SUBDELETION constructions. These phrases are characterized by the

fact that *als/dan* takes a clausal complement, which contains a certain type of interpretative gap. We will see that in addition to these types of *als/dan*-phrases, there is a third type in which *als/dan* takes a non-clausal complement and which does not involve any interpretative gap. We will start by briefly introducing these three types of *als/dan*-phrase below.

The comparative deletion construction, which is illustrated in (53), has the following properties: it contains an interpretative gap that (i) functions as a constituent of the complement of *als/dan* and (ii) corresponds to the constituent in the matrix clause that contains the comparative morpheme. The comparative phrase in (53a), for example, has an interpretative gap *e* that functions as the direct object of the verb *lezen* ‘to read’ and corresponds to the direct object *meer boeken* ‘more books’ of the matrix clause, which contains the comparative form *meer*. We will see in Section 4.1.3.1 that the complement of *als/dan* is always sentential in nature in this construction, which means that we are dealing with reduced clauses in examples like (53b), in which the finite verb *heeft* is deleted under identity with the finite verb in the matrix clause.

- (53) • Comparative Deletion
- a. Jan heeft meer boeken dan hij [e] gelezen heeft.
 Jan has more books than he read has
- b. Jan heeft meer boeken dan Marie [e] ~~heeft~~

The comparative subdeletion construction is illustrated in (54). It is generally assumed that phrases of this type contain an interpretative gap that in a sense corresponds to the comparative morpheme. One reason for this is that, just like the comparative form *meer*, the postulated empty element blocks the insertion of degree modifiers like *veel* ‘many’; cf. *Jan heeft meer boeken dan Marie (*veel) CDs heeft* and *Jan heeft meer boeken dan (*veel) CDs*.

- (54) • Comparative subdeletion
- a. Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan Marie [[e] CDs] heeft.
 Jan has more books than Marie CDs has
- b. Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan [[e] CDs].
 Jan has more books than CDs

The third type, in which *als/dan* takes a non-clausal complement and which does not involve any interpretative gap, is illustrated in (55).

- (55) a. Jan heeft meer boeken gelezen dan alleen *Oorlog en vrede*.
 Jan has more books read than just *War and Peace*
 ‘Jan has read books than just *War and Peace*.’

This section will discuss the internal structure of the comparative *als/dan/van*-phrases more extensively. Section 4.1.3.1 will start with a discussion of the comparative deletion construction, which is followed in 4.1.3.2 by a discussion of the comparative subdeletion construction. Section 4.1.3.3 will discuss constructions of the type in (55). We will conclude the discussion in Sections 4.1.3.4 and 4.1.3.5 with a number of comments on the categorial status of the elements *als/dan* and the placement of the comparative *als/dan/van*-phrases. We will not be able to do justice

here to the ever growing body of literature on the internal structure of *als/dan/van*-phrases, but fortunately we can refer the reader to Corver's (2006) review of some of the major contributions to the discussion of this topic.

4.1.3.1. Comparative deletion construction

This section discusses the internal structure of comparative *als/dan*-phrases in comparative deletion constructions. The first subsection will argue that *van* and *als/dan* differ in that the former is a regular preposition that takes a noun phrase as its complement, whereas the latter are special in that they take a clause as their complement. The second subsection will show that the clause can be reduced in the sense that any element can be omitted from it as long as it is identical to some element in the clause containing the equative/comparative phrase. However, the reduced clause contains one constituent that can never be spelled out overtly, namely the constituent that corresponds to the constituent in the matrix clause that contains the comparative morpheme. The third subsection will briefly discuss the nature of this constituent.

1. The complement of comparative *als/dan/van*-phrases

Consider again the examples in (52), repeated here as (56). We will see later that the comparative *van*-phrase *van de klas* (56c) functions as a regular PP headed by *van*, which takes the noun phrase *de klas* as its complement. There are reasons, however, to assume that the *als/dan*-phrases in (56a&b) cannot be analyzed as regular PPs with noun phrase complements.

- (56) a. Marie is even intelligent (*als Jan*).
 Marie is as intelligent as Jan
 b. Marie is slimmer (*dan/als Jan*).
 Marie is brighter than Jan
 c. Marie is het slimst (*van de klas*).
 Marie is the brightest of the group

When we assume that *dan* and *als* in (56a&b) are prepositions that take the noun phrase *Jan* as their complement, we would expect them to assign objective case to it. The examples in (57) show, however, that his expectation is not borne out and that the case of the noun phrase instead depends on the noun phrase to which it is compared; the noun phrase in the *als/dan*-phrase receives nominative case when it is compared to the nominative argument in the matrix clause, whereas it receives accusative case when it is compared to the accusative argument in the main clause.

- (57) a. Zij_{nom} is even intelligent als hij_{nom}.
 she is as intelligent as he
 a'. Zij_{nom} is slimmer dan/als hij_{nom}.
 she is brighter than he
 b. Ik vind haar_{acc} even intelligent als hem_{acc}.
 I consider her as intelligent as him
 b'. Ik vind haar_{acc} slimmer dan/als hem_{acc}.
 I consider her brighter than him

The examples in (57) therefore show that Standard Dutch *als* and *dan* differ from their English counterparts *as* and *than* in that they normally do not assign objective case to the noun phrase following them. It must be noted, however, that there are certain varieties of Dutch that are like English in allowing object pronouns in the (a)-examples of (57), but these are normally stigmatized as substandard or abusive language use; cf. <http://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/vraag/355/> and the references given there. Note that substituting a subject pronoun for the object pronoun in the (b)-examples in (57) is never possible. This is illustrated by the examples in (58).

- (58) a. [%]Zij_{nom} is even intelligent als hem_{acc}.
 she is as intelligent as him
 a'. [%]Zij_{nom} is slimmer dan/als hem_{acc}.
 she is brighter than him
 b. *Ik vind haar_{acc} even intelligent als hij_{nom}.
 I consider her as intelligent as he
 b'. *Ik vind haar_{acc} slimmer dan/als hij_{nom}.
 I consider her brighter than he

Given that nominative case is normally restricted to subjects of finite clauses, the fact that the pronouns in the (a)-examples of (57) have the nominative form strongly suggests that the complement of *als* and *dan* is clausal in nature. That the complement can be clausal in nature is also clear from the examples in (59), which feature a finite verb in the complement of *als/dan*. For completeness' sake, note that the subject pronouns in the (a)-examples in (59) cannot be replaced by an object pronoun in any variety of Dutch.

- (59) a. Zij_{nom} is even intelligent als hij_{nom} is.
 she is as intelligent as he is
 a'. Zij_{nom} is slimmer dan/als hij_{nom} is.
 she is brighter than he is
 b. Ik vind haar_{acc} even intelligent als ik hem_{acc} vind.
 I consider her as intelligent as I him consider
 b'. Ik vind haar_{acc} slimmer dan/als ik hem_{acc} vind.
 I consider her brighter than I him consider

The fact that the subject pronoun can also be used in the (a)-examples in (57) can now be accounted for by assuming that these examples are derived from the (a)-examples in (59) by deletion of the finite verb under identity with the finite verb of the main clause. Similarly, the (b)-examples in (57) can be derived from the (b)-examples in (59) by deletion of the finite verb and the subject under identity with the finite verb and the subject of the main clause. That identity is required for deletion is clear from the difference in acceptability between the (b)-examples in (58) and the examples in (60); the ungrammatical (b)-examples in (58) cannot be derived from the acceptable examples in (60) by deletion of the copular given that it is not identical to the finite verb of the main clause.

- (60) a. Ik vind haar_{acc} even intelligent als hij_{nom} is.
 I consider her as intelligent as he is
 b. Ik vind haar_{acc} slimmer dan/als hij_{nom} is.
 I consider her brighter than he is

Note, finally, that although the examples in (59) are certainly acceptable, they are marked compared to those in (57). This suggests that deletion is preferred whenever that is an option.

From the discussion in this subsection, we can conclude that the complement of *als/dan* is normally clausal in nature in the comparative deletion construction. This does not, however, hold for the complement of the comparative *van*-phrase in superlative constructions; the complement of *van* is always assigned objective case and never contains a finite verb. This shows that the *van*-PP is just a regular PP consisting of a preposition that takes a noun phrase as its complement.

- (61) a. Marie is het slimste van ons/*wij allemaal
 Marie is the smartest of us/we all
 b. Marie is het slimste van de klas (*is)
 Marie is the smartest of the group is

II. The reduced clause in *als/dan*-phrases

It seems that there are few restrictions on the reduction of the clausal complement of *als/dan* apart from the one we have already established in the previous subsection, that the omitted content must be recoverable under identity with some element in the matrix clause containing the comparative. For example, in (57) everything but the logical SUBJECT of the AP is deleted from the complement clause. But the examples in (62) show that the remaining part may also perform other functions. In (62a) the comparative *meer* 'more' functions as a clause adverb of degree, and in the comparative *dan*-phrase everything except the noun phrase that corresponds to the direct object of the main clause is omitted. In (62b) *meer* functions as a direct object and in the comparative phrase everything except the noun phrase that corresponds to the indirect object is omitted. In (62c), everything is deleted apart from the PP-complement of the adjective; (62d), finally, shows that an entire object clause can be omitted.

- (62) a. Ik bewonder Jan meer dan Peter.
 I admire Jan more than Peter
 b. Dit bedrijf discrimineert en betaalt mannen meer dan vrouwen.
 this company discriminates and pays men more than women
 c. Jan is meer gesteld op rundvlees dan/als op varkensvlees.
 Jan is more keen on beef than on pork
 'Jan is keener on beef than on pork.'
 d. De gang is breder dan ik dacht (dat hij was).
 the hall is wider than I thought that he was

Despite the fact that there are few restrictions on the reduction, it is clear that one element can never be overtly expressed in the *als/dan*-phrases discussed so far, namely the adjective that corresponds to the adjective in the equative/comparative

form in the matrix clause. The examples in (63) show this for the counterparts of the examples in (57), in which the element in the comparison set corresponds to the SUBJECT of the AP, and those in (64) do so for the counterparts of the more miscellaneous cases in (62). In the following subsection we will discuss the nature of this obligatorily suppressed element.

- (63) a. Zij_{nom} is even intelligent als hij_{nom} (*intelligent) is.
 she is as intelligent as he intelligent is
 a'. Zij_{nom} is slimmer dan/als hij_{nom} (*slim) is.
 she is brighter than he bright is
 b. Ik vind haar_{acc} even intelligent als ik hem_{acc} (*intelligent) vind.
 I consider her as intelligent as I him consider
 b'. Ik vind haar_{acc} slimmer dan/als ik hem_{acc} (*slim) vind.
 I consider her brighter than I him bright consider
- (64) a. Ik bewonder Jan meer dan ik Peter (*erg) bewonder.
 I admire Jan more than Peter much admire
 b. Dit bedrijf betaalt mannen meer dan het vrouwen (*veel) betaalt.
 this company pays men more than it women much pays
 c. Jan is meer gesteld op rundvlees dan/als hij op varkensvlees (*gesteld) is.
 Jan is more keen on beef than he on pork keen is
 'Jan is keener on beef than on pork.'
 d. De gang is breder dan ik dacht dat hij (*breed) was.
 the hall is wider than I thought that he was

III. The nature of the interpretative gap

The nature of interpretative gap has been the topic of a long-lasting and still ongoing debate; cf. Corver (2006) for an overview. Probably the most influential proposal is the one in Chomsky (1977), according to which the interpretative gap arises as result of *wh*-movement, and subsequent deletion of the moved phrase under identity with the adjective in the matrix clause (in the same way as relative pronouns in English relative constructions like *the man (who)_i I met t_i yesterday* can be omitted).

One reason for claiming this is that comparative deletion seems unbounded in the same sense that *wh*-movement is. We have already seen one instance of this in (64d), repeated here in a slightly different form as (65a), where the interpreted gap is found in a more deeply embedded clause. For completeness' sake, (65b) provides the corresponding example with *wh*-movement for comparison.

- (65) a. De gang is breder dan [ik dacht [dat hij [e] was]].
 the hall is wider than I thought that he was
 b. Hoe breed_i denk je dat de gang t_i is?
 how wide think you that the hall is

If comparative deletion does in fact involve *wh*-movement, we predict that examples like (65a) are only possible when the embedded clause is the complement of a so-called °bridge verb like *denken* 'to think', but not when it is the complement of a non-bridge verb like *betwisten* 'to contest'. Example (66a) shows that this

prediction is indeed correct; (66b) again provides the corresponding examples with *wh*-movement.

- (66) a. *De tafel is breder dan [ik betwistte [dat hij [e] was]].
 the table is wider than I disputed that he was
 b. *Hoe breed betwistte je dat de gang t_i is?
 how wide disputed you that the hall is

A second reason for assuming that comparative deletion involves *wh*-movement is that it cannot occur in so-called °islands for extraction. We illustrate this by means of the (b)-examples in (67), which show that comparative deletion cannot apply to the complement of a PP, just as *wh*-movement of the complement of a PP is excluded. Example (67a) just serves to show that examples of comparable complexity in which the interpretative gap serves as direct object are fully acceptable.

- (67) a. Els heeft meer boeken gerecenseerd dan Jan [e] gelezen heeft.
 Els has more books reviewed than Jan read has
 ‘Els has reviewed more books than Jan has read.’
 b. *Els heeft over meer boeken geschreven dan Jan [_{PP} naar [e]] gekeken heeft.
 Els has about more books written than Jan at looked has
 b’. *Hoeveel boeken_i heeft Jan [_{PP} naar t_i] gekeken?
 how.many books has Jan at looked

The fact that the *wh*-movement approach can account for the unacceptability of (65b) and (67b) by means of independently motivated constraints is generally seen as strong support for Chomsky’s (1977) proposal.

4.1.3.2. Comparative subdeletion

This section discusses the internal structure of the comparative *als/dan*-phrase in comparative subdeletion constructions like (68).

- (68) a. Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan Marie [[e] CDs] heeft.
 Jan has more books than Marie CDs has
 a’. Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan [[e] CDs].
 Jan has more books than CDs
 b. Deze tafel is even lang als die tafel [[e] breed] is.
 this table is as long as that table wide is
 b’. Deze tafel is even lang als [[e] breed].
 this table is as long as wide

It is generally assumed that constructions like these involve an interpretative gap that in a sense corresponds to the morpheme expressing the comparison in the matrix clause. One reason for assuming this is that, just like the comparative morpheme *meer*, the postulated empty element in the (a)-examples blocks the insertion of quantifiers like *veel* ‘many’. Similarly, the empty element in the (b)-examples blocks the insertion of measure phrases like *anderhalve meter* ‘one and a half meter’, just like the equative morpheme *even*.

- (69) a. *Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan Marie [veel CDs] heeft.
 Jan has more books than Marie many CDs has
 a'. *Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan [veel CDs].
 Jan has more books than many CDs
 b. *Deze tafel is [even lang] als die tafel [anderhalve meter breed] is.
 this table is as long as that table one.and.a.half meter wide is
 b'. *Deze tafel is [even lang] als [anderhalve meter breed].
 this table is as long as one.and.a.half meter wide

Given that Section 4.3 will argue that comparison and degree modification have much in common, it does not really come as a surprise that the empty element has been identified as a degree phrase; cf. Bresnan (1973). Given that it will be easier for what follows to represent this phonetically empty degree phrase as DEGREE, we will assign the examples in (68) the structures in (70).

- (70) a. Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan Marie [DEGREE CDs] heeft.
 a'. Jan heeft [meer boeken] dan [DEGREE CDs].
 b. Deze tafel is [even lang] als die tafel [DEGREE breed] is.
 b'. Deze tafel is [even lang] als [DEGREE breed].

I. Support for the postulation of an empty degree phrase

Bresnan's proposal can be supported by appealing to the fact that °quantitative *er* can be used in comparative subdeletion contexts. Quantitative *er* is normally used in contexts like (71), where it licenses a phonetically empty nominal projection [*e*]; in this case the content of the empty noun is determined by the nominal phrase (*mooie*) *boeken* in the first conjunct. Quantitative *er* requires that the empty nominal projection be preceded by a weak quantifier or a cardinal number; (71a) becomes completely unacceptable when the quantifier *veel* is dropped. This means that if the occurrence of *er* in (71b) is also quantitative, we have independent evidence in favor of the empty degree phrase postulated; cf. Bennis (1977).

- (71) a. Jan heeft weinig (mooie) boeken maar Marie heeft er [veel [*e*]].
 Jan has few beautiful books but Marie has ER many
 b. Ik heb meer boeken dan jij er [DEGREE [*e*]] hebt.
 I have more books than you ER have

There is actually little doubt that we are dealing with quantitative *er* in (71b). Example (72a) shows that the empty nominal projection cannot be associated with a non-count noun. The fact that (72b) is also unacceptable therefore unambiguously shows that we are dealing with quantitative *er*.

- (72) a. *Jan heeft veel geld maar Piet heeft er [weinig [*e*]].
 Jan has much money but Piet has ER little
 b. *Ik heb meer geld dan jij er [DEGREE [*e*]] hebt.
 I have more money than you ER have

Furthermore, the primeless examples in (73) show that the empty nominal projection can be combined with postnominal modifiers but not with prenominal

attributive adjectives; the contrast between the two primed examples again supports the claim that we are dealing with quantitative *er*.

- (73) a. Jan heeft veel boeken over muziek en ik heb er [veel [e] over wijn].
 Jan has many books about music and I have ER many about wine
 a'. Jan heeft meer boeken over muziek dan ik er [DEGREE [e] over wijn] heb.
 Jan has more books about music than I ER about wine have
 b. *Jan heeft veel blauwe knikkers en ik heb er [veel groene [e]].
 Jan has many blue marbles and I have ER many green
 b'. *Jan heeft meer blauwe knikkers dan ik er [DEGREE groene [e]] heb.
 Jan has more blue marbles than I ER green have

II. The nature of the interpretative gap

Section 4.1.3.1, sub III, has shown that there are reasons to assume that the interpretative gap in the comparative deletion construction is the result of *wh*-movement and subsequent deletion of the moved phrase. If this is correct, we might expect that the comparative subdeletion construction would likewise involve *wh*-movement, but this section will show that this does not seem to be borne out, and that the distribution of the interpretative gap DEGREE differs considerably from that of *wh*-phrases. One way in which the distributions of the interpretative gap and *wh*-phrases differ is illustrated in (74) and (75). The (a)-examples in (74) show that *wh*-movement of interrogative quantifiers like *hoeveel* 'how many' obligatorily pied pipes the remainder of the modified noun phrase; extraction of the quantifier from the noun phrase leads to an ungrammatical result. The fact that the interpretative gap indicated by DEGREE in (74b) occupies the same position as the *wh*-trace in (74a') therefore suggests that *wh*-movement is not involved in this example.

- (74) a. [Hoeveel boeken]_i heb jij *t_i*?
 how.many books have you
 Intended reading: 'How many books do you have?'
 a'. *Hoeveel_i heb jij [*t_i* boeken]?
 b. Els heeft meer CDs dan jij [DEGREE boeken] hebt.
 Els has more CDs than you books have
 'Els has more CDs than you have books.'

The examples in (75) show something similar for °intensifiers of APs. The (a)-examples show that *wh*-extraction of the interrogative intensifier *hoe* 'how' from the AP is excluded: *wh*-movement must pied pipe the full AP. The fact that the interpretative gap in (75b) occupies the same position as the *wh*-trace in (75a') again suggests that *wh*-movement is not involved in the comparative subdeletion construction.

- (75) a. [Hoe breed]_i is die tafel *t_i*?
 how wide is that table
 a'. *Hoe_i is die tafel [*t_i* breed]?
 b. Deze tafel is even lang als die kast [DEGREE breed] is.
 this table is as long as that cupboard wide is
 'This table is as long as that cupboard is wide.'

More evidence for the conclusion that comparative deletion and comparative subdeletion differ with respect to the involvement of *wh*-movement can be found in (76) and (77). The examples in (76) show that PPs are absolute islands for *wh*-movement, which is clear from the fact that example (76b) is just as unacceptable as example (76c) with subextraction.

- (76) a. Met hoeveel meisjes heb je gedanst?
 with how.many girls have you danced
 ‘With how many girls did you dance?’
 b. *Hoeveel meisjes_i heb je [_{PP} met/mee *t*_i] gedanst?
 c. *Hoeveel_i heb je [_{PP} met/mee [*t*_i meisjes]] gedanst?

Example (77a) shows that having an interpretative gap in the same position as the *wh*-trace in (76b) gives rise to an unacceptable result, which supports the earlier conclusion that comparative deletion involves *wh*-movement; cf. also the discussion of the (b)-examples in (67). Example (77b), on the other hand, shows that having an interpretative gap in the position of the *wh*-trace in (76c) is possible, and this again suggests that *wh*-movement is not involved in comparative subdeletion.

- (77) a. *Jan heeft met meer meisjes gekletst dan hij [met/mee [e]] gedanst heeft.
 Jan has with more girls chattered than he with danced has
 Intended reading: ‘Jan spoke to more girls than he danced with.’
 b. Jan heeft met meer jongens gekletst dan hij [met [DEGREE meisjes]]
 Jan has with more boys chattered than he with girls
 gedanst heeft.
 danced has
 Intended reading: ‘Jan spoke to more boys than he danced with girls.’

Another difference between comparative deletion and comparative subdeletion constructions that points in the same direction is that the comparative deletion construction may contain at most one interpretative gap, whereas the comparative subdeletion construction may contain multiple interpretative gaps. Consider the examples in (78).

- (78) Jan verkocht in één dag meer vrouwen meer stropdassen...
 Jan sold in one week more women more neckties
 a. ... dan Marie [DEGREE mannen] [DEGREE lipsticks] in een week ~~verkocht~~.
 ... than Marie men lipsticks in a week sold
 ‘Jan sold more women more neckties in one day than Marie sold men
 lipsticks in a week.’
 b. *... dan Marie [e] [e] in een week ~~verkocht~~.
 ... than Marie in a week sold

It seems that example (78a) is fully acceptable, despite the fact that the meaning expressed is rather complicated in that there are two things claimed at the same time: (i) the number of women that were sold neckties exceeds the number of men that were sold lipsticks and (ii) the number of neckties sold to women exceeds the number of lipsticks sold to men. Examples like (78b), on the other hand, have been claimed to be unacceptable, and it indeed seems very hard to simultaneously assign

an intelligible interpretation to the two gaps in the structure. Given that it is not possible in Dutch to place more than one *wh*-phrase in clause-initial position, the indicated contrast between (78a) and (78b) would follow from the proposal so far: comparative deletion involves *wh*-movement and, consequently, there can be at most one interpretative gap, whereas comparative subdeletion does not involve *wh*-movement and consequently there can be multiple gaps; see Corver (1990/2006) for more extensive discussion.

The discussion above strongly suggests that the process involved in comparative subdeletion is less restricted than that in comparative deletion. This does not mean, however, that comparative subdeletion is completely free. For example, whereas comparative subdeletion is acceptable with the predicatively used APs in (75b) or (79a), it is excluded with the attributively used APs in (79b).

- (79) a. Jans tafel is even lang als Peters kast [DEGREE breed] is.
 Jan's table is as long as Peter's cupboard wide is
 'Jan's table is as long as Peter's cupboard is wide.'
 b. *Jan heeft een even lange tafel als Peter [een [DEGREE brede] kast]] heeft.
 Jan has an as long table as Peter a wide cupboard has

III. Complement of the *als/dan*-phrase

The previous subsection has shown that there are reasons to assume that comparative deletion and comparative subdeletion cannot be given the same analysis: whereas the former arguably involves *wh*-movement, the latter most likely does not. This in turn may have consequences for the analysis of the complement of the *als/dan*-phrase. If comparative deletion indeed involves *wh*-movement, it follows automatically that (as argued in Section 4.1.3.1, sub I) the complement of *als/dan* is clausal, given that the target of *wh*-movement is the clause-initial position. If comparative subdeletion does not involve *wh*-movement, the complement of the *als/dan*-phrase may but need not be clausal. The fact that the complement can be clausal in the comparative subdeletion construction needs little argumentation, given that we have seen several unambiguous instances of this in the earlier discussion. This suggests that just as in the case of comparative deletion, the primeless examples in (80) can readily be derived from the primed examples by means of deletion of those parts that are recoverable from the matrix clause.

- (80) a. Jan heeft meer CDs dan boeken.
 Jan has more CDs than books
 a'. Jan heeft meer CDs dan ~~hij~~ [DEGREE boeken] ~~heeft~~.
 b. De tafel is even lang als breed.
 the table is as long as wide
 b'. De tafel is even lang als ~~hij~~ [DEGREE breed] ~~is~~.
 the table is as long as he wide is

It is less clear whether the complement of *als/dan* can be non-clausal, but it seems that we must keep this as a possible option, given that the following section will show that the complement of the *als/dan*-phrase need not be clausal.

4.1.3.3. *Als/dan-phrases without comparative (sub)deletion*

The third construction, illustrated in (81a&b), differs from comparative (sub)deletion in that the comparative *als/dan*-phrase does not contain an interpretative gap, that is, there is no implicit degree phrase. That the complement is not clausal in this case is strongly suggested by the unacceptability of the primed examples, from which the primeless examples should then have been derived. The unacceptability of the doubly-primed examples also points in that direction.

- (81) a. Jan heeft meer (boeken) gelezen dan *Eline Vere*.
 Jan has more books read than *Eline Vere*
 a'. *Jan heeft meer (boeken) gelezen dan hij *Eline Vere* gelezen heeft.
 Jan has more books read than he *Eline Vere* read has
 a''. *Jan heeft meer (boeken) gelezen dan Marie *Eline Vere* (gelezen heeft).
 Jan has more books read than Marie *Eline Vere* read has
 b. Jan verdient meer ([?]geld) dan 100 Euro.
 Jan earns more money than 100 euro
 b'. *Jan verdient meer dan hij 100 euro verdient.
 Jan earns more than he 100 euro earns
 b''. *Jan verdient meer dan Marie 100 euro (verdient).
 Jan earns more than Marie 100 euro earns

Constructions of the type in (81a&b) can sometimes be easily confused with comparative (sub)deletion constructions. Examples are given in (82a&b). Example (82a) involves a comparative deletion construction: we are dealing with a clausal complement with an interpretative gap that arises from *wh*-movement and subsequent deletion of the moved element under identity with the phrase containing the comparative. In (82b), on the other hand, we are dealing with a nominal complement in the form of a free relative clause, and the interpretative gap is a trace bound by the relative pronoun *wat*.

- (82) a. Jan verdient meer (geld) dan zijn vader vroeger verdiende.
 Jan earns more money than his father once earned
 a'. Jan verdient meer (geld) dan [_S zijn vader vroeger [_e] verdiende].
 b. Jan verdient meer (geld) dan wat zijn vader vroeger verdiende.
 Jan earns more money than what his father once earned
 b'. Jan verdient meer (geld) dan [_{NP} Ø [_S wat_i zijn vader vroeger t_i verdiende]].

Given that the two examples in (82) have different structures we would expect them to differ in meaning, and Den Besten (1978) claims that this is indeed the case although this meaning difference is difficult to spell-out. Fortunately, he also provides the examples in (83) where the meaning difference is more obvious: in the comparative deletion construction in (83a) it is simply claimed that the number of guests exceeds the number of last year's guests, whereas in example (83b) it is claimed that last year's guests form a proper subset of the guests invited this year.

- (83) Jan heeft meer mensen uitgenodigd ...
 Jan has more people prt.-invited
 a. ... dan [_S hij vorig jaar [e] had uitgenodigd].
 than he last year had prt.-invited
 ‘Jan invited more people than he had invited last year.’
 b. ... dan [_{NP} Ø [_S die hij vorig jaar *t_i* had uitgenodigd]].
 than who he last year had prt.-invited
 ‘Jan invited more people than those he invited last year.’

The reading of (83b) resembles the reading of (81a), where it is claimed that *Eline Vere* constitutes a subset of the set of books read by Jan. The fact that adjectives in the equative form are incompatible with *als/dan*-phrases of this sort suggests that this subset interpretation is a characteristic feature of these phrases.

- (84) a. *Jan heeft evenveel (boeken) gelezen als *Oorlog en vrede*.
 Jan has as many books read as *War and Peace*
 b. *Jan verdient evenveel (?geld) als 100 Euro.
 Jan earns as.much money as 100 euro

If this is indeed the case, we correctly predict that only the (a)-examples in (82) and (83) can occur with an equative form, as shown in (85) and (86).

- (85) a. Jan verdient evenveel als zijn vader vroeger [e] verdiende.
 Jan earns as much as his father once earned
 b. *Jan verdient evenveel als [_{NP} Ø [_S wat_i zijn vader vroeger *t_i* verdiende]].
 Jan earns as much as what his father once earned
- (86) Jan heeft evenveel mensen uitgenodigd ...
 Jan has as many people prt.-invited
 a. ... als hij vorig jaar [e] had uitgenodigd.
 as he last year had prt.-invited
 b. *... als [_{NP} Ø [_S die hij vorig jaar *t_i* had uitgenodigd]].
 as who he last year had prt.-invited

4.1.3.4. The categorial status of *als/dan*

Section 4.1.3.1 has shown that *van* clearly functions as a preposition in the comparative *van*-PP. It is, however, much less clear whether *als* and *dan* also function as prepositions. One argument against assuming this, which was already mentioned in 4.1.3.1, is that *als* and *dan* do not seem to assign case. In addition, the fact that the complement of these elements is clausal in nature in comparative (sub)deletion constructions is problematic for assuming that these elements are prepositions given that prepositions normally do not readily take a clausal complement. For this reason, it has been claimed that *dan* and *als* are conjunctions. Bresnan (1972) has further suggested that *dan* and *als* act as subordinating conjunctions, which would be in line with the fact, illustrated in (87), that the finite verb is always in clause-final position in Dutch *als/dan*-phrases.

- (87) a. Ik bewonder Peter meer dan (dat) ik Marie [e] bewonder.
 I admire Peter more than that I Marie admire
 'I admire Peter more than I admire Marie.'
 b. Jan heeft meer boeken dan (dat) Marie [DEGREE CDs] heeft.
 Jan has more book than that Marie CDs has
 'Jan has more books than Marie has CDs.'

However, the examples in (87) also provide evidence against the assumption that the elements *als* and *dan* are complementizers; they can optionally be followed by the element *dat*, which clearly functions as the subordinator of the dependent clause. It is therefore implausible that *als* or *dan* would perform the same function; see Chomsky and Lasnik (1977: appendix I) for some additional arguments.

It has also been argued that clauses featuring comparative subdeletion exhibit certain properties of clausal coordination; see Hendriks (1995) and Corver (2006: section 5) for a discussion that includes various arguments based on English. A first argument involves ^oacross-the-board movement. Just as in the coordinated structure in (88a), the *wh*-phrase *aan wie* 'to whom' in (88b) seems to be associated with two *wh*-traces, which are part of the matrix clause and the *dan*-phrase, respectively. If we assume that *dan* is a coordinator, we can assign (88b) the structure in (88b'), which is in all relevant respects identical to that in (88a), and thus correctly predict that the two examples have a similar status.

- (88) a. [Aan wie]_i gaf [[Peter een boek *t_i*] en [Jan een CD *t_i*]]?
 to whom gave Peter a book and Jan a CD
 'To whom did Peter give a book and Jan a CD?'
 b. Aan wie gaf Peter meer boeken dan Jan CDs?
 to whom gave Peter more books than Jan CDs
 'To whom did Peter give more books than Jan CDs?'
 b'. [Aan wie]_i gaf [[Peter meer boeken *t_i*] dan [Jan CDs *t_i*]]?
 to whom gave Peter more books than Jan CDs

A second argument involves the reduction of the clausal complement of *dan* in comparative deletion constructions like (89). Just like the remnants in ^ogapping constructions, the overtly realized constituents in the *dan*-phrase must be contrastively stressed, which is clear from the fact that the proper noun *Els* cannot be replaced by the reduced pronoun *ze* 'she' in these examples: for this reason it has been suggested that *dan* functions as a conjunction coordinating the matrix clause and the reduced clause following it.

- (89) a. Jan leest meer romans dan [Els verhalen [_v Ø]]
 Jan reads more novels than Els stories
 b. Jan heeft meer romans geschreven dan Els toneelstukken [_{AUX} Ø] opgevoerd.
 Jan has more novels written than Els plays performed
 c. Jan heeft meer romans geschreven dan Els toneelstukken [_{AUX} Ø] [_v Ø].
 Jan has more novels written than Els plays

A third argument involves backward ^oconjunction reduction, which is normally also restricted to contexts with coordinated clauses. If *dan* indeed coordinates two

clauses, we can immediately account for the fact that the verb in the main clause of (90a) can be omitted under identity with the verb in the *dan*-phrase. It must be noted, however, that the reduction is only fully acceptable when both clauses have the form of an embedded clause; example (90b) is marked. This would be unexpected if this were a case of conjunction reduction.

- (90) a. dat meer vrouwen voor hun man ~~hebben~~ ~~gezorgd~~
 that more women for their husband have taken.care
 dan mannen voor hun vrouw hebben gezorgd.
 than men for their wife have taken.care
- b. ??Meer vrouwen hebben voor hun man ~~gezorgd~~
 more women have for their man taken.care
 dan mannen voor hun vrouw hebben gezorgd.
 than men for their wife have taken.care

Although the examples in (88) to (90) show that the comparative subdeletion construction exhibits certain similarities with a coordinated structure, there is one conspicuous difference between the two: the clause following *dan* always behaves as an embedded clause in the sense that the finite verb must occur in clause-final position (if overtly realized), whereas the second conjunct of a coordinated structure has the finite verb in second position when the first conjunct is a main clause. This is shown in (91) where the finite verb *verhuurt* occupies the second position immediately following the subject in the coordinated structure in (91a) but the clause-final position after the direct object in the comparative subdeletion construction.

- (91) a. [[Jan verkoopt platen] en [Marie verhuurt CDs]].
 Jan sells books and Marie rents.out CDs
- b. Jan verkoopt meer platen dan [Marie CDs verhuurt].
 Jan sells more records than Marie CDs rents.out

The question of what the categorical status of *als/dan* is is still far from settled and needs more research in the future. The studies by Corver and Hendriks mentioned above will provide a good starting point for such an investigation.

4.1.3.5. Placement of the *als/dan/van*-phrase

The fact illustrated in (92) that topicalization of the AP may pied pipe the *als/dan/van*-phrase unambiguously shows that the latter is part of the AP; cf. the °constituency test. The coordination test, illustrated in (93), yields the same result.

- (92) a. [Even slim als Peter] is dat meisje zeker.
 as smart as Peter is that girl certainly
- b. [Slimmer dan/als Peter] is dat meisje zeker.
 brighter than Peter is that girl certainly
- c. [Het slimst van de klas] is dat meisje zeker.
 the smartest of the group is that girl certainly

- (93) a. Els is [[even slim als Peter] maar [dommer dan/als Marie]].
 Els is as clever as Peter but sillier than Marie
 b. Els is [[slimmer dan/als Peter] maar [dommer dan/als Marie]].
 Els is brighter than Peter but sillier than Marie
 c. Els is [[het slimst van haar klas] maar [het domst van haar bridgeclub]].
 Els is the brightest of her group but the silliest of her bridge club

Nevertheless, this section will show that the *dan/als/van*-phrase need not be immediately adjacent to the adjective. Since *dan/als/van*-phrases resemble PP-complements of adjectives in that they normally follow the adjective, we will discuss adjectives without and with PP-complements in separate subsections. We will conclude by showing that pseudo-participles behave somewhat differently from other adjectives.

1. Adjectives that do not take a prepositional complement

The examples in (94) show that when we are dealing with a clause with a verb in clause-final position, the *dan/als/van*-phrase can optionally occur postverbally, that is, in extraposed position.

- (94) a. dat Els even intelligent <als Jan> is <als Jan>.
 that Els as intelligent as Jan is
 b. dat Els intelligenter <dan/als Jan> is <dan/als Jan>.
 that Els more.intelligent than Jan is
 c. dat Els het intelligentst <van de club> is <van de club>.
 that Els the most.intelligent of the club is

The examples in (95) show that when an equative, comparative or superlative phrase is used attributively, the *dan/als/van*-phrase cannot occur adjacent to the adjective but must occur postnominally.

- (95) a. een even intelligente <*als Els> vrouw <als Els>
 an as intelligent as Els woman
 'a woman that is as intelligent as Els'
 b. een intelligent-er-e <*dan/als Els> vrouw <dan/als Els>
 a more.intelligent than Els woman
 'a woman that is more intelligent than Els'
 c. de intelligent-st-e <*van de club> vrouw <van de club>
 the most.intelligent of the club woman
 'the woman that is the most intelligent of the club'

The fact that the comparative *dan/als*- and the superlative *van*-phrase cannot occur prenominally of course follows from the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives in (96), which requires that adjectives carrying the attributive *-e/-Ø* ending be adjacent to the noun they modify; see Section 5.3.1.2 for a more thorough discussion of this filter.

(96) **Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives:**

The structure [_{NP} .. [_{AP} ADJ XP] N[#]] is unacceptable, when XP is phonetically non-null and N[#] is a bare head noun or a noun preceded by an adjective phrase: [(AP) N].

Although the adjective and the *dan/als/van*-phrase need not be strictly adjacent, it seems impossible for the latter to precede the former. This can be straightforwardly established for the *dan/als*-phrases in (94a&b); the fact that they cannot follow the clause adverb *zeker* ‘certainly’ suggests that their base position is to the right of the adjective, and the fact that they cannot precede *zeker* shows that they cannot be moved leftward into an AP-external position. The question whether leftward movement of the *van*-phrase is possible is harder to answer given that (97c) is acceptable when the *van*-phrase precedes the clause adverb *zeker* ‘certainly’. However, there seems to be a subtle difference in interpretation between the *van*-phrases in (94c) and (97c); whereas the *van*-phrase in (94c) clearly establishes the comparison set, the *van*-phrase in (97c) seems to delimit the domain of discourse, which suggests that it functions as an independent restrictive adverbial phrase. For this reason we marked this order with a number sign.

- (97) a. *dat Els <zeker> als Jan <zeker> even intelligent is.
 b. *dat Els <zeker> dan/als Jan <zeker> intelligenter is.
 c. dat Els <[?]zeker> van de club <[#]zeker> het intelligentst is.

The (a)- and (b)-examples in (98) show that topicalization of the adjective must pied pipe the *dan/als*-phrase and vice versa: topicalization of the adjective or the *dan/als/van*-phrase in isolation results in ungrammaticality. The (c)-examples are again somewhat more complex: example (98c) shows that topicalization of the adjective must pied pipe the *van*-PP, whereas (98c') shows that it is possible to have a *van*-PP in clause-initial position when the AP occupies its base position. This unexpected grammaticality of (98c') would follow when we assume that we are again dealing with a restrictive adverbial clause, which can be supported by the fact that this example again seems to get the special meaning that we attributed to the acceptable example in (97c).

- (98) a. *Even intelligent is Marie als Peter.
 a'. *Als Peter is Marie even intelligent.
 b. *Intelligenter is Marie dan/als Peter.
 b'. *Dan/Als Peter is Marie intelligenter.
 c. *Het intelligentst is Marie van haar klas.
 c'. [#]Van haar klas is Marie het intelligentst.

The placement of the *dan/als/van*-phrase in periphrastic constructions is more or less the same as in the morphologically derived cases discussed above. This can be seen by comparing the examples in (99) to the (b)- and (c)-examples in (94) and (97). Again, placement of the *van*-phrase in the grammatical version in front of the superlative gives rise to the special meaning we have also attributed to the acceptable examples in (97c) and (98c').

- (99) a. dat Els <*dan/als Jan> minder intelligent <dan/als Jan> is <dan/als Jan>.
 that Els than Jan less intelligent is
 b. dat Els <#van de club> het meest intelligent <van de club> is <van de club>.
 that Els of the club the most intelligent is

II. Adjectives that take a prepositional complement

Just like *dan/als/van*-phrases, PP-complements of adjectives are placed either to the immediate right of the adjective or in extraposed position: cf. *dat Jan dol <op vlees> is <op vlees>* ‘that Jan is fond of meat’. This raises the question of what happens when both a prepositional complement and a comparative *dan/als/van*-phrase are present. We start the discussion with °extraposition. The examples in (100) show that when both phrases are extraposed, the prepositional complement must precede the *dan/als/van*-phrase.

- (100) a. dat Jan even dol is op vlees als Peter.
 that Jan as fond is of meat as Peter
 ‘that Jan is as fond of meat as Peter.’
 a’. *dat Jan even dol is als Peter op vlees.
 b. dat Jan doller is op vlees dan/als Peter.
 that Jan fonder is of meat than Peter
 ‘that Jan is fonder of meat than Peter.’
 b’. *dat Jan doller is dan/als Peter op vlees.
 c. dat Jan het dolst is op vlees van allemaal.
 that Jan the fondest is of meat of all
 ‘that Jan is the fondest of meat of all.’
 c’. *dat Jan het dolst is van allemaal op vlees.

Extraposition can also be limited to the *dan/als/van*-phrase, as in the primeless examples in (101). Extraposition of the prepositional complement, on the other hand, is blocked when the *dan/als/van*-phrase is in preverbal position, which is shown by the primed examples in (101). Note, however, that the primed examples improve when the noun phrase following *als/dan* is heavy, that is, when we replace *vlees* ‘meat’ by, e.g., *andijvie met een flink stuk vlees* ‘endive with a large piece of meat’.

- (101) a. dat Jan even dol op vlees is als Peter.
 a’. *dat Jan even dol als Peter is op vlees.
 b. dat Jan doller op vlees is dan/als Peter.
 b’. *dat Jan doller dan/als Peter is op vlees.
 c. dat Jan het dolst op vlees is van allemaal.
 c’. *dat Jan het dolst van allemaal is op vlees.

Extraposition of the *dan/als/van*-phrase seems at least strongly preferred, but insofar as placement of both the prepositional complement and the *dan/als/van*-phrase in between the adjective and the verb in clause-final position is possible, the first must precede the latter, just as in the extraposition constructions in (100).

- (102) a. ??dat Jan even dol op vlees als Peter is.
 a'. *dat Jan even dol als Peter op vlees is.
 b. ??dat Jan doller op vlees dan/als Peter is.
 b'. *dat Jan doller als Peter op vlees is.
 c. ??dat Jan het dolst op vlees van allemaal is.
 c'. *dat Jan het dolst van allemaal op vlees is.

The examples in (103) show that it is not possible to place the *dan/als/van*-phrase immediately after the periphrastic elements of comparison *even*, *minder* or *het minst*. Note that (103a) is acceptable when we interpret the sequence *even* + *als* as English “just like”, but the intended interpretation here is “as fond of meat as ...”.

- (103) a. #dat Jan even als Peter dol op vlees is.
 b. *dat Jan minder dan/als Peter dol op vlees is.
 c. *dat Jan het minst van allemaal dol op vlees is.

Finally, it can be noted that the *van*-phrase can precede the prepositional complement, when it occurs more to the left of the superlative, but it seems plausible that in these cases we are again dealing with an independent restrictive adverbial clause.

- (104) a. #dat Jan van allemaal het minst dol op vlees is.
 b. #Van allemaal is Jan het minst dol op vlees.

III. Pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives

Section 2.3.1.3 has shown that some pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives can take a prepositional complement both to their right and to their left. This is also possible in the periphrastic comparative and superlative construction (cf. Section 4.3.1), but not in the equative construction. This is shown for the pseudo-participle *gesteld op* ‘keen on’ in (105). The examples in (105) also show that the PP-complement can be extraposed. Note that although the cases in which the PP-complement immediately follows the adjective are certainly fully grammatical, some speakers may consider them somewhat marked compared to the two other orders.

- (105) a. dat Jan even <#op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> is <op vlees> als Peter.
 that Jan as on meat fond is as Peter
 ‘that Jan is as keen on meat as Peter.’
 b. dat Jan meer <op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> is <op vlees> dan/als Peter.
 that Jan more on meat fond is than Peter
 ‘that Jan is keener on meat than Peter.’
 c. dat Jan het meest <op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> is <op vlees> van allemaal.
 that Jan the most on meat fond is of all
 ‘that Jan is the keenest on meat of all.’

Example shows that the same results arise when we replace *gesteld op vlees* by the deverbal AP *afhankelijk van thuiszorg* ‘dependent on home care’.

- (106) a. dat Jan even <[#]van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> is <van hulp> als Peter.
 that Jan as of help dependent is as Peter
 ‘that Jan is as dependent on help as Peter.’
 b. dat Jan meer <van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> is <van hulp> dan/als Peter.
 that Jan more of help dependent is than Peter
 ‘that Jan is more dependent on help than Peter.’
 c. dat Jan het meest <van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> is <van hulp> van ons.
 that Jan the most of help dependent is of us
 ‘that Jan is the most dependent on help of us all.’

Just as in the case of the adjective *dol*, extraposition of the *dan/als/van*-phrase is strongly preferred when a PP-complement is present. Given that this is the case regardless of whether the PP-complement precedes or follows the pseudo-participle, we may conclude that the marginality of the examples in (107) is not due to some linear restriction that blocks the presence of both a PP-complement and the *dan/als/van*-phrase between the adjective and the verb in clause-final position.

- (107) a. ??dat Jan even gesteld op vlees als Peter is.
 a'. ??dat Jan even afhankelijk <van hulp> als Peter is.
 b. ??dat Jan meer <op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> dan/als Peter is.
 b'. ??dat Jan meer <van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> dan/als Peter is.
 c. ??dat Jan het meest <op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> van ons is.
 c'. ??dat Jan het meest <van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> van ons is.

The examples in (108b&c) show that pseudo-participles like *gesteld op* and deverbal adjectives like *afhankelijk van* differ from the simple adjectives discussed in the two previous subsections in that they do allow placement of the *dan/als/van*-phrase of comparison immediately after *meer/minder* or *het meest/minst* in the periphrastic comparative/superlative construction, regardless of the position of the PP-complement. Observe, however, that this is excluded in the equative construction; the examples in (108) are acceptable, but only when we interpret the sequence *even + als* as English “just like”; the interpretation relevant here is “as fond of meat as ...” and “as dependent on ...”.

- (108) a. [#]dat Jan even als Peter gesteld op vlees is.
 a'. [#]dat Jan even als Peter afhankelijk <van hulp> is.
 b. dat Jan meer/minder dan/als Peter <op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> is.
 b'. dat Jan meer dan/als Peter <van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> is.
 c. dat Jan het meest/minst van allemaal <op vlees> gesteld <op vlees> is.
 c'. dat Jan het meest van ons <van hulp> afhankelijk <van hulp> is.

4.1.4. Comparison of adjectives with adjectives

This section discusses examples like (109), in which two properties are compared: in (109a) the comparison involves the length and the width of a single table, and in (109b) the length and width of two different tables. When we represent the referent of the noun phrase *deze tafel* as “table₁” and that of *die tafel* as “table₂”, the semantic representations of these examples are as given in the primed examples; the

predicates are set in boldface to indicate that we are dealing with the neutral meanings of the adjectives.

- (109) a. Deze tafel is even lang als breed.
 this table is as long as wide
 a'. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{table1}, d) \ \& \ \text{BREED}(\text{table1}, d') \ \& \ (d = d')]$
 b. Deze tafel is even lang als die tafel breed.
 this table is as long as that table wide
 b'. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{table1}, d) \ \& \ \text{BREED}(\text{table2}, d') \ \& \ (d = d')]$

The examples in (110) show that we can find similar examples with comparatives. Perhaps the addition of a modifier like *iets* 'somewhat' is preferred in these examples, although it is readily possible to find similar examples without a modifier on the internet. Superlative examples involving comparison of properties do not occur.

- (110) a. Deze tafel is iets langer dan/als breed.
 this table is somewhat longer than wide
 a'. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{table1}, d) \ \& \ \text{BREED}(\text{table1}, d') \ \& \ (d > d')]$
 b. Deze tafel is iets langer dan/als die tafel breed.
 this table is somewhat longer than that table wide
 b'. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{table1}, d) \ \& \ \text{BREED}(\text{table2}, d') \ \& \ (d > d')]$

The possibility of having an adjective in a comparative *als/dan*-phrase is very limited, however. Below we will discuss the restrictions involved.

1. The adjectives imply commensurable scales

A first requirement that must be met is that the compared adjectives must be scaled in a similar way. Since length and width can be expressed by means of the same measure units (e.g., centimeters or inches), the examples in (109) are acceptable. The adjectives in the examples in (111), on the other hand, involve scales that are incomparable and the examples are unacceptable: the semantic representations in the primed examples are not coherent because the degrees *d* and *d'* involve different measure units and therefore cannot be compared.

- (111) a. [#]Deze tafel is even lang als mooi.
 this table is as long as beautiful
 a'. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{tafel}, d) \ \& \ \text{MOOI}(\text{tafel}, d') \ \& \ (d = d')]$
 b. [#]Jan is even sterk als Piet slim.
 Jan is as strong as Piet smart
 b'. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{STERK}(\text{Jan}, d) \ \& \ \text{SLIM}(\text{Piet}, d') \ \& \ (d = d')]$

The use of the number signs indicates that examples comparable to (111a&b) do occasionally occur, but then the semantic nature of the construction is completely different. Consider the examples in (112), which do not really involve comparison of degrees, but instead comment on the appropriateness of the terms; cf. the discussion of example (47). It is expressed that both properties denoted by the adjectives are applicable to their logical SUBJECT. In addition, the examples have an amplifying meaning: whereas example (109a) can be said about a table that is rather

short, (112b) could not be said of a woman who is only moderately beautiful. In other words, the meanings of the examples in (112) do not have the format in (111a), but are rather as given as in the primed examples in (112), in which d_n refers to the implied norm for the relevant scale; cf. the introduction to Section 3.1.2.

- (112) a. Jan is even sterk als slim.
 Jan is as strong as smart
 a'. $\exists d$ [STERK (Jan,d) & ($d > d_n$)] & $\exists d'$ [SLIM (Jan,d') & ($d' > d_n$)]
 b. Marie is even mooi als gevaarlijk.
 Marie is as beautiful as dangerous
 b'. $\exists d$ [MOOI (Marie,d) & ($d > d_n$)] & $\exists d'$ [GEVAARLIJK (Marie,d') & ($d' > d_n$)]

This means that the constructions in (112) are not cases of the equative construction, which can be confirmed by the fact that these examples do not have a comparative counterpart; the primeless examples in (113) are unacceptable. The fact that the primed examples are acceptable is not relevant, because 4.1.2, sub VB, has already shown that these are not cases of the comparative.

- (113) a. *Jan is sterker dan slim.
 Jan is stronger than smart
 a'. Jan is meer/eerder sterk dan slim.
 Jan is more/rather strong than smart
 b. *Marie is mooier dan gevaarlijk.
 Marie is more beautiful than dangerous
 b'. Marie is meer/eerder mooi dan gevaarlijk.
 Marie is more/rather beautiful than dangerous

II. The adjectives allow modification by a nominal measure phrase

In addition to the requirement that the adjectives be scaled along comparable dimensions, they must allow modification by a nominal measure phrase. In other words, comparison of adjectives involves measure adjectives only.

A. Equatives

In the equative constructions in (114), the neutral form *lang* 'long' is compared to the non-neutral form *smal* 'narrow', which yields a degraded result.

- (114) a. *De tafel is even lang als smal.
 the table is as long as narrow
 b. *Deze tafel is even lang als die tafel smal.
 this table is as long as that table narrow

The fact that the examples in (115), in which two non-neutral forms of the measure adjectives are compared, are not acceptable either, leads to the conclusion that comparison of two adjectives is possible only with the neutral forms of the measure adjectives, that is, the form of the measure adjectives that can be modified by means of a nominal measure phrase; cf. *twee meter lang*/**kort* 'two meters long/*short' and *één meter breed*/**smal* 'one meter wide/*narrow'.

- (115) a. *De tafel is even kort als smal.
 the table is as short as narrow
 b. *Deze tafel is even kort als die tafel smal.
 this table is as short as that table narrow

B. Comparatives

In the case of the comparative construction, we can reach a similar conclusion. As is shown in (116a), two neutral measure adjectives can be compared without difficulty. Given that the comparative form of a non-neutral measure adjective can also be modified by a nominal measure phrase (cf. Section 3.1.4.2, example (250)), it does not come as a surprise that (116b) is acceptable as well. As soon as the adjective in the *dan*-phrase is a non-neutral measure adjective, however, the result is unacceptable. This is illustrated by the primed examples in (116).

- (116) a. Deze tafel is (30 cm) langer dan die tafel breed is.
 this table is 30 cm longer than that table wide is
 a'. *Deze tafel is (30 cm) langer dan die tafel smal is.
 this table is 30 cm longer than that table narrow is
 b. Deze tafel is (30 cm) korter dan die tafel breed is.
 this table is 30 cm shorter than that table wide is
 b'. *Deze tafel is (30 cm) korter dan die tafel smal is.
 this table is 30 cm shorter than that table narrow is

Example (117) provides the semantic representations of the grammatical examples in (116); again, we give the predicates in boldface in order to indicate that we are dealing here with the neutral meaning of the adjectives. Example (116a) does not imply that the table involved is actually long or wide, and (116b) implies neither that the referent of *deze tafel* ‘table₁’ is short nor that the referent of *die tafel* ‘table₂’ is wide.

- (117) a. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{table1}, d) \ \& \ \text{BREED}(\text{table2}, d') \ \& \ (d = \|d' + 30 \text{ cm}\|)]$
 b. $\exists d \exists d' [\text{LANG}(\text{table1}, d) \ \& \ \text{BREED}(\text{table2}, d') \ \& \ (d = \|d' - 30 \text{ cm}\|)]$

The examples in (118) show that as soon as the construction includes an adjective other than a measure adjective (that is, an adjective that cannot be modified by a nominal measure phrase), the construction yields an ungrammatical result.

- (118) a. *Deze tafel is langer dan mooi.
 this table is longer than beautiful
 a'. *Deze tafel is mooier dan lang.
 this table is more beautiful than long
 b. *Jan is sterker dan Piet slim.
 Jan is stronger than Piet smart

For completeness' sake, we conclude this section by noting that Kennedy (1997) gives English (119a) as acceptable, whereas examples like (119b) are judged (semantically) anomalous. This goes against our hypothesis that the two adjectives must be both eligible for modification by a nominal measure phrase: since this is the case with *shorter* (10 cm shorter) but not with *low* (*2 meters low), (119a) should be ungrammatical; as both *shorter/less tall* and *high* can be modified by a nominal

measure phrase (2 *meters high*), (119b) should be grammatical. Our English informants do not (fully) share Kennedy's judgments: some are simply confused about these examples, whereas others consider (119b) marked and sometimes even better than (119a), especially when *shorter* is modified by a measure phrase like *two meters*. Example (119c), which is not discussed by Kennedy, seems to be an even better way to express the intended proposition according to all our informants. This would be in accordance with our hypothesis, since both *less tall* and *high* can be modified by a nominal measure phrase..

- (119) a. %The ficus was shorter than the ceiling was low.
 b. %The ficus was shorter than the ceiling was high.
 c. The ficus was less tall than the ceiling was high.

Our judgments on the corresponding Dutch examples in (120) are similar to those of the English informants that prefer (119b&c) to (119a), and hence in accordance with our hypothesis. Example (120a) is unintelligible to us and clearly worse than (120b), and the best way to express the intended proposition is by using the minorative form of the adjective *lang* 'long', as in (120c). According to our German informants, similar judgments hold for the German translations.

- (120) a. *De ficus was korter dan het plafond laag.
 b. ?De ficus was korter dan het plafond hoog.
 c. De ficus was minder lang dan het plafond hoog.

4.2. Syntactic uses of equatives, comparatives and superlatives

Set-denoting adjectives can be used in attributive, predicative and adverbial position, and may occur in the so-called partitive genitive construction. This section investigates whether the comparative and superlative forms of the gradable set-denoting adjectives have the same distribution as the positive form.

1. Attributive use

Both comparatives and superlatives may occur in attributive position. In (121), it is demonstrated that the attributive *-e* ending, which appears on the adjective in the positive degree in (121a), is added to the majorative/maximative affix *-er/-st* in (121c&d). When we are dealing with periphrastic forms, the *-e* ending appears on the adjective itself, which is illustrated for the equative in (121b) and for the minorative/minimative in (121c'&d'). The (d)-examples show that the element *het*, which obligatory co-occurs with predicatively used superlatives, cannot be used when the superlative is used attributively.

- (121) a. de/een intelligent-e vrouw
 the/an intelligent woman
 b. een even intelligent-e vrouw (als Marie)
 an as intelligent woman as Marie
 c. een intelligent-er-e vrouw (dan/als Marie)
 a more.intelligent woman than Marie
 c'. een minder intelligent-e vrouw (dan/als Marie)
 a less intelligent woman than Marie

- d. de (*het) intelligent-*st*-e vrouw (van de club)
 the the most.intelligent woman of the club
 d'. de (*het) minst intelligent-e vrouw (van de club)
 the the least intelligent woman of the club

The following subsections will show that attributive use of the equative, comparative and superlative may have an effect on the determiner that is selected by the noun phrase.

A. Superlative form

Example (121a) has shown that noun phrases with an attributively used adjective in the positive form may take either the indefinite article *een* 'a' or the definite article *de/het* 'the'. However, when we replace the positive form by a superlative counterpart, only the definite determiner like *de* 'the' can be used; the examples in (122) give rise to an unacceptable result with the indefinite article *een*. This is probably due to semantics; the meaning of the indefinite determiner is not compatible with the meaning of the superlative, which picks out one specific entity (or group of entities) from the domain of discourse.

- (122) a. de/*een intelligent-*st*-e vrouw (van de club)
 the/a most.intelligent woman of the club
 a'. de/*een intelligent-*st*-e vrouwen (van de club)
 the/Ø most.intelligent women of the club
 b. de/*een minst intelligent-e vrouw (van de club)
 the/a least intelligent woman of the club
 b'. de/*een minst intelligent-e vrouwen (van de club)
 the/Ø least intelligent women of the club

An apparent exceptional case is given in (123), but the "comparative" forms *hoogst* and *uiterst* are actual adverbial amplifiers that lack a corresponding positive and comparative form; cf. Section 3.1.2.1. Note in passing that, in contrast to English *most*, the superlative form *meest* cannot be used in this function: cf. *a most interesting woman* versus **een meest interessante vrouw* (Carole Boster, p.c.).

- (123) een hoogst/uiterst intelligente vrouw
 an extremely intelligent woman
 'a most intelligent woman'

B. Equative form

The examples in (124) show that attributive use of equatives is excluded in definite singular, but allowed in definite plural noun phrases. This is related to the fact that the comparison implied by the two examples in (124) differs. In (124a), the comparison set is expressed by means of the *als*-phrase: the woman we are referring to is as intelligent as Marie. In (124b), on the other hand, the comparison set consists of the two women that we are referring to, and it is claimed that they are equally intelligent. This implies that an *als*-phrase is not needed to express the comparison set and, as a result of that, it cannot actually be used.

- (124) a. een/*de/?deze even intelligente vrouw (als Marie)
 an/the/this as intelligent woman as Marie
 b. Ø/de/deze twee even intelligente vrouwen (*als ...)
 Ø/the/these two as intelligent women

C. Comparative form

Attributively used comparatives are normally found in indefinite noun phrases. Definite noun phrases with attributively comparative forms do occur, but this triggers certain special effects. First, (125b) shows that adding a comparative *dan/als*-phrase to a definite noun phrase with an attributively used comparative form leads to ungrammaticality.

- (125) a. de intelligenter vrouw
 the more.intelligent woman
 b. *de intelligenter vrouw dan/als Marie
 the more.intelligent woman than Marie

Second, examples like (125a) receive a kind of “superlative” meaning. A first indication of this is that adding a superlative *van*-phrase to (125a) gives rise to a reasonably acceptable result, whereas this is completely excluded when the noun phrase has an indefinite article; cf. (126). Further, the meaning of (126a) is virtually identical to that of (126a’), which involves a superlative; note that the head noun is preferably dropped in the two (a)-examples.

- (126) a. de intelligenter (?vrouw) van de twee
 the more.intelligent woman of the two
 a’. de intelligentste (?vrouw) van de twee
 the most.intelligent woman of the two
 b. *een intelligenter vrouw van de twee
 a more.intelligent woman of the two

Finally, the examples in (127), which involve the majorative *beter* ‘better’, are special in a somewhat different way. These examples do not denote a specific token, but a type: they refer to a subset of the set denoted by the head noun with the special property of satisfying a certain standard. Example (127a), for example, refers to the belles-lettres and (127b) refers to bookshops that have a wide assortment or a certain standing.

- (127) a. het betere boek
 the better book
 ‘quality books’
 b. de betere boekwinkel
 the better bookshop
 ‘a well-stocked bookshop’

II. Predicative use

All three degrees of comparison can occur in predicative position. A special property of the superlative in this position is that it must be preceded by the element *het*, which is not the case when it appears in attributive position; cf. (121d). So, whereas the (b)- and (c)-examples in (128) show that the equative form *even intelligent* and the comparative form *intelligenter* can be used in the copular

construction as such, the (d)-examples show that the superlative forms *intelligentst* and *minst intelligent* must be preceded by *het*.

- (128) a. Marie is intelligent.
Marie is intelligent
b. Marie is even intelligent.
Marie is as intelligent
c. Marie is intelligenter.
Marie is more.intelligent
d. Marie is **(het)* intelligentst.
Marie is the most.intelligent
- c'. Marie is minder intelligent.
Marie is less intelligent
d'. Marie is **(het)* minst intelligent.
Marie is the least intelligent

That the superlative must be preceded by *het* holds not only for the copular construction, but also for the resultative and *vinden*-constructions in (129).

- (129) a. Jan streek die broek *(*het*) gladst.
 Jan ironed those trousers the smoothest
 a'. Jan streek die broek *(*het*) minst glad.
 Jan ironed those trousers the least smooth
 b. Jan vond de eerste foto *(*het*) mooist.
 Jan considered the first picture the most.beautiful
 b'. Jan vond de eerste foto *(*het*) minst mooi.
 Jan considered the first picture the least beautiful

However, when a superlative predicative adjective is used in an attributively used participle phrase (PartP), the element *het* is preferably dropped when it is adjacent to the determiner. This will be clear by comparing the (a)-examples in (129) to example (130a). When the determiner and *het* are separated by another phrase, as in (130b), *het* must be realized.

- (130) a. de [_{PARTP} ^(?)het gladst/minst glad gestreken] broek
the the smoothest/least smooth ironed trousers
'the trousers that were ironed the smoothest/least smooth'
b. de [_{PARTP} door Peter *(het) gladst/minst glad gestreken] broek
the by Peter the smoothest/least smooth ironed trousers

Note that it is sometimes not immediately clear whether we are dealing with a predicatively or an attributively used adjective. This is due to the fact that in certain contexts, noun phrases of the form DETERMINER-ADJECTIVE-NOUN may undergo N-ellipsis, which results in the string DETERMINER-ADJECTIVE. For instance, the noun phrase *de blauwe avondjurk* ‘the blue evening gown’ can occasionally surface as *de blauwe [e]* ‘the blue one’, in which *e* stands for the phonetically empty head noun; cf. Section 5.4. For our present topic, it is relevant to note that N-ellipsis may also apply in predicative constructions like (131).

- (131) a. De eerste foto is [_{NP} de mooiste [e]].
 'The first picture is the most beautiful one.'
 b. Jan vond de eerste foto [_{NP} de mooiste [e]].
 'Jan considered the first picture the most beautiful one.'

Consequently, when we are dealing with a neuter noun, predicative constructions like (132a&a'), which take a reduced noun phrase like *het mooiste [e]* as their predicate, can easily be confused with predicative constructions like (132b&b'), which take the superlative form *het mooist* as their predicate.

- (132) a. Het eerste boek is [_{NP} het mooiste [e]].
 'The first book is the most beautiful one.'
 a'. Jan vond het eerste boek [_{NP} het mooiste [e]].
 'Jan considered the first book the most beautiful one.'
 b. Het eerste boek is [_{AP} het mooist].
 'The first book is the most beautiful.'
 b'. Jan vond het eerste boek [_{AP} het mooist].
 'Jan considered the first book the most beautiful.'

This problem of confusing the two constructions is even enhanced by the fact that, in colloquial speech, the predicatively used superlative is also occasionally realized with a schwa ending. An example like *De eerste foto is het mooist(e)* cannot be analyzed as in (133a), given that the empty noun *e* must be construed as identical with the noun *foto* and hence trigger the non-neuter article *de*, which leaves us only the analysis in (133b). This suggests that the strings in the (a)-examples of (132) may also be assigned an alternative analysis involving a predicative AP.

- (133) a. *De eerste foto is [_{NP} het mooist(e) [e]].
 b. De eerste foto is [_{AP} het mooist(e)].
 'The first picture is the most beautiful.'

A special case of predicative use of the majorative is given in (134). In this construction the copula verb *worden* 'to become' or the causative verb *maken* 'to make' must be used. When the adjective is positively valued, as in (134a), (quasi-)negation must be present. When the adjective denotes a negatively valued property, as in (134b), an adverbial phrase like *alleen maar* 'only' must be present. The preposition phrase *er ... op* is non-referential and can never be replaced by a PP of the form P + NP.

- (134) a. De situatie wordt er niet/weinig beter/*slechter op.
 the situation becomes ER not/little better/worse OP
 'The situation is not getting better/is getting worse.'
 a'. Dat maakt de situatie er niet/weinig beter/*slechter op.
 that makes the situation ER not/little better/worse OP
 'That does not make the situation better/makes the situation worse.'
 b. Die situatie wordt er alleen maar slechter/[?]beter op.
 the situation becomes ER only worse/better OP
 'The situation is only getting worse.'
 b'. Dat maakt de situatie er alleen maar slechter/*beter op.
 that makes the situation ER only worse/better OP
 'That only makes the situation worse.'

In the case of a minorative, the situation is reversed: negatively evaluated adjectives require negation to be present, and positively evaluated adjectives require the

presence of *alleen maar*. Quasi-negation yields a marked result in (135a&a'), and therefore we have not included it here.

- (135) a. De situatie wordt er niet minder slecht/*goed op.
 the situation becomes ER not less bad/good OP
 'The situation doesn't get better.'
- a'. Dat maakt de situatie er niet minder slecht/*goed op.
 that makes the situation ER not less bad/good OP
 'That does not make the situation better.'
- b. Die situatie wordt er alleen maar minder goed/*slecht op.
 the situation becomes ER only less good/bad OP
 'The situation is only getting worse.'
- b'. Dat maakt de situatie er alleen maar minder goed/*slecht op.
 that makes the situation ER only less good/bad OP
 'That only makes the situation worse.'

III. Adverbial use

The three degrees of comparison can also occur in adverbial position. Example (136d) shows that just like predicatively used superlatives, adverbially used superlatives normally must be preceded by *het*.

- (136) a. Peter liep hard.
 Peter ran fast
 'Peter was running fast.'
- b. Peter liep even hard.
 Peter ran as fast
- c. Peter liep harder/minder hard.
 Peter ran faster/less fast
- d. Peter liep *(het) hardst/minst hard.
 Peter ran the fastest/least fast

However, when a superlative adverbial phrase is contained in an attributively used participle phrase, the element *het* is preferably omitted when the superlative is adjacent to the determiner *de*. This will become clear by comparing (136d) to example (137a). When the determiner and *het* are separated by some other phrase, as in (137b), *het* becomes compulsory again.

- (137) a. de [_{PartP} ([?]het) hardst/minst hard lopende] jongen
 the the fastest/least fast running boy
 'the boy that runs the fastest/least fast'
- b. de [_{PartP} steeds weer *(het) hardst lopende] jongen
 the always again the fastest running boy

IV. The partitive genitive construction

In the partitive genitive construction, equatives or comparatives can be used, but superlatives are blocked. We return to this fact, which is illustrated in (138), in Section 7.2.3.1, sub V.

- (138) a. iets moois e. iets leuks
 something beautiful something funny
 b. iets even moois f. iets even leuks
 c. iets mooiers g. iets leukers
 d. *iets (het) mooist h. *iets (het) leukst

4.3. Comparison and degree modification

This section will show that modification and comparison must be treated on a par. Section 4.3.1 will motivate this claim on the basis of some remarkable facts with respect to pseudo-participles. Section 4.3.2 will provide some additional arguments in favor of this claim on the basis of modification of comparative and superlative forms.

4.3.1. Comparison and degree modification of pseudo-participles

Section 2.3.1.3 has pointed out that pseudo-participles and a limited number of deverbal adjectives differ from the remaining set-denoting adjectives in that they allow their PP-complement to occur on their left. The same thing is true for the stranded preposition of a PP-complement; in some cases the stranded preposition even appears to the left obligatorily. Finally, 2.3.1.3 has discussed that degree modifiers like the °intensifier *erg* may precede the pre-adjectival PP-complement and even must precede the pre-adjectival stranded preposition. The relevant examples are repeated in (139).

- (139) a. Jan is *erg* met dat voorstel ingenomen.
 Jan is very with that proposal delighted
 ‘Jan is very delighted with that proposal.’
 a’. Jan is *er* niet *erg* *mee* ingenomen.
 Jan is there not very with delighted
 ‘Jan is not very delighted with it.’
 b. Jan is *erg* tegen dat voorstel gekant.
 Jan is very to that proposal opposed
 ‘Jan is strongly opposed to that proposal.’
 b’. Jan is *er* zeker *erg* *tegen* gekant.
 Jan is there certainly very to opposed
 ‘Jan is certainly strongly opposed to it.’

The examples in (139) show that the modifier *erg* does not modify the *head* of the AP, in which case we would expect it to be adjacent to the adjective and thus to follow (the stranded preposition of) the PP-complement; instead, it seems to modify the AP *as a whole*. The structure of the examples in (139) is therefore approximately as given in (140), where PP stands for the base-position of the PP-complement of the adjective.

- (140) [... *erg* [_{AP} PP A]]

Now consider the examples in (141), which do not involve an adjectival modifier but periphrastic majorative and maximative constructions. These examples show

that, like the modifier *erg*, the periphrastic elements *meer* and *het meest* may precede the pre-adjectival PP-complements (see also Section 4.1.3.5, sub III), and must precede the pre-adjectival stranded prepositions. The same orders arise in minorative and minimative constructions, that is, when we replace the periphrastic elements *meer* and *meest* in (141) by *minder* and *minst*, but this will go unillustrated here.

- (141) a. Jan is *meer/het meest* met dat voorstel ingenomen.
 Jan is more/the most with that proposal delighted
 a'. Jan is *er* *meer/het meest mee* ingenomen.
 Jan is there more/the most with delighted
 b. Jan is *meer/het meest* tegen dat voorstel gekant.
 Jan is more/the most to that proposal opposed
 b'. Jan is *er* *meer/het meest tegen* gekant.
 Jan is there more/the most to opposed

The word orders in (141) show that periphrastic comparative/superlative elements do not modify the head of the AP, which means that these examples can be assigned the structures in (142), which are similar to the one in (140) in all relevant respects. This word order similarity between the examples in (139) and (141) is therefore a first indication that modification and comparison formation can or must be treated on a par.

- (142) a. [... *meer* [_{AP} PP/P A]]
 b. [... *meest* [_{AP} PP/P A]]

Of course, it is clear that a similar argument cannot be used when we are dealing with morphological comparative or superlative forms: these are derived by means of affixes, which must be supported by a stem: this means that the adjectival stem and the comparative/superlative suffix are strictly adjacent by definition. Now, let us consider in more detail an adjective like *geschikt voor* ... 'suitable for', which allows both the periphrastic and the morphological comparative/superlative. The examples in (143b&c) show that the stranded preposition may either precede or follow the adjective in the periphrastic construction, just as in (143a), where the adjective is modified by the intensifier *erg*.

- (143) a. een vak *waar* Jan *erg* <*voor*> *geschikt* <*voor*> is
 a profession where Jan very for suitable is
 'a profession for which Jan is suitable'
 b. een vak *waar* Jan *meer* <*voor*> *geschikt* <*voor*> is
 a profession where Jan more for suitable is
 'a profession for which Jan is more suitable'
 c. het vak *waar* Jan *het meest* <*voor*> *geschikt* <*voor*> is
 the profession where Jan the most for suitable is
 'the profession for which Jan is the most suitable'

However, when we use the morphological comparative or superlative form, placement of the stranded preposition in front of the adjective leads to severe ungrammaticality, as is shown in (144).

- (144) a. een vak waar Jan <*>voor> geschikter <voor> is
 a profession where Jan for more.suitable is
 ‘a profession for which Jan is more suitable’
 b. het vak waar Jan <*>voor> het geschiktst <voor> is
 the profession where Jan for the most.suitable is
 ‘the profession for which Jan is the most suitable’

This remarkable unacceptability of the order with the stranded preposition preceding the adjective can be accounted for by assuming that the morphological comparative/superlative form occupies the same position as the elements *erg*, *meer* and *meest* in (140) and (142). Since it is reasonable to assume that the base structures of the examples in (143) and (144) are similar, the surface position of the adjective must be the result of leftward movement. Consequently, the derivations of the examples in (144) start with the base structure in (145a), in which the stranded preposition may either precede or follow the adjective. Then we derive the morphological form of the comparative/superlative by moving the adjective into the position of the affix *-er/-st*, as in (145b), as a result of which the morphologically complex forms *A-er* and *A-st* are created. The result of this movement of the adjective is that the comparative/superlative necessarily precedes the stranded preposition.

- (145) a. [... *-er/-st* [_{AP} (P) A (P)]]
 b. [... *A-er/-st* [_{AP} (P) *t* (P)]]

Movement of the adjective, as in (145b), applies not only in the case of morphological majoratives/superlatives. Consider the examples in (146). In (146a), it is shown that the stranded preposition of the complement of the pseudo-participle *bedacht* ‘cautious’ may either precede or follow the adjective. However, when *bedacht* is modified by the complex modifier *zo ... mogelijk* ‘as ... as possible’, as in (146b), the stranded preposition must follow the adjective; actually, it must follow the element *mogelijk* as well. Something similar holds when the adjective is modified by the element *genoeg* ‘enough’, as in (146c).

- (146) a. Ik ben *er* <op> bedacht <op>.
 I am there for cautious
 b. Ik ben *er* zo <*>op> bedacht <*>op> mogelijk <op>.
 I am there as for cautious as.possible
 c. Ik ben *er* <*>op> bedacht <*>op> genoeg <op>.
 I am there for cautious enough

This can be accounted for by assuming that the elements *mogelijk* and *genoeg* occupy the same position as the affixes in (145), and that for some reason the adjectives must undergo the same movement as in (145b). In other words, the base structure of the examples in (146b&c) is as indicated in (147a), and the examples in question are derived by moving the adjective to a position in front of *mogelijk/genoeg*, as in (147b).

- (147) a. [... *mogelijk/genoeg* [_{AP} (P) A (P)]]
 b. [... *A mogelijk/genoeg* [_{AP} (P) *t* (P)]]

If we are on the right track with this proposal, it can be seen as a second argument in favor of assuming that modification and comparative/superlative formation must be treated on a par. The following section will give somewhat simpler additional evidence in favor of this view.

4.3.2. *Modification of the comparative/superlative*

Section 3.1.3 has shown that complex intensifying phrases of adjectives can be modified themselves. This section will show that there are various similarities between the modification possibilities of some of these complex intensifying phrases and those of the comparative/superlative forms. These similarities provide additional evidence for the claim that modification and comparison must be treated on a par. Note that there are also modes of modification that are possible with comparatives and superlatives only, which will be discussed as well.

4.3.2.1. *Comparatives*

This section discusses modification of comparatives and the complex modifier phrases headed by *te* ‘too’. We will see in the first subsection below that the modification possibilities of the two are more or less identical, which provides evidence for the claim that, syntactically speaking, comparison is a special case of modification. Nevertheless, there are also differences between modification and comparison, which will be discussed in the second subsection.

1. *Similarities with the complex modifier headed by te ‘too’*

Comparatives can be modified by elements that indicate the extent of the higher/lower degree. This subsection will show that the modification possibilities of majoratives are more or less identical to those of adjectives modified by the intensifying phrase *te* ‘too’. First, the examples in (148) show that modification by means of the amplifier *erg* and downtoner *vrij* is excluded, whereas the modifiers *veel* and *enigszins* can be freely added. The corresponding examples with *te* ‘too’ can be found in (187) and (190a) of Section 3.1.3.2.

(148) a.	* <i>erg/vrij</i> duidelijker	‘very/rather clearer’
a’.	<i>veel/enigszins</i> duidelijker	‘much/somewhat clearer’
b.	* <i>erg/vrij</i> mooier	‘very/rather more beautiful’
b’.	<i>veel/enigszins</i> mooier	‘much/somewhat more beautiful’
c.	* <i>erg/vrij</i> korter	‘very/rather shorter’
c’.	<i>veel/enigszins</i> korter	‘much/somewhat shorter’

Second, the examples in (149a&b) show that majoratives can be modified by noun phrases like *een stuk* ‘a lot’ or *een (klein) beetje* ‘a (little) bit’. Third, when we are dealing with a measure adjective, nominal modifiers like *twee meter* ‘two meter’ are possible, as is shown in (149c). Fourth, besides the noun phrase *een ietsje* ‘a bit’, it is also possible to use the element *iets* ‘somewhat’ to modify the comparative, as in (149d). Finally, modification by means of *wat* is possible, as shown in (149e). The corresponding examples with *te* ‘too’ can be found in the examples (190b-f) of Section 3.1.3.2

- (149) a. een stuk/beetje duidelijker 'a lot/bit clearer'
 b. een stuk/beetje mooier 'a lot/bit more beautiful'
 c. twee meter korter 'two meters shorter'
 d. een ietsje/iets jonger 'somewhat younger'
 e. wat jonger 'somewhat younger'

The examples in (150) show that the modification possibilities of the minoratives are more or less similar to those of the majoratives, albeit that *enigszins* does not seem to yield a very felicitous result.

- (150) a. *erg/vrij minder duidelijk
 very/rather less clear
 a'. veel/[?]enigszins minder duidelijk
 much/somewhat less clear
 b. een stuk/beetje minder duidelijk
 a lot/bit less clear
 c. een ietsje/iets minder duidelijk
 somewhat less clear
 d. Dit boek is nog minder duidelijk.
 this book is even less clear

II. Differences from the complex modifier headed by te 'too'

The correspondence between the modification possibilities of adjectives modified by *te* 'too' and comparative forms discussed in the previous subsection provides additional evidence for the claim that, syntactically speaking, comparison is a special case of modification. Nevertheless, there are also a number of differences between modification and comparison.

A. Modifiers of "distance"

The (a)-examples in (151) show that majoratives differ from adjectives modified by *te* 'too' in that the former can also be modified by modifiers that specify the distance on an implied scale between the compared entities: *beduidend* 'significantly', *opmerkelijk* 'remarkably', *zichtbaar* 'visibly'. The modifiers in the (b)-examples, which seem comparable to those in the (a)-examples, are possible in both cases, but with different meaning contributions: in (151b) the modifiers specify the distance on the implied scale between the compared entities, whereas in (151b') they indicate the distance on the implied scale between an implicitly assumed norm and the actual size of Jan.

- (151) a. Jan is beduidend/opmerkelijk/zichtbaar groter dan Peter.
 Jan is significantly/remarkably/visibly bigger than Peter
 a'. Jan is [?]beduidend/*opmerkelijk/[?]zichtbaar te groot.
 Jan is significantly/remarkably/visibly too big
 b. Jan is flink/fors/duidelijk groter dan Peter.
 Jan is considerably/substantially/clearly bigger than Peter
 b'. Jan is flink/fors/duidelijk te groot.
 Jan is considerably/substantially/clearly too big

B. Modification by *nog* 'even'

Majoratives differ from adjectives modified by *te* 'too' in that the former can be modified by the accented element *nog* 'even'; cf. Section 4.1.1. This is illustrated in (152). Note in passing that the primed examples are acceptable when *nog* is interpreted as an adverb of time, that is, as English *still*. Under this interpretation, which does not concern us here, *nog* need not be accented.

- (152) a. Dit boek is *nóg* duidelijker.
 this book is even clearer
 a'. #Dit boek is *nog* te duidelijk.
 b. Dit boek is *nóg* mooier.
 this book is even more beautiful
 b'. #Dit boek is *nog* te mooi.
 c. Deze jurk is *nóg* korter.
 this dress is even shorter
 c'. #Deze jurk is *nog* te kort.

C. Modification by *hoe langer hoe* A-er

A remarkable case of modification, which occurs with majoratives only, is given in (153) and (154). The string *hoe langer hoe* A-er forms a constituent, which is clear from the fact illustrated in the primeless (b)-examples that it can be placed in clause-initial position as a whole; cf. the °constituency test. This is also suggested by the fact illustrated in the primed (b)-examples that the string cannot be split.

- (153) a. Het boek wordt hoe langer hoe beter.
 the book becomes how longer how better
 'The book is getting better all the time.'
 b. Hoe langer hoe beter wordt het boek.
 b'. *Hoe langer wordt het boek hoe beter.
 b''. *Hoe beter wordt het boek hoe langer.
- (154) a. Peter wordt hoe langer hoe brutaler.
 Peter becomes how longer how cheekier
 'Peter is getting cheekier all the time.'
 b. Hoe langer hoe brutaler wordt Peter.
 b'. *Hoe langer wordt Peter hoe brutaler.
 b''. *Hoe brutaler wordt Peter hoe langer.

The internal makeup of the string *hoe langer hoe* A-er is far from clear. Perhaps we should consider the string *hoe langer hoe* as a lexical unit with a more or less similar meaning as the adverbs *steeds/alsmaar* 'continuously'; cf. the discussion of (17a). Although the second majorative (*beter/brutaler*) clearly is the head of the complex phrase, it does not seem to be the semantic target of the modification: instead, the construction expresses that the process of getting more A is ongoing, that is, we are dealing with a restriction on the aspectual nature of the event. This is also clear from the fact that the progressive copula *worden* 'to be' cannot be replaced by the stative copula *zijn* 'to have been'. In this respect, this construction again resembles adverbial phrases like *steeds/alsmaar* 'continuously'

- (155) a. *Het boek is hoe langer hoe beter.
 b. *Peter is hoe langer hoe brutaler.

The examples in (156) show that the string *hoe langer hoe beter* cannot be readily used in attributive position. The (a)-examples in (157) show that the same thing holds for the corresponding constructions with the adverb *steeds* ‘continuously’; the primed example is marked when the present participle of the copula *worden* ‘to become’ is not expressed. That we may be dealing with a semantic restriction is strongly suggested by the fact that the same thing can be observed in the (b)-examples in (157), where the phrase *beter en beter* ‘better and better’ expresses a similar meaning as *hoe langer hoe beter* and *steeds beter*.

- (156) a. ??een hoe langer hoe beter boek
 a how longer how better book
 b. ??een hoe langer hoe brutelere jongen
 a how longer how cheekier boy
- (157) a. Het boek wordt steeds beter.
 the book becomes continuously better
 a'. een steeds beter ??(wordend) boek.
 a continuously better becoming book
 b. Het boek wordt beter en beter.
 the book becomes better and better
 b'. een beter en beter ??(wordend) boek.
 a better and better becoming book

The examples in (158) show that the presence of the string *hoe langer hoe* blocks the addition of the comparative *dan/als*-phrase (cf. the discussion of (17a)), and that it is not compatible with other modifiers, like *veel*.

- (158) a. Het boek wordt (*hoe langer hoe) beter dan/als ...
 b. Het boek wordt (*hoe langer hoe) veel beter.

Note, finally, that the constructions in (153) and (154) should not be confused with the constructions in (159), which involve subordination of a (reduced) clause and which is special in that both clauses have the finite verb in clause-final position.

- (159) a. Hoe langer het boek wordt, hoe beter [het is].
 how longer the book gets how better [it is]
 ‘The longer the book gets, the better it will be.’
 b. Hoe langer je oefent, hoe beter het zal gaan.
 how longer you practice how better it will go
 ‘The longer you practice, the better it will go.’

4.3.2.2. *Superlatives*

This section discusses similarities and differences between modification of superlatives and modification of complex modifier phrases headed by *zo*.

I. Similarities with the complex modifier headed by *zo*

Superlatives and adjectives modified by the degree element *zo* both allow the addition of the element *mogelijk*. For adjectives modified by *zo*, this has been discussed in Section 3.1.3.1, sub IV. For superlatives, we illustrate this in (160). Occasionally, the element *mogelijk* can be replaced by *denkbaar* ‘conceivable’, as in (160c); this is never possible when we are dealing with adjectives modified by *zo*.

- (160) a. de kortst mogelijke weg
the shortest possible road
b. de best mogelijke oplossing
the best possible solution
c. de best denkbare oplossing
the best conceivable solution

II. Differences from the complex modifier headed by *zo*

The superlative differs from adjectives modified by *zo* in that it can also be modified by the discontinuous PP *op XP na*, in which XP can either be a numeral or a noun phrase, and *verreweg* ‘by far’.

A. Op + NUMERAL + na

The first construction involves a definite numeral (generally of a relatively low cardinality). In (161a), we give an example that involves a superlative used in complementive position. The (b)-examples in (161) show that the PP can occur either before or after the definite determiner when the superlative is used attributively.

- (161) a. dat Jan op één na het best is.
that Jan OP one NA the best is
‘that Jan is second best.’
b. Jan is op één na de beste student.
Jan is OP one NA the best student
‘Jan is the second best student.’
b’. Jan is de op één na beste student.

Besides (161a), constructions like (162a), in which the superlative is preceded by *de* ‘the’, are also possible. In these cases, *de* is the regular definite determiner, and we are dealing with noun phrases in which the head noun is deleted, which is indicated by [e]. This means that example (162a) is structurally parallel to (161b). Not surprisingly, the head noun in (161b’) can also be left out, which leads to the construction in (162b).

- (162) a. Jan is op één na de beste [e].
b. Jan is de op één na beste [e].

The PP *op* + numeral + *na* must be left-adjacent to the predicatively used superlative. First, the examples in (163a&a’) show that it cannot be moved leftwards in isolation. Second, the (b)-examples in (163) show that topicalization of the adjective is possible only when the PP is pied piped, which is a clear indication that

the two make up a constituent. Finally, the (c)-examples in (163) show that the PP cannot occur to the immediate right of the adjective or be placed after the verbs in clause-final position. Note, however, that example (163c') improves considerably when the extraposed PP is preceded by an intonation break.

- (163) a. ^{??}Op één na is Jan het best.
 a'. *Jan is op één na waarschijnlijk het best.
 b. Op één na het best is Jan.
 b'. *Het best is Jan op één na.
 c. ^{??}dat Jan het best op één na is.
 c'. dat Jan het best is *(,) op één na.

For completeness' sake, note that the discussion in Paardekooper (1986) seems to suggest that the order in (163c) is acceptable. Most of his examples involve APs that are not followed by a verb, however, so we may actually be dealing with the °extraposition construction in (163c'), which he considers fully acceptable.

Example (164a) shows that the pre-determiner PP in (161b) cannot be topicalized in isolation, which suggests that the PP forms a constituent with the noun phrase; cf. *de op één na beste student is Jan waarschijnlijk*. That the PP and the noun phrase in (161b) form a constituent is less clear than in the case of the PP and the superlative in (161a), however, given that topicalization of the noun phrase also leads to a marked result, both with and without pied piping of the PP; cf. (164a' & a''). Further, it can be observed that placement of the PP to the right of the noun phrase is not possible, although the result improves slightly in the case of extraposition when the PP is preceded by an intonation break; the improvement is not as great as in the case of (163c'), however.

- (164) a. *Op één na is Jan de beste student.
 a'. ^{??}Op één na de beste student is Jan waarschijnlijk.
 a''. *De beste student is Jan waarschijnlijk op één na.
 b. *dat Jan de beste student op één na is.
 b'. dat Jan de beste student is *(^{??} ,) op één na.

B. Op + NP + na

The discontinuous PP *op ... na* may also contain a full noun phrase. This PP is used especially when the proposition expressed by the clause involves universal ($\forall \times$) or negative existential ($\neg \exists \times$) quantification. The universal quantification can be implicit, as in example (165c) without *allemaal* 'all'.

- (165) a. Op Peter na is iedereen/niemand aanwezig.
 OP Peter NA is everyone/no one present
 'Except for Peter, everyone/no one is present.'
 b. Op gisteren na ben ik daar altijd/nooit geweest.
 OP yesterday NA am I there always/never been
 'Except for yesterday I have always/never been there.'
 c. Die boeken heb ik op *Nostromo* na (allemaal) gelezen.
 those books have I OP *Nostromo* NA all read
 'I read all those books, except for *Nostromo*.'

Example (166) shows that the PP *op NP na* can also be used when a superlative is present, which is not really surprising given that the superlative also expresses universal quantification; cf. the semantic representation in (27b).

- (166) dat Jan op Peter na het best is.
 that Jan OP Peter NA the best is
 ‘that Jan is the best after Peter.’

Although (166) at first sight strongly resembles the construction in (161a), we will argue below that the most likely analysis of these constructions is one in which this PP does not form a constituent with the adjective, in contrast to the PP *op* + numeral + *na* in (161). A first indication that the PPs in (161) and (166) are different is that the PP *op NP na* cannot be placed after the determiner in primeless examples like (167). Note that we find the same facts in the primed examples, which support the analysis of examples of this sort in terms of N-ellipsis; see the discussion of (131) and (162).

- (167) a. Jan is op Peter na de beste student.
 Jan is OP Peter NA the best student
 ‘Jan is the best student after Peter.’
 a'. Jan is op Peter na de beste [e].
 b. *?Jan is de op Peter na beste student.
 b'. *Jan is de op Peter na beste [e].

A second indication that the two PPs are different is that the (a)-examples in (168) show that the PP in (166) can be moved leftwards stranding the AP. This suggests that the PP and the adjective do not form a constituent in this case, but that the PP acts as an independent adverbial modifier of the clause. This idea is supported by the fact that the topicalization construction in (168b) is marginal at best, although it must be observed that movement of the adjective in isolation, as in (168b'), seems to be awkward as well. Placement of the PP to the right of the adjective is not possible, although the example involving extraposition improves when the PP is preceded by an intonation break. The ungrammaticality of (168c) follows naturally from the claim that the PP is not part of the AP but an independent adverbial phrase, since the complementive adjective must be left-adjacent to the verb in clause-final position; cf. Section 6.2.4.1.

- (168) a. Op Peter na is Jan het best.
 a'. Jan is op Peter na waarschijnlijk het best.
 b. ??Op Peter na het best is Jan.
 b'. ??Het best is Jan op Peter na.
 c. *dat Jan het best op Peter na is.
 c'. dat Jan het best is *(,) op Peter na.

The PP in (166) also differs from the PP in (161b). First, (169a) shows that topicalization of the PP *op Peter na* in isolation is fully acceptable. Pied piping of the PP under topicalization of the noun phrase, on the other hand, is entirely excluded. Topicalization of the noun phrase in isolation is acceptable, but only when the PP in clause-final position is preceded by an intonation break. As is

shown in (169b), placement of the PP to the right of the noun phrase is impossible, but extraposition gives rise to a reasonably acceptable result.

- (169) a. Op Peter na is Jan de beste student.
 a'. *Op Peter na de beste student is Jan waarschijnlijk.
 a''. De beste student is Jan waarschijnlijk ?(,) op Peter na.
 b. *dat Jan de beste student op Peter na is.
 b'. dat Jan de beste student is ?(,) op Peter na.

On the basis of these differences we can conclude that the PP *op NUMERAL na* modifies the superlative, forming a constituent with either the superlative or the noun phrase that includes the superlative, whereas the PP *op NP na* is not part of the AP, but acts as an adverbial modifier of (some other element in) the clause.

C. Verreweg 'by far'

The superlative can also be preceded by *verreweg* 'by far'. This modifier specifies the distance on the implied scale between the entities that are compared; cf. the cases of modification of the comparative in (151). Despite the fact that the constituency test in (170a') clearly indicates that the modifier and the superlative form a constituent, the modifier cannot be adjacent to the superlative in attributive position; it precedes the definite determiner. Still, the constituency test in (170b') shows that *verreweg* forms a constituent with the complete noun phrase.

- (170) a. Jan is verreweg het best
 Jan is by far the best
 a'. <Verreweg> het best is Jan <*verreweg>.
 b. Jan is <verreweg> de <??verreweg> beste kandidaat.
 Jan is by far the best candidate
 b'. <verreweg> de beste kandidaat is Jan <*verreweg>

D. Some special cases

There are no other cases of modification of the superlative, which is probably due to the "absolute" nature of the superlative. It should be observed, however, that the superlative can be emphasized by morphological means, namely by affixing the superlative with the prefix *aller-*. It must be noted, however, that the form *aller-A-st* need not be interpreted as a superlative: it can also be used as a non-comparative adjective that does not denote the highest degree but a very high degree. This use of the form *aller-A-st* is occasionally called the ELATIVUS, but since this term is also used for locative case, we want to introduce the term PSEUDO-SUPERLATIVE. Some examples of this use are given in (171a&c).

- (171) a. een alleraàrdigste jongen (*van de klas) [pseudo-superlative]
 a very.nice boy of the group
 b. de àlleraardigste jongen (van de klas) [emphatic superlative]
 the nicest boy of the group
 c. Jan is alleraàrdigst (*van de klas). [pseudo-superlative]
 Jan is very.nice of the group
 d. Jan is *het* àlleraardigst (van de klas). [emphatic superlative]
 Jan is the nicest of the group

The pseudo-superlatives differ in various respects from the emphatic superlatives in (171b&d). First, the attributively used pseudo-superlative in (171a) is preceded by the indefinite article *een* 'a'; when the article is replaced by the definite article *de* 'the', as in (171b), the adjective is interpreted as an emphatic superlative. Second, the predicatively used pseudo-superlative in (171c) is not preceded by the element *het*; when *het* is added, as in (171d), the adjective is necessarily interpreted as an emphatic superlative. Third, the pseudo- and emphatic superlative differ with respect to the placement of word accent; the pseudo-superlative has word accent on the adjective (*allerààrdigst*), whereas the emphatic superlative has word accent on the prefix (*àlleraardigst*). Finally, the emphatic superlative can be combined with a comparative *van*-phrase just like the regular superlative, whereas this is excluded in the case of the pseudo-superlative.

The superlative form *best* can also occur as a pseudo-superlative without the prefix *aller-*. Some examples are given in the primeless examples in (172); again the adjective does not express the highest degree but a very high degree of some property, which is partly contextually determined in this case. Observe that the pseudo-superlative *best* cannot be used as a complementive, unlike the true superlative *het best*, as shown by the primed and doubly-primed examples in (172). Finally, note that the pseudo-superlative *best* is often used in salutations of letters: *beste Jan* 'dear Jan'.

(172) a. een beste kerel a very.nice chap a'. *Peter is best. Peter is very.nice a''. Peter is het best. Peter is the best	b. een beste wijn a very.good wine b'. ??Deze wijn is best. this wine is very.good b''. Deze wijn is het best. this wine is the best

4.4. Pronominalization of the adjective

Section 2.4 has shown that pronominalization of the adjective (phrase) is possible. In (173a), we repeat an example in which the pronoun *het* 'it' performs the same function as the full AP *bang voor honden* 'of dogs'. In (173b), on the other hand, the pronoun replaces only the adjective *bang* 'afraid'; the function of the PP-complement of the adjective is performed by the PP *voor spinnen* 'of spiders'. When the adjective is modified by means of an °intensifier, pronominalization is also possible. Section 3.4 has shown, however, that in some cases the addition of *erg* is required to license pronominalization of the adjective, whereas in other cases the addition of *erg* leads to ungrammaticality.

- (173) Jan is [_{AP} bang voor honden] ..
 Jan is afraid of dogs ..
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. .. en ik ben het ook.
.. and I am it too | b. .. en ik ben het voor spinnen.
.. and I am it for spiders |
|---|--|

When the adjective (phrase) is pronominalized, it is still possible to express comparison. This is shown in (174), where the comparative meaning is expressed by the adjectives *meer* 'more' and *minder* 'less', which are also used in the periphrastic comparative construction. This possibility is remarkable given that the majorative form of *bang* is *banger* and not **meer bang*.

- (174) a. Jan is vreselijk bang voor honden, maar ik ben het nog meer (*erg).
 Jan is terribly afraid of dogs but I am it even more much
 'Jan is terribly afraid of dogs, but I am even more so.'
 b. Jan is niet erg bang voor honden, maar ik ben het nog minder (*erg).
 Jan is not very afraid of dogs but I am it even less much
 'Jan is very afraid of dogs, but I am even less so.'

The examples in (174) also show that the addition of *erg* is illicit, but it must be noted that (174a) alternates with (175), in which the comparative form *erger* 'worse' is used.

- (175) Jan is vreselijk bang voor honden, maar ik ben het nog erger.
 Jan is terribly afraid of dogs but I am it even worse
 'Jan is terribly afraid of dogs, but I am even more so.'

In (176a&b), we find comparable cases in which the superlative is expressed by the element *het meest* 'the most' and *het minst* 'the least', which are also used in the periphrastic superlative construction, despite the fact that the maximative of *bang* is the morphologically complex form *bangst*.

- (176) a. Iedereen is vreselijk bang voor honden, maar ik ben het het meest (*erg).
 everyone is terribly afraid of dogs but I am it the most much
 'Everyone is terribly afraid of dogs, but I am the most so.'
 b. Niemand is erg bang voor honden, maar ik ben het het minst (??erg).
 no one is very afraid of dogs but I am it the least much
 'No one is very afraid of dogs, but I am the least so.'

The addition of *erg* is again impossible, although (176a) alternates with (177), in which the comparative form *het ergst* 'the worst' is used. Note that, for some reason, (176b) yields a better result with *erg* than (174b).

- (177) Iedereen is vreselijk bang voor honden, maar ik ben het het ergst.
 everyone is terribly afraid of dogs but I am it the worst
 'Everyone is terribly afraid of dogs, but I am the most so.'

The equative degree differs from the comparative and superlative degree in that *even* 'as' must be followed by the element *erg*, just as in the case of the modifiers *te* 'too', *zo* 'so' and *hoe* 'how'. The fact that *erg* does not occur in a non-pronominal AP modified by *even* (**even erg bang*) shows that *erg* is not an intensifier in the construction in (178) but is needed to license pronominalization of the AP.

- (178) Jan is ontzettend bang voor honden en ik ben het even *(erg).
 Jan is terribly afraid of dogs and I am it as much
 'Jan is very afraid of dogs, and I am as much so.'

4.5. Bibliographical notes

The main sources of this chapter have been the reference grammars by Haeseryn et al. (1997), Paardekooper (1986) and a series of publications by Norbert Corver on the internal structure of the AP: Corver (1990/1994/1997a/1997b). For the morphological restriction on the formation of synthetic comparatives and superlatives, see De Haas & Trommelen (1993:286ff.) and Booij (2002: Section 2.3.1). Important sources for the discussion in Section 4.1.3 on comparative (sub)deletion and the categorial status of the elements *als/dan* that introduce the comparative phrase are Bennis (1977), Den Besten (1978), Hendriks (1995) and Corver (1990/1993). Corver (2006) provides an overview of the theoretical literature on these issues and provides an excellent starting point for further investigation.



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Chapter 5

Attributive use of the adjective phrase

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Introduction

This chapter discusses attributively used adjectives. Section 5.1 starts with a comprehensive discussion of their inflection. Section 5.2 will show that attributive adjectives are normally placed between the determiner and the head noun, and will also discuss their placement with respect to some other elements that occupy the prenominal field. Section 5.3 will continue by showing that the placement of more complex attributively used APs is more flexible than that of less complex ones. Section 5.4 provides a discussion of N-ellipsis, that is, cases in which the attributive adjective is not accompanied by a (morphologically realized) noun. Section 5.5 concludes with a discussion of the syntax of co-occurring adjectives.

5.1. Inflection

Adjectives in attributive position are inflected. The inflectional ending of attributive adjectives (*-e* or *-Ø*) depends on various factors, which are summarized in (1) and will be discussed in Section 5.1.1. Section 5.1.2 will subsequently discuss the numerous exceptions to the general pattern.

- (1) • Factors determining attributive inflection:
 - a. gender of the head noun
 - b. (in)definiteness of the noun phrase
 - c. number of the noun
 - d. phonological properties of the attributive adjective

5.1.1. The inflectional paradigm

The factors determining attributive inflection on the adjective can be distributed into two groups. Those in the first group involve syntactic and semantic features of the noun (phrase), and the second involve phonological properties of the adjective itself. These two groups are discussed in 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.2, respectively.

5.1.1.1. Features of the noun (phrase)

The inflectional ending of an attributive adjective depends on the gender of the noun it modifies; cf. also Section 1.2. When the noun is masculine or feminine and thus belongs to the *de*-group, the adjective normally ends in *-e* (pronounced as schwa /ə/), which means that the inflection is independent of the number and the definiteness of the noun phrase. When the noun is neuter and thus belongs to the *het*-group, the *-e* ending is absent in indefinite singular noun phrases. This is illustrated in Table 1, in which the single case of null inflection is given in a box with bold lines.

Table 1: The inflectional patterns of attributively used adjectives

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	DE-NOUNS	HET-NOUNS	DE-NOUNS	HET-NOUNS
DEFINITE	<i>de oude stoel</i> the old chair	<i>het oude boek</i> the old book	<i>de oude stoelen</i> the old chairs	<i>de oude boeken</i> the old books
INDEFINITE	<i>een oude stoel</i> an old chair	<i>een oud-Ø boek</i> an old book	<i>oude stoelen</i> old chairs	<i>oude boeken</i> old books

The paradigm in 5.1.1.1 can be described by assuming the rules in (2), where the words between square brackets indicate the features of the noun (phrase).

- (2) • Inflection of attributively used adjectives
- a. [+NEUTER][+INDEFINITE][+SINGULAR] $\Rightarrow$ adjective + $-\emptyset$
 - b. otherwise: adjective + $-e$

Alternatively, we could assume the rules in (3). Although this set of rules may seem unnecessarily complex, we will take it as our point of departure for our exposition later in this chapter.

- (3) • Inflection of attributively used adjectives
- a. [-NEUTER] $\Rightarrow$ adjective + $-e$
 - b. [-INDEFINITE] $\Rightarrow$ adjective + $-e$
 - c. [-SINGULAR] $\Rightarrow$ adjective + $-e$
 - d. otherwise: adjective + $-\emptyset$

Although we do not intend to make any theoretical claim by adopting (3), we want to point out that this set of rules is superior to the set of rules in (2) in that it straightforwardly accounts for the fact illustrated in Table 2 that number is irrelevant in the case of non-count nouns: the attributive $-e$ ending is lacking with indefinite noun phrases headed by a non-count noun. This would follow from (3), but not from (2), when we assume that the number feature is simply not present on non-count nouns; see Broekhuis (2007/2008: section 4.2) for more discussion.

Table 2: The inflection of non-count nouns

	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN
DEFINITE	<i>de lekkere rijst</i> the tasty rice	<i>het lekkere bier</i> tasty beer
INDEFINITE	<i>lekkere rijst</i> tasty rice	<i>lekker-$\emptyset$ bier</i> tasty beer

The examples in (4) show that, when a noun is combined with more than one adjective, the inflectional ending appears on each of the adjectives. The (a)-examples involve the non-neuter noun *stoel* ‘chair’, and the (b)-examples the neuter noun *boek* ‘book’.

- (4) a. een oud- e fraai- e stoel
 *een oud fraai- e stoel
 *een oud- e fraai stoel
 ‘an old fine chair’
- b. een oud fraai boek
 *een oud- e fraai boek
 *een oud fraai- e boek
 ‘an old fine book’
- a’. een oud- e , maar fraai- e stoel
 *een oud, maar fraai- e stoel
 *een oud- e , maar fraai stoel
 ‘an old but fine chair’
- b’. een oud, maar fraai boek
 *een oud- e , maar fraai boek
 *een oud, maar fraai- e boek
 ‘an old but fine book’

We will refer to this phenomenon as the CONCORD CONSTRAINT on attributive inflection, which is formulated in (5).

- (5) • Concord constraint on attributive inflection:
 When a noun is combined with more than one attributive adjective, the inflectional endings on the adjectives are identical (unless the *-e* ending is not realized for phonological reasons):
 *_[NP .. ADJ-Ø .. ADJ-*e* .. N]
 *_[NP .. ADJ-*e* .. ADJ-Ø .. N]

The proviso between parentheses in (5) is needed, because the appearance of the *-e* ending is partly phonologically determined. As will become clear in the next section, this proviso will account for the apparent counterexamples in (6).

- (6) a. de oud-*e* kaki-Ø broek
 the old khaki trousers
 b. de blauw-*e* open-Ø deur
 the blue open door

Observe that the constraint in (5) does not apply to the examples in (7), in which the adjectives can be considered compound forms.

- (7) a. de rood-wit-blauw-*e* vlag
 the red-white-blue flag
 b. de rood-met-witt-*e* vlag
 the red-with-white flag
 c. de kant-en-klar-*e* maaltijd
 the instant food
 d. de Nederlands-Duits-*e* betrekkingen
 the Dutch-German relations

5.1.1.2. *Phonological constraints*

The paradigm in Table 1 is typical for adjectives that end in a consonant (cf. the examples above), but when the adjective ends in a vowel, the *-e* ending can sometimes be dropped. The pattern in (8) arises: short vowels are not mentioned because they only occur in closed syllables (= syllables that end in a consonant) in Dutch.

- (8) a. long vowels:
 i. /a/, /o/ or /i/: no inflection
 ii. /e/, /y/ or /u/: *-e* inflection (with intervocalic /j/ or /w/ sound)
 b. diphthong: *-e* inflection
 c. schwa /ə/: no inflection

I. Long vowels

The *-e* inflection is absent when the adjective ends in the long vowel /a/, /o/ or /i/, as in (9). The number of adjectives that belong to this group is quite small.

- (9) • Adjectives that end in /a/, /o/ or /i/
 a. een prima-Ø opmerking
 an excellent remark
 b. een albino-Ø muis
 an albino mouse

- c. de kaki-Ø broek
the khaki trousers

When the adjective ends in /e/, /y/ or /u/, on the other hand, the inflection is realized with an intervocalic /j/ (or /w/) sound, which is sometimes orthographically represented by a dieresis on the inflectional ending (-ë), as in (10a), or as an *i* preceding the schwa, as in (10c). In (10b) there is no orthographic representation of the intervocalic sound.

- (10) • Adjectives that end in /e/, /y/ or /u/
- a. een gedweeë man [gedweeë = [xədwejə]]
a docile man
- b. het continue gezeur [continue = [kɔntinywə] or [kɔntinyjə]]
the continuous moaning
- c. de moeie man [moeie = [mujiə]]
the tired man

It has been suggested that the difference between (9) and (10) is due to the word-internal prosodic structure: the *-e* ending can only appear if the long vowel carries stress. Whereas the adjectives in (10) have stress on the final syllable, the small number of Dutch adjectives that end in /a:/, /o:/ and /i/ have main stress on the penultimate syllable (indicated by means of small caps): *Extra*, *Illa* 'lilac', *mIca*, *nAppa* 'leather', *prIma* 'excellent', *albIno*, *frAnco* 'post-free', *kAkI* 'khaki', *sEXy*. However, the fact that the number of adjectives ending in a long vowel is quite small makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

II. Diphthong

When the adjective ends in a diphthong, the *-e* ending is realized, as is demonstrated in (11).

- (11) • Adjectives that end in a diphthong
- a. een vrij-*e* stoel [vrije = [vrɛiə]]
a free chair
- b. een lui-*e* student [luie = [lœyə]]
a lazy student
- c. een blauw-*e* vaas [blauwe = [blœue]]
a blue vase

III. Schwa

When the adjective ends in a schwa, the *-e* inflection is absent, as is illustrated in the primeless examples in (12). The primed examples show that adjectives ending in *-en* (pronounced as schwa in Standard Dutch) also lack the *-e* inflection.

- (12) • Adjectives that end in a schwa (*-e* or *-en*)
- a. de beige-Ø/oranje-Ø ballon a'. de dronken-Ø soldaat
the beige/orange balloon the drunken soldier
- b. perfide-Ø opmerkingen b'. de open-Ø deur
perfidious remarks the open door

A subclass of the adjectives characterized by ending in *-en* (schwa), and hence by not appearing in the inflected form, are the substance adjectives, such as *ijzeren* ‘iron’, *houten* ‘wooden’ and *gouden* ‘golden’ in (13). Observe that the *-en* ending is an adjectivizing affix in these cases, and cannot be seen as the adjectival inflection *-e*, since it also shows up in the case of the indefinite singular neuter noun phrases. The affix *-en* is possibly an old genitive ending (Te Winkel 1849), which may still be syntactically active as such; cf. Section 1.3.3.5.

- (13) • Substance adjectives
- | | | | |
|----|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | een ijzeren-Ø | beker/hek | [de beker/het hek] |
| | an iron | mug/gate | |
| b. | een houten-Ø | lepel/mes | [de lepel/het mes] |
| | a wooden | spoon | |
| c. | een gouden-Ø | oorbel/oorbelletje | [de oorbel/het oorbelletje] |
| | a golden | earring/earring _{dim} | |

Although the *-e* inflection is normally added to attributively used past/passive participles, as in (14a&b), it is absent when we are dealing with an irregular past/passive participle ending in *-en*, as in (14a’&b’). Similarly, the *-e* ending is absent in the case of attributively used modal infinitives such as (14c). The inflectional properties of participles and modal infinitives will be more extensively discussed in Section 9.1.

(14) a.	de gepost- <i>e</i>	brief	a’.	de geschreven-Ø	brief
	the posted	letter		the written	letter
b.	de afgezett- <i>e</i>	koning	b’.	de verdreven-Ø	koning
	the deposed	king		the dislodged	king
c.	het te lezen-Ø	boek			
	the to read	book			
	‘the book to be read’				

The fact that the *-e* inflection cannot follow schwa can possibly be attributed to a phonological condition that prohibits two adjacent schwa-sounds, although it should be noted that the varieties of Dutch in which *-en* is pronounced as [(ə)n] do not realize the *-e* ending in the relevant cases either; appealing to a phonological condition to exclude the attributive *-e* is not possible in these cases, since /ən/ can be followed by schwa in cases like *het opene van zijn karakter* ‘the open nature of his character’, *het geschrevene* ‘what has been written’; see Section 5.4.2 for a discussion of examples like these.

5.1.2. Exceptions to the inflectional paradigm

This section discusses exceptions to the inflectional paradigm in Table 1 that cannot be accounted for by taking recourse to the phonological constraints outlined in Section 5.1.1.2.

5.1.2.1. Loan words

Taking recourse to a phonological condition that prohibits two adjacent schwa sounds does not account for the fact that the *-e* inflection does not arise with

borrowed substance adjectives such as *aluminium* in (15a) that do not have the substance adjectival *-en* ending. This exceptional behavior can also be observed in the case of other loan words, such as *privé* ‘private’ and *gratis* ‘free’ in (15b&c).

- (15) • Exceptional behavior of loan words
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. | een aluminium-Ø/*aluminium- <i>e</i> | beker |
| | an aluminum | mug |
| b. | een privé-Ø/*privé- <i>ë</i> | kamer |
| | a private | room |
| c. | een gratis-Ø/*gratiss- <i>e</i> | behandeling |
| | a free | treatment |

The loan adjective *plastic/plastiek* ‘plastic’ in (16) is occasionally produced with the ending *-e(n)*: this affix is probably added under analogy with the adjectival *-en* ending on the regular substance adjectives, since it can also be found in the case of indefinite use of neuter nouns like *mes* ‘knife’ and *laken* ‘sheet’, which shows that it cannot be considered as the attributive *-e* inflection. A Google search quickly reveals that the orthographic forms *plastic* and *plastiek* differ with respect to the ending: whereas the vast majority of cases featuring the original loan word *plastic* do not exhibit the ending *-e(n)*, the adapted form *plastiek* has a clear preference for this ending: *de plastieken/*plastiek beker*.

- (16) a. een plastic-Ø/?plastice(*n*) beker [de beker]
 a plastic mug
 b. een plastic-Ø/?plastice(*n*) mes [het mes]
 a plastic knife

The adjective *pluche* in (17), the nominal counterpart of which is pronounced without a schwa, is always pronounced with a schwa-ending. A Google search on the strings [*een pluche(n)*] and [*de pluche(n)*] shows that the forms with and without *-n* occur with about the same frequency in writing. However, again, we cannot be dealing with the attributive *-e* inflection given that we also find the schwa forms in examples like (17b) with a neuter noun. For this reason we must conclude that, despite its high frequency, the spelling without *-n* is not in accordance with the Dutch orthographic rules: see also <http://www.onzetaal.nl/advies/pluchen.php>.

- (17) a. een pluche-Ø/pluchen jas [de jas]
 a plush coat
 b. een pluche-Ø/pluchen dekentje [het dekentje]
 a plush blanket_{DIM.}

5.1.2.2. Geographical adjectives ending in *-er*

The geographical adjectives that end in *-er* are another exception to the inflection pattern in Table 1: they categorically resist the adjectival *-e* inflection. The same thing holds for the adjectives *linker* ‘left-hand’ and *rechter* ‘right-hand’. This is shown in (18a-c).

- (18) a. de Groninger-Ø koek
 ‘the gingerbread from Groningen’
 b. de Edammer-Ø kaas
 ‘the cheese from Edam’
 c. de linker-Ø/rechter-Ø schoen
 ‘the left/right-hand shoe’

It seems that the absence of the attributive inflection is *not* purely a phonological matter, given that the examples in (19) show that simple adjectives that end in *-er* and comparatives do get the inflectional ending *-e*.

- (19) a. de lekker-*e* koek
 the tasty cake
 b. de groter-*e* schoen
 the bigger shoe

5.1.2.3. *Non-intersective meaning units*

This section discusses more systematic exceptions to the inflectional paradigm in Table 1 that are characterized by the fact that the A+N combinations do not express the intersective reading discussed in Section 1.3.2.1.1 that is typical of attributive constructions. We will see that there are three subtypes, which will be discussed in separate subsections: the first two types involve more or less idiomatic A+N combinations, which therefore express a non-compositional meaning; the meaning of the third type seems to be compositional but is not straightforwardly intersective. Many of the examples in this section are taken from Odijk (1992).

1. *Type het stoffelijk overschot ‘the corpse’*

The first exceptional paradigm occurs with neuter, that is, *het*-nouns only, where the deviation consists of the absence of the *-e* ending in definite singular noun phrases. This paradigm is given in Table 3, in which the deviant case is boxed within bold lines. We can describe this paradigm by saying that the rule (3b) ([-INDEFINITE] ⇒ adjective + *-e*) does not apply.

Table 3: *Irregular het-paradigm*

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>het stoffelijk² stoffelijke overschot</i> the mortal remains (the corpse)	<i>de stoffelijke overschotten</i>
INDEFINITE	<i>een stoffelijk overschot</i>	<i>stoffelijke overschotten</i>

In order to get an impression of the robustness of the deviance, we performed a Google search in July 2009 on the two competing strings [*het stoffelijk overschot*] and [*het stoffelijke overschot*] and found that the first string appears about seventeen times as often as the second one (53,000 versus 3,300). For completeness’ sake, note that we also found 74 cases in which the string [*de stoffelijk overschotten*] was used; the correct string [*de stoffelijke overschotten*] resulted in nearly 8,000 hits.

To a certain extent, the relevant A+N combinations form a meaning unit, which is clear from the fact that they often have a specialized meaning that can be rendered by means of a single English word. Many linguistic terms, of which a small sample is given in (20), belong to this type. Other cases are given in (21). This construction type is very productively used in creating names for newspapers and institutions, as is illustrated in (22).

(20)	a.	het zelfstandig naamwoord	‘the noun’
	b.	het bijvoeglijk naamwoord	‘the adjective’
	c.	het persoonlijk voornaamwoord	‘the personal pronoun’
	d.	het lijdend voorwerp	‘the direct object’
	e.	het meewerkend voorwerp	‘the indirect object’
(21)	a.	het medisch dossier	‘the medical file’
	b.	het Burgerlijk Wetboek	‘the civil code’
	c.	het openbaar ministerie	‘the Prosecuting Council’
	d.	het algemeen bestuur	‘the general board’
(22)	a.	het Algemeen Dagblad	‘the General Daily’
	b.	het Haarlems Dagblad	‘the Haarlem Daily’
	c.	het Utrechts Nieuwsblad	‘the Utrecht News’
	d.	het Bijbels Museum	‘the Biblical Museum’
	e.	het Amsterdams Toneel	‘the Amsterdam Theater’

That the A+N combinations form idiomatic semantic units that are not compositionally determined is supported by several facts.

A. Modification of the adjective

The examples in (23) show that the adjective cannot be modified by means of an °intensifier or appear in the comparative form, and the examples in (24) show that the A+N combination cannot be split up by means of an additional adjective. The number signs indicate that the examples in (24) are acceptable when we interpret *zelfstandig* ‘autonomous(ly)’ and *algemeen* ‘general(ly)’ as adverbs modifying the adjectives *gebruikt/gevormd*; this interpretation is of course not relevant here.

(23)	a.	het (*erg) zelfstandig naamwoord	a'.*het zelfstandiger naamwoord
		the very noun	
	b.	het (*zeer) algemeen bestuur	b'.*het algemener bestuur
		the very board	
(24)	a.	#het zelfstandig gebruikte naamwoord	
	b.	#het algemeen gevormde bestuur	

Still, the examples in (20) and (21) cannot be considered as real compounds because the adjectives are normally inflected in the plural. This is illustrated in Table (25), where the numbers give the results of a Google search performed in April 2009 on the respective strings.

(25) attributive inflection on the plural forms

WITH INFLECTION		WITHOUT INFLECTION	
<i>zelfstandige naamwoorden</i> 'nouns'	>25,000	<i>zelfstandig naamwoorden</i>	>2,000
<i>bijvoeglijke naamwoorden</i> 'adjective'	>20,000	<i>bijvoeglijke naamwoorden</i>	>1,500
<i>lijdende voorwerpen</i> 'direct objects'	> 700	<i>lijdend voorwerpen</i>	56
<i>meewerkende voorwerpen</i> 'indirect objects'	81	<i>meewerkend voorwerpen</i>	12
<i>medische dossiers</i> 'medical files'	>25,000	<i>medisch dossiers</i>	200
<i>algemene besturen</i> 'general boards'	> 95,000	<i>algemeen besturen</i>	800

For completeness' sake, observe that there are also idiomatic A+N combinations in which the adjective is inflected. Since the meaning is not compositionally determined, modification of the adjective is blocked in these cases, too. Some examples are given in (26).

- (26) a. de (*zeer) grote vakantie
the very big holiday
'the long vacation/summer holidays'
b. Hij heeft (*zeer) groene/lange vingers.
he has very green/long fingers
'He has a green thumb/sticky fingers.'

B. The concord constraint on attributive inflection does not apply

When we modify the relevant A+N combination by means of an additional adjective, the concord constraint on attributive inflection in (5) from Section 5.1.1.1 can be violated, as is shown in (27). In this respect, the A+N collocations behave like compounds.

- (27) a. het gebruikt-*e* zelfstandig-Ø naamwoord
the used noun
b. het corrupt-*e* openbaar-Ø ministerie
the corrupt Prosecuting Council

Occasionally, the -*e* ending is missing on both adjectives; in that case, the A+A+N combination acts as an idiomatic unit, which shows that the exceptional pattern can occur recursively.

- (28) a. het Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands
'Standard Dutch'
b. het Nieuw Burgerlijk Wetboek
'the new civil code'

C. No predicative use of the adjective

That the A+N combination is a fixed combination is also clear from the fact that the adjective cannot be used in predicative position (with the same meaning). Compare the copular constructions in (29) and (30) with the examples in (20) and (21).

- (29) a. *Het naamwoord is zelfstandig.
 b. *Het naamwoord is bijvoeglijk.
 c. *Het voornaamwoord is persoonlijk.
 d. *Het voorwerp is lijdend.
 e. *Het voorwerp is meewerkend.
- (30) a. *Het dossier is medisch.
 b. *Het wetboek is burgerlijk.
 c. *Het ministerie is openbaar.
 d. *Het bestuur is algemeen.

II. Type: de maatschappelijk werker 'the social worker'

The second deviant paradigm is characterized by the fact that the *-e* ending is missing in all relevant singular environments. This construction type is possible with nouns that designate human beings only; many cases involve the names of titles or functions. The exceptional paradigm is given in Table 4. We can describe this exceptional paradigm by saying that the rules in (3a-c) do not apply.

Table 4: Irregular het/de paradigm

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>de maatschappelijk werker</i> the social worker	<i>de maatschappelijk werkers</i>
INDEFINITE	<i>een maatschappelijk werker</i>	<i>maatschappelijk werkers</i>

Examples with neuter nouns are not easy to find, since most [+HUMAN] nouns have masculine or feminine gender. The best way to show that neuter nouns behave similarly is by adding the diminutive suffix *-tje* to the [+HUMAN] noun, which results in a neuter noun (with in this case a negative connotation), cf.:

- (31) a. het maatschappelijk werkertje
 b. de maatschappelijk werkertjes
 c. een maatschappelijk werkertje
 d. maatschappelijk werkertjes

It must be noted, however, that for many (but not all) speakers, the *-e* ending can be optionally expressed in the plural. In order to give an impression of the robustness of the deviance from the regular pattern, we give the results of our Google search performed in March 2010 in (32); the numbers between square brackets give the result for the strings without the article with, respectively, the uninflected and inflected form of the adjective.

- (32) a. een wetenschappelijk(*-e) medewerker [96,700/2,110]
 a scientific staff member
 a'. wetenschappelijk(%-e) medewerkers [11,700/13,300]
 b. een cultureel(*-e) attaché [2,020/157]
 a cultural ambassador
 b'. cultureel(%-e) attachés [377/537]

That the meaning of the relevant A+N combinations is not compositionally determined can perhaps be supported by the fact that the adjectives do not allow modification and cannot be used in predicative position. However, this may also be due to the fact that the adjectives in question are mostly relational adjectives, which are characterized by these properties anyway; cf. section 1.3.3.

- (33) a. *een erg/zeer maatschappelijk werker
 a very social worker
 b. *Deze werker is maatschappelijk.
 this worker is social

More reliable evidence in favor of this claim that the A+N combinations are idiomatic in nature is provided by the observations in the following subsections.

A. The concord constraint on attributive inflection does not apply

When we modify the relevant A+N combination by means of an additional adjective, the concord constraint on attributive inflection in (5) can be violated. As is illustrated in (34), when the A+N combination is preceded by an additional adjective that has the adjectival inflection *-e*, the *-e* ending may be absent on the adjective that belongs to the A+N combination. It must be noted, however, that for some speakers the constraint does seem to apply to such sequences.

- (34) a. een voortreffelijke wetenschappelijk(-e) medewerker
 an outstanding scientific staff member
 b. de vroegere cultureel(-e) attaché
 the former cultural ambassador

B. Meaning specialization

Consider the examples in (35), which involve a present participle. The irregular pattern *een waarnemend burgemeester* in (35a) does not refer to a (certain kind of) mayor, but to the person who performs the tasks of the mayor during his absence. In the regular pattern in (35b), on the other hand, the noun phrase does refer to a mayor, who is temporarily performing some vacant function. Observe that the nominal argument *de vrijgekomen post* cannot be added to (35a), whereas it is preferably realized in (35b).

- (35) a. de (*de vrijgekomen post) waarnemend burgemeester
 b. de ?(de vrijgekomen post) waarnemende burgemeester
 the the vacant position performing mayor
 'the mayor who is temporarily performing the vacant function'

Similarly, the irregular form *een behandelend arts* in (36a) does not refer to a doctor who is treating some patient, as the regular form in (36b) would do, but to a doctor on duty. As in (35a), the present participle cannot take a nominal argument in the irregular case.

- (36) a. de (*mij) behandelend arts
 b. de mij behandelende arts
 the me treating doctor
 'the doctor who is treating me'

C. Impermeability of the A+N combination

That the irregular A+N combinations in (35a&b) form a fixed semantic unit is also clear from the fact that they must be strictly adjacent, in contrast to the regular A+N combinations in the primed examples. This is shown in (37).

- (37) a. *de waarnemend, Amsterdams(e) burgemeester
 a'. de waarnemende, Amsterdamse burgemeester
 the performing Amsterdam mayor
 b. *een behandelend, gediplomeerde arts
 b'. een behandelende, gediplomeerde arts
 a treating graduated doctor

III. Type: een groot keizer 'a great emperor'

The third and final deviant paradigm is also restricted to [+HUMAN] nouns, and especially occurs with nouns denoting professions of some social standing. The divergence consists in the fact that the *-e* ending is lacking in the indefinite singular. Perhaps this paradigm occurs both with *de*- and *het*-nouns, but since the *-e* ending does not occur in singular, indefinite, neuter noun phrases anyway, this cannot be determined. The paradigm is given in Table 5, and again the exceptional case is boxed within bold lines. We can describe this paradigm by saying that rule (3a) ([-NEUTER] $\Rightarrow$ adjective + *-e*) does not apply. Some more examples of this type are given in (38).

Table 5: Irregular *de*-paradigm

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>de grote keizer</i> the great emperor	<i>de grote keizers</i>
INDEFINITE	<i>een groot keizer</i>	<i>grote keizers</i>

- (38) a. een bekwaam arts a'. de bekwame arts a''. (de) bekwame artsen
 b. een goed docent b'. de goede docent b''. (de) goede docenten
 c. een getalenteerd danser c'. getalenteerde danser c''. (de) getalenteerde dansers

In contrast to the earlier cases, the meaning of the noun phrase is compositionally determined; the adjective and the noun do not constitute a fixed meaning unit. That the adjective really denotes a property of the head noun is clear from the fact that the adjective can be modified by an intensifier or appear in its

comparative form; cf. (39). The superlative form is possible as well, but then the noun phrase has a definite determiner and the *-e* ending is present: cf. *de grootste keizer* ‘the greatest emperor’.

(39) a.	een erg groot keizer a very great emperor	a’.	een groter keizer dan Caesar a greater emperor than Caesar
b.	een erg knap taalkundige a very clever linguist	b’.	een knapper taalkundige dan Bloomfield a cleverer linguist than Bloomfield

In the construction under discussion, simple nouns generally refer to male persons; nouns that refer to female persons are only possible when they are morphologically marked as feminine by means of an affix. This is demonstrated in (40): the simple noun *vrouw* ‘woman’ gives rise to an unacceptable result in this construction, whereas the nouns derived by means of the feminine affixes *-e* and *-ster* lead to a fully grammatical result.

(40) a.	een groot man a great man	a’.	*een groot vrouw a great woman
b.	een goed pianist a good pianist	b’.	een goed pianist- <i>e</i> a good female pianist
c.	een uitstekend schrijver an excellent writer	c’.	een uitstekend schrijf- <i>ster</i> an excellent female writer

Note further that it is certainly not the case that all nouns denoting male individuals can be used in this construction. This can be illustrated by means of the examples in (41), which show that the limitations often are of a rather idiosyncratic nature.

(41) a.	een deugdzaam mens/man/*jongen/*kerel a righteous person/man/boy/chap
b.	een invloedrijk persoon/man/*jongen/*kerel an influential person/man/boy/chap

The semantics of the examples in (39) and (40) is special in that a noun phrase like *een knap taalkundige* ‘a clever linguist’ does not refer to the intersection of the sets denoted by the noun *taalkundige* and the adjective *knap*; see the discussion in Section 1.3.2.1.1. Instead, the adjective provides an evaluation of some property or skill that is typical for the entity denoted by the noun; *een knap taalkundige* thus does not denote a linguist who is clever in general, but a linguist who is clever as a linguist. This is also reflected by the entailment relations illustrated in (42); cf. Alexiadou et. al (2007). In (42a) the predicatively used noun phrase has an intersective interpretation, and we may conclude from this that the property denoted by the adjective is also applicable to the subject of the copular construction. In (42b), on the other hand, the predicatively used noun phrase has a non-intersective interpretation, and the entailment clearly does not hold.

(42) a.	Jan is een grote jongen $\Rightarrow$ Jan is a big boy	a’.	Jan is groot. Jan is big
b.	Hitler was een goed spreker $\nRightarrow$ Hitler was a good orator	b’.	Hitler was goed. Hitler was good

In many cases, the non-intersective meaning can also be expressed by means of the inflected adjective, that is, the primeless examples in (43) are in fact ambiguous: for example, *een vlotte typist* as (43c) may refer to a typist who is sporty, or to a typist who is skilled as a typist, whereas *een vlot typist* (43c') has only the latter reading.

(43) a.	een grote keizer	a'.	een groot keizer
	a big/great emperor		a great emperor
b.	een knappe taalkundige	b'.	een knap taalkundige
	a handsome/clever linguist		a clever linguist
c.	een vlotte typist	c'.	een vlot typist
	a sporty/speedy typist		a speedy typist

When more than one adjective is present, the concord constraint on attributive inflection in (5) must be respected, that is, either the adjectives are either all inflected, or they are all uninflected.

- (44) a. een belangrijk-*e*, Vlaams-*e* schilder
 b. een belangrijk- $\emptyset$, Vlaams- $\emptyset$ schilder
 c. *een belangrijk-*e*, Vlaams- $\emptyset$ schilder
 d. *een belangrijk- $\emptyset$, Vlaams-*e* schilder
 'an important Flemish painter'

5.1.2.4. Prosody

When the adjective is polysyllabic, the *-e* ending can sometimes be dropped for prosodic reasons: this may occur when we are dealing with a derived adjective that ends in the affix *-(e)lijk* (pronounced as [(ə)lək]) or *-ig* (pronounced as /əx/), provided that the head of the noun phrase is a singular neuter (*het-*) noun, as in (45).

(45) a.	het overdrachtelijk(e) gebruik	[<i>het</i> gebruik]
	the metaphorical use	
a'.	de buitenechtelijke/*buitenechtelijk verhouding	[<i>de</i> verhouding]
	the extramarital relation	
b.	het overbodig(e) geklaag	[<i>het</i> geklaag]
	the superfluous lamentation	
b'.	de overbodige/*overbodig opmerking	[<i>de</i> opmerking]
	the superfluous remark	

This is also possible with non-neuter nouns when the affix *-ig* or *-(e)lijk* is followed by the comparative affix *-er* (pronounced as [ər]), and the noun is indefinite, as in (46). Note that the primed examples in (46) sound somewhat better than those in (45).

(46) a.	een gemakkelijker(e) oplossing
	an easier solution
a'.	de gemakkelijker ^{??} gemakkelijker oplossing
	the easier solution
b.	een uitvoeriger(e) beschrijving
	a more.elaborate description
b'.	de uitvoerigere ^{??} uitvoeriger beschrijving
	the more.elaborate description

It seems plausible that dropping the *-e* ending is related to a tendency to avoid sequences of light syllables, that is, syllables that have a schwa as a nucleus: adding the *-e* ending in the primeless examples results in sequence of two or more light syllables. This leaves unexplained, however, why dropping the attributive inflection is worse or even excluded in the primed examples of (45) and (46).

5.1.2.5. *The pronoun iemand 'somebody' and the noun persoon 'person'*

The quantificational pronoun *iemand* is non-neuter, which is clear from the fact illustrated in (47a) that it can act as an antecedent of the non-neuter relative pronoun *die* 'who'. This leads us to expect that an attributive adjective modifying this quantifier will get the attributive *-e* ending. Example (47b) shows, however, that this expectation is not borne out.

- (47) a. Ik ken iemand die dat wel wil doen.
 I know someone who that PRT wants do
 'I know someone who would be willing to do that.'
 b. een aardig/*aardige iemand
 a nice someone

Observe that, in contrast to (47a), the modified pronoun *iemand* must be combined with the determiner *een* 'a' in (47b); in a sense, this means that it is acting as regular noun in this example with the meaning "person". Interestingly, the noun *persoon* is also non-neuter and does not license the attributive ending either; cf. (48).

- (48) a. Ik ken een persoon die dat wel wil doen.
 I know someone who that PRT wants do
 b. een aardig/*aardige persoon
 a nice person

5.2. Attributively used adjectives versus other prenominal elements

This section compares attributively used adjectives with other elements that may occur in prenominal position, like numerals and quantifiers, possessive pronouns and certain adverbs.

5.2.1. *Position with respect to the determiner and the head noun*

In Dutch, attributively used adjectives are placed between the determiner and the noun, as in (49a). Placement of the adjective before the determiner, as in (49b), is always excluded, and the same normally holds for placement of the adjective after the noun, as in (49c).

- (49) • The position of the attributive adjective
- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. de grote jongen | a'. een grote jongen |
| the big boy | a big boy |
| b. *grote de jongen | b'. *grote een jongen |
| c. *de jongen grote/groot | c'. *een jongen grote/groot |

Observe that the order in the (b)-examples is also excluded when the adjective is questioned or prefixed by the intensifier *zo* 'that'. In other words, English

constructions like (50a&b) are not acceptable in Dutch, as is shown in the primed examples. The acceptable counterparts of the English examples are given in the doubly-primed examples.

- (50) a. How big a computer did he buy?
 a'. *Hoe groot een computer heeft hij gekocht?
 how big a computer has he bought
 a''. Een hoe grote computer heeft hij gekocht?
 a how big computer has he bought
 b. John has bought that big a computer!
 b'. *Jan heeft zo groot een computer gekocht!
 Jan has that big a computer bought
 b''. Jan heeft zo'n grote computer gekocht!
 Jan has that a big computer bought

The order in (49c), on the other hand, is possible in some archaic or fixed expressions, as well as in literary style. The primed examples in (51) show that, unlike prenominal attributive adjectives, the postnominal adjective is not inflected.

- (51) • Postnominal attributive adjectives
- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. de almachtig- <i>e</i> God | b. een koen- <i>e</i> ridder |
| the omnipotent God | a brave knight |
| a'. God almachtig-Ø | b'. een ridder koen-Ø |

The (a)-examples in (52) are formulaic temporal expressions that are found in written texts and formal language: note the -*e* ending on *aanstaande*. Example (52b') shows that the N-A pattern is not generally available.

- (52) a. jongstleden/aanstaande maandag b. komende maandag
 last/next Monday next Monday
 a'. maandag jongstleden/aanstaande b'. *maandag komende

Furthermore, it can be noted that, in colloquial speech, the adjective *lief* 'dear' can be used postnominally in forms of address: *kindje lief* 'dear child'. Finally, Dutch has various compounds that may have had their origin in the postnominal use of attributive adjectives: often cited examples are *Staten-Generaal* 'States-General' and *secretaris-generaal* 'secretary-general'.

5.2.2. Adjectives and prenominal numerals/quantifiers

Other elements that may appear between the noun and the determiner can often be distinguished from the adjectives by their lack of inflection. The clearest examples are the cardinal numerals. As is illustrated in (53), cardinal numerals like *twee* 'two', *drie* 'three' and *vier* 'four' never show inflection..

- (53) • Cardinal numerals
- | |
|---|
| a. de vijf/*vijf- <i>e</i> vingers |
| the five fingers |
| b. de tien/*tien- <i>e</i> boeken |
| the ten books |

The same thing seems to hold for ordinal numerals like *eerste* ‘first’, *tweede* ‘second’, *derde* ‘third’: although these numerals end in *-e*, this *-e* also shows up when they modify a singular indefinite neuter noun, as in (54), and is therefore clearly not the attributive *-e* ending

- (54) • Ordinal numerals
- | | | |
|----|---------------------|------------------------|
| a. | een tweede argument | [<i>het</i> argument] |
| | a second argument | |
| b. | een vierde probleem | [<i>het</i> probleem] |
| | a fourth problem | |

Example (55a) shows that the position of the cardinal numerals is always more to the left than the attributive adjectives. The position of the ordinal numerals, on the other hand, seems more flexible: although the order in (55b) is probably the more common one, the order in (55b') is possible as well. The meanings of the two (b)-examples do differ, however: whereas the primeless example refers to an entity that is part of a set of serious problems, the primed example refers to an entity that is part of a set of problems that may or may not be serious, and it is said about this problem that it is serious.

- (55) • The order of numerals and attributive adjectives
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | de twee mooie glazen | [cardinal numeral] |
| | the two beautiful glasses | |
| a'. | *de mooie twee glazen | |
| b. | het tweede grote probleem | [ordinal numeral] |
| | the second big problem | |
| b'. | het grote tweede probleem | |
| | the big second problem | |

Note that in examples like (56a&b) the ordinal number can also be preceded by an attributive adjective. These cases are different, however, given that the strings *eerste minister* and *tweede kamer* are complex nouns, which is evident from the fact that they have a specialized meaning: *de tweede kamer*, for instance, is comparable to the British House of Commons. This specialized meaning is lost when the attributive adjective is placed between the numeral and the noun, as in the primed examples.

- (56) a. de Nederlandse eerste minister
 the Dutch premier
- a'. de eerste Nederlandse minister
 the first Dutch minister
- b. de Nederlandse Tweede Kamer
 the Dutch Lower House
- b'. de tweede Nederlandse kamer
 the second Dutch chamber/room

The quantifiers *weinig* ‘little/few’ and *veel* ‘much/many’ behave ambivalently with respect to attributive inflection: when one of these quantifiers is used in a noun phrase without a determiner, as in the primeless examples of (57), it normally

appears in its uninflected form, although the inflected form *vele* can occasionally be found in formal contexts and writing; when a determiner is present, as in the primed examples, the quantifier must appear with the attributive *-e* ending.

(57) • Quantifiers

a.	veel/vel- <i>e</i> problemen	a'.	de vel- <i>e</i> /*veel problemen
	many problems		the many problems
b.	weinig ² /weinig- <i>e</i> problemen	b'.	de weinig- <i>e</i> /*weinig problemen
	few problems		the few problems

The quantifiers *weinig* and *veel* also have the adjectival properties of being eligible for modification by the intensifiers *heel/erg* 'very' and *vrij* 'rather'. Surprisingly, however, this gives rise to an acceptable result only when the quantifier does not carry the attributive inflection.

- (58) a. heel/erg/vrij veel problemen
 a'. *heel/erg/vrij vel-*e* problemen [also: *hele vele problemen]
 b. heel/erg/vrij weinig problemen
 b'. *heel/erg/vrij weinig-*e* problemen
 c. *de heel/erg/vrij vel-*e* problemen [also: *de hele vele problemen]
 d. *de heel/erg/vrij weinig-*e* problemen

Further, these quantifiers have the adjectival property of having a comparative and superlative form: *weinig* - *minder* - *minst*; *veel* - *meer* - *meest*. As is shown in (59), the comparative form cannot be used when the noun phrase has a determiner, whereas the superlative form requires a determiner. This may be due to the fact that the latter selects a fixed set of entities from the domain of discourse, whereas the former is inherently indefinite; cf. the discussion in Section 4.2.

- (59) a. minder/meer problemen b. de minste/meeste problemen
 fewer/more problems the fewest/most problems
 a'. *de mindere/mere problemen b'. *minste/meeste problemen

For completeness' sake, note that *minder* can also be found in examples like (60a) where it has lost its quantificational meaning, meaning instead something like "of a lower status". In (60b), *minder* acts as an intensifier, which is clear from the fact that it lacks the attributive *-e* ending; see Section 5.4.2, example (148), for a discussion of comparable examples.

- (60) a. de mindere goden
 the lesser gods
 b. de minder gegoeden
 the less moneyed ones

It has been claimed that the inflected numeral *vele* obligatorily has a distributive reading, whereas uninflected *veel* is compatible with both a collective and a distributive reading. The fact illustrated in (61) that the inflected form can be used with count nouns but not with mass nouns suggests that this claim is on the right track; the adjective *lekker* 'tasty' in (61b) is added to show that the noun *wijn* triggers the presence of the attributive ending *-e*.

- (61) a. Hij dronk veel/vele glazen wijn.
 he drank many glasses wine
 ‘He drank many glasses of wine.’
 b. Hij dronk veel/*vele lekker-*e* wijn.
 he drank much tasty wine
 ‘He drank a lot of wine.’

A similar conclusion with respect to distributivity can probably be drawn from the examples in (62): according to many speakers, example (62a) necessarily expresses that there were several events in which the heavy table was lifted by some person, whereas example (62b) may also involve a single event in which the table was lifted by a group of people; see Section N5.1.1.4 for a more general discussion of these collective and distributive readings.

- (62) a. De zware tafel werd door vele mensen opgetild.
 the heavy table was by many people lifted
 ‘The heavy table was lifted by many people.’
 b. De zware tafel werd door veel mensen opgetild.
 the heavy table was by many people lifted
 ‘The heavy table was lifted by a lot of (a group of) people.’

Other prenominal quantifiers like *ieder* ‘every’, *elk* ‘each’, *enkele* ‘some’ and *beide* ‘both’ always take the attributive *-e* ending. That we are really dealing with the inflectional ending is particularly clear in the first two cases, which combine with singular nouns; the *-e* ending is absent when we are dealing with a *het*-noun, as in primed examples of (63), but obligatorily present when we are dealing with a *de*-noun, as in the primeless examples.

(63)	• Non-neuter nouns (<i>de</i> jongen)	• Neuter nouns (<i>het</i> kind)
a.	iedere/*ieder jongen every boy	a'. ieder/*iedere kind every child
b.	elke/*elk jongen each boy	b'. elk/*elke kind each child

This contrast resembles the contrast between the *de*- and *het*-nouns in Table 1 and Table 2. It must be noted, however, that the primed examples may constitute a problem for our earlier claim in (2) and (3b) that the attributive *-e* ending can only be absent in an indefinite noun phrase; noun phrases containing *ieder* or *elk* are not indefinite in the intended sense as is shown by the fact that, unlike indefinite noun phrases, they cannot appear in °expletive constructions like (64).

- (64) Er speelt een/*ieder/*elk kind in de tuin.
 there walks a/every/each child in the garden
 ‘There is a child playing in the garden.’

Quantifiers like *enkele* and *beide* never occur without the *-e* ending in attributive position, which is consistent with the fact that they can only be combined with plural nouns.

- (65) a. enkele/*enkel jongens a'. enkele/*enkel kinderen
 some boys some children
 b. beide/*beid jongens b'. beide/*beid kinderen
 both boys both children

For completeness' sake, note that the quantificational use of *enkel* in (65) must be distinguished from its non-quantificational use in (66), where it is more or less synonymous with *uitsluitend* 'exclusively' and *alleen* 'only'.

- (66) a. Mijn zuster heeft enkel/uitsluitend jongens.
 my sister has only/exclusively boys
 'My sister has only sons, no daughters.'
 b. Er zitten enkel/alleen jongens in de klas.
 there sit only boys in the group
 'There are only boys in the group, no girls.'

The examples in (67) show that the position of the quantifiers is always more to the left than the attributive adjectives, regardless of whether the first show attributive inflection or not.

- (67) • The order of quantifiers and attributive adjectives
 a. de vele interessante oplossingen a'. *de interessante vele oplossingen
 the many interesting solutions
 b. veel/vele interessante oplossingen b'. *interessante veel/vele oplossingen
 many interesting solutions
 c. iedere aardige jongen c'. *aardige iedere jongen
 every nice boy

5.2.3. Adjectives and possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns always lack the *-e* ending with the exception of the first person plural one, *ons* 'our'. Here, we give examples of the first singular and plural only; see Section N5.2.2 for the complete paradigm. The fact that the *-e* ending does not appear when the possessive pronoun *ons* precedes a singular *het*-noun may suggest that we are dealing with attributive inflection.

- (68) The first person singular possessive pronoun *mijn* 'my'

	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN
SINGULAR	<i>mijn</i> /* <i>mijne</i> zoon 'my son'	<i>mijn</i> /* <i>mijne</i> kind 'my child'
PLURAL	<i>mijn</i> /* <i>mijne</i> zoons 'my sons'	<i>mijn</i> /* <i>mijne</i> kinderen 'my children'

- (69) The first person plural possessive pronoun *ons* 'our'

	DE-NOUN	HET-NOUN
SINGULAR	<i>onze</i> /* <i>ons</i> zoon 'our son'	<i>ons</i> /* <i>onze</i> kind 'our child'
PLURAL	<i>onze</i> /* <i>ons</i> zoons 'our sons'	<i>onze</i> /* <i>ons</i> kinderen 'our children'

However, the examples in (70) show that possessive pronoun *ons* need not necessarily (and in fact occasionally cannot) carry the same inflection as the

attributive adjective. The fact that this would violate the Concord Constraint on attributive inflection from Section 5.1.1.1 therefore suggests that the inflection on *ons* cannot be treated as attributive inflection.

- (70) a. ?*ons* lief kind b. **ons* favoriet boek
 a'. *ons* lieve kind b'. *ons* favoriete boek
 a''. **onze* lieve kind b''. **onze* favoriete boek
 our sweet child our favorite book

Note that, if Booij (1992a) is correct in claiming that (70a) is acceptable, the absence of the attributive *-e* ending on the attributive adjective *lief* 'sweet' constitutes an exception to the *het* paradigm in Table 1 of Section 5.1.1.1: noun phrases with referential possessive pronouns are definite and the rules in (2) and (3b) therefore predict that the attributive adjective carries an *-e* ending.

5.2.4. *Attributive adjectives and adverbs*

Adverbs may also occur between the determiner and the noun. Unlike the case with attributive adjectives and numerals, adverbs are not related to the noun, but modify some other element within the noun phrase, which is also reflected by the fact that they normally do not exhibit attributive inflection. The fact that the adverbs in (71) modify not the nouns but the adjectives can also be illustrated by the fact that they can only appear when the adjectives are present.

- (71) a. *een erg* *(grote) hoed
 a very large hat
 b. *een heel* *(mooi) boek
 a very beautiful book

When we are dealing with adjectives that can also be used adverbially (cf. Section 3.1.2.1), confusion may arise in the case of singular, indefinite, neuter nouns. In example (72a), for instance, *belachelijk* can either be construed as an adjective modifying the noun, or as an intensifier that modifies the adjective (in the latter but not in the former case *belachelijk* must receive accent). This problem does not arise in the other cases, since the attributive adjective would then get the *-e* inflection, whereas the adverb remains uninflected; cf. the contrast between the primeless and primed examples in (72b-c).

- (72) a. *een belachelijk groot bad* [indefinite, singular *het*-noun]
 a ridiculous(ly) large bath
 b. *het belachelijke grote bad* [definite]
 the ridiculous large bath
 b'. *het belachelijk grote bad*
 the ridiculously large bath
 c. *belachelijke grote baden* [plural]
 ridiculous large baths
 c'. *belachelijk grote baden*
 ridiculously large baths

- d. een belachelijke grote badkuip [de-noun]
 a ridiculous large bathtub
 d'. een belachelijk grote badkuip
 a ridiculously large bathtub

Occasionally, however, speakers seem to allow an inflectional ending on the intensifier as well, as is shown in the primeless examples of (73). It may be the case that we are dealing with a reinterpretation of the adverbs *heel* and *erg* as adjectives, since inflection never occurs on adverbs like *zeer* 'very' that are never used as attributive adjectives; cf. the primed examples in (73). Semantically, however, we are clearly dealing with adverbs that modify an adjective: when the adjective is dropped, all examples become ungrammatical.

- (73) a. heel/hele aardige mensen [cf. *een hele opgave* 'a difficult task']
 a'. zeer/*zere aardige mensen
 very nice people
 b. erg/erge hete soep [cf. *een erge verstopping* 'a bad constipation']
 b'. zeer/*zere hete soep
 very hot soup

The examples in (74) show that adverbs modifying attributively used participles, pseudo-participles or deverbal adjectives are never inflected; see Section 9.6 for more discussion. The use of the number signs indicates that the relevant examples in (74) are fully acceptable when the inflected adjective is interpreted as a modifier of the noun.

- (74) a. een goed/#goede opgeleide student
 a well trained student
 b. een zwaar/#zware behaarde man
 a heavily hairy man
 'a man that is very hairy'
 c. een slecht/#slechte verstaanbare lezing
 a badly intelligible talk
 'a talk that is not very intelligible'

5.2.5. Attributive adjectives and adjective-noun compounds

The inflectional ending also provides a means to distinguish attributively used adjectives from the adjectival part of adjective-noun compounds: the inflection only shows up in the former case. Some minimal pairs are given in the primeless examples in (75). The primed examples in (75) are added to show that attributive adjectives must precede the complete compound.

- (75) a. de rode borst van de roodborst a'. de kleine roodborst
 the red breast of the robin the little Robin
 b. de kleine zoon van haar kleinzoon b'. haar beminde kleinzoon
 the little son of her grandson her beloved grandson

The adjective-noun compounds, of course, have a specialized meaning: a *roodborst* is not a red breast but a bird, and a *kleindochter* is not a special kind of daughter but

a female descendant of the second degree. Having a specialized meaning does not require compounding, though: the meaning of *blauwe reiger* ‘lit: blue heron’ is as specialized as *roodborst* (it refers to the species that is called “gray heron” in English), but still the adjective has adjectival inflection; cf. Section 1.3.2.1.1, sub IV for more discussion.

5.3. Attributively used complex adjective phrases

The previous sections have only discussed examples with isolated adjectives for reasons of simplicity, but, of course, these examples in fact involve full APs, which incidentally do not contain any complements or adjuncts. This section will have a closer look at the attributive use of more complex APs that do contain a complement or an adjunct.

5.3.1. Complementation

This section discusses the attributive use of APs containing a complement. We start in Section 5.3.1.1 by discussing APs with nominal complements, which is followed in 5.3.1.2 by a discussion of APs with PP-complements.

5.3.1.1. Adjectives with a nominal complement

Section 2.2 has shown that a limited set of adjectives take a nominal complement, which (at least in German) may appear either with genitive or with dative case. For convenience, we repeat the enumeration of these adjectives in (76). This section considers the question of what happens when these adjectives are used attributively.

- (76) a. Genitive: *bewust* ‘conscious’, *deelachtig* ‘partaking’, *gewend* ‘used’,
indachtig ‘mindful’, *moe/zat/beu* ‘weary’, *machting* ‘in command of’
 b. Dative: *aangeboren* ‘innate’, *beschoren* ‘given’, *bespaard* ‘spared’,
duidelijk/helder ‘clear’, *goedgezind* ‘well disposed’, *(on)bekend* ‘known’,
toegewijd/toegedaan ‘devoted’, *vertrouwd* ‘familiar’, *vreemd* ‘foreign’

I. Adjectives that take a dative complement

When adjectives with a dative complement are used attributively, the head noun must correspond to the subject of the corresponding copular construction, while the dative shows up as a complement of the adjective. This is illustrated in the examples in (77); example (77b’) perhaps becomes slightly marked when the pronoun is replaced by a non-pronominal phrase like *Jan* or *de directeur* ‘the manager’.

- (77) a. Het taalvermogen is (de mens) aangeboren.
 the linguistic.competence is the man innate
 ‘Linguistic competence is innate (to man).’
 a’. het (de mens) aangeboren taalvermogen
 the the man innate linguistic.competence
 ‘linguistic competence, innate to man’
 b. Dit probleem is (hem/de directeur) bekend.
 this problem is him/the manager known
 b’. het (hem/[?]de directeur) bekende probleem
 the him/the manager known problem

The examples in (77) also show that when the dative object is optional in the copular construction, it is also optional in the attributive construction. The examples in (78) show that when the dative object is obligatory in the copular construction, it must also appear in the attributive construction. Note that, like (77b'), (78b') becomes marked when the pronoun is replaced by a non-pronominal phrase like *Jan* or *de directeur* 'the manager'.

- (78) a. Dat lot was *(hem) beschoren.
 that destiny was him given
 a'. het *(hem) beschoren lot
 the him given destiny
 b. Dat lot bleef *(hem) niet bespaard.
 that destiny remained him not spared
 'He has been spared that destiny.'
 b'. het *(hem) bespaarde lot
 the him spared destiny

When the dative noun phrase alternates with an *aan*-PP, this is also possible when the AP is used attributively. Although judgments are subtle, it seems that the dative phrase is preferred when the noun phrase is pronominal, and the PP when it is non-pronominal; the judgments given are ours. The doubly-primed examples show that, just like the dative noun phrases, the *aan*-PPs must precede the modified noun.

- (79) a. de hem/[?]Peter gehoorzame hond
 the him/Peter obedient dog
 a'. de aan Peter/^(?)hem gehoorzame hond
 the to Peter/him obedient dog
 a''. *de gehoorzame hond aan Peter/hem
 b. de hem/[?]Peter trouwe hond
 the him/Peter loyal dog
 b'. de aan Peter/^(?)hem trouwe hond
 the to Peter/him loyal dog
 b''. *de trouwe hond aan Peter/hem

The examples in (80) provide cases where the dative phrase is licensed by the evaluative degree element *te* 'too'. The primed examples show that the dative noun phrase (given in the primeless examples) alternates with a *voor*-PP, which again seems to be preferred when the dative phrase is non-pronominal. The doubly-primed examples show that, just like the dative noun phrase, the *voor*-PP must precede the noun.

- (80) a. een (mij/[?]Peter) te moeilijk boek
 a me/Peter too difficult book
 'a book too difficult for me/Peter'
 a'. een voor Peter/mij te moeilijk boek
 a for Peter/me too difficult book
 a''. ?een te moeilijk boek voor Peter/mij

- b. een (mij/?Peter) te koud zwembad
 a me/Peter too cold swimming.pool
 ‘a swimming pool too cold for me’
 b’. een voor Peter/mij te koud zwembad
 a for Peter/me too cold swimming.pool
 b’’. ?een te koud zwembad voor Peter/mij

II. Adjectives that take a genitive complement

The examples in (81) show that adjectives cannot readily be used attributively when they take a genitive argument (although German has been reported to be more permissive in this respect). The marked status of these examples may be related to the observation in the previous subsection that dative phrases also seem less acceptable when they are non-pronominal: given that genitive phrases typically express new information, they normally cannot be pronominalized.

- (81) a. ?de (zich) het probleem bewuste jongen
 the REFL the problem conscious boy
 b. ??de het geluk deelachtige jongen
 the the happiness partaking boy
 c. ??het de doden indachtige meisje
 the the dead mindful girl
 d. ??het de opera moeie/zatte/beue meisje
 the the opera weary girl
 e. ?het de Franse taal machtige meisje
 the the French language in.command.of girl

Unlike what we found with the dative phrases, the examples in (81) cannot be saved by realizing the genitive phrase as a *van*-PP, which is illustrated in (82) for those examples that allow the alternation. For completeness’ sake, note that placing the *van*-PP in postnominal position has a further deteriorating effect.

- (82) a. de (zich) <?van het probleem> bewuste jongen <?*van het probleem>
 the REFL of the problem conscious boy
 b. het <?*van de opera> moeie/zatte/beue meisje <?*van de opera>
 the of the opera weary girl

III. Fixed expressions

Attributive use of fixed expressions like *het spoor bijster zijn* ‘to be lost/confused’, *de stad meester zijn* ‘to be in command of the city’ or *iets kwijt zijn* ‘to have lost something’ is excluded. The only way to express the intended idea is by using the present participle of the copular verb *zijn* ‘to be’, as shown in (83).

- (83) a. de het spoor bijster zijnde/*bijstere jongen
 the the track lost being/lost boy
 ‘the boy that has lost his way’
 b. het de stad meester zijnde/*meestere leger
 the the city in.command.of being/in.command.of army
 ‘the army that is in command of the city’

- c. de zijn sleutels kwijt zijnde/*kwijte jongen
 the his keys lost being/lost boy
 'the boy that has lost his keys'

5.3.1.2. Adjectives with a PP-complement

This section discusses the attributive use of APs with a PP-complement. Subsection I starts with cases in which the preposition is complemented by a regular noun phrase. This is followed in Subsection II by a discussion of anticipatory pronominal PPs introducing a complement clause.

I. P - NP

The examples in (84) and (85) show that, unlike most adjectives, pseudo-participles like *verliefd* 'in-love' and deverbal adjectives like *afhankelijk* 'dependent' can be either preceded or followed by their PP-complement. The PP-complement is part of the AP, as is clear from the fact that the PP can be pied piped by topicalization of the AP (the 'constituency test') and from the fact that the pre-adjectival PP is situated between the modifier *erg* 'very'/'*volkomen* 'completely' and the adjective; cf. Sections 2.3.1.3 and 4.3.1 for discussion.

- (84) a. De man is zeker erg verliefd op zijn vrouw.
 the man is certainly very in.love with his wife
 a'. [Erg verliefd op zijn vrouw] is de man zeker.
 b. De man is zeker erg op zijn vrouw verliefd.
 b'. [Erg op zijn vrouw verliefd] is de man zeker.
- (85) a. De student is niet volkomen afhankelijk van zijn beurs.
 the student is not completely dependent on his grant
 a'. [Volkomen afhankelijk van zijn beurs] is de student niet.
 b. De student is niet volkomen van zijn beurs afhankelijk.
 b'. [Volkomen van zijn beurs afhankelijk] is de student niet.

We conclude from this that in both orders the adjective and the PP are part of a single AP, and, consequently, we expect that the APs in (84) and (85) can be used attributively on both orders. The examples in (86) show, however, that this expectation is not fully borne out: the APs can only be used attributively when the PP precedes the adjective.

- (86) a. *een erg verliefde op zijn vrouw man
 a'. een erg op zijn vrouw verliefde man
 a very with his wife in.love man
 'a man who is very in love with his wife'
 b. *een volkomen afhankelijke van zijn beurs student
 b'. een volkomen van zijn beurs afhankelijke student
 a completely on his grant dependent student
 'a student who is entirely dependent on his grant'

This has led to the conclusion that attributively used adjectives must be immediately adjacent to the nominal projection $N^\#$ they modify, that is, that the configuration [... [AP XP .. XP] $N^\#$] is excluded when the string XP between the attributive

adjective and the head noun is non-null. This constraint is known as the HEAD-FINAL FILTER, since, in effect, it requires that the adjective be the rightmost element in its own projection. Note that we cannot simply say that the adjective must be immediately adjacent to the noun it modifies given that this would incorrectly exclude the °stacking of adjectives, as in *de mooie, blauwe stoel* ‘the beautiful, blue chair’; see Section 5.5 for discussion.

- (87) Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives: The structure [_{NP} .. [_{AP} ADJ XP] N[#]] is unacceptable, when XP is phonetically non-null and N[#] is a bare head noun or a noun preceded by an adjective phrase: [(AP) N].

As can be seen in (88), the adjective *gek* ‘fond’ must be followed by the PP *op zijn vrouw* ‘of his wife’. The constituency test in the primed examples shows that the string *gek op zijn vrouw* must again be considered one constituent, namely an AP.

- (88) a. De man is zeker gek op zijn vrouw.
 the man is certainly fond of his wife
 a'. [Gek op zijn vrouw] is de man zeker.
 b. *De man is zeker op zijn vrouw gek.
 b'. *[Op zijn vrouw gek] is de man zeker.

Given the Head-final Filter in (87), we expect that this AP cannot be used attributively: the order *gek op zijn vrouw* violates (87), and the order *op zijn vrouw gek* is impossible under any circumstance. That this expectation is borne out is illustrated in (89).

- (89) a. *een gekke op zijn vrouw man
 b. *een op zijn vrouw gekke man

Adjectives such as *trots* ‘proud’, *tevreden* ‘satisfied’ and *bang* ‘afraid’ give rise to a slightly degraded result in constructions comparable to (88b’); cf. Section 2.3.1.2, sub II. These adjectives also give rise to a marked result in attributive position when they are preceded by their PP-complement; the result is ungrammatical when the PP-complement follows the adjective, which of course follows from the filter in (87). This is illustrated in (90).

- (90) a. de <^(?)op zijn kinderen> trotse <*op zijn kinderen> man
 the of his children proud man
 b. de <^(?)over het resultaat> tevreden <*over het resultaat> jongen
 the about the result satisfied boy
 c. het <^(?)voor de hond> bange <*voor de hond> meisje
 the of the dog afraid girl

Insofar as the examples in (90) are acceptable, this is the result of movement into some AP-external position. A first indication of this is the fact that the PP must precede the intensifier of the adjective, as shown by the examples in (91).

- (91) a. de <*erg> op zijn kinderen <^(?)erg> trotse man
 the very of his children fond man
 b. de <*erg> over het resultaat <^(?)erg> tevreden jongen
 the very about the result satisfied boy
 c. het <*erg> voor de hond <^(?)erg> bange meisje
 the very of the dog afraid girl

The examples in (92) provide further support for the claim that the PPs in (90) are external to the AP by showing that they must also precede AP-external adverbial material.

- (92) a. de <*altijd> op zijn kinderen <[?]altijd> trotse man
 the always of his children fond man
 b. de <*voortdurend> over het resultaat <[?]voortdurend> tevreden jongen
 the continuously about the result satisfied boy
 c. het <*nog steeds> voor de hond <[?]nog steeds> bange meisje
 the PRT still of the dog afraid girl

II. P - Clause

Section 2.1.2 has discussed that some adjectives may take a clausal prepositional complement. Consider the two primeless examples in (93), which require that the anticipatory pronominal PP-complement of the adjective be present. The primed examples show that these adjectives cannot be used attributively. Of course, the ungrammaticality of (93a') may be due to the Head-final Filter in (87), since the adjective *ziek* is separated from the head-noun by the stranded preposition *van*. However, since this filter does not account for the ungrammaticality of (93b'), in which the stranded preposition precedes the attributively used pseudo-participle *gekant*, the ungrammaticality is apparently due to the presence of the (in this case finite) clausal complement.

- (93) a. Jan is *er* ziek *van* dat jij steeds zeurt.
 Jan is there fed.up with that you continually nag
 'Jan is fed up with it that you are nagging all the time.'
 a'. *de *er* ziek(e) *van* jongen dat jij steeds zeurt
 the there fed.up with boy that you continually nag
 b. Jan is *er* *tegen* gekant dat Marie uitgenodigd wordt.
 Jan is there against opposed that Marie invited is
 'Jan is opposed to it that Marie is invited.'
 b'. *de *er* *tegen* gekante jongen dat Marie uitgenodigd wordt
 the there against opposed boy that Marie invited is

Adjectives such as *boos* 'angry' and *tevreden* 'satisfied' in (94) may also appear without the anticipatory pronominal PP. The fact that attributive use of these adjectives is excluded, regardless of the presence or absence of the pronominal prepositional phrase, shows again that the impossibility of using these adjectives attributively is apparently due to the presence of the clausal complement.

- (94) a. Jan is (er) boos (over) dat hij niet uitgenodigd is.
 Jan is there angry about that he not prt.-invited is
 'Jan is angry (about it) that he is not invited.'
- a'. *de (er) boze (over) jongen dat hij niet uitgenodigd is
 the there angry about boy that he not prt.-invited is
- b. Jan is (er) tevreden (over) dat hij uitgenodigd is.
 Jan is there satisfied about that he invited is
 'Jan is satisfied (about it) that he is invited.'
- b'. *de (er) tevreden (over) jongen dat hij uitgenodigd is
 the there satisfied about boy that he prt.-invited is

Although it is tempting to attribute the ungrammaticality of the primed examples in (93) and (94) to the presence of the clausal complement, it should be noted that the examples with the split anticipatory pronominal PP are also ungrammatical when the clauses are dropped; adjectives such as *boos* and *tevreden* can only be used in attributive position when the split anticipatory pronominal PP is absent, as in (95a). The fact that (95b), in which the pronominal PP is moved leftward, is acceptable does not bear on the issue at hand, given that anticipatory pronominal PPs invariantly have the form *er* + P; consequently we are dealing in this example with a pronominalized PP-complement of the form discussed in Subsection I.

- (95) a. de boze/tevreden jongen
 the angry/satisfied boy
- b. de daarover zeer boze/tevreden jongen
 the about.that very angry/satisfied boy

5.3.2. *Modification*

There are no special restrictions on the attributive use of APs containing pre-adjectival modifiers like *erg* in *een erg beleefde jongen* 'a very polite boy'. Modifiers that follow the adjective, on the other hand, do show special behavior when the adjective is used attributively. This will be discussed in this section: Section 5.3.2.1 will start with a discussion of equative, comparative, and superlative adjectives followed by an *als/dan*-phrase and of adjectives modified by *zo* + degree clause; Section 5.3.2.2 concludes with a discussion of adjectives modified by *genoeg* 'enough' and *zo ... mogelijk* 'as ... as possible'.

5.3.2.1. *Postadjectival als/dan-phrases and degree clauses*

We have seen in Section 5.3.1 that the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives in (87) prohibits the placement of lexical material between attributively used adjectives and the head noun. Given this, we would expect that modifiers that obligatorily follow the modified adjective are excluded when the latter is used attributively. However, such examples are sometimes saved by a "repair" strategy that consists in placing the offending element after the noun. This holds especially for *als/dan/van*-phrases associated with equative/comparative and superlative adjectives, discussed in Chapter 4, and degree modifiers like *net zo* '(just) as', discussed in Section 3.1.3. This is illustrated in (96); for completeness' sake, the

primed examples demonstrate again that the adjective and the *als/dan/van*-phrase constitute a single AP.

- (96) a. Jouw begeleider is zeker niet even/net zo vriendelijk als de mijne.
 your supervisor is certainly not as/just as friendly as the mine
 'Your supervisor is certainly not as friendly as mine.'
 a'. [Even/net zo vriendelijk als de mijne] is jouw begeleider zeker niet.
 b. Jouw begeleider is zeker niet vriendelijker dan de mijne.
 your supervisor is certainly not friendlier than the mine
 'Your supervisor is certainly not friendlier than mine.'
 b'. [Vriendelijker dan de mijne] is jouw begeleider zeker niet.
 c. Die jongen is beslist het leukst van deze groep.
 that boy is definitely the nicest of this group
 c'. [Het leukst van deze groep] is die jongen beslist.

The examples in (97) show that, as predicted by the Head-final Filter, the *als/dan/van*-phrases cannot be placed in between the adjective and the head noun, but also that these examples can be saved from this filter by placing the *als/dan/van*-phrase after the modified head noun.

- (97) a. *een even/net zo vriendelijke als de mijne begeleider
 a as/just as friendly as the mine supervisor
 a'. een even/net zo vriendelijke begeleider als de mijne (is een zegen.)
 a as/just as friendly supervisor as the mine is a bless
 'A supervisor as friendly as I have, (is a blessing).'
 b. *een vriendelijkere dan de mijne begeleider
 a friendlier than the mine supervisor
 b'. een vriendelijkere begeleider dan de mijne (bestaat niet.)
 a friendlier supervisor than the mine exists not
 'A friendlier supervisor than mine does not exist.'
 c. *de leukste van deze groep jongen
 the nicest of this group boy
 c'. de leukste jongen van deze groep
 the nicest boy of this group

The "repair" strategy does not work for the PP-complement of adjectives: example (98) shows that placement of the PP-complement *op zijn vrouw* after the modified head noun *man* does not improve the result. Possibly, the difference between the examples in (97), on the one hand, and the examples in (98), on the other, is related to the fact that in (97) the *als/dan*-phrase is not a complement of the adjective itself, but depends on the presence of the intensifier *even/net zo* or the comparative/superlative morpheme, whereas the PP *op zijn vrouw* is directly selected by the adjectives *verliefd* and *gek*.

- (98) a. *een verliefde <op zijn vrouw> man <op zijn vrouw>
 an in.love with his wife man
 b. *een gekke <op zijn vrouw> man <op zijn vrouw>
 a fond of his wife man

Possibly, the difference between the examples in (97), on the one hand, and the examples in (98), on the other, is related to the fact that in (97) the *als/dan*-phrase is not a complement of the adjective itself, but depends on the presence of the intensifier *even/net zo* or the comparative/superlative morpheme, whereas the PP *op zijn vrouw* is directly selected by the adjectives *verliefd* and *gek*.

That this suggestion might be on the right track is also suggested by the contrast between the (a)- and (b)-examples in (99), which involve clauses. In the former, the clause *dat de bom zal vallen* is directly selected by the adjective *bang*, and cannot be placed in postnominal position. In the latter, on the other hand, the clause *dat je er meer van lust* depends on the intensifier *zo*, which is clear from the fact that the clause can only be used when this adverb is present, and in this case the clause can be placed postnominally.

- (99) a. De man is niet bang dat de bom zal vallen.
 the man is not afraid that the bomb will fall
 ‘The man does not fear that the bomb will fall.’
 a’. *een bange man dat de bom zal vallen
 b. De wijn is zeker *(zo) lekker dat je er meer van lust.
 the wine is certainly so appetizing that you there more of like
 ‘The wine is certainly so appetizing that one likes more of it.’
 b’. een zo lekkere wijn dat je er meer van lust
 a so appetizing wine that you there more of like
 ‘a wine, so appetizing that one likes more of it’

For completeness’ sake, note that there is an alternative “repair” strategy that involves placement of the complete AP in postnominal position, and which can be applied to adjectives with a complement and with a modifier alike, provided that the resulting AP is “heavy” enough. We will discuss cases like these more extensively in Section 6.4.

5.3.2.2. *Intensifiers*: genoeg ‘enough’, zo ... mogelijk ‘as ... as possible’

Section 5.2.4 has shown that, as a general rule, intensifiers do not get the inflectional *-e* ending. This is illustrated again in (100).

- (100) a. een zeer grote inzet
 b. *een zere grote inzet
 a very large dedication

Further, we have seen that the inflected adjective must be adjacent to the noun; cf. the Head-final Filter in (87). From this, we would correctly predict that the examples in (101a-d) are impossible, regardless of whether the intensifier *genoeg* ‘enough’ is inflected or not. The only way to express the intended notion is by using an appositive phrase, as in (101e); cf. Section 6.4.

- (101) a. *een groot genoeg inzet (om ...)
 b. ??een groot genoeg inzet (om ...)
 c. *een grote genoeg inzet (om ...)
 d. *een grote genoeg inzet (om ...)
 a large enough dedication (to ...)
 e. een inzet, groot genoeg om ...
 a dedication big enough to ...

Given the unacceptability of the examples in (101a-d), it is perhaps surprising that the discontinuous intensifying phrase *zo ... mogelijk* 'as ... as possible' can be used in the prenominal attributive position, as is shown in (102b). This possibility is certainly due to the fact that the inflectional ending must appear on *mogelijk*, and cannot appear on the adjective itself. In passing, observe that (102b) has no appositive alternate: (102e) is ungrammatical.

- (102) a. *een zo groot mogelijk inzet
 b. een zo groot mogelijke inzet
 c. *een zo grote mogelijk inzet
 d. *een zo grote mogelijke inzet
 an as large as.possible dedication
 e. *een inzet, zo groot mogelijk
 a dedication as large as.possible

A fully satisfactory explanation for the contrast between the examples in (101) and (102) seems beyond reach at this moment. One observation that may bear on the issue is that *mogelijk*, but not *genoeg*, can itself be used as an attributive adjective. But perhaps this is not the right direction given that examples like (101b), although generally judged unacceptable by native speakers, can be observed both in spontaneous speech and in writing on the internet. A Google search on the string [*een groot genoeg*] performed in April 2009, for example, resulted in 376 hits, which is of course negligible in comparison to the more than 500,000 hits for the string [*een zo groot mogelijke*], but perhaps substantial enough to hesitate to dismiss these cases as simple performance errors. That more is going on is also suggested by the fact that for many speakers, the constituent A + *genoeg* can be used with singular, neuter, indefinite noun phrases, that is, when the attributive ending -e is missing; cf. Van Riemsdijk (1998).

- (103) a. %een voor mij groot genoeg huis
 b. *het voor mij groot/grote genoeg huis
 a/the for me big enough house

That (103a) is more acceptable than (101b) is also reflected by the fact that our Google search on the string [*een groot genoeg*] resulted in over 1,500 hits. For comparison, note that the string [*een zo groot mogelijk*] resulted in less than 200,000 hits.

5.4. N-ellipsis

Under certain circumstances, the head of a noun phrase need not be overtly expressed. This is possible when the remainder of the noun phrase consists of a definite or indefinite determiner combined with an attributive adjective or an ordinal numeral, as in (104).

- (104) a. Jan kocht een/de blauwe vaas en Peter een/de groene [e].
 Jan bought a/the blue vase and Peter a/the green (one)
 b. Jan kreeg de eerste prijs. De tweede [e] ging naar Peter.
 Jan got the first prize the second went to Peter
 'Jan got the first prize. The second (prize) was given to Peter.'

N-ellipsis of this sort does not occur with other modifiers of the noun. This is illustrated in (105) by means of a postnominal PP-modifier. Examples like (105) become acceptable, of course, when an attributive adjective is added: *een/de groene [e] met blauwe strepen*.

- (105) *Marie kocht een/de jurk met groene stippen en Els kocht
 Marie bought a/the dress with green spots and Els bought
 een/de [e] met blauwe strepen.
 a/the with blue stripes

Note that the notion of N-ellipsis is somewhat misleading given that the ellipsis may involve a larger projection of the noun. Two examples are given in (106): (106a) is interpreted such that Peter has a blue American car and (106b) that Peter tells the long version of the story.

- (106) a. Jan heeft een groene Amerikaanse wagen en Peter een blauwe [e].
 Jan has a green American car and Peter a blue (one)
 b. Jan vertelde de korte versie van het verhaal en Peter de lange [e].
 Jan told the short version of the story and Peter the long (one)

N-ellipsis is also possible without the presence of an attributive modifier provided that the remainder of the noun phrase is a cardinal number or a demonstrative pronoun, as in (107). In these examples, the empty noun is represented by [e].

- (107) a. Jan kocht vier vazen en Peter drie [e].
 Jan bought four vases and Peter three
 b. Jan kocht deze vaas en Peter die [e].
 Jan bought this vase and Peter that (one)

Given the acceptability of the examples in (107) it does not come as a surprise that the primeless examples in (108) with postnominal PP-modifiers are possible as well. Interestingly, examples like (108a) seem to require that the second adjunct is reduced. If the second conjunct is not reduced, the construction in (109) with so-called quantitative *er* seems much preferred.

- (108) a. Jan kocht vier vazen uit China en Peter drie [e] uit Chili.
 Jan bought four vases from China and Peter three from Chile
 b. Jan kocht deze vaas uit China en Peter die [e] uit Chili.
 Jan bought this vase from China and Peter that (one) from Chile
- (109) a. *Jan kocht vier vazen uit China en Peter kocht drie [e] uit Chili.
 Jan bought four vases from China and Peter bought three from Chile
 b. Jan kocht vier vazen uit China en Peter kocht er drie [e] uit Chili.
 Jan bought four vases from China and Peter bought ER three from Chile

This section will focus on cases like (104a), that is, on cases in which an attributive adjective is present. As is already indicated in the examples above, we will assume that the reduced noun phrase has the structure [_{NP} *een groene* [e]], where [e] indicates an empty projection of the noun. The nominal projection [e] receives an interpretation, which may either be reconstructed from the (linguistic or non-linguistic) context or be established independently; the two cases will be discussed separately in, respectively, Section 5.4.1 and Section 5.4.2. Before we do this, we want to point out that for some (but not all) speakers, N-ellipsis is only allowed when the adjective has the attributive *-e* ending. In other words, for these speakers N-ellipsis is excluded in singular indefinite noun phrases headed by a neuter noun. This gives rise to the contrast in (110), where the empty noun in (110a) is interpreted as the non-neuter noun *fiets* ‘bike’, and in (110b) as the neuter noun *boek* ‘book’.

- (110) a. Mijn fiets is gestolen en ik heb daarom een nieuwe [e] gekocht.
 my bike is stolen and I have therefore a new (one) bought
 ‘My bike has been stolen, and therefore I have bought a new one.’
 b. %Mijn boek is gestolen en ik heb daarom een nieuw [e] gekocht.
 my book is stolen and I have therefore a new (one) bought
 ‘My book has been stolen, and therefore I have bought a new one.’

Further, even those speakers who do accept (110b) occasionally reject cases in which the attributive *-e* is absent. This is especially the case with adjectives that cannot take the attributive *-e* ending; cf. Section 5.1.2. The judgments in (111) are of an idiosyncratic nature and may vary from speaker to speaker.

- (111) a. Jan heeft zijn zilveren ring verkocht en een gouden [e] gekocht.
 Jan has his silver ring sold and a golden bought
 ‘Jan has sold his silver ring and has bought a golden one.’
 b. *?Ik heb hem de geprinte brief gegeven en zelf
 I have him the printed letter given and myself
 de handgeschreven [e] gehouden.
 the hand-written kept
 ‘I gave him the printed letter and have kept the hand-written one myself.’
 c. *Hij heeft een luxe huis en ik een van alle franje ontdaan [e].
 he has a luxurious home and I an of all luxury deposited
 ‘He has a luxurious home and I have [a house] that is deprived of all luxury.’

The context from which the content of the empty noun can be recovered can also be provided by the linguistic environment. The following subsections will discuss some restrictions on the antecedent of the elided nominal projection.

I. N-ellipsis licensed by an element in a preceding sentence

The primeless examples in (114) show that N-ellipsis can be licensed by some syntactically realized noun in a preceding sentence, whereas the primed examples show that N-ellipsis is excluded when [e] precedes the overtly realized noun. The unacceptability of the singly-primed examples is not due to the empty element but to the overtly realized one, which will be clear from the fact that applying N-ellipsis to the latter, as in the doubly-primed examples, will give rise to a fully acceptable result when the discourse provides a suitable antecedent for both empty nouns.

- (114) a. Ik heb een nieuwe stoel gekocht. Jij mag de oude [e] meenemen.
 I have a new chair bought you may the old away.take
 'I bought a new chair. You may take the old one.'
- a'. *?Ik heb een nieuwe [e] gekocht. Jij mag de oude stoel meenemen.
 a''. Ik heb een nieuwe [e] gekocht. Jij mag de oude [e] meenemen.
- b. Ik heb de nieuwe postzegels gezien. De mooiste [e] komt uit Finland.
 I have the new stamps seen the most.beautiful comes from Finland
 'I have seen the new stamps. The most beautiful one comes from Finland.'
- b'. *?Ik heb de nieuwe [e] gezien. De mooiste postzegel komt uit Finland.
 b''. Ik heb de nieuwe [e] gezien. De mooiste [e] komt uit Finland.

The conditions on the interpretation of [e] resemble those on the interpretation of referential personal pronouns. This will become clear when we compare the examples in (114) with those in (115), in which coreference is indicated by italics. Just like [e] in the primeless examples in (114), the pronoun *hij* in (115a) is dependent for its interpretation on the direct object in the preceding sentence, and like the empty noun in the primed examples of (114), the pronoun in (115b) cannot precede its antecedent. This becomes possible, however, when the antecedent itself is an empty noun or a pronoun, as in the doubly-primed examples in (114) and example (115c).

- (115) a. Ik belde *Peter* gisteren. *Hij* is ontslagen.
 I called Peter yesterday he has.been dismissed
- b. *?Ik belde *hem* gisteren. *Peter* is ontslagen.
 I called him yesterday Peter has.been dismissed
- c. Ik belde *hem* gisteren. *Hij* is ontslagen.
 I called him yesterday he has.been dismissed

Note that N-ellipsis discourse is also possible when the syntactically realized antecedent is neuter, in contrast to what is the case when the antecedent is determined by the non-linguistic context. This will become clear by comparing the examples in (116) with the one in (113b).

- (116) a. Ik heb een nieuw woordenboek gekocht. Jij mag het oude [e] hebben.
 I have a new dictionary bought you may the old have
 'I bought a new dictionary. You may take the old one.'
- b. Ik heb de nieuwe boeken gezien. Het gele [e] komt uit Finland.
 I have the new books seen the yellow comes from Finland
 'I have seen the new books. The yellow one comes from Finland.'

II. N-ellipsis and coordination

When the sentences in (114) are coordinated by means of the conjunction *en* ‘and’, the judgments remain the same. More cases of N-ellipsis in coordinated clauses are given in (117) to (119). These examples show that N-ellipsis may apply both in full and in reduced clauses; in (118) the subject of the second conjunct is not expressed, and in (119) the verb of the second conjunct is absent as the result of °gapping.

(117) • Coordinated full clauses

- a. dat Jan [_{NP} de grote tent] opzet en Piet [_{NP} de kleine [e]] neerhaalt.
that Jan the big tent puts.up and Piet the small pulls.down
‘that Jan is putting up the big tent and Piet is pulling down the small one.’
- b. dat Jan [_{NP} het sterke paard] roskamt en Piet [_{NP} het zieke [e]] knuffelt.
that Jan the strong horse curries and Piet the sick cuddles
‘that Jan is currying the strong horse and Piet is cuddling the sick one.’

(118) • Forward conjunction reduction

- a. dat Jan [_{NP} de grote tent] opzet en [_{NP} de kleine [e]] neerhaalt.
that Jan the big tent puts.up and the small pulls.down
‘that Jan is putting up the big tent and pulling down the small one.’
- b. dat Jan [_{NP} het sterke paard] roskamt en [_{NP} het zieke [e]] knuffelt.
that Jan the strong horse curries and the sick cuddles
‘that Jan is currying the strong horse and cuddling the sick one.’

(119) • Gapping

- a. dat Jan [_{NP} de grote tent] opzet en Piet [_{NP} de kleine [e]]
that Jan the big tent puts.up and Piet the small
‘that Jan is putting up the big tent and Piet (is putting up) the small one.’
- b. dat Jan [_{NP} het sterke paard] roskamt en Piet [_{NP} het zieke [e]]
that Jan the strong horse curries and Piet the sick
‘that Jan is currying the strong horse and Piet (is currying) the sick one.’

Although N-ellipsis leads to a fully acceptable result in coordinated sentences, this seems not to be the case in coordinated noun phrases. The examples in (120) and (121), which involve subjects and objects, respectively, are not acceptable for most speakers, and even for those speakers that accept these examples, the preferred option will still be backward °conjunction reduction, which results in structures where the interpretative gap precedes the overtly realized noun; cf. Section 5.4.1.3.

(120) • Coordinated noun phrases (in subject position)

- a. %dat [_{NP} [de grote tent] en [de lichte [e]]] worden gebruikt.
that the big tent and the light are used
- b. %dat [_{NP} [het sterke paard] en [het lieve [e]]] worden geroskamd.
that the strong horse and the kind are curried

(121) • Coordinated noun phrases (in object position)

- a. %dat Jan [_{NP} [de grote tent] en [de lichte [e]]] gebruikt.
that Jan the big tent and the light uses
- b. %dat Jan [_{NP} [het sterke paard] en [het lieve [e]]] roskamt.
that Jan the strong horse and the kind curries

III. N-ellipsis and subordination

In addition to occurring in successive and coordinated sentences, N-ellipsis may also occur in the case of subordination. This is demonstrated in the primeless examples in (122). Although some speakers accept the primed examples under the intended interpretation, for most speakers the overt noun must precede the empty one.

- (122) a. De domme student dacht dat de slimme [e] hem wel zou helpen.
 the silly student thought that the smart him PRT would help
 ‘The silly student thought that the smart one would help him.’
 a’. %De domme [e] dacht dat de slimme student hem wel zou helpen.
 b. De rode druiven waren te zoet, hoewel de witte [e] lekker waren.
 the red grapes were too sweet although the white appetizing were
 ‘The red grapes were too sweet, although the white ones were appetizing.’
 b’. %De rode [e] waren te zoet, hoewel de witte druiven lekker waren.
 c. Ik wil eerst de oude auto kwijt voordat ik een nieuwe [e] koop.
 I want first the old car get.rid.of before I a new buy
 ‘I want to get rid of my old car, before I buy a new one.’
 c’. %Ik wil eerst de oude [e] kwijt voordat ik een nieuwe auto koop.

The interpretation of the empty noun again resembles the interpretation of a personal pronoun in this respect; cf. the discussion of (115). This is illustrated in (123), in which coreference is again indicated by italics.

- (123) a. *Jan* denkt dat *hij* wel geholpen zal worden.
 Jan thinks that he PRT helped will be
 a’. **Hij* denkt dat *Jan* wel geholpen zal worden.
 b. *Jan* kwam langs, hoewel *hij* ziek was.
 Jan dropped in although he ill was
 b’. **Hij* kwam langs, hoewel *Jan* ziek was.
 c. *Jan* ontbijt altijd, voordat *hij* vertrekt.
 Jan has.breakfast always before he departs
 c’. **Hij* ontbijt altijd, voordat *Jan* vertrekt.

The order restriction on the overt and the empty noun is not a surface phenomenon. For example, the primeless examples in (124) show that topicalization of the complement/adjunct clauses in (122) does not block N-ellipsis in the subordinate clause. However, topicalization of the subordinated clauses renders N-ellipsis in the main clause fully acceptable too; this is illustrated in the primed examples in (124), which should be compared with the primed examples in (122).

- (124) a. Dat de slimme [e] hem wel zal helpen, denkt alleen de domme student.
 that the smart him PRT would help thinks only the silly student
 a’. Dat de slimme student hem wel zal helpen, denkt alleen de domme [e].
 b. Hoewel de witte [e] lekker waren, waren de rode druiven te zoet.
 although the white appetizing were were the red grapes too sweet
 b’. Hoewel de witte druiven lekker waren, waren de rode [e] te zoet.
 c. Voordat ik een nieuwe [e] koop, wil ik eerst de oude auto kwijt.
 before I a new buy want I first the old car get.rid.of
 c’. Voordat ik een nieuwe auto koop, wil ik eerst de oude [e] kwijt.

The examples in (125) show that the interpretation of [e] again resembles the interpretation of the referential personal pronouns in this respect: we refer the reader to N5.2.1.5, sub III, for more discussion of the conditions on the interpretation of the personal pronouns.

- (125) a. Dat *hij* wel geholpen zal worden, denkt alleen *Jan* zelf.
 that he PRT helped will be thinks only Jan himself
 ‘Only Jan himself thinks that he will be helped.’
 a’. Dat *Jan* wel geholpen zal worden, denkt alleen *hij* zelf.
 b. Hoewel *hij* ziek was, kwam *Jan* langs.
 although he ill was came Jan along
 b’. Hoewel *Jan* ziek was, kwam *hij* langs.
 c. Voordat *hij* vertrekt, ontbijt *Jan* altijd.
 before he leaves has.breakfast Jan always
 ‘Jan is always having breakfast, before he leaves.’
 c’. Voordat *Jan* vertrekt, ontbijt *hij* altijd.

IV. N-ellipsis in simple Clauses

N-ellipsis can also apply within simple clauses. This is illustrated in the primeless examples in (126), where N-ellipsis on a direct/prepositional object is triggered by the subject. Unlike what is the case in the complex sentences in (122), it occasionally seems to be possible for the empty noun to precede the overtly realized one in simple clauses, as shown in the primed examples.

- (126) a. Het oude paard trapte (naar) het jonge [e].
 the old horse kicked towards the young
 ‘The old horse kicked (in the direction of) the young one.’
 a’. Het Oude [e] trapte (naar) het JONGe paard.
 b. Het oude paard staat naast het jonge [e].
 the old horse stands next.to the young
 b’. Het Oude [e] staat naast het JONGe paard.

The cases of N-ellipsis in the primeless and primed examples of (126) seem to behave differently in various respects. For example, the primed examples require a special intonation contour; contrastive accent (indicated by small capitals) must be placed on the attributive adjectives. Another conspicuous difference is that the overt and empty noun need not have the same number in the primeless examples, whereas this seems to be required in the primed examples. This can easily be demonstrated in (127) by means of the neuter noun *paard* ‘horse’, which takes the determiner *het* in the singular and the determiner *de* in the plural.

- (127) a. Het oude paard trapte (naar) de jonge [e].
 the old horse kicked towards the young
 ‘The old horse kicked (in the direction of) the young ones.’
 a’. ??Het Oude [e] trapte (naar) de JONGe paarden.
 b. Het oude paard staat tussen de jonge [e].
 the old horse stands between the young (ones)
 b’. ??Het Oude [e] staat tussen de JONGe paarden.

example (128a), which involves coordination of clauses; if this example involves N-ellipsis, we would expect that the noun could also be left out when the noun phrase is followed by other lexical material (cf. example (112b)), whereas we would expect this to be impossible if it involves backward conjunction reduction. The predictions can be tested by putting the example in the perfect tense, as a result of which the participle is placed in clause-final position, as in (131a). Since most speakers consider this sentence unacceptable, we may conclude that we are not dealing with N-ellipsis in (128a), but with backward conjunction reduction. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the sentence becomes fully acceptable when the participle in the first conjunct is deleted as well, as is shown in (131b).

- (131) a. %Jan heeft de grote — gebruikt en Piet heeft de lichte tent gebruikt.
 Jan has the big used and Piet has the light tent used
 b. Jan heeft de grote ~~tent gebruikt~~ en Piet heeft de lichte tent gebruikt.
 Jan has the big and Piet has the light tent used

Something similar arises in the case of (128b), which involves coordination of noun phrases: as soon as something follows the interpretative gap in the first conjunct, the structure becomes unacceptable for most speakers. This is brought about in (132a) by adding a possessive *van*-PP. Example (132b) illustrates that N-ellipsis is not sensitive to the addition of a *van*-PP, which suggests that example (128b) is also a case of backward conjunction reduction.

- (132) a. %[[De grote — van mij] en [de kleine tent van de kinderen]] staan daar.
 the big of me and the small tent of the children stand there
 ‘The big tent of mine and the small tent of the children’s are standing over there.’
 b. dat Jan [_{NP} de grote [_N tent] van mij] opzet en Piet
 that Jan the big tent of me puts up and Piet
 [_{NP} de kleine [_N e] van de kinderen] neerhaalt.
 the small of the children down-pulls
 ‘that Jan is putting up the big tent of mine and Piet is pulling down the small one of the children’s.’

For completeness’ sake, note that, unlike N-ellipsis, backward conjunction reduction is not sensitive to the presence or absence of the adjectival *-e* ending. This is clear from the fact that, unlike (110b) and (111b), the examples in (133) are acceptable for all speakers of Dutch.

- (133) a. Piet heeft een nieuw ~~huis gekocht~~ en Marie heeft een oud huis gekocht.
 Piet has a new and Marie has an old house bought
 ‘Piet bought a new, and Marie bought an old house.’
 b. Piet heeft de handgeschreven ~~versie meegenomen~~ en
 Piet has the hand-written and
 Marie heeft de geprinte versie meegenomen
 Marie has the printed version with-taken
 ‘Piet took the hand-written, and Marie took the printed version.’

5.4.2. Context insensitive N-ellipsis: *de/het vreemde* (lit: *the strange*)

Section 5.4.1 has discussed context sensitive N-ellipsis, that is, cases in which the interpretation of the empty noun is determined by the non-linguistic context or an overtly realized noun phrase in preceding discourse. In some cases, however, adjectives without a noun can be used without the context providing any clues about the intended interpretation. The subcases in (134) can be distinguished.

- (134) a. *Het*-group [-COUNT]
 i. abstract nouns: *het leuke* ‘the entertaining thing’
 ii. geographical names: *het Griekse* ‘the Greek thing’
 b. *De*-group [+COUNT]
 i. [+HUMAN] nouns: *de blinde/bejaarde* ‘the blind/aged person’
 ii. biological terms: *de lipbloemige/katachtige* ‘the labiate/feline’

I. Meaning

The interpretation of the construction is mainly determined by the selected definite article: noun phrases with *het* refer to abstract, non-countable entities, whereas noun phrases with *de* refer to persons. This will become clear by means of the following minimal pairs.

(135) a.	het vreemde (van de zaak) the strange of the case ‘the strange thing (of the case)’	a’.	de vreemde the strange ‘the stranger’
b.	het zieke (van het geval) the sick of the case ‘the sick aspect (of the case)’	b’.	de zieke the ill ‘the sick person’

The examples in (136) show that the two groups differ in that the *het*-group can normally be combined with the article *het* only, whereas the *de*-group can be freely combined with other determiners like indefinite articles, demonstratives, etc.

- (136) a. *een/dat vreemde van de zaak
 a/that funny of the case
 b. een/die vreemde
 a/that strange
 ‘a/that stranger’

There are, however, some exceptions to the claim that non-human noun phrases of this type cannot occur with an indefinite article. Examples like (137a&b) are possible and are typically used to refer to jokes of a certain type. Some more or less idiomatic examples can be found in (137c&d).

- (137) a. een leuke/goede ‘a funny/good joke’
 b. een paar vieze ‘a couple of dirty jokes’
 c. een gouwe ouwe ‘a golden oldie’
 d. Jij bent me een mooie/rare!
 you are me a beautiful/weird
 ‘You’re a funny sort, and no mistake!’

II. Restrictions

The examples in (138) show that the constructions in (134) are subject to a phonological constraint: they do not occur with adjectives that end in the long vowels /a/ or /i/. Furthermore, the examples in (139) show that the constructions in (134) cannot be formed on the basis of simplex loan words either. The adjectives in (138) and (139) have in common that they do not get the attributive *-e* ending, but it is important to note the attributive form without schwa cannot perform the function of the adjectives in (134) either.

(138) a.	*een prima(-e)	a'. een prima(*-e) vent
	a fine (person)	a fine chap
b.	*het sexy(-e)	b'. het sexy(*-e) gebaartje
	the sexy (thing)	the sexy gesture
(139) a.	*het/de privé(-e)	a'. de privé(*-e) les
	the private (thing/person)	the private lesson
b.	*het/de gratis(-e)	b'. de gratis(*-e) behandeling
	the free thing/person	the free treatment

In this connection, it should be noted that the number of adjectives ending in /a/ and /i/ is quite limited. Moreover, according to the criteria in De Haas and Trommelen (1993), the cases given in (138) do not even belong to the Germanic part of the Dutch lexicon. So perhaps the examples in (138) are unacceptable for the same reason as those in (139); they are loan words. For completeness' sake, observe that the adjective *albino* 'albino', but not the adjective *indigo* 'indigo', occurs as a noun: *de albino*; **de indigo*.

III. Proposed analyses

This subsection will discuss two popular analyses for the examples in (134); see Booij (2002:51-2) for a brief sketch of two alternative proposals. According to the first, traditional proposal, the formations are nominalizations and the *-e* ending is a nominalizing affix. According to the second proposal, we are dealing with N-ellipsis and the *-e* ending is therefore the attributive inflection.

A. The nominalization analysis

Traditionally, the cases in (134) are considered as instances of nominalization. There are at least four facts that support this position. First, the examples in (140) show that plural formation of the *de*-group is possible, which is typically a nominal and not an adjectival property. Note that this argument is mainly based on the orthographic convention, given that the plural *-n* is not pronounced in Standard Dutch, and that the *het*-group does not provide similar evidence, given that it consists of non-count noun phrases only.

(140) a.	de blinde(n)	'the blind one(s)'
b.	de goede(n)	'the good one(s)'
c.	de lipbloemige(n)	'the labiate(s)'
d.	de katachtige(n)	'the feline(s)'

Second, the *-e* affix may also appear on adjectives that do not allow the attributive inflection. This holds for the adjectives in (141) that orthographically end in *-en*. This ending is normally pronounced as schwa but realized as [ən] in the primeless examples.

- (141) a. het besprokene a'. het besproken(*-e) probleem
the discussed (thing) the discussed problem
- b. de besprokene b'. de besproken(*-e) persoon
the discussed (person) the discussed person

Observe that when the adjective orthographically ends in *-e* (schwa), the *-e* affix is absent; the /n/ in (142) is the plural ending, which should not be confused with the /n/ of *besprochen* in the examples in (141).

- (142) a. [?]De perfiden onder ons zullen zeggen dat ...
 the perfidious ones among us will say that ...
 b. De malafiden maken het onmogelijk voor de bonafiden.
 the malafide ones make it impossible for the bonafide ones

Third, the examples in (143) seem to provide independent evidence for the fact that the *-e* ending can be used as a nominalizing affix. The alternative of treating it as attributive inflection runs afoul of the fact that possessive pronouns normally do not inflect. A nominalization approach would furthermore account for the fact that the resulting forms can be preceded by a determiner. Note in this connection that the form *jullie* cannot be nominalized, which may be related to the observation made in Subsection II that this prohibition also holds for adjectives ending in /i/.

(143) Nominalized pronouns inflected with *-e*

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST PERSON		<i>de/het mijne</i>	<i>de/het onze</i>
2 ND PERSON	COLLOQUIAL	<i>de/het jouwe</i>	<i>*de/het jullie(-e)</i>
	POLITE	<i>de/het uwe</i>	<i>de/het uwe</i>
3 RD PERSON	MASCULINE	<i>de/het zijne</i>	<i>?de/het hunne</i>
	FEMININE	<i>de/het hare</i>	
	NEUTER	<i>de/het zijne</i>	

The examples in (143) are perhaps not entirely comparable to the cases of context insensitive N-ellipsis under discussion here, given that their interpretation is generally context-dependent; cf. (144a). This does not hold, however, for their plural counterparts in (144b), which are typically used to refer to a certain set of peoples.

- (144) a. Jij zingt eerst jouw lied. Daarna zing ik het mijne.
 you sing first your song After sing I the mine
 'You sing your song first. Subsequently, I will sing mine.'
 b. Luther en de zijnen
 Luther and the his
 'Luther and his followers'

Finally, the examples in (145) pose a severe problem for the N-ellipsis analysis, as the postulated empty nominal element [*e*] cannot be replaced by a phonetically realized one. Since the nominalization approach does not postulate such an empty element, these facts indirectly support this approach.

(145) a. de ouden van dagen the old of days 'senior citizens'	a'. *de oude mensen van dagen the old people of days
b. de armen van geest the poor of spirit	b'. *de arme mensen van geest the poor people of spirit
c. de groten van naam the great of name	c'. *de grote mensen van naam the great people of name

B. The N-ellipsis analysis

The arguments given in the previous section provide important evidence in favor of a nominalization approach to the constructions in (134), but there are also arguments against such an approach, and in favor of assuming that these examples involve N-ellipsis, that is, that we are dealing with genuine adjectives in these cases.

The first argument concerns plural formation, and could be interpreted as a counterargument to the first argument in favor of nominalization. Although nouns that end in a schwa often can have either a plural *-s* or a plural *-n* morpheme, the first seems more common than the latter (which is not pronounced in Standard Dutch). The cases under discussion, however, resist a plural in *-s* categorically; cf. the primed and primeless examples in (146).

(146) a. de blinden/*blindes 'the blind ones'	a'. de types/?typen 'the type/the types'
b. de rijken/*rijkes 'the rich'	b'. de dames/*damen 'the lady/ladies'
c. de snellen/*snelles 'the quick ones'	c'. de piramides/?piramiden 'the pyramids'
d. de goeden/*goedes 'the good ones'	d'. de ruïnes/?ruïnen 'the ruins'

This argument against nominalization is probably not very strong given that a noun like *waarde* 'value' does not allow the plural *-s* either: *waarden* versus **waardes*. The same thing holds for a group of nouns ending in the phonetic sequence [idə] that do not allow the *-s* either: *druïden* 'druids' vs. **druïdes*. Consequently, it may be the case that, like these nouns, the affix *-e* simply has the idiosyncratic property of requiring the plural *-n* morpheme.

Another morphological distinction between the constructions in (134b) and simple nouns ending in schwa is that the first resist diminutive formation, whereas the latter generally allow it. For this, compare the primeless and primed examples in (147). This of course supports the N-ellipsis analysis.

(147) a. *het blindetje	a'. het typetje 'the character'
b. *het rijketje	b'. het dametje
c. *het snelletje	c'. het piramidetje
d. *het goedetje	d'. het ruïnetje

- (148) a. het onweerstaanbaar leuke (ervan)
the irresistibly funny of it
b. de erg/zeer rijke
the very rich

For completeness' sake, note that modification by means of an attributively used adjective is also possible. This is of course expected under both approaches given that we may simply be dealing with stacked adjectives. Compare:

- (149) de zielige arme (man)
the pitiful poor man

The second syntactic argument involves the PP-complements of deverbal adjectives like *afhankelijk* ‘dependent’. Section 5.3.1.2, sub I, has shown that such complements must precede the adjective in attributive position: placement of the PP-complement between the adjective and the noun or after the noun is excluded. When we assume an N-ellipsis analysis, we can therefore immediately account for the fact that the PP *van een uitkering* must precede *afhankelijk* in (150b).

- (150) a. de van een beurs afhankelijke studenten
the on a grant dependent students
a'. *de afhankelijke <van een beurs> studenten <van een beurs>
b. de <van een beurs> afhankelijken <*van een beurs>

As expected, when the adjective is associated with a phrase that can follow the noun, it can also follow the (allegedly) nominalized adjective. This is demonstrated in (151) with adjectives in their equative, comparative and superlative use, which can be combined with postnominal *als-*, *dan-* and *van-*phrases, respectively.

- (151) a. een even goede (leerling) als Jan
an as good student as Jan
b. een betere (leerling) dan Jan
a better student than Jan
c. de beste (leerling) van de klas
the best student of the class

More cases of a somewhat different nature are given in the primeless examples in (152), which should be compared with the primed examples.

- (152) a. het leuke van de grap a'. het leuke punt van de grap
 the funny of the joke the funny point of the joke
 b. het vreemde van de zaak b'. het vreemde aspect van de zaak
 the strange of the case the strange aspect of the case

The facts in (148) to (152) follow immediately if we assume N-ellipsis, whereas it is not clear how they could be accounted for under the nominalization approach.

For completeness' sake, note that it has been argued that examples such as (153a) disfavor the nominalization analysis: since the adjectival participle *geplaatste* is combined with an argument (a locational PP), it has been suggested that nominalization would have to take a *phrase* as its input in such cases, which is exceptional. However, since example (153b) shows that nominalizations like *plaatsen* clearly retain their selectional properties, it can be assumed that something similar holds for the nominalized participle in (153a).

- (153) a. het in de kast geplaatste
 the in the cupboard put
 'the thing(s) which has/have been put in the cupboard'
 b. het boeken in de kast plaatsen
 the books in the cupboard put
 'the placement of books into the cupboard'

C. Conclusion

The discussion above has shown that it cannot be unequivocally determined at present whether the noun phrases in (134) involve nominalized adjectives or N-ellipsis. Both analyses find support in the known data, but both meet certain problems as well.

5.5. Co-occurring adjectives

We conclude this chapter on the attributive use of adjectives with a discussion of noun phrases containing more than one attributive adjective. We start by discussing the differences between coordination and °stacking, after which the two cases are discussed more extensively in separate sections.

5.5.1. Coordination and stacking

This section considers noun phrases in which the head noun is modified by more than one attributive adjective. Two cases can be distinguished, which will be referred to as COORDINATION (or symmetric co-occurrence) and STACKING (or asymmetric co-occurrence) of adjectives, respectively. In the case of coordination, the adjectives are coordinated by means of the coordinator *en* 'and' or *maar* 'but', as in (154). In the case of stacking, the adjectives are immediately adjacent to each other, as in (155); no conjunctions are involved.

- (154) • Coordination (symmetrically co-occurring adjectives)
- a. een goede en (bovendien) goedkope auto
 a good and moreover cheap car
 b. een grote maar lichte tent
 a big but light tent
 c. een sterk maar lief paard
 a strong but kind horse

- (155) • Stacking (asymmetrically co-occurring adjectives)
- a. een goede goedkope auto
a good cheap car
 - b. een grote lichte tent
a big light tent
 - c. een kleine Amerikaanse auto
a small American car

The presence of the coordinators *en* and *maar* clearly signals that the examples in (154) involve coordination of the adjectives; the structure of example (154b), for instance, will therefore be approximately as given in (156a). The examples in (155), on the other hand, do not involve coordination, and the adjectives seem to stand in a hierarchical relation to each other; in (155b), for example, the adjective *licht* modifies the noun *tent*, and the adjective *groot* modifies the complex nominal projection *lichte tent*. The structure of this example (155b) is therefore approximately as given in (156b).

- (156) a. Coordination: [_{NP} een [_{AP} grote maar lichte] tent]
b. Stacking: [_{NP} een [grote [lichte tent]]]

Semantically, the distinction between coordination and stacking is often not very clear. For instance, (154a) and (155a) seem to be more or less equivalent: both refer to a car that is both good and cheap. When we abstract away from the fact that the use of *maar* in (154b) suggests that being both big and light is unexpected for a tent, more or less the same seems to hold for (154b) and (155b): they both refer to a tent that is big and light.

There are at least two arguments in favor of the proposed structural difference. The first argument involves the type of adjectives that can be combined. In (154), the coordinated adjectives all belong to the class of set-denoting adjectives. In (155c), on the other hand, the two adjectives belong to two different classes: the adjective *klein* 'small' is a set-denoting adjective, whereas *Amerikaans* 'American' is a relational adjective. When we coordinate these adjectives by means of the coordinator *maar* or *en*, as in (157), the result is unacceptable. Apparently, adjectives that belong to different classes cannot be coordinated, so (155c) must involve stacking.

- (157) a. *een kleine maar/en Amerikaanse auto
a small but/and American car
b. *een Nederlandse maar/en gulle jongen
a Dutch but/and generous boy

Note, however, that some classes of relational adjectives have a tendency to shift their meaning in the direction of the set-denoting adjectives; cf. Section 1.3.3. It is therefore not really surprising that one occasionally encounters examples like (158).

- (158) a. een typisch Amerikaanse, en dus relatief grote auto
a typically American and therefore relatively big car
b. een typisch Nederlandse, maar toch gulle jongen
a typically Dutch, but yet generous boy

The second argument involves context sensitive N-ellipsis; cf. Section 5.4.1. In (159), the noun phrases in the second conjunct are syntactically but not semantically reduced. Example (159a), for instance, expresses that Peter has bought a very bad cheap car, which indicates that [e] corresponds to the complex phrase *goedkope auto* and (159b) expresses that Peter has a white American car, which indicates that [e] corresponds to the complex phrase *Amerikaanse auto* ‘American car’.

- (159) a. Jan heeft [_{NP} een [zeer goede [goedkope auto]]] gekocht,
 Jan has a very good cheap car bought
 maar Peter [_{NP} een zeer slechte [e]].
 but Peter a very bad
 ‘Jan bought a very good cheap car, but Peter a very bad one.’
 b. Jan heeft [_{NP} een [gele [Amerikaanse auto]]] en Peter [_{NP} een witte [e]].
 Jan has a yellow American car and Peter a white
 ‘Jan has a yellow American car, and Peter a white one.’

If the co-occurring adjectives in (159) were coordinated, these interpretations would be unexpected, as this would imply that N-ellipsis could affect subparts of a coordinated structure. And, indeed, this reduction is impossible when the coordinator *en* ‘and’ is present: example (160) does not imply that Peter also has a cheap car, which shows that *e* corresponds to the nominal head *auto* only.

- (160) Jan heeft [_{NP} een [_{AP} goede en bovendien goedkope] auto],
 Jan has a good and moreover cheap car
 maar Peter heeft [_{NP} een slechte [e]].
 but Peter has a bad (one)

5.5.2. Constraints on the coordination of adjectives

Cases that involve coordination of adjectives, such as (161a), must be distinguished from cases like (161b) that involve coordination of noun phrases with backward °conjunction reduction; cf. Section 5.4.1, example (129). Note that the examples in (161) are given as embedded clauses in order to avoid interference of *clausal* backward conjunction reduction, which would also delete the verb in clause-final position. The apparent similarity between the two constructions is due to the fact that in (161b) the head noun of the first conjunct is deleted under phonological identity with the noun of the second conjunct.

- (161) a. dat Jan [_{NP} een [_{AP} goede en goedkope] auto] heeft.
 that Jan a good and cheap car has
 b. dat Jan [_{NP} [_{NP} een goede ~~auto~~] en [_{NP} een goedkope auto]] heeft.
 that Jan a good and a cheap car has

Constructions with adjectival coordination differ syntactically from conjunction reduction constructions, however, in that in the former case there is only one determiner present, whereas in the latter case there are two determiners present. The corresponding semantic difference is that (161a) expresses that Jan has a single car, which is both good and cheap, whereas (161b) expresses that Jan has two cars, one of which is good and one of which is cheap. This semantic difference can be readily

demonstrated by means of the examples in (162): (162a) is unacceptable since one car cannot be both completely black and completely white; (162b) is fully acceptably given that there are two cars involved.

- (162) a. *dat Jan [_{NP} een [_{AP} geheel witte en geheel zwarte] auto] heeft.
 that Jan a completely white and completely black car has
 b. dat Jan [_{NP} [_{NP} een geheel witte ~~auto~~] en [_{NP} een geheel zwarte auto]] heeft.
 that Jan a completely white and a completely black car has

That the two constructions differ can also be made clear by replacing the conjunction *en* ‘and’ by the contrastive coordinator *maar* ‘but’. This is possible with the symmetrically coordinated adjectives in (163a), but not with the conjunction reduction construction in (163b). The reason why *maar* leads to an unacceptable result in the latter case is that this conjunction can normally not be used for coordinating noun phrases: *Ik wil het meisje en/of/*maar de jongen bezoeken* ‘I want to visit the girl and/or/*but the boy’.

- (163) a. dat Jan [_{NP} een [_{AP} goede maar goedkope] auto] heeft.
 that Jan a good but cheap car has
 b. *dat Jan [_{NP} [_{NP} een goede ~~auto~~] maar [_{NP} een goedkope auto]] heeft.
 that Jan a good but a cheap car has

The disjunctive coordinator *of* ‘or’ can also be used to distinguish the two constructions. Example (164b) shows that this coordinator can be used in the conjunction reduction construction, but not with coordinated adjectives. The reason why disjunction is not possible in (164a) is probably of a semantic or a pragmatic nature, as entities are generally not defined by means of a disjunction of properties.

- (164) a. *dat Jan [_{NP} de [_{AP} goedkope of zuinige] wagen] koopt.
 that Jan the cheap or economical car buys
 b. dat Jan [_{NP} [_{NP} de goedkope ~~wagen~~] of [_{NP} de zuinige wagen]] koopt.
 that Jan the cheap or the economical car buys

Note, however, that the coordinator *of* can be used with coordinated adjectives when the speaker intends to correct himself. This is illustrated in (165), which is only acceptable when the marker *beter gezegd*, which indicates that we are dealing with a correction, is overtly expressed.

- (165) de verstrooide of *(beter gezegd) uiterst slordige student
 the absent-minded or better said extremely careless student
 ‘the absent-minded or rather extremely careless student’

The only overt syntactic sign of the distinction between the (a)- and (b)-examples in (161) to (164) is the presence or absence of the second article. Since the article is phonetically empty, ambiguity arises in examples like (166a), in which we are dealing with an indefinite plural noun phrase: the structure in (166b) expresses that we are dealing with cars that are both cheap and economical, whereas the structure in (166b’) expresses that we are dealing with cars, some of which are cheap and some of which are economical.

- (166) a. dat Jan goedkope en zuinige auto's verkoopt.
 that Jan cheap and economical cars sells
 'that Jan sells cheap and economical cars.'
 b. dat Jan [_{NP} Ø [_{AP} goedkope en zuinige] auto's] verkoopt.
 b'. dat Jan [_{NP} [_{NP} Ø goedkope ~~auto's~~] en [_{NP} Ø zuinige auto's]] verkoopt.

Example (157) in Section 5.5.1 has already shown that not all attributively used adjectives can be coordinated. The constraints on coordination seem to be semantic in nature and involve the distinction between the adjective types in (167); see Section 1.3 for a discussion of the semantic and syntactic motivation for making these distinctions.

- (167) a. Set-denoting adjectives: *brutaal* 'cheeky', *aardig* 'nice', etc.
 b. Relational adjectives: *Amerikaans* 'American', *wekelijks* 'weekly', etc.
 c. Evaluative adjectives: *drommels* 'damned'
 d. Residual adjectives: *vermeend* 'alleged'/'supposed'

The examples above have already shown that set-denoting adjectives can be coordinated without any problem. It is not possible, however, to coordinate a set-denoting adjective and an adjective from one of the other adjective classes. This is illustrated in (168): (168a) involves coordination of a set-denoting and a relational (geographical) adjective, (168b) coordination of a set-denoting and an evaluative adjective, and (168c) coordination of a set-denoting and a modal adjective. The unacceptability of these examples suggests that coordinated adjectives must belong to the same class.

- (168) a. *een brutale maar Amerikaanse jongen
 a cheeky but American boy
 b. *een brutale en drommelse jongen
 a cheeky and damned boy
 c. *een gevaarlijke en vermeende misdadiger
 a dangerous and supposed criminal

It is not immediately clear whether it is possible to coordinate relational adjectives. An example like (169a) seems acceptable but still seems somewhat marked compared to the backward conjunction reduction construction in (169a'). Insofar as the examples are indeed both acceptable, they should still differ in the number of sets involved (one in (169a), but two in (169a')), but it is hard to test this prediction. The plural counterpart of these examples in (169b) is of course compatible with both analyses, and therefore does not shed new light on the issue.

- (169) a. ?de Nederlandse en Belgische afgevaardigden
 the Dutch and Belgian representatives
 a'. de Nederlandse en de Belgische afgevaardigden
 the Dutch and the Belgian representatives
 b. Nederlandse en Belgische afgevaardigden
 Dutch and Belgian representatives

Given the difficulty in interpreting these examples it might be better to restrict ourselves to cases where the noun is singular, as in (170a&b). Although examples

like (170a) can readily be found on the internet, we judge them at least marked compared to backward conjunction reduction constructions like (170b).

- (170) a. [?]de Nederlandse en Belgische afvaardiging
 the Dutch and Belgian delegation
 b. de Nederlandse en de Belgische afvaardiging
 the Dutch and the Belgian delegation

The contrast we feel in (170) may have a morphological basis and be due to the fact that the intended reading of (170a) can be more readily obtained by using the adjectival compound *Nederlands-Belgisch: De Nederlands-Belgische afvaardiging*. This is even clearer in examples like (171): coordination, as in (171a), gives rise to a clearly degraded result and the only way to express the intended interpretation “a tour both in America and in Europe” is by using the compound *Amerikaans-Europees* in (171b). For completeness’ sake, note that the compound status is clear from the fact illustrated in (171b’) that the attributive *-e* ending cannot be assigned to the first member of the adjective pair.

- (171) a. ^{*?}de Amerikaanse en Europese tournee
 the American and European tour
 b. de Amerikaans-Europese tournee
 b’. ^{*}de Amerikaanse-Europese tournee

In other cases the impossibility of having coordinated relational adjectives may have a semantic basis: the degraded status of the examples in (172) can probably be attributed to the fact that the coordinated adjectives are from different semantic subclasses: (172a) involves coordination of a time and a geographical adjective, (172b) coordination of a “movement/trend” and a geographical adjective, and (172c) coordination of a substance and a geographical adjective.

- (172) a. ^{*}de wekelijkse en Amerikaanse krant
 the weekly and American paper
 b. ^{*}de kapitalistische en Amerikaans economie
 the capitalist and American economy
 c. ^{*}een aardewerk en Marokkaanse schaal
 an earthenware and Moroccan dish

The evaluative adjectives in (173a) and the modal adjectives in (173b) are also difficult to coordinate, which may be due to the small number of adjectives that belong to these classes. The unacceptability of (173c) can again be attributed to the fact that it involves coordination of adjectives that belong to different semantic classes: *vermeend* is a modal and *drommels* is an evaluative adjective.

- (173) a. ^{*?}de drommelse en verrekte jongen
 the devilish and damned boy
 b. ^{*?}Jans eventuele en vermeende vertrek
 Jan’s possible and alleged departure
 c. ^{*}de vermeende en drommelse misdadiger
 the supposed and devilish criminal

5.5.3. *The order of stacked adjectives*

Whereas coordination requires that the adjectives belong to the same class, stacking of adjectives from the different semantic classes in (167) is possible. Below, we discuss the possible combinations.

I. Set-denoting and relational adjectives

When a set-denoting and a relational adjective co-occur, the latter is closer to the head noun than the former. This is illustrated in (174) for geographical, “Movement/trend”, time, and substance adjectives.

- (174) a. die leuke Amerikaanse jongen
that nice American boy
a'. *die Amerikaanse leuke jongen
b. die belangrijke Elizabethaanse toneelschrijver
that important Elizabethan playwright
b'. *die Elizabethaanse belangrijke toneelschrijver
c. die belangrijke jaarlijkse bijeenkomst
that important annual meeting
c'. *die jaarlijkse belangrijke bijeenkomst
d. die mooie houten doos
that beautiful wooden box
d'. *die houten mooie doos

When the examples in (174) are pronounced with a flat intonation pattern, the interpretation proceeds such that the relational adjective first selects a subset of the set denoted by the noun, and that, subsequently, the set-denoting adjective selects a subset of the set denoted by the combination of the relational adjective and the noun. Example (174a), for example, refers to an American boy that is nice, but not to a nice boy that is an American. When we want to express the latter meaning, an intonational contour with contrastive accent on the relational adjective is needed: *die leuke Amerikaanse jongen*. In this connection, it can be noted that the primed examples in (174) improve slightly when the relational adjective is assigned contrastive accent, e.g., “*die Amerikaanse leuke jongen*.”

II. Evaluative/modal and set-denoting adjectives

When an evaluative/modal and a set-denoting adjective co-occur, the former must precede the latter.

(175) a. die verrekte rode auto's those damned red cars	c. die verdomde grote auto's those damned big cars
a'. *die rode verrekte auto's	c'. *die grote verdomde auto's
b. die vervloekte vierkante doos that damned square box	d. die verrekte moeilijke som that damned difficult sum
b'. *die vierkante vervloekte doos	d'. *die moeilijke verrekte som

III. Evaluative/modal and relational adjectives

When an evaluative/modal and a relational adjective co-occur, the former must precede the latter. Of course, this does not come as a surprise given the orders established in Subsections I and II above.

- (176) a. die verdomde Amerikaanse auto c. dat vervloekte jaarlijkse bal
 that damned American car that damned annual ball
 a'. *die Amerikaanse verdomde auto c'. *dat jaarlijkse vervloekte bal
 b. die verrekte freudiaanse opvatting d. die verrekte metalen lamp
 that damned Freudian belief that damned metal lamp
 b'. *de freudiaanse verrekte opvatting d'. *die metalen verrekte lamp

IV. Co-occurrence of relational adjectives

Stacking of two or more types of relational adjectives is also possible. Below, we illustrate this on the basis of the four main subcategories distinguished in Section 1.3.3. In general, all combinations are possible in all orders. Here, we restrict ourselves to the stacking of two relational adjectives. Here, we restrict ourselves to the stacking of two relational adjectives. The expected orders are given in table (177), which must be read such that the adjective type given in the header of the row precedes the adjective type given in the header of the column. The numbers refer to the examples following the table.

(177) Stacking of adjectives

	GEOGRAPHICAL	"MOVEMENT/TREND"	TIME	SUBSTANCE
GEOGRAPHICAL	—	(178a)	(178b)	(178c)
"MOVEMENT/TREND"	(178a')	—	(178d)	(178e)
TIME	(178b')	(178d')	—	(178f)
SUBSTANCE	(178c')	(178e')	(178f')	—

- (178) a. dat Engelse impressionistische schilderij
 that English impressionist painting
 a'. dat impressionistische Engelse schilderij
 b. die Engelse zestiende-eeuwse toneelschrijver
 that English sixteenth.century playwright
 b'. die zestiende-eeuwse Engelse toneelschrijver
 c. dat Franse bronzen beeld
 that French bronze statue
 c'. dat bronzen Franse beeld
 d. die impressionistische negentiende-eeuwse schilder
 that impressionist nineteenth.century painter
 d'. die negentiende-eeuwse impressionistische schilder

- e. die expressionistische bronzen beelden
those expressionist bronze statues
- e'. die bronzen expressionistische beelden
- f. die vijftiende-eeuwse houten beelden
those fifteenth.century wooden statues
- f'. die houten vijftiende-eeuwse beelden

When the examples in (178) are pronounced with a flat intonation pattern, the interpretation proceeds in a similar way as in the examples in (174), that is, the relational adjective that is adjacent to the noun first selects a subset of the set denoted by the noun, and the second relational adjective subsequently selects a subset of this subset. Example (178a), for instance, refers to an impressionist painting made by an English artist, whereas example (178a') refers to a painting made by an English artist that is made in the impressionist style. Consequently, the noun phrases are used in different contexts: at an exhibition that displays several impressionist paintings, we would use (178a) rather than (178a') in order to refer to a certain painting; at an exhibition that displays several paintings by English painters, on the other hand, (178a') would be the preferred way of referring to a certain painting.

We observed in our discussion of the examples in (174) that contrastive accent can have a semantic effect similar to that of changing the word order in (178). This use of contrastive accent is also available in (178). Thus, when we stress the adjective *impressionistische* in (178a), the example receives a interpretation similar to that of (178a') pronounced with a flat intonation contour. Similarly, when we stress *Engelse* in (178a'), the example receives a interpretation similar to that of (178a) with a flat intonation contour. Occasionally, speakers claim that the primed examples are slightly degraded with contrastive accent on the adjective that is adjacent to the noun, but generally the effect seems rather weak.

Finally, we want to note that for some (but certainly not all) speakers of Dutch, the orders in (178c',e'&f') are degraded; these speakers apparently require the substance adjective to be as close to the head noun as possible. In neutral contexts, this would certainly be preferred.

V. Co-occurrence of set-denoting adjectives

Stacking of two or more set-denoting adjectives is also possible. Section 1.3.2.2 has shown that several types of set-denoting adjectives can be distinguished on the basis of their semantic properties. Some of these properties are relevant for their linearization in attributive position. First, consider the examples in (179) and (180).

(179) a. dat mooie rode boek that beautiful red book	b. dat mooie kleine boek that beautiful little book
a'. ??dat rode mooie boek	b'. ??dat kleine mooie boek
(180) a. die vreemde ronde tafel that strange round table	b. die vreemde lage tafel that strange low table
a'. ??die ronde vreemde tafel	b'. ??die lage vreemde tafel

The relevant difference between the adjectives *mooi* ‘beautiful’ and *vreemd* ‘strange’ and the other adjectives is that the former denote properties that involve some subjective evaluation, whereas the latter denote properties that can be more or less objectively established (cf. Section 1.3.2.2.1, sub III): calling something beautiful or weird depends completely on the subjective evaluation of the observer, whereas there will normally be some independent criterion available for establishing whether something is red, small, round or low. The examples in (179) and (180) show that the preferred order is apparently $A_{[+SUBJ]}-A_{[-SUBJ]}-N$.

When the objective adjectives in (179) and (180) co-occur, it turns out that these adjectives also have a preferred order. This is illustrated in example (181).

(181) a.	dat kleine rode boek	b.	die lage ronde tafel
	that little red book		that low round table
a’.	??dat rode kleine boek	b’.	??die ronde lage tafel

The relevant difference between these adjectives concerns whether the adjectives are context dependent or context independent; cf. Section 1.3.2.2.1, sub II. Adjectives such as *klein* ‘little’ and *laag* ‘low’ denote a $[+CONT.DEP.]$ property: when we say of an entity that it is *a small book* or *a low table*, we express that it is “small for a book” or “low for a table”. Adjectives such as *rood* ‘red’ and *rond* ‘round’, on the other hand, denote a $[-CONT.DEP.]$ property: when we say of an entity that it is *a red book* or *a round table* we do not express that it is “red for a book” or “round for a table”; it is just red or round. Apparently, the preferred order is $A_{[+CONT.DEP.]}-A_{[-CONT.DEP.]}-N$.

The interpretation of the examples in (179) to (181) proceeds in a fashion similar to that of the examples discussed earlier. When these examples are pronounced with a flat intonation pattern, the adjective that is adjacent to the noun first selects a subset of the set denoted by the noun, and the second adjective subsequently selects a subset of this subset. For example, (179a) refers to a red book that is beautiful, but not to a beautiful book that is red. The latter interpretation can, however, be obtained by assigning contrastive accent to the adjective *rood*.

For completeness’ sake, it should be noted that the primed examples in (179) to (181) with the order $A_{[-CONT.DEP.]}-A_{[+CONT.DEP.]}-N$ become more or less acceptable when the $[-CONT.DEP.]$ adjective is assigned contrastive accent; our judgments are given in (182).

(182) a.	?dat ròde mooie boek	d.	?die làge vreemde tafel
b.	?dat klèine mooie boek	e.	?dat ròde kleine boek
c.	?die rònde vreemde tafel	f.	?die rònde lage tafel

VI. Summary

Since examples with two or more evaluative/modal stacked adjectives sound rather forced and are not easily constructed, we conclude this section by schematizing our findings by means of Table 6. When a flat intonation pattern is used, the evaluative/modal adjectives precede all other adjectives, and the set-denoting adjectives precede the relational adjectives. Within the different types of set-denoting adjectives, the subjective adjectives precede the more objective ones. Of

the objective adjectives, the context dependent adjectives precede the context independent ones. It seems that the different types of relational adjectives can be ordered freely, and that the choice between the available options depends entirely on the context.

Table 6: *The order of adjectives in attributive position (under neutral intonation)*

Evaluative/ Modal	Set-denoting			Relational
	[+SUBJECTIVE]	[-SUBJECTIVE]		
		[+CONT.DEP.]	[-CONT.DEP.]	

Observe, however, that when the [-SUBJECTIVE][+CONT.DEP.] adjective appears in the comparative or the superlative form, it preferably precedes the [+SUBJECTIVE] adjective. This is demonstrated in (183b-c). As is shown in (183d), this effect seems to be absent in the case of modification.

- (183) a. een mooie grote auto
a beautiful big car

b. ^{??}een mooie grotere auto
a beautiful bigger car

c. ^{*?}de mooie grootste auto
the beautiful biggest car

d. een mooie vrij grote auto
a beautiful rather big car
- a'. ^{??}een grote mooie auto

b'. een grotere mooie auto

c'. de grootste mooie auto

d'. ^{??}een vrij grote mooie auto

5.6. Bibliographical notes

Attributive inflection has received a lot of attention in traditional grammar, and the discussion in this chapter relies heavily on the description that can be found in, e.g., Haeseryn et al. (1997). For the description of the order of attributively used adjectives with respect to each other and other pronominal elements within the nominal projection we have relied heavily on some important work in the structuralist tradition, especially, Van der Lubbe (1978) and Paardekooper (1986). These issues have also received attention within the generative tradition: important studies on Dutch are Van Gestel (1986) and Kester (1994b/1996), and Valois (2006) provides a more general review of the generative literature on this topic. Kester (1996) also provides a discussion of N-ellipsis in terms of the *pro* analysis put forth by Lobeck (1995); see Lobeck (2006) for a review of alternative theoretical approaches to the issue and an extensive list of references. A more general and theoretical discussion of attributive adjectives can be found in Alexiadou (2007: part III), to which we refer the reader for references to several more theoretical approaches to the issues discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 6

Predicative use of the adjective phrase

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Introduction

The predicative use of adjectives implies a set-subset relation: when an adjective A is predicated of a certain noun phrase, then the set of entities referred to by the noun phrase constitutes a subset of the set denoted by A; cf. Section 1.3.2.1. The prototypical instance of this type of predication is found in the copular construction: an example like (1) expresses that the set of entities referred to by the noun phrase *de jongens* ‘the boys’ is a subset of the set denoted by the adjective *rijk* ‘rich’.

- (1) • Copular construction
 De jongens zijn rijk.
 the boys are rich

Dutch predicative adjectives do not show agreement with the argument they are predicated of; see Section 1.2 for a discussion of the attributive inflection on the adjective. Dutch differs in this respect from languages like Italian, in which predicatively used adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun phrase they are predicated of; see Baker (2008) and the references given there for a discussion of this type of agreement.

- (2) a. Marie is ziek.
 Marie is ill
 b. Maria è malata_{feminine,sg.}
 Maria is ill

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 6.1 will have a closer look at the noun phrase that the adjective is predicated of, and will argue that the relation between this noun phrase and the AP is similar in various respects to the relation between the VP and the subject of the clause. Sections 6.2 to 6.4 continue by discussing the various syntactic instantiations of the predicative construction; the organization of this part of this chapter is given in Table 1. Sections 6.5 to 6.7, finally, will discuss cases in which the adjective is not predicated of a noun phrase but of some other category: clauses, PPs and APs.

Table 1: The predicative use of the adjective

complementive	i. copular construction	Section 6.2.1
	ii. resultative construction	Section 6.2.2
	iii. <i>vinden</i> ‘consider’ -construction	Section 6.2.3
supplementive		Section 6.3
appositive		Section 6.4

6.1. Logical SUBJECTS

The notion of subject can be defined in at least two ways, which has given rise to a distinction between grammatical and logical subjects. The traditional definition of subject is based on the case of the noun phrase: the grammatical subject is the noun phrase that is assigned nominative case like *Jan/hij* ‘he’ in (3a) and *ik* in (3b). Although the accusative phrase *Jan/hem* ‘him’ in (3b) is traditionally called an

object (of the verb *zien* ‘to see’), it entails an identical thematic relation to the verb *lachen* as the nominative phrase *Jan/hij* ‘he’ in (3a); if we were to define the notion of subject in terms of this thematic relationship, we could say that the phrases *Jan/hij* and *Jan/hem* act as (logical) subjects of the verb *lachen* in both cases. In this work, we use small capitals for the notion of logical SUBJECT and lowercase for the notion of grammatical subject. When the two notions refer to the same argument in the clause, as in (3a), we normally simply use the notion subject.

- (3) a. Jan/Hij lacht.
 Jan/he laughs
 b. Ik zag Jan/hem lachen.
 I saw Jan/him laugh

Like (intransitive) verbs, adjectives denote sets of entities; cf. Section 1.3.2. The members of the denotation set of a verb like *lachen* can be used as the logical SUBJECT of the verb: the two examples in (3) both express that *Jan* is part of the set denoted by *lachen*. Similarly, it can be said that the examples in (4) express that the noun phrase *de hond* ‘the dog’ is part of the denotation set of the adjective *dood* ‘dead’. Therefore, it seems useful to extend the notion of logical SUBJECT such that it also covers the relation between the noun phrase *de hond* and the predicatively used adjective *dood*.

- (4) a. De hond/Hij is dood.
 the dog/he is dead
 b. Marie slaat de hond/hem dood.
 Marie hits the dog/him dead

By assuming that the noun phrases *Jan/hem/hij* and *de hond* are SUBJECTS of, respectively, the verb *lachen* and the adjective *dood*, potential problems arise related to the traditional intuition that these noun phrases also function as the objects of the finite verbs *zien* ‘to see’ and *slaan* ‘to hit’ in (3b) and (4b), respectively. First, the noun phrases are assigned accusative case by these verbs, which is especially clear in example (4b): when we passivize the verb *slaan*, as in (5), the noun phrase *de hond* appears as the nominative subject of the entire clause. Since we defined the notion of SUBJECT by means of the thematic relation the noun phrase entertains with its predicate, this need not be considered a serious problem because case-assignment is not dependent on the thematic relations within the sentence.

- (5) De hond/Hij is (door Marie) dood geslagen.
 the dog/he has.been by Marie dead hit
 ‘The dog/it has been hit dead (by Marie).’

Second, and potentially more seriously, the noun phrases in (3b) and (4b) also appear to act as the object of the main verb with respect to their thematic properties: example (3b) implies that we actually see Jan and (4b) implies that the dog is actually hit. It has been claimed, however, that this thematic relation between the accusative object and the main verb is of a secondary nature compared to the predication relation between the accusative object and the adjective; cf. Hoekstra

(1984a). An argument in favor of this claim is that comparable examples can be constructed in which the thematic relation between the accusative object and the verb is completely absent. This is very clear in the resultative and *vinden*-constructions in (6): the accusative noun phrases cannot appear when the adjective is absent, and therefore cannot be seen as the thematic object of the verb: it is clearly an argument of the adjective only. The number signs in (6c&d) indicate that the structures without the adjective are possible under the interpretation “Jan finds Marie/the book”, which is irrelevant for our present discussion.

- (6) a. Jan loopt zijn schoenen *(kapot).
 Jan walks his shoes worn.out
 ‘Jan is wearing his shoes down on one side.’
- b. Jan spuit de kinderen *(nat).
 Jan spurts the children wet
- c. Jan vindt Marie # (aardig).
 Jan considers Marie nice
- d. Jan vindt dat boek # (te moeilijk).
 Jan considers that book too difficult

The data in (6) are not sufficient to show that there is no thematic relation between the noun phrase *de hond* ‘the dog’ in (4b) and the verb *slaan* ‘to hit’, but they do provide sufficient evidence for the claim that adjectives take a SUBJECT, that is, that there is a thematic relation of some kind between predicatively used adjectives and the arguments in the clause they are predicated of. This claim is further corroborated by the so-called absolute *met*-construction in (7): the noun phrase *Jan* is clearly thematically dependent on the adjective *ziek* ‘ill’ only.

- (7) Met Jan ziek krijgen we het werk nooit af.
 with Jan ill get we the work never finished
 ‘With Jan being ill, we will never finish the work.’

In the examples in (4) and (6), the adjective is an intrinsic part of the predicate expressed by the VP, which is especially clear in (6), given that the adjective is obligatorily present in these examples. For this reason, we will refer to these cases as the COMPLEMENTIVE use of the adjective. In other cases, the predication expressed by the adjective is of a secondary nature, that is, supplementary to the action expressed by the VP. An example is given in (8a): the secondary nature of the predication relation between the adjective *kwaad* ‘angry’ and the noun phrase *Jan* is clear from the fact that the adjective can be dropped without affecting the main proposition expressed by the clause: we only lose the supplementary information that Jan was angry while he performed the action expressed by the VP. We therefore refer to cases like these as the SUPPLEMENTIVE use of the adjective.

- (8) a. Jan gooide het bord (kwaad) tegen de muur.
 Jan threw the plate angry against the wall
 ‘Jan threw the plate against the wall angry.’
- b. Het bord werd door Jan (kwaad) tegen de muur gegooid.
 the plate was by Jan angry against the wall thrown
 ‘The plate was thrown against the wall by Jan, angry.’

The complementive adjectives in the resultative constructions in (6) are always predicated of the noun phrase that is assigned accusative case, if present; if no such noun phrase is present, the adjective is predicated of the nominative subject of the clause, as shown in the primeless examples in (9). The latter cases always involve °unaccusative verbs, as is clear from the use of the auxiliary *zijn* in the perfect tense construction in the primed examples and the possibility of using the past/passive participle attributively in the doubly-primed examples (where the complementive cannot be omitted).

(9) a. Jan viel dood. Jan dropped dead 'Jan dropped dead.'	b. De stok trekt krom. the stick pulls bent 'The stick is warping.'
a'. Jan is/*heeft dood gevallen. Jan is dead fallen 'Jan has dropped dead.'	b'. De stok is/*heeft krom getrokken. the stick is bent pulled 'The stick has warped.'
a''. de dood gevallen jongen the dead dropped boy 'the boy that has dropped dead.'	b''. de krom getrokken stok the bent pulled stick 'the warped stick'

The supplementive adjective, on the other hand, can be predicated of the subject of the clause when a direct object is present, as is shown in (8a). The noun phrase *Jan* in (8a) further behaves as a regular subject of the activity verb *gooien* 'to throw': the fact that it may appear in a passive *door*-phrase in (8b) unambiguously shows that it acts as the agentive argument of this verb.

Complementive adjectives differ from supplementive adjectives in that only the former can license/introduce a noun phrase that is not selected by the verb. Consider the examples in (10). The primeless examples show that weather verbs such as *regenen* 'to rain' and *vriezen* 'to freeze' do not select a referential noun phrase like *de jongen* 'the boy' as their subject. The singly-primed examples show, however, that such a referential noun phrase becomes possible when a complementive (resultative) adjective is added, which is compatible with the conclusion drawn on the basis of the examples in (6) that the noun phrase *de jongen* is licensed as the SUBJECT of the resultative adjective. The fact that the doubly-primed examples are ungrammatical shows that supplementive adjectives do not license referential noun phrases; the noun phrase *de jongen* is not an argument of the adjective *kwaad* and should therefore be selected by the weather verbs, which (10a&b) have already shown to be impossible. We will discuss this more extensively in Section 6.2.2.

(10) a. Het/*De jongen regent. it/the boy rains	b. Het/*De jongen vriest. It/the boy freezes
a'. De jongen regent nat. the boy rains wet	b'. De jongen vriest dood. the boy freezes dead
a''. *De jongen regent kwaad. the boy rains angry	b''. *De jongen vriest kwaad. the boy freezes angry

As is shown in (11a&b), it is not possible to retain the pronoun *het* 'it' in the resultative constructions in (10a'&b'). This supports the widely accepted idea that the pronoun *het* is not a thematic argument of the weather verb but acts as a

placeholder of the empty subject position. The ungrammaticality of the primed examples, with *het* interpreted as semantically vacuous weather *het* is due to the fact that weather *het* cannot act as the SUBJECT of an adjective; the number signs indicate that these examples are acceptable when *het* is interpreted as a deictic pronoun referring to, e.g., *het paard* ‘the horse’.

- (11) a. *Het regent de jongen nat. a'. #Het regent nat.
 it rains the boy wet it rains wet
 b. *Het vriest de jongen dood. b'. #Het vriest dood.
 it freezes the boy dead it freezes dead

For completeness' sake note that, in contrast to (12a), example (12b) is fully acceptable under the non-referential interpretation of *het*. It is not clear, however, whether we are dealing with weather *het* here, given that the construction seems to imply a location, which can be made explicit by adding a locational constituent like *buiten* ‘outside’; Section 6.6.3 will argue that *het* can be seen as an anticipatory pronoun introducing an (implicit) locational SUBJECT.

- (12) a. #Het is dood.
 it is dead
 b. Het is nat (buiten).
 it is wet outside

We still need an explanation for the fact that the supplementive in (8a) is predicated of the noun phrase *Jan*. One possibility is to assume that the supplementive has a phonetically empty SUBJECT, which is called °PRO and which is construed as coreferential with the phonetically realized noun phrase *Jan*. This suggestion correctly accounts for the intuition that the supplementive is a kind of reduced clause, that is, that (8a) can be paraphrased as: *Jan gooide het bord tegen de muur, terwijl hij kwaad was* ‘Jan threw the plate against the wall, while he was angry’. Section 6.3 will provide a more extensive and detailed discussion of this.

6.2. Complementive use of the adjective

This section discusses the three subtypes of complementive adjectives given in Table 1 above: Section 6.2.1 will discuss the copular construction, Section 6.2.2 the resultative construction, and Section 6.2.3 the *vinden*-construction. Section 6.2.4 continues with a discussion of the position of the complementive adjective within the clause, and 6.2.5 concludes this section by discussing some special cases.

6.2.1. The copular construction

Subsection I starts with a discussion of the Standard Dutch copular construction. In certain dialects, the Standard Dutch construction productively alternates with a construction involving the verb *hebben* ‘to have’; this semi-copular construction will be the topic of Subsection II and we will see that Standard Dutch has a similar construction, which is, however, somewhat more restricted in use.

I. The regular copular construction

Section 6.1 has shown that the prototypical occurrence of the complementive adjective is in the copular construction, exemplified in (13). All examples in (13) express that the set referred to by *de jongens* is a subset of the set denoted by the adjective, albeit that the actual choice of the copula may add certain meaning aspects: the copula *zijn* is neutral and expresses a purely predicative “N is A” relation; the copula *worden* ‘to become’ adds an inchoative aspect; the copula *blijven* ‘to remain’, on the other hand, indicates that some state remains the same; the copula *lijken* ‘to seem’ indicates that the contention is based on the subjective perception of the speaker.

- (13) • Copular construction
- | | |
|--|--|
| a. De jongens zijn groot.
the boys are big | c. De jongens bleven kwaad.
the boys remained angry |
| b. De jongens werden kwaad.
the boys became angry | d. De jongens lijken moe.
the boys seem tired |

Unlike the complementive constructions discussed in Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3, the copular construction can be used with all types of set-denoting adjectives; see Section 1.3.2.2 for examples.

II. The semi-copular construction

The eastern varieties of Dutch have an alternative way of conveying the contentions expressed by the Standard Dutch regular copular constructions in (13). Some typical examples of this semi-copular construction, which is often referred to as the *band-lek* construction, are given in (14); cf. Van Bree (1981) and Cornips (1994).

- (14) • The dialectal semi-copular construction
- | |
|---|
| a. Jan heeft de band lek.
Jan has the tire punctured |
| b. Hij heeft de vrouw ziek.
he has the wife ill |

Semi-copular constructions in (14) differ from regular copular constructions, however, in that they typically express a possessive relationship between the nominative argument *Jan/hij* and the logical SUBJECT of the adjective; translated into Standard Dutch, the examples in (14) would yield the sentences in (15).

- (15) a. Jans band is lek.
Jan's tire is punctured
- b. Zijn vrouw is ziek.
his wife is ill

Although the semi-copular construction in (14) is unacceptable in Standard Dutch, there are two acceptable constructions that resemble it. First, consider the examples in (16), which may be rejected by some speakers of Standard Dutch in this form, but which become fully acceptable when the clauses are extended with certain adverbs; see the examples in (18) below.

- (16) a. Jan heeft de kwast schoon.
 Jan has the brush clean
 b. Jan heeft het raam open.
 Jan has the window open

The dialectal and Standard Dutch constructions in (14) and (16) differ in at least the following two respects; cf. Broekhuis & Cornips (1994). First, in contrast to what is the case in (14), the examples in (16) do not express a possessive relation. This can be made clear by adding a possessive pronoun to the SUBJECT of the adjective: example (17) shows that this leads to an unacceptable result with the dialect construction in (14a), but to a fully acceptable result with the Standard Dutch construction in (16a). Note that example (17a) is acceptable in Standard Dutch with a similar meaning as (17b).

- (17) a. [#]Jan heeft mijn band lek.
 Jan has my tire punctured
 b. Jan heeft mijn kwast schoon.
 Jan has my brush clean

Second, the Standard Dutch examples in (16) imply that the subject of the clause can affect the state that the object is in, which is clear from the fact that adverbial phrases like *nog niet* 'not yet' or *eindelijk* 'finally' can be added to these examples, as in (18). These adverbial phrases express that the subject of the clause is actively involved in the process of cleaning the brush or closing the window: Jan is in the process of cleaning the brush or opening the window and has not yet/finally succeeded in obtaining the desired result.

- (18) a. Jan heeft de kwast nog niet/eindelijk schoon.
 Jan has the brush not yet/finally clean
 b. Jan heeft het raam nog niet/eindelijk open.
 Jan has the window not yet/finally open

This involvement is also clear from the fact that the verb *hebben* can be replaced by the verb *krijgen* 'to get', or *houden* 'to keep', as in (19). In such cases, it is possible to use the subject-oriented adverbial phrase *met moeite* 'with difficulty', which underlines the fact that Jan is involved in the process of cleaning the brush or opening the window by expressing that Jan has some difficulty in obtaining the desired result. The use of *krijgen* and *houden* is not possible in the dialect constructions in (14) without a shift of meaning in the direction of the Standard Dutch construction: for example, *Jan kreeg zijn band niet lek* can only be interpreted such that Jan is deliberately puncturing his tire.

- (19) a. Hij kreeg/hield de kwast (met moeite) schoon.
 he got/kept the brush with difficulty clean
 b. Hij kreeg/hield het raam (met moeite) open.
 he got/kept the window with difficulty open

A second Standard Dutch construction that also involves *hebben* + adjective is given in (20a). Given that *het* cannot be replaced by the demonstrative pronoun *dat*

‘that’, we must conclude that this construction involves the non-referring element *het* that we also find in constructions like (20b) and which is discussed more extensively in Section 6.6.

- (20) a. Ik heb het/*dat benauwd.
 I have it/that hard.to.breathe
 ‘I am out of breath.’
 b. Het/*Dat is benauwd.
 it/that is hard.to.breathe

The verb *hebben* in (20a) can be replaced by *krijgen* ‘to get’, as is shown in (21a), but the fact that the adverbial PP *met moeite* ‘with difficulty’ cannot be added suggests that the subject of the clause is not a controller, but acts as a kind of experiencer. When we use the verb *houden*, as in (21b), the translation with *to keep* is no longer appropriate; instead, the proper translation requires the copular verb *to remain*. This suggests again that the subject functions as an experiencer in this construction.

- (21) a. Ik krijg het (*met moeite) benauwd.
 I get it with difficulty hard.to.breathe
 ‘I am getting out of breath.’
 b. Ik houd het benauwd.
 I remain/*keep it hard.to.breathe
 ‘I am remaining out of breath.’

In examples like (22), it does seem possible to add the adverbial PP *met moeite* and to use the verb *houden* with the meaning *to keep*. This is only apparent, however, as example (22a) turns out to be ambiguous: on one reading, the pronoun *het* is a non-referring expression, just as in (20); on the second reading it is a deictic pronoun that refers to some entity in the domain of discourse (e.g., *het gerecht* ‘the dish’), as is clear from the fact that *het* can be replaced by the demonstrative *dat* ‘that’. The examples in (22b&c) are only licensed on the second reading, which actually involves the same construction type as in (16).

- (22) a. Ik heb het/dat warm.
 I have it/that warm
 b. Ik krijg het/dat met moeite warm. [het = het gerecht]
 I get it/that with difficulty warm
 c. Ik houd het/dat warm. [het = het gerecht]
 I keep it/that warm

For completeness’ sake, note that the pronoun *het* in example (22b) can also be interpreted as an anticipatory pronoun introducing a(n implicit) locational phrase: *Ik krijg het met moeite warm (in de kamer)* ‘I can hardly heat the room’; see Section 6.6.3 for a discussion of this construction.

The meanings of (20a) and (22a) are very close to the meaning of the copular construction *Ik ben benauwd/warm* ‘I am short of breath/warm’. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conclude that the adjective is predicated of the subject *ik* in (20a) and (22a), since a paraphrase by means of a copular construction is often excluded

with structurally similar examples. This is illustrated in (23); the examples in (23a) express a totally different meaning than the examples in (23b). The English paraphrases attempt to express this difference.

- (23) a. Ik heb het gezellig/goed/prettig.
 I have it cozy/good/nice
 ‘I am feeling comfy/good/fine.’
 b. Ik ben gezellig/goed/prettig.
 I am cozy/good/nice
 ‘I am a sociable/good/nice guy.’

6.2.2. The resultative construction

Complementive adjectives in copular constructions like (13) are always predicated of the subject of the clause. In the constructions in (24), on the other hand, the adjectives are predicated of the accusative object of the clause.

- (24) • Resultative construction
 a. Marie sloeg de hond dood.
 Marie hit the dog dead
 b. Jan verfde zijn haar zwart.
 Jan dyed his hair black
 c. Jan drinkt de fles leeg.
 Jan drinks the bottle empty

The constructions in (24) express that the accusative object becomes part of the denotation set of the adjective as a result of the activity expressed by the verb. In other words, the construction inherently expresses that the logical SUBJECT of the adjective is not part of the set denoted by A yet, but will become part of A as the result of the action denoted by the verb. Example (24c), for instance, expresses that the bottle is not empty yet but attains this state as a result of the event of drinking. It is for this reason that this construction is often called the resultative construction.

As the resultative construction implies a change of state, it can arise with °stage-level adjectives only; individual-level predicates, such as *intelligent*, are not compatible with the meaning of the resultative construction since they denote a (more or less) permanent property of their SUBJECT; cf. Section 1.3.2.2.4. This contrast between stage- and individual-level predicates is illustrated in (25).

- (25) a. De spinazie maakt de jongen ziek/°lang.
 the spinach makes the boy ill/long
 b. Die les maakt de jongen nerveus/°intelligent.
 that lesson makes the boy nervous/intelligent

The examples of the resultative construction in (24) and (25) are all transitive in the sense that both a nominative and an accusative noun phrase are present. The following subsections will show, however, that the construction is also compatible with other syntactic frames; see also V2.2.3.

I. Weather verbs

Consider again the primeless examples in (10), repeated here as (26a&b). Since the weather verbs *regenen* 'to rain' and *vriezen* 'to freeze' do not take a referential noun phrase as their subject, we must conclude that the nominative noun phrase *de jongen* in the primed examples is in fact the logical SUBJECT of the resultative adjectives. This, in turn, implies that this noun phrase is in fact a °DO-subject and that weather verbs are °unaccusative.

(26) a. Het/*De jongen regent. it/the boy rains a'. De jongen regent nat. the boy rains wet	b. Het/*De jongen vriest. it/the boy freezes b'. De jongen vriest dood. the boy freezes dead

That the weather verbs in resultative constructions are unaccusative is supported by the fact that they indeed exhibit the properties typical of unaccusative verbs. First, the singly-primed examples in (27) show that weather verbs in resultative constructions, in contrast to those in non-resultative constructions, take the auxiliary *zijn* 'to be' in the perfect tense. Second, the doubly-primed examples show that the past/passive participle of the verb can be used attributively when it modifies a head noun that corresponds to the nominative argument of the verbal resultative construction, provided at least that the resultative adjective is also present. The triply primed examples, finally, show that the impersonal passive of the resultative construction is impossible.

(27) a. Het heeft/*is geregend. it has/is rained a'. De jongen is/*heeft nat geregend. the boy is/has wet rained a''. de nat geregende jongen the wet rained boy a'''. *Er werd nat geregend. there was wet rained	b. Het heeft/*is gevrozen. it has/is frozen b'. De jongen is/*heeft dood gevrozen. the boy is/has dead frozen b''. de dood gevrozen jongen the dead frozen boy b'''. *Er werd dood gevrozen. there was dead frozen

II. Intransitive verbs

As in the case of the weather verbs in (26), an additional nominal argument must be introduced when a complementive adjective is used with an intransitive verb. Consider the primeless examples in (28). Example (28a) shows that a verb like *lopen* cannot take a noun phrase like *zijn schoenen* as a direct object. However, when the adjective *kapot* 'worn-out' is added, as in (28b), this noun phrase must be present. Again, we must conclude that the noun phrase *zijn schoenen* is introduced in the structure as the SUBJECT of the adjective (although it acts as the direct object of the verb in the sense that it is assigned accusative case by it). The primed examples give similar data with the intransitive verb *huilen* 'to cry'.

(28) a. Jan loopt (*zijn schoenen). Jan walks his shoes	a'. Jan huilt (*zijn ogen). Jan cries his eyes
b. Jan loopt *(zijn schoenen) kapot. Jan walks his shoes worn.out 'Jan is wearing his shoes out.'	b'. Jan huilt *(zijn ogen) rood Jan cries his eyes red

III. Unaccusative verbs

Unaccusative resultative constructions occur not only with verbs that do not take a referential subject, such as the weather verbs discussed in Subsection I, but also with regular unaccusative verbs like *vallen* 'to fall' in (29a). Some unaccusative verbs, like *slibben* 'to silt' in (29b), must occur in a resultative construction.

- (29) a. Jan viel dood.
 Jan fell dead
 b. De sloot slibt *(dicht).
 the ditch silts shut
 'The ditch silts up.'

The examples in (30) show that the verbs in (29) exhibit the typical properties of unaccusative verbs: the primeless examples show that they take the perfect auxiliary *zijn* 'to be', the singly-primed examples that the past/passive participle of the verb can be used attributively when it modifies a head noun that corresponds to the nominative argument of the verbal construction (provided that the resultative adjective is also present), and the doubly-primed examples that the impersonal passive is excluded.

- (30) a. Jan is/*heeft dood gevallen. b. De sloot is/*has dicht geslibd.
 Jan is/has dead fallen the ditch is/has shut silted
 a'. de dood gevallen jongen b'. de dicht geslibde sloot
 the dead fallen boy the shut silted ditch
 a''. *Er werd dood gevallen. b''. *Er werd dicht geslibd.
 there was dead fallen there was shut silted

The unaccusative verbs differ from the intransitive verbs in (28) in that the SUBJECT of the adjective must also satisfy the selection restrictions of the verb; it is not possible to introduce an additional noun phrase that has no semantic relation to the verb, that is, the SUBJECT of the adjective must be a noun phrase that can also act as the subject of the regular unaccusative construction. As the noun phrase *de vaas* in (31a) can act as the subject of the unaccusative verb *breken* 'to break', it can also occur as the SUBJECT of the resultative adjective *kapot* 'broken' in (31b). The addition of a noun phrase like *Jan* in (31c) is excluded, however, as this noun phrase has no thematic relation with the unaccusative verb *breken*.

- (31) a. De vaas breekt.
 the vase breaks
 b. De vaas breekt kapot.
 the vase breaks broken
 c. *De vaas breekt Jan treurig.
 the vase breaks Jan sad

The unacceptability of (31c) contrasts sharply with the acceptability of the (b)-examples in (28). This contrast is arguably related to case assignment. Since unaccusative verbs do not have the ability to assign accusative case, (31c) is ungrammatical because the noun phrase *Jan* remains case-less. If intransitive verbs are in principle able to assign accusative case, the noun phrase *zijn schoenen* is

licensed in (28b); that intransitive verbs do not take an accusative object in the absence of a resultative adjective is simply due to the fact that they cannot license them semantically. This account is based on Chomsky's (1981) Case Filter, which requires that every phonetically realized noun phrase be assigned case, and, of course, presupposes that case is also assigned when it has no morphological reflex.

To conclude, we want to point out that there are a number of exceptions to the claim that the SUBJECT of the resultative predicate must satisfy the selection restrictions of the unaccusative verb. Some examples, which involve predicative PPs, are given in (32); these examples involve metaphoric or at least more or less fixed expressions.

- (32) a. Het plan viel in duigen/in het water.
 the plan fell in pieces/into the water
 'The plan failed.'
 b. Het huis vloog in brand.
 the house flew in fire
 'The house burst into flames.'

IV. Transitive verbs

With transitive constructions, the SUBJECT of the resultative adjective often seems thematically unrelated to the verb. This is illustrated in (33). Example (33a) shows that the verb *verven* 'to paint' may take the noun phrase *de deur* 'the door' as its direct object, but not the noun phrase *de kwast* 'the brush' (at least, under the intended reading in which *de kwast* is the instrument used). Still, both noun phrases are acceptable in the resultative construction, as is illustrated in (33b) and (33c), respectively. Example (33d) shows, however, that the two noun phrases cannot be present simultaneously.

- (33) a. Jan verft de deur/[#]de kwast. c. Jan verft de kwast kapot.
 Jan paints the door/the brush Jan paints the brush broken
 b. Jan verft de deur groen. d. *Jan verft de deur de kwast kapot.
 Jan paints the door green Jan paints the door the brush broken

The ungrammaticality of (33d) may seem unexpected given that the noun phrase *de deur* 'the door' is semantically licensed by the verb *verven* 'to paint' and the noun phrase *de kwast* 'the brush' is semantically licensed by the adjective *kapot* 'broken'. It must therefore again be attributed to case assignment: if a transitive verb can assign accusative case only once, one of the two noun phrases remains case-less, which violates Chomsky's Case Filter; cf. the discussion of example (31c).

Although the verb *verven* is used transitively in (33a), we cannot immediately conclude that it is also used transitively in (33c), because this verb is occasionally also used as a pseudo-intransitive verb: *Jan verft* 'Jan is painting'. Thus, we may be dealing with an intransitive verb in (33c) as well. This suggestion is supported by the paraphrases in (34): example (33b) is preferably paraphrased by means of the transitive verb *verven*, as in (34a), whereas example (33c) must be paraphrased by the intransitive verb *verven* in (34b).

- (34) a. Jan verft de deur zo dat hij groen wordt.
 Jan paints the door such that it green becomes
 'Jan is painting the door such that it gets green.'
 a'. ?Jan verft zo dat de deur groen wordt.
 Jan paints such that the door green becomes
 b. *Jan verft de kwast zo dat hij kapot gaat.
 Jan paints the brush such that it broken gets
 b'. Jan verft zo dat de kwast kapot gaat.
 Jan paints such that the brush broken gets
 'Jan is painting in such a manner that the brush gets broken.'

Example (35) provide more cases of transitive verbs with a pseudo-intransitive counterpart, and in which a resultative adjective can introduce a noun phrase that is not thematically related to the verb; (35a') does not express that *zijn ouders* 'his parents' are the objects being eaten, but that Jan's parents are getting poor, because Jan is eating so much; similarly, in (35b'), *de longen* 'the lungs' are not being smoked, but are just getting black as the result of Jan's smoking.

- (35) a. Jan eet (brood). a'. Jan eet zijn ouders arm.
 Jan eats bread Jan eats his parents poor
 b. Jan rookt (sigaretten). b'. Jan rookt zijn longen zwart.
 Jan smokes cigarettes Jan smokes his lungs black

The discussion suggests that, despite appearances, complementive adjectives cannot introduce an additional argument into the structure in the case of "truly" transitive verbs; this is possible only with (pseudo-)intransitive and weather verbs. In other words, if an (underlying) object is present, as in the case of the regular unaccusative verbs in subsection III and the transitive verbs, this object must be construed as the SUBJECT of the complementive adjective in the resultative construction. This is confirmed by the fact that in "truly" transitive resultative constructions, the accusative object must, generally speaking, be overtly realized; cf. (36).

- (36) a. Marie sloeg (*de hond) dood.
 Marie hit the dog dead
 b. Jan verft (*zijn haar) zwart.
 Jan dyes his hair black
 c. Jan drinkt (*de fles) leeg.
 Jan drinks the bottle empty

There are, however, some exceptional constructions in which the accusative object is omitted: example (37a) is a fixed expression and example (37b) is an advertisement slogan. Such examples normally have a generic interpretation; see Vanden Wyngaerd (1994:ch.4) and references cited there for more discussion.

- (37) a. Geld maakt niet gelukkig.
 money makes not happy
 'Money does not make one happy.'
 b. Omo wast door en door schoon.
 Omo washes through and through clean
 'Omo washes your laundry thoroughly clean.'

Finally, observe that the accusative object of the “truly” transitive resultative construction may take the form of a reflexive. Unlike regular accusative objects, the reflexive need not take the complex form *zichzelf* ‘himself’ but may also appear in its simplex form *zich*; cf. Section N5.2.1.5. This is demonstrated by means of the contrast between (38a) and (38b).

- (38) a. Jan bewondert zichzelf/*zich.
 Jan admires himself/REFL
 b. Jan maakt zichzelf/zich belachelijk.
 Jan makes himself/REFL ridiculous

In (38b), the reflexive can be replaced by a regular referential noun phrase, such as *Marie*. Occasionally, however, this is impossible in the resultative construction. If so, the reflexive must appear in its simplex form *zich*. This is demonstrated in (39).

- (39) a. Jan werkt *Marie/zich/?zichzelf suf.
 Jan works Marie/REFL/himself dull
 ‘Jan works *Marie/himself to death.’
 b. Jan schreeuwt *Marie/zich/?zichzelf schor.
 Jan screams Marie/REFL/himself hoarse

V. Special verbs

Some verbs are typically used in resultative constructions: either they do not occur in other syntactic frames at all or they receive a special meaning in this construction. An example of the former is the verb *verklaren* ‘to declare’: example (40b) shows that dropping the complementive adjective results in ungrammaticality, regardless of whether the noun phrase *het beroep* is present or not.

- (40) a. De rechter verklaarde het beroep gegrond.
 the judge declared the appeal just
 b. *De rechter verklaarde (het beroep).

An example of the latter case is the verb of creation *maken*. In the resultative construction it is deprived of its normal meaning “to create/repair”, as shown by the contrast between (41a) and (41a’). Note that in examples like (41b), where the create/repair reading is less likely, the complementive adjective must be present.

- (41) a. Jan maakt de tafel kapot. a’. Jan maakt de tafel.
 Jan makes the table broken Jan makes the table
 ‘Jan is destroying the table.’ ‘Jan is creating/repairing the table.’
 b. De spinazie maakt de jongen ziek. b’. *De spinazie maakt (de jongen).
 the spinach makes the boy ill the spinach makes the boy

The examples with the verb *houden* ‘to keep’ in (42) are in a sense the opposite of the resultative constructions discussed in this section; instead of expressing that the SUBJECT becomes part of the set denoted by A, it is expressed that the SUBJECT remains part of the set denoted by A. Examples (42a&b) are more or less lexicalized, and (42c&d) are clearly idiomatic.

- (42) a. De politie hield de identiteit van de misdadiger geheim.
 the police kept the identity of the criminal secret
 b. De jongen hield het huis schoon.
 the boy kept the house clean
 c. Jan hield zijn hoofd koel.
 Jan kept his head cool
 d. Jan houdt zijn kinderen klein.
 Jan keeps his children small
 'Jan keeps his children down.'

Example (43) is a more or less isolated case, in which a desired result is expressed. This construction is severely restricted in the sense that the adjective *dood* 'dead' cannot readily be replaced: **Jan wenste zijn vader ziek/gelukkig* 'Jan wished his father ill/happy'. Note that in non-resultative constructions involving *wensen*, such as *Ik wens je een prettige verjaardag* 'I wish you a happy birthday', the particle *toe* can be optionally added. This is not possible in (43), however.

- (43) Jan wenste zijn baas dood.
 Jan wished his boss dead
 'Jan wished that his boss would die.'

6.2.3. Non-resultative constructions

A second type of complementive construction in which the adjective is predicated of an accusative object is the *vinden*-construction in (44). This construction expresses that the subject of the clause has a subjective opinion about the accusative object, the SUBJECT of the adjective; the examples in (44) contend that Marie is of the opinion that the propositions "Jan is kind/unsuitable" is true.

- (44) • *Vinden*-construction
 a. Marie vindt Jan aardig.
 Marie considers Jan nice
 b. Marie acht Jan ongeschikt.
 Marie considers Jan unsuitable

That the verb takes some kind of proposition as its complement is very clear in the case of the verb *vinden*; example (44a), for example, can be paraphrased as in (45a), where the noun phrase *Jan* and the adjective are part of a subordinate clause. This paraphrase also shows that the noun phrase *Jan* is thematically dependent on the adjective only. However, a similar paraphrase cannot be given in the case of (44b).

- (45) a. Marie vindt dat Jan aardig is.
 Marie considers that Jan nice is
 'Marie thinks that Jan is kind.'
 b. *Marie acht dat Jan ongeschikt is.
 Marie considers that Jan unsuitable is

Note also that not all verbs that take a finite propositional object can occur in the *vinden*-construction. Verbs of saying such as *zeggen* 'to say' and *beweren* 'to contend' are excluded from this construction. This is illustrated in (46).

- (46) a. Marie zegt dat Jan aardig is. a'. *Marie zegt Jan aardig.
 Marie says that Jan nice is Marie says Jan nice
 b. Marie beweert dat Jan aardig is. b'. *Marie beweert Jan aardig.
 Marie contends that Jan nice is Marie contends Jan nice

Because the *vinden*-construction expresses a subjective opinion, it requires that the adjective denote a property that can be subject to subjective evaluation: adjectives that denote a property that can be objectively established are not compatible with the meaning of the construction. Some examples are given in (47).

- (47) a. %Marie vindt/acht Jan dood/ziek/ongelukkig.
 Marie considers Jan dead/ill/unhappy
 b. Ik vind de tafel mooi.
 I consider the table beautiful
 b'. %Ik vind de tafel kapot.
 I consider the table broken

The requirement that the adjective be subject to subjective evaluation is also clear from modification of measure adjectives like *hoog* 'high' in (48): when the modifier indicates the precise extent to which the SUBJECT has the property expressed by the adjective, like *70 cm* in (48a), the example is unacceptable; when the modifier is less specific or absent, as in (48b), the extent to which the SUBJECT is considered to have the property expressed by the adjective is left open to subjective evaluation and the example is fully acceptable as a result.

- (48) a. %Ik vind de tafel 70 cm hoog.
 I consider the table 70 cm high
 b. Ik vind de tafel (vrij) hoog.
 I consider the table rather high

In contrast to the resultative construction, the *vinden*-construction requires two arguments to be present in the structure. The two constructions have in common, however, that the accusative argument, that is, the logical SUBJECT of the adjective, may take the form of either a complex or a simplex reflexive. This is illustrated in (49), where the reflexive could in principle be replaced by a regular referential noun phrase, just as in (38b).

- (49) a. Marie vindt zichzelf/zich ongeschikt voor die baan.
 Marie considers herself/REFL unsuitable for that job
 b. Marie acht zichzelf/zich te goed voor dat werk.
 Marie considers herself/REFL too good for that work

Vinden-constructions that only allow the simplex form of the reflexive never involve the verbs *vinden* or *achten* 'to consider', but do occur with the perception verb *voelen* 'to feel'. This can be seen by comparing, for instance, the examples in (49b) to those in (50a). The simplex reflexives in (50) cannot be replaced by a referential noun phrase, such as *Jan*; the same thing is found in the resultative constructions in (39), which likewise allow the simplex reflexive *zich* only.

- (50) a. Marie voelt zich/?zichzelf/*Jan te goed voor dat werk.
 Marie feels REFL/herself/Jan too good for that work
 b. Marie voelt zich/?zichzelf/*Jan volkomen fit.
 Marie feels REFL/herself/Jan completely in.shape

Other non-resultative constructions that resemble the *vinden*-construction are given in (51). Like example (44a), (51a) can be paraphrased by means of a finite embedded clause, as in (51a'). Example (51b), which cannot be paraphrased in this way, conveys that the subject of the clause has wrongly attributed the property expressed by the adjective to the object of the clause. The constructions in (51) seem idiomatically restricted, and differ from the *vinden*-construction in that the adjectives need not refer to properties that are subject to subjective evaluation.

- (51) a. Marie meldde Jan ziek/beter.
 Marie reported Jan ill/recovered
 a'. Marie meldde dat Jan ziek/beter is.
 Marie reported that Jan ill/recovered is
 b. Marie waande Jan dood/veilig.
 Marie thought Jan dead/safe
 'Marie wrongly believed him to be dead.'
 b'. *?Marie waande dat Jan dood/veilig was.
 Marie thought that Jan dead/safe was

The construction with *noemen* 'to call' in (52a) also resembles the *vinden*-construction. However, since this verb is often used in the act of defining certain notions, as in (52b), the construction has some semantic resemblance to the resultative construction as well.

- (52) a. Jan noemde mij vervelend.
 Jan called me annoying
 b. Ik noem dit voortaan X.
 I call this henceforth X
 'Henceforth, I will call this X.'

Finally, the examples in (53) give some constructions that have more or less the same semantic content as the *vinden*-construction, but in which the adjective must be preceded by the element *als* or a preposition such as *voor*.

- (53) a. Ik beschouw die daad als zeer onverantwoord.
 I consider this act as very irresponsible
 b. Marie zag Jan als onvolwaardig.
 Marie saw Jan as imperfect
 'Marie considered Jan as imperfect.'
 c. De personeelschef hield de sollicitant voor ongeschikt.
 the personnel manager kept the applicant for unfit
 'The personnel manager looked upon the applicant as unfit.'

6.2.4. *Position of the complementive adjective in the clause*

This section discusses the position of the complementive in the clause. We will see that the complementive is normally left-adjacent to the verb(s) in clause-final position, unless the complementive has been moved into a more leftward position. When movement does not apply, the complementive and the verb(s) in clause-final position can only be separated by a stranded preposition.

6.2.4.1. *Position with respect to the verbs in clause-final position*

The position of the attributively used adjective is typically to the left of the verb(s) in clause-final position: placement of the adjective after the verb(s) leads to severe ungrammaticality. This is illustrated in (54).

- (54) a. dat de jongens groot zijn. a'. *dat de jongens zijn groot.
 that the boys big are
 b. dat Jan zijn haar zwart verfde. b'. *dat Jan zijn haar verfde zwart.
 that Jan his hair black dyed
 c. dat Marie Jan aardig vindt. c'. *dat Marie Jan vindt aardig.
 that Marie Jan nice considers

There is a divide between the northern and southern varieties of Dutch with respect to the placement of the complementive when there is more than one verb in clause-final position. In the northern varieties, the adjective usually precedes all verbs. Placement of the adjective in between the auxiliary and main verb, as in the primed examples of (55), is generally rejected, although it should be noted that these orders are occasionally produced and some speakers tend to accept them as marked but acceptable. All speakers of the northern varieties of Dutch do agree, though, that making the adjective phrases in (55) more complex by, e.g., adding a complement or an intensifying adverb, such as *erg* 'very', renders the primed examples fully unacceptable; the same thing holds for adjectives in the comparative or superlative forms.

- (55) a. dat de jongens groot willen worden.
 that the boys big want become
 'that the boys want to become big.'
 a'. *?dat de jongens willen groot worden.
 b. dat Jan zijn haar zwart wil verven.
 that Jan his hair black wants dye
 'that Jan wants to dye his hair black.'
 b'. *?dat Jan zijn haar wil zwart verven.
 c. dat Marie Jan aardig wil vinden.
 that Marie Jan nice want consider
 'that Marie wishes to consider Jan kind.'
 c'. *?dat Marie Jan wil aardig vinden.

The requirement that the verbs in clause-final position be strictly adjacent to each other does not apply to the southern varieties of Dutch. This is especially clear in the varieties of Dutch spoken in Belgium, where even in the formal registers various types of elements can be placed between the clause-final verbs. In these varieties,

the orders in the primed examples in (55) are fully acceptable, even when the adjectives are modified.

With some more or less fixed adjective-verb combinations, all speakers of Dutch accept the occurrence of the adjective in between the auxiliary and the main verb. These combinations are sometimes considered compounds, which is reflected by the orthographical convention of writing the combination as a single word in the primeless examples of (56). That we are dealing with compounds is perhaps supported by the fact that these adjective-verb combinations can be rendered by simple English verbs: *to raise*, *to clean* and *to drain*. It is also suggested by the fact that modification of the adjectives by, e.g., the intensifying adverb *erg* 'very' gives rise to an awkward result, although it must be noted that assuming compounding leaves unexplained that modification is also excluded when the adjective and the verb are not adjacent, as in the primed examples (or in verb second contexts).

- (56) a. dat hij zijn kinderen in slechte omstandigheden moet (*erg) grootbrengen.
that he his children in bad circumstances must very big.bring
'that he must raise his children in bad circumstances.'
- a'. dat hij zijn kinderen in slechte omstandigheden (*erg) groot moet brengen.
- b. dat hij de badkamer wil (*erg) schoonmaken.
that he the bathroom wants very clean.make
'that he wants to clean the bathroom.'
- b'. dat hij de badkamer (??erg) schoon wil maken.
- c. dat de regering de Markerwaard wil (*erg) droogleggen.
that the government the Markerwaard wants very dry.put
'that the government wants to drain the Markerwaard.'
- c'. dat de regering de Markerwaard (*erg) droog wil leggen.'

When the adjective precedes the verb(s) in clause-final position, it must generally also be adjacent to it/them: intervention of elements such as adverbial phrases leads to unacceptability in all varieties of Dutch when the sentence is pronounced with an unmarked intonation pattern (with main stress on the complementive). This is illustrated in (57).

- (57) a. dat de jongens altijd al groot hebben willen worden.
that the boys always PRT big have want become
'that the boys always wanted to become big.'
- a'. *dat de jongens groot altijd al hebben willen worden.
- b. dat Jan zijn haar altijd al zwart heeft willen verven.
that Jan his hair always PRT black has wanted dye
'that Jan always wanted to dye his hair black.'
- b'. *dat Jan zijn haar zwart altijd al heeft willen verven.
- c. dat Marie Jan altijd al aardig heeft gevonden.
that Marie Jan always PRT nice has considered
'that Marie has always considered Jan to be kind.'
- c'. *dat Marie Jan aardig altijd al heeft gevonden.

The general rule for placement of complementive adjectives can be schematized as in (58): √ indicates the position of the complementive in the

“unmarked” construction, % indicates the position where the adjective cannot occur in the northern varieties, and * marks the positions where the adjective cannot occur at all. The next section will show, however, that several exceptions to this general schema exist. In what follows we will focus on the northern varieties of Dutch and refer to the generalization in (58) as the ADJACENCY RESTRICTION.

- (58) • The position of the complementive in the clause:
 * XP √ Verb % Verb *

Note further that, in order to be more precise, we should of course say that the adjectival *phrase* must be adjacent to the clause-final verb(s), since otherwise an example such as (59), in which the intervening PP is an argument of the adjective (cf. Section 2.1), would constitute a problem for this claim. For convenience, however, we will maintain our loose formulation in the discussion below.

- (59) dat Jan [_{AP} boos op zijn vader] is.
 that Jan angry at his father is
 ‘that Jan is angry at his father.’

The fact that the adjective must be left-adjacent to the verbs in clause-final position suggests that there is some close relationship between the verb cluster and the adjective. That this is indeed the case is also clear from the fact that the adjective must be pied piped in the case of °VP-topicalization, as is illustrated in (60b-c).

- (60) a. Jan wil de deur niet groen verven.
 Jan wants the door not green paint
 ‘Jan does not want to paint the door green.’
 b. Groen verven wil Jan de deur niet.
 c. *Verven wil Jan de deur niet groen.

The examples in (61) show that it is not impossible to separate the verb and the adjective. This frequently happens in Verb-second contexts when the main verb is finite, as in (61a). Separation may also result from leftward movement of the adjective. This is illustrated in (61b) for topicalization. The various types of leftward movement that may bring about such separation will be discussed in the next section.

- (61) a. Jan verft de deur groen.
 Jan paints the door green
 b. Groen wil Jan de deur niet verven.

6.2.4.2. *Focus-movement, wh-movement and topicalization of the adjective*

The adjacency restriction between the adjective and the verb cluster can be overruled by assigning focus accent to the adjective; the primed examples in (57) improve considerably in that case. The order in these examples can be further improved by placing a focus particle like *zo* ‘that’ in front of the adjective. This is illustrated in the primed examples of (62). The primeless examples show that the complementive adjective can also occupy the unmarked position.

- (62) a. dat de jongens altijd al zo groot hebben willen worden.
 that the boys always AL that big have want be
 a'. dat de jongens zo groot altijd al hebben willen worden.
 b. dat Jan zijn haar altijd al zo zwart heeft willen verven.
 b'. dat Jan zijn haar zo zwart altijd al heeft willen verven.
 c. dat Marie Jan altijd al zo aardig heeft gevonden.
 c'. dat Marie Jan zo aardig altijd al heeft gevonden.

The adjacency requirement can further be overruled by placing the adjective in clause-initial position by *wh*-movement or topicalization. We illustrate this in (63) by means of topicalization. The reader can construct the corresponding *Wh*-constructions himself by placing the interrogative °intensifier *hoe* 'how' in front of the adjective.

- (63) a. Groot hebben de jongens altijd al willen worden.
 big have the boys always PRT want become
 'Big, the boys always wanted to become.'
 b. Zwart heeft Jan zijn haar altijd al willen verven.
 black has Jan his hair always PRT wanted paint
 'Black, Jan always wanted to dye his hair.'
 c. Aardig heeft Marie Jan altijd al gevonden.
 nice has Marie Jan always PRT considered
 'Nice, Marie always considered Jan to be.'

These examples show that we have to revise the schema in (58) as in (64). Again, the dots represents a random string of elements, √ indicates the position of the complementive in the "unmarked" construction, % indicates the position where the adjective cannot occur in the northern varieties, and * marks the positions in which the adjective cannot occur in Standard Dutch. In addition, WH/TOP indicates the position of the adjective in topicalization or *wh*-constructions like (63), and FOC indicates the position of the adjective in focus constructions such as (62); the star below FOC indicates that this position can only be filled by contrastively focused adjectives.

- (64) • The position of the complementive in the clause:

WH/TOP ... $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{FOC} \\ * \end{array} \right\}$ XP √ Verb % Verb *

In constructions with leftward movement of the adjective, the close relation between the complementive and the verb is broken. Therefore, we may expect that in such cases, VP-topicalization may strand the complementive. It is of course not possible to check this when the complementive has undergone *wh*-movement or topicalization itself, as the prospective landing site of the VP would already be filled then, but it is possible to check this when the adjective has undergone focus-movement, since this leaves the clause-initial position free for VP-topicalization. Example (65) seems to indicate that VP-topicalization is not possible for some reason. Nevertheless, we will see in the next section that leftward movement of the adjective may indeed make it possible for the verb to topicalize in isolation.

- (65) ??Verven wil Jan de deur zo groen toch echt niet.
 paint wants Jan the door that green yet really not

6.2.4.3. *Complementive adjectives and stranded prepositions*

Like complementives, stranded prepositions must be left-adjacent to the verb cluster in clause-final position, which means that the two compete for the same position. Nevertheless, they may co-occur in a single clause. At first sight, the ordering of the two elements seems to be free: in (66a), which contains a stranded preposition of an instrumental PP, the stranded preposition may either precede or follow the complementive, and the same thing holds for (66b), which involves the stranded preposition of a restrictive adverbial *van*-PP. For convenience, we have given the stranded preposition and its moved complement, the R-word *waar*, in italics.

- (66) a. de doek *waar* Jan de kast *mee* droog gemaakt heeft
 the cloth which Jan the cupboard with dry made has
 'the cloth Jan has dried the cupboard with'
 a'. de doek *waar* Jan de kast droog *mee* gemaakt heeft
 b. de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant *van* droog gemaakt heeft
 the cupboard which Jan the top side of dry made has
 'the cupboard of which Jan has dried the top side'
 b'. de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant droog *van* gemaakt heeft

The situation is, however, far more complex than the examples in (66) suggest. In fact, the general rule seems to be that the stranded preposition follows the complementive adjective. Below, we discuss various facts that support this claim.

1. *The resultative versus the vinden-construction*

The examples in (66) with free ordering of the complementive and the stranded preposition are all resultative constructions. When we consider the order of the two in *vinden*-constructions like (67b) and (68b), it turns out that the complementive must precede the stranded preposition, notwithstanding the fact that the full prepositional phrase must precede the complementive adjective (unless, of course, the PP is placed in post-verbal position by means of °PP-over-V: *dat Marie haar broer mooi vindt in die kleren*, an option not relevant here).

- (67) a. dat Marie haar broer in die kleren mooi vindt.
 that Marie her brother in those clothes beautiful considers
 'Marie considers her brother beautiful in those clothes.'
 a'. *dat Marie haar broer mooi in die kleren vindt.
 b. *de kleren *waar* Marie haar broer *in* mooi vindt
 the clothes that Marie her brother in beautiful considers
 'the clothes in which Marie considers her brother beautiful'
 b'. de kleren *waar* Marie haar broer mooi *in* vindt
- (68) a. dat Jan de minister in dit document gek noemt.
 that Jan the minister in this document mad calls
 'that Jan is calling the minister mad in this document.'
 a'. *dat Jan de minister gek in dit document noemt.

- b. *het document *waar* Jan de minister *in* gek noemt
the document that Jan the minister in mad calls
'the document in which Jan calls the minister mad'
- b'. het document *waar* Jan de minister gek *in* noemt

II. Modification of the complementive

As soon as the complementives in (66) are modified by, e.g., the intensifier *erg* 'very', the order with the stranded preposition preceding the adjective becomes completely ungrammatical. The same thing holds when we replace *erg droog* by the morphologically amplified compound *kurkdroog* 'bone-dry', but this is not illustrated here.

- (69) a. *de doek *waar* hij de kast *mee* erg droog gemaakt heeft
the cloth which he the closet with very dry made has
'the cloth he made the closet very dry with'
- a'. de doek *waar* hij de kast erg droog *mee* gemaakt heeft
- b. *de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant *van* erg droog gemaakt heeft
the closet which Jan the top side of very dry made has
'the closet of which Jan has made the top side very dry'
- b'. de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant erg droog *van* gemaakt heeft

III. Comparative and superlative formation

When the complementive has the comparative or superlative form, the stranded preposition must follow it.

- (70) a. *de doek *waar* hij de kast *mee* droger/het droogst gemaakt heeft
the cloth which he the closet with drier/the driest made has
'the cloth he made the closet drier/the driest with'
- a'. de doek *waar* hij de kast droger/het droogst *mee* gemaakt heeft
- b. *de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant *van* droger/het droogst gemaakt heeft
the closet which Jan the top side of drier/the driest made has
'the closet of which Jan has made the top side drier/the driest'
- b'. de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant droger/het droogst *van* gemaakt heeft

IV. Negation

When the clause is negated, the complementive may generally either precede or follow the stranded preposition, as is shown in (71).

- (71) a. de doek *waar* Jan de kast niet *mee* droog gemaakt heeft
the cloth which Jan the closet not with dry made has
'the cloth that Jan did not dry the closet with'
- a'. de doek *waar* hij de kast niet droog *mee* gemaakt heeft
- b. de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant niet *van* droog gemaakt heeft
the closet which Jan the top side not of dry made has
'the closet of which Jan did not dry the top side'
- b'. de kast *waar* Jan de bovenkant niet droog *van* gemaakt heeft

When the scope of negation is restricted to the complementive, however, the adjective must precede the stranded preposition. This is illustrated in (72). In (72b), it is not the event of painting that is negated: the negation focuses on the adjective only; the color Jan is using is not green. In contrast to what we find in (72a), the complementive must precede the stranded preposition in this case.

- (72) a. de kwast waar Jan de deur <mee> groen <mee> verft
 the brush which Jan the door with green paints
 'the brush with which Jan is painting the door green'
- b. de kwast waar Jan de deur <*mee> niet <??mee> groen <mee> verft
 the brush which Jan the door with not green paints

V. Leftward movement of the complementive?

It is not immediately clear how the orders in I to IV are brought about. There is, however, some evidence that the order in which the complementive precedes the stranded preposition involves leftward movement of the adjective. In 6.2.4.2, we suggested that, in principle, leftward movement of the complementive should make topicalization of the verb in isolation possible, although we have not come across an acceptable example of this type so far. Now consider the two examples in (73), which involve negation with scope over the complementive only: Jan didn't want to paint the door green, but he did want to paint it yellow.

- (73) a. Jan wil de deur niet groen verven maar geel.
 Jan wants the door not green paint but yellow
 'Jan does not want to paint the door green but yellow.'
- b. Verven wil Jan de deur niet groen maar geel.

The acceptability of (73b) would follow if the focus of negation on the adjective *groen* forces the adjective to move leftward; as a result of that the tie between the verb and the adjective is broken, and the verb can be topicalized in isolation. From this it would follow that the grammatical order in (72b) is the result of leftward movement of the adjective. By extension, we might speculate that the same thing holds for the other cases in which the complementive adjectives precede the stranded prepositions, but future research must make clear whether this suggestion is tenable.

VI. Conclusion

Now that we have established that stranded prepositions may intervene between the complementive and the verbs in clause-final position, we can further revise the schema in (64) as in (74), in which $P_{str.}$ stands for the position of the stranded preposition. This concludes our discussion of the position of the complementive adjective.

- (74) • The position of the complementive in the clause
- $$WH/TOP \dots \left\{ \begin{array}{c} FOC \\ * \end{array} \right\} XP \vee P_{str.} \text{ Verb \% Verb } *$$

6.2.5. *Special cases*

This section discusses a set of special constructions with complementives: Section 6.2.5.1 starts with the absolute *met*-construction and Sections 6.2.5.2 to 6.2.5.4 discuss constructions involving modal verbs, the verb *komen* ‘to come’ and the verbs *hebben/krijgen* ‘to have/get’. Section 6.2.5.5 concludes with a brief discussion of a number of adjectives that can be used only as complementives.

6.2.5.1. *The absolute met-construction*

The absolute *met*-construction consists of the preposition *met* ‘with’ followed by a noun phrase and a predicative constituent that enter into a SUBJECT-predicate relation. Often, the predicative element consists of a locative PP (cf. Section P2.5), so that it is not surprising that adjectives that express a locational meaning, such as *open* ‘open’ or *dicht* ‘closed’, are also quite common in this construction. One example is given in (75b).

- (75) a. [Met het raam op een kier] krijgen we meer frisse lucht binnen.
 with the window on a chink get we more fresh air inside
 ‘With the window ajar, we will get more fresh air inside.’
 b. [Met het raam open] krijgen we meer frisse lucht binnen.
 with the window open get we more fresh air inside
 ‘With the window open, we will get more fresh air inside.’

The absolute *met*-construction often expresses a temporary state that is in some way connected to the proposition expressed by the main clause. The examples in (75), for example, seem to express a kind of conditional relation: when the window is ajar/open, we will get more fresh air inside. This relation with the event expressed by the main clause need not be conditional in nature: example (76) has a simultaneous reading, that is, it merely expresses that Jan had his window ajar/open while he was sleeping.

- (76) dat Jan [met zijn raam open] sliep.
 that Jan with his window open slept

This conditional/simultaneous reading seems to correlate with a difference in word order, which is especially clear in embedded contexts. Consider the examples in (77): in (77a), the embedded clause has a conditional reading, and the *met*-construction precedes the clause adverb *natuurlijk* ‘of course’; in (77b), on the other hand, the clause has a simultaneous reading, and the *met*-construction must follow the clause adverb. The primed examples are unacceptable under a neutral intonation pattern; the number sign in (77a') indicates that this example is at least marginally acceptable when the *met*-phrase is explicitly represented as belonging to the new information of the clause, for example, as an answer to the question: *Hoe krijgen we meer frisse lucht binnen?* ‘How do we get more fresh air inside?’.

- (77) a. dat je [met het raam open] natuurlijk meer frisse lucht binnen krijgt.
that one with the window open of course more fresh air inside gets
‘that one gets more fresh air inside, of course, when the window is open.’
a’. #dat je natuurlijk [met het raam open] meer frisse lucht binnen krijgt.
b. dat Jan natuurlijk [met zijn raam open] slaapt.
that Jan of course with his window open sleeps
‘that Jan is of course sleeping while his window is open.’
b’. *dat Jan [met zijn raam open] natuurlijk slaapt.

The order restriction that is connected to these interpretation differences can be overruled by °PP-over-V. The examples in (78) show that the *met*-PP from both (77a) and (77b) can follow the clause adverb in main clauses when they are placed after the verbs in clause-final position.

- (78) a. dat je natuurlijk meer frisse lucht binnen krijgt [met het raam open].
b. dat Jan natuurlijk slaapt [met zijn raam open].

Topicalization of the absolute *met*-constructions in clause-initial position gives rise to a weird result in case of the simultaneous reading; the primed examples in (79) are only possible with a marked intonation contour with heavy stress on the PP *op een kier* or the AP *open* and a brief intonation break after the complete absolute *met*-construction. These examples contrast sharply with those in (75), which have a conditional reading.

- (79) a. Jan sliep vannacht [met zijn raam op een kier].
Jan slept tonight with his window on a chink
‘Jan was sleeping last night with his window ajar.’
a’. *?[Met zijn raam op een kier] sliep Jan vannacht.
b. Jan sliep vannacht [met zijn raam open].
Jan slept tonight with his window open
‘Jan was sleeping last night with his window open.’
b’. *?[Met zijn raam open] sliep Jan vannacht.

Given that the absolute *met*-construction expresses a temporary state, it is not surprising that the adjective in the absolute *met*-construction must be a °stage-level predicate, that is, that individual-level predicates are blocked. This is illustrated in (80).

- (80) a. [Met Jan ziek] krijgen we het werk nooit af.
with Jan ill get we the work never finished
‘With Jan being ill, we will never finish the work.’
b. *[Met Jan intelligent] krijgen we het werk snel af.
with Jan intelligent get we the work quickly finished
‘With Jan being intelligent, we will finish the work quickly.’

Note that the interpretative differences discussed above can be found under the same conditions with supplementives; cf. Section 6.3.3.

6.2.5.2. Modal verb + adjective

Consider the examples in (81a-c), which involve modal verbs *moeten* 'must', *mogen* 'may', *kunnen* 'may/can' and the negative polarity verb *hoeven* 'need' followed by an adjective; cf. Barbiers (1995). Example (81d) shows that similar constructions can occasionally arise with a participle instead of an adjective.

- (81) a. De fles moet/mag/kan leeg.
the bottle must/may/can empty
'The bottle must/may/can be emptied.'
- b. Het raam moet/mag/kan open.
the window must/may/can open
'The window must/may/can be opened.'
- c. Het raam hoeft niet dicht.
the window need not closed
'This window need not be closed.'
- d. Deze band moet/kan nog geplakt.
this tire must/can still glued
'This flat tire must/can still be repaired.'

The fact that the examples in (81) must be translated by means of a passive construction in English perhaps suggests that these examples involve a verbal complement to the modal verb, the verbal part of which is deleted, that is, that these examples are derived from the passive resultative construction in (82) by deletion of the italicized part.

- (82) a. De fles moet/mag/kan leeg *gemaakt worden*.
the bottle must/may/can empty made be
- b. Het raam moet/mag/kan open *gemaakt worden*.
the window must/may/can open made be
- c. Het raam hoeft niet dicht *gemaakt te worden*.
the window need not closed made to be
- d. Deze band moet/kan nog geplakt *worden*.
this tire must/can still glued be

There is reason, however, to reject this proposal. Given that passive constructions may always contain a passive *door*-phrase, the deletion analysis predicts that this phrase is also possible when the verbal part is not present. The examples in (83) show that this prediction is wrong.

- (83) a. De fles moet/mag/kan door ons leeg *(gemaakt worden).
the bottle must/may/can by us empty made be
- b. Het raam moet/mag/kan door ons open *(gemaakt worden).
the window must/may/can by us open made be
- d. Het raam hoeft niet door Peter dicht *(gemaakt te worden).
the window need not by Peter closed made to be
- c. Deze band moet/kan nog door Peter geplakt *(worden).
this tire must/can still by Peter glued be

As in the case of the resultative construction, only stage-level adjectives can be used. When the adjective A is used, the construction expresses that the SUBJECT of the adjective is not yet A, but must/may/can attain the state of being A. For instance, the expression *De fles moet/mag/kan leeg* expresses that the bottle is not empty yet, but must/may/can attain the state of being empty.

In addition to the requirement of not denoting a permanent property, it has been claimed that the adjective A in the modal construction must be an absolute adjective which implies a continuous scale from “not A” to “A”; in other words, modification by an approximative or absolute modifier such as *half* ‘half’, *bijna* ‘almost’, *helemaal* ‘completely’, etc. must be possible; cf. Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3.

- (84) a. *De fles is half/bijna/helemaal leeg.*
 the bottle is half/almost/completely empty
 a'. *De fles moet/mag/kan leeg.*
 the bottle must/may/can empty
 b. *De deur is half/bijna/helemaal open.*
 the door is half/almost/completely open
 b'. *De deur moet/mag/kan open.*
 the door must/may/can open

This restriction accounts for the fact that typical scalar adjectives like *bang* ‘afraid’ or *beschikbaar* ‘available’ in (84) do not occur in this construction. Observe that the primed examples in (85) become perfectly acceptable when the verbal string *gemaakt worden* ‘be made’ is added; this shows again that the modal constructions are not derived from the passivized resultative construction by deletion of the non-modal verbal part of the verbal sequence. For completeness’ sake, note that (85b) is grammatical with *bijna* interpreted as a temporal adverb, which is, of course, irrelevant here.

- (85) a. **Jan is half/bijna/helemaal bang.*
 Jan is half/almost/completely afraid
 a'. *Jan moet/mag/kan bang *(gemaakt worden).*
 Jan must/may/can afraid made be
 b. **Het boek is half/bijna/helemaal beschikbaar.*
 the book is half/almost/completely available
 b'. *Het boek moet/mag/kan beschikbaar *(gemaakt worden).*
 the book must/may/can available made be

Comparatives are also possible in this construction, whereas superlatives yield a degraded result. Probably, this is again related to the fact that the adjective must imply a continuous scale: the superlative does not satisfy this condition as it refers to the *endpoint* of the scale.

- (86) a. *Deze fles moet/mag/kan leger.*
 this bottle must/may/can emptier
 b. ??*Deze fles moet/mag/kan het leegst.*
 this bottle must/may/can the emptiest

6.2.5.3. The verb *komen* 'to come' + adjective

This section on the *komen* + adjective construction relies heavily on the discussion of this construction found in Paardekooper (1986:203ff.), although it also adds a number of new observations.

I. Properties of the *komen* + adjective construction

In the *komen* + adjective constructions in (87), the adjective *nat* 'wet' is predicated of, respectively, the noun phrases *jij* 'you' and *de badkamer* 'the bathroom'. This construction is of a very limited type: it only occurs in interrogative clauses like (87) in which a cause is questioned and yes-no questions like (88) that contain a causative *door*-phrase.

- (87) a. Hoe kom jij zo nat?
how come you so wet
'How come you are so wet?'
b. Waardoor komt de badkamer zo nat?
by.what comes the bathroom so wet
'How come the bathroom is so wet?'
- (88) a. Kom jij *(door de regen) zo nat?
come you by the rain so wet
b. Komt die badkamer *(door dat lek) zo nat?
comes the bathroom by that leak so wet

The examples in (89) show that the *komen* + adjective construction is also possible in embedded interrogatives and in interrogatives with main clause order. Note that the interrogative meaning of (89b) is triggered by the adverb *immers/toch*; the negative element *niet* 'not' must be present.

- (89) a. Ik vraag me af hoe jij zo nat komt.
I wonder REFL prt. how you so wet comes
b. Door zo'n klein beetje regen kom je toch/immers niet zo nat?
by such.a little bit rain come you PRT not so wet

The examples in (90) show that the construction is excluded in declaratives and in interrogatives that question something other than a cause. Note, however, that for some unknown reason (90a) becomes perfectly acceptable in syntactic frame (90a').

- (90) a. *Jij komt door de regen zo nat.
you come by the rain so wet
a'. Ik weet het al: jij komt door de regen zo nat.
I know it already you come by the rain so wet
'I know it already: it is the rain that made you so wet.'
b. *Wie komt door de regen zo nat?
who comes by the rain so wet

The examples in (91) show that the deictic element *zo* is normally required in such constructions. This element *zo* may modify the complementive adjective, but it

may also modify some other element: in (92), for example, *zo* is used to modify an adverbial phrase.

- (91) a. Hoe kom jij *(zo) nat?
 b. Waardoor komt de badkamer *(zo) nat?
 c. Kom jij door de regen *(zo) nat?
 d. Komt die badkamer door dat lek *(zo) nat?
- (92) a. Hoe kom jij zo plotseling nat?
 how come you so suddenly wet
 'How come you are wet so suddenly?'
 b. Waardoor komt de badkamer zo plotseling nat?
 by.what comes the bathroom so suddenly wet
 'How come the bathroom is wet so suddenly?'

The examples in (91a&b) without *zo* can be saved, however, by adding discourse particles like *nou*, which is used to express astonishment in the examples in (93); to our knowledge, examples like these have not been studied so far.

- (93) a. Hoe kom jij nou nat?
 b. Hoe komt de badkamer nou nat?

II. Comparison with the *komen* + clause construction

The fact that a cause phrase must be present suggests that the use of *komen* in (87) is related to its use in the examples in (94), which involve a finite clause instead of a complementive adjective. Observe that in these examples, the cause phrase is compulsory as well.

- (94) a. Het komt *(door de regen) dat jij zo nat bent.
 it comes by the rain that you so wet are
 b. Het komt *(door dat lek) dat de badkamer zo nat is.
 it comes by that leak that the bathroom so wet is

Further evidence for the claim that the two uses of *komen* are related is found in the fact that, in both constructions, *komen* can only be combined with epistemic modal verbs: deontic modals, like *willen* with the meaning 'to want', are excluded.

- (95) a. Hoe kan de badkamer/Jan zo nat komen?
 how can the bathroom/Jan so wet come
 'How is it possible that the bathroom/Jan is so wet?'
 a'. Hoe kan het komen dat de badkamer/Jan zo nat is?
 how can it come that the bathroom/Jan so wet is
 'How is it possible that the bathroom/Jan is so wet?'
 b. *Hoe wil Jan zo nat komen?
 how wants Jan so wet come
 b'. *Hoe wil het komen dat Jan zo nat is?
 how wants it come that Jan so wet is

That the two uses of *komen* are related is further clear from the fact that the examples in (87) and (88) are near-synonymous with those in (96) and (97).

Observe that in (94) to (97), *het* 'it' is an anticipatory pronoun introducing the embedded finite clause. This is clear from the fact that it must be dropped when the finite clause is preposed: compare (94a) to *Dat jij zo nat bent, komt door de regen*.

- (96) a. Hoe komt het dat jij zo nat bent?
how comes it that you so wet are
b. Waardoor komt het dat de badkamer zo nat is?
by.what comes it that the bathroom so wet is
- (97) a. Komt het door de regen dat jij zo nat bent?
comes it by the rain that you so wet are
b. Komt het door dat lek dat de badkamer zo nat is?
comes it by that leak that the bathroom so wet is

The (a)-examples in (98) show, however, that the *komen* + adjective and the *komen* + clause constructions differ in that only the latter is compatible with sentence negation. The (b)-examples show that when negation has a more limited scope, as in the case of adjectives prefixed with *on-*, both constructions are equally fine.

- (98) a. *Hoe kom jij niet zo nat als de anderen?
how come you not as wet as the others
a'. Hoe komt het dat jij niet zo nat bent als de anderen?
how comes it that you not as wet are as the others
'How come that you are not as wet as the others.'
b. Hoe kom jij zo onbetrouwbaar?
how come you so unreliable
b'. Hoe komt het dat jij zo onbetrouwbaar bent?
how comes it that you so unreliable are
'How come that you are so unreliable?'

Paardekooper (1986) has suggested that the examples in (87) and (88) are "derived from" the infinitival counterparts of the examples in (96) and (97) by replacing the infinitival copula *te zijn* 'to be' by a "null sign". Although this suggestion might be on the right track, it must be noted that, contrary to what Paardekooper claims, the overt realization of *te zijn* does not give rise to a very felicitous result according to most speakers of Dutch.

- (99) a. Hoe kom jij zo nat (*te zijn)?
b. Hoe komt de badkamer zo nat (*te zijn)?

III. Modification of the adjective

The modification possibilities of the adjective in the *komen* + adjective construction depend on what the element *zo* modifies. When it modifies some constituent unrelated to the adjective, as in (100), the possibilities are rather limited: (100a) shows that amplifiers like *erg* 'very' or *verschrikkelijk* 'terribly' and downtoners like *vrij* 'rather' are not possible then, and (100b&c) show that comparative/superlative forms and adjectives preceded by *te* 'too' are also

excluded. Note that the clausal constructions in (101) are less deviant or even completely acceptable.

- (100) a. *Hoe kom jij zo plotseling erg/verschrikkelijk/vrij klein?
 how come you so suddenly very/terribly/rather small
 b. *Hoe kom jij zo plotseling veel kleiner/het kleinst?
 how come you so suddenly much smaller/the smallest
 c. *Hoe kom jij zo plotseling een stuk te klein?
 how come you so suddenly a lot too small
- (101) a. ^{??}Hoe komt het dat jij zo plotseling erg/verschrikkelijk/vrij klein bent?
 how comes it that you so suddenly very/terribly/rather small are
 b. Hoe komt het dat jij zo plotseling veel kleiner/het kleinst bent?
 how comes it that you so suddenly much smaller/the smallest are
 ‘How come you are so suddenly much smaller/the smallest?’
 c. Hoe komt het dat jij zo plotseling een stuk te klein bent?
 how comes it that you so suddenly a lot too small are
 ‘How come you are so suddenly much too small?’

When the element *zo* modifies the modifier of the adjective, as in (102a), amplifiers like *erg* ‘very’ or *verschrikkelijk* ‘terribly’ become possible in the *komen* + adjective construction; downtoners like *vrij* ‘rather’, on the other hand, remain ungrammatical, probably because they cannot be modified by *zo*. Under the same condition, comparatives and adjective modified by *te* ‘too’ can be used; this does not hold for superlatives, which may be due to the fact that they never combine with intensifiers. The examples in (103) show that the corresponding clausal constructions are also acceptable.

- (102) a. Hoe kom jij plotseling zo erg/verschrikkelijk/*vrij klein?
 how come you suddenly so very/terribly/rather small
 b. Hoe kom jij plotseling zo veel kleiner?
 how come you so suddenly so much smaller
 c. Hoe kom jij zo’n stuk te klein?
 how come you such.a lot too small
 ‘How come you are so much too small?’
- (103) a. Hoe komt het dat jij plotseling zo erg/verschrikkelijk/*vrij klein bent?
 how comes it that you suddenly so very/terribly/rather small are
 b. Hoe komt het dat jij plotseling zo veel kleiner bent?
 how comes it that you suddenly so much smaller are
 c. Hoe komt het dat jij zo’n stuk te klein bent?
 how comes it that you such.a lot too small are

Observe that the complex modifier *zo A mogelijk* ‘as A as possible’ in (104), in which *zo* is used non-deictically, is excluded. Note, however, that some speakers can use *komen* as a copular verb. For them, example (104a) is acceptable with an inchoative meaning: ‘how can you become as small as possible’, but this is irrelevant for our present discussion.

- (104) a. [#]Hoe kom jij zo klein mogelijk?
 how come you as small as.possible
 b. *Hoe komt het dat jij zo klein mogelijk bent?
 how comes it that you so small as.possible are

6.2.5.4. *The verb hebben/krijgen 'to have/get' + adjective*

Standard Dutch has two constructions with the verbs *hebben/krijgen* 'to have/get' followed by a complementive adjective. In the first construction, exemplified in (105a), the adjective is predicated of the accusative object. In the second construction, illustrated in (105b), the adjective is neither predicated of the accusative object, which is the non-referring pronoun *het* 'it', nor of the subject, which seems to act as a kind of experiencer. These constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 6.2.1, sub II, on the dialectal semi-copular construction.

- (105) a. Hij heeft/krijgt de kwast schoon.
 he has/gets the brush clean
 b. Ik heb het/*dat warm.
 I have it/that warm

6.2.5.5. *Adjectives that can only be used as complementives*

Some adjectives can only be used in complementive position; cf. Section 5.3.1. We will discuss these adjectives in the subsections below.

I. Adjectives that take a non-dative nominal complement

Adjectives that take a non-dative nominal complement, such as *zat* 'weary' in (106), do not occur in attributive position; cf. Section 5.3.1.1.

- (106) a. Het meisje is deze opera zat.
 the girl is this opera weary
 'The girl is weary of this opera.'
 b. ^{*?}het deze opera zatte meisje
 the this opera weary girl

II. Adjectives obligatorily followed by a PP complement

Adjectives like *gek* 'fond' must be followed by their prepositional complement; cf. the contrast between (107a) and (107a'). Such adjectives cannot occur in attributive position as a result of the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives; cf. Section 5.3.1.2.

- (107) a. De man is gek op zijn vrouw.
 the man is fond of his wife
 a'. *De man is op zijn vrouw gek.
 b. *de gekke op zijn vrouw man
 b'. ^{*?}de op zijn vrouw gekke man

III. Fixed verb + adjective combinations

Example (108) provides some examples of adjectives that can only occur in combination with a (pseudo-)copular verb.

- (108) a. braak liggen 'to lie fallow'
 b. gelegen komen 'to be convenient'
 c. handgemeen worden/raken 'to come to blows'
 d. jammer zijn 'to be a pity'
 e. niet pluis zijn 'to be fishy'

The primed examples in (109) show that these adjectives cannot be used attributively. For completeness' sake, the doubly-primed examples show that these examples become fully acceptable when the verb appears as an attributively used present participle.

- (109) a. De akker ligt braak. b. De jongens raken handgemeen.
 the field lies fallow the boys come to blows
 a'. *de brake akker b'. *de handgemene jongens
 a''. de braak liggende akker b''. de handgemeen rakende jongens

The examples in (110) also involve copular constructions, but are special in that the adjective seems to take a nominal complement.

- (110) a. het spoor bijster raken/zijn 'to lose one's way'
 b. iets gewaar worden 'to perceive something'
 c. iets kwijt zijn/raken 'to lose something'

The fact that these adjectives can only be used predicatively may therefore follow from the general restriction discussed in Subsection I that adjectives that take a non-dative complement cannot appear in attributive position. Observe that the doubly-primed examples, which contain the present participle of the verbs in (110), are again fully acceptable.

- (111) a. De man is/raakte het spoor bijster.
 the man is/got the track lost
 'The man lost his way.'
 a'. *de het spoor bijstere man
 a''. de het spoor bijster zijnde man
 b. De jongens werden de kust van verre gewaar.
 the boys became the coast from far aware
 'The boys noticed the coast from afar.'
 b'. *de de kust geware jongens
 b''. de de kust gewaar wordende jongens
 c. De jongen is/raakte zijn sleutels kwijt.
 the boy is/got his keys lost
 'The boy mislaid his keys.'
 c'. *de zijn sleutels kwijte jongen
 c''. de zijn sleutels kwijt rakende/² zijnde jongen

For completeness' sake, (112a) shows that the adjective *kwijt* can also be used without a nominal complement. In this case it cannot be used attributively either, as is shown in (112b).

- (112) a. Zijn sleutels zijn kwijt.
his keys are lost
b. *zijn kwijte sleutels

The examples in (113) are comparable to resultative and *vinden*-constructions. Observe that the adjectives in (113b&d) may also occur in a copular construction; cf. (108a&d).

- (113) a. iemand iets afhandig maken 'to deprive someone of something'
b. iets braak leggen 'to lay fallow'
c. een belofte gestand doen 'to observe a promise'
d. jammer vinden 'to consider something a pity'
e. zich schrap zetten (voor) 'to brace oneself (for)'

The fact that the adjectives in these fixed combinations cannot be used attributively is demonstrated in the primed examples in (114). The grammatical constructions in the doubly-primed examples again involve an attributively used present participle.

- (114) a. Jan maakte Marie het boek afhandig. b. De jongen zette zich schrap.
Jan made Marie the book deprived the boy put REFL braced
'Jan deprived Marie of the book.' 'The boy braced himself.'
a'. *het afhandige boek b'. *de schrappe jongen
a''. het (Marie) afhandig gemaakte boek b''. de zich schrap zettende jongen

IV. Groot van gestalte 'big in stature'

Some adjectives can be modified by a *van*-PP containing a bare noun. There are at least two types, which are illustrated in (115). The *van*-PP in (115a) expresses a restriction on the adjective "big as far as the stature is concerned", and the *van*-PP in (115b) indicates the cause of the occurrence of the property denoted by the adjective "red caused by excitement". The primed examples show that these two constructions cannot be used attributively.

- (115) a. Jan is groot van gestalte. a'. *een grote jongen van gestalte
Jan is big in stature a big boy in stature
'Jan is big in stature.'
b. Jan is rood van opwinding. b'. *een rode jongen van opwinding
Jan is red of excitement a red boy of excitement
'Jan is red with excitement.'

The two constructions differ, however, in that the first indicates an individual-level property, whereas the latter denotes a stage-level property. Due to this, the latter, but not the former, can also be used as a supplementive. The two A + *van* + N sequences in (115) are more extensively discussed in Section 3.5.1.

- (116) a. *Groot van gestalte kwam Jan de kamer binnen.
big of stature came Jan the room into
'Big in stature Jan entered the room.'
b. Rood van opwinding kwam Jan de kamer binnen.
red of excitement came Jan the room into
'Red with excitement Jan entered the room.'

V. Isolated cases

There are a number of isolated cases of adjectives that can only be used in complementive position: *alleen* ‘alone’, *anders* ‘different’, *bekaf/doodop* ‘done in’, *klaar* ‘ready’, *onwel* ‘ill’, and *weg* ‘away’.

- (117) a. Dit boek is anders.
 this book is different
 a'. *het anderse boek
 b. De jongen is bekaf/doodop/onwel.
 the boy is done.in/done.in/ill
 b'. *de bekaffe/doodoppe/onwelle jongen

Finally, observe the remarkable contrast between (118a) and (118b), which only differ in that in (118b) *klaar* ‘ready’ is part of the compound *kant-en-klaar* ‘instant’.

- (118) a. *de klare maaltijd
 the ready meal
 b. de kant-en-klare maaltijd
 the instant meal

6.3. Supplementive use of the adjective

This section discusses the supplementive use of adjectives. Section 6.3.1 starts by pointing out some differences between complementive and supplementive adjectives. These involve the semantic relation between the adjective and the verbal predicate, the noun phrase the adjective is predicated of, and the position of the adjective within the clause. Section 6.3.2 continues by briefly discussing how supplementives can be distinguished from manner adverbs. Section 6.3.3 goes on to show that the supplementive adjectives must be divided into two groups on the basis of both semantic and syntactic criteria. Section 6.3.4 concludes with a discussion of the restrictions on the supplementive use of the adjective.

6.3.1. Differences between complementives and supplementives

Complementive and supplementive adjectives are both predicated of noun phrases, which typically function as the subject or the direct object of their clause. For supplementives this is illustrated in (119a) and (119b), respectively; the predication relation is indicated by means of italics.

- (119) a. *Jan ging dronken* naar huis.
 Jan went drunk to home
 ‘Jan went home drunk.’
 b. Marie zet *de fles leeg* in de kast.
 Marie puts the bottle empty into the cupboard
 ‘Marie is putting the bottle into the cupboard empty.’

The examples in (120) show that the supplementive cannot be predicated of an indirect object or a prepositional complement: in (120a) the supplementive may be predicated of the subject *Jan* but not of the indirect object *Marie*, and (120b) has no interpretation at all.

- (120) a. *?Jan gaf Marie de fles dronken.
 Jan gave Marie the bottle drunk
 'Jan gave Marie the bottle drunk.'
 b. *Marie keek naar de fles leeg.
 Marie looked at the bottle empty

Note, however, that the °unaccusative constructions in the primeless examples of (121) also contain an indirect object; cf. Section V2.1.3. Although judgments are a bit unclear, examples like these seem to give rise to a better result than example (120a). The examples improve even further when the supplementive is placed in clause-initial position, as in the primed examples.

- (121) a. ?Er verschijnen haar/Marie dronken altijd roze olifantjes.
 there appear her/Marie drunk always pink elephants
 'When she is drunk, pink elephants always appear to her/Marie.'
 a'. ?Dronken verschijnen er haar/Marie altijd roze olifantjes.
 b. ?Er zijn Peter/hem dronken nog nooit ongelukken overkomen.
 there are Peter/him drunk yet never accidents happened
 'While he was drunk, accidents never happened to him/Peter.'
 b'. Dronken zijn Peter/hem nog nooit ongelukken overkomen.
 c. ?De argumenten van de dokter bevallen mij ziek altijd beter.
 the arguments of the doctor please me ill always better
 'When I am ill, the arguments of the doctor always please me more.'
 c'. Ziek bevallen de argumenten van de dokter mij altijd beter.

Supplementive and complementive adjectives differ in various respects. Some of these differences are discussed below; Section 6.3.4 will discuss the differences with respect to the types of adjectives that can be used in complementive and supplementive functions.

1. The relation between the adjective and the verbal predicate

The most conspicuous difference between supplementives and complementives is that the former can be freely added to almost any clause that contains an activity verb (cf. Section 6.3.4), whereas the latter occur only with a restricted set of verbs (cf. Section 6.2). Further, the optionality of the supplementive adjectives in (122) suggests that they can be appropriately characterized as adjuncts.

- (122) • Supplementive use of the adjective
 a. Jan vertrok (kwaad).
 Jan left angry
 b. Jan ging (dronken) naar huis.
 Jan went drunk to home
 'Jan went home drunk.'
 c. Jan zong (vrolijk) een liedje.
 Jan sang merry a song
 'Jan sang a song, merry.'

The complementive adjectives in (123a-c), on the other hand, are obligatorily present, which suggests that they act as complements of the verb. The obligatoriness

of the complementives is due to the fact that they are needed to license the noun phrases *de hond/het gras*. The fact that the complementive is optional in (123d) is of course due to the fact that the noun phrase *de hond* can be licensed either as the SUBJECT of the complementive or as the patient argument of the transitive verb *slaan* ‘to hit’. See Section 6.2.2 for more detailed discussion.

- (123) • Complementive use of the adjective
- a. *De hond is *(dood).*
 the dog is dead
 - b. *Marie vindt de hond *(aardig).*
 Marie considers the dog nice
 - c. *Peter loopt het gras *(plat).*
 Peter walks the grass flat
 - d. *Jan slaat de hond (dood)*
 Jan beats the dog dead

The bond between the complementive adjective and the verb is thus much stronger than between the supplementive adjective and the verb, which is also reflected by the fact that the meaning of the supplementive constitutes a substantial part of the core proposition expressed by the clause. The semantic contribution of the supplementive, on the other hand, is often assumed to be “supplementary” with respect to the core proposition: the semantic relation between the supplementive and the remainder of the clause is often described by means of the loose notion of “simultaneousness”. In (122a), for instance, it is expressed that the event of LEAVING and the state of BEING ANGRY apply simultaneously to the referent of the noun phrase *Jan*. Crucially, neither of the two predicates is really dependent on the other: the supplementive merely provides additional information about the subject or the direct object.

II. The noun phrase the adjective is predicated of

Complementive and supplementive adjectives are predicated of either the subject or the direct object of their clause. With complementives, the predication relation is always unambiguously determined. When there is no accusative object, as in the copular construction in (123a), the complementive is predicated of the subject of the clause. However, when an accusative object is present, the complementive must be predicated of this object: example (123b) cannot be interpreted such that it is Marie that is considered kind; (123c) expresses that the grass becomes flat.

The examples in (124), on the other hand, show that ambiguity may arise with supplementive adjectives. Example (124a), for example, can express either that Marie is drunk or that the guests are drunk (but not both). Although some speakers may prefer one of the two readings, we can readily demonstrate that we are dealing with a genuine case of ambiguity by replacing one of the animate arguments by an inanimate one: the supplementive must be predicated of the subject in (124b), but of the object in (124c).

- (124) • Predication by supplementive adjectives
- a. dat Marie de gasten dronken naar huis bracht.
that Marie the guests drunk to home brought
'that Marie brought the guests home, while she/they was/were drunk.'
 - b. dat Marie de boeken dronken naar huis bracht.
that Marie the books drunk to home brought
'that Marie brought the books home, while she was drunk.'
 - c. dat de taxi de gasten dronken naar huis bracht.
that the taxi the guests drunk to home brought
'that the taxi brought the guests home, while they were drunk.'

The examples in (125) provide two more cases, in which meaning determines whether the supplementive is predicated of the subject or the object.

- (125) a. dat Marie zulke dingen alleen dronken zegt.
that Marie such things only drunk says
'that Marie says such things only when she is drunk.'
- b. dat Marie die fles leeg in de kast zet.
that Marie that bottle empty into the cupboard puts
'that Marie puts that bottle into the cupboard empty.'

The examples in (126) show that the supplementive adjective must follow the noun phrase it is predicated of: although (126a) is fully acceptable, it differs from (124a) in that *dronken* cannot be predicated of the direct object *de gasten*; it is Marie that is drunk. The examples in (126b&c) further show that whereas the supplementive adjective may precede the direct object in (125a), where it is predicated of the subject, this is not possible in (125b), where it is predicated of the object.

- (126) a. dat Marie dronken de gasten naar huis bracht.
b. dat Marie alleen dronken zulke dingen zegt.
c. *dat Marie leeg die fles in de kast zet.

Another difference between complementives and supplementives is that the noun phrase the adjective is predicated of can only be left unexpressed in the latter case. For example, when we passivize example (125a), as in (127a), the supplementive adjective *dronken* can be felicitously used regardless of whether the passive *door*-phrase is present or not. This is, however, only possible when the supplementive cannot be predicated of the subject of the passive construction for semantic reasons; example (127b) cannot be interpreted such that it is the implied agent who is drunk.

- (127) a. dat zulke dingen (door Marie) alleen dronken worden gezegd.
that such things by Marie only drunk are said
'that such things are only said (by Marie) drunk.'
- b. dat de gasten dronken naar huis werden gebracht.
that the guests drunk to home were brought
'That the guests were brought home drunk.'

III. The position of the adjectives within the clause

In the northern varieties of Dutch, complementives are immediately left-adjacent to the verbs in clause-final position in the unmarked case; cf. Section 6.2.4, example (58). The examples in (124) show, however, that this does not hold for supplementives; their position can be more to the left. Furthermore, when a clause contains both a supplementive and a complementive adjective, they are always strictly ordered: the examples in (128) show that the former must precede the latter. The number sign in (128b') indicates that this examples may receive the—in this context irrelevant—interpretation in which *ergerlijk* acts as modifier of *dronken*: “drunk in an annoying way”.

- (128) a. dat Jan dronken al gauw ziek is.
 that Jan drunk already quickly sick is
 ‘that Jan tends to get sick, when drunk.’
 a'. *dat Jan al gauw ziek dronken is.
 b. dat ik Jan dronken al snel ergerlijk vind.
 that I Jan drunk already quickly annoying consider
 ‘that I tend to consider him to be annoying, when he is drunk.’
 b'. #dat ik Jan al snel ergerlijk dronken vind.
 c. dat hij zijn overhemden altijd nat glad strijkt.
 that he his shirts always wet smooth irons
 ‘that he irons his shirts smooth, while they are wet.’
 c'. *dat hij zijn overhemden altijd glad nat strijkt.

In some cases, such as (128a&b), the supplementive adjective must precede not only the complementive adjective, but also adverbial phrases like *al gauw* ‘already quickly’ and *al snel* ‘already quickly’.

- (129) a. *dat Jan al gauw dronken ziek is.
 b. *dat ik Jan al snel dronken ergerlijk vind.

In other cases, however, the supplementive can follow the adverbial phrase. In (128c), for example, the supplementive *nat* ‘wet’ follows the adverb *altijd* ‘always’. In some cases, the supplementive is not even able to precede the adverbial phrase, as in (130). The factors that determine the relative position of these adverbial phrases and supplementives are discussed in Section 6.3.3.

- (130) a. dat Jan al weken ziek in bed ligt.
 that Jan for weeks ill in bed lies
 ‘that Jan has been lying ill in bed for weeks.’
 b. *dat Jan ziek al weken in bed ligt.

6.3.2. Differences between complementives and manner adverbs

Supplementives can easily be confused with adverbially used adjectives, like the ones given in (131), which must be distinguished from the supplementives on semantic grounds; whereas the supplementives are predicated of noun phrases, manner adverbs specify the manner in which the action denoted by the verb (phrase) proceeds. The adverbially used adjectives *beleefd* ‘politely’, *voorzichtig* ‘carefully’

and *snel* ‘quickly’, for example, are not predicated of the noun phrase *Jan* (Jan may be rude, careless or slow in various respects), but indicate the way in which the action denoted takes place. More differences between supplementives and manner adverbs are discussed in Section 8.2.2.

(131) • Manner adverbs

- a. Jan spreekt zijn begeleider beleefd aan.
Jan addresses his supervisor politely prt.
‘Jan addresses his supervisor politely.’
- b. Jan pakte zijn boeken voorzichtig op.
Jan took his books carefully up
‘Jan picked up his books carefully.’
- c. Jan liep snel weg.
Jan walked quickly away
‘Jan walked away quickly.’

6.3.3. Two types of supplementives

This section will show that there are two types of supplementives, which exhibit differences in meaning, distribution and syntactic behavior. For lack of a better alternative we will refer to the two types as supplementive-I and supplementive-II.

6.3.3.1. Supplementive-I and -II: their position in the clause

The relation between the supplementive adjective and the clause is generally described as one of “simultaneousness”; cf. Haeseryn et al. (1997:1184). This notion correctly suggests that (132a) is interpreted such that the event of GOING HOME and the state of BEING SATISFIED apply to the referent of the noun phrase *Jan* at the same time, and that (132b) is interpreted such that the event of BEING IRONED and the state of BEING WET simultaneously apply to the shirts.

- (132) a. Jan gaat tevreden naar huis.
Jan goes satisfied to home
‘Jan goes home and he is satisfied.’
- b. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden nat.
Jan irons his shirts wet
‘Jan irons his shirts, while they are wet.’

Sometimes, however, the notion of simultaneousness seems to be less appropriate. Consider the examples in (133). The most natural interpretation of (133a), for instance, does not seem to be that the activity of SPEAKING INCOMPREHENSIBLE NONSENSE and the state of BEING DRUNK apply to Jan simultaneously at one particular time. The supplementive and the clause are instead in a conditional relationship, in which the supplementive (and the noun phrase it is predicated of) acts as the antecedent (= the *when*-part) and the clause as the consequent (= the *then*-part): when Jan is drunk, then he talks garbage. The same thing holds for (133b), as is indicated by means of the English paraphrase.

- (133) a. Jan kraamt dronken onbegrijpelijke onzin uit.
 Jan speaks drunken incomprehensible nonsense prt.
 'Whenever he is drunk, Jan talks incomprehensible nonsense.'
- b. Jan eet ziek pap.
 Jan eats ill porridge
 'Whenever he is ill, Jan eats porridge.'

Note that the notion of simultaneousness is also retained in examples like (133), given that the English rendering involves the temporal connectives *when ...*, *then ...*; the purely conditional paraphrase *if ...*, *then ...* is not appropriate. In Dutch, this distinction between the two types of conditional clauses cannot be made as easily; both involve the connectives *als ...*, *dan ...*

The semantic difference between the examples in (132) and (133) is associated with various other differences. The first involves the intonation patterns of the examples: the supplementive adjectives in (133) are followed by a rise in the intonation contour, whereas this is impossible in (132a).

Second, when we add clause adverbs like *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' or *altijd* 'always' (cf. Section 8.2.1), it becomes clear that the difference in interpretation between (132) and (133) correlates with a difference in word order. The examples in (134) show that the supplementive adjectives *tevreden* and *nat* from (132) must follow the adverb (although one could imagine situations in which the orders that are marked ungrammatical are possible under a conditional reading).

- (134) • Position of supplementive-II with respect to clause adverbs
- a. Jan gaat <*tevreden> altijd <tevreden> naar huis.
 Jan goes satisfied always to home
 'Whenever Jan goes home, he is satisfied.'
- b. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden <*nat> altijd <nat>.
 Jan irons his shirts wet always
 'Whenever Jan irons his shirts, they are wet.'

The examples in (135), on the other hand, show that the supplementives *dronken* and *ziek* from (133) preferably precede the clause adverbs (the unacceptable word orders may be marginally possible when the supplementive is explicitly represented as belonging to the new information of the clause, e.g., as an answer to the question: *Wanneer kraamt Jan altijd onbegrijpelijke onzin uit?* 'When does Jan always talk incomprehensible nonsense?').

- (135) • Position of supplementive-I with respect to clause adverbs
- a. Jan kraamt <dronken> altijd <*dronken> onbegrijpelijk onzin uit.
 Jan speaks drunken always incomprehensible nonsense prt.
 'Whenever he is drunk, Jan talks incomprehensible nonsense.'
- b. Jan eet <ziek> altijd <*ziek> pap.
 Jan eats ill always porridge
 'Whenever he is ill, Jan eats porridge.'

For ease of reference, we will refer to the supplementive adjectives in (135), which precede the clause adverbs, as supplementive-I, and to the supplementive adjectives in (134), which follow them, as supplementive-II.

The addition of the clause adverb *altijd* in (134) excludes the simultaneity reading of the examples in (132): the examples in (134) are instead interpreted as conditionals also, although the logical implications of (134) are of a different nature than those of (135): whereas the clause acts as the consequent in (135), it acts as the antecedent in (134). The respective implications are represented in (136) and (137), in which $\Rightarrow$ and $\nRightarrow$ are interpreted as “always implies” and “does not imply”, respectively.

(136) • Logical implications of supplementive-II in (134)

- a. Jan goes home $\Rightarrow$ Jan is satisfied
- a'. Jan is satisfied $\nRightarrow$ Jan goes home
- b. Jan irons his shirts $\Rightarrow$ his shirts are wet
- b'. his shirts are wet $\nRightarrow$ Jan irons them

(137) • Logical implication of supplementive-I in (135)

- a. Jan talks nonsense $\nRightarrow$ Jan is drunk
- a'. Jan is drunk $\Rightarrow$ Jan talks nonsense
- b. Jan eats porridge $\nRightarrow$ Jan is ill
- b'. Jan is ill $\Rightarrow$ Jan eats porridge

A minimal pair is given in (138): in (138a), the adjective precedes the clause adverb *altijd* ‘always’ and we are therefore dealing with a supplementive-I, which is also clear from the validity of the logical implication in (138a’); in (138b) the adjective *nat* follows the clause adverb *altijd* and we are therefore dealing with a supplementive-II, which is also clear from the validity of the logical implication in (138b’). Note that the adjective *glad* is not a supplementive, but a resultative adjective.

- (138) a. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden nat altijd glad. [supplementive-I]
 Jan irons his shirts wet always smooth
 ‘Whenever his shirts are wet, Jan irons them smooth.’
 a'. Jan irons his shirts smooth $\nRightarrow$ his shirts are wet
 a''. his shirts are wet $\Rightarrow$ Jan irons his shirts smooth
- b. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden altijd nat glad. [supplementive-II]
 Jan irons his shirts always wet smooth
 ‘Whenever Jan irons his shirts smooth, they are wet.’
 b'. Jan irons his shirts smooth $\Rightarrow$ his shirts are wet
 b''. his shirts are wet $\nRightarrow$ Jan irons his shirts smooth

Observe that replacement of the universally quantified adverb *altijd* ‘always’ in (134) and (135) by an adverb like *meestal* ‘generally’ would have the semantic effect that the implications in (136) and (137) do not always hold but only generally. In other words, the arrow is then interpreted not as “always implies” but as “generally implies”. In our representations, the semantic contribution of the clause adverb is thus captured in the interpretation of the arrow; a formal semantic representation would involve an operator quantifying over time. In the examples below, we will generally make use of the adverb *altijd*, because this enable us to keep the semantic representations of these examples as simple as possible, that is, as

simple °material implications without making use of modal operators and possible worlds in the sense of predicate logic.

The examples in (138) also show that supplementive-I and supplementive-II both precede the complementive, in this case the adjective *glad* 'smooth'. The examples in (139) show that they also precede prepositional complements of the verb (unless the latter is assigned focus and moved leftward).

- (139) a. Jan praat dronken altijd over zijn problemen. [supplementive-I]
 Jan talks drunk always about his problems
 'Whenever he is drunk, Jan talks about his problems.'
 b. Jan praat altijd tevreden over zijn carrière. [supplementive-II]
 Jan talks always satisfied about his career
 'Whenever Jan talks about his career, he is/sounds satisfied.'

Summarizing the discussion above, we may say that the use of supplementive-II, that is, placement of the adjective after the quantified adverb *altijd*, implies that when the proposition expressed by the verbal part of the clause is true, the predicate expressed by the adjective also applies (but not vice versa), whereas supplementive-I implies that the reversed situation holds.

6.3.3.2. Co-occurrence of supplementive-I and -II

Supplementive-I and supplementive-II may co-occur within one clause. As is to be expected on the basis of the examples above, the former necessarily precedes the latter. Some examples are given in (140). The fact that supplementive-I and -II may co-occur suggests that they are not two different applications of one and the same grammatical function, but instantiations of two different grammatical functions. For completeness' sake, the primed examples in (140) provide the valid implications; the reversed implications do not hold.

- (140) • Co-occurrence of supplementive-I and supplementive-II
 a. Jan gaat dronken (altijd) ziek naar bed.
 Jan goes drunk always sick to bed
 'When drunk, Jan always goes to bed sick.'
 a'. Jan is drunk $\Rightarrow$ Jan goes to bed sick
 b. Jan gaat ziek (altijd) humeurig naar kantoor.
 Jan goes ill always bad-tempered to office
 'When ill, Jan always goes to his office bad-tempered.'
 b'. Jan is ill $\Rightarrow$ Jan goes to his office bad-tempered

In (140), supplementive-I and -II are both predicated of the nominative subject *Jan*. The examples in (141) show that it is also possible that the two supplementives are predicated of different arguments in the clause. In (141a), supplementive-I *nat* 'wet' is predicated of the direct object *de overhemden* 'the shirts', whereas supplementive-II *opgewekt* 'cheerful' is predicated of the subject *Jan*. In (141b), it is supplementive-I that is predicated of the subject, and supplementive-II that is predicated of the direct object.

- (141) a. dat Jan de overhemden nat altijd opgewekt glad strijkt.
 that Jan the shirts wet always cheerful smooth irons
 b. dat Jan de overhemden opgewekt altijd nat glad strijkt.
 that Jan the shirts cheerful always wet smooth irons

It is however not possible to have two supplementives-I referring to two different arguments in the clause. The (a)-examples in (142) are uninterpretable. It is less clear whether the same thing holds for supplementive-II: although the (b)-examples are marked, they are certainly better than the (a)-examples.

- (142) a. *dat Jan de overhemden opgewekt nat altijd glad strijkt.
 a'. *dat Jan de overhemden nat opgewekt altijd glad strijkt.
 b. ?dat Jan de overhemden altijd opgewekt nat glad strijkt.
 b'. ??dat Jan de overhemden altijd nat opgewekt glad strijkt.

Note that (142a) improves when the supplementive *opgewekt* is followed by an intonation break, which is indicated in (143a) by means of a dash, but *nat* then seems to be interpreted as a supplementive-II. Perhaps this is due to the fact that frequency adverbs need not be interpreted as clause adverbs, but can occasionally also be interpreted as VP-adverbs; cf. Section 8.2.2.3. Example (142a') also seems to improve somewhat when *nat* is followed by an intonation break.

- (143) a. ?dat Jan de overhemden opgewekt — nat altijd glad strijkt.
 'When Jan is cheerful, he always irons his shirt smooth while wet.'
 b. ??dat Jan de overhemden nat — opgewekt altijd glad strijkt.
 'Whenever the shirts are wet, Jan irons them smooth cheerful.'

6.3.3.3. Distribution of the two supplementive types

The distribution of supplementive-II and supplementive-I may depend on certain properties of the clause they are part of. These will be discussed in the following two subsections.

1. Position of the event on the time axis

The examples above are all given in the present tense. It should be noted, however, that the present tense in these examples refers to an undetermined time interval and not to a specific point on the time axis (the "now"). When we revise the examples above such that a punctual time reading is forced, e.g., by adding the adverb of time *nu* 'now', it turns out that only supplementive-II can be used. This is illustrated in (144) by adding *nu* 'now' to the examples in (132a) and (133a).

- (144) a. Jan gaat nu waarschijnlijk tevreden naar huis.
 Jan goes now probably satisfied to home
 Impossible: 'Probably, when Jan goes home now, he will be satisfied.'
 Available: 'Probably, Jan will be going home now, while he is satisfied.'
 b. *Jan kraamt nu dronken waarschijnlijk onbegrijpelijke onzin uit.
 Jan speaks now drunk probably incomprehensible nonsense prt.

As the English paraphrase in (144a) indicates, only the simultaneity reading is available for supplementive-II. In accordance with this, the conditional reading for

the supplementive-I *dronken* in (144b) is also blocked, and the example is unacceptable as a result. This shows that whereas supplementive-II is compatible with both a simultaneity and a conditional reading, supplementive-I has only a conditional reading. Note that this also correctly predicts that the two supplementive phrases cannot be combined when *nu* 'now' is present. This is illustrated in the examples in (145), which sharply contrast with those in (140).

- (145) a. *Jan gaat nu dronken (waarschijnlijk) ziek naar bed.
 Jan goes now drunk probably sick to bed
 b. *Jan gaat nu ziek (waarschijnlijk) humeurig naar kantoor.
 Jan goes now ill probably bad-tempered to office

II. Modification

Modification of the verb (phrase) seems to be relevant, too. The examples in (146a&b) show that a VP like *naar bed gaan* can be combined both with supplementive-II and with supplementive-I: in (146a) the supplementive follows, and in (146b) it precedes the quantified adverb *altijd* 'always'. However, as is demonstrated in the primed examples, when the VP is modified by an adverb like *vroeg* 'early' or *snel* 'quickly', the use of supplementive-II leads to a degraded result.

- (146) a. Jan gaat altijd tevreden naar bed. [supplementive-II]
 Jan goes always satisfied to bed
 'Whenever Jan is going to bed, he is satisfied.'
 a'. *Jan gaat altijd tevreden vroeg naar bed.
 Jan goes always satisfied early to bed
 b. Jan gaat dronken altijd naar bed. [supplementive-I]
 Jan goes drunk always to bed
 'Whenever Jan is drunk, he goes to bed.'
 b'. Jan gaat dronken altijd vroeg naar bed.
 Jan goes drunk always early to bed
 'Whenever Jan is drunk, he goes to bed early.'

Something similar holds when we modify a resultative adjective. Consider again the examples in (138a&b), repeated here as (147a&b), which show that both types of supplementive can co-occur with the resultative adjective *glad* 'smooth'. However, when we modify the resultative by the degree adverb *erg* 'very', the use of supplementive-II becomes impossible. The same thing holds when we use the comparative form *gladder* (or the other degrees of comparison like *het gladst/even glad als* 'the smoothest/as smooth as'). This is illustrated in the primed examples.

- (147) a. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden altijd nat glad. [supplementive-II]
 Jan irons his shirts always wet smooth
 'When Jan irons his shirts smooth, they are always wet.'
 a'. *Jan strijkt zijn overhemden altijd nat erg glad/gladder.
 Jan irons his shirts always wet very smooth/smoother
 Intended: 'When Jan irons his shirts very smooth/smooth, they are always wet.'

- b. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden nat altijd glad. [supplementive-I]
 Jan irons his shirts wet always smooth
 'When his shirts are wet, Jan always irons them smooth.'
 b'. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden nat altijd erg glad/gladder.
 Jan irons his shirts wet always very smooth/smoothen
 'When his shirts are wet, Jan always irons them very smooth/smoothen.'

Although more research is needed before we can draw any firm conclusions, the contrasts between the (a)- and (b)-examples of (146) and (147) might be related to the fact that the modification of the VP and the resultative implicitly results in the comparison of two states of affairs. The primeless examples in (146), for instance, do not imply that JAN'S GOING TO BED is an exceptional event, that is, something that only occurs under special conditions, whereas the primed examples in (146) at least suggest that JAN'S GOING TO BED EARLY is something special. Possibly, this implicit comparison forces a reading in which the state expressed by supplementives is the condition under which the exceptional event takes place, that is, that the implication is as given in (148a&b). The infelicity of (146a') may therefore be due to the fact that the actual implication relation associated with supplementive-II is instead the inverse one shown in (148a'). The acceptability of (146b'), on the other hand, follows from the fact that the supplementive adjective *dronken* 'drunk' does express the condition under which the exceptional event of GOING TO BED EARLY may take place; cf. (148b&b').

- (148) a. required interpretation of (146a'): Jan is satisfied $\Rightarrow$ Jan goes to bed early
 a'. actual interpretation of (146a'): Jan goes to bed early $\Rightarrow$ Jan is satisfied
 b. required interpretation of (146b'): Jan is drunk $\Rightarrow$ Jan goes to bed early
 b'. actual interpretation of (146b'): Jan is drunk $\Rightarrow$ Jan goes to bed early

Note that this account of the unacceptability of (146a') does not imply that supplementive-II can never be combined with a VP adverb: a manner adverb is blocked only when this results in implicit comparison. This seems to be correct, given the acceptability of example (149), which contains the °intensifier *flink* 'very'.

- (149) Marie heeft hem boos flink uitgescholden.
 Marie has him angry very called.names

A similar account for the contrast between the two primed examples in (146) can be given for the contrast between the primed examples of (147), that is, the fact that *erg glad* and *gladder* can only be combined with supplementive-I. Example (150a) shows that in the case of the comparative *gladder* 'smoother' in (147b'), the alternative of the supplementive *nat* can made explicit by means of a *dan*-phrase. Observe that (150b) is not synonymous with (150a): whereas (150b) seems to imply that (150c) is true, this does not necessarily follow from (150a).

- (150) Jan strijkt zijn overhemden nat altijd gladder dan droog.
 Jan irons his shirts wet always smoother than dry
 ‘When they are wet, Jan irons his shirt smoother than when they are dry.’
- b. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden droog altijd minder glad dan nat.
 Jan irons his shirts wet always less smooth than wet
 ‘When they are dry, Jan irons his shirt less smooth than when they are wet.’
- c. Jan strijkt zijn overhemden zowel droog als nat altijd glad.
 Jan irons his shirts both dry and wet always smooth
 ‘Regardless of whether they are wet or dry, Jan irons his shirts smooth.’

For completeness’ sake, note that when the element *nog* ‘even’ is placed in front of the comparative *minder glad* ‘less smooth’ in (150b), the implication seems to be that Jan never succeeds in ironing his shirts smooth; cf. the discussion of this element *nog* in Section 4.1.1, examples (24) and (28).

6.3.3.4. Topicalization/Wh-movement of the two supplementive types

To conclude our discussion on the distribution of supplementive-I and -II, we will consider topicalization and *wh*-constructions, and show that the two types exhibit different behavior with respect to these movements.

1. Topicalization

The fact that the primeless examples in (151) are acceptable shows that both types of supplementive can be topicalized. However, when we add a clause adverb, as in the primed examples, topicalization of supplementive-II seems to give rise to an unacceptable result. Insofar as (151a′) is interpretable, *tevreden* ‘satisfied’ seems to act as supplementive-I: the interpretation that is forced upon us is “when Jan is satisfied, he goes home”.

- (151) a. *Tevreden* gaat Jan naar huis. [supplementive-II]
 satisfied goes Jan to home
 ‘Jan goes home, while he is satisfied.’
- a′. ??*Tevreden* gaat Jan altijd naar huis.
 satisfied goes Jan always to home
- b. *Dronken* kraamt Jan onbegrijpelijke onzin uit. [supplementive-I]
 drunk speaks Jan incomprehensible nonsense prt.
 ‘When he is drunk, Jan talks nonsense.’
- b′. *Dronken* kraamt Jan altijd onbegrijpelijke onzin uit.
 drunk speaks Jan always incomprehensible nonsense prt.

The unacceptability of (151a′) suggests that the presence of a clause adverb blocks topicalization of supplementive-II by making the VP into a weak °island for extraction of supplementive-II. If this is indeed the case, we correctly predict that the adjective *dronken* ‘drunk’ in (152a) must be interpreted as a supplementive-I; example (152a) corresponds to (152b), not to (152c). This becomes especially clear in these examples because (152c), but not (152a&b), allows the hyperbolic interpretation “Jan is always drunk”.

- (152) a. Dronken zwalkt Jan altijd over straat.
 drunk wanders Jan always over street
 Available reading: 'When he is drunk, Jan always wanders about the streets.'
 Not: 'When Jan wanders about the streets, he is drunk.'/'Jan is always drunk.'
- b. Jan zwalkt dronken altijd over straat.
 Jan wanders drunk always over the street
 'When he is drunk, Jan always wanders about the streets.'
- c. Jan zwalkt altijd dronken over straat.
 Jan wanders always drunk over the street
 'When Jan wanders about the streets, he is drunk.'/'Jan is always drunk.'

Of course, when the adverb *altijd* is dropped in (152a), as in (153a), both readings are available. This example can however be disambiguated by means of intonation: when assigned accent, the adjective *dronken* is preferably interpreted as a supplementive-I; if not, the interpretation as a supplementive-II is most salient.

- (153) a. Dronken zwalkt Jan over straat.
 b. DRONken zwalkt Jan over straat.
 Preferred reading: 'When he is drunk, Jan always wanders about the streets.'
- c. Dronken zwalkt Jan over straat.
 Preferred reading: 'Jan wanders about the streets, while he is drunk.'

The claim that the clause adverb makes the VP into a weak °island for extraction of supplementive-II also correctly predicts the contrast between (154b) and (154c). It is not clear in this case, however, whether it is the clause adverb that is responsible for this contrast, given that the same facts can be observed when the adverb is absent. This suggests that supplementive-I also blocks topicalization of supplementive-II (which can probably be seen as a °relativized minimality effect).

- (154) a. Jan gaat dronken altijd ziek naar bed.
 Jan goes drunk always sick to bed
 'Whenever he is drunk, Jan goes to bed sick.'
- b. Dronken gaat Jan (altijd) ziek naar bed.
- c. *Ziek gaat Jan dronken (altijd) naar bed.

II. *Wh*-movement

The *wh*-constructions in (155), which correspond to the primeless examples in (151), show that only supplementive-II can be questioned by means of the interrogative intensifier *hoe* 'how'; *wh*-movement of supplementive-I is never possible.

- (155) a. Hoe tevreden gaat Jan naar huis?
 how satisfied goes Jan to home
- b. *Hoe dronken kraamt Jan onbegrijpelijke onzin uit?
 how drunk speaks Jan incomprehensible nonsense prt.

However, as in the case of topicalization, questioning of supplementive-II is blocked when it crosses a clause adverb or a supplementive-I. This is illustrated in the (b)-examples of (156), which correspond to (154c).

- (156) a. *Hoe dronken gaat Jan (altijd) ziek naar bed?
 how drunk goes Jan always sick to bed
 b. *Hoe ziek gaat Jan (*altijd) naar bed?
 how ill goes Jan always to bed
 b'. *Hoe ziek gaat Jan (*dronken) naar bed?
 how ill goes Jan drunk to bed

The contrast in acceptability between the topicalization constructions in (151b') and (154b), on the one hand, and the *wh*-constructions in (155b) and (156a), on the other, may be related to the fact that supplementive-I cannot easily be modified by an intensifier: after all, the adverb *hoe* is the interrogative counterpart of the degree adverb *erg* in (157); cf. Section 3.1.2.4.

- (157) a. *?Jan gaat erg dronken altijd ziek naar bed.
 Jan goes very drunk always ill to bed
 b. Jan gaat dronken altijd erg ziek naar bed.
 Jan goes drunk always very ill to bed

The examples in (158) further show that supplementive-II, but not supplementive-I, can be questioned by means of the *wh*-element *hoe* 'how'.

- (158) a. Hoe gaat Jan naar huis? [question]
 how went Jan to home
 Tevreden. 'Satisfied.' [answer]
 b. Hoe gaat Jan altijd ziek naar bed? [question]
 how goes Jan always ill to bed
 (i) *Dronken. 'Drunk.' [answer]
 (ii) *Als hij dronken is. 'When he is drunk.' [answer]

It seems that supplementive-I can at least marginally be questioned by means of *wanneer* 'when'; if indeed so, this is of course related to the fact *wanneer* can question a condition, whereas *hoe* cannot.

- (159) a. Wanneer gaat Jan naar huis? [question]
 when goes Jan to home
 *Tevreden. 'Satisfied.' [answer]
 b. Wanneer gaat Jan altijd ziek naar bed? [question]
 when goes Jan always ill to bed
 (i) ?Dronken. 'Drunk.' [answer]
 (ii) Als hij dronken is. 'When he is drunk.' [answer]

6.3.4. *Restrictions on the adjective and the verb*

There are several restrictions on the occurrence of supplementives. First, the set-denoting adjective must refer to a transitory property, that is, it cannot be an individual-level predicate. Second, there are several (sometimes poorly understood) restrictions on the syntactic frame a supplementive may occur in.

I. Restrictions on the adjective: stage- vs. individual-level predicates

Adjectives that refer to an “inherent” or “permanent” property of the modified noun phrase do not give rise to a felicitous result when used as a supplementive. This is illustrated in (160) by means of the contrast between the stage-level adjective *vermoeid* ‘tired’ and the individual-level adjective *intelligent*, which denote a temporary and a more permanent property, respectively.

- (160) a. Jan gaat vermoeid/[%]intelligent naar school.
 Jan goes tired/intelligent to school
 ‘Jan goes to school tired/intelligent.’
 b. Jan gaat vermoeid/[%]intelligent nooit naar school.
 Jan goes tired/intelligent never to school
 c. Jan gaat nooit vermoeid/[%]intelligent naar school.
 Jan goes never tired/intelligent to school

The contrasts in the examples in (160) are probably related to the fact that similar contrasts can be observed in their paraphrases in (161). The conditional paraphrases in (161b-c) associated with (160b-c), for example, are equally strange: apparently, both the *when*- and the *then*-clause of a conditional *when(ever) ... then*-sentence must denote temporary situations in everyday use. Something similar holds in case of the simultaneity reading of (160a), which can be paraphrased as in (161a).

- (161) a. Jan gaat naar school terwijl hij vermoeid/[%]intelligent is.
 Jan goes to school while he tired/intelligent is
 ‘Jan goes to school, while he is tired/intelligent.’
 b. Als Jan vermoeid/[%]intelligent is, dan gaat hij nooit naar school.
 if Jan tired/Intelligent is then goes he never to school
 ‘Whenever Jan is tired/intelligent, he does not go to school.’
 c. Als Jan naar school gaat, dan is hij nooit vermoeid/[%]intelligent.
 if Jan to school goes then is he never tired/intelligent
 ‘Whenever Jan goes to school, he is not tired/intelligent.’

Note that example (162) is not a counterexample to our claim since the adjective *intelligent* is not predicated of the noun phrase *Jan* in this case. The adjective instead modifies the VP and we are therefore dealing with a manner adverb; cf. Section 8.2.2.

- (162) Jan loste het raadsel intelligent op.
 Jan solved the riddle intelligently prt.
 ‘Jan solved the riddle in an intelligent way.’

Observe further that we do not claim that individual-level adjectives can never be used in conditionals; the examples in (163) show that they can. The difference between (161b-c) and (163a) is that the latter does not involve quantification over times due to the fact that the frequency adverb *nooit* ‘never’ is replaced by the negative marker *niet* ‘not’. Note also that the appropriate translations of the examples in (163) involve the connectives *if ...*, *then ...*, and not *when ...*, *then ...*; see the discussion below example (133) in Section 6.3.3.1.

- (163) a. Als Jan intelligent is, dan gaat hij niet naar school.
 if Jan intelligent is then goes he not to school
 ‘if Jan is tired/intelligent, he doesn’t go to school.’
 b. Als Jan naar school gaat, dan is hij niet intelligent.
 if Jan to school goes then is he not intelligent
 ‘If Jan goes to school, he is not tired/intelligent.’

II. Restrictions on the verb

The verb must denote an action: when a supplementive is added to a clause that contains a stative verb, such as *kennen* ‘to know’, the use of a supplementive adjective gives rise to a severely degraded result.

- (164) a. Jan leerde vermoeid zijn huiswerk.
 Jan learned tired his homework
 b. *?Jan kende vermoeid zijn huiswerk.
 Jan knew tired his homework

Further, the use of a supplementive often gives rise to an unacceptable result when the verb is intransitive, as in (165a). When we are dealing with an °unaccusative verb, on the other hand, the result is fully acceptable, as is shown by (165b).

- (165) a. *Jan heeft razend/vrolijk gelopen.
 Jan has furious/merry walked
 b. Jan is razend/vrolijk vertrokken.
 Jan is furious/merry left
 ‘Jan left furious/merry.’

Since the addition of a predicative locational PP may turn an intransitive verb of movement into an unaccusative verb, we expect that the addition of such a PP to the verb *lopen* licenses the presence of a supplementive. That this expectation is borne out is shown in (166a). Example (166b) shows that, for some reason, the predicative PP *naar de directeur* cannot be topicalized when a supplementive is present; this is possible when the supplementive is omitted.

- (166) a. Jan is razend naar de directeur gelopen.
 Jan is furious to the director walked
 b. Naar de directeur is Jan (*razend) gelopen.
 to the director is Jan furious walked

Note that the addition of a locational adverbial phrase like *over straat* also seems to improve example (165a), but it might well be that in this case the marginal status of (167a) is the result of interpreting the adjectives *razend/vrolijk* as manner adverbs. Example (167b) shows that this is especially possible with the adjective *vrolijk* ‘merry’; this sentence does not express that the subject of the clause is merry, but that the laughing/chattering makes a merry impression. See Section 8.2.2.1 for more discussion.

- (167) a. Hij heeft ?razend^(?) vrolijk over straat gelopen.
 he has furious/merry on the street walked
 b. Jan lacht/babbelt vrolijk.
 Jan laughs/chatters merrily

The primeless examples in (168) show that supplementives can readily be used with transitive verbs and verbs that take a prepositional complement. However, when the direct or the prepositional object is omitted the result degrades, unless the sentence contains a progressive auxiliary like *zitten* 'to sit'.

- (168) a. Jan las bezorgd ??(de brief).
 Jan read worried the letter
 a'. Jan zat bezorgd (de brief) te lezen.
 Jan sat worried the letter to read
 'Worried, Jan was reading the letter.'
 b. Jan wachtte ongerust ?(op zijn vader).
 Jan waited worried for his father
 b'. Jan zat ongerust (op zijn vader) te wachten.
 Jan sat worried for his father to wait
 'Worried, Jan was waiting (for his father).'

6.4. Appositive use of the adjective

The notion of apposition is normally used for nominal modifiers of a noun phrase, such as the ones given in italics in the (a)-example in (169). Here, we will extend this notion in order to include the postnominal adjectival modifiers in the (b)-examples; see also Quirk (1985) and Heringa (2012),

- (169) a. Jan/Hij, *de bankdirecteur*, komt vandaag langs.
 Jan/he the bank manager comes today by
 'Jan, the bank manager, will drop in today.'
 a'. Mijn zuster *Els* is ziek.
 my sister Els is ill
 b. Jan, *zo dronken als een tempelier*, zwalkte gisteren over straat.
 Jan as drunk as a templar wandered yesterday over the street
 'Jan, as drunk as a fiddler, wandered about the streets, yesterday.'
 b'. Studieboeken over taalkunde *geschikt voor eerstejaars*
 textbooks on linguistics suitable for first-year students
 zijn moeilijk te vinden.
 are hard to find

The fact that the subject and the appositive occur in clause-initial position shows that they form a constituent; cf. the °constituency test. Since appositive adjectives resemble attributive adjectives in this respect, we will compare these two uses of the adjective in Section 6.4.1. The appositive constructions in the primeless and primed examples of (169) differ in interpretation: just like relative clauses, appositives allow a restrictive and a non-restrictive interpretation. This will be discussed for the appositive adjectives in 6.4.2. Finally, we will discuss some differences between

appositive and supplementive adjectives in Section 6.4.3. Nominal appositives are discussed in Section N3.1.3.

6.4.1. *Appositive and attributive adjectives*

Since both appositive and attributive adjectives are part of the noun phrase they modify, more has to be said about the similarities and differences between them. Occasionally, it has been suggested that the attributive and appositive constructions are alternative realizations of the same underlying construction; see Alexiadou et al. (2007: Part III, chapter 1) for a detailed discussion and references. We will see below, however, that there are various problems with this suggestion.

I. Differences between appositively and attributively used adjectives

The first difference involves the size of the AP in question. Appositives are mostly complex APs, for instance, an adjective with a prepositional complement, like *verliefd* ‘in love’ in (170a). When the complement is omitted, as in (170a’), the appositive construction normally degrades, although it remains possible when the adjective is emphatically or contrastively stressed; cf. Section 6.4.2. The (b)-examples show that a complement is possible but not required in the case of an attributively used adjective. A second difference involves word order. Although example (170c) shows that the PP-complement of the adjective *verliefd* may either precede or follow the complementive adjective, the PP-complement must precede the adjective when the AP is used attributively, as in (170b); cf. the discussion of the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives in Section 5.3.1.2. With the appositively used adjective in (170a), on the other hand, both orders are possible.

- (170) a. De man, <op zijn vrouw> verliefd <op zijn vrouw>, kocht bloemen.
 the man with his wife in.love bought flowers
 a’. ?De man, verliefd, kocht bloemen.
 b. De <op zijn vrouw> verliefde <*op zijn vrouw> man kocht bloemen.
 the with his wife in.love man bought flowers
 b’. De verliefde man kocht bloemen.
 c. dat de man <op zijn vrouw> verliefd <op zijn vrouw> is.
 that the man with his wife in.love is

The examples in (171) show that “heavy” APs with a complex modifier like *zo ... dat ...* ‘so ... that ...’ can also be used as appositives.

- (171) a. Het meisje, zo blij dat ze straalde, nam de prijs in ontvangst.
 the girl so happy that she beamed took the prize in receipt
 ‘The/A girl, beaming with joy, received the prize.’
 a’. ?Het meisje, blij, nam de prijs in ontvangst.
 b. Er lag een jas, zo vies dat niemand hem aan durfde te raken, op de grond.
 there lay a coat so dirty that nobody him prt. dared to touch on the floor
 b’. ?Er lag een jas, vies, op de grond.

II. The hypothesis that appositives and attributives have the same source

When we are dealing with comparison, the adjective can optionally be accompanied by a *dan/als/van*-phrase, which must follow the adjective in predicative constructions; cf. (172).

- (172) a. dat jouw begeleider zeker niet <*dan de mijne> beter <dan de mijne> is.
 that your supervisor certainly not than the mine better is
 'that your supervisor is certainly not better than mine.'
 b. dat jouw begeleider <*van de staf> het best <van de staf> is.
 that your supervisor of the staff the best is
 'that your supervisor is the test of the staff.'
 c. dat jouw begeleider <*als de mijne> even goed <als de mijne> is.
 your supervisor as the mine as good is
 'that your supervisor is as good as mine.'

The Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives correctly predicts that such APs modified by a *dan/als/van*-phrase cannot be used in attributive position. However, there is a "repair" strategy that places the *dan/als*-phrase after the head noun; see Section 5.3.2.1 for further discussion. This is illustrated in the examples in (173).

- (173) a. Een betere begeleider dan de mijne bestaat niet.
 a better supervisor than the mine exists not
 'A better supervisor than mine does not exist.'
 b. De beste begeleider van de staf zorgt voor de zwakste studenten.
 the best supervisor of the staff takes.care of the weakest students
 c. Een even goede begeleider als de mijne bestaat niet.
 an as good supervisor as the mine exists not

Alternatively, the AP as a whole can be used as an appositive, as shown in (174).

- (174) a. Een begeleider beter dan de mijne, bestaat niet.
 a supervisor better than the mine exists not
 'A supervisor, better than mine, does not exist.'
 b. Deze begeleider, het best van de staf, zorgt voor de zwakste studenten.
 this supervisor the best of the staff takes.care of the weakest students
 c. Een begeleider even goed als de mijne, bestaat niet.
 a supervisor as good as the mine exists not

It is important to stress that the *dan/als/van*-phrases are part of the predicatively used APs in (172), as is clear from the fact, illustrated in (175), that they can be pied piped by topicalization of the adjective; cf. the °constituency test.

- (175) a. Beter dan de mijne is jouw begeleider zeker niet.
 b. Het best van de staf is jouw begeleider zeker niet.
 c. Even goed als de mijne is jouw begeleider zeker niet.

This leads to the conclusion that the *dan/als/van*-phrases in (173) are also part of the attributive APs, and that their postnominal placement is the result of some movement operation: when we assume that the AP is base-generated in postnominal position, we may derive the attributive construction by leftward movement of the

adjective across the noun while stranding the *dan/als/van*-phrase (alternatively, we may assume that the AP is base-generated in prenominal position and that the *dan/als/van*-phrase has been moved rightward across the noun, but we will not consider this option here). If so, this makes it possible to assume that the appositive constructions in (174) have the same underlying structure as the attributive ones in (173) by assuming that the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives functions as a constraint on the postulated movement operation. One might want to claim that the attributive construction is derived by movement of the phrase minimally containing the adjective and its complement and stranding the adjunct *als/dan/van*-phrase.

- (176) a. [Determiner ... N [_{AP} ... [A PP *dan/als/van*...]] [appositive AP]
 a'. *[Determiner [A PP]_i N [_{AP} ... t_i *dan/als van*...]] [attributive AP]
 b. [Determiner ... N [_{AP}... [PP A] *dan/als/van*...]] [appositive AP]
 b'. [Determiner [PP A]_i N [_{AP} ... t_i *dan/als/van*...]] [attributive AP]

The claim that the Head-final Filter blocks the movement in (176a') but not the one in (176b') correctly accounts for the fact that an adjective like *gek* 'fond' in (177a), which must precede its PP-complement, cannot be used attributively; cf. (177b) and Section 5.3.1.2. The intended meaning of (177b) must therefore be expressed by using the AP as an appositive, as in (177c).

- (177) a. De man is <*op zijn vrouw> gek <op zijn vrouw>.
 the man is of his wife fond
 b. de gekke <*op zijn vrouw> man <*op zijn vrouw>
 the fond of his wife man
 c. de man, gek op zijn vrouw, ...
 the man fond of his wife

Analyses of the sort in (176), of course, raise non-trivial questions concerning the size of the moved phrase, given that it is not the case that all modifiers of the adjective can be stranded. Example (178b), for example, shows that modifier *genoeg* blocks the attributive use of the modified adjective regardless of whether it is stranded or pied piped; see Section 5.3.2.2 for more detailed and careful discussion. Consequently the only option is to use the AP appositively.

- (178) a. De mand is <*genoeg> groot <genoeg> om een kip in te houden.
 the basket is big enough COMP a chicken in to keep
 'The basket is big enough to keep a chicken in.'
 b. *een groot <genoeg> mand <genoeg> om een kip in te houden
 a big enough basket COMP a chicken in to keep
 c. een mand groot genoeg om een kip in te houden
 a basket big enough COMP a chicken in to keep

Similarly, the (a)-examples in (179) and (180) show that attributive use of adjectives with a clausal complement is also blocked; cf. Section 5.3.1.2, sub II. This holds regardless of whether (the stranded part of) the anticipatory PP precedes or follows the adjective. Note in passing that the corresponding appositive constructions are again acceptable, but require that the anticipatory PP be unsplit, as will be clear from the degraded status of (179c).

- (179) a. *de *er* ziek(e) *van* jongen dat jij steeds zeurt
 the there fed.up with boy that you continually nag
 b. de jongen, ziek *er van* dat jij steeds zeurt, ...
 c. ?de jongen, *er* ziek *van* dat jij steeds zeurt, ...
- (180) a. *de *er* *tegen* gekante jongen dat Marie uitgenodigd wordt
 the there against opposed boy that Marie invited is
 b. de jongen, *er tegen* gekant dat Marie uitgenodigd wordt, ...

We will put these problems aside, however, given that the hypothesis that attributives and appositives have the same underlying structure and that the choice between them is subject to additional constraints like the Head-final Filter on attributive adjectives encounters a number of additional problems that are perhaps even more problematic.

III. Problems for the hypothesis

The hypothesis that attributives and appositives have the same underlying structure meets with various problems. A first problem is that appositives and attributives differ in that only the former can modify pronouns and proper nouns. Some acceptable examples involving appositives are given in (181). Note that examples like *een bange Jan* or *een tevreden Marie* are possible; the presence of the indefinite article suggests, however, that the proper nouns are used here as common nouns.

- (181) a. Hij/Jan, bang voor regen, nam een paraplu mee.
 he/Jan afraid for rain took an umbrella with (him)
 b. Zij/Marie, tevreden over het resultaat, gaf de student een tien.
 she/Marie satisfied with the result gave the student an A

The second problem is more semantic in nature. Consider the examples in (170a&b), repeated in a slightly different form as (182a&b). Section 1.3.2 has shown that the noun phrase in (182a) refers to the intersection of the set denoted by the noun *man* and the set denoted by the AP *op zijn vrouw verliefd*. In addition, the definite determiner indicates that this intersection has one member. The noun phrase in (182b), on the other hand, refers to a known male person in the domain of discourse, about whom it is claimed that he is in love with his wife; in this respect the appositive behaves like the non-restrictive relative clause in (182c). The fact that (182a) and (182b) differ in interpretation in this way seems inconsistent with the claim that they both have the same underlying structure.

- (182) a. de op zijn vrouw verliefde man
 the with his wife in.love man
 b. de man, op zijn vrouw verliefd, ...
 the man with his wife in.love
 c. de man, die op zijn vrouw verliefd is, ...
 the man who with his wife in.love is

Another difference in meaning can be made clear by means of the examples in (183) and (184). Example (183a) is ambiguous between a “one-set” reading, according to which the cars that sold well have the property of being both old and

cheap, and a “two-set” reading, according to which both the old and the cheap cars sold well. The attributive construction in (183b), on the other hand, only has the “one-set” reading.

- (183) a. De auto's, oud en goedkoop, werden goed verkocht.
 the cars old and cheap were well sold
 ‘The cars, old and cheap, sold well.’
 b. De oude en goedkope auto's werden goed verkocht.
 the old and cheap cars were well sold
 ‘The old and cheap cars sold well.’

This difference between the appositive and attributive constructions can be more clearly demonstrated by means of the examples in (184), in which the antonymous adjectives *oud* ‘old’ and *nieuw* ‘new’ block the “one-set” reading due to the fact that this reading would give rise to a contradiction. As expected, the appositive construction in (183a) now only allows the “two-set” reading, according to which both the old and the new cars sold well, whereas the corresponding attributive construction in (183b) is unacceptable due to the fact that it only allows the semantically anomalous interpretation that all cars that sold well are both old and new.

- (184) a. De auto's, oud en nieuw, werden goed verkocht.
 the cars old and new were well sold
 ‘The cars, (both) old and new, sold well.’
 b. *De oude en nieuwe auto's werden goed verkocht.
 the old and new cars were well sold
 ‘The old and new cars sold well.’

Note that, in this case, the relative clauses in (185) pattern like the attributive construction, due to the fact that the relative pronoun acts as the °logical SUBJECT of the complete coordinated predicative APs.

- (185) a. De auto's, die oud en goedkoop waren, werden goed verkocht.
 the cars which old and cheap were were well sold
 ‘The cars, which were old and cheap, sold well.’
 b. *De auto's, die oud en nieuw waren, werden goed verkocht.
 the cars which old and new were were well sold
 ‘The cars, which were old and new, sold well.’

A third difference is illustrated by means of the examples in (186) and (187), which contain an attributively used comparative. In the attributive constructions in (186), the comparative can be complemented by the *dan*-phrase *dan ik (heb)* ‘than I (have)’, whereas complementation with *dan het mijne (is)* ‘than mine (is)’ is excluded.

- (186) a. Jan heeft een groter huis dan ik (heb).
 Jan has a bigger house than I have
 ‘Jan has a bigger house than I (have)’
 b. *Jan heeft een groter huis dan het mijne (is).
 Jan has a bigger house than the mine is

When the appositive and the attributive have a common source, we expect the same thing to be the case in the corresponding appositive construction. Example (187) shows, however, that this expectation is not borne out. Complementation with *dan het mijne (is)* becomes fully acceptable, whereas complementation with *dan ik heb* becomes unacceptable. Note that example (187a) is grammatical without the verb *hebben* ‘to have’, but that this leads to the pragmatically odd interpretation “Jan has a house that is bigger than I am”, which is not available in (186a).

- (187) a. Jan heeft een huis groter dan ik ^{%(*?)}heb).
 Jan has a house bigger than I have
 b. Jan heeft een huis groter dan het mijne (is).
 Jan has a house bigger than the mine is
 ‘Jan has a house bigger than mine (is).’

In these comparative constructions, relative clauses again behave like appositives, not attributives. This is illustrated in (188).

- (188) a. [%]Jan heeft een huis dat groter is dan ik.
 Jan has a house that bigger is than I
 b. Jan heeft een huis dat groter is dan het mijne.
 Jan has a house that bigger is than the mine
 ‘Jan has a house that is bigger than mine.’

IV. Conclusion

The general picture that seems to emerge from the discussion above is that appositive constructions are used when the attributive use of the AP is blocked for some reason. At first sight, this seems to provide support for the claim that the appositive and attributive construction are alternative realizations of the same underlying structure. The last subsection has shown, however, that there are various problems both of a semantic and a syntactic nature for proposals of this sort. We have furthermore seen that appositives resemble non-restrictive relative clauses in various respects, which suggest that the apposition is propositional in nature; an analysis that emphasizes the propositional nature of the apposition can be found in Heringa (2012).

6.4.2. Restrictive and non-restrictive use of the appositive

The previous section has shown that the function of the appositive in (182b) is comparable to that of a non-restrictive relative clause. However, when the appositive modifies a nonspecific indefinite noun phrase, as in (178c) and (187a&b), it is perfectly compatible with a restrictive interpretation. That a restrictive interpretation is possible becomes even clearer when we consider transitive verbs with an intentional interpretation in the sense that they do not presuppose the existence of the direct object. A clear example of such a verb is *zoeken* ‘search for’: although a philosopher may be searching for the meaning of life, this does not presuppose that there really is such a thing as the meaning of life. In the contexts of these intentional verbs, a restrictive interpretation of appositives is highly favored.

- (189) a. Jan zoekt naar een studieboek over taalkunde geschikt voor eerstejaars.
 Jan looks for a textbook on linguistics suitable for first-year.students
 b. Marie verlangt naar een plek ver van de moderne samenleving.
 Marie longs for a place far from the modern society

In these restrictive uses of the appositive, there is no intonation break between the noun and the appositive, although an intonation break may occur between the full noun phrase and the finite verb in second position. In the non-restrictive uses, on the other hand, such intonation breaks are required. The examples in (190) show that restrictive appositives and restricted relative clauses again behave alike in this respect; as in the examples above, the intonation breaks are indicated by means of commas.

- (190) a. Studenten geschikt voor deze baan, zijn uitgenodigd. [restrictive]
 students fit for this job are invited
 a'. Studenten die geschikt zijn voor deze baan, zijn uitgenodigd.
 students that fit are for this job are invited
 'Students that are fit for this job are invited.'
 b. De studenten, geschikt voor deze baan, zijn uitgenodigd. [non-restrictive]
 the students fit for this job are invited
 b'. De studenten, die geschikt zijn voor deze baan, zijn uitgenodigd.
 the students that fit are for this job are invited
 'The students, who are fit for this job, are invited.'

Observe that only the restrictive appositives alternate with the attributive construction: (189a), for instance, has the near-synonymous paraphrase in (191a), whereas (191b), if acceptable at all, is not an appropriate paraphrase of (190b).

- (191) a. Jan zoekt naar een geschikt studieboek over taalkunde voor eerstejaars.
 Jan looks for a suitable textbook on linguistics for first-year.students
 b. ??De geschikte studenten voor de baan zijn uitgenodigd.
 the fit students for the job are invited

Restrictive appositives are also quite acceptable with indefinite noun phrases when the AP is heavy, that is, when the adjective is modified by a complex modifier like *zo ... dat ...*, which, as we have seen in Section 3.1.3.1, sub II, also allows the split attributive pattern in the primed examples.

- (192) a. een vergadering zo saai [dat ik ervan in slaap viel]
 a meeting so boring that I thereof in sleep fell
 a'. een zo saaie vergadering [dat ik ervan in slaap viel]
 b. een meisje zo vrolijk dat iedereen haar mag
 a girl so cheerful that everybody her likes
 'a girl so cheerful that everybody likes her'
 b'. een zo vrolijk meisje dat iedereen haar mag

When the antecedent is a definite DP or a proper noun, restrictive appositives only occur in emphatic, usually contrastive, contexts. Some examples are given in (193). In these cases, the postmodifying adjectives do not serve to restrict the

referent set of the modified noun phrase, but instead indicate the circumstances under which the predication of the main clause holds. In (193b), for instance, the referent of *Jan* is uniquely identified, and what the adjective serves to express is that an angry Jan is to be preferred over a sad Jan.

- (193) a. Deze jongen jaLOERS is tot alles in staat. [emphatic]
 this boy jealous is to everything capable
 'This boy jealous is capable of everything.'
 b. Jan KWAAD is te verkiezen boven Jan verDRIETig. [contrastive]
 Jan angry is to prefer above Jan sad
 'Jan angry is preferable to Jan sad.'

The fact that these examples are necessarily restrictive also accounts for the fact that such constructions allow °stage-level adjectives only, as shown by the semantic anomaly of the examples in (194).

- (194) a. *Deze jongen intelligent kan nog een eind komen.
 this boy intelligent can yet an end come
 b. *Jan klein van STUK zou veel minder indrukwekkend zijn.
 Jan small of piece would much less impressive be
 'Jan small would be much less impressive.'

6.4.3. Differences between appositives and supplementives

Since they can both occupy a position in the middle field of the clause, appositives and supplementives can be easily confused. Non-restrictive appositives can be relatively easily distinguished from supplementives because the former, but not the latter, must be preceded and followed by a brief intonation break; cf. Section 6.4.2. For example, (195a) contains a non-restrictive appositive, whereas (195b) contains a supplementive adjective. Note that (195b) cannot be interpreted with the AP as a restrictive appositive phrase because proper nouns generally do not allow restrictive modifiers.

- (195) a. Gisteren zwalkte Jan, zo dronken als een tempelier, over straat.
 yesterday wandered Jan as drunk as a templar over street
 'Yesterday, Jan, as drunk as a fiddler, wandered about the streets.'
 b. Gisteren zwalkte Jan zo dronken als een tempelier over straat.
 yesterday wandered Jan as drunk as a templar over street
 'Yesterday, Jan wandered about the streets as drunk as a fiddler.'

In (195a) the AP is an adjunct of the noun phrase *Jan*, whereas it is an independent constituent in (195b). This can also be made clear by means of the °constituency test: the fact that the string *Jan, zo dronken als een tempelier* can be placed in clause-initial position as a whole shows that it must be a single constituent, whereas the fact that the string *Jan zo dronken als een tempelier* (i.e., the phrase without the intonation break between *Jan* and the AP) cannot occupy this position suggests that *Jan* and *dronken als een tempelier* are separate phrases.

- (196) a. Jan, zo dronken als een tempelier, zwalkte over straat.
 Jan as drunk as a templar wandered over street
 'Jan, as drunk as a fiddler, wandered about the streets.'
 b. *Jan zo dronken als een tempelier zwalkte over straat.
 Jan as drunk as a templar wandered over street
 b'. Jan zwalkte zo dronken als een tempelier over straat.
 Jan wandered as drunk as a templar over street

It must be noted, however, that, despite the fact that (196a) shows that the noun and the appositive may form a single constituent, the appositive can be extraposed, that is, appear detached from the noun in a position following the clause-final verb, as in (197a). This need not be construed as evidence against the claim that the noun and the appositive form a constituent: relative clauses, for instance, can often also be extraposed. Still, it should be observed that the adjectival appositive differs from the nominal appositive in that °extraposition of the latter is only possible when its antecedent is a pronoun, as shown in the (b)-examples in (197); in fact, (197b') probably does not involve an appositional phrase at all, but Right Dislocation (which is akin to °left dislocation, but does not involve movement of the resumptive element).

- (197) a. Jan/Hij zwalkte over straat, zo dronken als een tempelier.
 Jan/he wandered over the street as drunk as a templar
 b. Jan/Hij, de bankdirecteur, komt vandaag langs.
 Jan/he the bank manager comes today by
 'Jan/He, the bank manager, will drop in today.'
 b'. *Jan komt vandaag langs, de bankdirecteur.
 b''. Hij komt vandaag langs, de bankdirecteur.

Non-restrictive appositives and supplementives differ semantically in that the former, but not the latter (cf. Section 6.3.3), acts as a kind of reduced parenthetical clause, which simply provides additional information that has no fixed relation with the remainder of the clause. Consider the contrast between the two examples in (198). Example (198b) is unacceptable since the conditional interpretation of supplementive-I is gibberish (cf. Section 6.3.3.3, sub I): "When Jan is as drunk as a fiddler *now*, he *always* claims to be a teetotaler". Since the appositive in (198a) does not have a fixed semantic relation with the remainder of the clause, a sensible interpretation can readily be found, e.g., "Although Jan always claims that he is a teetotaler, he is as drunk as a fiddler now".

- (198) a. dat Jan, nu zo dronken als een tempelier, altijd beweert
 that Jan now as drunk as a templar always contends
 dat hij geheelonthouder is.
 that he teetotaler is
 'that Jan (he is as drunk as a fiddler now) always says that he is a teetotaler.'
 b. *dat Jan nu zo dronken als een tempelier altijd beweert
 that Jan now as drunk as a templar always contends
 dat hij geheelonthouder is.
 that he teetotaler is

That the relation between the appositive and the remainder of the clause is indeed not fixed can be made clear by comparing (198a) with (199a). Whereas we seem to be dealing with a concessive relation in (198a), example (199a) is rather interpreted as a causative relation: because Jan was satisfied about the result, he went home early. Finally, example (199b) shows that supplementive-II cannot be used when the verb (phrase) is modified by an adverb such as *vroeg* ‘early’; cf. Section 6.3.3. As can be seen in (199a), however, the addition of this modifier makes no difference in the case of an appositive phrase.

- (199) a. Gisteren ging Jan, tevreden over het resultaat, vroeg naar huis.
 yesterday went Jan satisfied about the result early to home
 ‘Jan, satisfied about the result, went home early yesterday.’
 b. Gisteren ging Jan tevreden over het resultaat (*vroeg) naar huis.
 yesterday went Jan satisfied about the result early to home

Since it is quite difficult to construct minimal pairs that involve restrictive appositive phrases and supplementives, we will not discuss the differences between the two any further here, but leave that to future research.

6.5. Clausal SUBJECTS

In the preceding sections, we have restricted our attention to predicatively used adjectives with nominal SUBJECTS, such as *Jan* in (200a) and (201a). In addition, many adjectives can take a clausal SUBJECT, which is generally introduced by the anticipatory pronoun *het* ‘it’. The clausal SUBJECT can often be either finite or infinitival. Examples are given in (200b-c) and (201b-c); °PRO in (200c) and (201c) stands for the implied subject of the infinitival clause.

- (200) a. Jan is leuk.
 Jan is nice
 b. Het is leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 it is nice that Marie my favorite book reads
 ‘It is nice that Marie is reading my favorite book.’
 c. Het is leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].
 it is nice COMP my favorite book to read
 ‘It is nice to read my favorite book.’
 (201) a. Ik vind Jan leuk.
 I consider Jan nice
 b. Ik vind het leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 I consider it nice that Marie my favorite book reads
 c. Ik vind het leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].
 I consider it nice COMP my favorite book to read

The reason to consider the clause in these examples as the SUBJECT of the adjective is that the semantic relation between *leuk* ‘nice’ and *Jan* in (200a) and (201a) is similar to the semantic relation between *leuk* and the propositions expressed by the dependent clauses in (200b-c) and (201b-c): both the referent “Jan” and the events “Marie is reading my favorite book”/“PRO reading my favorite book” are

considered to be part of the set denoted by *leuk*. This section is organized as follows. Section 6.5.1 starts by discussing some general properties of constructions with a clausal SUBJECT. Sections 6.5.2 and 6.5.3 focus on adjectival constructions that contain a finite and an infinitival clausal SUBJECT, respectively. Section 6.5.4, finally, discusses two special cases: the *easy-to-please*-construction and modal infinitives.

6.5.1. General properties

This section discusses some general properties of adjectival constructions that contain a finite or infinitival clausal SUBJECT.

I. The relation between the anticipatory pronoun and the clausal SUBJECT

The dependent clauses in (200b-c) and (201b-c) are optional. Since logical SUBJECTs are normally obligatorily present, it is often assumed that, syntactically speaking, these clauses are not the real SUBJECTs of the adjective. That they are interpreted as the SUBJECT is due to their relation to the anticipatory pronoun *het* 'it', which functions as the syntactic SUBJECT of the adjective. The relation between the pronoun and the clause is expressed by means of coindexation, as in (202).

- (202) a. Het_i is leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest]_i.
 it is nice that Marie my favorite book reads
 a'. Het_i is leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen]_i.
 it is nice COMP my favorite book to read
 b. Ik vind het_i leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest]_i.
 I consider it nice that Marie my favorite book reads
 b'. Ik vind het_i leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen]_i.
 I consider it nice COMP my favorite book to read

II. No anticipatory pronoun when the clausal SUBJECT is clause-initial

The anticipatory pronoun functions like a "place-holder" for the SUBJECT clause, which is normally placed at the right edge of the matrix clause. This placeholder must be dropped, however, when the SUBJECT clause is placed in clause-initial position, as in (203). This provides additional evidence for the assumption that the clauses in (202) are the logical SUBJECTs of the adjective.

- (203) a. [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] is (*het) leuk.
 a'. [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] is (*het) leuk.
 b. [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] vind ik (*het) leuk.
 b'. [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] vind ik (*het) leuk.

It must be observed that, although the anticipatory pronoun *het* must be dropped in the (a)-examples of (203), the clausal SUBJECT does not occupy the regular subject position of the matrix clause, but the sentence-initial position that can be occupied by, for instance, *wh*-phrases and topicalized elements. This is clear from the fact that the clause cannot follow the finite verb in yes/no questions, and from the fact that preposing of the clause is not possible in embedded clauses. This is illustrated in (204) and (205), respectively.

- (204) a. *Is [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] leuk?
 b. *Is [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] leuk?
- (205) a. dat het leuk is [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 a'. *dat [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] leuk is.
 b. dat het leuk is [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].
 b'. *dat [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] leuk is.

Just as the clausal SUBJECT cannot occupy the regular subject position of the clause in the copular constructions above, it cannot occupy the regular object position of the clause in the *vinden*-construction either. This is shown in (206).

- (206) a. *Ik vind [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] leuk.
 b. *Ik vind [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] leuk.

Although examples (204) to (206) show that the clausal SUBJECTS in (203) clearly do not occupy the same position as the anticipatory pronouns in (202), the fact that the anticipatory pronoun *het* cannot be used in (203) strongly suggests that topicalization of the SUBJECT clauses does not take place in one fell swoop, but proceeds via the position occupied by the anticipatory pronoun *het* in (202); if so, this position is occupied by a trace of the clause, and consequently insertion of the “place-holder” cannot take place. We refer the reader to Den Dikken and Næss (1993) for arguments in favor of the claim that topicalization of clauses may proceed through the regular argument (subject or object) positions of the clause based on English and Norwegian Locative Inversion constructions.

III. Anticipatory pronoun is optional when the predicative adjective is clause-initial

When the adjective is preposed, as in (207), the anticipatory pronoun is optionally present, although the two cases differ slightly in intonation and meaning. When the anticipatory pronoun is present, it is followed by a short intonation break and the sentence simply expresses that the event the clausal SUBJECT refers to can be characterized by means of the adjective *leuk* ‘nice’. When the anticipatory pronoun is absent, on the other hand, there is no intonation break and the sentence expresses that from among the things under discussion the event expressed by the SUBJECT clause can be characterized as *leuk* ‘nice’; the sentence is contrastive, as is clear from the fact that the adjective must be assigned contrastive accent in this case.

- (207) a. Leuk is (het) [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 a'. Leuk is (het) [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].
 b. Leuk vind ik (het) [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 b'. Leuk vind ik (het) [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].

IV. The adjective and its clausal SUBJECT cannot be preposed as a whole

The examples in (208) show that the adjective and the clausal SUBJECT cannot be preposed as a whole (although for some speakers these examples are acceptable when the adverb *niet* is assigned heavy accent). This suggests that the adjective and the clausal SUBJECT do not form a constituent.

- (208) a. *?Leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] is (het) niet.
 nice that Marie my favorite book reads is it not
 a'. *Leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] is (het) niet.
 nice COMP my favorite book to read is it not
 b. *?Leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] vind ik (het).
 b'. *Leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] vind ik (het).

There is, however, one exception to this general rule: adjectives that take an interrogative clause as their SUBJECT when they are negated do allow topicalization of this kind. This will be discussed in Section 6.5.2.

V. The clausal SUBJECT follows the verb(s) in clause-final position

That the adjective and the clausal SUBJECT do not form a constituent is also suggested by the fact that the clausal SUBJECT is not adjacent to the adjective in embedded clauses but obligatorily follows the verb(s) in clause-final position. This is demonstrated in (209) and (210).

- (209) a. dat het leuk is [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 that it nice is that Marie my favorite book reads
 a'. *dat het leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] is.
 b. dat het leuk is [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].
 b'. *dat het leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] is.
- (210) a. dat ik het leuk vind [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 that I it nice consider that Marie my favorite book reads
 a'. *dat ik het leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest] vind.
 b. dat ik het leuk vind [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen].
 b'. *dat ik het leuk [om PRO mijn favoriete boek te lezen] vind.

6.5.2. Finite clausal SUBJECTs

This section focuses on adjectives that take a finite clausal SUBJECT. It will be shown that these adjectives must be divided into two classes on syntactic grounds; cf. Bennis (2004). Some care is needed while reading this section, since much of what is discussed here is still under investigation, and speakers of Dutch tend to have different judgments on the examples discussed.

We have seen that some adjectives, like *leuk* in (200), may take either a nominal or a clausal SUBJECT. Another example is given in (211). The fact that, as with *leuk*, the SUBJECT clause is optional with *duidelijk* suggests that the anticipatory pronoun functions as the syntactic SUBJECT of the adjective. The coindexing between the anticipatory pronoun *het* and the finite clause in (211b&c) is again used to express that the clause functions as the logical SUBJECT of the adjective.

- (211) a. Het voorstel is (mij) eindelijk duidelijk.
 the proposal is me finally clear
 'The proposal is finally clear to me.'

- b. Het_i is eindelijk duidelijk ([dat Jan de baan zal krijgen]_i).
it is finally clear that Jan the job will get
'It is finally clear that Jan will get the job.'
- c. Ik acht het_i wel duidelijk ([dat Jan de baan zal krijgen]_i).
I consider it PRT clear that Jan the job will get
'I consider it clear that Jan will get the job.'

Constructions with *duidelijk* also act as expected with respect to the other properties discussed in Section 6.5.1: the (a)-examples in (212) and (213) show that the anticipatory pronoun must be dropped when the SUBJECT clause occupies the sentence-initial position; the (b)-examples that the anticipatory pronoun is optional when the adjective occupies the sentence-initial position; the (c)-examples that the adjective and the clausal SUBJECT cannot be preposed as a whole; and the (d)-examples, finally, that the clausal SUBJECT must follow the verb(s) in clause-final position.

- (212) a. [Dat Jan de baan zal krijgen] is (*het) eindelijk duidelijk.
b. Duidelijk is (het) eindelijk [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen].
c. *[?]Duidelijk [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen] is (het) eindelijk.
d. dat het eindelijk duidelijk is [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen].
d'. *dat het eindelijk duidelijk [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen] is.
- (213) a. [Dat Jan de baan zal krijgen] acht ik (*het) wel duidelijk.
b. Duidelijk acht ik (het) wel [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen].
c. *Duidelijk [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen] acht ik (het) wel.
d. dat ik het wel duidelijk acht [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen].
d'. *dat ik het wel duidelijk [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen] acht.

There are, however, also various differences between the two adjectives *leuk* and *duidelijk*, which will be discussed in the following subsections.

1. The anticipatory pronoun *het* 'it'

There is a conspicuous difference between the examples in (200b) and (211b), where the anticipatory pronoun acts as the nominative subject of the sentence: when the anticipatory pronoun *het* follows the finite verb in second position, as in the primeless examples in (214), it can be dropped when the adjective is *duidelijk*, but not when the adjective is *leuk*. A similar difference can be observed in the primed examples, where the clause containing the anticipatory pronoun is embedded.

- (214) a. Natuurlijk is *(het) leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
of course is it nice that Marie my favorite book reads
a'. dat *(het) leuk is [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
that it nice is that Marie my favorite book reads
b'. Eindelijk is (het) duidelijk [dat Jan de baan moet krijgen].
finally is it clear that Jan the job must get
b'. dat (het) duidelijk is [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen].
that it clear is that Jan the job will get

In the *vinden*-constructions the anticipatory pronoun is normally obligatorily present, as is demonstrated in (215). In officialese, however, the anticipatory pronoun can be dropped when the verb *achten* is used. This is shown in (216).

- (215) a. Natuurlijk vind ik *(het) leuk [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 of course consider I it nice that Marie my favorite book reads
 a'. dat ik *(het) leuk vind [dat Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 that I it nice consider that Marie my favorite book reads
 b. Nu vindt ook Peter ^{*7}(het) duidelijk [dat Jan de baan moet krijgen].
 now considers also Peter it clear that Jan the job must get
 b'. dat ook Peter ^{*7}(het) duidelijk vindt [dat Jan de baan zal krijgen].
 that also Peter it clear considers that Jan the job will get
- (216) dat het hof bewezen acht [dat ...]
 that the court proved considers that
 'that the court considers it proven that ...'

II. Interrogative clauses

Another difference between the adjectives *leuk* and *duidelijk* is that when the adjective is negated, the declarative subject clause can be replaced by a dependent interrogative clause in the case of *duidelijk*, but not in the case of *leuk*. This is illustrated in (217) by means of the contrast between the (a)- and (b)-examples. Note that the (b)-examples are acceptable regardless of whether negation is expressed syntactically by the negative adverb *niet* 'not' or morphologically by the negative prefix *on-*.

- (217) a. *Het is niet leuk [of Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 it is not nice whether Marie my favorite book reads
 a'. *Ik vind het niet leuk [of Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 I consider it not nice whether Marie my favorite book reads
 b. Het is onduidelijk/niet duidelijk [of Jan de baan zal krijgen].
 it is unclear/not clear whether Jan the job will get
 'It is unclear/not clear whether Jan will get the job.'
 b'. Ik vind het nog onduidelijk/niet duidelijk [of Jan de baan zal krijgen].
 I consider it still unclear/not clear whether Jan the job will get
 'I consider it still unclear/not clear whether Jan will get the job.'

Note in passing that adjectives that are morphologically derived from verbs that select a dependent interrogative clause, such as *twijfelachtig* 'uncertain' (derived from *twijfelen* 'to doubt'), must take an interrogative complement.

- (218) Het is twijfelachtig [of Marie mijn favoriete boek leest].
 it is uncertain whether Marie my favorite book reads

Given that dependent interrogative clauses typically occur as *complements* of certain verbs, it is normally assumed that they are selected: the examples in (217) therefore suggest that the clausal SUBJECTS in the (b)-examples are complements of the adjective. In other words, adjectives like (on)*duidelijk* are the counterparts of °unaccusative verbs like *vertrekken* 'to leave' in the sense that their clausal

SUBJECTS are °DO-subjects (internal arguments). There are at least two additional arguments in favor of this suggestion.

A. Topicalization

If the finite clauses in the (b)-examples in (217) are DO-subjects of the adjective (*on*)*duidelijk*, the two make up a constituent. Consequently, we expect that the two can be moved into clause-initial position (provided, at least, that this constituent is not split by movement). This expectation is indeed borne out; consider the data in (219).

- (219) a. Het is nog steeds niet duidelijk [of Jan de baan zal krijgen].
 it is PRT still not clear whether Jan the job will get
 a'. Duidelijk [of Jan de baan zal krijgen] is het nog steeds niet.
 b. Het is nog steeds onduidelijk [of Jan de baan zal krijgen].
 it is PRT still unclear whether Jan the job will get
 b'. ?Onduidelijk [of Jan de baan zal krijgen] is het nog steeds.

The fact that (219a') is acceptable suggests that the adjective and the finite clause indeed form a constituent. Example (219b') seems somewhat degraded, but improves considerably when it is part of a larger structure: *Onduidelijk of Jan de baan zal krijgen is het nog steeds, maar we hopen er morgen meer over te horen* 'It is still unclear whether Jan will get the job, but we hope that we will hear more about it tomorrow'. Recall that the examples in (208) have already shown that adjectives like *leuk* do not allow topicalization of this type.

A potential problem for concluding that *duidelijk* (always) has a DO-subject is that topicalization of the adjective and the finite clause is excluded when the latter is introduced by the declarative complementizer *dat* 'that'. This was illustrated in (212c). For completeness' sake, observe that the pronoun *het* is obligatorily present in the primed examples in (219), unlike what is the case when the adjective or finite clause is topicalized in isolation; cf. the examples in (212a&b).

B. Wh-extraction from the finite clause

A second argument in favor of the assumption that *duidelijk* takes a DO-subject is that, for at least some speakers, *duidelijk* allows *wh*-extraction from the finite clause. Since *wh*-extraction is possible from complement clauses only, this supports the claim that *duidelijk* takes a DO-subject. Example (220a) shows that adjectives like *leuk* do not allow *wh*-extraction, but we cannot conclude from this that *leuk* does not take a DO-subject; example (220b) shows that in the case of *duidelijk*, *wh*-extraction from the finite clause requires that the anticipatory pronoun *het* be dropped. The pronoun *het* is, however, obligatory with *leuk* and it is for this reason that *wh*-extraction is excluded. For the same reason, *wh*-extraction is never possible in *vinden*-constructions like (220c) because in this construction the pronoun *het* is likewise obligatory.

- (220) a. *Wat_i is (het) leuk [dat Marie t_i leest]?
 what is it nice that Marie reads
 b. Wat_i is (*het) duidelijk [dat Jan t_i zal krijgen]?
 what is it clear that Jan will get
 c. *Wat_i vind je (het) duidelijk [dat Jan t_i zal krijgen]?
 what consider you it clear that Jan will get

III. *The Resultative Construction*

A final difference between *leuk* and *duidelijk* is that only the latter can be used in a resultative construction. However, this is probably not related to the difference discussed in II, but to the fact that *duidelijk* optionally selects a dative argument: an adjective like *evident* ‘obvious’, which is probably of the same type as *duidelijk* (see Table 2) but does not select an additional argument, cannot enter the resultative construction either.

- (221) a. *Peter maakte (het) leuk [dat Jan de baan krijgt].
Peter made it nice that Jan the job gets
b. Peter maakte (het) ons duidelijk [dat Jan de baan krijgt].
Peter made it us clear that Jan the job gets
‘Peter made it clear to us that Jan will get the job.’
c. *Peter maakte (het) evident [dat Jan de baan krijgt].
Peter made it obvious that Jan the job gets

IV. *Conclusion*

When we consider the class of adjectives that may take a finite clause as their logical SUBJECT, it is not always easy to determine to which type they belong. This is largely due to the fact that those adjectives that allow dropping of the anticipatory pronoun in constructions like (214) do not always allow an interrogative clause in negative contexts. Further, results of the *wh*-extraction test are not always clear since many speakers do not readily allow it anyway. Table 2 provides the results for a small sample of adjectives. In this table PRONOUN-DROP indicates whether the anticipatory pronoun can be dropped in the relevant contexts, INTERROGATIVE indicates whether the finite clause may be an interrogative clause in negative contexts, and WH-MOVEMENT indicates whether *wh*-extraction is possible in the absence of an anticipatory pronoun.

Table 2: *Properties of adjectives with a finite clausal SUBJECT*

ADJECTIVE	TRANSLATION	PRONOUN-DROP	INTERROGATIVE	WH-MOVEMENT
<i>aardig</i>	nice	—	—	n.a.
<i>gevaarlijk</i>	dangerous	—	—	n.a.
<i>pijnlijk</i>	embarrassing	—	—	n.a.
<i>vervelend</i>	annoying	—	—	n.a.
<i>aannemelijk</i>	plausible	+	—	+
<i>bekend</i>	well-known	+	+	+
<i>evident</i>	obvious	+	+	+

The adjectives in Table 2 can all take either a noun phrase or a finite clause, but there are also some that preferably take a clausal SUBJECT in the sense that SUBJECTS of the nominal type are restricted to the personal pronoun *het* and the neuter demonstratives *dit/dat* ‘this/that’, which may refer to propositions, or (often marginally) deverbal nouns. Some examples of such adjectives are: *jammer/spijtig* ‘unfortunate’ and modal adjectives like *mogelijk* ‘possible’, and *zeker* ‘certain’.

- (222) a. Het_i is jammer/spijtig ([dat je vertrekt]_i).
 it is a.pity that you leave
 b. Dit/Dat is jammer/spijtig.
 this/that is a.pity
 c. ^{??}Je vertrek is jammer/spijtig.
 your leaving is a.pity
 d. *De bomaanslag is jammer/spijtig.
 the bomb.attack is a.pity
- (223) a. Het_i is mogelijk/zeker ([dat Jan vertrekt]_i).
 it is possible/certain that Jan leaves
 b. Dit/Dat is mogelijk/zeker.
 this/that is possible/certain
 c. [?]Zijn vertrek is mogelijk/zeker.
 his leaving is possible/certain
 d. ^{*?}De bomaanslag is mogelijk/zeker.
 the bomb.attack is possible/certain

For completeness' sake, note that the (a)-examples in (224) are more or less acceptable, which is perhaps due to the possibility of interpreting the indefinite noun phrase *een bomaanslag* as an event: "the occurrence of a bomb attack". Note in this connection that, as is shown by the (b)-examples, INF-nominalizations can also be used as SUBJECTS of these adjectives.

- (224) a. Een bomaanslag zou nu jammer/spijtig zijn.
 a bomb.attack would now a.pity be
 a'. Een bomaanslag is nu mogelijk.
 a bomb.attack is now possible
 b. Het krijgen van een onvoldoende zou jammer/spijtig zijn.
 the getting of an unsatisfactory.mark would a.pity be
 'Getting an unsatisfactory mark would be a pity.'
 b. Het krijgen van een onvoldoende is nog steeds mogelijk.
 the getting of an unsatisfactory.mark is PRT still possible

6.5.3. Infinitival clausal SUBJECTS

This section focuses on adjectives that take an infinitival clausal SUBJECT. The examples in (225) show that these adjectives may select a, generally optional, *van-* or *voor-*PP. The implied subject °PRO of the infinitival clause is often dependent on the nominal complement of this PP for its interpretation: the examples in (225) are interpreted such that it is Jan who is complaining/passing the exam. In cases like these, it is said that the implied subject *PRO* is controlled by the noun phrase it is referentially dependent on, and the referential dependency between the complement of the PP and *PRO* is expressed by means of subscripts.

- (225) a. Het is flauw van Jan_i [om PRO_i over het examen te klagen].
 it is silly of Jan COMP about the exam to complain
 'It is silly of Jan to complain about the exam.'
- b. Het is gemakkelijk voor Jan_i [om PRO_i voor het examen te slagen].
 it is easy for Jan COMP for the exam to pass
 'It is easy for Jan to pass the exam.'

When the *van*-PP is omitted, it is still presupposed. Because the nominal part of the implicit PP has an arbitrary interpretation, the sentences as a whole are understood "generically". We could represent this as in (226): the italicized phrase stands for the implied PP, NP refers arbitrarily and the implied subject PRO inherits this arbitrary interpretation, which is expressed by means of coindexing; see Van Haften (1991), Vanden Wyngaerd (1994; ch.6) and references cited there.

- (226) a. Het is flauw *van NP_i* [om PRO_i over het examen te klagen].
 it is silly COMP about the exam to complain
 'It is silly to complain about the exam.'
- b. Het is gemakkelijk *voor NP_i* [om PRO_i voor het examen te slagen].
 it is easy COMP for the exam to pass
 'It is easy to pass the exam.'

The adjectives can be divided into the three groups in (227) on the basis of the interpretational properties of the implied subject *PRO*; cf. Van Haften (1991). The infinitival complements of the adjectives in (227) are optionally preceded by the complementizer *om*. Occasionally adjectives are part of more than one group, depending on the context or the selected preposition. An example is *vervelend* 'annoying', which requires obligatory control when it takes a *van*-PP (which expresses the source of the annoyance) and is compatible with optional control when it takes a *voor*-PP (which expresses an entity that is potentially affected by the event denoted by the infinitival clause).

- (227) a. **Obligatory control adjectives** optionally select a *van*- or *voor*-PP with a [+ANIMATE] complement; PRO is controlled by the nominal complement of the PP.
- b. **Optional control adjectives** optionally select a *voor*-PP with a [+ANIMATE] or a [-ANIMATE] complement; PRO may be controlled by the nominal complement of the PP, but may also receive an arbitrary interpretation.
- c. **Arbitrary control adjectives** do not select a PP; PRO receives an arbitrary interpretation.

The following subsections will consider the three groups in (227) in more detail. It is, however, important to first observe that the appropriateness of the notion of obligatory control adjective does not necessarily imply that we are dealing with obligatory control in its more technical sense within generative grammar. Section V4.3 shows that obligatory control in this sense requires that PRO have a unique, °c-commanding antecedent within a certain local domain. The simple fact that obligatory control adjectives only *optionally* select the PPs containing the controller of PRO already suffices to show that we are not dealing with obligatory control in the technical sense. Furthermore, it seems obvious for most of the cases discussed

below that the infinitival clauses function as logical SUBJECTS of the adjectives, and that the PRO-subject of the infinitival clauses are therefore not c-commanded by their controllers, which are more deeply embedded in the predicative APs. For another view on this issue, see Vanden Wyngaerd (1994; Section 6.2).

I. Obligatory control adjectives

The obligatory control adjectives select a *van*- or *voor*-PP, and the nominal [+ANIMATE] complement of the PP controls the implied subject of the infinitival clause. A small sample is given in (228).

- (228) • Obligatory control adjectives:
aardig ‘nice’, *dom* ‘stupid’, *flauw* ‘silly’, *gemakkelijk* ‘easy’, *moeilijk*
‘difficult’, *mogelijk* ‘feasible’ and *(on)verstandig* ‘(un)wise’, *slim* ‘smart’

Examples of adjectives that take a *van*-PP are given in (225a) and (229): the adjective attributes a property to (the behavior of) the referent of the nominal complement of *van*. The *van*-PP may be dropped, in which case an arbitrary interpretation results along the lines indicated in (226).

- (229) Het was verstandig (van Jan_i) [(om) PRO_i vroeg te vertrekken].
it was wise of Jan COMP early to leave
‘It was wise (of Jan) to leave early.’

Examples of adjectives that take a *voor*-PP are given in (225b) and (230). The referent of the nominal complement of *voor* acts as an “experiencer”: example (230) implies that Jan experiences difficulties in admitting mistakes. When the *voor*-PP is dropped, PRO again obtains an arbitrary interpretation.

- (230) Het is moeilijk (voor Jan_i) [(om) PRO_i fouten toe te geven].
it is difficult for Jan COMP mistakes prt. to admit
‘It is difficult for Jan to admit mistakes.’

II. Optional control adjectives

The optional control adjectives select a *voor*-PP, the nominal complement of which optionally controls the implied subject of the infinitival clause. Two subcases must be distinguished: adjectives that select a PP with a [+ANIMATE] nominal complement, and adjectives that select a PP with a nominal complement that may be either [+ANIMATE] or [-ANIMATE]. A small sample of each type is given in (231).

- (231) • Optional control adjectives:
a. the *voor*-PP takes a [+ANIMATE] complement: *leuk* ‘nice’, *naar/rot*
‘unpleasant’, *vervelend* ‘annoying’, *saai* ‘boring’, *vernederend* ‘humiliating’
b. the *voor*-PP takes either a [+ANIMATE] or a [-ANIMATE] complement:
belangrijk ‘important’, *goed* ‘good’, *gevaarlijk* ‘dangerous’, *nodig*
‘necessary’, *noodzakelijk* ‘necessary’, *nuttig* ‘profitable’, *schadelijk* ‘harmful’

That the PP-complements of the adjectives in (231a) need not control the implied subject of the infinitival clause can be illustrated by means of the examples in (232). Example (232a) is ambiguous between at least two readings: either it may be the

case that Jan takes the book (to someone) or it may be the case that some other person brings the book to Jan. The latter reading can be enforced by adding the indirect object *hem* to the infinitival clause, as in (232b): when this pronoun is interpreted as coreferential with *Jan*, the implied subject *PRO* must be construed as disjoint in reference from *Jan* given that it would otherwise be illicitly bound by it; see Section N5.2.1.5 for a discussion of the binding conditions on pronouns. As before, coindexing indicates coreference.

- (232) a. Het is leuk voor Jan_i [(om) PRO_{i/j} dat boek te brengen].
 it is nice for Jan COMP that book to bring
 b. Het is leuk voor Jan_i [(om) PRO_{*i/j} hem_i dat boek te brengen].
 it is nice for Jan COMP him that book to bring
 ‘It is nice for Jan to bring him that book.’

Similar observations can be made with respect to the adjectives in (231b): (233a) is ambiguous between a reading in which it is Jan himself who does the disclosure of the secret and a reading in which the disclosure is done by some other person. As in (232), the latter reading can be enforced by adding a pronoun to the infinitival clause that is interpreted as coreferential with Jan, as in (233b).

- (233) a. Het is gevaarlijk voor Jan_i [(om) PRO_{i/j} dat geheim te verklappen].
 it is dangerous for Jan COMP that secret to tell
 ‘It is dangerous for Jan to let the cat out of the bag.’
 b. Het is gevaarlijk voor Jan_i [(om) PRO_{*i/j} dat geheim aan hem_i te verklappen].
 it is dangerous for Jan COMP that secret to him to tell
 ‘It is dangerous for Jan to tell him the secret.’

At first sight, the control readings are difficult to obtain when the PP takes a [-ANIMATE] complement. Example (234a), for example, does not allow a control reading. This does, of course, not imply that control is excluded, given that the impossibility of the control reading is due to the fact that the noun phrase *het milieu* ‘the environment’ is simply not a suitable subject for the predicate *vuilnis storten* ‘to dump waste’. When the [-ANIMATE] PP-complement is a suitable subject for the infinitival predicate, e.g., when the latter is a passive construction as in (234b), control becomes possible. Observe that the arbitrary reading of *PRO* is not possible in (234b).

- (234) a. Het is schadelijk voor het milieu_i [(om) PRO_{*i/j} vuilnis te storten].
 it is harmful to the environment COMP waste to dump
 ‘It is harmful to the environment to dump waste.’
 b. Het is schadelijk voor het weiland_i [om PRO_{i/*j} te vaak bemest te worden].
 it is harmful to the meadow COMP too often fertilized to be
 ‘It is harmful to the meadow to be fertilized too often.’

Unlike the case with obligatory control adjectives, the referent of the nominal complement of *voor* does not act as an “experiencer” in the case of optional control adjectives: the examples in (233), for example, do not imply that Jan experiences his or someone else’s telling the secret as dangerous. Instead, the referent of the nominal complement of *voor* is the entity that is potentially affected by the event expressed by the infinitival clause.

III. Arbitrary control adjectives

The arbitrary control adjectives do not take a PP-argument (although for some speakers this depends on the context). Consequently, no controller is present and the implied subject of the infinitival clause must be arbitrarily construed. Adjectives that belong to this class are: *afkeurenswaardig* 'condemnable', *gebruikelijk* 'common', *onnodig* 'not needed', *overbodig* 'unnecessary', *raadzaam* 'advisable'. Some examples are given in (235).

- (235) a. Het is afkeurenswaardig (*van/*voor Jan) [om PRO zulke boeken te lezen].
 b. Het is onnodig (*van/^ovoor Jan) [om PRO zulke boeken te lezen].
 c. Het is overbodig (*van/^ovoor Jan) [om PRO zulke boeken te lezen].
 d. Het is raadzaam (*van/^ovoor Jan) [om PRO zulke boeken te lezen].
 it is A of/for Jan COMP such books to read

That PRO is arbitrarily construed is clear from the presence of the generic possessive pronoun *je* 'one's' in (236), which is interpreted as coreferential with arbitrary PRO.

- (236) a. Het is afkeurenswaardig [(om) PRO je handen te wassen voor het eten].
 b. Het is onnodig [(om) PRO je handen te wassen voor het eten].
 c. Het is overbodig [(om) PRO je handen te wassen voor het eten].
 d. Het is raadzaam [(om) PRO je handen te wassen voor het eten].
 it is A COMP one's hands to wash before the dinner
 'It is ADJECTIVE to wash one's hands before dinner.'

IV. A note on adjectives that take finite but not infinitival clauses

We conclude this discussion on infinitival clausal subjects by noting that there are also adjectives that may take a finite but not an infinitival clause. This holds for epistemic modal adjectives like *(on)waarschijnlijk* '(im)probably' and *(on)zeker* '(un)certain'.

- (237) a. Het is waarschijnlijk/zeker [dat Jan morgen komt].
 It is probable/certain that Jan tomorrow comes
 'It is probable/certain that Jan will come tomorrow.'
 b. *Het is waarschijnlijk/zeker [om PRO morgen te komen].
 It is probable/certain that comp tomorrow to come

Bennis and Hoekstra (1989) suggest that the unacceptability of (237b) is due to the fact that these modal adjectives do not select a PP, as a result of which PRO remains unidentified. A problem for their proposal is that it incorrectly predicts that arbitrary control adjectives of the types discussed in the previous subsection do not occur at all. The claim that PRO can be assigned an arbitrary interpretation, on the other hand, raises the question why examples like (237b) are unacceptable. Since we do not have any insight to offer here, we leave this question to future research.

6.5.4. Two special cases

Section 6.5.3, sub I, has shown that example (238a) contains predicatively used obligatory control adjectives. Since this example seems more or less synonymous

with the examples in (238b&c), it has been suggested that the latter are derived from (or are at least closely related to) the former. However, the three construction types differ in various respects, which will be discussed in Sections 6.5.4.1 and 6.5.4.2. We start with examples like (238b), which are often referred to as *easy-to-please*-constructions. After that, we discuss examples like (238c), which are normally referred to as MODAL INFINITIVE constructions because they inherently express some notion of modality. It will turn out that in this construction the adjective is not used as a predicative complement at all; it is instead the modal *te*-infinitive that functions as the predicate and the AP acts as an adverbial phrase.

- (238) a. Het is moeilijk/gemakkelijk om deze som op te lossen.
 it is tough/easy COMP this sum prt. to solve
 ‘It is tough/easy to solve this problem.’
 b. Deze som is moeilijk/gemakkelijk om op te lossen.
 this sum is tough/easy COMP prt. to solve
 ‘This problem is tough/easy to solve.’
 c. Deze som is moeilijk/gemakkelijk op te lossen.
 this sum is tough/easy prt. to solve
 ‘This problem can be solved easily/with difficulty.’

6.5.4.1. The easy-to-please-construction

It has been suggested that the so-called *easy-to-please*-construction in (238b) is derived from the *het*-construction in (238a), which we will henceforth refer to as the *HET-CONSTRUCTION* for convenience, by means of °NP-movement; cf. Chomsky (1973). This means that the relationship between (238a) and (238b) is claimed to be similar to the relationship between the examples in (239), where the noun phrase *Jan* arguably originates in the subject position of the embedded infinitival clause, and replaces the anticipatory pronoun *het* as a result of movement into the subject position of the main clause.

- (239) a. Het schijnt [dat Jan ziek is].
 it seems that Jan ill is
 ‘It seems that Jan is ill.’
 b. Jan_i schijnt [_{t_i} ziek te zijn].
 ‘Jan seems to be ill.’

Likewise, example (238b) is claimed to be derived from (238a) by movement of the noun phrase *de som* from the object position of the embedded clause into the subject position of the matrix clause, as a result of which it replaces the pronoun *het*. This Raising-to-Subject derivation is given in (240b).

- (240) a. Het is moeilijk/gemakkelijk [om PRO deze som op te lossen]. [= (238a)]
 b. Deze som_i is moeilijk/gemakkelijk [om PRO _{t_i} op te lossen]. [= (238b)]

The main reason for assuming that the *het*- and *easy-to-please*-constructions are related by movement is that examples (238a&b) seem to be more or less synonymous, just like the Subject Raising examples in (239). Subsection I will show, however, that similar constructions also occur with adjectives like *leuk* ‘nice’ and that with such adjectives meaning differences do arise. Subsection II will

further show that there are also a number of syntactic differences, which suggests that the Raising-to-Subject approach in (240b) cannot be maintained and that we simply have to assume that the subject is base-generated as the SUBJECT of the adjective; cf. Bennis & Wehrmann (1987) and Chomsky (1995:ch.3). Such an analysis raises the question why the direct object of the infinitival clause cannot be expressed; this question is discussed in Subsection III. Subsection IV will conclude the discussion of the *easy-to-please*-construction by showing that the adjectives that enter this construction always express properties that are subject to subjective evaluation.

I. Semantic differences between the easy-to-please and the het-construction

The examples in (241) show that, although the two examples in (238a&b) seem more or less synonymous, *easy-to-please*-constructions and their alleged *het*-counterparts may exhibit non-trivial meaning differences. For example, the adjective *leuk* 'nice' in example (241a) is predicated of clause and thus expresses that the event of looking at/meeting Jan is nice, whereas in (241b) the adjective is predicated of the noun phrase *Jan*; more specifically, it is claimed that Jan looks nice.

- (241) a. Het is leuk om Jan te zien.
 it is nice COMP Jan to look.at
 'It is nice to look at Jan/meet Jan.' (Not: 'Jan is good-looking.')
- b. Jan is leuk om te zien.
 Jan is nice COMP to look.at
 'Jan is good-looking.' (Not: 'It is nice to look at/meet Jan.')

Pairs similar to that in the copular constructions in (238a&b) and (241) can be found in *vinden* -constructions; whereas the examples in (242) are near synonymous, the two examples in (243) show a difference in meaning similar to the pair in (241).

- (242) a. Jan vindt het moeilijk/gemakkelijk om PRO deze som op te lossen.
 Jan considers it tough/easy COMP this sum prt. to solve
 'Jan considers it tough/easy to solve this problem.'
- b. Jan vindt deze som moeilijk/gemakkelijk om PRO op te lossen.
 Jan considers this sum tough/easy COMP prt. to solve
- (243) a. Marie vindt het leuk om PRO Jan te zien.
 Marie considers it nice COMP Jan to look.at
 'Marie considers it nice to see Jan.'
- b. Marie vindt Jan leuk om PRO te zien.
 Marie considers Jan nice COMP to see
 'Marie considers Jan good-looking.'

These semantic observations concerning (241) and (243) suggest that the *easy-to-please*-constructions in the (b)-examples are not derived from the *het*-constructions in the (a)-examples, but that the noun phrase *Jan* is generated as the SUBJECT of the adjective directly; speakers sometime report similar intuitions about the examples in (238a&b) and (242), but it is much more difficult to make these intuitions explicit.

Additional semantic evidence in favor of the claim that the *het-* and the *easy-to-please*-constructions have different underlying structures comes from the fact that *leuk* ‘nice’ can be replaced by its antonym *lelijk* in the (b)-examples of (241) and (243), but not in the (a)-examples. If one assumes that the (b)-examples in (244) and (245) are indeed derived from the (a)-examples, there is no obvious way to account for the observed difference in acceptability. But if the two constructions have different underlying structures, the difference can be accounted for by appealing to the selectional properties of the adjectives; whereas *leuk* ‘nice’ can take either a clause or a noun phrase as its SUBJECT, *lelijk* ‘ugly’ can only take a noun phrase.

- (244) a. *Het is lelijk om Jan te zien.
 it is ugly COMP Jan to look.at
 b. Jan is lelijk om te zien.
 Jan is ugly COMP to look.at
 ‘Jan looks ugly.’
- (245) a. *Marie vindt het lelijk om PRO Jan te zien.
 Marie considers it ugly COMP Jan to look.at
 b. Marie vindt Jan lelijk om PRO te zien.
 Marie considers Jan ugly COMP to see
 ‘Marie considers Jan ugly.’

II. Syntactic differences between the *easy-to-please* and the *het-construction*

The previous subsection concluded on the basis of semantic differences between the *het-* and the *easy-to-please*-construction that the two have distinct base structures. This section provides support of a syntactic nature.

A. The complementizer *om*

Section 6.5.3 has shown that the complementizer *om* is optional in the *het*-construction; in the *easy-to-please*-construction, however, the complementizer *om* is obligatorily present. Compare the examples in (246).

- (246) a. Het is altijd leuk (om) Marie te ontmoeten.
 it is always nice COMP Marie to meet
 ‘It is always nice to meet Marie.’
 b. Marie is altijd leuk *(om) te ontmoeten.
 Marie is always nice COMP to meet
 ‘Marie is always nice to meet.’

B. Word order

The infinitival clause must appear postverbally in the *het*-construction, while it may appear preverbally in the *easy-to-please*-construction. This is demonstrated in (247).

- (247) a. dat het leuk is [om naar Marie te kijken].
 that it nice is COMP at Marie to look
 ‘that it is nice to look at Marie.’
 a’. *dat het leuk [om naar Marie te kijken] is.

- b. dat Marie leuk is [om naar te kijken].
that Marie nice is COMP at to look
'that Marie is nice to look at.'
- b'. dat Marie leuk om naar te kijken is.

C. Pied piping

The examples in (248) show that pied piping of the infinitival clause under AP-topicalization is excluded in the *het*-construction, whereas it is possible in the *easy-to-please*-construction (although it must be noted that for some speakers (248a) becomes acceptable when the negative adverb *niet* is assigned heavy accent). This may be related to the word order difference between the two constructions illustrated in (247).

- (248) a. *Leuk [om naar Marie te kijken] is het niet.
nice COMP to Marie to look is it not
- b. Leuk [om naar te kijken] is Marie niet.
nice COMP at to look is Marie not

D. More syntactic facts

The syntactic differences discussed in the previous subsections suggest that the *het*- and the *easy-to-please*-constructions have different base structures, and that the noun phrase in the latter construction is not base generated as the object of the infinitival clause, but directly as the SUBJECT of the adjective. Another syntactic fact in support of this claim is that the *easy-to-please*-construction can also be used in attributive position; it seems highly improbable that either of the examples in (249) is derived from a structure in which the modified noun is base-generated as the complement of the infinitival verb..

- (249) a. een moeilijke/gemakkelijke som om op te lossen
a tough/easy sum COMP prt. to solve
- b. een leuke jongen om te zien
a nice boy COMP to see

The Raising-to-Subject approach to the *easy-to-please*-construction would further run into the problem that this requires NP-movement to apply across the complementizer *om*, whereas there are good reasons to assume that this is never possible; cf. Section V4.3. Our conclusion that the noun phrase in the *easy-to-please*-construction is base-generated as the SUBJECT of the adjective, of course, avoids this problem.

For completeness' sake, note that the problem for the Raising-to-Subject approach is not the fact that NP-movement applies from within a clausal SUBJECT, given that the English example in (250a') may be just such a case; the derivation of this example can be taken to be exactly parallel in the relevant respects to the (ungrammatical) derivation of example (240b). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the corresponding Dutch example in (250b') is ungrammatical; although Dutch does have raising verbs, it does not have raising adjectives.

- (250) a. It is likely that John will win.
 a'. John_i is likely [_{t_i} to win].
 b. Het is waarschijnlijk dat Jan zal winnen.
 b'. *Jan_i is waarschijnlijk [_{t_i} te winnen].

III. The structure of the infinitival clause

If the noun phrase is indeed generated as the SUBJECT of the adjective, that is, if the noun phrase does not originate from within the infinitival clause, we must still account for the fact that the direct object of the infinitival clause cannot be morphologically expressed; since we are dealing with transitive verbs in the infinitival clauses, we would expect the direct object to be present, but the examples in (251) are ungrammatical when the direct objects are expressed overtly.

- (251) a. Deze som_i is moeilijk om (*'r_i) op te lossen.
 this problem is tough COMP her prt. to solve
 a'. *een moeilijke/gemakkelijke som_i om (*'r_i) op te lossen
 a tough/easy problem COMP her prt. to solve
 b. Deze jongen_i is leuk om (*'m_i) te zien.
 this boy is nice COMP him to see
 b'. een leuke jongen_i om (*'m_i) te zien
 a nice boy COMP him to see

In order to account for the judgments in (251), it has been argued that the direct object of the main verb of the infinitival clause is indeed present but has no overt form: it is a phonetically empty element, which resembles the pronouns *die/dat* in relative clauses. In other words, the grammatical versions of the infinitival clauses in the primed examples of (251) are assumed to have a structure similar to relative clauses. This is illustrated in (252): in (252b), a phonetically empty °operator *OP* has been moved into clause-initial position, just like the relative pronoun *die* in (252a). When we assume that both the relative pronoun and the empty operator function as the direct object of the verb *zien* 'to see', the impossibility of using the pronouns *'r* 'her' and *'m* 'him' in (251) follows from the assumption that the object position is already occupied by the °trace of the empty operator. In order to get the desired meanings, we must of course assume that the nominal projection *leuke jongen* functions as the antecedent of the relative pronoun/empty operator.

- (252) a. die leuke jongen [die_i [ik _{t_i} zag]]
 that nice boy that I saw
 b. een leuke jongen [OP_i om [PRO _{t_i} te zien]]

There are various syntactic phenomena that can be accounted for if we assume that the *easy-to-please*-constructions in (251) involve an empty operator that is moved into the initial position of the infinitival clause, and which can therefore be said to support the suggested analysis. We discuss these in the following subsections.

A. Preposition Stranding

Example (253a) shows that movement of a relative pronoun into clause-initial position may strand a preposition. If we are dealing with the preposition *met*, the

result of °Preposition stranding is that the preposition takes the form *mee*; cf. (253b). Some prepositions, like *zonder* ‘without’ in (253c), do not allow stranding. See Section 4.5.3.1 for more discussion.

- (253) a. de jongen [waar_i [ik naar *t_i* keek]]
 the boy who I at looked
 ‘the boy I looked at’
 b. de jongen [waar_i [ik mee/*met *t_i* uit ben geweest]]
 the boy who I with out have been
 ‘the boy I went out with’
 c. *de jongen [waar_i [ik zonder *t_i* uit ben gegaan]]
 the boy who I without out have been
 ‘*the boy I went out without’

If the *easy-to-please*-construction involves movement of an empty operator, we expect similar facts to arise in this construction. The examples in (254) show that this is indeed borne out.

- (254) a. Jan is leuk [OP_i om [PRO naar *t_i* te kijken]].
 Jan is nice COMP at to look
 ‘Jan is nice to look at.’
 b. Jan is leuk [OP_i om [PRO mee/*met *t_i* uit te gaan]].
 Jan is nice COMP with out to go
 ‘Jan is nice to go out with.’
 c. *Jan is leuk [OP_i om [PRO zonder *t_i* uit te gaan]].
 Jan is nice COMP without out to go
 ‘*Jan is nice to go out without.’

Note that the passive construction in (255) shows that NP-movement cannot strand a preposition in Dutch. This means that the data in (254) also provides evidence against the NP-movement analysis of the *easy-to-please*-construction.

- (255) a. Marie kijkt naar Jan.
 Marie looks at Jan
 ‘Marie is looking at Jan.’
 b. *Jan_i werd naar *t_i* gekeken.
 Jan was at looked

B. Movement from embedded clauses

Relative pronouns can be extracted from more deeply embedded clauses and be placed into the initial position of the matrix clause; cf. (256a). Similar extractions may apply in the *easy-to-please*-constructions; cf. (256b).

- (256) a. de voorstelling [die_i [Jan zei [dat hij *t_i* gezien had]]]
 the performance which Jan said that he seen had
 ‘the performance which John said that he had seen’
 b. Deze voorstelling is leuk [OP_i om [PRO te zeggen [dat je *t_i* gezien hebt]]].
 this performance is nice COMP to say that one seen has
 ‘This performance is nice to say that one has seen.’

It must be noted, however, that many speakers consider the examples in (256) to be somewhat marked. The main point is, however, that they do not seem to be ungrammatical, as will be clear from the fact that they are far less degraded than the examples in (257) and (258), to be discussed below.

C. Islands for extraction

Relative pronouns cannot be extracted from so-called °islands for extraction, such as embedded interrogative clauses and certain adverbial phrases. This is demonstrated in (257); example (257a) involves extraction from an interrogative clause, and the examples in (257b-c) involve extraction from an adverbial clause/PP.

- (257) a. *de voorstelling [die_i [Jan vroeg [of Peter t_i gezien had]]]
 the performance which Jan asked whether Peter seen had
 ‘*the performance which John asked whether Peter had seen’
 b. *de jongen [die_i [Marie lachte [nadat zij t_i ontmoet had]]]
 the boy who Marie laughed after she met had
 ‘*the boy who Marie laughed after she had met’
 c. *de vakantie [waar_i [ik tijdens t_i gekampeerd heb]]
 the holiday which I during camped have
 ‘*the holiday which I camped during’

The examples in (258) show that similar facts arise in the case of the *easy-to-please*-construction; see (253c) and (254c) for more examples.

- (258) a. *Deze voorstelling is leuk [OP_i om [PRO te vragen [of Peter t_i gezien heeft]]].
 this performance is nice COMP to ask whether Peter seen has
 ‘This performance is nice to ask whether Peter has seen.’
 b. *De jongen is leuk [OP_i om [PRO te lachen [nadat je t_i ontmoet hebt]]].
 the boy is nice COMP to laugh after one met has
 c. *De vakantie is leuk [OP_i om [PRO tijdens t_i te kamperen]].
 the holiday is nice COMP during to camp

D. Parasitic gaps

Under certain circumstances relative pronouns can fill two interpretative gaps in the structure: a trace and a so-called °parasitic gap. This is shown in (259): in (259a), the relative pronoun *dat* acts as the direct object of the verb *opbergen* ‘to file’ by virtue of its relation with its trace t_i, and in (259b) it enters into an additional relation with the empty object position of the verb of the adjunct clause *zonder te lezen*, the parasitic gap PG. As is demonstrated in (260), similar facts can be observed in the *easy-to-please*-construction.

- (259) a. het boek [dat_i [Jan t_i opbergt]]
 the book which Jan prt.-files
 b. het boek [dat_i [Jan [zonder PG_i te lezen] t_i opbergt]]
 the book which Jan without to read prt.-files
 ‘the book that Jan files without reading’

- (260) a. Dit boek is leuk [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* op te bergen]].
 this book is nice COMP prt. to file
 b. Dit boek is leuk [OP_i om [PRO [zonder PG_i te lezen] *t_i* op te bergen]].
 this book is nice COMP without to read prt. to file
 ‘This book is nice to file without reading.’

E. The implied subject PRO cannot function as the empty operator

Observe that the empty operator postulated in the *easy-to-please*-construction cannot be identical to the implied subject *PRO* of the infinitival clause. This can be demonstrated by means of the examples in (261): in (261a), there are two interpretative gaps (the implied subject *PRO* and the empty operator *OP*); in the passive construction in (261b), on the other hand, there is only one interpretative gap (the implied subject *PRO*), and the construction is ungrammatical.

- (261) a. Deze som is moeilijk [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* op te lossen]].
 this sum is tough COMP prt. to solve
 b. *Deze som is moeilijk [om PRO op gelost te worden].
 this sum is tough COMP prt. solved to be

The unacceptability of (261b) has nothing to do with the fact that the embedded verb is a passive participle; in (262), the embedded verb is a passive participle as well but the result is acceptable, because the operator does not correspond to the *PRO* subject of the passive clause.

- (262) a. Deze universiteit is leuk [OP_i om [PRO Peter naar *t_i* toe te sturen]].
 this university is nice COMP Peter to prt. to send
 b. Deze universiteit is leuk [OP_i om [PRO naar *t_i* toe gestuurd te worden]].
 this university is nice COMP to prt. sent to be

F. Conclusion

The previous subsections have shown that the claim that infinitival clauses in the *easy-to-please*-construction contain an empty operator that is moved into the initial position of that clause is supported by the fact that it accounts for a number of similarities between these infinitival clauses and relative clauses. We have also seen that the postulated empty operator cannot correspond to the empty subject pronoun *PRO*.

IV. The adjective

Not all set-denoting adjectives can occur in the *easy-to-please*-construction. Example (263a), for example, is completely unacceptable. However, the example becomes fully acceptable when we add the °intensifier *te* ‘too’ to the adjective, as in (263b). The fact that this modifier licenses the addition of a dative DP, which refers to a participant whose evaluation is given, suggests that the adjective must at least express some subjective evaluation in order to be usable in this construction. Observe that the adjectives above (*moeilijk/gemakkelijk* ‘easy/difficult’, *leuk* ‘nice’ and *lelijk* ‘ugly’) all imply a subjective evaluation by the speaker.

- (263) a. *Deze soep is (mij) zout [OP_i om [PRO t_i te eten]].
 this soup is me salty COMP to eat
 b. Deze soep is (mij) te zout [OP_i om [PRO t_i te eten]].
 this soup is me too salty COMP to eat
 ‘This soup is too salt (to me) to eat.’

6.5.4.2. Modal infinitives

This section will discuss the differences between the examples in (238b&c), repeated here as (264a&b). The *easy-to-please*-construction in (264a) is easy to confuse with example (264b), which involves a modal infinitive. but the following subsections will show that two constructions differ in various respects.

- (264) a. Deze som is moeilijk/gemakkelijk om op te lossen.
 this sum is tough/easy COMP prt. to solve
 ‘This problem is tough/easy to solve.’
 b. Deze som is moeilijk/gemakkelijk op te lossen.
 this sum is tough/easy prt. to solve
 ‘This problem can be solved easily/with difficulty.’

I. Meaning

The term MODAL INFINITIVES is used for the infinitives in examples like (264b) because they inherently express some notion of modality: (264b), for instance, expresses that the sum *can* be solved. Such modal meanings are absent in the *easy-to-please*-constructions in the (a)-examples. Related to this difference in meaning is that the infinitival verbs in modal infinitive constructions must denote an activity, whereas this does not hold for the infinitival verbs in *easy-to-please*-constructions; this is illustrated by means of the contrast between the (a)- and (b)-examples in (265).

- (265) a. Die boeken zijn handig om te hebben.
 those books are handy COMP to have
 ‘It is handy to own those books.’
 a’. Wiskunde is handig om te kennen.
 math is handy COMP to know
 b. *Die boeken zijn (gemakkelijk/niet) te hebben.
 those books are easy/not to have
 b’. *Wiskunde is (gemakkelijk/niet) te kennen.
 math is easy/not to know

II. The status of the adjective

The first difference between these construction types concerns the syntactic function of the AP: in the *easy-to-please*-construction the AP functions as the predicate of the copular construction, whereas it functions as an adverbial phrase in the modal infinitive construction; in this construction it is the *te*-infinitive that functions as the predicate. This can be made clear quite easily by means of the examples in (266): the adverbially used AP in (266b) can be dropped, whereas dropping the AP in (266a) leads to ungrammaticality. The number sign indicates

that some speakers accept example (266a) without the adjective when the infinitival clause is interpreted as a goal-infinitive, which is of course irrelevant here.

- (266) a. Deze som is [#](moeilijk/gemakkelijk) om op te lossen.
 this sum is tough/easy COMP prt. to solve
 'This problem is tough/easy to solve.'
 b. Deze som is (moeilijk/gemakkelijk) op te lossen.
 this sum is tough/easy prt. to solve
 'This problem can be solved (easily/with difficulty).'

This distinction is also clear from the fact illustrated in (267) that replacement of the adjective *moeilijk/gemakkelijk* by an adjective that normally cannot be used adverbially is possible in the *easy-to-please*-construction, but not in the modal infinitive construction. For completeness' sake, the primed examples illustrate the result of dropping the adjective.

- (267) a. Jan is lelijk om te zien.
Jan is ugly COMP to see
'Jan looks ugly.'
a'. *Jan is om te zien.
b. *Jan is lelijk te zien
Jan is ugly to see
'Jan can be seen.'
b'. Jan is te zien.

The examples in (268) show that the adjective can be replaced by a clause adverb like *waarschijnlijk* ‘probably’ or the adverbial negative/affirmative marker *niet/wel* in the modal infinitive construction, but not in the *easy-to-please*-construction.

- (268) a. *Deze som is waarschijnlijk/niet/wel om op te lossen.
 this sum is probably/not/AFF. COMP prt. to solve
 b. Deze som is waarschijnlijk/niet/wel op te lossen.
 this sum is probably/not/AFF. prt. to solve
 ‘This problem cannot be solved.’

This concludes our discussion on the status of the adjective in these constructions for the moment, but Subsection V will provide a final piece of evidence in favor of the conclusion that the AP functions as an adverbial phrase in the modal infinitive construction.

III. The complementizer om

A third difference between the two constructions concerns the question whether the complementizer *om* can or must be present. *Om* is obligatorily present in the *easy-to-please*-construction; dropping *om* in (267a), which would give rise to the string in (267b), leads to ungrammaticality. In the modal infinitive construction, on the other hand, addition of *om* is blocked; adding *om* to (267b'), which would give rise to the string in (267a'), leads to ungrammaticality.

IV. Word order

The examples in (269) show that the infinitival clause of the *easy-to-please*-construction follows the verb(s) in clause-final position, whereas the *te*-infinitive of the modal infinitive construction precedes the finite verb.

- (269) a. dat deze som moeilijk/gemakkelijk is om op te lossen.
 that this sum tough/easy is COMP prt. to solve
 ‘that this problem is tough/easy to solve.’
 a’. *?dat deze som moeilijk/gemakkelijk om op te lossen is.
 b. *?dat deze som (moeilijk/gemakkelijk) is op te lossen.
 that this sum tough/easy is prt. to solve
 ‘that this problem can be solved (easily/with difficulty).’
 b’. dat deze som (moeilijk/gemakkelijk) op te lossen is.

The fact that the modal infinitives must precede the clause-final verbs of course follows from the fact that they function as complementives; cf. Section 6.2.4.

V. The attributive construction

A contrast similar to that in (269) can be found in attributive constructions: the (a)-examples in (270) show that the attributively used adjective precedes and the infinitival clause follows the head noun in *easy-to-please*-constructions; the (b)-examples, on the other hand, show that the *te*-infinitive must precede the head noun in modal infinitive constructions.

- (270) a. een gemakkelijke som om op te lossen
 a’. *een gemakkelijke om op te lossen som
 b. *een gemakkelijk som op te lossen
 b’. een gemakkelijk op te lossen som

Observe that the adjective *gemakkelijk* exhibits adjectival inflection in (270a), but not in (270b). This shows again that *gemakkelijk* is used adverbially in the modal infinitive construction; see the discussion in II above.

VI. Movement

Section 6.5.4.1 has given various arguments in favor of the claim that the *easy-to-please*-construction involves movement of an empty operator. The modal infinitive construction differs systematically from the *easy-to-please*-construction in this respect; in modal infinitive constructions, stranded prepositions do not occur (cf. (271a)), empty positions in more deeply embedded clauses within the *te*-infinitive are not licensed (cf. (271b)), and parasitic gaps give rise to a marginal result (cf. (271c)).

- (271) a. *Dit programma_i is (moeilijk) mee e_i te werken.
 this program is tough with to work
 b. *Dit programma_i is (moeilijk) te zeggen [dat je e_i helemaal kent].
 this program is tough to say that you completely know
 c. ??Dit boek_i is (moeilijk) [zonder PG_i te lezen] e_i op te bergen.
 this book is tough without to read prt. to file

VII. Addition of a door-phrase

The modal infinitive construction is compatible with a *door*-phrase that expresses the implied agent of the action denoted by the modal infinitive, whereas addition of

an agentive *door*-phrase is not possible in the *easy-to-please*-construction. This is illustrated in (272).

- (272) a. *Deze som is <door Jan> moeilijk/gemakkelijk om <door Jan> op te lossen.
 this sum is by Jan tough/easy COMP prt. to solve
 ‘This problem is tough/easy to solve (by Jan).’
 b. Deze som is door Jan moeilijk/gemakkelijk op te lossen.
 this sum is by Jan tough/easy prt. to solve
 ‘This problem can be solved (easily/with difficulty) by Jan.’

Because *door*-phrases also occur in passive constructions, it has been suggested that modal infinitive constructions are somehow related to the passive. If modal infinitive constructions involve a movement similar to that in passive constructions, at least the data in Subsection VI would be explained: the movement operation in the passive construction cannot strand prepositions (cf. (273a)), cannot apply from an embedded clause (cf. (273b)), and only marginally licenses parasitic gaps (cf. (273c)).

- (273) a. *Dit programma_i wordt hier mee *t_i* gewerkt.
 this program is here with worked
 b. *Dit programma_i wordt gezegd [dat jij helemaal *t_i* kent].
 this program is said that you completely know
 c. ?Dit boek_i werd [zonder *PG_i* te lezen] *t_i* opgeborgen.
 this book was without to read prt.-filed

This concludes our present discussion of the modal infinitives; a more exhaustive discussion of the properties of modal infinitives can be found in Sections 9.2.2 and 9.3.1.3.

6.6. PP SUBJECTS

Section 6.5.4.1 has discussed the differences between the *het*-construction in (274a) and the *easy-to-please*-construction in (274b). We concluded that these two constructions differ in that in the former the infinitival clause acts as the logical SUBJECT of the adjective *moeilijk* ‘difficult’, whereas in the latter it is the noun phrase *deze som* ‘this problem’ that acts as such.

- (274) a. Het is moeilijk [om deze som op te lossen].
 it is difficult COMP this sum prt. to solve
 b. Deze som is moeilijk [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* op te lossen]].
 this sum is difficult COMP prt. to solve

Now consider the examples in (275), in which the square brackets indicate the boundaries of the infinitival clause. Bennis & Wehrmann (1987) have suggested that example (275b) may receive a analysis similar to example (274b); it is not the infinitival clause, but the locational PP that acts as the logical SUBJECT of the AP.

- (275) a. Het is erg gezellig [om PRO in de tuin te eten].
 it is very nice COMP in the garden to eat
 ‘It is very nice to eat in the garden.’
 b. Het is in de tuin erg gezellig [om PRO te eten].
 it is in the garden erg nice COMP to eat

6.6.1. Two analyses

The suggestion that (275b) must be analyzed along the same lines as the *easy-to-please*-construction in (274b) implies that the infinitival clause in (275b) contains a moved empty operator *OP* which is interpreted as identical to the locational PP *in de tuin*, as in (276a).

- (276) Het is [in de tuin]_i erg gezellig [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* te eten]].

One reason to adopt this analysis is based on the set of examples in (277). Example (277a) shows that there are verbal predicates, like *wonen* ‘to live’, which require the presence of a locational phrase (or, alternatively, a qualifying adverb; cf. (290a) in Section 6.7). Example (277b) shows that when the verb *wonen* functions as the main verb of an infinitival clause, the same restriction applies. Nevertheless, the locational PP need not (in fact: cannot) be expressed within the infinitival clause when the main clause contains one. By assuming that (277c) involves an empty operator *OP* that is coindexed with this locational PP, the apparent violation of the selection restrictions of the verb *wonen* is solved. The primed examples show that the two constructions occur not only in the copular but also the *vinden*-construction.

- (277) a. Jan woont ^{*?}(in Amsterdam).
 Jan lives in Amsterdam
 b. Het is gezellig [om PRO ^{*(in Amsterdam)} te wonen].
 it is nice COMP in Amsterdam to live
 b'. Ik vind het gezellig [om PRO ^{*(in Amsterdam)} te wonen].
 I consider it nice COMP in Amsterdam to live
 c. Het is ^{*(in Amsterdam)}_i gezellig [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* te wonen]].
 it is in Amsterdam nice COMP to live
 c'. Ik vind het ^{*(in Amsterdam)}_i gezellig [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* te wonen]].
 I consider it in Amsterdam nice COMP to live

Of course, the analysis in the (c)-examples is surprising, as PPs generally do not occur as subjects. An alternative analysis would be to assume that the locational PP in the matrix clause originates from within the dependent clause, and that its surface position is the result of movement. In that case, the structure of (277c) is not as indicated there, but as in (278a).

- (278) Het is [in Amsterdam]_i gezellig [om PRO *t_i* te wonen].

A problem with this analysis is, however, that the movement depicted in (278a) crosses a clause boundary, which is generally excluded. This is illustrated in (279b), which involves movement of the PP from a complement clause.

- (279) a. Jan beloofde [om PRO in Amsterdam te gaan wonen]
 Jan promised COMP in Amsterdam to go live
 'Jan promised to live in Amsterdam in the future.'
 b. *Jan beloofde [in Amsterdam]_i [om PRO *t_i* te gaan wonen]

Another problem for this alternative proposal is that the infinitival clause need not be present; a movement analysis along the line of (278) is not possible for (280a), whereas its acceptability is completely compatible with the analysis in (277c). The problem (280a) poses for the alternative analysis would of course be solved if it could be shown that the PP is actually an adverbial phrase in this example. A potential argument in favor of this assumption is that the PP seems to be optional, as shown in (280b). It should be noted, however, that the pronoun *het* is referential in (280b), but not in (280a). In (280b), the pronoun refers to something mentioned earlier in the discourse, e.g., watching television, which is also clear from the fact illustrated in (280b') that it can be replaced by the demonstrative pronoun *dit* 'this'. When the PP is present, on the other hand, the pronoun *het* cannot be construed referentially: example (280a) just expresses that Amsterdam is a nice place and *het* cannot be replaced by a demonstrative, as is shown in (280a').

- (280) a. Het is in Amsterdam gezellig. a'. #Dit is in Amsterdam gezellig.
 b. Het is gezellig. b'. Dit is gezellig.

This suggests that locational PPs may indeed act as logical SUBJECTS of an AP, although it is clear that more research is needed in order to establish this claim more firmly. It is interesting to note, however, that in all examples so far, the locational PP can be replaced by the locative proforms *hier* 'here' and *daar* 'there' (cf. (281a)), and that such proforms can actually occupy the subject position in Swedish (cf. (281b&c), taken from Holmberg (1986:68)).

- (281) a. Het is hier/daar gezellig.
 it is here/there cozy
 b. Här är tråkigt. c. Där var mycket vackert.
 here is boring there was very pretty
 'It is very boring here.' 'It was very pretty there.'

The PPs in the examples above all denote a location, but the same construction can be found with PPs denoting a path. If one were to discuss two alternatives routes from Amsterdam to Groningen, one could use either (282a) or (282b); cf. the examples in (275). The fact that the PP is the logical SUBJECT of the adjective is again supported by the facts that the infinitival clause in (282b) can be dropped, as in (282c), and that the pronoun *het* cannot be replaced by the demonstrative *dit*; cf. the discussion of the primed examples in (280).

- (282) a. Het is korter [om PRO door de polders naar Groningen te rijden].
 it is shorter COMP through the polders to Groningen to drive
 'It is shorter to drive to Groningen through the polders.'
 b. Het is door de polders korter [om PRO naar Groningen te rijden].
 c. Het/*Dit is door de polders korter.

For completeness' sake, we conclude this section by noting that, besides the examples with *om + te* infinitives from this section, we also find constructions like (283) with bare infinitives. Given that the infinitive must precede the finite verb in clause-final position, we are probably dealing with a nominalization functioning as a complementive; if so, the PPs can probably be analyzed as logical SUBJECTS of the nominal predicate. To our knowledge, examples like (283) have not been studied so far.

- (283) dat het *(in Amsterdam) gezellig wonen is.
 that it in Amsterdam nice live is

6.6.2. PP SUBJECTS and clausal SUBJECTS

The examples from the previous section with a PP SUBJECT (if that is the correct analysis) differ in various respects from the cases involving a clausal SUBJECT. Section 6.5.1, sub III, has shown that when a clausal SUBJECT occupies the sentence-initial position, the anticipatory pronoun *het* cannot be realized. In the constructions under discussion, however, the anticipatory pronoun *het* must be present when the PP is preposed. This is illustrated in (284).

- (284) a. In Amsterdam is *(het) gezellig om te wonen.
 in Amsterdam is it nice COMP to live
 b. Door de polders is *(het) korter om naar Groningen te rijden.
 through the polders is it shorter COMP to Groningen to drive

It must be noted, however, that the two examples in (284) exhibit divergent behavior when the infinitival clause is dropped, as in (285): examples without *het* are acceptable then when the PP denotes a path, but not when it denotes a location. It is not clear what this tells us, given that (285b) without the pronoun *het* could in principle be construed as a colloquial form of "telegraphic speech", as a shorthand for the more elaborate sentence in (285b'). Although Neeleman (1997) argues against this by pointing out that the presumed reduction process should be limited to PP-modifiers that denote a path, let us provisionally assume that the reduction analysis is correct, and put example (285b) aside as irrelevant.

- (285) a. In Amsterdam is *(het) gezellig.
 b. Door de polders is (het) korter.
 b'. De route door de polder is (*het) korter.

The fact that the pronoun *het* must be present when the PP is preposed may suggest that the anticipatory pronoun is not associated with the PP at all, but with the infinitival clause. The examples in (286) strongly suggest that this alternative proposal is not tenable. Recall that section 6.5.1 has shown that it is possible to prepose the infinitival clause and a predicative adjective in isolation when the former functions as a clausal SUBJECT of the latter (cf. Subsections III and IV), but that preposing of the adjective and the infinitival clause as a whole is impossible in that case (cf. Subsection V). The examples in (286) show that the facts are just the reverse in the construction under discussion; although the (c)-examples are somewhat marked, the contrast with the (a)- and (b)-examples is quite sharp. These

facts strongly suggest that the alternative analysis, according to which the infinitival clause acts as the logical SUBJECT of the adjective *gezellig/korter*, is incorrect.

- (286) a. *Om te wonen is het in Amsterdam gezellig.
 a'. *Om naar Groningen te rijden is het door de polders korter.
 b. *Gezellig is het in Amsterdam om te wonen.
 b'. *Korter is het door de polders om naar Groningen te rijden.
 c. ?Gezellig om te wonen is het in Amsterdam niet.
 c'. ?Korter om naar Groningen te rijden is het door de polders niet.

6.6.3. PP SUBJECTS of weather adjectives

The primeless examples in (287) show that weather adjectives like *warm* 'warm', *heet* 'hot', *kil* 'chilly', *koud* 'cold' and *nat* 'wet' typically occur with a PP SUBJECT that denotes a location. As in (280a), the pronoun *het* is non-referential in the sense that it cannot refer to some entity in the discourse, and therefore it cannot be replaced by a demonstrative pronoun. This contrasts sharply with examples without a locational phrase, where the pronoun *het* can have either a non-referential or a referential interpretation: in the former case, illustrated in the singly-primed examples, the PP SUBJECT has simply been left implicit, and in the latter case, illustrated in the doubly-primed examples, the pronoun acts as the SUBJECT of the adjective, which is also clear from the fact that it can be replaced by a demonstrative pronoun then.

(287) a. Het/*Dit is hier warm. it/this is here warm 'It is warm in here.' a'. Het/*Dit is warm vandaag it/this is warm today 'It is warm today.' a''. Het/Dit is warm. it/this is warm 'It/This is warm.'	b. Het/*Dit is nat in Amsterdam. it/this is wet in Amsterdam 'It is raining in Amsterdam.' b'. Het/*Dit is nat vandaag. it/this is wet today 'It is raining today.' b''. Het/Dit is nat. it/this is wet 'It/This is wet.'

PP SUBJECTS that denote a location occur not only in the copular construction but also in resultative and *vinden*-constructions. These are illustrated in (288a) and (288b), respectively. PP SUBJECTS that denote a path can also be found in the *vinden*-construction. This is shown in (288c).

- (288) a. De zon maakt het hier/in de kamer lekker warm.
 the sun makes it here/in the room comfortably warm
- b. Ik vind het hier/in de kamer lekker warm.
 I consider it here/in the room comfortably warm
- c. Ik vind het door de polders veel leuker.
 I consider it through the polders much nicer

To conclude, it should be noted that adjectives such as *gezellig* and the weather adjectives may also occur in constructions of the type in (289). Again, the pronoun *het* is obligatorily present and cannot be replaced by a demonstrative. Nevertheless,

the semantic relation seems to be somewhat different than in the earlier examples; instead of referring to a property of the place mentioned in the PP, the adjectives seem to refer to a sensation experienced by the persons denoted by the [+ANIMATE] subject of the clause.

- (289) a. We hebben het/*dit gezellig in Amsterdam.
 we have it/this sociable in Amsterdam
 ‘We are very sociable.’
 b. We kregen het/*dit erg koud in de tuin.
 we got it/this very cold in the garden
 ‘We were getting rather cold in the garden.’

6.7. AP SUBJECTS

The previous section has shown that locational and directional PPs can be used as the SUBJECTS of predicatively used adjectives, provided that they are accompanied by the anticipatory pronoun *het*. A similar option does not exist for adjectives, as can be readily observed from the examples in (290), which contrast minimally with the examples in (277) via replacement of the PP *in Amsterdam* by the qualifying APs *comfortabel* ‘comfortable’ and *mooi* ‘beautiful’. The examples in (290b&c) show that constructions comparable to (277b) do, but constructions comparable to (277c) do not arise.

- (290) a. Jan woont comfortabel/mooi.
 Jan lives comfortably/beautifully
 ‘Jan lives in a comfortable place/a beautiful area’
 b. Het is fijn [om PRO comfortabel/mooi te wonen].
 it is nice COMP comfortably/beautifully to live
 c. *Het is comfortabel_i/mooi_i fijn [OP_i om [PRO *t_i* te wonen]].
 it is comfortably/beautifully nice COMP to live

Still, adjectives can occasionally take an AP as their SUBJECT in the copular and *vinden*-constructions, but then the anticipatory pronoun *het* can not occur: it is the AP itself that occupies the subject position, as is illustrated in (291).

(291) a. Rood is mooi.	a'. Jan vindt rood mooi.
red is beautiful	Jan considers red beautiful
b. Rond is praktischer.	b'. Jan vindt rond praktischer
round is more practical	Jan considers round practical
c. Zoet is lekker.	c'. Elk kind vindt zoet lekker.
sweet is nice	every child considers sweet nice
d. Kort is mooi.	d'. Ik vind kort mooi.
short is beautiful	I consider short beautiful

One might object to the assumption that the SUBJECTS in (291) are real adjectives by saying that we are dealing with concealed noun phrases. For example, we could assume that the adjectives in (a)-examples of (291) are shorthand forms for the complex noun phrases in (292).

- (292) a. De kleur rood is mooi.
 the color red is beautiful
 b. Jan vindt de kleur rood mooi.
 Jan considers the color red beautiful

However, a problem for this suggestion is that no obvious paraphrase is available for the other examples. Further, comparatives can also occupy the subject position, as in (293), and paraphrases of the type in (292) are again not available in that case.

- (293) a. Roder is (nog) mooier.
 redder is even more.beautiful
 a'. *De kleur roder is (nog) mooier.
 b. Iets minder zoet is lekkerder.
 a bit less sweet is nicer
 c. Nog korter is niet mooi meer.
 yet shorter is not beautiful anymore

Although the syntactic properties of the constructions in (291) have not been seriously investigated so far, it seems that they have a very limited distribution. Semantically, the predicative adjective functions as a second order predicate, that is, it denotes a property that is not predicated of entities but of properties of entities; see Section 8.3 for a discussion of adverbially used adjectives that have a similar second order property.

6.8. Bibliographical notes

The question of what structure must be assigned to the constructions with complementives discussed in Section 6.1 has given rise to a lengthy and still unresolved debate. According to some, the SUBJECT is part of the AP: it occupies a designated subject position in a so-called Small Clause configuration, where it saturates the external thematic role assigned by the adjectival predicate. According to others, the SUBJECT is generated in the regular object position of the verb, the SUBJECT-predicate relation being established by other means. This discussion finds its origin in Stowell (1983), who defends the former, and Williams (1980), who defends the latter proposal. An influential Dutch advocate of Stowell's proposal is Hoekstra (1984a/2004: part IV); Williams' proposal has been defended by Neeleman (1994b). Bowers (1993) and Hale & Keyser (1993) propose structures that in a sense reconcile the two approaches.

The notion of supplementives has been adopted from Quirk et al. (1985). The supplementives, and especially the ways in which they can be distinguished from the manner adverbs, have been the subject of a classical debate between Van den Toorn (1969/1970a/1970b), Koelmans (1970) and Zwaan (1970); cf. also Van Gestel (1992). The distinction between supplementive-I and supplementive-II was first discussed in Broekhuis (1995). Other relevant studies are Jansen (1986/1987), Kooij (1987) and Den Dikken (1987). For theoretical background on the appositive use of the adjective, we refer the reader to Alexiadou et al. (2007: Part III) and McCawley (1998).

The discussion of the two classes of adjectives with clausal SUBJECTs in Section 6.5.2 is mainly based on Cinque (1990) and Bennis (2004). More extensive, partly contradictory, discussions of the control adjectives in Section 6.5.3 can be found in Van Haaften (1991) and Vanden Wyngaerd (1994; ch.6). The literature on the *easy-to-please*-construction, which is also referred to as the *tough* (movement) construction, is very extensive. The discussion about the proper analysis of this construction has certainly not been settled, which may be clear from the fact that it has been a recurrent theme in Chomsky's work ever since Chomsky (1973). Our discussion of this construction in Section 6.5.4.1 has adopted Bennis & Wehrmann's (1987) analysis of this construction as its point of departure; another study that must be mentioned is Dik (1985). The modal infinitive constructions in Section 6.5.4.2 will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 9. The discussion of PP subjects in Section 6.6 has again profited much from the discussion in Bennis & Wehrmann (1987); see also Van Haaften (1985).

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 primed 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 [_{NP} 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-extrapolation.

- (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'. %een specifieke christelijke doelstelling
- b. iets specifiek christelijks
something specifically Christian
- b'. %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 nice thing	a'. [DP een [NP leuk iets]]
b.	iets leuks something nice	b'. [DP iets _i [NP leuks t _i]]

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
				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. [%]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 *([?]te leuk) [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. [?]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. [?]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’. ^{??}Ik denk niet graag aan iets.
 b. Je kan bij deze mensen niet met iets goedkope aankomen.
 one can at these people not with something cheap prt.-arrive
 ‘One cannot give these people something cheap.’
 b’. ^{**?}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. ^{*?}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_i graag aan [_{t_i} naars].
 I think nowhere gladly about
 b. *Je kan (bij deze mensen) nergens mee [_{t_i} goedkoop] 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 vreemds/aardigs
 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 a couple soft	a'. een paar snoepjes/*wijn a couple [of] candies/wine
b.	*een aantal kinderachtigs a number childish	b'. een aantal kinderen/*wijn 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 a kilo funny	a'. een kilo kaas a kilo [of] cheese
b.	*een pak griezelligs a pack creepy	b'. een pak rijst a pack (of) rice
c.	*een stuk zachts a piece soft	c'. een stuk chocola a piece [of] chocolate
d.	*een berg geweldigs a pile great	d'. een berg speelgoed 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. ^{??}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.* a'. *allerlei sieraden/spelgoed*
 all kinds beautiful all kinds [of] jewels/toys
 'all kinds of beautiful things'
 b. *allerhande aardigs* b'. *allerhande boeken/wijn*
 all kinds nice all kinds [of] books/wine
 'all kinds of nice things'

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 a handy towel	a'. Deze doek is handig. this towel is handy	a''. iets handigs something handy
b.	een klein doosje a small box	b'. Het doosje is klein. the box is small	b''. iets kleins something small
c.	een speciale kleur a special color	c'. Die kleur is speciaal. that color is special	c''. iets speciaals 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 drunk man	a'.	Die man is dronken. that men is drunk	a''.	*iets dronkens something drunk
	b.	een dronken bui a drunken fit	b'.	*Die bui is dronken. that fit is drunk		
(58)	a.	een verlegen jongen a shy boy	a'.	De jongen is verlegen. the boy is shy	a''.	*iets verlegens something shy
	b.	een verlegen glimlach a shy smile	b'.	*Die glimlach is verlegen. that smile is shy		
(59)	a.	een zwangere vrouw a pregnant woman	a'.	De vrouw is zwanger. the woman is pregnant	a''.	*iets zwangers something pregnant
	b.	een loopse teef an in.season bitch	b'.	Deze teef is loops. this bitch is in.season	b''.	*iets loops 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.	[?] 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. [?]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/^omij 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/^omij 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/^omij te moeilijks a'. iets te moeilijks
 something Peter/me too difficult
 b'. iets *Marie/^omij 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. he is his sweater lost 'He has lost his sweater.'	a'.	*iets kwijts something lost
b.	Hij is het spoor bijster. he is the track lost 'He lost his way.'	b'.	*iets bijsters 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. this meadow lies fallow	a'.	*iets braaks something fallow
b.	dit boek komt gelegen this book comes convenient	b'.	*iets gelegens 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 a nice book	a'.	Dit boek is leuk. this book is nice	a''.	iets leuks something nice
b.	een leuker boek a nicer book	b'.	Dit boek is leuker. this book is nicer	b''.	iets leukers something nicer
c.	het leukste boek the nicest book	c'.	Dit boek is het leukst. this book the nicest	c''.	*iets (het)leuksts something nicest
d.	een minder leuk boek a less nice book	d'.	Dit boek is minder leuk. this book is less nice	d''.	iets minder leuks something less nice
e.	het minst leuke boek the least nice book	e'.	Dit boek is het minst leuk. this book is the least nice	e''.	*iets (het) minst leuks 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/*[?]allerleuksts
this book is very nice
b. Dit verhaal is alleraardigst. b'. iets alleraardigs/*[?]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/^oplaatselijks
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. ?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''. ?iets zaterdags c''. iets (typisch) middeleeuws
 something Saturday something typically medieval

b. maartse buien March showers	d. een zeventiende-eeuws lied a seventeenth.century song
b'. *De buien zijn maarts. the showers are March	d'. Dit lied is (typisch) zeventiende-eeuws. this song is typically seventeenth.century
b''. *iets maarts something March	d''. iets (typisch) zeventiende-eeuws 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 maandelijks 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. he complains regularly	b. een regelmatige klacht a regular complaint
c. *?Deze klacht is zeer regelmatig. this complaint is very regular	d. *?Zijn klacht is iets regelmatigs. his complaint is something regular
(90) a. Dit was vroeger het stadhuis. this was previously the city.hall 'This used to be the city hall.'	b. het vroegere stadhuis the former city.hall 'the old city hall'
c. *Het stadhuis is vroeger. the city.hall is former	d. *Het stadhuis is iets vroegers. 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 a wooden bowl	b. een betonnen muur a concrete wall	c. een zijden draad a silk thread
a'. *Deze kom is houten. this bowl is wooden	b'. *Deze muur is betonnen. this wall is concrete	c'. *De draad is zijden. the thread is silk
a''. *iets houtens/houts something wooden	b''. *iets betonens something concrete	c''. *iets zijdens 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).

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

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 potentieels 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 duidelijks [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 volledigis a’’. *De onderwerping was iets volledigis
 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 enigis (in zijn soort) b’’. *Deze gelegenheid is iets enigis
 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 something well readable	a'. iets goeds something good
b. iets erg kouds something very cold	b'. iets ergs something terrible
c. iets heel liefs something very sweet	c'. *iets heels 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'. ^{??}iets van twee keer zo zwaar/licht
 b. iets twee keer zo groots/kleins
 something twice as big/small
 b'. ^{??}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 ^{??}een stuk/^{??}een beetje/[?]vijftig gulden duurders
 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 ^{??}een stuk/^{??}een beetje/[?]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. ^(?)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. ^(?)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. ^(?)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. ^(?)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. ^{??}een groot genoeg_e inzet (om ...)
 c. *een grote genoeg inzet (om ...)
 d. *een grote genoeg_e 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. [?]iets groot genoeg_s
 something big enough
 b. *iets groots genoeg
 c. *iets groot genoeg
 d. *iets groots genoeg_s

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. *[?]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'. ^(?)dat ik rennen iets te vermoeiends vind om te doen.
 b. *[?]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'. ^(?)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’. ^(?)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’. ^(?)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. ^(?)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. ^(?)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’.

1. *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 something/nothing else	a'. iets/niets interessants something/nothing interesting
b. *een heleboel anders a lot of different	b'. een heleboel interessants a lot of interesting
c. *veel anders much different	c'. veel interessants much interesting
d. *wat voor anders what for different	d'. wat voor interessants 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. ^(?)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 Preposition 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).



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Chapter 8

Adverbial use of the adjective phrase

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Introduction

This chapter discusses a set of lexical elements that are normally referred to as adverbs. We will adopt the view that the notion of adverb does not denote a set of entities with a certain categorial status, as do the notions verb, noun, adjective and preposition; it denotes instead a set of lexical elements that can perform a certain syntactic function in the clause, more specifically that of an adverbial phrase. Our use of the notion of adverb should therefore be seen as shorthand for “adverbially used adjective”. For many adverbs, their adjectival status can be readily established given that they can also be used attributively or predicatively in other contexts, or exhibit typical syntactic or morphological properties such as those given in (2).

- (1) a. Modification by *zeer/heel* ‘very’
- b. Comparative and superlative formation
- c. *On-* prefixation
- d. Having an adjectivizing suffix

Despite the fact that we do not acknowledge the existence of a lexical category of adverbs, it cannot be denied that there are certain adverbs, like the °intensifiers *zeer* ‘very’ and *heel* ‘very’ mentioned in (2a), for which there is no direct syntactic or morphological evidence that they are adjectival in nature. However, the fact that they cannot be inflected for tense and agreement shows that they are not verbs, and the fact that they can neither be preceded by a determiner nor appear in argument position strongly suggests that they are not nouns either. Therefore, we provisionally conclude that they must be adjectives, which is supported by the fact that they share the semantic property with certain adjectives of being able to modify an adjective.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 8.1 starts with a somewhat more extensive discussion of the adjectival properties of the adverbs discussed. Sections 8.2 to 8.5 will discuss the use of adverbs within the clausal domain as well as adjectival, adpositional and nominal phrases. These discussions will be relatively short given that more extensive and more general discussions of adverbial modification can be found elsewhere; adverbial modification of APs, for example, is discussed in Chapter 3.

8.1. The categorial status of adverbs

The core property of adjectives is that they can be used attributively and/or predicatively. However, many adjectives can also be used adverbially, that is, as modifiers of verbal, adjectival or prepositional projections. An attributively used adjective can be easily distinguished from an adverbially used adjective because only the former has the attributive *-e* ending. There is, however, no morphological distinction in Dutch between predicatively and adverbially used adjectives. Therefore, it is only on the basis of the meaning contribution of the adjective (that is, by determining whether it modifies a noun phrase or some other category) that we can distinguish the adverbial use of the adjective. For example, the attributively used adjectives *geweldig* ‘great’, *snel* ‘quick’ and *diep* ‘deep’ from the primeless examples in (2) are used adverbially in the primed examples: the modification

involves a VP in (2a'), an AP in (2b') and a PP in (2c'). This section discusses cases like these in more detail.

(2)	• Attributive use a. een snel begin - a quick start b. een geweldig boek - a great book c. een diepe sloot - a deep ditch	• Adverbial use - a'. Hij rende snel naar huis. - he ran quickly to home - b'. Zijn huis is geweldig groot. - his house is extremely large - c'. Hij ging diep het bos in. - he went deeply the wood into 'He went deeply into the wood.'

Although Dutch does not have a formal marker of adverbially used adjectives like the English adverbial *-ly* suffix, adverbially used adjectives can sometimes be recognized on the basis of their morphological makeup: adjectives that end in the affixes in (3) are only used in adverbial function with the exception of some incidental formations of type in (3a), which can also be used predicatively: *Hij is wat gewoontjes* 'He is a bit common'. We refer the reader to De Haas and Trommelen (1993:352ff.) for a more extensive discussion of the forms in (3).

- (3)
- a. A + *-tjes* (and its allomorphs *-jes*, *-pjes* and *-etjes*): *zachtjes* 'silently'
 - b. A + *-(e)lijk*: *hogelijk* 'very'
 - c. A + *-iter*: *normaliter* 'normally'
 - d. A + *-erwijs*: *redelijkerwijs* 'in fairness'
 - e. A + *-weg*: *simpelweg* 'simply'
 - f. N + *-gewijs*: *steekproefsgewijs* 'randomly'
 - g. N + *-halve*: *beroepshalve* 'in one's professional capacity'

The examples in (4) provide some, more or less fixed, phrasal expressions that are mainly used adverbially; see also the discussion of (25) and (26) below.

- (4)
- a. *Normaal gesproken* zou dit voldoende moeten zijn.
 - normally speaking would this sufficient must be
 - 'Normally speaking, this should be sufficiently.'
 - b. *Vreemd genoeg* is hij niet aanwezig.
 - strange enough is he not present
 - 'Strangely enough, he is not present.'

Before we start the more detailed discussion of the adverbial use of the adjective, a warning flag must be raised. In this chapter, many adverbs are discussed for which there is no conclusive or direct evidence that they are actually adjectives. Take as an example the adverbs of time/frequency in (5).

- (5)
- a. *altijd* 'always'
 - b. *vaak* 'often'
 - c. *soms* 'sometimes'
 - d. *nooit* 'never'

The syntactic distribution of these adverbs does not provide any clue about their categorial status: they can only be used adverbially, but as is shown in (6a), this function can also be performed by a noun phrase.

- (10) a. Jan is nieuwsgierig naar de uitslag.
 Jan is curious about the results
 a'. Jan snuffelde nieuwsgierig (#naar de uitslag) door mijn papieren.
 Jan browsed inquisitively about the result through my papers
 b. Jan is gehoorzaam aan de wet.
 Jan is obedient to the law
 'Jan is law-abiding.'
 b'. Jan ging gehoorzaam (*aan de wet) naar huis.
 Jan went obediently to the law to home
 'Jan went home obediently.'

8.2. Modification in the clausal domain: clause and VP adverbs

This section discusses adverbially used adjectives in the clausal domain. There are at least two cases that can be distinguished on semantic grounds: adverbial phrases that modify the complete clause, and adverbial phrases that modify the verb phrase only. The following subsections will show how these two cases can be distinguished by means of paraphrasing.

I. Clause adverbs

Adverbial phrases that modify the full clause can be used in the syntactic frame: *Het is ADVERB zo dat CLAUSE*, as in (11).

- (11) • Clause adverb
[_{CLAUSE} ... Adverb ...] ⇒ het is ADVERB zo dat CLAUSE
it is the case that

This is illustrated in example (12) for the modal adverb *waarschijnlijk* ‘probably’. Note that the examples in (13) show that this test is also applicable to discourse particles like *toch*.

- (12) • Clause adverb
- a. Jan gaat waarschijnlijk naar Groningen.
Jan goes probably to Groningen
'Probably, Jan is going to Groningen.'
- b. Het is waarschijnlijk zo dat Jan naar Groningen gaat.
it is probably the case that Jan to Groningen goes
'It is probably the case that Jan will go to Groningen.'
- (13) a. Jan komt toch morgen?
Jan comes PRT tomorrow
'Jan is coming tomorrow, isn't he?'
- b. Het is toch zo dat Jan morgen komt?

Example (12b) is also acceptable without the element *zo*, but this does not mean that this element is optional in the paraphrase. Example (14a) shows that the clause adverb *waarschijnlijk* can neither undergo comparative formation nor be prefixed with the negative element *on-*. The same facts are found in the paraphrase in (14b), but not in (14c), in which *zo* is omitted.

- (14) a. *Jan is waarschijnlijk/onwaarschijnlijk ziek.
 Jan is more.probably/not.probably ill
 b. *Het is waarschijnlijk/onwaarschijnlijk zo dat Jan ziek is.
 it is more.probably/not.probably the.case that Jan ill is
 c. Het is waarschijnlijk/onwaarschijnlijk dat Jan ziek is.
 it is more.possible/improbable that Jan ill is

The difference between (14b) and (14c) is that the adjective acts as an adverb in the former, but as an adjectival predicate that takes a clausal SUBJECT in the latter case (cf. Section 6.5), as was actually already suggested by the glosses in (14). This strongly suggests that *zo* is obligatory in the right-hand part of the schematic representation in (11), which is further supported by the fact that *toch*, which cannot be used predicatively, cannot be omitted in (13b).

II. VP adverbs

Clauses that contain a VP adverb can be paraphrased by placing the adverb in a coordinated ... *en PRONOUN doet dat ADVERB* clause, in which the pronoun refers to the subject of the first conjunct. A schematic representation of this paraphrase is given in (15), where coreference is indicated by means of coindexing. The examples in (16) illustrate this test for the manner adverb *snel* 'fast'.

- (15) • VP adverb
 [CLAUSE SUBJECT .. Adverb ..] $\Rightarrow$ [CLAUSE subject_i ..] *en* PRONOUN_i *doet dat* ADVERB
 and does that

- (16) a. Jan rent snel naar de bakker.
 Jan runs fast to the bakery
 b. Jan_i rent naar de bakker *en* hij_i doet dat snel.
 Jan runs to the bakery and he does that fast

III. Ambiguity between the two readings

The two subsections above have discussed the semantic tests for distinguishing clause and VP adverbs. The examples in (17a) and (17b) show that the two paraphrases are often mutually exclusive: modal adverbs like *waarschijnlijk* cannot be used in an ... *en PRONOUN doet dat ADVERB* clause, and manner adverbs like *snel* cannot be used in the *het is ADVERB zo dat ...* frame.

- (17) a. *Jan gaat naar Groningen *en* hij doet dat waarschijnlijk.
 Jan goes to Groningen and he does that probably
 b. *Het is snel zo dat Jan naar de bakker rent.
 it is fast the.case that Jan to the bakery runs

However, this does not hold for all adverbs. Adverbs of time like *morgen* 'tomorrow', for example, can often be used both as a sentence adverb and as a VP adverb, which is also reflected by the fact that they may either precede or follow adverbs like *waarschijnlijk*, which must be interpreted as clause adverbs according to the °adverb test in the primed examples.

- (18) a. Jan wordt morgen (waarschijnlijk) ontslagen.
 Jan be tomorrow probably fired
 'Tomorrow, John will (probably) be fired.'
- a'. Het is morgen (waarschijnlijk) zo dat Jan ontslagen wordt.
 it is tomorrow probably the.case that Jan fired be
- b. Jan wordt (waarschijnlijk) morgen ontslagen.
 Jan be probably tomorrow fired
 'John will (probably) be fired tomorrow.'
- b'. Het is waarschijnlijk zo dat Jan morgen ontslagen wordt.
 it is probably the.case that Jan tomorrow fired be

8.2.1. Types of clause adverbs

The adjectival clause adverbs can be divided into the subclasses in (19), which will be discussed more extensively in the following sections.

- (19) a. Modal adverbs: *vermoedelijk* 'presumably'
 b. Subjective adverbs: *gelukkig* 'fortunately'
 c. Frequency adverbs: *vaak* 'often'
 d. Emphasizers/amplifiers: *echt* 'truly'

8.2.1.1. Modal adverbs

The adjectival modal adverbs express to what degree of probability/plausibility the proposition expressed by the clause is true. Some typical examples of such adverbs are given in (20).

(20) a. <i>blijkbaar</i> 'apparently'	f. <i>ontegenzeglijk</i> 'undeniably'
b. <i>beslist</i> 'definitely'	g. <i>schijnbaar</i> 'seemingly'
c. <i>misschien</i> 'maybe/perhaps'	h. <i>vermoedelijk</i> 'presumably'
d. <i>mogelijk</i> 'possibly'	i. <i>waarschijnlijk</i> 'probably'
e. <i>natuurlijk</i> 'of course'	j. <i>zeker</i> 'certainly'

In (21) two examples are given in context; the paraphrases in the primed examples show that we are indeed dealing with modification of the full clause.

- (21) a. Jan is (heel) misschien/zeker ziek.
 Jan is very perhaps/certainly ill
 'Jan is perhaps/certainly ill.'
- a'. Het is (heel) misschien/zeker zo dat Jan ziek is.
 it is very perhaps/certainly the.case that Jan ill is
 'It is perhaps/certainly the case that Jan is ill.'
- b. Jan is (zeer) waarschijnlijk ziek.
 Jan is very probably ill
 'Jan is (quite) probably ill.'
- b'. Het is (zeer) waarschijnlijk zo dat Jan ziek is.
 it is very probably the.case that Jan ill is
 'It is (quite) probably the case that Jan is ill.'

The fact that the heads of the adverbial phrases in (21) can be modified by the intensifier *heel/zeer* 'very' unambiguously shows that they are adjectives. However, with the exception of (*zeer*) *beslist* 'definitely', using an intensifier is impossible with the other adverbs in (20). Nevertheless, there are other indications that these are adjectival in nature: the elements *blijkbaar*, *schijnbaar*, *natuurlijk* and *vermoedelijk*, for instance, contain the adjectivizing affixes *-baar* and *-lijk*.

Observe that, despite the fact that the clause adverbs in (21) can be modified by means of an intensifier, comparative formation is excluded. This is especially conspicuous in the case of the adjective *waarschijnlijk*, which normally does allow the comparative form. This contrast has already been illustrated in the examples in (14) above, which also show that *on-* prefixation of adverbially used *waarschijnlijk* is excluded.

8.2.1.2. Subjective adverbs

The adjectival subjective adverbs express some subjective evaluation by the speaker of the contention expressed by the clause. Some typical examples are given in (22).

- (22) a. *gelukkig* 'fortunately'
 b. *helaas* 'unfortunately'
 c. *hopelijk* 'hopefully'
 d. *onverhoopt* 'unhoped for'

The primeless examples in (23) provide some sentences in which these adverbs are used; their paraphrases are given in the primed examples.

- (23) a. Jan is helaas ziek.
 Jan is unfortunately ill
 a'. Het is helaas zo dat Jan ziek is.
 it is unfortunately the.case that Jan ill is
 b. Jan is gelukkig weer genezen.
 Jan is fortunately again recovered
 b'. Het is gelukkig zo dat Jan weer genezen is.
 it is fortunately the.case that Jan again recovered is

The adjectives in (22a) cannot be modified by means of an intensifier or undergo comparative formation when used subjectively. This is especially conspicuous in the case of *gelukkig*, which normally allows both. The adverbs are also special in that they do not allow *on-* prefixation. This is again conspicuous in the case of adverbial *gelukkig*, whose negative counterpart is not *ongelukkig* but *ongelukkigterwijls* 'unfortunately'; see the discussion of (26b) below. We can illustrate all this by means of the examples in (24).

- (24) a. De onsportieve atleet is gelukkig ten val gekomen.
 the unfair athlete is fortunately TEN fall come
 'Fortunately, the unfair athlete fell.', or:
 'The unfair athlete fell in a fortunate manner.'
 b. De onsportieve atleet is erg gelukkig ten val gekomen.
 the unfair athlete is very fortunately TEN fall come
 Only reading: 'The unfair athlete fell in a very fortunate manner.'

- c. De onsportieve atleet is gelukkiger ten val gekomen (dan zijn rivaal).
the unfair athlete is more fortunately TEN fall come than his rival
Only reading: 'The unfair athlete fell in a more fortunate manner (than his rival).'
- d. De onsportieve atleet is ongelukkig ten val gekomen.
the unfair athlete is unfortunately TEN fall come
Only reading: 'The unfair athlete fell in an unfortunate manner.'

Example (24a) is ambiguous: the adjective is either interpreted as a clause adverb, in which case it expresses relief on the part of the speaker, or it is used as a VP (manner) adverb, in which case it indicates that the fall has no serious consequences. When the adjective is modified by means of the intensifier *erg* 'very', as in (24b), it can only be interpreted as a VP adverb. The same thing holds when the adjective has the comparative form or is prefixed with *on-*, as in (24c-d).

Because subjective adverbs cannot be modified by an intensifier, it is difficult to establish that some of the adverbs in (22) are really adjectives. Still, the fact that *onverhoopt* is (in fact, must be) prefixed with the negative marker *on-* strongly suggests that we are indeed dealing with an adjective (cf. Section 1.3.1.2), and the same thing is suggested by the fact that *hopelijk* contains the adjectivizing affix *-elijk*. Another indication that we are dealing with adjectives is that some subjective clause adverbs can be modified by the degree element *genoeg*. In fact, adding this element to example (24a), as in (25a), strongly favors the interpretation of the adjective as a clause adverb. Recall, however, that the modifier *genoeg* 'enough' may license an infinitival *om*-clause when it modifies, for instance, an attributive adjective. This is not possible when we are dealing with a clause adverb; addition of an *om*-clause to (25a) forces an interpretation of the adjective as a VP adverb.

- (25) a. De onsportieve atleet is gelukkig genoeg ten val gekomen.
the unfair athlete is fortunately enough TEN fall come
Preferred reading: 'Fortunately (enough), the unfair athlete fell.'
- b. De onsportieve atleet is gelukkig genoeg ten val gekomen
the unfair athlete is fortunately enough TEN fall come
om door te kunnen gaan.
COMP prt. to be-able continue
Only reading: 'The unfair athlete fell in such a fortunate manner that he could continue.'

A remarkable property of *genoeg* is that it enables certain adjectives to be used as clause adverbs, which otherwise cannot be used in this function; example (24d) has shown that the negative adjective *ongelukkig* normally cannot be interpreted as a clause adverb, but when we add *genoeg*, as in (26a), this interpretation becomes readily available. Example (26b) shows that a similar effect obtains when we add the affix *-erwijs* to this adjective.

- (26) a. De atleet is ongelukkig genoeg ten val gekomen.
the athlete is unfortunately enough TEN fall come
preferred reading: 'Unfortunately (enough), the unfair athlete fell.'
- b. De atleet is ongelukkigerwijs ten val gekomen.
the athlete is unfortunately TEN fall come
only reading: 'Unfortunately, the unfair athlete fell.'

Diepeveen (2009) has shown that *genoeg* also has the ability to convert basic adjectives like *interessant* ‘interesting’, which normally cannot be used adverbially, into subjective adverbs. Some examples are given in (27).

- (27) a. Interessant *(genoeg) is dat ook voor Clinton zelf belangrijk.
 interestingly enough is that also for Clinton himself important
 ‘Interestingly enough, this is also important for Clinton himself.’
 b. Gek *(genoeg) is het in de pub altijd veel drukker.
 strangely enough is it in the pub always much busier
 ‘Strangely enough, it is always more crowded in the pub.’

8.2.1.3. Frequency adverbs

The third type of adjectival clause adverbs are the frequency adverbs in (28), which differ from time adverbs like *laat* ‘late’ in that they do not situate the event in a specific interval on the time axis, but indicate the frequency of the event.

- (28) a. *altijd* ‘always’ h. *nooit* ‘never’
 b. *dagelijks* ‘daily’ i. *soms* ‘sometimes’
 c. *wekelijks* ‘weekly’ j. *steeds* ‘constantly’
 d. *maandelijks* ‘monthly’ k. *telkens* ‘repeatedly’
 e. *dikwijls* ‘frequently’ l. *vaak* ‘often’
 f. *geregeld* ‘regularly’ m. *zelden* ‘rarely’
 g. *gewoonlijk* ‘usually’

That the frequency adverbs can function as clause adverbs is clear from the fact illustrated in (29) that they can occur in the *het is ADVERB zo dat ...* frame. Section 8.2.2.3 will return to the frequency adverbs and show that they can be used not only as clause adverbs, but also as VP adverbs.

- (29) a. Marie staat vaak laat op.
 Marie gets often late up
 ‘Marie often gets up late.’
 b. Het is vaak zo dat Marie laat opstaat.
 it is often the.case that Marie late up.gets

That most of the frequency adverbs above are of an adjectival nature is clear from the fact that many of them can be modified by means of an intensifier or a quantifier. This is illustrated in (30).

- (30) a. *bijna altijd* ‘almost always’
 b. *heel dikwijls* ‘very frequently’
 c. *zeer geregeld* ‘very regularly’
 d. *heel soms* ‘occasionally’ [lit: very sometimes]
 e. *erg/zeer vaak* ‘very often’
 f. *zeer zelden* ‘very rarely’

That *dagelijks/wekelijks/maandelijks* are adjectival in nature is beyond doubt, given that they may occur in attributive position; cf. (31). Finally, that *gewoonlijk* is adjectival is plausible since it contains the adjectival affix *-lijk*.

- (31) een dagelijkse/wekelijks/maandelijkse bijeenkomst
 a daily/weekly/monthly meeting

In some cases, however, it is not possible to determine the categorial status of frequency adverbs, because they do not allow modification or comparative formation.

- (32) a. *steeds* 'constantly' a'. *heel steeds a''. *steeds/er/het steeds
 b. *telkens* 'repeatedly' b'. *heel telkens b''. *meer/het meest telkens

8.2.1.4. Time adverbs

The (a)-examples in (33) show that adverbial phrases of time like *laat* 'late' cannot be used as sentence adverbs; Section 8.2.2.2 will show that adverbs like these act as VP adverbs. Nevertheless there are certain adverbial phrases of time that can sometimes act as sentence adverbs, which is illustrated in the (b)-examples by means of the adverbial PP *op zondag* 'on Sunday'.

- (33) a. Marie staat vaak laat op.
 Marie gets often late up
 a'. *Het is laat zo dat Marie (vaak) opstaat.
 it is late the.case that Marie often up.gets
 b. Marie staat op zondag vaak laat op.
 Marie gets on Sunday often late up
 'On Sundays, Marie often gets up late.'
 b'. Het is op zondag vaak zo dat Marie laat opstaat.
 it is on Sunday often the.case that Marie late up.gets

The primeless examples show that this difference in function is reflected by the position of these adverbial phrases relative to the frequency adverb *vaak* 'often': whereas the VP adverb *laat* 'late' follows the frequency adverb, the adverbial phrase *op zondag* 'on Sunday' precedes it. The semantic contributions of the two adverbial phrases also differ: whereas the adjective *laat* seems to situate the event on the time axis, the phrase *op zondag* expresses a restriction on the proposition: it is specifically on Sundays that Marie gets up late (not on other days).

Adjectives cannot be readily used as clause adverbs of time. Possible cases are *vroeger* 'in the past', *tegenwoordig* 'nowadays', and *later* 'in the future'. It is not clear, however, whether these elements are really adjectives. The element *vroeger* in (34), for example, has a slightly different meaning than the attributively used counterpart in *zijn vroegere vrouw* 'his former wife', and resembles the complement of the PP in *We spraken over vroeger* 'We talked about the past'. The fact that *later* can be also used as the complement of a PP, as in *We sparen voor later* 'We are saving money for later', suggests that we are actually dealing with nominal elements. We leave this for future research.

- (34) a. Jan ging vroeger vaak naar de kerk.
 Jan went in.the.past often to the church
 'Jan used to go to church often.'
 a'. Het was vroeger zo dat Jan vaak naar de kerk ging.
 it was in.the.past the.case that Jan often to the church went
 'It used to be the case that Jan went to church often.'

- b. Jan staat tegenwoordig laat op.
 Jan stands nowadays late up
 'Nowadays, Jan gets up late.'
- b'. Het is tegenwoordig zo dat Jan vaak laat op staat.
 it is nowadays the.case that Jan often late up stand

For completeness' sake, note that the adverb *vroeger* in (34a) is certainly not the comparative form of the adjective *vroeg* 'early', which is clear from the fact that *vroeger* cannot be replaced by the positive adjective *vroeg* or the superlative form *het vroegst*, as is shown in (35a). Example (35b) shows that all these forms are readily possible when we are dealing with a VP adverb. Similar facts can be observed for the adverb *later* 'later'.

- (35) a. Jan ging *vroeg/[#]vroeger/*het vroegst vaak naar de kerk.
 Jan went early/earlier/the earliest often to the church
- b. Jan ging vaak vroeg/vroeger/het vroegst naar de kerk.
 Jan went often early/earlier/the earliest to the church

Other possible cases are adverbs like *zojuist* 'just now', *straks* 'later/soon', *gisteren* 'yesterday', and *morgen* 'tomorrow'. The examples in (36) illustrate for *straks* that it may function both as a clause and as a VP adverb; see also the discussion of the examples in (18) above, which show that the position of the time adverb relative to the modal adverbs determines its construal as a clause or a VP-adverb. It is again difficult, however, to prove that we are dealing with adjectives.

- (36) a. Jan koopt straks het boek
 Jan buys later the book
 'Later, John will buy the book/John will buy the book later.'
- b. Het is straks zo dat Jan het boek koopt.
 it is later the.case that Jan the book buys
- b'. Jan koopt het boek en hij doet dat straks.
 Jan buys the book and he does that later

8.2.1.5. *A note on emphasizers/amplifiers*

The final set of adverbs that we will discuss here are the emphasizers/amplifiers. Some examples are *echt* 'truly', *absoluut* 'absolutely', and *duidelijk* 'clearly'. The main function of these elements is to emphasize the truth of the contention, or to scale upwards from an assumed norm. Some examples are given in (37). This class of adverbs is problematic as the paraphrases in the primed examples may seem somewhat unnatural and do not fully cover the meaning of the primeless examples.

- (37) a. Hij is echt een held.
 he is truly a hero
- a'. Het is echt zo dat hij een held is.
 it is truly the.case that he a hero is
- b. Jan vertelt absoluut onzin.
 Jan tells absolutely nonsense
- b'. Het is absoluut zo dat Jan onzin vertelt.
 it is absolutely the.case that Jan nonsense tells

- c. Jan heeft duidelijk een fout gemaakt.
Jan has clearly a mistake made
- c'. Het is duidelijk zo dat Jan een fout gemaakt heeft.
it is clearly the.case that Jan a mistake made has

The examples in (38) show that adjectives like these can also be used attributively (cf. Section 1.3.5, sub II); their adjectival status is therefore beyond doubt.

- (38) a. Hij is een echte held.
he is a true hero
- b. Dit is absolute onzin.
this is absolute nonsense
- c. Dit is een duidelijke fout.
this is a clear mistake

Actually, the adverbially and attributively used adjectives in (37) and (38) are quite close in meaning in the sense that the adverbs in (37) are intimately related to the noun phrases they precede, which perhaps accounts for the fact that the paraphrases in the primed examples of (37) do not seem to fully capture the meaning of their primeless counterparts. One indication for this is that, unlike the clause adverbs discussed earlier, the emphasizer/amplifier must be immediately left adjacent to the predicative noun phrase in (37a) and the direct objects (37b&c). This contrast is illustrated in (39), by means of the modal adverb *waarschijnlijk* and the emphasizer *absoluut* from (37b).

- (39) a. Jan zal waarschijnlijk dat verhaal vertellen.
Jan will probably that story tell
- a'. Jan zal dat verhaal waarschijnlijk vertellen.
- a''. Waarschijnlijk zal Jan dat verhaal vertellen.
- b. Jan heeft absoluut onzin verteld.
Jan has absolutely nonsense told
- b'. *Jan heeft onzin absoluut verteld.
- b''. *Absoluut heeft Jan onzin verteld.

The value of this particular argument is perhaps not entirely clear since it could be the case that the unacceptability of (39b') is accidental: the unacceptability of the examples in (40) shows that the emphasizer *absoluut* is only possible when the direct object is a nonspecific indefinite noun phrase, and such noun phrases can never be placed in front of a clause adverb; cf. **Jan zal een verhaal waarschijnlijk vertellen* 'Jan will probably tell a story'. Nevertheless, the contrast between the doubly-primed examples in (39) shows clearly that some adjacency requirement is at work.

- (40) a. ??Jan heeft absoluut die onzin verteld.
Jan has absolutely that nonsense told
- b. ??Jan heeft duidelijk die fout gemaakt.
Jan has clearly that mistake made

Other evidence that the emphasizers/amplifiers must be left adjacent to the nominal predicate or direct object emerges when we compare the double object constructions in (41) (and the same thing can be shown on the basis of example (42c) below). In (41a) the indirect object *niemand* 'no one' may follow the modal adverb *waarschijnlijk* 'probably', whereas the placement of the indirect object after the emphasizer/ amplifier *absoluut* 'absolutely' in (41b) is impossible on the intended reading.

- (41) a. Jan heeft waarschijnlijk niemand het hele verhaal verteld.
 Jan has probably no one the whole story told
 b. #Jan heeft absoluut niemand onzin verteld.
 Jan has absolutely no one nonsense told

Given that example (41b) is acceptable when the adverb is construed as an emphasizer of the negation expressed by the pronoun *niemand*, perhaps we must conclude that these adverbs are actually not clause adverbs but function as modifiers of nonspecific indefinite noun phrases. If so, the *het is ADVERB zo dat ...* frame may not be a fully reliable test for detecting clause adverbs.

8.2.1.6. *The position of the clause adverbs*

In the examples above, the clause adverbs occupy a position in the middle field of the clause. With the exception of the emphasizers/amplifiers in (42c), they may also be topicalized, that is, be placed in clause-initial position. This is illustrated in (42a) for the modal and subjective adverbs and in (42b) for the frequency adverbs.

- (42) a. Het boek is waarschijnlijk/helaas uitverkocht.
 the book is unfortunately out.sold
 'Probably/Unfortunately, the book has been sold out.'
 a'. Waarschijnlijk/Helaas is het boek uitverkocht.
 b. Ik ga zelden naar de bioscoop.
 I go rarely to the movies
 b'. Zelden ga ik naar de bioscoop.
 c. Jan heeft duidelijk een fout gemaakt.
 Jan has clearly a mistake made
 c'. *?Duidelijk heeft Jan een fout gemaakt.

Placement of the clause adverbs in a position following the verb(s) in clause-final position is normally not an option, although it should be observed that example (43a), with a modal/subjective adverb, is acceptable when the clause-final verbs are followed by an intonation break.

- (43) a. dat het boek uitverkocht is *(,) waarschijnlijk/helaas.
 that the book out.sold is probably/unfortunately
 b. *dat ik naar de bioscoop ga (,) zelden.
 that I to the movies go seldom
 c. *dat Jan een fout gemaakt heeft duidelijk.
 that Jan a mistake made has clearly

Some of the clause adverbs discussed above can co-occur in a single clause. Although the judgments are sometimes somewhat unclear, the preferred order of these adverbs seems to be as indicated in (44); cf. Cinque (1990).

- (44) • The order of the clause adverbs
 subjective – modal – frequency – emphasizer/amplifier

It is not always easy to combine a subjective and a modal adjective, but when it is possible, as with *vrijwel zeker* ‘almost certainly’ in (45a), the subjective clause adverb must precede the modal one. The subjective and modal clause adverbs precede the frequency adverbs, as is shown in (45b) and (45c), respectively. The examples in (45d) show that the frequency adverbs in turn precede the emphasizers/amplifiers.

- (45) a. Het boek is helaas vrijwel zeker^{??} waarschijnlijk uitverkocht.
 the book is unfortunately almost certainly/probably out.sold
 a'. *Het boek is vrijwel zeker/waarschijnlijk helaas uitverkocht.
 b. Ik ga helaas zelden naar de bioscoop.
 I go unfortunately seldom to the movies
 b'. *Ik ga zelden helaas naar de bioscoop.
 c. Hij gaat vermoedelijk regelmatig naar de bioscoop.
 he goes presumably often to the movies
 c'. *Hij gaat regelmatig vermoedelijk naar de bioscoop.
 d. Jan is soms echt een held.
 Jan is sometimes really a hero
 d'. *Jan is echt soms een held.

The examples in (46) show that the order in (44) must be preserved under topicalization, that is, topicalization of a clause adverb across another clause adverb is blocked. We do not give examples with *echt*, as this element does not allow topicalization anyhow; cf. (42c).

- (46) a. Helaas is het boek vrijwel zeker^{??} waarschijnlijk uitverkocht.
 a'. *Vrijwel zeker/waarschijnlijk is het boek helaas uitverkocht.
 b. Helaas ga ik zelden naar de bioscoop.
 b'. *Zelden ga ik helaas naar de bioscoop.
 c. Vermoedelijk gaat hij regelmatig naar de bioscoop.
 c'. *Regelmatig gaat hij vermoedelijk naar de bioscoop.

For completeness' sake, note that *helaas* can also be used as an interjection, as in *Helaas, het boek is vrijwel zeker/waarschijnlijk uitverkocht*. This example differs from (46a) in that *helaas* does not occupy the regular clause-initial position, which is occupied by the subject *het boek*, and is therefore extra-clausal.

8.2.2. VP adverbs

The adjectival VP adverbs can be divided into at least the four subclasses in (47); observe that, with the exception of the frequency adverbs, the VP adverbs have a specialized interrogative form. Perhaps we should include intensifiers like *erg* ‘a

lot’ and *vreselijk* ‘awfully’ in this table as well, but Section 8.2.2.5 will show that these adverbs do not pass the VP adverb test in (15).

(47) VP Adverbs

TYPE	EXAMPLE		INTERROGATIVE FORM	
Manner adverbs	<i>snel</i>	quickly	<i>hoe</i>	how
Time adverbs	<i>vroeg</i>	early	<i>wanneer</i>	when
Frequency adverbs	<i>vaak</i>	often	<i>hoe vaak</i>	how often
Place adverbs	<i>ginds</i>	over there	<i>waar</i>	where

8.2.2.1. *Manner adverbs*

The largest class of adjectival VP adverbs is constituted of the manner adverbs, that is, adverbs that indicate the way in which the action expressed by the verb is performed. In (48), we give some examples together with their paraphrases.

- (48) a. Jan voerde de taak nauwkeurig uit.
Jan carried the task accurately out
a'. Jan voerde de taak uit en hij deed dat nauwkeurig.
Jan carried the task out and he did that accurately
b. De kok diende de soep snel op.
the cook served the soup quickly prt.
b'. De kok diende de soep op en hij deed dat snel.
the cook served the soup prt. and he did that quickly

A typical property of the manner adverbs, which is related to their semantics, is that they can often be nominalized by means of the suffix *-heid* and then be modified by the PP *van zijn handelen* ‘of his acting’, as in (49).

- (49) a. de nauwkeurigheid van zijn handelen
the accuracy of his acting
b. de snelheid van zijn handelen
the speed of his acting

Manner adverbs can easily be confused with °supplementives such as those in (50a) and (50b), which differ semantically from manner adverbs in that they do not modify the verb phrase, but are predicated of the object or the subject of the clause. This semantic relation can be made clear by giving the paraphrases in the primed examples; see Section 6.3 for a more extensive discussion.

- (50) a. Jan voerde de taak dronken uit.
Jan carried the task drunk out
a'. Jan voerde de taak uit, terwijl hij dronken was.
Jan carried the task out while he drunk was
b. De kok diende de soep heet op.
the cook served the soup hot prt.
b'. De kok diende de soep op, terwijl ze het was.
the cook served the soup prt. while it hot was

The difficulty in distinguishing manner adverbs and supplementives is mainly related to the fact that they occupy more or less the same position in the clause. The examples in (51) illustrate this even more clearly than the examples above: manner adverbs and supplementives-II must both follow the clause adverb *natuurlijk* 'naturally'. Recall that Section 6.3.3 has shown that this placement does not hold for supplementives-I, which precede the clause adverbs instead.

- (51) a. Jan voerde de taak natuurlijk nauwkeurig uit. [manner adverb]
 a'. Jan voerde de taak natuurlijk dronken uit. [supplementive-II]
 b. De kok diende de soep natuurlijk snel op. [manner adverb]
 b'. De kok diende de soep natuurlijk heet op. [supplementive-II]

Another fact that makes distinguishing manner adverbs and supplementives hard is that, just like a clause with a VP-adverb, a clause with a supplementive-II can be paraphrased by means of a coordinated *en hij doet dat ...* phrase when the supplementive is predicated of the subject; example (50a) can be paraphrased as in (52a). This problem does not arise when supplementive-II is predicated of the object of the clause, as is clear from the fact that (50b) cannot be paraphrased as in (52b). The contrast between the examples in (52a) and (52b) is of course due to the fact that the element the supplementive is predicated of is syntactically present in the second conjunct of the former but not of the latter example.

- (52) a. Jan voerde de taak uit en hij deed dat dronken.
 Jan carried the task out and he did that drunk
 b. *De kok diende de soep op en hij deed dat heet.
 the cook served the soup prt. and he did that hot

Despite these similarities, manner adverbs and supplementives can be readily distinguished on at least three grounds; cf. Van den Toorn (1969). First, whereas two manner adverbs can be coordinated, as in (53a), coordination of a manner adverb and a supplementive-II, as in (53b-c), is excluded.

- (53) a. Jan voerde de taak snel en nauwkeurig uit.
 Jan carried the task quickly and accurately out
 b. *Jan voerde de taak dronken en nauwkeurig uit.
 Jan carried the task drunk and accurately out
 c. *De kok diende de soep snel en heet op.
 the cook served the soup quickly and hot prt.

Second, the examples in (54) show that the paraphrase with a *terwijl*-clause, given for the supplementives in (50), cannot be used for the manner adverbs in (48), which is of course due to the fact that the manner adverbs are not predicated of the nominal argument of the verb, but instead modify the verb (phrase). This means that, whereas the availability of a paraphrase by means of a coordinated *en hij doet dat ...* phrase is not sufficient to conclude that we are dealing with a manner adverb, the availability of a paraphrase with a *terwijl*-clause is sufficient to conclude that we are dealing with a supplementive-II.

- (54) a. *Jan voerde de taak uit, terwijl hij nauwkeurig was.
 Jan carried the task out while he accurate was
 b. *De kok diende de soep op, terwijl hij snel was.
 the cook served the soup prt. while he quick was

Finally, as we have seen in (49), manner adverbs can often be nominalized by means of the suffix *-heid* and then modified by the PP *van zijn handelen* ‘of his acting’. The examples in (55) show that supplementive adjectives cannot be nominalized in this way.

- (55) a. *de dronkenheid van zijn handelen
 the drunk-ness of his acting
 b. *de heetheid van zijn handelen
 the hot-ness of his acting

8.2.2.2. *Time adverbs*

Section 8.2.1.4 has already shown that Dutch has only a few adjectival time adverbs; generally adverbial PPs are used in this function. Some examples are *laat* ‘late’ and *vroeg* ‘early’ in (56a); the adjectives *eerder* ‘before/earlier’ and *bijtijds* ‘in time’ possibly also belong to this set. The paraphrase in (56b) shows that the adjectives in (56a) behave like VP adverbs.

- (56) a. Marie staat vroeg/laat op.
 Marie gets early/late up
 b. Marie staat op en zij doet dat vroeg/laat.
 Marie gets up and she does that early/late

That *laat* and *vroeg* are adjectival in nature is clear from the fact that they can be modified by means of an intensifier, and that they are eligible for comparative and superlative formation. This is illustrated in (57).

- (57) a. Marie staat (erg/zeer) vroeg/laat op.
 Marie gets very early/late up
 b. Marie staat vroeger/later op.
 Marie gets earlier/later up
 b. Marie staat het vroegst/laatst op.
 Marie gets the earliest/latest up

8.2.2.3. *Frequency adverbs*

Section 8.2.1.3 has shown that adverbs like *altijd* ‘always’, *dikwijls* ‘frequently’, *#geregeld* ‘regularly’, *gewoonlijk* ‘usually’, *soms* ‘sometimes’, *#vaak* ‘often’, *#zelden* ‘rarely’ and *#dagelijks/wekelijks/maandelijks* ‘daily/weekly/monthly’ can be used as clause adverbs. If our paraphrase tests are reliable, the primed examples in (58) show that at least the frequency adjectives marked with “#” can also be used as VP adverbs. Observe that we replaced the coordinator *en* ‘and’ by *maar* ‘but’ in (58d), which is motivated by the inherent negative meaning of the adverb *zelden* (= not often).

- (58) a. Jan lacht altijd/dikwijls/gewoonlijk/soms.
 Jan laughs always/frequently/usually/sometimes
 a'. Jan lacht en hij doet dat ?altijd/?dikwijls/*gewoonlijk/*soms.
 b. Marie gaat (vrijwel) dagelijks naar de kerk.
 Marie goes almost daily to the church
 b'. Marie gaat naar de kerk en zij doet dat (vrijwel) dagelijks.
 Marie goes to the church and she does that almost daily
 c. Jan lacht geregeld/vaak.
 Jan laughs regularly/often
 c'. Jan lacht en hij doet dat geregeld/vaak.
 d. Jan lacht zelden.
 Jan laughs rarely
 d'. Jan lacht, maar hij doet dat zelden.
 Jan laughs but he does that rarely

The two uses of the frequency adverbs as a clause or a VP adverb seem to involve two different readings, which are not always easy to distinguish. Consider example (59a). This example is ambiguous: either it expresses the fact that Marie goes to church almost every Sunday, or that, on Sunday, Marie goes to church several times. On the first reading, both the adverbial PP *op zondag* and the frequency adjective *vaak* act as clause adverbs, and the sentence must be paraphrased as in (59b). On the second reading, only the phrase *op zondag* acts as a clause adverb, and the frequency adverb cannot occur in the *het is ADVERB zo dat ...* frame; the sentence must be paraphrased as in (59b').

- (59) a. Marie gaat op zondag vaak naar de kerk.
 Marie goes on Sunday often to the church
 'On Sunday, Marie often goes to church.'
 b. Het is op zondag vaak zo dat Marie naar de kerk gaat.
 b'. Het is op zondag zo dat Marie vaak naar de kerk gaat.

8.2.2.4. Place adverbs

Dutch has only a few adjectival place adverbs that behave as VP adverbs; generally adverbial PPs are used in this function. Some potential adjectival place adverbs are given in (60).

- (60) a. Jan werkt hier/daar/ginds.
 Jan works here/there/over there
 a'. Jan werkt en hij doet dat hier/daar/ginds.
 Jan works and he does that here/there/over there
 b. Het schip loste buitengaats zijn afgewerkte olie.
 the ship discharged offshore its waste oil
 b'. Het schip loste zijn afgewerkte olie en het deed dat buitengaats.
 the ship discharged its waste oil and it did that offshore

It is, however, hard to show that these place adverbs are adjectival in nature; the elements *hier* 'here', *daar* 'there' and *ginds* 'yonder', for instance, can also be considered prepositional pro-forms since they can be replaced by the prepositional

phrase in *Amsterdam*. Examples like *buitengaats* ‘offshore’ and *buitenshuis* ‘outdoors’ may have originated from prepositional phrases headed by *buiten* ‘outside’, but examples in which they occur inflected in prenominal attributive position can readily be found on the internet, although we want to note that such cases do not strike us as being part of colloquial speech: *buitengaatse windmolen* ‘offshore windmill’; *‘binnenshuize lift* ‘indoor elevator’.

8.2.2.5. Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs (intensifiers) typically occur with verbs that are stative or habitual. Two examples are given in (61).

- (61) a. Jan haat Peter erg/vreselijk.
 Jan hates Peter very/awfully
 ‘Jan hates Peter a lot/awfully.’
 b. Jan rookt erg/vreselijk/zwaar.
 Jan smokes very/awfully/heavily
 ‘Jan smokes a lot/awfully/heavily.’

The adverbs of degree cannot be classified by means of the tests in (11) and (15): the examples in (62) show that the adverbs in (61) can be placed neither in the *het is ADVERB zo dat ...* frame nor in a *... en PRONOUN doet dat ADVERB* clause.

- (62) a. *Het is erg/vreselijk zo dat Jan Peter haat.
 a’. *?Jan haat Peter en hij doet dat erg/vreselijk.
 b. *Het is erg/vreselijk/zwaar zo dat Jan rookt.
 b’. *?Jan rookt en hij doet dat erg/vreselijk/zwaar.

The examples in (63) show that the degree adverbs follow the clause adverbs, which suggests that they do not function as a modifier of the full clause.

- (63) a. Jan haat Peter <*erg/vreselijk> natuurlijk <erg/vreselijk>.
 Jan hates Peter very/awfully of course
 a’. Het is natuurlijk zo dat Jan Peter vreselijk haat.
 b. Jan rookt <*erg/vreselijk/zwaar> natuurlijk <erg/vreselijk/zwaar>.
 Jan smokes very/awfully/heavily of course
 b’. Het is natuurlijk zo dat Jan erg/vreselijk/zwaar rookt.

The fact that *... en PRONOUN doet dat ADVERB* paraphrases in the primed examples in (62) are unacceptable may be due to the fact that the verb *doen* ‘to do’ implies some (controlled) action and is therefore not able to replace stative verbs like *haten* ‘to hate’ or habitual verbs like *roken* ‘to smoke’ in (61). If this suggestion is on the right track, we must conclude that the *... en PRONOUN doet dat ADVERB* test only provides valid results when we are dealing with verbs denoting actions.

8.2.2.6. The subject oriented adverb *graag* ‘gladly’

This section concludes with a brief discussion of the subject oriented adverb *graag* ‘gladly’, which, in colloquial speech, can only be used adverbially. Example (64b) shows that it satisfies the VP adverb test in (15).

- (64) a. Jan gaat graag naar zijn werk.
 Jan goes gladly to his work
 b. Jan gaat naar zijn werk en hij doet dat graag.
 Jan goes to his work and he does it gladly

That *graag* is oriented towards the subject of the clause is clear from the fact illustrated in (65) that it requires that the subject be a [+ANIMATE] noun phrase.

- (65) a. Onze kat ligt graag op een plekje in de zon.
 our cat lies gladly on a spot in the sun
 'Our cat likes to lie on a spot in the sun.'
 b. %Het boek ligt graag op de kast.
 the book lies gladly on the shelf

Although *graag* can be modified by an intensifier like *erg* 'very', it does not have a regular comparative/superlative form. Instead, the comparative/superlative forms *liever/het liefst* in (66b&c) are used. Note that the positive degree (*erg*) *lief* cannot substitute for *graag* in (66a). The equative phrase *even lief* and the modified phrase *net zo lief*, on the other hand, can. This is shown in (66d).

- (66) a. Ik haal Jan erg graag/*lief op.
 I fetch Jan very gladly prt.
 'I will fetch Jan gladly.'
 b. *Ik haal Jan grager/het graagst op.
 c. Ik haal Jan liever/het liefst op.
 d. Ik haal Jan even lief/net zo lief op.

For completeness' sake, note that the element *graag* can also be used as a discourse particle comparable to English *please*. This particle is placed in clause-final position, and preceded by an intonation break. This particle differs from the adverb in that it can neither be modified by the intensifier *erg* nor be replaced by *liever*, *het liefst* and *even/net zo lief*.

- (67) a. Ik wil een kop koffie, (*erg) graag.
 I want a cup of coffee very please
 b. *Ik wil een kop koffie, liever/het liefst.
 c. *Ik wil een kop koffie, even lief/net zo lief.

8.2.2.7. The position of VP adverbs

The VP adverbs in the examples so far all occupy a position in the middle field of the clause. The examples in (68) show, however, that they may also be topicalized: (68a) involves a manner adverb, (68b) a time adverb, (68c) a frequency adverb, and (68d) a place adverb. Recall that (68c) is ambiguous in that *vaak* can also be interpreted as a clause adverb.

- (68) a. Jan voerde de taak nauwkeurig uit.
 Jan carried the task accurately out
 a'. Nauwkeurig voerde Jan de taak uit.

- b. Marie gaat vroeg naar de kerk.
Marie goes early to the church
- b'. Vroeg gaat Marie naar de kerk.
- c. Marie gaat vaak naar de kerk.
Marie goes often to the church
- c'. Vaak gaat Marie naar de kerk.
- d. Het schip loste buitengaats zijn afgewerkte olie.
the ship discharged offshore its waste oil
- d'. Buitengaats loste het schip zijn afgewerkte olie.

When the clause contains a clause adverb, the VP adverb must follow it; only the order in the primeless examples of (69) is possible. Place adverbs constitute an exception, however. As is shown in (69d), the place adverb *buitengaats* may either precede or follow the clause adverb *natuurlijk*. This strongly suggests that the place adverbs can also be used as clause adverbs, just like the adverbial phrase of time *op zondag* in example (33b). A problem with this suggestion is, however, that the place adverb does not seem to pass the test for clause adverbs: ^{??}*Het was buitengaats zo dat het schip zijn afgewerkte olie loste.*

- (69) a. Jan voerde de taak natuurlijk nauwkeurig uit.
Jan carried the task of course accurately out
- a'. *Jan voerde de taak nauwkeurig natuurlijk uit.
 - b. Marie gaat natuurlijk vroeg naar de kerk.
Marie goes of course early to the church
 - b'. *Marie gaat vroeg natuurlijk naar de kerk.
 - c. Marie gaat natuurlijk vaak vroeg naar de kerk.
Marie goes of course often early to the church
 - c'. *Marie gaat vaak natuurlijk vroeg naar de kerk.
 - d. Het schip loste natuurlijk buitengaats zijn afgewerkte olie.
the ship discharged of course offshore its waste oil
 - d'. Het schip loste buitengaats natuurlijk zijn afgewerkte olie.

The order of the adverbs in (69) must be preserved under topicalization, that is, topicalization of VP adverbs is not possible when a clause adverb is present. This is illustrated in (70). Given the acceptability of (69d'), it does not really come as a surprise that topicalization of *buitengaats* is possible when a clause adverb is present.

- (70) a. Natuurlijk voerde Jan de taak nauwkeurig uit.
a'. *Nauwkeurig voerde Jan de taak natuurlijk uit.
- b. Natuurlijk gaat Marie vroeg naar de kerk.
 - b'. *Vroeg gaat Marie natuurlijk naar de kerk.
 - c. Natuurlijk gaat Marie vaak vroeg naar de kerk.
 - c'. *Vaak gaat Marie natuurlijk vroeg naar de kerk.
 - d. Natuurlijk loste het schip buitengaats zijn afgewerkte olie.
 - d'. Buitengaats loste het schip natuurlijk zijn afgewerkte olie.

The examples in (71) show, finally, that placement of a VP adverb in a position following the verb(s) in clause-final position is impossible, that is, VP adverbs do not allow °extraposition.

- (71) a. *dat Jan de taak uit voerde nauwkeurig.
 that Jan the task out carried accurately
 b. *dat Marie naar de kerk gaat vroeg.
 that Marie to the church goes early
 c. *dat Marie naar de kerk gaat vaak.
 that Marie to the church goes often
 d. *dat het schip zijn afgewerkte olie loste buitengaats.
 that the ship its waste oil discharged offshore

8.3. Modification of adjectival phrases

With the exception of adjectival intensifiers used to modify (pseudo-)participles and deverbal adjectives like those given in (72), which are more extensively discussed in Section 9.6, there are very few adjectival downtoners; cf. Section 3.1.2.2.

- (72) a. Jan is zwaar/licht gehandicapt.
 Jan is severely/lightly handicapped
 b. Jan is zwaar/licht behaard.
 Jan is severely/lightly hairy

This section will therefore be mainly concerned with adjectives like *waaninnig* and *ernstig* in (73), which function as amplifiers. Section 3.1.2.1 has shown that adjectival amplifiers fall into two separate classes. First, adjectival amplifiers of the type *waaninnig* in (73a) just have an amplifying effect; the original meaning of the adjective “insane” has disappeared: (73a) simply expresses that the book is very good. Adjectival amplifiers of the type *ernstig* in (73b), on the other hand, have more or less retained their original meaning “serious”: (73b) expresses not only that Jan is very ill, but also that the illness is serious. In other words, an adjectival adverb can occasionally act as a second order predicate, denoting a property that is predicated not of entities but of the properties of entities (such as those denoted by set-denoting adjectives).

- (73) a. Dit boek is waaninnig goed.
 this book is insanely good
 ‘This book is extremely good.’
 b. Jan is ernstig ziek.
 Jan is seriously ill

In view of the preceding, it is not surprising that we also encounter adjectival adverbs like *lekker* ‘appetizingly’, *aandoenlijk* ‘movingly’ and *mooi* ‘beautifully’ in (74), whose primary semantic contributions are not intensification but second order predication. See Section 6.7 for a discussion of predicatively used adjectives that seem to have a similar second order property.

- (74) a. Dit gerecht is lekker zout/zoet.
 this dish is appetizingly salty/sweet
 ‘The saltiness/sweetness of the meal is appetizing.’
 b. Het lam was nog aandoenlijk klein.
 the lamb was still movingly small
 ‘The size of the lamb is moving.’
 c. Deze bloem is mooi geel.
 this flower is beautifully yellow
 ‘The yellow color of the flower is beautiful.’

Finally, it can be observed that evaluative adjectives like *verdomd* ‘damned’, *deksels* ‘confounded’, *verrekt* ‘damned’ can be used adverbially. In this use, these adjectives generally have an amplifying effect. See Section 3.1.2.1, sub II, for more extensive discussion.

- (75) a. Dit gerecht is verdomd lekker.
 this dish is damned nice
 b. Dit boek is deksels goed.
 this book is extremely good
 d. Deze oefening is verrekt moeilijk.
 this exercise is damned difficult

8.4. Modification of adpositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are normally not readily eligible for adverbial modification. Still, Sections 8.4.1 and 8.4.2 will show that this is possible with some locational, directional and temporal PPs. Section 8.4.3 will discuss a set of idiomatic prepositional phrases that behave quite exceptionally with respect to adverbial modification.

8.4.1. Locational and directional adpositional phrases

Consider the locational phrases in (76). That the modifiers of the PPs, *dicht* ‘close’ and *hoog* ‘high’, are adjectives is clear from the fact that they can be modified by the intensifiers *zeer* ‘very’ and *vrij* ‘rather’, as shown in the primeless examples. The primed examples further support this claim by showing that these modifiers are also eligible for comparative and superlative formation.

- (76) a. Peter woont (zeer/vrij) dicht bij het paleis.
 Peter lives very/rather close to the palace
 a'. Peter woont dichter bij het paleis dan Jan.
 Peter lives closer to the palace than Jan
 a''. Peter woont het dichtst bij het paleis.
 Peter lives the closest to the palace
 b. Jan zag een vliegtuig (zeer/vrij) hoog in de lucht.
 Jan saw an airplane very/rather high in the sky
 b'. ?Jan zag een vliegtuig hoger in de lucht.
 Jan saw an airplane higher in the sky
 b''. ??Jan zag een vliegtuig het hoogst in de lucht.
 Jan saw an airplane the highest in the sky

The modifying adjectives and PPs in (76) make up constituents, which is clear from the fact that they can be placed in clause-initial position together; cf. the °constituency test. Some examples that correspond to the primeless examples in (76) are given in (77); note that we have replaced the proper noun Jan in (76a) by an indefinite noun phrase in order to facilitate topicalization of the modified PP.

- (77) a. Dicht bij het paleis woonde een oude schoenmaker.
 close to the palace lived an old shoemaker
 b. Hoog in de lucht zag Jan een vliegtuig.
 high in the sky saw Jan an airplane

The examples in (78) make clear that it is the adjective that modifies the PPs in the examples above, and not vice versa, by showing that omission of the adjective gives rise to an acceptable sentence, whereas omission of the PP is impossible.

- (78) a. Peter woont bij het paleis.
 a'. *Peter woont dicht.
 b. Jan zag een vliegtuig in de lucht.
 b'. *Jan zag een vliegtuig hoog.

Example (79a) provides another argument for the claim that it is the adjective that modifies the adpositional phrase, and not vice versa: postpositional phrases are normally only used as predicative complements (cf. P4.3.1), so there can be no doubt in these cases that the adjective functions as the modifier of the PP. The fact that (79b) has the same idiomatic reading as *Jan zat in de put* 'Jan was downhearted' can be considered as a final argument for this claim.

- (79) a. Jan liep diep(er) het bos in.
 Jan walked (more) deeply the forest into
 'Jan walked (more) deeply into the forest.'
 b. Jan zat diep in de put.
 Jan sat deeply in the well
 'Jan was very depressed.'

Occasionally, however, it is not so simple to determine the modification direction. In (80a), for example, neither the adjective *ver* nor the PP *van de bewoonde wereld* can be omitted, so we cannot determine in this way what functions as the modifier in the complex phrase *ver van de bewoonde wereld*; we can only conclude that it is the adjective *ver* that modifies the PP by appealing to analogous examples like (80b).

- (80) a. Ver van de bewoonde wereld leefde een wijze kluizenaar.
 far from the inhabited world lived a wise hermit
 a'. *Van de bewoonde wereld leefde een wijze kluizenaar.
 a''. *Ver leefde een wijze kluizenaar.
 b. Ver achter de bergen leefde een wijze kluizenaar.
 far behind the mountains lived a wise hermit
 b'. Achter de bergen leefde een wijze kluizenaar.
 b''. *Ver leefde een wijze kluizenaar.

In (81a), it is even more difficult to determine the modification direction, given that the primed examples show that the adjective and the PP can both be omitted. One argument in favor of claiming that it is the adjective *hoog* that acts as the modifier of the PP *boven de stoel* is that (81b) shows that it can be replaced by a nominal measure phrase like *twee meter* ‘two meters’; the ungrammaticality of (81b’) unambiguously shows that this nominal phrase must be analyzed as a modifier and therefore shows that an analysis of (81a) according to which the adjective acts as the modifier of the PP is at least possible. The question of whether the alternative analysis is available as well must be left to future research.

- (81) a. Het schilderij hangt hoog boven de stoel.
 the painting hangs high above the chair
 a'. Het schilderij hangt hoog.
 a''. Het schilderij hangt boven de stoel.
 b. Het schilderij hangt twee meter boven de stoel.
 the painting hangs two meters above the chair
 b'. *Het schilderij hangt twee meter.

Adjectives can modify not only full adpositional phrases, but are sometimes also able to modify particles, as in *dichtbij* ‘close’, *veraf* ‘far away’ and *ver weg* ‘far away’. That these cases involve adjectival modification is obscured by the fact that at least the first two combinations are normally orthographically represented as a single word, which may be related to the fact that the adjective is normally obligatory; when it is dropped in examples like (82), the result is unacceptable.

- (82) a. Jan woont *(dicht)bij.
 Jan lives close
 b. Jan woont *(ver)af.
 Jan lives far away
 c. Jan woont *(ver)weg.
 Jan lives far away

Since we have seen in (80a) that the same thing occasionally holds for full adpositional phrases, the examples in (82) do not provide conclusive evidence in favor of compounding. That we are not dealing with compounding is clear from the examples in (83). Given the so-called RIGHT-HAND HEAD RULE, according to which the rightmost member determines the properties of the full compound, the compound analysis wrongly predicts that the modification possibilities of the complex forms in (83) reflect those of the particles; the fact that the complex forms can be modified by *heel/zeer* instead reflects a property of the adjectival part.

- (83) a. zeer dichtbij ‘very close’ a'. ?zeer dicht a''. *zeer bij
 b. ?heel veraf ‘very far away’ b'. heel ver b''. *heel af
 c. zeer ver weg ‘very far away’ c'. zeer ver c''. *zeer weg

That we are not dealing with compounding is also clear from the examples in (84): the primed examples show that the adjectives *dicht* and *ver* can undergo comparative and superlative formation, which would of course be impossible if the adjectives were part of compounds.

- (84) a. dichtbij a'. dichterbij a''. het dichtstbij
 close closer the closest
 b. veraf b'. verderaf b''. het verstaf
 far away farther away the farthest away
 c. ver weg c'. verder weg c''. het verst weg
 far away farther away the farthest away

The examples in (85) provide a number of modifiers for which adjectival status cannot readily be demonstrated, given that they categorically resist modification by means of an intensifier and comparative/superlative formation. The adverbs in (85b-d) may also occur in attributive and predicative position with related but not identical meanings.

- (85) a. pal tegen de lat d. precies/nauwkeurig in de roos
 right against the lath precisely in the bull's eye
 b. vlak naast het doel e. recht voor het huis
 just beside the goal straight in front of the house
 'very close to the goal' 'right in front of the house'
 c. rechtstreeks naar Parijs
 straight to Paris

8.4.2. Temporal prepositional phrases

Consider the temporal phrases in (86). That the adjectives *kort* 'short' and *lang* 'long' and the PPs that follow them make up a constituent is clear from the fact, illustrated in the primed examples, that they can be placed in clause-initial position together; cf. the °constituency test.

- (86) a. Jan vertrok kort na de voorstelling.
 Jan left shortly after the performance
 a'. Kort na de voorstelling vertrok Jan.
 b. Jan voltooide zijn proefschrift lang voor de feitelijke verdediging.
 Jan completed his thesis long before the actual defense
 b'. Lang voor de feitelijke verdediging voltooide Jan zijn proefschrift.

That the modifier is adjectival in nature is clear from the fact that it can be modified by means of an intensifier. Comparative and superlative formation, on the other hand, seem to give rise to marked results.

- (87) a. Jan vertrok heel kort na de voorstelling.
 Jan left very shortly after the performance
 a'. ^{??}Jan vertrok korter/het kortst na de voorstelling (dan Peter).
 Jan left more/the most shortly after the performance (than Peter)
 b. Jan voltooide zijn dissertatie heel lang voor de feitelijke verdediging.
 Jan completed his thesis very long before the actual defense
 b'. ^{??}Jan voltooide zijn dissertatie langer/het langst voor de feitelijke verdediging.
 Jan completed his thesis longer/the longest before the actual defense

The complementizers *voordat* 'before' and *nadat* 'after' are compounds consisting of a temporal preposition and the complementizer *dat* 'that'; cf. Section P2.4.1.2.

The examples in (88) show that dependent clauses that are introduced by these complementizers can be modified in the same way as the PPs in (86). The primed examples show that the adjective and the dependent clause form a constituent.

- (88) a. Jan vertrok kort nadat de voorstelling begon.
 Jan left shortly after the performance started
 a'. Kort nadat de voorstelling begon, vertrok Jan.
 b. Jan voltooide zijn proefschrift lang voordat hij het feitelijk moest verdedigen.
 Jan completed his thesis long before he it actually had to defend
 'Jan completed his thesis long before he actually had to defend it.'
 b'. Lang voordat hij het feitelijk moest verdedigen, voltooide Jan zijn proefschrift.

The examples in (89) provide a number of modifiers for which adjectival status cannot readily be demonstrated, given that they categorically resist modification by means of an intensifier and comparative/superlative formation; cf. example (85).

- (89) a. pal/direct na de voorstelling 'immediately after the performance'
 b. vlak/net voor de voorstelling 'just before the performance'
 c. precies tijdens het begin 'exactly at the beginning'

8.4.3. *Predicative PP idioms*

Dutch has a large set of idiomatic prepositional expressions that can be used in complementive position; some examples are given in (90). That we are dealing with idioms is clear from the fact that the attributive modification of the noun in the PP is normally excluded; see Section 4.1.3.3.1 for more discussion.

- (90) a. op je gemak zijn 'to be at one's ease'
 b. in je knollentuin/nopjes/sas/schik zijn 'to be pleased'
 c. van streek zijn 'to be upset'

The idiomatic PPs in (90) exhibit several similarities with scalar adjectives. First, they denote some (mental) property of the subject of the clause, just like adjectives such as *gelukkig* 'happy' or *tevreden* 'satisfied'. Second, the primeless examples in (91) show that these PPs can be modified by an intensifier; observe that the modifier may be the element *zeer*, which is generally assumed to co-occur with adjectives only. The primed examples are added to show that the adjectives and the PPs in the primeless examples form a constituent; cf. the °constituency test.

- (91) a. Jan is hier erg/zeer op zijn gemak.
 Jan is here very at his ease
 'Jan is very at his ease here.'
 a'. Erg op zijn gemak is Jan hier niet.
 b. Jan is helemaal/zeer in z'n knollentuin/nopjes/sas/schik.
 Jan is completely in his vegetable garden/NOPJES/SAS/SCHIK
 'Jan is very pleased.'
 b'. Helemaal in z'n knollentuin/nopjes/sas/schik is Jan niet.
 c. Jan is erg/zeer van streek.
 Jan is very of STREEK
 'Jan is very upset.'
 c'. Zeer van streek is Jan niet.

Finally, the PPs in (90) seem to be eligible for comparative/superlative formation just like the scalar adjectives. This is shown in (92).

- (92) a. Jan is hier meer op zijn gemak dan Peter.
 Jan is here more at his ease than Peter
 a'. Jan is hier het meest op zijn gemak.
 Jan is here the most at his ease
 b. Jan is meer in z'n knollentuin/nopjes/sas/schik dan Peter.
 Jan is more in his vegetable garden/NOPJES/SAS/SCHIK than Peter
 'Jan is more pleased than Peter.'
 b'. Jan is het meest in z'n knollentuin/nopjes/sas/schik.
 Jan is the most in his vegetable garden/NOPJES/SAS/SCHIK
 c. Jan is meer van streek dan Peter.
 Jan is more of STREEK than Peter
 'Jan is more upset than Peter.'
 c'. Jan is het meest van streek.
 Jan is the most of STREEK

8.5. Modification of the noun (phrase)

By definition, nouns are never modified by an adverb. Occasionally, however, it seems as if noun phrases are subject to adverbial modification. One potential example is given in (93). The fact, illustrated in the (b)-examples, that the noun phrase *het tegendeel* cannot be topicalized in isolation, but must pied pipe the adverb, shows that the adjective and the noun phrase form a constituent; cf. the °constituency test.

- (93) a. Marie beweerde gisteren exact/precies het tegendeel.
 Marie claimed yesterday exactly the opposite
 b. *Het tegendeel beweerde Marie gisteren exact/precies.
 b'. Exact/precies het tegendeel beweerde Marie gisteren.

Another potential case is constituted by the emphasize/amplifiers in the primeless examples in (94), which are more extensively discussed in 8.2.1.5. However, in this case topicalization does not provide a decisive argument for assuming that the adverb is a modifier of the noun phrase, as the judgments on the singly- and doubly-primed examples are rather equivocal.

- (94) a. Hij is echt een held.
 he is truly a hero
 a'. *[?]Een held is Jan echt.
 a''. [?]Echt een held is Jan.
 b. Jan vertelt absoluut onzin.
 Jan tells absolutely nonsense
 b'. ^{??}Onzin vertelt Jan absoluut.
 b''. ^{??}Absoluut onzin vertelt Jan.
 c. Jan heeft duidelijk een fout gemaakt.
 Jan has clearly a mistake made
 c'. [#]Een fout heeft Jan duidelijk gemaakt.
 c''. ^{??}Duidelijk een fout heeft Jan gemaakt.

A remarkable property of the adverbs in (93) and (94) is that their position is rather flexible. The adverb *precies* ‘exactly’, for example, can be placed in any of the three positions in (95) without a clear difference in meaning.

- (95) Jan raakte de bal <precies> op <precies> de <[?]precies> goede plek.
 Jan hit the ball exactly at the right spot
 ‘Jan hit the ball exactly at the right spot.’

Chapter 9

Participles and infinitives: their adjectival use

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Introduction

This chapter will show that participles and modal infinitives can often be used in the same syntactic environments as adjectives. The examples in (1), for instance, show that these elements can be used in prenominal attributive position. The fact that this position is normally restricted to adjectival phrases strongly suggests that these elements are adjectival in function.

- (1) a. de gekuste jongen [past/passive participle]
the kissed boy
- b. de vechtende jongen [present participle]
the fighting boy
- c. de te lezen boeken [modal infinitive]
the to read books
'the books that must be read'

The discussion is organized as follows. After a general discussion in Section 9.1, the attributive and predicative uses of the elements in (1) are discussed in more detail in Sections 9.2 and 9.3. Section 9.4 continues with a discussion of their use in the partitive genitive construction, and 9.5 with their adverbial use. Section 9.6 concludes with some remarks on the modification of adjectivally used participles and deverbal adjectives.

9.1. General discussion

This section will provide a general discussion of the adjectival use of participles and modal infinitives. We will discuss past/passive participles, present participles and modal infinitives in separate sections.

9.1.1. Past/passive participles

This section discusses the attributive and predicative use of the past/passive participles, and concludes with a brief note on so-called pseudo-participles.

1. Attributive use

The participles can be divided into two main groups: present participles such as *vechtend* 'fighting' and past/passive participles such as *gekust* 'kissed'. Both types can be used as attributive adjectives, as is clear from the fact illustrated in Table 1, repeated from Section 1.2, that they exhibit attributive inflection.

Table 1: Inflection of attributively used past/passive and present participles

DE-NOUNS	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	(i) <i>de vechtende jongen</i> the fighting boy	(i) <i>de vechtende jongens</i> the fighting boys
	(ii) <i>de gekuste jongen</i> the kissed boy	(ii) <i>de gekuste jongens</i> the kissed boys
INDEFINITE	(i) <i>een vechtende jongen</i> a fighting boy	(i) <i>vechtende jongens</i> fighting boys
	(ii) <i>een gekuste jongen</i> a kissed boy	(ii) <i>gekuste jongens</i> kissed boys

HET-NOUNS	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	(i) <i>het vechtende kind</i> the fighting child	(i) <i>de vechtende kinderen</i> the fighting children
	(ii) <i>het gekuste kind</i> the kissed child	(ii) <i>de gekuste kinderen</i> the kissed children
INDEFINITE	(i) <i>een vechtend-Ø kind</i> a fighting child	(i) <i>vechtende kinderen</i> fighting children
	(ii) <i>een gekust-Ø kind</i> a kissed child	(ii) <i>gekuste kinderen</i> kissed children

Section 5.1.1.2 has shown, however, that the *-e* inflection is absent in the case of irregular past/passive participles like *geschreven* ‘written’ in (2) that end in *-en* (pronounced as schwa), but this is clearly due to a phonological condition that prohibits two immediately adjacent schwa-sounds in certain environments.

- (2) a. *de geschreven-Ø brief*
the written letter
b. *de verdreven-Ø koning*
the dislodged king
c. *de gebeten-Ø hond*
the bitten dog

II. Predicative use

We will assume for the moment that exhibiting attributive inflection is a sufficient condition for assuming adjectival status for a certain element (although we will argue in Section 9.2 that the situation is more complex in that at least some attributively used participles retain certain verbal properties). If this is correct, we would predict that, in at least some cases, participles can also be used as predicates. A problem is, however, that predicatively used adjectives are not morphologically marked, so that we cannot formally distinguish the “verbal” past/passive participles from their “adjectival” counterparts.

Given that the Dutch passive auxiliary *zijn* ‘to have been’ is homophonous to the copular verb *zijn* ‘to be’, the use of a participle with this auxiliary is expected to lead to ambiguity. The examples in (3) show that this expectation is indeed borne out; as indicated by the English renderings, the examples are ambiguous between an adjectival/state reading and a verbal/activity reading. The copular constructions in (3) are sometimes called ADJECTIVAL PASSIVES; cf. Emonds (2006).

- (3) a. *De muur is versierd.*
the wall is decorated
Copular construction: ‘The wall is decorated.’
Passive construction: ‘The wall has been decorated.’
b. *Deze ham is gerookt.*
this ham is smoked
Copular construction: ‘This ham is smoked.’
Passive construction: ‘This ham has been smoked.’

Note in passing it is sometimes assumed that the auxiliary *zijn* 'to be' in the passive versions of the examples in (3) is a perfect auxiliary and that the sentence contains a phonetically empty passive auxiliary; we ignore this for the moment but refer the reader to Section V4.5.2.2 for a discussion of this.

A similar ambiguity as in (3) might be expected to arise with the verb *worden* 'to become', which can also be used both as a passive auxiliary and a copular verb. The examples in (4) show, however, that this expectation is not borne out. The examples in (4) can only be interpreted as passive constructions, and thus only express the verbal/activity reading; cf. Verrips (1996).

- (4) a. De muur wordt versierd.
 the wall is decorated
 Passive construction only: 'The wall is being decorated.'
 b. Deze ham wordt gerookt.
 this ham is smoked
 Passive construction only: 'This ham is being smoked.'

This restriction follows if adjectival past/passive participles are °individual-level predicates: the examples in (5) show that individual-level adjectives like *intelligent* cannot enter the copular *worden*-construction either; cf. Section 1.3.2.2.4, example (111).

- (5) a. Jan is ziek/intelligent
 Jan is ill/intelligent
 b. Jan wordt ziek/*[?] intelligent
 Jan becomes ill/intelligent

The first two subsections below will show that adjectival past/passive participles do indeed exhibit more properties typical of individual-level predicates. The main goal of the following subsections, however, is to show the participles in (3) are ambiguous between an adjectival and a verbal reading by illustrating a number of tests that have been proposed to distinguish the verbal and adjectival past/passive participle.

A. Adverb selection

The two readings of the participle can be made more prominent by using an adverbial phrase that indicates a larger time interval, such as *al jaren* 'for years', or an adverbial phrase that refers to a certain point in time, such as *gisteren* 'yesterday'; the first favors the adjectival/state reading, whereas the latter favors the verbal/activity reading.

- (6) a. De muur is al jaren versierd.
 the wall is for years decorated
 Copular construction only: 'The wall has been in a decorated state for years.'
 b. De muur is gisteren versierd.
 the wall is yesterday decorated
 Passive construction only: 'The wall was decorated yesterday.'

This adverb test is only applicable when the perfect passive auxiliary *zijn* 'to have been' is used: when the durative passive verb *worden* 'to be' is used, as in (7), both adverbial phrases are possible despite the fact that such examples only have the passive interpretation; see the discussion of (4) above, which has shown that *worden* blocks the adjectival/state reading of the participle. The acceptability of the adverbial phrase *al jaren* in (7a) is probably related to the durative nature of the passive auxiliary *worden*.

- (7) a. De muur wordt al jaren versierd.
Passive construction only: 'The wall is being decorated for years.'
b. De muur werd gisteren versierd.
Passive construction only: 'The wall was decorated yesterday.'

The fact that copular constructions with *zijn* 'to be' in (6a) cannot be modified by a punctual adverbial phrase of time supports our earlier suggestion that adjectival past/passive participles function as individual level predicates, cf. ??*Jan is vandaag intelligent* 'Jan is intelligent today'.

B. Expletive *er*-construction

The examples in (8) show that adjectival past/passive participles cannot occur in °expletive *er*-constructions; the past/passive participle can only have a verbal/activity reading and we are therefore dealing with passive constructions.

- (8) a. Er is een muur versierd.
there is wall decorated
Passive construction only: 'A wall has been decorated.'
b. Er is een ham gerookt.
there is a ham smoked
Passive construction only: 'A ham has been smoked.'

The fact that copular constructions with *zijn* 'to be' cannot take the shape of an expletive construction supports our earlier suggestion that adjectival past/passive participles function as individual level predicates; **Er is een jongen intelligent* 'there is a boy intelligent'.

C. The passive *door*-phrase and on- prefixation

That the participle can be used as a passive participle is clear from the fact that a passive *door*-PP can be added, as shown in the examples in (9): since the *door*-phrase requires the participle to be verbal in nature, only the verbal/activity reading is available in these examples, and, accordingly, only the adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday' can be used.

- (9) a. De muur is (gisteren/*al jaren) door een kunstenaar versierd.
the wall is yesterday/for years by an artist decorated
Passive construction only: 'The wall was decorated by an artist (yesterday).'
b. De ham is door Peter gerookt.
the ham is by Peter smoked
Passive construction only: 'The ham has been smoked by Peter.'

That the participle can also be used as an adjective is clear from the fact that it can be prefixed with the negative affix *on-*, as in the examples in (10). This is not possible with verbs, as will be clear from the contrast between, e.g., **onbreken* ‘lit: to un-break’ and *onbreekbaar* ‘unbreakable’; cf. Section 1.3.1.2. As a result, only the adverbial phrase *al jaren* ‘for years’ can be used in the examples in (10).

- (10) a. De muur is (al jaren/?vandaag) onversierd.
 the wall is for years/today not.decorated
 Copular construction only: ‘The wall has not been in a decorated state (for years).’
 b. De ham is ongerookt.
 the ham is not.smoked
 Copular construction only: ‘The ham has not been smoked.’

The examples in (11) show that *on-*prefixation and use of the passive *door*-phrase are incompatible; this follows, of course, from the conflicting requirements on the participles that these elements induce.

- (11) a. *De muur is door een kunstenaar onversierd.
 b. *De ham is door Peter ongerookt.

D. Position of the participle

The two uses of the past/passive participles can also be distinguished by considering their position relative to the clause-final verb(s). Consider the two embedded counterparts of the main clauses in (3a) in (12). The fact that both types of temporal adverbial phrase can be used in (12a) shows that participles that precede the clause-final finite verb(s) are compatible both with the verbal/activity and the adjectival/state reading. Example (12b) shows that participles that follow the finite verb(s) cannot be modified by an adverbial phrase that indicates a long time interval and thus only have the verbal/activity reading.

- (12) a. dat de muur (gisteren/al jaren) versierd is.
 that the wall yesterday/for years decorated is
 Copular construction: ‘The wall has been decorated (for years).’
 Passive construction: ‘The wall was decorated (yesterday).’
 b. dat de muur (gisteren/*al jaren) is versierd.
 that the wall yesterday/for years is decorated
 Passive construction only: ‘The wall was decorated (yesterday).’

The fact that (12b) does not allow the adjectival/state reading follows from the fact discussed in Section 6.2.4 that adjectives always precede the verb(s) in clause-final position, whereas past/passive participles can either precede or follow it/them; cf. V4.5.2 This is illustrated again in, respectively, the copular construction in (13a) and the perfect tense/passive examples in (13b&b’).

- (13) a. dat de muur <saai/onversierd> is <*saai/onversierd>.
 that the wall dull/undecorated is
 ‘that the wall is boring/undecorated.’

- b. dat de kunstenaar de muur <versierd> heeft <versierd>.
 that the artist the wall decorated has
 ‘that the artist has decorated the wall.’
- b’. dat de muur door een kunstenaar <versierd> is <versierd>.
 that the wall by an artist decorated is
 ‘that the wall was decorated by an artist.’

E. Summary

Table 2 summarizes the properties of the verbal and adjectival past/passive participles discussed in this section. These properties will play an important role in our more detailed discussion of the adjectival use of the past/passive participle in Sections 9.2 and 9.3.

Table 2: Properties of the verbal and adjectival past/passive participle

	VERBAL PARTICIPLE	ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE
ADVERBIAL PHRASES OF TIME INTERVAL/POINT	point	interval
EXPLETIVE <i>ER</i> -CONSTRUCTION	+	—
DOOR-PHRASE	+	—
ON- PREFIXATION	—	+
PRECEDES/FOLLOWS CLAUSE- FINAL VERB(S)	precedes or follows	precedes

III. A note on pseudo-participles

Verbs and (gradable) adjectives differ in that only the latter can be modified by means of an intensifier like *heel* ‘very’ or used as the input for comparative and superlative formation (although a potential counterexample to this claim is constituted by the past/passive participles of object experiencer psych-verbs; cf. the discussion of (59a)). These generalizations unfortunately cannot be used to distinguish adjectival past/passive participles from their verbal counterparts due to the fact that they are not gradable. Nevertheless, the generalizations can be used to distinguish verbal participles from so-called pseudo-participles, that is, adjectives that have the appearance of a participle, but do not have a verbal counterpart.

This can be illustrated by means of the form *bekend* in (14a), which means ‘‘confessed’’ when it functions as a passive participle, but ‘‘well-known’’ when it is used as an adjective. The two interpretations of (14a) can be distinguished by means of the generalizations given above. Due to the presence of a *door*-phrase, example (14b) can only be interpreted as a passive construction (see Table 2 above) and, as expected, the verbal participle cannot be modified by *heel* ‘very’ or undergo comparative/superlative formation. In example (14c) the participle is modified by *heel* and has undergone comparative formation and, as a result, can only be interpreted as an adjectival predicate of a copular construction. We refer the reader to Section 4.1.2 for a more extensive discussion of comparative formation of participles and pseudo-participles.

- (14) a. Zijn misdaad is bekend.
his crime is confessed/well-known
Passive construction: ‘His crime has been confessed.’
Copular construction: ‘His crime is famous.’
- b. Zijn misdaad is door hem (*heel) bekend/*bekender.
his crime is by him very confessed/more.confessed
Passive construction only: ‘His crime has been confessed by him.’
- c. Zijn misdaad is heel bekend/bekender dan die van haar.
his crime is very well-known/better.known than that of her
Copular construction only: ‘His crime is very famous/more famous than hers.’

For completeness’ sake, note that example (14b) is perhaps marginally acceptable when we construe the *door*-phrase as causative, an option that becomes more salient when we use the copular *worden* ‘to become’; *Zijn misdaad wordt door hem heel bekend/bekender* ‘The crime is becoming famous/more famous due to him.’ The meaning assigned to the participle makes it clear that we are dealing with a copular construction in this case.

9.1.2. *Present participles*

The previous section has shown that adjectival past/passive participles can be used both attributively and predicatively. This section briefly introduces the adjectival use of present participles. Table 3 shows that present participles can also be used attributively.

Table 3: *The inflection of attributively used present participles*

DE-NOUNS	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>de vechtende jongen</i> the fighting boy	<i>de vechtende jongens</i> the fighting boys
INDEFINITE	<i>een vechtende jongen</i> a fighting boy	<i>vechtende jongens</i> fighting boys
HET-NOUNS	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	<i>het vechtende kind</i> the fighting child	<i>de vechtende kinderen</i> the fighting children
INDEFINITE	<i>een vechtend-Ø kind</i> a fighting child	<i>vechtende kinderen</i> fighting children

Therefore, we would expect them to occur in copular constructions as well, and the examples in (15) show that this indeed seems to be the case. Section 9.3.1.2 will show, however, this option is restricted to an extremely small set of verbs.

- (15) a. De argumentatie overtuigde ons.
the reasoning convinced us
- b. de overtuigende argumentatie
the convincing reasoning
- c. De argumentatie is/leek overtuigend.
the reasoning is/seemed convincing

9.1.3. Modal infinitives

The examples in (16) show that the so-called modal infinitives are used both in attributive and predicative position. The use of the notion MODAL is motivated by the fact, which will be discussed more extensively later, that these infinitives inherently express some notion of “ability” or “obligation”.

- (16) a. de te lezen boeken
the to read books
‘the books that must/can be read’
b. De boeken zijn/blijken (gemakkelijk/goed) te lezen.
the books are/appear easily/well to read
‘The books are/appear (easily) accessible.’

The modal infinitive in example (16a) does not have the attributive *-e*, which is probably due to the fact that the *-en* ending is pronounced as a schwa; see Section 5.1.1.2 and also the discussion of the examples in (2) above. Nevertheless, the fact, illustrated by the examples in (17), that modal infinitives can be coordinated with attributively and predicatively used adjectives strongly suggests that they do have the same syntactic status/function as the adjectives in the first conjunct.

- (17) a. een interessant en in alle opzichten aan te bevelen boek
an interesting and in all ways prt. to recommend book
‘an interesting book that can be recommended in all respects’
b. Dit boek is interessant en in alle opzichten aan te bevelen.
this book is interesting and in all ways prt. to recommend
‘This book is interesting and can be recommended in all respects.’

9.2. Attributive use

This section discusses the attributive use of participles and modal infinitives. Section 9.2.1 will focus on the thematic relation between the modified noun and the attributively used participle, as well as the aspectual differences between past/passive and present participles. Since attributively used participles often exhibit certain verbal properties, Section 9.2.1.2 will investigate their categorial status in more detail and address the question of whether they should be considered verbs or adjectives. Section 9.2.2 concludes with a discussion of the attributive use of modal infinitives.

9.2.1. Past and present participles

Section 9.1 has shown that participles can be divided into two groups: present participles like *vechtend* ‘fighting’ and past/passive participles like *gekust* ‘kissed’. Both types can be used as attributive adjectives, which is clear from the fact that they are inflected in prenominal position; cf. Table 1 and Table 3 above.

9.2.1.1. Verb types

Whether a certain past/passive or present participle can be used attributively depends on the verb type involved; we will see that this is related to the fact that

attributively used present and past/passive participles must enter into a well-defined logical relation with the noun they modify; cf. Koster (1978) and Hoekstra (1984a).

I. Transitive verbs

That attributively used present and past/passive participles enter into different logical relations with the nouns they modify can be illustrated by means of the transitive sentence in (18a) and the corresponding attributive constructions. When we use the present participle of the verb *slachten* 'to butcher' attributively, the modified noun corresponds to the subject of the sentence; (18b) expresses that it is the butcher that slaughters the lambs. When we use the past/passive participle, however, the head noun corresponds to the direct object of the sentence, as shown in (18c).

- (18) • Participles of transitive verbs
- a. De slager slacht de lammeren.
the butcher slaughters the lambs
 - b. de (de lammeren) slachtende slager
the the lambs slaughtering butcher
'the butcher that is slaughtering (the lambs)'
 - c. de (door de slager) geslachte lammeren
the by the butcher slaughtered lambs
'the lambs that are slaughtered (by the butcher)'

The examples in (18) therefore show that the attributively used present and past/passive participle enter into different logical relations with the noun they modify. This is confirmed by the fact that the examples in (19) are only compatible with the less common readings on which the butcher functions as a theme and the lambs as the agent.

- (19) a. #de geslachte slager
the slaughtered butcher
Not: 'the butcher that is slaughtering (the lambs)'
- b. #de slachtende lammeren
the slaughtering lambs
Not: 'the lambs that are slaughtered (by the butcher)'

The noun phrase *de lammeren* in (18b) and the agentive *door*-phrase in (18c), which correspond to, respectively, the direct object and the subject of the sentence in (18a), can be omitted. This seems to be related to the fact that the noun phrase *de lammeren* can in principle also be dropped in (18a), and that the *door*-phrase is optional in the corresponding passive construction. When an argument is obligatory in a transitive construction, as in (20a), it must normally also be realized in the attributive construction. The number signs in (20) indicate that the examples are acceptable without the noun phrase *de vazen*, but only when the nominative argument is interpreted as theme ("the boy is breaking down"), which is of course not relevant here.

- (20) a. De jongen breekt [#](de vazen).
 the boy breaks the vases
 ‘The boy is breaking the vases.’
 b. de [#](de vazen) brekende jongen
 the the vases breaking boy
 ‘the boy who is breaking the vases’

Not all transitive verbs that have a participle can be used attributively. The (a)-examples in (21) show, for instance, that the present and past/passive participle of main verb *hebben* ‘to have’ cannot be used attributively, and the (b)-examples show that the same thing holds for the present (but not the past/passive) participle of the verb *krijgen* ‘to get’.

- (21) a. Jan heeft nog een platenspeler. b. Peter kreeg een CD-speler.
 Jan has still a record player Peter got a CD-player
 ‘Jan still has a record player.’ ‘Peter was given a CD-player.’
 a'. *de een platenspeler hebbende man b'. ^{??}de een CD-speler krijgende man
 the a record player having man the a CD player getting man
 a''. *de gehadde platenspeler b''. de gekregen CD-speler
 the had record player the gotten CD player

Note in passing that the idiomatic combinations *gelijk hebben* ‘to be right’ and *gelijk krijgen* ‘to be backed up’ can be used attributively with the present participle *hebbende*. Attributive use of the past/passive participles is categorically excluded, however.

- (22) a. ^(?)een altijd gelijk hebbende jongen
 an always right having boy
 ‘a boy who is always right’
 a'. *het (door de jongen) gehadde gelijk
 b. ^(?)een altijd gelijk krijgende jongen
 an always right getting boy
 ‘a boy with whom everybody always agrees in the end’
 b'. *het (door de jongen) gekregen gelijk

The examples in (23) show that the attributive use of participles of stative verbs like *weten* ‘to know’ and *kennen* ‘to be familiar with’ often give rise to a degraded result as well.

- (23) a. Jan weet het antwoord. b. Jan kent dat restaurant
 Jan knows the answer Jan knows that restaurant
 a'. [?]de het antwoord wetende man b'. [?]de dat restaurant kennende man
 the the answer knowing man the that restaurant knowing man
 a''. [?]het geweten antwoord b''. *het gekende restaurant
 the known answer the known restaurant

The degraded status of the primed and doubly-primed examples in (21) and (23) may be related to the fact that these transitive verbs cannot be used in the passive

voice either. We leave it to future research to establish whether this is the proper generalization.

II. Ditransitive verbs

The examples in (24) show that the participles of ditransitive verbs essentially behave like transitive verbs. The only thing that needs mentioning here is that the indirect object can be expressed overtly in the attributive construction. The question mark in (24b) intends to express that many speakers prefer to realize the indirect object by means of an *aan*-PP when it is a full noun phrase.

- (24) a. Jan geeft de jongen/hem een boek.
 Jan gives the boy/him a book
 b. het [?](aan) de jongen gegeven boek
 b'. het (aan) hem gegeven boek
 the to the boy/him given book

We will see in Subsection IXA, however, that there is more to say about ditransitive verbs, but in order not to complicate matters unnecessarily we will confine ourselves here to the examples in (24).

III. Intransitive verbs and verbs that take a PP-complement

Since past/passive participles of transitive verbs cannot be used attributively when the head of the noun phrase corresponds to the subject, we expect that in the case of intransitive verbs only present participles can be used attributively. This expectation is indeed borne out, as is illustrated in (25) by means of the intransitive verbs *huilen* 'to weep' and *dromen* 'to dream'.

- (25) • Participles of intransitive verbs
- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. De jongen huilt. | b. het meisje droomt. |
| the boy weeps | the girl dreams |
| a'. de huilende jongen | b'. het dromende meisje |
| the weeping boy | the dreaming girl |
| a''. *de gehuilde jongen | b''. #het gedroomde meisje |
| the wept boy | the dreamt girl |

The examples in (26) show that verbs with a PP-complement essentially behave like intransitive verbs. Given that examples of the type in (26c) do occur in English (*the looked-at portrait*), the ungrammaticality of (26c) seems to be related to the fact that Dutch does not allow pseudo-passives; see the contrast between English *The portrait was stared at* and Dutch **Het portret werd naar gestaard*.

- (26) a. De jongen staarde naar het portret.
 the boy stared at the portrait
 b. de naar het portret starende jongen
 the at the portrait staring boy
 c. *het door de jongen (naar) gestaarde portret
 the by the boy at looked portrait

IV. Monadic unaccusative verbs

Subjects of °unaccusative verbs are referred to in this work as °DO-subjects, since they are assumed to originate in a similar position and stand in a similar logical relation to the verb as direct objects of transitive verbs; subjects of unaccusative verbs and objects of transitive verbs are both themes. Given this, it will not come as a surprise that past/passive participles of unaccusative like verbs *sterven* ‘to die’ or *struikelen* ‘to stumble’ in the doubly-primed examples of (27) differ from past/passive participles of intransitive verbs like *huilen* ‘to weep’ or *dromen* ‘to dream’ in (25) in that they can modify nouns that correspond to their subject; as expected, the former behave just like the past/passive participles of transitive verb *slachten* ‘to butcher’ in (18) towards their objects. The primed examples in (27) show, however, that present participles of unaccusative verbs are unlike present participles of transitive verbs in that they can modify nouns that correspond to their theme argument.

- (27) • Participles of monadic unaccusative verbs
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. De jongen sterft.
the boy dies | b. De jongen struikelt.
the boy stumbles |
| a'. de stervende jongen
the dying boy
‘the boy that is dying’ | b'. de struikelende jongen
the stumbling boy
‘the boy that is stumbling’ |
| a''. de gestorven jongen
the died boy
‘the boy that has died’ | b''. de gestruikelde jongen
the stumbled boy
‘the boy that has stumbled’ |

In short, DO-subjects behave like direct objects when it comes to attributive modification by a past/passive participle but like subjects of (in)transitive verbs when it comes to attributive modification by a present participle. This shows that the attributive use of past/passive participles is related to the *thematic function* (agent/theme) of the argument that corresponds to the modified noun, whereas the attributive use of present participles is instead related to the *syntactic function* (subject/object) of the argument related to the modified noun.

The examples in (28) show that the present and past/passive participles of unaccusatively used motion verbs, like *springen* ‘to jump’, can also be used in attributive position. Attributive use of the past/passive participle requires that the predicatively used PP be present: omitting the directional postposition PP *de sloot in* in (28c) results in unacceptability. This is, of course, not surprising given that motion verbs without a complementive PP are always intransitive.

- (28) a. Jan springt de sloot in.
Jan jumps the ditch into
‘Jan jumps into the ditch.’
- b. de de sloot in springende jongen
the the ditch into jumping boy
‘the boy that is jumping into the ditch’
- c. de *(de sloot in) gesprongen jongen
the the ditch into jumped boy
‘The boy that has jumped into the ditch.’

The English renderings of the attributive examples in (27) and (28) intend to express that the difference between the attractively used past and present participles is aspectual in nature: whereas past participles express perfective aspect in the sense that the process involved is completed, present participles express durative or imperfective aspect in the sense that the process is still ongoing. Observe that the past/passive and present participles in (18) and (25) exhibit the same aspectual difference.

V. Dyadic unaccusative verbs

Dyadic unaccusative verbs, which are generally called NOM-DAT verbs, differ from the unaccusative verbs discussed in the previous subsection in that they take an additional object, which would be assigned dative case in German; cf. Section V2.1.3. The behavior of the participles of these NOM-DAT verbs seems to depend on auxiliary selection. The examples in (29) show that the present and the past participle can both be used attributively when the NOM-DAT verb selects the perfect auxiliary *zijn*.

- (29) • Participles of NOM-DAT verbs that select the perfect auxiliary *zijn*
- a. De vakantie is ons goed bevallen.
the holiday is us good pleased
'The holiday (has) pleased us very much.'
 - b. de ons goed bevallende vakantie
the us good pleasing holiday
'the holiday that pleases us very much'
 - c. de ons goed bevallen vakantie
the us good pleasing holiday
'the holiday that has pleased us very much'

The examples in (30), on the other hand, show that attributive use of the past/perfect participle is excluded when the auxiliary *hebben* is selected; only the present participle gives rise to an acceptable result in this case.

- (30) • Participles of NOM-DAT verbs that select the perfect auxiliary *hebben*
- a. De moed heeft ons ontbroken.
the courage has us lacked
'We lacked the courage.'
 - b. de ons ontbrekende moed
the us lacking courage
'the courage we lack'
 - c. *?de ons ontbroken moed
the us lacked courage

VI. Psychological verbs

Like the NOM-DAT verbs discussed in the previous subsection, object experiencer psych-verbs like *opwinden* 'to excite' in (31a) arguably have a derived subject; cf. Section V2.5.1.3. With respect to the attributive use of their participles, however, such psych-verbs behave like regular transitive verbs like *slachten* 'to butcher' in (18): the present participle *opwindend* 'exciting' in (31b) modifies a head noun that

corresponds to the nominative subject, whereas the past participle *opgewonden* ‘excited’ in (31c) modifies a head noun that corresponds to the object of the active verb.

(31) • Participles of object experiencer psych-verbs

- a. Het avontuur wond de jongen op.
the adventure excited the boy prt.
‘The adventure excited the boy.’
- b. het (de jongen) opwindende avontuur
the the boy prt.-exciting adventure
- c. de opgewonden jongen
the excited boy

Note that, although the participles of psych-verbs like *opwinden* behave on a par with transitive verbs when it comes to attributive use, the present participles of these verbs exhibit different behavior in predicative constructions: the examples in (32) show that present participles of psych-verbs can be used in copular constructions, whereas present participles of transitive verbs cannot; see Section 9.3.1.2 for more discussion.

- (32) a. *De slager is slachtend.
the butcher is slaughtering
- b. Het avontuur is erg opwindend.
the adventure is very exciting

VII. Verbs with a resultative complementive

The examples in (33) show that participles of verbs in resultative constructions can be used attributively, provided that the complementive adjective is present as well; see Section 6.2.2 for a comprehensive discussion of the resultative construction.

- (33) a. Jan loopt zijn schoenen *(kapot).
Jan walks his shoes worn.out
- b. de zijn schoenen *(kapot) lopende jongen
the his shoes worn.out walking boy
- c. de *(kapot) gelopen schoenen
the worn.out walked shoes

The fact that the noun phrase *zijn schoenen* ‘his shoes’ in (33a) is not an argument of the intransitive verb *lopen* ‘to walk’ but the logical SUBJECT of the adjective *kapot* ‘worn-out’ conclusively shows that nouns modified by an attributively used past/passive participle need not correspond to arguments of the corresponding active verb. The same thing can be argued on the basis of the transitive (b)-examples in (34), given that the noun phrase *de kwast* clearly does not function as the theme of the transitive verb *verven* ‘to paint’.

- (34) a. Jan verft de muur (geel). b. Jan verft de kwast [#](kapot).
Jan paints the wall yellow Jan paints the brush worn.out
- a’. de de muur (geel) vervende man b’. de de kwast [#](kapot) vervende man
the the wall yellow painting man the the brush worn.out painting man
- a’’. de (geel) geverfde muur b’’. de [#](kapot) geverfde kwast
the yellow painted wall the worn.out painted brush

For completeness' sake, we give comparable examples with the unaccusative verb *slibben* in (35).

- (35) a. De sloot slibt *(dicht).
 the ditch silts shut
 b. de *(dicht) slibbende sloot
 the shut silting ditch
 c. de *(dicht) geslibde sloot
 the shut silted ditch

VIII. Summary

The findings on the attributive use of the past/passive and present participles from the previous sections are summarized in Table 4. The headers indicate that all present participles express durative aspect, whereas all past/passive participles express perfective aspect. The second and third columns indicate what the syntactic function of the modified noun is in the corresponding active sentence: the present and past/passive participles of a transitive verb, for instance, can be used to modify a noun that corresponds to, respectively, the subject and the direct object of the corresponding active verb. The marking *n.a.* simply expresses that the past/passive participle in question cannot be used attributively. Table 4 does not include our finding from Section 9.2.1.1, sub VII, that participles of verbs occurring in resultative constructions can also be used attributively.

Table 4: Verb types and attributively used adjectival participles

VERB TYPE	PRESENT PARTICIPLE DURATIVE ASPECT	PAST/PASSIVE PARTICIPLE PERFECTIVE ASPECT
INTRANSITIVE VERB	subject	n.a.
(DI-)TRANSITIVE VERB	subject	direct object
UNACCUSATIVE VERB	DO-subject	DO-subject
NOM-DAT VERBS THAT SELECT <i>ZIJN</i>	DO-subject	DO-subject
NOM-DAT VERBS THAT SELECT <i>HEBBEN</i>	DO-subject	n.a.
OBJECT EXPERIENCER PSYCH-VERBS	(derived) subject	object

IX. Some special cases

This section discusses two special cases. The first involves ditransitive verbs like *betalen* ‘to pay’ and *voeren* ‘to feed’; we will show that the attributively used past/passive participles of these verbs are able to modify not only the theme of the active verb, but also the goal. The second involves contraction verbs like *gaan* ‘to go’: we will show that the past/passive and present participles of these verbs cannot be used in prenominal attributive position.

A. Ditransitive verbs

All of the examples above, with the exception of the resultative constructions discussed in Section 9.2.1.1, sub VII, involve modification of a noun corresponding to the agent (subject) or the theme (direct object/DO-subject) of the relevant verbal construction. At first sight, this seems to exhaust the possibilities; the participles

corresponding to the ditransitive verb *aanbieden* 'to offer' in (36a), for instance, cannot modify the noun that corresponds to the goal argument (indirect object) of the verb. The number signs indicate that the noun *directeur* 'the manager' in (36b&c) can be interpreted as corresponding to, respectively, the agent and the theme of the active verb, but this is of course not relevant for our present discussion.

- (36) a. De man bood de directeur een groot bedrag aan.
the man offered the manager a large sum prt.
'The man offered the manager a large sum.'
- b. #de een groot bedrag aanbiedende directeur
the a large sum prt.-offered manager
Intended meaning: 'the manager that was (being) offered a large sum'
- c. #de aangeboden directeur
the prt.-offered manager
Intended meaning: 'the manager that has been offered (something)'

Some care must be taken, however, with a small class of ditransitive verbs that are special in that they do not require that the direct object be present. Two examples are the verbs *betalen* 'to pay' and *voeren* 'to feed' in (37).

- (37) a. De firma betaalt zijn werknemers (een goed loon).
the firm pays his employees a good wage
'The firm pays its employees a good wage.'
- b. De bezoeker voerde de aap (pinda's).
the visitor fed the monkey peanuts

The number agreement on the finite verb in the primeless examples in (38) shows that, as usual, it is the direct object that is promoted to subject in the passive construction. The primed examples show, however, that when the direct object is absent, it is the goal argument that is instead promoted to subject.

- (38) a. De werknemers wordt_{sg}^{*/?}worden_{pl} een goed loon betaald.
the employees is/are a food wage paid
- a'. De werknemers worden betaald.
the employees are paid
- b. Er worden_{pl}^{/?}wordt_{sg} de aap pinda's gevoerd.
there are/is the monkey peanuts fed
- b'. De aap wordt gevoerd.
the monkey is fed

This special behavior in the passive construction is reflected in the corresponding attributive constructions. In the primeless examples in (39) the modified noun corresponds to the theme and in the primed examples it corresponds to the goal of the verb.

- (39) a. het (aan de werknemers) betaalde loon
the to the employees paid wage
- a'. de betaalde werknemers
the paid employees

- b. de (aan de aap) gevoerde pinda's
 the to the monkey fed peanuts
 b'. de gevoerde aap
 the fed monkey

One might propose that the availability of the primed examples in (38) and (39) is due to the fact that we are dealing with homophonous verbs: verbs like *betalen* 'to pay' and *voeren* can be ditransitive verbs with a theme and a goal but they can also be monotransitive verbs that realize their goal argument (*zijn werknemers/de aap*) as a direct object. A potential problem for such a proposal would be that the primed examples are marked but acceptable when the direct object is realized, as in (40).

- (40) a. ?de een goed loon betaalde werknemers
 the a good wage paid employees
 b. ?de pinda's gevoerde aap
 the peanuts fed monkey

The relative acceptability of the examples in (40) raises some doubt about our earlier conclusion reached on the basis of example (36c) that past/passive participles of ditransitive verbs cannot be used attributively when the noun corresponds to the goal, that is, indirect object of the active verb. This doubt may even increase once we realize that (36c) considerably improves when the direct object of the corresponding verbal construction is added, as in (41). Note, however, that most (but not all) speakers still consider (41) to be marked.

- (41) ?de een groot bedrag aangeboden directeur
 the a large sum prt.-offered manager
 'the manager that has been offered a large sum'

If real, the contrast between (36c) and (41) can perhaps be related to the fact that besides the regular passive in (42a), Dutch has also the so-called *krijgen*- or semi-passive in (42b), in which it is the *indirect* object of the ditransitive construction is promoted to subject; cf. V3.2.1. Observe that the direct object must be overtly expressed in (42b), just as in (41). This possibly accounts for the fact that in (36c) the head noun can only be interpreted as corresponding to the theme: after all, the indirect object, but not the direct object, is generally an optionally realized argument; cf. (42a').

- (42) a. De directeurs werd een groot bedrag aangeboden.
 the managers got_{sg} a large sum prt.-offered
 'A large sum of money was offered to the managers.'
 a'. Er werd (de directeurs) een groot bedrag aangeboden.
 there was the managers a large sum prt.-offered
 'A large sum was offered (to the managers).'
 b. De directeurs kregen *(een groot bedrag) aangeboden.
 the managers got_{pl} a large sum prt.-offered
 'The managers were offered a large sum of money.'

B. Contraction verbs

This subsection concludes our discussion of the restrictions imposed on attributively used participles with a brief discussion of contraction verbs. These verbs have a stem that ends in a long vowel and an infinitive form that involves *-n* instead of the regular *-en* ending. The present participle of these verbs is formed by adding *-nd* to the stem. The past/passive participles end in a low vowel + /n/. Some examples are given in Table (43).

(43) Contraction verbs

INFINITIVE	STEM	PRESENT PARTICIPLE	PAST PARTICIPLE
<i>doen</i> 'to do'	<i>doe</i>	<i>doend</i>	<i>gedaan</i>
<i>gaan</i> 'to go'	<i>ga</i>	<i>gaand</i>	<i>gegaan</i>
<i>slaan</i> 'to hit'	<i>sla</i>	<i>slaand</i>	<i>geslagen</i> (irregular)
<i>staan</i> 'to stand'	<i>sta</i>	<i>staand</i>	<i>gestaan</i>
<i>vergaan</i> 'to decay/be wrecked'	<i>verga</i>	<i>vergaand</i>	<i>vergaan</i>
<i>zien</i> 'to see'	<i>zien</i>	<i>ziend</i>	<i>gezien</i>

The examples in (44) show that the present participles of these contraction verbs normally cannot readily be used attributively.

- (44) a. **de de afwas doende man*
the the dishes doing man
b. **de de hond slaande man*
the the dog hitting man
c. **een vergaand lijk*
a decaying corpse
d. **een de kust ziende man*
a the coast seeing man

The examples in (45) seem to constitute counterexamples to this claim, but it must be noted that these involve more or less fixed combinations.

- (45) a. *een staande lamp*
a standing lamp
'a floor lamp (on a foot)'
b. *een meegaand karakter*
a with.going character
'a docile character'

This is particularly clear in (46a), in which the modified noun does not have the function of subject of the verb corresponding to the present participle: it is not the reception but the people who are standing. This kind of "metaphoric" use of the present participle is abundantly found in Dutch: another clear example of this use, which involves a regular form of the present participle, is given in (46b): again, it is not the buffet that is walking, but the people who are supposed to collect their food.

- (46) a. *een staande receptie*
a standing reception
'a reception where people stand'
b. *een lopend buffet*
a walking buffet
'a buffet'

The attributive use of past participles of contraction verbs generally yields degraded results as well. Possibly this has a phonological/morphological ground: the result is always degraded in contexts that require the attributive *-e* ending to be present, whereas the result is sometimes much better in singular indefinite noun phrases headed by a neuter noun, where this ending is absent. This is illustrated in

- (50)
- Adjectival participles
 - a. **Verbal participle:** attributively used past/passive or present participle that has retained its aspectual properties
 - b. **Truly adjectival participle:** attributively used past/passive or present participle that has lost its aspectual properties

9.2.1.2.1. *Past/passive participles*

This section will show that not all attributively used past/passive participles can be used as true adjectives: this is possible with participles of transitive, unaccusative, and object experiencer psych-verbs, but not with participles of NOM-DAT verbs that select *zijn*. Participles of intransitive and NOM-DAT verbs that select *hebben* are of course not discussed here, given that they cannot be used attributively; cf. Table 4.

I. *Transitive and monadic unaccusative verbs*

Consider again the examples in (18b&c), repeated here in a slightly different form as (51). The present participle in (51a) expresses durative aspect: we are dealing with an ongoing event. The past/passive participle in (51b) expresses perfective aspect: we are dealing with an event that has been completed. What we have ignored above, however, is that the past/passive participle in (51b) has a second reading in which perfective aspect plays no role: in that case the participle simply refers to the property of being slaughtered, and no action is implied at all. In other words, the verbal nature of the past/passive participle *geslachte* has perished and the participle is semantically acting like a true adjective, comparable to, e.g., *breek-baar* ‘fragile/breakable’.

- (51) a. de slachtende slager
the slaughtering butcher
b. de geslachte lammeren
the slaughtered lambs
Verbal reading: ‘the lambs that have been slaughtered’
Truly adjectival reading: ‘the lambs that are slaughtered’ [are = copula]

That adjectival past/passive participles can be non-verbal in nature can be demonstrated even more clearly by means of the participle *gesloten* ‘closed’ in (52). This example would be fully appropriate in the context of a newly built swimming pool the opening ceremony of which has been delayed; this means that the event of closing the swimming pool has never occurred and that the verbal reading of *gesloten* is excluded for extra-linguistic reasons.

- (52) Het zwembad is nog steeds gesloten.
the swimming pool is PRT still closed

The ambiguity in (51b) arises not only with transitive verbs, but also with unaccusative verbs. This is illustrated in (53) for the unaccusative verb *trouwen* ‘to marry’. The past participle *getrouwd* may refer either to the event of getting married, in which case we are dealing with a verbal participle or to the state of being married, in which case the participle is truly adjectival.

- (53) het getrouwde stel
the married couple
Verbal reading: ‘the couple that has married’
Truly adjectival reading: ‘the couple that is married’ [is = copula]

The verbal and truly adjectival participles differ in various respects, which will be reviewed in the subsections below.

A. Realization of the arguments of the verb

When the participle is transitive, the subject of the corresponding active clause can be expressed by means of a *door*-phrase in the case of a verbal past/passive participle; cf. Section 9.2.1. This is not possible, however, with a truly adjectival participle, which is clear from the fact that (54a) has the verbal reading only. The same thing holds when arguments other than the agentive *door*-phrase are expressed: (54b) illustrates this by means of the (optional) beneficiary argument *voor Peter* ‘for Peter’.

- (54) a. de door de slager geslachte lammeren
 the by the butcher slaughtered lambs
 Verbal reading only: ‘the lambs that have been slaughtered by the butcher’
 b. de voor Peter geslachte lammeren
 the for Peter slaughtered lambs
 Verbal reading only: ‘the lambs that have been slaughtered for Peter’

B. On- prefixation

Adjectives and verbs differ in that only the former can be prefixed by means of the negative morpheme *on-*; see Section 9.1.1, sub IIC. Consequently, when the participle is prefixed with this morpheme, we can be sure that we are dealing with a truly adjectival past/passive participle. In accordance with this, the examples in (55) have a state reading only. Since the presence of a *door*-phrase and the prefixation with *on-* lead to a contradiction with respect to the [$\pm V$] status of the participle, we correctly predict that example (55b) is unacceptable when the *door*-phrase is present.

- (55) a. Het ongetrouwde stel.
 the un-married couple
 Truly adjectival reading only: ‘the couple that is unmarried.’
 b. de (*door de slager) ongeslachte lammeren
 the by the butcher un-slaughtered lambs
 Truly adjectival reading only: ‘the lambs that are not slaughtered’

C. Adverb selection

A verbal past/passive participle refers to a certain point on the time axis, at which the action was completed, whereas a truly adjectival participle refers to a larger interval during which the state attributed to the head noun is applicable. As a result of this, the two types of participle combine with different types of adverbial phrases of time: verbal participles combine with adverbial phrases that refer to a certain point on the time axis such as *gisteren* ‘yesterday’ or with adverbs such as *meermaals* ‘several times’ or *twee keer* ‘twice’, which express that an event has taken place more than one time; truly adjectival participles, on the other hand, combine with adverbial phrases that refer to a continuous span of time such as *jarenlang* ‘for years’. Consequently, example (56a) only has the verbal reading, which is also clear from the fact that the participle cannot be prefixed with the negative prefix *on-*, whereas example (56b) only has the truly adjectival reading, which is supported by the fact that *on-* prefixation is possible.

- (56) a. het gisteren/twee keer getrouwde/*ongetrouwde stel
 the yesterday/twice married/unmarried couple
 Verbal reading: 'the couple that married yesterday/twice'
 b. het al jarenlang getrouwde/ongetrouwde stel
 the for years married/unmarried couple
 Truly adjectival reading: 'the couple that has been married/unmarried for years'

II. NOM-DAT verbs

The fact that suppression of the dative object leads to a degraded result with attributively used past participles of the NOM-DAT verbs in (57) shows that these participles cannot readily receive a truly adjectival reading. Note that (57a&c) are only marginally acceptable when the dative object is contextually implied or recoverable from the situation.

- (57) a. de ??(ons) goed bevallen vakantie
 the us well pleased holiday
 'the holiday that pleased (us) very much'
 b. de *(mij) overkomen ongelukken
 the me happened accidents
 'the accidents that happened (to me)'
 c. de ??(mij) opgevallen fouten
 the me noticed mistakes
 'the mistakes that I noticed'

The examples in (58) show that the present participles of NOM-DAT verbs also lack the adjectival properties of *on-* prefixation and modification by means of adverbial phrases like *jarenlang* 'for years'. It must be noted, however, that we did find some cases like (58c) on the internet.

- (58) a. *de onbevallen vakantie
 a'. *de jarenlang bevallen vakantie
 b. *de onoverkomen ongelukken
 b'. *de jarenlang overkomen ongelukken
 c. ??onopgevallen fouten
 c'. *de jarenlang opgevallen fouten

III. Object experiencer psych-verbs

The fact that the past participle of object experiencer psych-verbs can be modified by °intensifiers like *heel* 'very' and be prefixed by means of *on-* unambiguously shows that the participles of this type of verb can be interpreted as truly adjectival.

- (59) a. een (heel) geïnteresseerde doelgroep
 a very interested target.group
 b. een ongeïnteresseerde doelgroep
 an indifferent target.group

The fact that intensification by means of *heel* 'very' is never possible with attributively used participles of other verb types shows that adjectival past participles of object experiencer verbs are special in being gradable. This

conclusion is supported by the examples in (60), which show that the participle *geïnteresseerd* also has a comparative/superlative form; note that the synthetic comparative form *geïnteresseerdere* can also be found on the internet but is clearly less popular.

- (60) a. een meer geïnteresseerde doelgroep
a more interested target.group
b. de meest geïnteresseerde doelgroep
the most interested target.group

Although the examples above unambiguously show that past participles of object experiencer psych-verbs have a truly adjectival reading, it is not so clear whether the attributively used object experiencer psych-verbs may have a verbal reading as well: a truly adjectival, stative reading is strongly favored, which is clear from the fact, illustrated in (61a), that adverbs like *gisteren* ‘yesterday’, which refer to a certain point on the time axis, cannot readily be added. For this reason, we conclude that attributively used past/passive participles of the psych-verb strongly prefer the truly adjectival reading (but see section V2.5.1.3 for a more careful discussion).

- (61) a. het nog steeds/*gisteren geamuseerde publiek
the PRT still/yesterday amused audience
b. De voorstelling amuseerde het publiek nog steeds/gisteren.
the performance amused the audience PRT still/yesterday

For completeness’ sake, note that we have not used the verb *interesseren* in (61) since the use of the adverbial phrase *gisteren* also gives rise to a marked result in the active construction in (62b); this example improves, however, when a negative element like *niet* ‘not’ or *weinig* ‘little’ is added. As can be seen in (61b), this problem does not arise with the verb *amuseren*.

- (62) a. *het gisteren geïnteresseerde publiek
the yesterday interested audience
b. *De voorstelling interesseerde het publiek gisteren.
the performance interested the audience yesterday

IV. Summary

The discussion above is summarized by means of Table 5. The verbal types for which the distinctions are marked *n.a.* were not discussed above given that they never allow their past/passive participle in attributive position; see Table 4.

Table 5: The categorial status of attributively used adjectival past/passive participles

	VERBAL	TRULY ADJECTIVAL
INTRANSITIVE VERB	n.a.	n.a.
TRANSITIVE VERB	+	+
UNACCUSATIVE VERB	+	+
NOM-DAT VERBS THAT SELECT <i>ZIJN</i>	+	—
NOM-DAT VERBS THAT SELECT <i>HEBBEN</i>	n.a.	n.a.
OBJECT EXPERIENCER PSYCH-VERBS	—	+

V. Some potentially problematic cases

Although we have established that past/perfect participles of transitive and unaccusative verbs can have a truly adjectival reading, there are cases where this seems to give rise to less felicitous results. Consider, for instance, the examples in (63) with the past/passive participle of the transitive verb *aanbieden* ‘to offer’: since only the time adverb *gisteren* is possible, the participle is apparently able to refer to a completed action, but not to a property that applies during a longer period of time.

- (63) a. het gisteren aangeboden boek
the yesterday prt.-offered book
‘the book that was offered yesterday’
b. #het jarenlang aangeboden boek
the for years prt.-offered book
‘the book that has been on display for years’

Similar facts can be observed with the unaccusative verb *vallen* ‘to fall’ in (64). Note that the primed examples are accepted by some speakers with an iterative meaning, but in that case we are of course also dealing with the verbal reading of the participle.

- (64) a. de gisteren gevallen jongen
the yesterday fallen boy
‘the boy that fell yesterday’
b. #de jarenlang gevallen jongen
the for years fallen boy
‘the boy that was fallen for years’ [was = copula]

Concomitant with this difference between participles like *geslacht/getrouwd* and *aangeboden/gevallen* is that the former but not the latter can readily be used as predicates in a copular construction: as will be discussed more extensively in Section 9.3.1.1, only truly adjectival participles can appear in this construction.

- (65) a. De schapen bleken geslacht. [transitive]
the sheep turned.out slaughtered
‘The sheep turned out to be slaughtered.’
a’. ??Dat boek bleek aangeboden.
that book turned.out prt.-offered
b. Dat stel bleek (al jaren) getrouwd. [unaccusative]
that couple turned.out for years married
‘that couple turned out to have been married for years’
b’. ??De jongen bleek gevallen.
the boy turned.out fallen

We have used the copular verb *blijken* ‘to turn out’ in (65) instead of *zijn* in order to avoid ambiguity with passive and perfect tense construction. That the use of *zijn* creates ambiguity is clear from the fact that the primed examples in (65) become fully acceptable when we add the infinitive *te zijn* ‘to be’: the two primed examples in (66) involve, respectively, the passive and perfect auxiliary *zijn*, which means that we are again dealing with verbal adjectival participles. Observe that the

primeless examples in (66) remain ambiguous: both the verbal and the truly adjectival reading are possible.

- (66) a. De schapen bleken geslacht te zijn. [transitive]
 the sheep turned.out slaughtered to have.been/be
 'The sheep turned out to have been/be slaughtered.'
 a'. Dat boek bleek (al) aangeboden te zijn.
 that book turned.out already prt.-offered to be
 'That book turned out to have been offered already.'
 b. Het stel bleek getrouwd te zijn. [unaccusative]
 the couple turned.out married to have been/be
 'The couple turned out to have been/be married.'
 b'. De jongen bleek gevallen te zijn.
 the boy turned.out fallen to be
 'The boy turned out to have fallen.'

This subsection has shown that two classes of transitive and unaccusative verbs must be distinguished: attributively used past/passive participles of the type *geslacht/getrouwd* can be both verbal and truly adjectival, whereas those of the type *aangeboden/gevallen* cannot be truly adjectival. We leave it to future research to investigate what determines whether a certain adjectival participle of a transitive or unaccusative verb can or cannot be interpreted as truly adjectival.

9.2.1.2.2. *Present participles*

Although Table 4 has shown that present participles of all verb types can be used attributively, Subsection I will argue that the truly adjectival use of present participles is only found with object experiencer psych-verbs. Subsection II will discuss a number of potential counterexamples to this claim.

I. *Verb types*

This subsection will show that truly adjectival present participles can only be derived from object experiencer psych-verbs.

A. *Intransitive, transitive and monadic unaccusative verbs*

The examples in (67) show that present participles normally retain their aspectual properties when used attributively; the intransitive, transitive and unaccusative present participles all express durative aspect, and we must therefore conclude that we are dealing with verbal participles.

- (67) a. de lachende jongen [intransitive]
 the laughing boy
 Verbal reading only: 'the boy that is laughing'
 b. de slachtende slager [transitive]
 the slaughtering butcher
 Verbal reading only: 'the butcher that is slaughtering (some animal)'
 c. de vallende bladeren [unaccusative]
 the falling leaves
 Verbal reading only: 'the leaves that are falling'

B. NOM-DAT verbs

NOM-DAT verbs of both types also resist the formation of truly adjectival present participles, which may be related to the fact that dropping the dative object gives rise to a marked result; the primed examples are only acceptable without the dative object when the goal is somehow recoverable from the context.

- (68) a. De vakantie is ons goed bevallen. a'. de [?](ons) goed bevallende vakantie
the holiday is us well pleased the us good pleasing holiday
'The holiday pleased us well.' 'the holiday that pleases us very much'
- b. De moed heeft ons ontbroken b'. de [?](ons) ontbrekende moed
the courage has us lacked the us lacking courage
'We lacked the courage.' 'The courage we lack.'

A notable exception is the NOM-DAT verb *opvallen* 'to strike', which does have a corresponding gradable, truly adjectival participle. That the participle is truly adjectival is clear from the fact that it can be intensified by *heel* 'very' and appear in the comparative and superlative forms.

- (69) a. Die jongen is mij opgevallen.
that boy has me prt.-struck
'That boy attracted my attention.'
- b. een (heel) opvallende verschijning
a very eye-catching figure
- c. een meer/de meest opvallende verschijning
a more/the most eye-catching figure

The examples in (70) show that, in accordance with the hypothesis that only truly adjectival participles can be used predicatively (cf. Section 9.3.1.1), the present participle *opvallend* also differs from the present participles of the NOM-DAT verbs in (68) in that it can appear in complementive position.

- (70) a. *Die vakantie is goed bevallend.
b. *De moed is ontbrekend.
c. Die jongen is erg opvallend.

C. Object experiencer psych-verbs

Object experiencer psych-verbs differ from the other verb types in that they readily allow a truly adjectival reading of their present participles. Under this reading, the participle has lost its aspectual properties and generally expresses some intrinsic property of the modified head noun. As expected, the object of the corresponding verb can only be expressed when the present participle is verbal: whereas example (71b) is ambiguous, the participle in (71c) can only be interpreted as verbal.

- (71) a. Het argument overtuigde ons.
the argument convinced us
- b. een overtuigende argument
a convincing argument
Verbal reading: 'an argument that convinces (someone)'
Truly adjectival reading: 'a conclusive argument'

- c. een ons overtuigende argument
 a us convincing argument
 Verbal reading only: 'an argument that convinces us'

Since comparative formation and *on-* prefixation can only apply to truly adjectival participles (cf. Section 1.3.1.2), we correctly predict that the examples in (72) only have the non-aspectual reading and that the addition of the object *ons* 'us' leads to ungrammaticality.

- (72) a. een (*ons) overtuigender bewijsvoering
 a us more.convincing argument
 Truly adjectival reading only: 'a more conclusive argument'
- b. een (*ons) onovertuigende bewijsvoering
 a us un-convincing argument
 Truly adjectival reading only: 'an inconclusive argument'

When we are dealing with separable particle verbs, like *innemen* 'to win one's sympathy' in (73a), verbal and truly adjectival present participles differ with respect to their stress properties: like separable verbs, verbal present participles normally have main stress on the particle, whereas truly adjectival participles have main stress on the verbal part; cf. (73b). Apart from interpretation, this claim is supported by the fact that the stress pattern of the verbal type is required when the object is expressed, as in (73c), and that the adjectival stress pattern of the adjectival type is required when comparative formation has applied, as in (73d).

- (73) a. Die opmerking nam ons voor hem IN.
 that remark captivated us for him prt
 'That remark won our sympathy for him.'
- b. een INnemende/innEMende opmerking
 a captivating remark
- c. een ons voor hem INnemende/*innEMende opmerking
 a us for him captivating remark
- d. een INnemender/*innEMender opmerking
 a more.captivating remark

II. Potential counterexamples

The previous section has already mentioned that only truly adjectival present participles can be used predicatively; see also Section 9.3.1.2. The examples in (74) are therefore in accordance with the finding of the previous section that only the present participles of object experiencer psych-verbs can be truly adjectival.

- (74) a. *De jongen is lachend. [is = copular]
 the boy is laughing
- b. *De slager is slachtend. [is = copular]
 the butcher is slaughtering
- c. *De bladeren zijn vallend. [zijn = copular]
 the leaves are falling
- d. De bewijsvoering is overtuigend. [is = copular]
 the argumentation is convincing/conclusive

It must be noted, however, that there are many adjectival compounds consisting of a present participle of an (in)transitive verb as their second member and a noun (75a-i), an adjective (75j&k), or a particle (75l) as their first member; cf. De Haas and Trommelen (1993). That we are dealing with adjectives is clear from the fact that these compounds can all be used in predicative position, and that many of them can be modified by means of the °intensifier *zeer/heel* ‘very’.

(75) a. adembenemend breath+taking ‘breathtaking’	e. gezaghebbend authority+having ‘authoritative’	i. zorgwekkend worry+raising ‘worrisome’
b. alwetend all+knowing ‘omniscient’	f. noodlijdend need+suffering ‘destitute/needy’	j. slechthorend ill+hearing ‘hard of hearing’
c. angstaanjagend fear+filling.with ‘frightening’	g. toonaangevend tone+setting ‘authoritative’	k. weldenkend right + thinking ‘right-minded’
d. geestdodend mind+killing ‘stultifying’	h. veelzeggend much+saying ‘revealing’	l. neerbuigend down+bending ‘patronizing’

Other potentially problematic cases involve the adjectives in (76), which denote properties of substances and materials. Although adjectives of this type are generally compounds as well, there are also some cases in which we are dealing with a simplex form. An example is *laxerend* ‘laxative’ in (76c), which is clearly adjectival given that it can be used in predicative position and be modified by the intensifier *heel* ‘very’.

(76) a. een vochtwerende verf a damp+proof paint	a’. Deze verf is vochtwerend. this paint is damp+proof
b. ijzerhoudend water iron+keeping water ‘chalybeate water’	b’. Dit water is ijzerhoudend. this water is iron+keeping ‘This water is chalybeate’
c. een laxerend medicijn a laxative medicine	c’. Koffie is (heel) laxerend. coffee is very laxative

Example (77), finally, provides a final set of probably apparent counterexamples for the claim that only the present participles of psych-verbs can be truly adjectival.

(77) a. een heel neerbuigende houding a very patronizing attitude	b. een zeer lovende bespreking a very commending review
a’. Zijn houding is heel neerbuigend. his attitude is very patronizing	b’. Zijn bespreking is zeer lovend. his review is very commending
a’’. *Zijn houding boog hem neer. his attitude patronized him prt.	b’’. *?Zijn bespreking loofde het boek. his review commended the book

Given that modification by the adverb *heel/zeer* ‘very’ is possible, the examples in (77) must involve true adjectives, which is also consistent with the fact that the forms in question can be used predicatively. The doubly-primed examples show, however, that the head nouns of these examples do not correspond to the subject of

the corresponding active verbal construction, which may indicate that we are dealing with pseudo-participles. These examples clearly deserve more research.

9.2.1.2.3. *Summary*

This section has used several tests to determine the $[\pm V]$ status of attributively used participles; the results are summarized in Table 6. Row (i) indicates whether the participle expresses aspect, row (ii) whether the arguments of the corresponding active verb can be realized, row (iii) whether prefixation with the negative morpheme *on-* is possible, row (iv) whether a modifying temporal adverbial phrase refers to specific points or to an interval on the time axis, and row (v) whether the participle can be modified by the intensifier *zeer/heel* ‘very’ or undergo comparative/superlative formation. The adverbial test in (iv) is suitable only for determining the verbal status of past participles: present participles are durative in nature, and therefore apply to an interval on the time axis by definition. The test concerning intensification and comparative/superlative in (v) is only applicable to object experiencer verbs, given that the other participles are all non-gradable.

Table 6: *Tests for determining the $[\pm V]$ status of attributively used adjectival participles*

		VERBAL	TRULY ADJECTIVAL
(i)	ASPECT	+	—
(ii)	ARGUMENTS	+	—
(iii)	ON- PREFIXATION	—	+
(iv)	TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL PHRASE (PAST PARTICIPLES ONLY)	(multiple) point(s) on the time axis	continuous interval on the time axis
(v)	INTENSIFICATION COMPARATIVE/SUPERLATIVE	—	+ (if scalable)

9.2.1.3. *Tense and aspect*

Since participle phrases are not finite, tense distinctions are not explicitly made. Nevertheless, often some notion of tense seems to be expressed. This will be discussed in the following subsections.

1. *Present participles*

Present participle phrases normally refer to states of affairs that take place simultaneously with the state of affairs described in the clause; the implied tense of the participle phrase is the same as the tense of the clause. This can be supported by the fact that the primeless examples in (78) can be paraphrased by means of the primed examples, where the participle phrase has been replaced by a relative clause in which the implied tense of the participle phrase has been made explicit; changing the tense of the relative clauses would make these relative constructions improper paraphrases of the participle constructions.

- (78) a. De daar bij het raam zittende jongen is mijn broer.
 the there at the window sitting boy is my brother
 a'. De jongen die daar bij het raam zit is mijn broer.
 the boy who there at the window sits is my brother
 'The boy who is sitting there at the window is my brother.'
 b. De vrolijk een deuntje fluitende jongen fietste voorbij.
 the cheerfully a tune whistling boy cycled past
 b'. De jongen, die vrolijk een deuntje floot, fietste voorbij.
 the boy who cheerfully a tune whistled cycled past
 'The boy, who cheerfully whistled a tune, cycled past.'

In some cases, however, the participle phrase contains an adverbial phrase that indicates that the implied tense deviates from that of the matrix clause. In (79a), for instance, the adverb *nu* 'now' suggests that present tense is implied in the participle phrase, while the matrix clause is in the past; similarly, in (79b), the adverb *ooit* 'formerly/in the past' indicates a past tense, while the matrix clause is in the present.

- (79) a. De nu voor zichzelf werkende aannemer werkte toen bij een bedrijf.
 the now for himself working contractor worked then with a company
 'The contractor, who is now working for himself, was then working for a firm.'
 b. Deze ooit voor Ajax spelend voetballer is nu trainer van PSV.
 this once for Ajax playing soccer player is now trainer of PSV
 'This soccer player, who once played for Ajax, is now the trainer of PSV.'

In formal or literary language, a present participle phrase may appear with an auxiliary, which formally expresses perfective aspect. In colloquial speech, the intended meanings of the examples in (80) are expressed by means of non-restrictive relative clauses in the perfect tense.

- (80) a. ?Jan, zijn trein gemist hebbende, besloot een kopje koffie te gaan drinken.
 Jan his train missed having decided a cup coffee to go drink
 'Jan, having missed his train, decided to have a cup of coffee.'
 b. ?Het meisje, een uur gewacht hebbende, ging teleurgesteld naar huis terug.
 the girl an hour waited having went disappointed to house back
 'The girl, having waited for an hour, returned home disappointed.'

II. Past/passive participles

Past/passive participle phrases normally describe states of affairs that have taken place prior to the state of affairs referred to in the matrix clause. Here, too, the implied tense is typically identical to that of the matrix clause, which is shown for the primeless examples in (81) by means of the paraphrases in the primed examples; changing the tense of the relative clauses would make these relative constructions improper paraphrases of the participle constructions.

- (81) a. De van hout gemaakte huizen zien er nogal gammel uit.
 the of wood made houses look PRT. rather crumbling prt.
 a'. De huizen die gemaakt zijn van hout zien er nogal gammel uit.
 the houses which made are of wood look PRT. rather crumbling prt.
 b. De van hout gemaakte huizen brandden tot aan de grond af.
 the of wood made houses burnt to the ground prt.
 'The houses, made of wood, burnt down completely.'
 b'. De huizen, die gemaakt waren van hout, brandden tot aan de grond af.
 the houses which made were of wood burnt to the ground prt.

Exceptions do again occur, which is clear from the fact that both the past and the present relative constructions in (82b) are adequate paraphrases of (82a): the use of the past tense in the paraphrases suggests that the houses under discussion did not survive, while the present tense suggests that the houses are still there. The apparent ambiguity of (82a) is due to the fact that the attributively used participle does not provide any clue concerning the question of whether the houses still exist.

- (82) a. Hun van hout gemaakte huizen zagen er nogal gammel uit.
 their of wood made houses looked PRT. rather rickety prt.
 'Their houses, made of wood, looked rather ramshackle.'
 b. Hun huizen, die gemaakt waren/zijn van hout, zagen er nogal gammel uit.
 their houses which made were/are of wood looked PRT. rather rickety prt.
 'Their houses, which were/are made of wood, looked rather ramshackle.'

9.2.2. *Modal infinitives*

This section discusses the attributive use of the modal infinitives (which are also known as passive infinitives; cf. Kester (1994a)). We will start by showing that this use is only compatible with verbs that take an accusative object.

1. *Verb types*

Participles are not the only verbal elements that can be used attributively: *te*-infinitives can also be used in this way, as is shown by the examples in (83).

- (83) a. de te lezen boeken [transitive]
 the to read books
 'the books that are to be read'
 b. de af te leggen afstand [transitive]
 the prt. to cover distance
 'the distance that is to be covered'
 c. het groen te verven hek [resultative construction]
 the green to paint gate
 'the gate that has to be painted green'

The verbs that may enter this construction are limited to those that take an accusative object; in other words, intransitive and unaccusative verbs cannot occur in this construction. This is shown in (84).

- (84) a. *de te lachen mensen [intransitive]
 the to laugh people
 b. *de te vallen bladeren [unaccusative]
 the to fall leaves
 c. *de (ons) te bevallen boeken [NOM-DAT verb]
 the us to please books

Since the head noun in (83) corresponds to the direct object of the active counterpart of the infinitival verb, the impossibility of (84a) is not very surprising. The ungrammaticality of (84b&c), on the other hand, is surprising given that attributively used past/passive participles can be used to modify both the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an unaccusative verb; cf. Section 9.2.1. One possible approach to accounting for the ungrammaticality of these examples is to appeal to the fact that the construction expresses a notion of obligation (see below), which must be ascribed to some (implicit) [+HUMAN] argument in the structure. Such an approach would still leave examples like (85) unaccounted for, where the obligation could be ascribed to the noun.

- (85) *de (vroeg) te vertrekken mensen
 the early to leave people
 ‘the people that have to leave early’

Example (86) with the unaccusative verb *verschijnen* ‘to appear’ is exceptional as it is judged acceptable by many Dutch speakers, which may be due to English influence. Note that this example does not express the root modality of ability or obligation but future aspect.

- (86) %het nog/in een internationaal tijdschrift te verschijnen artikel
 the still/in an international journal to appear article
 ‘the article still to appear/to appear in an international journal’

II. Attributive inflection

Since modal infinitives end in schwa (orthographically represented as *-en*), they do not get the attributive ending; cf. Section 5.1.1.2. Still, the examples in (87) show that it is justified to treat them on a par with the attributively used adjectives. As a rule, coordination is restricted to elements of the same category or to elements that have the same syntactic function: for instance, nouns cannot be coordinated with adjectives nor with verbs. The fact that modal infinitives can be coordinated with APs strongly suggests that they have the same syntactic status. In (87a) and (87b), this is illustrated for the modal infinitives on their verbal and nonverbal readings, respectively.

- (87) a. een zwaar en door de atleten binnen een uur af te leggen parcours
 a hard and by the athletes within an hour prt. to cover track
 b. een intelligente maar niet gemakkelijk te overtuigen student
 an intelligent but not easy to convince student

III. Two types of modal infinitives

This subsection will show that there are two types of modal infinitives, which can be distinguished on the basis of meaning as well as syntactic behavior.

A. Meaning

Modal infinitives inherently express some form of modality. The examples in (83) above, for instance, express OBLIGATION: example (83a) expresses that the books have to be read (by someone), and (83b) that the distance has to be covered (by someone). Another modality that can be expressed by means of these modal infinitives is that of ABILITY. Although this reading is not very salient in (83), it can be favored by adding an adverbially used adjective such as *gemakkelijk* 'easily' or the negative adverb *niet* 'not', as in (88). Note that the modal infinitive constructions in (88) can be readily confused with the so-called *easy-to-please*-construction; see Section 6.5.4 for a discussion of the differences between the two constructions.

- (88) a. een gemakkelijk/niet te lezen boek
 a easily/not to read book
 'an easily accessible book'/'an inaccessible book'
 b. een gemakkelijk/niet af te leggen afstand
 a easily/not prt. to cover distance
 'a distance that can be covered easily/that cannot be covered'

Examples like (89), which can be found in Dutch public transport, show that it is also possible to express PERMISSION by means of the modal infinitive. To our knowledge, this has not been investigated so far.

- (89) Noodrem alleen te gebruiken in geval van nood.
 safety brake only to use in case of emergency
 'It is only allowed to use the safety brake in case of emergency.'

B. Realization of the implied agent

The cases in (83) and (88) differ for some speakers in that the implied agent of (83) can normally be expressed by means of a *door*-PP, whereas the implied agent is (preferably) expressed by means of a *voor*-PP in (88). This is illustrated in (90) for the examples in (83b) and (88b).

- (90) a. de *door*/[%]*voor* de atleten af te leggen afstand
 the by/for the athletes prt. to cover distance
 'the distance to be covered by the athletes'
 b. een *voor*/[%]*door* de atleten gemakkelijk/niet af te leggen afstand
 a for/by the athletes easily/not prt. to cover distance
 'a distance that the athletes can cover easily/cannot cover'

C. Degree of verbalness

The fact that the *door*-phrase can be added in (90a) strongly suggests that the infinitive is still verbal in nature under the obligation reading. This is supported by the facts that, e.g., the indirect object or the predicative complement of the verb can

be overtly expressed in the attributive construction under the obligation reading; cf. the examples in (91).

- (91) a. de (aan) de studenten te sturen brief
 the to the students to send letter
 ‘the letters that must be sent to the students’
 b. de in de kast te zetten boeken
 the in the cupboard to put books
 ‘the books that must be put in the cupboard’

The fact that the predicatively used modal infinitive in (92) is not compatible with an obligation reading actually suggests that the infinitive cannot be adjectival in nature under this reading; this is only possible when the modality expressed by the infinitive is ABILITY; see Section 9.3.1.3 for more discussion.

- (92) Deze afstand is (door de atleten) af te leggen.
 this distance is by the athletes prt. to cover
 Impossible reading: ‘This distance must be covered by the athletes.’
 Possible reading: ‘This distance can be covered by the athletes.’

The *voor*-phrase in (90b) is not an argument of the verb, but acts as an argument of the adjectival modifier *gemakkelijk* (cf. *Het is gemakkelijk voor hem* ‘It is easy for him’) or as an independent adverbial restrictor. Actually, the examples in (91) suggest that the *te*-infinitive cannot be readily supplemented by the arguments of the active verb under the ability reading. This is further supported by example (93a), which shows that adding a *door*-phrase to example (88a) is impossible. This has given rise to the idea that the *te*-infinitives are nonverbal on their ability reading. The fact that the copular constructions in (92) and (93b) do allow the ability reading is of course fully compatible with that idea.

- (93) a. %een door Peter gemakkelijk/niet te lezen boek
 a by Peter easily/not to read book
 b. Deze boeken zijn (gemakkelijk/niet) te lezen.
 these books are easy/not to read
 ‘These books are (easily/not) accessible.’

IV. Concluding remarks

Contraction verbs like *ontslaan* ‘to sack’ in (94a) often cannot be used in attributive position, although Haeseryn et al. (1997) provides a number of acceptable examples with the (adjectival) ability reading. Given that the acceptable examples in (94b&c) have an idiomatic ring to them, we may be dealing with fully lexicalized formations.

- (94) a. *de te ontslane werknemers
 the to sack employees
 b. niet te overziene consequenties
 not to survey consequences
 ‘consequences that cannot be overlooked’
 c. in niet mis te verstane bewoordingen
 in not wrongly to understand words
 ‘in an unmistakable phrasing’

For completeness' sake, we want to mention that we have called the *te*-phrases modal *infinitives*, because *te* is an infinitive marker and the element following it has the appearance of an infinitive. It should be noted, however, that the complement of *zu* in the German counterparts of these phrases has the appearance of an inflected *present participle*; cf. Kester (1994a). This is illustrated in (95), where the inflection is given in italics.

- (95) a. ein nicht zu verkennendes Zeichen
 a not to mistake sign
 b. ein nicht leicht zu überzeugender Junge
 a not easy to convince boy

9.3. Predicative use

This section discusses the predicative use of participles and modal infinitives. Section 9.3.1 starts by discussing the complementive use of these elements, 9.3.2 continues with their suppletive use, and 9.3.3 concludes by discussing their appositive use.

9.3.1. Complementive use

Section 9.2 has shown that attributively used adjectives can be either verbal or truly adjectival in nature. This section will adopt as its starting point the hypothesis that only participles of the latter type can be used as complementives: Section 9.3.1.1 will examine this for the past/passive participles and Section 9.3.1.2 for the present participles. Section 9.3.1.3 concludes with a discussion of the complementive use of modal infinitives.

9.3.1.1. Past/passive participles

This section will discuss the complementive use of past/passive participles. It will also discuss a number of tests that can be used to distinguish this use from the use of these participles in perfect tense and passive constructions.

9.3.1.1.1. Categorical status

According to the tests listed in Section 9.2, Table 6, past/passive participles like *geslacht* 'slaughtered' and *getrouwd* 'married' can be used as truly adjectival attributive participles, whereas past/passive participles like *aangeboden* 'offered' and *gevallen* 'fallen' cannot; cf. the discussion of (63) and (64). Consequently, if only truly adjectival participles can be used in the function of a complementive, we expect only the former to be possible in copular constructions. As we have seen in (65), repeated here as (96), this expectation indeed seems to be borne out.

- (96) a. De schapen bleken geslacht.
 the sheep turned.out slaughtered
 'The sheep turned out (to be) slaughtered.'
 b. Dat stel bleek getrouwd.
 that couple turned.out married
 'That couple turned out (to be) married.'

- c. ??Dat boek bleek aangeboden.
that book turned.out prt.-offered
- d. ??De jongen bleek gevallen.
the boy turned.out fallen

The participles *geslacht* and *getrouwd* also exhibit truly adjectival behavior in the constructions in (96a&b) with respect to the tests in Table 6. The participle *getrouwd*, for example, has no aspectual content but refers to the state of being married. Furthermore, (97a) show that it can be prefixed with the negative marker *on-*, and (97b) that it can only be modified by time adverbs that refers to an interval on the time axis, such as *jarenlang* ‘for years’.

- (97) a. Het stel bleek ongetrouwd.
the couple turned.out unmarried
‘The couple turned out to be unmarried.’
- b. Het stel bleek jarenlang/??om drie uur getrouwd.
the couple turned.out for.years/at 3 o’clock married
‘The couple turned out to have been married for years.’

The two remaining tests in Table 6 cannot be used for independent reasons: the verb *trouwen* ‘to marry’ has only one argument (a DO-subject), and comparative formation is impossible due to the fact that the truly adjectival participle *getrouwd* is not scalar; one is either married or not. Given that examples like (96a&b) exhibit truly adjectival behavior they are sometimes also referred to as ADJECTIVAL PASSIVES.

9.3.1.1.2. Verb types

Section 9.2.1 has shown that past/passive participles of intransitive verbs and NOM-DAT verbs that select the auxiliary *hebben* cannot be used attributively. The examples in (98) show that the same thing holds for the complementive use of these participles. The sections below will therefore focus on past/past participles of verb types that can also be used attributively.

- (98) a. *De jongen is gehuild. [is = copular]
the boy is cried
- b. *De moed is (ons) ontbroken. [is = copular]
the courage has us lacked

1. Transitive and unaccusative verbs

Given that the copular *zijn* ‘to be’ is homophonous with the passive auxiliary and the auxiliary of time selected by unaccusative verbs, copular constructions with adjectival past/participle participles are sometimes difficult to distinguish from perfect tense and passive constructions. This section will discuss some tests that can be used to distinguish them.

A. Distinguishing past perfect, passive and copular constructions

In the copular constructions in Section 9.3.1.1.1, we have used the copular verb *blijken* ‘to turn out’ instead of *zijn* ‘to be’ in order to avoid problems that arise due

to the fact that the copular verb *zijn* 'to be' is homophonous with the perfect and passive auxiliaries *zijn*; when we replace *blijken* in (96b-d) by *zijn*, as in (99), it is not immediately clear whether we are dealing with a copular or a passive/past perfect construction. Note that we can put (96a) aside for the moment because transitive verbs do not take the perfect auxiliary *zijn* 'to be', but *hebben* 'to have' (but see the discussion in Subsection B).

- (99) a. Het stel is getrouwd.
 that couple is married
 Past perfect construction: 'The couple has married.'
 Copular construction: 'The couple is married.'
- b. Het boek is aangeboden.
 the book is prt.-offered
 Passive construction: 'The book has been offered.'
- c. De jongen is gevallen.
 the boy is fallen
 Past perfect construction: 'The boy has fallen.'

Example (99c) is grammatical, in contrast to (96d), but we are not dealing with a copular construction since the participle can only refer to the process of falling and not to the state of being fallen. This is also clear from the fact, illustrated in (100), that adverbials like *al jarenlang* cannot be used. From this we must conclude that we are dealing with the perfect auxiliary *zijn*.

- (100) De jongen is gisteren/*al jarenlang gevallen.
 the boy is yesterday/for years fallen

We are not dealing with a copular construction in (99b) either: the participle does not refer to the state of being offered and (101a) shows that modification by the adverbial phrase *al jarenlang* is impossible. Furthermore, an indirect object can be added, which is impossible when we are dealing with a truly adjectival participle; cf. Table 6. Since a passive *door*-phrase is also possible in (101a), we are clearly dealing with a passive construction. Recall that when the passive auxiliary is *worden*, as in (101b), an inchoative or durative aspect is added, as a result of which the adverb test is no longer conclusive: adverbial phrases that refer to an interval on the time axis become possible in that case.

- (101) a. Het boek is gisteren/*al jarenlang (door hem) (aan Marie) aangeboden.
 the book is yesterday/for years by him to Marie prt.-offered
 'The book was offered yesterday.'
- b. Het boek wordt morgen/al jarenlang aangeboden.
 the book is tomorrow/for years prt.-offered
 'The book will be/has been offered tomorrow/for years.'

In accordance with our findings with respect to (99b&c), the participle in example (99a) may also have a verbal reading. So, (99a) differs from the unambiguous copular construction with *blijken* 'to turn out' in (96b) in that it need not have the adjectival/state reading, but can also have the (verbal) past perfect reading. In accordance with this, example (102a) shows that the adverbial phrases *al*

jarenlang ‘for years’ and *om drie uur* ‘at 3 o’clock’ can both be used felicitously. This does not imply, however, that constructions with *zijn* are always ambiguous: when the participle is prefixed with *on-*, as in (102b), we are clearly dealing with an adjective and only the stative reading is possible, which is also clear from the fact that the presence of the adverbial PP *om drie uur* leads to unacceptability. Furthermore, example (102c) shows that the adjectival reading is excluded when the participle appears after the verb in clause-final position: this is, of course, in accordance with the finding from Section 6.2.4 that adjectives must precede the clause-final verb(s); see also Table 2.

- (102) a. Het stel is al jarenlang/om drie uur getrouwd.
the couple is for years/at 3 o’clock married
‘The couple $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{has been} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ married $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{at 3 o’clock} \\ \text{for years} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$.’
- b. Het stel is al jarenlang/*om drie uur ongetrouwd.
the couple is for years/at 3 o’clock unmarried
‘The couple has been unmarried for years.’
- c. dat het stel om drie uur/*al jarenlang is getrouwd.
that the couple at 3 o’clock/for years is married
‘that the couple married at 3 o’clock.’

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the ungrammatical version of sentences like (102c) is sometimes produced. On closer introspection, most speakers will agree that this should be considered a performance error. The same performance error is occasionally made with pseudo-participles like *bekend* ‘well-known/famous’.

B. Distinguishing past perfect and semi-copular constructions

Section 6.2.1, sub II, has shown that in Dutch dialects that allow possessive datives, the Standard Dutch copular construction in (103a) has the semi-copular alternate in (103b).

- (103) a. Zijn band is lek.
his tire is punctured
- b. Hij heeft de band lek.
he has the tire punctured
‘He has a punctured tire.’

Now, consider the Standard Dutch example in (104a), which can be construed either as a passive or as a copular construction, depending on whether the participle is construed as verbal or adjectival. The actual reading can be established by means of several tests: addition of the adverb *gisteren* ‘yesterday’, as in (104b), suggests that we are dealing with the verbal (passive) participle, which is confirmed by the fact that the passive *door*-phrase can be added to such examples; addition of adverbial phrases like *al jarenlang*, as in (104c), suggests that we are dealing with a copular construction, which is confirmed by the fact that the *door*-phrase cannot be added. Further evidence for these conclusions is that (104d) shows that the participle cannot occur postverbally when the adverbial phrase is *al jarenlang*.

- (104) a. Zijn fiets is gestolen.
 his bicycle is stolen
 Passive construction: 'His bike is stolen.' [is = passive auxiliary]
 Semi-copular construction: 'His bike is stolen.' [is = copular]
- b. Zijn fiets is gisteren (door Peter) gestolen.
 his bicycle is yesterday by Peter stolen
 'His bicycle was stolen (by Peter) yesterday.'
- c. Zijn fiets is al jarenlang (*door Peter) gestolen.
 his bicycle is for years by Peter stolen
 'His bicycle has been stolen for years.'
- d. dat zijn fiets gisteren/*al jarenlang is gestolen.
 that his bicycle yesterday/for years is stolen
 'that his bicycle was stolen yesterday.'

In the non-standard varieties of Dutch that allow the semi-copular construction in (103b), (104a) can be translated as in (105a) on the truly adjectival reading of the participle. This sentence is again ambiguous, as it can also be interpreted as a perfect tense construction. The construction can be disambiguated in similar ways as (104a): addition of the adverb *gisteren* in (105b) is only possible on the verbal reading of the participle, whereas addition of *al jarenlang* in (105c) triggers the adjectival/state reading. Observe that, as expected, the adverbial phrase *al jarenlang* cannot be used in the corresponding present tense construction **Hij steelt al jarenlang de fiets* 'He was stealing the bike for years'. Example (104d), finally, shows that the adverbial phrase *al jarenlang* cannot be used when the participle follows the auxiliary in clause-final position.

- (105) a. Hij heeft de fiets gestolen.
 he has the bicycle stolen
 Past perfect construction: 'He has stolen the bike.'
 Semi-copular construction: 'His bike was stolen.'
- b. Hij heeft gisteren de fiets gestolen.
 he has yesterday the bicycle stolen
 'He stole the bicycle yesterday.'
- c. Hij heeft al jarenlang de fiets gestolen.
 he has for years the bicycle stolen
 'He has had his bicycle stolen for years.'
- d. dat hij gisteren/*al jarenlang de fiets heeft gestolen.
 that he yesterday/for years the bicycle has stolen

As the participle can only be interpreted as truly adjectival when the subject enters into a possessive relation with the object, (105a) can also be disambiguated by adding a possessive pronoun to the object: this blocks this possessive relation and, as a result, (106) is only compatible with the verbal reading of the participle.

- (106) Hij heeft haar/zijn fiets gestolen.
 he has her/his bicycle stolen
 'He has stolen her/his bicycle.'

Section 6.2.1, sub II, has also shown that Standard Dutch has a similar semi-copular construction with *hebben* 'to have', which occurs under somewhat more strict conditions than the dialect construction in (105a). A sentence like (107a), for example, is ambiguous between a past perfect and a semi-copular reading. That (107a) can be interpreted as a past perfect construction is clear from the fact that it has the present tense counterpart in (107b), and that it can be interpreted as a semi-copular construction is evident from the fact that *hebben* can be replaced by the semi-copular verb *krijgen* 'to get' in (107c). Observe that, unlike the dialect construction in (105a), the Standard Dutch semi-copular construction is possible when the object contains a possessive pronoun.

- (107) a. Jan heeft zijn raam niet gesloten.
 Jan has his window not closed
 Past perfect construction: 'Jan has not closed his window.'
 Semi-copular construction: 'Jan doesn't have his window closed.'
- b. Jan sluit zijn raam niet.
 Jan closes his window not
- c. Jan krijgt zijn raam niet gesloten.
 Jan gets his window not closed

The semi-copular and past perfect readings in (107a) are again subject to the familiar restrictions: use of punctual adverbs like *gisteren*, as in (108a), is only possible on the verbal/eventive reading of the participle, whereas addition of non-punctual adverbs like *altijd* in (105c) triggers the adjectival/state reading. Placing the participle after the finite verb in clause-final position, as in (108c), is only possible in the perfect tense construction, that is, when the participle is verbal; this is clear from the fact that this construction is only compatible with punctual adverbial phrases like *gisteren*.

- (108) a. Jan heeft gisteren zijn raam gesloten.
 Jan has yesterday his window closed
 'Jan didn't close his window yesterday.'
- b. Jan heeft altijd zijn raam gesloten.
 Jan has always his window closed
 'Jan always has his window closed.'
- c. dat Jan zijn raam gisteren/*altijd heeft gesloten.
 that Jan his window yesterday/always has closed
 'that Jan didn't close his window yesterday.'

C. Summary

This section has shown that only truly adjectival participles can be used as predicates in (semi-)copular constructions. Sometimes ambiguity arises between the predicative and the passive/past perfect constructions, but it has been shown that some of the tests from Section 9.1 can be used to distinguish the two readings. Further, it has been shown that the relative position of the participle and the remaining verbs in clause-final position is relevant: when the participle follows the verb *hebben/zijn*, the adjectival reading is blocked.

II. Dyadic unaccusative verbs

Section 9.2.1 has shown that past participles of NOM-DAT verbs can be used attributively to modify a head noun that corresponds to the DO-subject, provided that the verb takes the auxiliary *zijn* in the perfect tense. This is shown again in (109).

- (109) a. Die opmerking is ons opgevallen. [perfect auxiliary *zijn*]
 that remark is us prt.-noticed
 ‘We have noticed that remark.’
 a’. de ons opgevallen opmerking
 the us prt.-noticed remark
 ‘the remark that we have noticed’
 b. De moed heeft ons ontbroken. [perfect auxiliary *hebben*]
 the courage has us lacked
 ‘We (have) lacked the courage.’
 b’. *?de ons ontbroken moed
 the us lacked courage

Since the past participle *ontbroken* cannot be used attributively, it does not come as a surprise that it cannot be used predicatively (cf. **de moed is/bleek ontbroken*). Example (110) shows, though, that the past participle of the NOM-DAT verb *opvallen* cannot be used predicatively either. This is, however, in accordance with the conclusion reached in 9.2.1.2 that past participles of NOM-DAT verbs like *opvallen* do not have a truly adjectival interpretation; cf. (57).

- (110) a. *De opmerking is/blijkt opgevallen.
 the remark is/turns.out prt.-noticed

For completeness’ sake, note that (109a) is not ambiguous between the perfect tense and the copular construction as truly adjectival participles generally do not allow nominal arguments; that (109a) cannot be a case of the copular construction is further illustrated by the fact shown in (111) that only adverbs that refer to a certain point on the time axis, like *gisteren*, lead to a felicitous result; cf. Table 6.

- (111) Die opmerking is ons gisteren/*al jaren opgevallen.
 that remark is us yesterday/for years prt.-noticed

III. Object experiencer psych-verbs

Section 9.2.1 has also shown that past participles of object experiencer psych-verbs can be used attributively when the modified noun corresponds to the [+HUMAN] object of the corresponding active verb. This is illustrated again in (112).

- (112) a. Die berichten verontrusten de jongen. a’. de verontruste jongen
 those messages disturb the boy the disturbed boy
 b. Het avontuur wond de jongen op. b’. de opgewonden jongen
 the adventure excited the boy prt. the excited boy
 ‘The adventure excited the boy.’

The examples in (113) show that the past participles can also be used predicatively; in these cases no confusion arises with perfect tense constructions, given that these psych-verbs select the auxiliary *hebben* ‘to have’. Observe that the truly adjectival status of the participles is also evident from the fact that they can be modified by intensifiers like *heel/zeer* ‘very’.

- (113) a. De jongen is al jaren/*gisteren (heel) verontrust (over die berichten).
 the boy is for years/yesterday very disturbed about those messages
 b. De jongen is al jaren/*gisteren (zeer) opgewonden (over het avontuur).
 the boy is for years/yesterday very excited about the adventure

IV. Summary

The discussion in this section has shown that the complementive use of past/passive participles is more restricted than their attributive use: it is only possible when the participle is truly adjectival, that is, with a subset of transitive and monadic unaccusative verbs, and object experiencer verbs; cf. Table 5.

9.3.1.2. Present participles

Section 9.2.1.2 has shown that the truly adjectival reading of present participles is restricted to object experiencer psych-verbs. If only truly adjectival participles can be used in predicative position, we would expect that only the participles of psych-verbs can occur in the copular construction. Below, we will show that this expectation is more or less borne out, although various provisos must be made. Let us first start with a brief overview.

I. Intransitive and transitive verbs

Present participles of intransitive and transitive verbs cannot be used in the copular construction. This was shown in (74a&b), and some more examples are given in (114) and (115). The ungrammaticality of the predicative constructions in the primed examples contrast sharply with the acceptability of the corresponding attributive constructions: cf. *het vloekende/werkende meisje* ‘the cursing/working girl’ and *het zingende/etende meisje* ‘the singing/eating girl’.

- (114) • Present participles of intransitive verbs
- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| a. | Het meisje vloekt. | a’. | *Het meisje is vloekend. |
| | the girl curses | | the girl is _{copula} cursing |
| b. | Het meisje werkt. | b’. | *Het meisje is werkend. |
| | the girl works | | the girl is _{copula} working |
- (115) • Present participles of transitive verbs
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| a. | Het meisje zingt een lied. | a’. | *Het meisje is zingend. |
| | the girl sings a song | | the girl is _{copula} singing |
| b. | Het meisje eet een appel. | b’. | *Het meisje is etend. |
| | the girl eats an apple | | the girl is _{copula} eating |

The examples in (116) show, however, there are many metaphorically used present participles that can be used not only attributively, but also predicatively. Given that the meanings of these forms are highly specialized, we may be dealing with genuine

adjectives. Note that the non-metaphorically used present participles in (116c'&d') yield unacceptable results.

(116) a. een moordend tempo a killing tempo 'a punishing tempo' a'. Het tempo is moordend. b. een sprekende gelijkenis a speaking resemblance 'a remarkable/telling resemblance' b'. De gelijkenis is sprekend.	c. een moordende scholier the killing student 'the student who is killing' c'. *De scholier is moordend. d. de sprekende voorzitter the speaking chairman 'the chairman, who is speaking' d'. *De voorzitter is sprekend.

II. *Monadic unaccusative verbs*

Example (74c) has shown that present participles of unaccusative verbs normally cannot be used in the copular construction; the examples in (117) illustrate this again. The ungrammaticality of the predicative constructions in the primed examples again contrasts sharply with the acceptability of the corresponding attributive constructions *de vertrekkende gasten* 'the leaving guests' and *de vallende jongen* 'the falling boy'.

(117) • Present participles of unaccusative verbs	
a. De gasten zijn vertrokken. the guests are left 'The guests have left.' b. De jongen is gevallen. the boy is fallen 'The boy fell/has fallen.'	a'. *De gasten zijn vertrekkend. the guests are _{copula} leaving b'. *De jongen is vallend. the boy is _{copula} falling

The primed examples in (118) provide some potential counterexamples to the claim that the complementive use of present participles of unaccusative verbs is excluded.

(118) • Present participles of unaccusative verbs ending in -e		
a. De man is gestorven. the man is died 'The man has died.' a'. De man is stervende. the man is dying a''. de stervende man the dying man	b. Het schip is gezonken. the ship is sunk 'The ship has sunk.' b'. Het schip is zinkende. the ship is sinking b''. het zinkende schip the sinking ship	c. Het verzet is gegroeid the resistance is grown 'The resistance has grown.' c'. Het verzet is groeiende. the resistance is growing c''. het groeiende verzet the growing resistance

Whether we are really dealing with copular constructions in these cases is not clear, however. First, the present participles in the primed examples are inflected by means of an -e ending, which is normally not possible with predicatively used adjectives. Second, the present participles seem to refer to ongoing processes, just like the attributively used verbal present participles in the doubly-primed examples: the subject of the clause is claimed to be undergoing a change of state. This is clear from the fact that the primed examples can be properly paraphrased by means of the durative *aan het* + infinitive construction; (118b'), for instance, is virtually synonymous with *Het schip is aan het zinken* 'The ship is sinking'.

Other potentially problematic cases involve motion verbs like *lopen* ‘to walk’, *bussen* ‘to travel by bus’ or *liften* ‘to hitchhike’, which can be used either as intransitive or as unaccusative verbs. The unaccusative forms of these verbs in (119b) require a directional PP to be present and select the perfect auxiliary verb *zijn* ‘to be’, whereas the forms of these verbs in (119a) simply behave as intransitive verbs: they occur without a predicative complement and select the perfect auxiliary verb *hebben* ‘to have’. The examples in (119c) show that the present participle of these motion verbs can be used as the predicate in a copular construction.

- (119) • Motion verbs
- a. De jongen heeft gelopen/gebust/gelift. [intransitive verb]
the boy has walked/bused/hitchhiked
 - b. De jongen is naar Amsterdam gelopen/gebust/gelift. [unaccusative verb]
the boy is to Amsterdam walked/bused/hitchhiked
‘The boy has $\begin{bmatrix} \text{come} \\ \text{come} \\ \text{hitchhiked} \end{bmatrix}$ to Amsterdam $\begin{bmatrix} \text{on foot} \\ \text{by bus} \end{bmatrix}$.’
 - c. De jongen is/bleek (*naar Amsterdam) lopend/bussend/liftend.
the boy is/ turned.out to Amsterdam walking/busing/hitchhiking
‘The boy has/appeared to have come on foot/by bus/hitchhiking.’

The examples in (119c) differ from the primed examples in (118) in that they do not refer to an ongoing event. A sentence like *Ik ben lopend* does not imply that the speaker is walking at the moment of utterance, but just expresses that he came on foot. This suggests that the present participles in (119c) are truly adjectival, which seems to be supported by the fact that the predicative complement *naar Amsterdam* ‘to Amsterdam’ cannot be used, in contrast to what is the case with the attributively used verbal participles in *de naar Amsterdam lopende jongen* ‘the boy that is walking to Amsterdam’.

III. Dyadic unaccusative verbs

NOM-DAT verbs normally resist formation of truly adjectival participles, regardless of whether they select the auxiliary *zijn* or *hebben* in the perfect tense. This is demonstrated in (120). Section 9.2.1.2.2, sub I, has already shown that the present participle of the verb *opvallen* ‘to strike’ constitutes an exception in this respect.

- (120) • Present participles of NOM-DAT verbs
- a. De maaltijd is ons goed bevallen.
the meal is us good pleased
‘The meal (has) pleased us very much.’
 - a’. *De maaltijd is (goed) bevallend. [vs. de goed bevallende maaltijd]
the meal is_{copula} good pleasing
 - b. De maaltijd heeft ons goed gesmaakt.
the meal has us good tasted
‘We (have) enjoyed the meal very much.’
 - b’. *De maaltijd is (goed) smakend. [vs. de goed smakende maaltijd]
the meal is_{copula} good tasting

IV. Object experiencer psych-verbs

This leaves us with the present participles of the object experiencer psych-verbs. The primed examples in (121) show that these can readily be used as the predicates in copular constructions. The fact that the present participles can be modified by the °intensifiers *zeer/heel* ‘very’ confirms that we are dealing with truly adjectival participles in these examples.

- (121) • Present participles of object experiencer psych-verbs
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|------------|---------|-----|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| a. | Het bericht | verontrust | mij. | a’. | Het bericht | is (heel) | verontrustend. |
| | the message | disturbs | me | | the message | is very | disturbing |
| b. | Het avontuur | wond | ons op. | b’. | Het avontuur | is (zeer) | opwindend. |
| | the adventure | excited | us prt. | | the adventure | is very | prt.-exciting |
| c. | Het boek | intrigeert | ons. | c’. | Het boek | is (zeer) | intrigerend. |
| | the book | intrigues | us | | the book | is very | intriguing |

The examples in (122) show that the result is occasionally unacceptable. If so, the intended contention can generally be expressed by means of a genuine adjective, which suggests that the adjectival use of the present participle is blocked by the availability of this alternative.

- (122) a. Die opmerkingen irriteren mij.
 those remarks annoy me
 a’. Die opmerkingen zijn erg irritant/?irriterend.
 those remarks are very annoying
 b. Het schilderij bekoorde mij.
 the painting beguiled me
 b’. Het schilderij is erg bekoorlijk/*bekorend.
 the painting is very beguiling
 c. Het boek interesseert mij.
 the book interests me
 c’. Het boek is erg interessant/*interessierend.
 the book is very interesting

This “blocking” approach to the unacceptable versions of the primed examples in (122) seems to be supported by the fact that the present participles cannot be used attributively on their adjectival/state reading either; this reading can only be expressed by the genuine adjectives. Note in passing that the primeless examples in (123) show that the attributive use of the present participles on their verbal/eventive reading gives rise to varying degrees of acceptability.

(123) a.	een irriterende opmerking	a’.	een irritante opmerking
	‘a remark that is annoying someone’		‘an annoying remark’
b.	?een bekorend schilderij	b’.	een bekoorlijk schilderij
	‘a painting that is beguiling someone’		‘a charming painting’
c.	*een interessierend boek	c’.	een interessant boek
			‘an interesting book’

The fact that the present participles in (122) cannot be used as complementives thus follows from the fact illustrated by (123) that they are always verbal in nature, if possible at all.

V. Summary

Table 7 summarizes the tendencies that were observed in the previous subsections. Occasionally, participles occur in copular constructions that are not expected on the basis of these tendencies, but these exceptions are mostly idiosyncratic in nature.

Table 7: The predicative use of present participles

INTRANSITIVE VERBS	<i>*Het meisje is vloekend</i>	(114a')
TRANSITIVE VERBS	<i>*Het meisje is zingend</i>	(115a')
UNACCUSATIVE VERBS	<i>*De gasten zijn vertrekkend</i>	(117a')
possible exceptions:		
(i) present participles with -e	<i>Het schip is zinkende</i>	(118b')
(ii) motion verbs	<i>De jongen bleek lopend</i>	(119c)
NOM-DAT VERBS		
(i) with <i>zijn</i> as an auxiliary	<i>*De maaltijd is (goed) bevallend</i>	(120a')
(ii) with <i>hebben</i> as an auxiliary	<i>*De maaltijd is (goed) smakend</i>	(120b')
OBJECT EXPERIENCER PSYCH-VERBS	<i>Het avontuur is (erg) opwindend</i>	(121b')

9.3.1.3. Modal infinitives

This section will discuss the predicative use of modal infinitives. We will show that this use differs from the attributive use of these elements in that it is only compatible with the ability reading. This would follow from our more general claim that complementives cannot be verbal in nature, given that we have already established in Section 9.2.2 that modal infinitives are verbal under the obligation reading. We will conclude with a number of potentially problematic cases.

I. Predicatively used modal infinitives have an ability reading only

Apart from their attributive use, modal infinitives can also be used as predicates in copular and *vinden*-constructions. Predicatively used *te*-infinitives differ from the attributively used ones, however, in that they have an ability reading only; example (124a), for example, does not readily allow an interpretation according to which the books must be read: the only readily available reading is that the books are easily accessible.

- (124) a. Deze boeken zijn/leken (gemakkelijk) te lezen.
these books are/appeared easily to read
'These books are easily accessible.'
- a'. Jan vindt de boeken (gemakkelijk) te lezen.
Jan considers the books easily to read
'Jan believes that the books can be read easily.'

- b. Deze afstand is/leek (gemakkelijk) af te leggen.
 this distance is/appeared easily prt. to cover
 'This distance can be covered easily.'
- b''. Jan vindt de afstand (gemakkelijk) af te leggen.
 Jan considers the distance easily to cover
 'Jan believes that the distance can be covered easily.'

Note that the adjective *gemakkelijk* acts as an adverb modifying the *te*-infinitive and not as a predicative complement of the verb *zijn/lijken*. Because adverbs are not morphologically distinguished from the other adjectives in Dutch, the examples in (124) are easily confused with the *easy-to-please*-construction, which does involve a predicative adjective. Fortunately, there are several criteria for distinguishing the two constructions: (i) the predicative adjective is obligatorily present in the *easy-to-please*-construction, whereas the adverbial adjective can be dropped in the case of the modal infinitives; (ii) the infinitival clause has an obligatory complementizer *om* in the *easy-to-please*-construction, whereas this complementizer cannot co-occur with modal infinitives; (iii) in attributive constructions the infinitival clause from the *easy-to-please*-construction follows the modified noun, whereas the modal infinitive precedes it. These tests are more extensively discussed in Section 6.5.4.

II. Verb type

Section 9.2.2 has shown that the noun modified by attributively used modal infinitives must function as the accusative object in the corresponding active sentence. Something similar holds for predicatively used modal infinitives; the noun phrase they are predicated of must function as the accusative object in the corresponding active sentence. This is clear from the contrast between the examples in (124) and (125): the modal infinitives in the former are transitive and the result is fine, whereas the modal infinitives in the latter are, respectively, intransitive and unaccusative and the result is unacceptable.

- (125) a. *Er is te lachen.
 there is to laugh
- b. *Er is te vallen.
 there is to fall

It must be noted, however, that examples like (126) have been given as counterexamples to the claim that intransitive verbs cannot act as modal infinitives. The fact that these examples have an ability reading makes it plausible that we are indeed dealing with modal infinitives. The difference between the examples in (125) and (126) is not clear to us. For the moment, we can only observe that the examples in (126) are special in that there is a certain preference to use the verb *vallen* instead of *zijn* and that some adverbial or quantified phrase like *niet* or *veel* must be present.

- (126) a. Er valt[?] is hier niet te werken.
 there falls/is here not to work
 'One cannot work here.'
- b. Er valt^{??} is hier veel te lachen.
 there falls/is here much to laugh
 'One can laugh a lot here.'

III. Categorical status

Section 9.2.2 has observed that arguments and predicative complements can only be expressed in the attributive construction when the modal infinitives have the verbal/obligation reading; cf. (91). The fact that arguments and predicative complements cannot occur when the modal infinitives is used predicatively supports our claim that they are always truly adjectival.

- (127) a. *?Deze brief is aan de studenten te sturen.
 this letter is to the students to send
 b. *?De boeken zijn in de kast te zetten.
 the books are in the cupboard to put

A potential problem for this claim is, however, that predicatively used modal infinitives can be combined with the predicative parts of collocations like *schoon maken* 'to clean' or *kwaad/bang maken* 'to anger/frighten'. This is shown in (128).

- (128) a. Dit fornuis is gemakkelijk schoon te maken.
 this cooker is easily clean to make
 'This cooker can be cleaned easily.'
 b. Jan is gemakkelijk kwaad/bang te maken.
 Jan is easily angry/afraid to make
 'Jan can be made angry/afraid easily.'

A similar argument can be made in favor of the claim that predicatively used modal infinitives are always truly adjectival, based on the fact that the addition of a (passive) *door*-phrase gives rise to a marginal result, whereas the addition of a *voor*-phrase is fully acceptable when the adverb *gemakkelijk* is present. The percentage sign in (129a) indicates that our judgment is controversial since similar examples have been given in the literature as acceptable; but note that speakers who accept the *door*-phrase in (129a) report that the sentence has the ability reading, which suggests that the modal infinite is adjectival here, not verbal.

- (129) a. %Dit boek is door Peter te lezen.
 this book is by Peter to read
 'This book must be read by Peter.'
 b. Dit boek is voor Peter gemakkelijk te lezen.
 this book is for Peter easily to read
 'This book can be read by Peter easily.'

Another argument in favor of assuming non-verbal status of the predicatively used modal infinitives is that they at least preferably precede the finite verb in clause-final position.

- (130) a. dat deze boeken (gemakkelijk) te lezen zijn/leken.
 that these books easily to read are/appeared
 a. %dat deze boeken (gemakkelijk) zijn/leken te lezen.
 b. dat deze afstand (gemakkelijk) af te leggen is/leek.
 that this distance easily prt. to cover is/appeared
 b'. %dat deze afstand (gemakkelijk) af is/leek te leggen.

The fact that some speakers seem to allow the modal infinitives to follow the copular verbs in (130) is not conclusive for arguing that they are verbal given that postverbal placement of the modal infinitive is excluded for *all* speakers when there is more than one verb in clause-final position, as in (131).

- (131) a. dat deze boeken me altijd (gemakkelijk) te lezen hebben geleken.
 that these books me always easily to read have appeared
 a'. *dat deze boeken me altijd (gemakkelijk) hebben geleken te lezen.
 b. dat deze afstand me altijd (gemakkelijk) af te leggen heeft geleken.
 that this distance me always easily prt. to cover have appeared
 b'. *dat deze afstand me altijd (gemakkelijk) <af> heeft geleken <af> te leggen.

The fact that the modal infinitives may precede the verbs in clause-final position, on the other hand, does show that they are not verbal; The examples in (132) show that *te*-infinitives that are unequivocally verbal never occupy this preverbal position.

- (132) c. *dat Jan deze boeken te lezen bleek.
 that Jan these books to read turned.out
 c'. dat Jan deze boeken bleek te lezen.
 d. *dat Jan deze afstand af te leggen bleek.
 that Jan this distance prt. to cover turned.out
 d'. dat Jan deze afstand af bleek te leggen.

IV. Potential problems

Before concluding this section, we have to point out a problem for our earlier claim that modal infinitives cannot be used as predicates on their obligation reading. Consider the examples in (133), which do allow an obligation reading.

- (133) a. dat Jan dat te doen heeft. [heeft can be replaced by *krijgt*]
 that Jan that to do has
 'that Jan has to do that.'
 b. dat Jan dat boek te lezen heeft. [heeft can be replaced by *krijgt*]
 that Jan that book to read has
 'that Jan has to read that book.'

The fact that the infinitives may precede the clause-final finite verb indicates that they are not verbal. This raises the question of whether we are dealing with predicatively used modal infinitives in this construction. An affirmative answer to this question is suggested by the fact that the verb *hebben* can also be used in other predicative constructions, such as (134). Observe that *hebben* can be replaced by *krijgen* 'to get' in (134), an option that is also available in the examples in (133).

- (134) dat Jan het raam niet open heeft. [heeft can be replaced by *krijgt*]
 that Jan the window not open has

To our knowledge, the question whether we are dealing with predicatively used modal infinitives in (133) has not been investigated yet. There are two potential arguments against the assumption that we are dealing with modal infinitives in these constructions. The first argument, illustrated in (135), is that the *te*-infinitive can be

predicated of a subject of a transitive verb in the *hebben* construction, whereas we have seen in (124) that the modal infinitive is normally predicated of the direct object in the copular construction.

- (135) dat Jan (mij) te gehoorzamen heeft. [*heeft* cannot be replaced by *krijgt*]
 that Jan me to obey has
 ‘that Jan has to obey (me).’

The second argument, illustrated in (136), is that the *hebben* construction occurs with intransitive and unaccusative verbs, whereas attributively or predicatively used modal infinitives of these verbs normally do not occur; cf. (84) and (125).

- (136) a. dat Jan te werken heeft. [*heeft* cannot be replaced by *krijgt*]
 that Jan to work has
 ‘that Jan has to work.’
 b. dat Jan te komen heeft. [*heeft* cannot be replaced by *krijgt*]
 that Jan to come has
 ‘that Jan has to come.’

It is not clear whether these two arguments are sufficient to refute the claim that we are dealing with modal infinitives in (133); the examples in (135) and (136) are possibly of a different nature than those in (133), given that *hebben* can only be replaced by the semi-copular *krijgen* in the first set of examples.

9.3.2. *Supplementive use*

Section 6.3 has shown that there are two types of supplementives, which can be distinguished by means of their position relative to clause adverbs like *altijd* ‘always’ and *vaak* ‘often’: supplementive-I precedes, whereas supplementive-II follows such adverbs. Further, the semantic relation these supplementive types entertain with the remainder of the clause differs: supplementive-I triggers a conditional relation, in which it acts as the antecedent (the *when*-part) and the clause acts as the consequent (the *then*-part); supplementive-II may give rise to a simultaneity reading or a conditional relation, in which it acts as the consequent and the clause as the antecedent. The subsections below will show that both present and past/passive participles can be used in both supplementive functions.

I. Present participles

The examples in (137) show that present participles can be used both as supplementive-I and as supplementive-II. It should be noted, however, that in (137b) only the simultaneity reading is possible. The conditional reading associated with supplementive-II (*Whenever Jan is in the library, he is working*) is not available: instead, the example is habitual (*Jan is always working*).

- (137) a. Jan zit werkend altijd in de bibliotheek. [supplementive-I]
 Jan sits working always in the library
 ‘Whenever Jan works, he is in the library.’
 b. Jan zit altijd werkend in de bibliotheek. [supplementive-II]
 Jan sits always working in the library
 ‘Jan is always working in the library.’

The present participle in (137a) expresses durative aspect, and can therefore be considered verbal; in this respect, it differs from complementives, which are always truly adjectival. This categorial difference accounts for the fact that although intransitive, transitive and unaccusative present participles cannot be used as predicative complementives (see Table 7 above), they can be used as supplementives. Some examples are given in (138).

- (138) a. Lachend liep Jan de kamer in. [intransitive]
 laughing walked Jan the room into
 ‘Jan walked into the room, while laughing.’
 b. Zingend ging Jan naar zijn werk. [transitive]
 singing went Jan to his work
 ‘Jan went to his work, while singing.’
 c. Stervend schreef hij zijn testament. [unaccusative]
 dying wrote he his will
 ‘He wrote his will, while dying.’

Haeseryn et al. (1997) observe that the durative meaning of an activity-denoting present participle can be emphasized by placing the word *al* in front of it. Another result of adding this element seems to be that the present participle must refer to a continuous, uninterrupted action. This is very clear from example (139), taken from Jansen and Lentz (2002), which can readily be found in recipes.

- (139) Voeg de room al roerend(e) aan de soep toe.
 Add the cream AL stirring to the soup prt.
 ‘Add the cream to the soup, while continuously stirring it.’

The construction with *al* has not been extensively studied, but it seems that it behaves differently in various respects from the present participle constructions in (138). We will not digress on whether or not the head of this construction can be considered a regular present participle, but leave this question to future research and simply discuss some of these differences. First, the participle in the construction with *al* can be optionally followed by an *-e* ending, which would give rise to a highly marked result with the present participles in (138); at best, these examples would then be judged as archaic. Second, the examples in (140) show that the *al* + participle construction can never be preceded by the direct object of the participle, while this seems possible in the absence of *al*. This is also clear from example (139), in which the direct object of the transitive verb *roeren* ‘to stir’ is left implicit: it is the syntactic context that makes clear that it is the soup that is stirred.

- (140) a. ?Jan kwam een vrolijk deuntje fluitend binnen.
 Jan came a merry tune whistling inside
 ‘Jan entered while whistling a tune.’
 b. Jan kwam al (*een deuntje) fluitende binnen.

Similarly, the examples in (141a&b) show that the construction with *al* cannot be accompanied by a prepositional complement, while this is readily possible in the absence of *al*. It must be noted, however, that the result with *al* seems to improve when the PP-complement follows the present participle.

- (141) a. Op alles en iedereen scheldend verliet Jan de kamer.
 against everything and everyone fulminating left Jan the room
 'Jan left the room, while fulminating against all.'
 b. *Al op alles en iedereen scheldende verliet Jan de kamer.
 b'. ??Al scheldende op alles en iedereen verliet Jan de kamer.

The examples in (142), finally, show that these co-occurrence restrictions apply not only to arguments of the verb, but also seem applicable to adverbial modifiers; whereas present particles can normally be preceded readily by, e.g., manner adverbs, this gives rise to a degraded result in the *al* + participle construction.

- (142) a. Jan kwam vrolijk fluitend binnen.
 Jan came merrily whistling inside
 'Jan entered, while merrily whistling.'
 b. Jan kwam al (??vrolijk) fluitende binnen.

II. Past/passive participles

The examples in (143) show that past/passive participles behave more or less the same as present participles: they can be used both as supplementive-I and as supplementive-II, although the latter expresses only the simultaneity reading, as is clear from the fact that (143b) simply expresses that Emil is punished often.

- (143) a. Emil moet bestraft vaak in de schuur zitten. [supplementive-I]
 Emil must punished often in the barn sit
 'When he is punished, Emil must often go into the barn.'
 b. Emil moet vaak bestraft in de schuur zitten. [supplementive-II]
 Emil must often punished in the barn sit
 'Often, Emil must go into the barn as a punishment.'

III. Modal infinitives

We have not been able to construct examples in which modal infinitives are used in either supplementive function.

9.3.3. Appositive use

The examples in (144) show that, like regular adjectives, participles can be used appositively when they form a larger phrase. Unlike the supplementives discussed in the previous section, they can be construed as reduced parenthetical clauses; see Section 6.4.3 for more discussion.

- (144) a. Emil, bestraft voor zijn ondeugendheid, verveelde zich dood in de schuur.
 Emil punished for his naughtiness bored REFL dead in the barn
 'Emil, punished for his naughtiness, was bored stiff in the barn.'
 b. Jan, bevend van de kou, trok een warme trui aan.
 Jan, trembling of the cold, put a warm sweater on
 'Jan, trembling from cold, put on a warm sweater.'

Like supplementive present participles, the present participle in (144b) expresses durative aspect and can therefore be considered verbal. Accordingly, appositively

used present participles can be intransitive, transitive or accusative, as is illustrated in (145).

- (145) a. Jan, schreeuwend van de pijn, werd onmiddellijk geopereerd. [intransitive]
 Jan crying of pain was immediately operated
 'Jan, crying in pain, was operated on immediately.'
- b. Jan, een liedje zingend van vreugde, stond al te wachten. [transitive]
 Jan a song singing of joy stood already to wait
 'Jan, who was singing a song of joy, was already waiting.'
- c. Jan, struikelend over zijn eigen voeten, maakte een nerveuze indruk [unacc.]
 Jan stumbling over his own feet made a nervous impression
 'Jan, who was stumbling over his own feet, made a nervous impression.'

Modal infinitives cannot be readily used in an appositive function, and can probably only perform this function in writing. Example (146a), taken in a slightly adapted form from the novel *Haas* by Paul Biegel (volume I, p.56), has a verbal/obligation reading. The constructed example (146b) has an ability reading.

- (146) a. Ze moesten een drijfjacht op luizen, levend en onbeschadigd te vangen,
 they had.to a drive on louses alive and unharmed to capture
 organiseren.
 organize
 'They [the ants] had to organize a raid on louses, which had to be captured alive and unharmed.'
- b. Zijn praatje, niet te volgen voor mij, ging over modale infinitieven.
 his talk not to follow for me went about modal infinitives
 'His talk, which I could not follow, was about modal infinitives.'

9.4. The partitive genitive construction

This section discusses the partitive genitive use of participles and modal infinitives. In the previous sections, we have amply demonstrated that a distinction should be made between verbal and truly adjectival participles/modal infinitives, and that participles and modal infinitives can only be used in predicative position when they are truly adjectival. Section 7.2.3 has shown that partitive genitive adjectives constitute a subset of the adjectives that can be used predicatively; cf. the observational generalization from section 7.2.3, repeated here as (147) and (148).

- (147) • Adjectives in the partitive genitive construction:
 The set of partitive genitive adjectives is a proper subset of the adjectives that can be used as predicative complements.
- (148) • Predicative adjectives that cannot occur as partitive genitives include:
- adjectives that can only be predicated of [+ANIMATE] noun phrases;
 - adjectives that take a proposition as their SUBJECT;
 - adjectives that take weather *het* as their SUBJECT;
 - adjectives that take a nominal complement;
 - superlatives;
 - adjective that end in /a/, /o/, /i/, /e/, /y/ or schwa.

Consequently, we predict that only truly adjectival participles/modal infinitives can enter into a partitive genitive construction. This section will show that this prediction is borne out, albeit that the partitive genitive construction is much more restricted than one might expect on the basis of the generalizations above.

9.4.1. Past/passive participles

Section 9.3 has shown that only past/passive participles of transitive, unaccusative and object experiencer psych-verbs can be used in predicative position. The generalization in (147) consequently limits the potential candidates for the partitive genitive construction to (a subset of) these verbs. The examples in (149) through (151) show, however, that past/passive participles normally do not seem to occur in the partitive genitive construction at all, although some speakers seem to marginally accept the transitive examples in (149a&c).

(149) a.	?iets	gekookts	b. *iets	besprokens	[Transitive]
	something	cooked		something	discussed
c.	*?iets	gestolens	d. *iets	gelezens	
	something	stolen		something	read
(150) a.	*iets	gekrompens	b. *iets	gevallens	[Unaccusative]
	something	shrunk		something	left
(151) a.	*iets	opgewondens	b. *iets	overtuigds	[Psych-verbs]
	something	excited		something	convinced
c.	*iets	verontruts			
	something	upset			

We need not be surprised at the ungrammaticality of the examples with object experiencer psych-verbs in (151): truly adjectival participles of psychological verbs are predicated of [+HUMAN] entities only (cf. the primed examples in (112)), and these examples are therefore excluded by clause (148a). Since this does not hold for the examples in (149) and (150), the reason for their degraded status remains mysterious. Observe that when the participle is prefixed with *on-*, which is only possible if we are dealing with true adjectives, the result is still not very felicitous; the primed examples are added to show that these prefixed participles can be used in copular constructions. For completeness' sake, the examples in (153) show that pseudo-participles can also be used in the partitive genitive construction.

(152) a.	(?)iets	ongekookts	a'.	Het ei	bleek	nog	ongekookt.
				the egg	turned.out	still	un-boiled
b.	*?iets	onbesprokens	b'.	Dit onderwerp	bleef	onbesproken.	
				this topic	remained	un-discussed	
c.	*?iets	ongelezens	c'.	Het boek	bleef	ongelezen.	
				the book	remained	unread	
(153) a.	iets	bekends	b.	iets	gekleurds		
	something	well-known		something	colored		
c.	iets	geschikts					
	something	fit					

9.4.2. *Present participles*

Section 9.3.1.2 has shown that the predicative use of present participles is restricted to object experiencer psych-verbs and possibly certain subsets of the unaccusative verbs; cf. Table 7 in Section 9.3.1.2. We will discuss these cases in Subsections I-III. Subsection IV concludes with a number of potentially problematic cases.

I. *Object experiencer psych-verbs*

The generalization in (147) correctly predicts that the present participles of object experiencer psych-verbs can also be felicitously used in the partitive genitive; this is shown in the primed examples in (154).

(154) a.	Zijn avontuur was heel opwindend. his adventure was very exciting	a'. iets opwindends something exciting
b.	Die mededeling was heel verontrustend. that announcement was very disturbing	b'. iets verontrustends something disturbing
c.	Zijn argumenten zijn erg onovertuigend. his arguments are very unconvincing	c'. iets overtuigends something convincing

Section 9.3.1.2 has shown that the present participles of psych-verbs like *irriteren* 'to irritate' and *interesseren* 'to interest' cannot be used predicatively; they are blocked in this context by the existence of genuine adjectives like *irritant* 'irritating' and *interessant* 'interesting'. The same thing can be observed in the partitive genitive constructions in (155).

(155)	• Present participles	• Adjectives
a.	?iets irriterends something annoying	a'. iets irritants something annoying
b.	*iets interesserends something interesting	b'. iets interessants something interesting
c.	?iets bekorends something beguiling	c'. iets bekoorlijks something beguiling

II. *Present participles of unaccusative verbs ending in -e*

The primeless examples of (156) show again that the present participles of a limited number of unaccusative verbs can be used predicatively, provided they are affixed with the ending *-e*; such cases are exceptional, given that predicatively used adjectives are normally not inflected; cf. Section 9.3.1.2, sub II. The primed examples show that partitive genitive use of these present participles is possible as well; note that the *-e* ending is absent in these cases.

(156) a.	Het schip is zinkende. the ship is sinking	a'. iets zinkends/*zinkendes something sinking
b.	Het verzet is groeiende. the resistance is growing	b'. iets groeiends/*groeientes something growing

III. *Unaccusative motion verbs*

Another subset of the unaccusative verbs that allow predicative use of their present participle is constituted by the motion verbs; cf. (157). However, given that these

present participles are always predicated of [+HUMAN] entities, generalization (147a) correctly predicts that they cannot be used in the partitive genitive construction.

(157) a.	De jongen bleek	lopend.	a'.	*iets	lopends
	the boy	turned.out walking			something walking
b.	Het meisje bleek	liftend.	b'.	*iets	liftends
	the girl	turned.out hitchhiking			something hitchhiking

IV. Problematic cases

This subsection concludes with a number of problematic cases for the generalization in (147), according to which the set of adjectives that may enter the partitive genitive construction is a proper subset of the set of adjectives that can be used as predicative complements. The (a)-examples in (158) involve intransitive motion verbs, the second (b)- and (c)-examples involve verbs expressing transmission of, respectively, sound and light, and the (d)-examples involve verbs that denote certain natural processes. In all cases, the partitive genitive constructions in the primeless examples are at least marginally acceptable, whereas the corresponding copular constructions in the primed examples are not.

(158) a.	?iets	bewegends/wapperends/vliegens	
	something	moving/waving/flying	
a'.	*De vlag is	bewegend/wapperend.	a''. *Het toestel is vliegend.
	the flag is	moving/waving	the machine is flying
b.	?iets	zoemends/ruizends	
	something	buzzing/rustling	
b'.	*the wekker is	zoemend	b''. *De bladeren zijn ruizend.
	the alarm clock is	buzzing	the leaves are rustling
c.	?iets	flikkerends/glinsterends	c'. *Het glas is flikkerend/glinsterend.
	something	glittering	the glass is glittering
d.	?iets	rottends/bloeiends	
	something	rotting/flowering	
d'.	*Die appel is	rottend.	d''. *Die boom is bloeiend.
	that apple is	rotting	that tree is flowering

The verbs in (158) do not take an object but differ from normal intransitive verbs in that their subject can be inanimate and that impersonal passivization gives rise to a degraded result. For this reason it has been suggested that verbs like these constitute a special unaccusativity type, which differs from the more familiar type in that its members select the perfect auxiliary *hebben*; see Section V2.1 for discussion. The question why the primeless examples in (158) are acceptable must be left to future research.

9.4.3. Modal infinitives

Section 9.3.1.3 has shown that modal infinitives of transitive verbs can be used in the copular construction on their ability reading. The generalization in (147) therefore predicts that truly adjectival predicatively used modal infinitives can be

used in the partitive genitive construction, but the primed examples in (159) show that this prediction is incorrect. As in the case of the past/passive participles in Section 9.4.1, there is no obvious explanation for the unacceptability of the partitive genitive constructions.

- (159) a. Dat boek is gemakkelijk te lezen. a. *iets te lezens
 that book is easily to read something to read
 ‘This book is easily accessible.’
 b. Deze afstand is gemakkelijk af te leggen. b. *iets af te leggens
 this distance is easily prt. to cover something prt. to cover
 ‘This distance can be covered easily.’
 c. Dit probleem is gemakkelijk te begrijpen. c. *iets te begrijpens
 this problem is easily to understand something to understand
 ‘This problem can be understood easily.’

9.5. Adverbial use

The examples in (160) show that past/passive participles can sometimes be used adverbially. The adverbially used past/passive participles are normally part of more or less fixed expressions, which we have marked by means of italics.

- (160) a. Ik geloof *eerlijk gezegd* niet dat Jan komt.
 I believe honestly said not that Jan comes
 ‘To be honest, I don’t believe that Jan is coming.’
 b. *Alles bij elkaar genomen* kunnen we van een succes spreken.
 everything together taken can we of a success speak
 ‘All in all, we can speak of a success.’
 c. *In het algemeen gesproken* gaat alles goed.
 in the general spoken goes everything well
 ‘Generally speaking, everything goes well.’
 d. *Normaal gesproken* zou dit voldoende moeten zijn.
 normally speaking would this sufficient must be
 ‘Normally, this should be sufficient.’

Present participles can be used as manner adverbs, although it must be noted that is it is often hard to differentiate them from supplementary present participles; cf. Section 8.2.2 for discussion. Some examples are given in (161).

- (161) a. Jan liep fluitend naar huis.
 Jan walked whistling to home
 b. Jan zat mopperend in een hoekje.
 Jan sat grumbling in a corner

For completeness’ sake, the examples in (162a&b) show that some past/passive participles have developed into prepositions or conjunctions that can be used to introduce an adverbial phrase/clause; cf. Komen (1994: Part II). Example (162c) shows that some present participles can likewise be used as prepositions introducing an adverbial phrase. We will discuss such prepositions and conjunctions more extensively in Chapter 4.1.2.2.

- (162) a. *Gezien* de klachten wordt de maatregel teruggetrokken.
seen the complaints is the measure withdrawn
'Because of the complaints, the measure is withdrawn.'
- b. *Aangezien* Peter afwezig is, wordt de vergadering geschorst.
prt.-seen Peter absent is is the meeting adjourned
'Since Peter is absent, the meeting is suspended.'
- c. *Gedurende* de vergadering mag er niet gerookt worden.
during the meeting allowed there not smoked be
'During the meeting, smoking is not allowed.'

9.6. Modification of (pseudo-)participles and deverbal adjectives

This section will show that there is a special class of adjectival modifiers that can be used to modify attributively and predicatively used participles. We will show that such °intensifiers also occur with pseudo-participles and deverbal adjectives.

1. Past/passive and present participles

Attributively and predicatively used participles are special in that they generally cannot be modified by amplifiers like *zeer* 'very' or downtoners like *vrij* 'rather'; the only exceptions are the present and past/passive participles of the object experiencer psych-verbs, such as those given in (163).

- (163) a. De film is zeer/vrij opwindend.
the movie is very/rather exciting
- a'. De jongen is zeer/vrij opgewonden.
the boy is very/rather excited
- b. Dat boek is zeer/vrij intrigerend.
that book is very/rather intriguing
- b'. De jongen is zeer/vrij geïntrigeerd.
that boy is very/rather intrigued

The resistance to modification by an intensifier even holds when the participle seems to imply some scale. Take a participle such as *opgeleid* 'trained' in (164), which is derived from the transitive verb *opleiden* 'to train': regardless of whether someone has had only a basic or a more extensive education, we would call the person educated, which shows that *opgeleid* refers to a range on some implied scale. Nevertheless, example (164a) shows that we cannot use an amplifier or downtoner to indicate which point on the implied scale we mean, and (164b&c) show that comparative/superlative formation is also blocked; see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 for a comprehensive discussion of modification and comparison.

- (164) a. *Jan lijkt zeer/vrij opgeleid voor deze functie.
Jan seems very/rather trained for this job
- b. *Jan lijkt opgeleider voor deze functie.
Jan seems more.trained for this job
- c. *Jan lijkt het opgeleidst voor deze functie.
Jan seems the most.trained for this job

Indicating the intended point on the implied scale is possible, however, by using the adjectival intensifiers *slecht* ‘badly’ and *goed* ‘well’ in (165), which refer to, respectively, the lower and the higher side of the implied scale. Example (165a’) shows that the sequence *goed/slecht opgeleid voor deze functie* can be placed in clause-initial position, from which we must conclude that the intensifier and the adjectival participle form a constituent; cf. the °constituency test.

- (165) a. Deze jongen lijkt me goed/slecht opgeleid voor deze functie.
 this boy seems me well/badly trained for this job
 ‘This boy seems to me to be well/badly trained for this job.’
 a’. Goed/slecht opgeleid voor deze functie lijkt deze jongen niet.
 b. een voor deze functie goed/slecht opgeleide jongen
 a for this job well/badly trained boy

More examples of adjectivally used past/passive participles that can be modified by means of an intensifier are given in (166).

- (166) a. De maaltijd bleek goed/slecht bereid.
 the meal turned.out well/ill prepared
 b. De zaal bleek goed/slecht verlicht.
 the room turned.out well/poorly illuminated
 c. Jan leek goed/slecht voorbereid.
 Jan seemed well/ill prepared
 d. Jan bleek zijdelings/nauw betrokken bij de aanslag.
 Jan turned.out indirectly/deeply involved in the assault

For completeness’ sake, note that the intensifiers *slecht* ‘badly’ and *goed* ‘well’ belong to the class of gradable adjectives, and may therefore be subject to modification by means of an amplifier/downtoner themselves and may also undergo comparative and superlative formation. This is illustrated in (167).

- (167) a. Deze jongen lijkt zeer/vrij goed/slecht opgeleid.
 this boy seems very/rather well/ill trained
 b. Deze jongen lijkt beter/slechter opgeleid.
 this boy seems better/worse trained
 c. Deze jongen lijkt het best/slechtst opgeleid.
 this boy seems the best/worst trained

Occasionally, the modifiers of predicatively/attributively used participles seem to correspond to manner adverbs; see Section 3.5.3 for other cases in which VP adverbs seem to modify an adjective. This can be seen in the (a)-examples of (168): in the primeless example *zorgvuldig* is used as a manner adverb, whereas in the primed examples it is used as a modifier of the adjectivally used past/passive participle *bereid* ‘prepared’. The (b)-examples show, however, that this is not always possible; *hoog* can be used as a modifier of the participle *opgeleid* ‘trained’, but not as a manner adverb.

- (168) a. Jan bereidde de maaltijd zorgvuldig.
 Jan prepared the meal carefully
 a'. De maaltijd bleek zorgvuldig bereid.
 the meal turned.out carefully prepared
 a''. de zorgvuldig bereide maaltijd
 the carefully prepared meal
 b. *de leraar leidde de jongen hoog op
 the teacher educated the boy high prt.
 b'. De jongen bleek hoog opgeleid.
 the boy turned.out highly trained
 'The boy turned out well-trained.'
 b''. de hoog opgeleide jongen
 the highly trained boy

II. Pseudo-participles

Pseudo-participles like *gehandicapt* 'handicapped' can combine with similar adjectival intensifiers as predicatively and attributively used participles; (169) provides examples that involve the intensifiers *zwaar* and *licht*. These examples show again that these intensifiers are themselves gradable adjectives: they can be modified by an amplifier or downtoner, and comparative/superlative formation is possible as well. Other pseudo-participles that can be modified by adjectival intensifiers are given in (170).

- (169) a. Jan is (zeer) zwaar/licht gehandicapt.
 Jan is very heavily/lightly handicapped
 'Jan has a severe/small handicap.'
 b. Jan is zwaarder/lichter gehandicapt dan Peter.
 Jan is more/less severely handicapped than Peter
 c. Jan is het zwaarst/lichtst gehandicapt.
 Jan is the most/least severely handicapped
- (170) a. nauw verwant aan e. goed/slecht opgewassen tegen
 closely related to well/badly up to
 b. goed/slecht bekend met f. ruim/nauw behuisd
 well/badly familiar with spaciously/crampedly housed
 c. zwaar/licht gewond g. goed/%slecht bevriend met
 severely/lightly wounded well/badly friendly with
 d. goed/slecht bestand tegen h. zwaar/licht behaard
 well/badly resistant to heavily/lightly hairy

III. Deverbal adjectives

Deverbal adjectives, like *verstaanbaar* 'intelligible' and *verteerbaar* 'digestible' in (171), can be also used with intensifiers similar to those that combine with predicatively and attributively used participles. Again, the intensifiers act as gradable adjectives: they can be modified by an amplifier or downtoner, and comparative/superlative formation is possible as well.

- (171) a. Jan is (zeer/vrij) goed/slecht verstaanbaar.
 Jan is very/rather well/badly intelligible
 b. Jan is beter/slechter verstaanbaar dan Peter.
 Jan is better/worse intelligible than Peter
 c. Jan is het best/slechtst verstaanbaar.
 Jan is the best/worst intelligible
- (172) a. Deze maaltijd is (zeer/vrij) licht/zwaar verteerbaar.
 this meal is very/rather easily/difficult digestible
 'This meal is (very/rather) easy/difficult to digest.'
 b. Deze maaltijd is lichter/zwaarder verteerbaar.
 this meal is more.easily/more.difficult digestible
 'This meal is easier/more difficult to digest.'
 c. Deze maaltijd is het lichtst/zwaarst verteerbaar.
 this meal is the most.easily/most.difficult digestible
 'This meal is easiest/the most difficult to digest.'

IV. A note on interrogative intensifiers

The examples in the previous subsections amply demonstrate that the intensifiers under discussion belong to the class of gradable adjectives. Being gradable themselves, they can also be questioned, in which case they may be extracted from the complex AP. The alternative option of moving the complete AP also seems to be available, but gives rise to a somewhat marked result. In (173), this is demonstrated for the (a)-examples in (167), (169) and (171).

- (173) a. Hoe goed is deze jongen opgeleid?
 how well is this boy trained
 'How well trained is this boy?'
 a'. ?Hoe goed opgeleid is deze jongen?
 b. Hoe zwaar is Jan gehandicapt/behaard?
 how heavily is Jan handicapped/hairy
 'How severely handicapped is Jan?/'How hairy is Jan?'
 b'. ?Hoe zwaar gehandicapt/behaard is Jan?
 c. Hoe goed is Jan verstaanbaar?
 how well is Jan intelligible
 'How well intelligible is Jan?'
 c'. ?Hoe goed verstaanbaar is Jan?

9.7. Bibliographical notes

The attributive and predicative use of participles and modal infinitives has received a lot of attention in traditional grammar, and much useful information can therefore be found in Haeseryn et al. (1997); the tests for distinguishing verbal and truly adjectival participles as well as those for distinguishing copular and passive/perfect tense constructions are basically taken from the traditional literature. An important source for the investigation of the attributive use of participles and modal infinitives is Kester (1994a), which extensively discusses a large set of Germanic and

Romance languages (including Dutch). Other important studies of the attributive and predicative use of past/passive and present participles are Hoekstra (1984a) and Bennis (2004). More information about the attributive and predicative use of modal infinitives can be found in Van Riemsdijk (1982) and Bennis (1990). Duinhoven (1985) argues that diachronically seen participles have a non-verbal base: the suffixes *-end* and *-t/d/en* originate as postpositions that express, respectively, simultaneousness and completeness. Due to their adverbial use, these adpositional phrases were at some point reinterpreted as adjectival. And at yet another later stage, the use of the past participles in predicative position led to a verbal interpretation. The diversity of uses of the past and present participle discussed in this section can therefore be seen as the outcome of this diachronic process. In section V4.5.2.4, we will argue that Duinhoven's reconstruction of the diachronic origin of the past participles may support a certain view on the syntactic function of the verbs *hebben* 'to have', *zijn* 'to be' and *worden* 'to be/become' in (semi-)copular, passive and perfect constructions.



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Chapter 10

Special Constructions

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- (3) a. Jan doet aanstellerig/kinderachtig/onhebbelijk/ongeïnteresseerd/verwaand.
Jan does theatrical/childish/unkind/uninterested/arrogant
'Jan is acting theatrical/...'
- b. Jan doet aardig/beleefd/vriendelijk/lief/vertrouwelijk.
Jan does nice/polite/friendly/kind/intimate
'Jan is acting kindly/politely/friendly/kindly/intimately (but he is not sincere).'
- c. Jan/mijn computer doet eindelijk weer gewoon/normaal.
Jan/my computer does finally again normal
'Finally, Jan/my computer is acting normally again.'

That the *gek doen*-constructions in (3a) have a negative connotation is also clear from the fact that the collocations typically occur in negative imperatives with the modifier *zo*: whereas the negative imperatives in (4a) are fine, their positive counterparts are generally impossible (although they may occur as stage directions when *zo* is not present). The positively valued adjectives in (4b&c) behave like their declarative counterparts in (3): the constructions in (4b) imply that the behavior of the subject is insincere or at least artificial, whereas the constructions with *gewoon/normaal* 'normal' in (4c) are more neutral and simply express a state of affairs.

- (4) a. Doe niet zo aanstellerig/kinderachtig/onhebbelijk/ongeïnteresseerd/verwaand!
do not so theatrical/childish/unkind/uninterested/arrogant
'Don't act so theatrical/...!'
- a'. *Doe (zo) aanstellerig/kinderachtig/onhebbelijk/ongeïnteresseerd/verwaand!
- b. Doe niet zo aardig/beleefd/vriendelijk/lief/vertrouwelijk!
do not so nice/polite/friendly/kind/intimately
'Don't act so kindly/... (as you are not sincere anyway).'
- b'. *Doe (zo) aardig/beleefd/vriendelijk/lief/vertrouwelijk!
- c. [?]Doe niet zo gewoon/normaal (de anderen zijn al saai genoeg!)
do not so normal the others are already boring enough
'Don't act so normal! (other people are boring enough as it is).'
- c'. Doe gewoon/normaal!
do normal

The primeless examples in (5) show that adjectives in the declarative *gek doen*-construction can be modified by means of an intensifier and be input for comparative/superlative formation, whereas the primed examples show that this is impossible in the negative imperative constructions; the latter is probably due to the obligatory presence of the modifier *zo*.

(5) a. Jan doet zeer/vrij vreemd. Jan does very/rather weird	a'. Doe niet zo (*zeer/vrij) vreemd! do not so very/rather weird
b. Jan doet nog vreemder dan Els. Jan does even weirder than Els	b'. *Doe niet zo vreemder! do not so weirder
c. Jan doet het vreemdst. Jan does the weirdest	c'. *Doe niet zo het vreemdst! do not so the weirdest

Remarkably, the comparative form makes it possible for the combination *doen* + adjective to enter the positive imperative: the examples in (6) show that when we

are dealing with a majorative form, the adjectives must denote a positively valued property. Furthermore, the negative connotation we find in the constructions in (3b) does not arise; insofar as the examples in (6a) are possible, the adjectives actually receive a positive connotation.

- (6) a. ^{??}Doe eens wat aanstelleriger/kinderachtiger/onhebbelijker ...!
do PRT a bit more theatrical/childish/unkind
b. Doe eens wat aardiger/beleefder/vriendelijker/liever/vertrouwelijker!
do PRT somewhat nicer/politer/friendlier/kinder/more.intimately
'Act a bit nicer/more polite/...!'

Minorative forms of the adjective must express a negatively valued property; the imperative constructions in (7b) have a negative connotation when they are used as commands, although the same strings can also be used more neutrally as advice.

- (7) a. Doe eens wat minder aanstellerig/kinderachtig/onhebbelijk ...!
do PRT a bit less theatrical/childish/unkind
b. Doe eens wat minder aardig/beleefd/vriendelijk/lief/vertrouwelijk!
do PRT a bit less nice/polite/friendly/kind/intimately

Finally, observe that *doen* + *zo A mogelijk* can appear both in declarative and positive imperative constructions; such constructions need not have a negative connotation.

- (8) a. Ik doe altijd zo vriendelijk/aardig/beleefd mogelijk.
I do always as friendly/nice/polite as possible
'I am always as friendly as possible.'
b. Doe zo vriendelijk/aardig/beleefd mogelijk.
do as friendly/nice/polite as possible
'Be as friendly as possible.'

10.1.2. The verb *wonen* 'to live' + adjective

The verb *wonen* 'to live' is generally combined with a locational PP, as in (9).

- (9) a. Jan woont in Tilburg/bij zijn grootouders.
Jan lives in Tilburg/with his grandparents
b. Jan woont in een comfortabel huis/in een mooie omgeving.
Jan lives in a comfortable house/in a nice surrounding

The verb *wonen* can, however, also be accompanied by an adjectival phrase, in which case the adjective generally denotes a property of the house or the surroundings that the subject of the clause lives in. Example (10a) expresses that Jan has a comfortable/small/cozy house, and (10b) expresses that he lives in a beautiful/rural environment. Occasionally, the adjective just indicates a place and is hence functionally equivalent to a locational PP: (10c) does not express that Jan lives in a high/low house/surrounding, but that his apartment is situated high/low in a building.

- (10) a. Jan woont comfortabel/klein/gezellig.
 Jan lives comfortably/small/cozy
 b. Jan woont mooi/landelijk.
 Jan lives beautifully/rural
 c. Jan woont hoog/laag.
 Jan lives high/low

It is not immediately clear what the syntactic function of the PPs and AP in (9) and (10) is. They are often called complements because the verb normally cannot occur without them, but it may just as well be that they are adverbial adjuncts and that their obligatory presence is due to the fact that the expressed thought is simply not sufficiently informative without the information provided by them; see Section V3.2.2.4 for evidence that supports the adjunct analysis.

10.1.3. The verb *zien* 'to look' + adjective

The use of the combination *zien* + adjective is very restricted. The (a)-examples in (11) show that the verb *zien* can only occur with color adjectives and adjectives like *bleek* 'pale' and *grauw* 'ashen'; adjectives like *vriendelijk* 'friendly' *gek* 'crazy' or *lang* 'tall' are excluded. The adjectives normally denote a property of (some subpart of) an animate entity and can normally be modified by an intensifier and undergo comparative formation. The English translations in (11) show that the SUBJECT of the adjective is normally interpreted TOTO PRO PARS; it is, e.g., Jan's complexion that the property denoted by the adjective is attributed to.

- (11) a. Jan ziet geel/bleek/grauw. a'. *Jan ziet vriendelijk/gek/lang.
 Jan looks yellow/pale/ashen Jan looks friendly/weird/tall
 'Jan's face looks yellow/pale/ashen.'
 b. Jan ziet erg/vrij/te geel/bleek/grauw.
 Jan looks very/rather/too yellow/pale/ashen
 'Jan's face looks very/rather/too yellow/pale/ashen.'
 c. Jan ziet geler/bleker/grauer dan gisteren.
 Jan looks more yellow/paler/ashen than yesterday
 'Jan's face looks more yellow/paler/ashen than yesterday.'

The adjectives not only belong to a limited class, they must also refer to a transitory property. Generic statements about, e.g., the color of the skin are not possible by means of this *zien* + *A* construction. This is illustrated in (12): whereas we can express the (false) generalization that all frogs are yellow by means of the copular construction in (12a), this is not possible by means of the *zien* + adjective combination in (12a'); and, whereas we need not take into account in the copular construction in (12b) that chameleons can change color, this is implied by (12b').

- (12) a. Kikkers zijn geel.
 frogs are yellow
 a'. *Kikkers zien geel.
 frogs look yellow

- b. Deze kameleon is geel.
this chameleon is yellow
- b'. Deze kameleon ziet geel.
this chameleon looks yellow

Some more or less idiomatic examples of the *zien* + *A* construction are given in (13). Observe that they contain a *van*-PP that expresses the cause of the transitory property; see Section 3.5.1 for a more extensive discussion of this PP. Example (13c) is special in that the subject does not refer to (a subpart of) an animate being.

- (13) a. Mijn handen zien blauw van de kou.
my hands look blue of the cold
- b. Jan ziet groen van afgunst.
Jan looks green of envy
- c. De kamer ziet blauw van de rook.
the room looks blue of the (cigarette) smoke

The *zien* + *A* constructions in (11) resemble the constructions in (14). They differ, however, in that the latter contain the pronominal PP *er ... uit*. Since this PP cannot be replaced by some other PP such as *daaruit* or *uit* + *NP*, it is clear that *er uit zien* is a fixed expression.

- (14) a. Hij ziet *er* geel/bleek/grauw *uit*.
he looks there yellow/pale/ashen out
- b. Hij ziet *er* erg/vrij/te geel/bleek/grauw *uit*.
he looks there very/rather/too yellow/pale/ashen out
- c. Hij ziet *er* geler/bleker/grauwer *uit* dan gisteren.
he looks there more yellow/pale/ashen out than yesterday

On closer inspection, the two constructions turn out to exhibit totally different behavior. First, the adjective is not restricted to the class of color adjectives in the *er A uit zien* construction. The adjectives in (11a') are perfectly acceptable when the PP *er ... uit* is added.

- (15) Hij ziet *er* vriendelijk/gek/lang *uit*.
he looks there friendly/weird/long out
'He is looking friendly/weird/long.'

Second, the adjective need not express a transitory property; generic statements are possible in this construction, as will become clear by comparing (16) to (12a').

- (16) Kikkers zien *er* geel *uit*.
frogs look there yellow out

Third, the sequence *er A uit zien* can enter into the syntactic frames *er uit zien alsof pronoun* + *A* + *copular* in (17a), whereas this is not possible for the sequence *zien* + *A*. This contrast may be related to the fact, illustrated by the (b)-examples, that *eruit zien*, but not *zien*, can be followed by an *als*-phrase of comparison.

- (17) a. Hij ziet *er uit* alsof hij ziek is.
 he looks there out as.if he ill is
 a'. *Hij ziet alsof hij ziek is.
 b. Hij ziet *er uit* als een tweederangs acteur.
 he looks there out as a second.rate actor
 b'. *Hij ziet als een tweederangs acteur.

Finally, the *zien* + *A* construction implies that the subject indeed has the property denoted by the adjective, whereas this need not be the case in the *er A uit zien* construction. This can be illustrated by means of contextualizing the examples in (18). While looking at a picture of Jan, someone can say something like (18b) without contradicting himself. Example (18a), on the other hand, would be a contradiction. The primed examples show that, in this respect, the combination *zien* + adjective resembles the copula *zijn* 'to be', whereas the *er A uit zien* instead resembles the copula *lijken* 'to seem'.

- (18) a. #Jan ziet bleek, maar hij is feitelijk hartstikke bruin.
 Jan looks pale but he is actually very tanned
 a'. #Jan is bleek, maar hij is feitelijk hartstikke bruin.
 Jan is pale but he is actually very tanned
 b. Jan ziet *er bleek uit*, maar hij is feitelijk hartstikke bruin.
 Jan looks there pale out but he is actually very tanned
 'Jan looks pale, but actually he is quite tanned.'
 b'. Jan lijkt bleek, maar hij is feitelijk hartstikke bruin.
 Jan seems pale but he is actually very tanned
 'Jan seems pale, but actually he is quite tanned.'

10.1.4. Inherently reflexive constructions

Some fixed combinations of verbs and adjectives function as inherently reflexive verbs. The reflexive *zich* in (19), for example, can neither be replaced by a full noun phrase, such as *Jan*, nor by the full reflexive form *zichzelf*. In this respect these cases differ from structurally comparable, but non-inherently reflexive constructions; cf. Section V2.5.2.

- (19) a. Hij voelt zich/*zichzelf goed.
 he feels REFL/himself well
 'He is feeling fine.'
 b. Hij gedraagt zich/*zichzelf goed.
 he behaves REFL/himself well
 'He is behaving well.'

10.1.5. Idioms

Some fixed combinations of verbs and adjectives are idiomatic. This is most conspicuously the case with color adjectives. Some examples are given in (20). The adjective *zwart* is typically used to refer to situations in which one is not paying what he owes. The adjective *grijs* is recently introduced to refer to situations in which one is not paying what he owes in full.

- (20) a. *zwart werken* c. *zwart rijden*
 black work black drive
 ‘moonlighting’ ‘to use public transport without paying’
 b. *zwart kijken* c’. *grijs rijden*
 black watch grey drive
 ‘watching without paying’ ‘to use public transport without paying fully’

The combination *zwart* + V refers to an illegal act. It is therefore not surprising that *wit* ‘white’ can be used in the resultative construction in (21), which refers to the activity of making money that is obtained illegally (seemingly) legal. Another fixed combination that has to do with money, is *rood staan*. This use has its origin in the fact that banks used to print deficits on an account in red.

- (21) a. *geld wit wassen* b. *Jan staat rood.*
 money white wash Jan stands red
 ‘money laundering’ ‘Jan’s account is in the red.’

Other idiomatic combinations of verbs and adjectives are given in (22). The examples in (22a&b) are no longer semantically transparent: the verb *bakeren* ‘to nourish’ and the adjective *bekaaid* ‘disappointed’ are no longer used. Example (22c) involves an absolute *met*-construction.

- (22) a. *heet gebakerd zijn* c. *met de billen bloot komen*
 hot nourished be with the buttocks nude come
 ‘to be hot-tempered’ ‘to disclose the state of one’s affairs’
 b. *ergens bekaaïd afkomen*
 ‘to have the worst of it’

A case like (23a) seems to involve metaphorical language use rather than an idiom; example (23b) shows that the more literal meaning of the unit *vastlopen* is “to get stuck/jam”.

- (23) a. *De onderhandelingen liepen vast.* b. *De machine liep vast.*
 the negotiations went stuck the machine went stuck
 ‘The negotiations reached a deadlock.’ ‘The machine jammed.’

10.2. *In het* + adjective: *In het algemeen* ‘In general’

The examples in (24) show that adjectives can enter the syntactic frame *in het* + A. A typical difference between the Dutch examples and their English counterparts is that these constructions contain the article-like element *het* in Dutch, whereas in English the adjective is normally bare. The complement of the preposition *in* therefore looks like a noun phrase in Dutch, but this is probably just seemingly the case as the phrases *het algemeen* ‘the general’ and *het bijzonder* cannot be used in other NP-positions.

- (24) a. *in het algemeen*
 ‘in general’
 b. *in het bijzonder*
 ‘in particular’

A second reason to doubt that the complement of the preposition is a regular noun phrase is that the adjective is normally affixed with *-e* when a definite noun phrase does not contain an overt noun; cf. Section 5.4. This is shown in (25). That this ending is lacking in (24) shows that we are not dealing with N-ellipsis.

- (25) a. Ik wil de blauw-*e* hebben.
 I want the blue have
 ‘I want to have the blue one.’
 b. Ik heb de grot-*e* gekocht.
 I have the big bought
 ‘I bought the big one.’

The phrases in (24) are more or less fixed in the sense that modification is excluded: nothing can be placed between the preposition *in* and the element *het*, and *het* and the adjective must also be adjacent. The number of adjectives that can enter the construction is, however, quite large. All color adjectives can enter the construction, and it is also quite normal with adjectives such as *effen* ‘unpatterned’, *gestreept* ‘striped’, *geblokt* ‘checked’ that refer to a certain design.

- (26) a. Marie trouwt in het wit/roze.
 Marie marries in the white/pink
 b. Ik wil zo’n jurk, maar dan in het grijs/blauw/effen/gestreept/geblokt.
 I want such a dress but then in the grey/blue/unpatterned/striped/checked
 c. Marie heeft zo’n jurk in het wit/effen/[?]gestreept/[?]geblokt.
 Marie has such.a dress in the white/unpatterned/striped/checked

A peculiar property of the examples in (26) is that some notion of completeness is implied: example (26c) with the adjective *wit*, for example, implies that the dress is entirely white, and (26a) implies that Marie’s dress and main accessories are white. This notion of completeness is absent, however, when the color adjectives are replaced by, e.g., measure adjectives like *lang* ‘long’ and *kort* ‘short’, as in (27).

- (27) a. Marie trouwt in het lang/kort.
 Marie marries in the long/short
 b. Ik wil zo’n jurk, maar dan in het lang/kort.
 I want such a dress but then in the long/short
 c. Marie heeft zo’n jurk in het lang/[?]kort.
 Marie has such.a dress in the long/short

Occasionally, it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with the *in het* + *A* construction or with a regular PP with a nominal complement. In (28), for example, *geheim* ‘secret’ could in principle be either an adjective or a noun. Given the fact that a locational interpretation is not plausible, we may decide that we are dealing with an adjective here, which is also consistent with the fact that the article *the* is missing in its English rendering *in secret* (Carole Boster informs me that English also has the expression *on the sly*, in which *sly* is clearly adjectival).

- (28) Jan doet het in het geheim/geniep.
 Jan does it in the secret
 'Jan does it in secret.'

The adjective *nauw* 'narrow (space)' can also be interpreted as either an adjective or a noun. Given that the verb *drijven* 'drive' in (29a) requires a locational complement in the presence of an accusative object, we must conclude that we are dealing with a regular (metaphorically used) locational PP, and consequently also with a regular noun phrase *het nauw*. This conclusion seems to be supported by example (29b). Like *drijven* in (29a), the verb *trekken* 'to pull' requires a locational phrase, and the adjectives *belachelijk* and *absurd* are adorned with an *-e* ending, which indicates that *het belachelijke* and *het absurde* are noun phrases with an elided noun; cf. Section 5.4.2. Observe that in the English translation of (29a) the article *the/a* must be present.

- (29) a. Jan drijft Marie in het nauw.
 Jan drives Marie in the/a corner
 'Jan drives Marie into the/a corner/Jan is pressing Marie hard.'
 b. Jan trekt het in het belachelijke/absurde.
 Jan pulls it into the ridiculous/absurd
 'Jan is ridiculing it.'

For the examples in (30), it cannot easily be decided whether we are dealing with a noun or an adjective. The element *klad* 'draft' in (30a) is probably a noun, since it cannot occur in attributive or complementive position, whereas *net* 'neat' is probably an adjective since it cannot be used in regular NP-positions (with the relevant meaning); *Engels* in (30b) can be used both as a noun and as an adjective. Example (31) provides some other potential cases of the *in het* + *A* construction.

- (30) a. Jan schrijft het in het klad/net.
 Jan writes it in the draft/neat
 'Jan is writing a draft/final version.'
 b. Jan schrijft de brief in het Engels.
 Jan writes the letter in the English
 'Jan writes the letter in English.'
- (31) a. In het echt is *de Nachtwacht* mooier.
 in the real is *the Night.Watch* more.beautiful
 b. In het kort komt het op het volgende neer.
 in the short comes it on the following down
 'In short it amounts to the following.'
 c. paling in het groen
 eel in the green
 'stewed eel in chervil sauce'

Glossary

This appendix provides an alphabetical list of notions that may not be familiar to the reader. In the unhelped-for case that the reader does not find what he is looking for here, we refer the reader to the internet version of the excellent and freely accessible *Lexicon of Linguistics* edited by Johan Kerstens, Eddy Ruys and Joost Zwarts: [//www2.let.uu.nl/Uil-OTS/Lexicon/](http://www2.let.uu.nl/Uil-OTS/Lexicon/).

Across-the-Board:

Examples (ib&b') show that subextraction from a coordinated structure is normally excluded; cf. °Coordinate Structure Constraint. This does not hold, however, when the movement applies in a so-called Across-the-Board fashion, that is, affects all conjuncts: (ic) is acceptable due to the fact that the *wh*-phrase *wat* 'what' is in a sense moved from (related to an interpretative gap in) both conjuncts.

- (i) a. Jan heeft [[een boek van Peter gestolen] en [een CD/boek aan Marie gegeven]].
Jan has a book from Peter stolen and a CD/book to Marie given
b. *Wat_i heeft Jan [[t_i van Peter gestolen] en [een boek aan Marie gegeven]]?
what has Jan from Peter stolen and a book to Marie given
b'. *Wat_i heeft Jan [[een boek van Peter gestolen] en [t_i aan Marie gegeven]]?
what has Jan a book from Peter stolen and to Marie given
c. Wat_i heeft Jan [[t_i van Peter gestolen] en [t_i aan Marie gegeven]]?
what has Jan from Peter stolen and to Marie given

Adjunct:

A constituent in the domain of a lexical head H that is not selected by H. The notion of adjunct stands in opposition to the notion of argument, which is a constituent that is selected by H. Adjuncts and arguments differ in that the first are generally optional, whereas arguments are generally obligatorily present (or at least semantically implied). In (i), the PP *in de keuken* 'in the kitchen' is optional and can be considered an adjunct, whereas the noun phrase *de aardappelen* 'the potatoes' is virtually obligatory, and can be considered an argument of the verb *schillen* 'to peel'.

- (i) a. Jan schilt de aardappelen (in de keuken).
b. Jan schilt *?(de aardappelen) in de keuken.
Jan peels the potatoes in the kitchen

Adverb tests:

In cases of modification of a verbal projection, at least two types of adverbial phrases must be distinguished. The first type involves modification of the proposition expressed by the clause, which is therefore referred to as a clause adjunct. Clauses that contain this type of adverbial phrase can be paraphrased as in (ia); a concrete example is given in (ia'&a''). The second type involves modification of the verb (phrase) only, and is referred to as a VP adjunct. Clauses that contain this type of adverbial phrase can be paraphrased as in (ib), in which the pronoun

must be construed as identical to the subject of the clause; a concrete example is given in (ib' & b''). See Section 3.8.1 for further discussion.

- (i) a. Clause adjunct: Het is ADVERB zo dat CLAUSE
 a'. Jan werkt natuurlijk.
 Jan works of.course
 a''. Het is natuurlijk zo dat Jan werkt.
 it is of.course the.case that Jan works
- b. VP adjunct: [_{CLAUSE} subject_i ...] en pronoun_i doet dat ADVERB
 b'. Jan lacht hard.
 Jan laughs loudly
 b''. Jan_i lacht en hij_i doet dat hard.
 Jan laughs and he does that loudly

Anticipatory pronoun/pronominal PP:

Clauses may have argument status with respect to a lexical head. Generally, however, they do not occur in the regular argument position, but are extraposed. For instance, if the argument position is part of a verbal projection, it may optionally be occupied by the pronoun *het* 'it', which is called the anticipatory pronoun, as in (i). If the clause is part of a prepositional complement, the anticipatory pronominal PP *er* + *P* may optionally occur, as in (ii). See °R-extraction for a discussion of the fact that the anticipatory pronominal PP *er over* is normally split.

- (i) Jan betwijfelt (het) of Marie komt.
 Jan doubts it whether Marie comes
 'Jan doubts whether Marie will come.'
- (ii) Jan is (*er*) boos (*over*) dat Marie niet komt.
 Jan is there angry about that Marie not comes
 'Jan is angry that Marie will not come.'

Argument:

An argument is a constituent in the domain of a lexical head H that is selected by H. The notion of argument stands in opposition to that of °adjunct, which is a constituent that is not selected by H. Arguments and adjuncts differ in that the first are normally obligatorily present (or at least semantically implied), whereas adjuncts are optional. In (i), the noun phrase *de aardappelen* 'the potatoes' is virtually obligatory and can be considered an argument of the verb *schillen* 'to peel', whereas the PP *in de keuken* 'in the kitchen' is optional and can be considered an adjunct.

- (i) a. Jan schilt ^{*?}(de aardappelen) in de keuken.
 b. Jan schilt de aardappelen (in de keuken).
 Jan peels the potatoes in the kitchen

The notion of argument is usually associated with verbs: verbs have argument structures, specifying the number and °thematic roles of their arguments. An intransitive verb like *lachen* 'to laugh', for example, has one (agentive) argument, a transitive verb like *lezen* 'to read' has two arguments, an agent and a theme, and a

ditransitive verb like *geven* ‘to give’ has three arguments. The arguments of these verbal predicates fill slots in the predicate frame implied by these verbs: *lachen* is a one-place predicate LACHEN (*x*) and the agentive argument fills the single argument slot; *lezen* is a two-place predicate LEZEN (*x*,*y*) and the two arguments fill the two respective slots in the predicate frame; *geven* is a three-place predicate and again the three arguments fill the slots in the predicate frame GEVEN (*x*,*y*,*z*).

(ii)	• Predicate	• Example
a.	LOPEN _V (<u>Agent</u>) walk	a'. [Jan] _{Agent} [loopt] _{Pred} Jan walks
b.	LEZEN _V (<u>Agent</u> , Theme) read	b'. [Marie] _{Agent} [leest een krant] _{Pred} Marie reads a newspaper
c.	GEVEN _V (<u>Agent</u> , Theme, Recipient) give	c'. [Jan] _{Agent} [geeft Marie een boek] _{Pred} Jan gives Marie a book

The arguments in the predicate frame of two- and three-place predicates are not all of the same nature: filling the *y* and *z* slots in a sense completes the predicate, as a result of which it can be predicated of the argument placed in the *x* slot. In syntactic terms, the argument filling the *x* slot of a predicate normally corresponds to the subject of the clause, whereas the arguments filling the *y* and *z* slots correspond to the objects of the clause. Since the objects have the function of creating a complete predicate, they are often referred to as the °complements or INTERNAL ARGUMENTS of the verb. The subject, on the other hand, will be referred to as the EXTERNAL ARGUMENT of the verb, the argument the complete verbal predicate is predicated of. In the lexical frames in (ii), the external argument is underlined in order to distinguish it from the complements. Note that there are several complications that are not discussed here: for instance, °unaccusative verbs are assumed not to have an external argument but to be predicated of their internal argument (cf. V2.1).

Since adjectives and nouns function as predicates as well, they also take arguments. This is shown in (iii), where the adjectival/nominal noun phrase is predicated of the noun phrase *Jan*, which therefore functions as the first argument. Since the usual labels for semantic roles are created especially for expressing the roles of the arguments in the event structure denoted by verbal predications, we will simply refer to the first argument of non-verbal predicates as the REFERENT (Ref), that is, the entity with regard to which the property denoted by the adjectival/nominal noun applies.

(iii)	• AARDIG _A (<u>Ref</u>)	• GENIE _N (<u>Ref</u>)
a.	[Jan] _{Ref} is [aardig] _{Pred} . Jan is nice	b. [Jan] _{Ref} is [een genie] _{Pred} . Jan is a genius
a'.	Ik vind [Jan] _{Ref} [aardig] _{Pred} . I consider Jan nice	b'. Ik vind [Jan] _{Ref} [een genie] _{Pred} . I consider Jan a genius

Binding:

A noun phrase (typically a pronoun) is said to be bound when it is coreferential with a °c-commanding antecedent. Noun phrases differ with respect to the syntactic domain within which they must or can be bound. This is clear from the fact illustrated by the examples in (ia&b) that reflexive and referential personal

pronouns like *zichzelf* and *hem* are in complementary distribution. Referential expressions like *de jongen* in (ic) normally remain free (= not bound) within their sentence.

- (i) a. Ik denk dat Jan_i zichzelf_i/*hem_i bewondert.
 I think that Jan himself/him admires
 'I think that Jan admires himself.'
 b. Jan_i denkt dat ik hem_i/*zichzelf_i bewonder.
 Jan thinks that I him/himself admire
 'Jan thinks that I admire him.'
 c. *Jan_i denkt dat ik de jongen_i bewonder.
 Jan thinks that I the boy admire

Data like (i) have given rise to the formulation of the three binding conditions in (ii), in which the notion of local domain has not been defined. For the examples in (i), we may provisionally assume that it refers to the minimal clause containing the relevant noun phrase, but there are data that complicate matters; see Section N5.2.1.5 for a more detailed discussion.

- (ii) • Binding conditions
 a. Anaphors like *zichzelf* 'himself' must be bound within their local domain.
 b. Pronouns like *hem* 'him' must be free (= not bound) within their local domain.
 c. Referential expressions like *Jan* or *de jongen* 'the boy' must be free.

Bridge verb:

Wh-movement may sometimes extract interrogative phrases from embedded complement clauses. Whether extraction is possible or not depends on the verb selecting the complement clause. Verbs that do allow extraction are called bridge verbs.

C-command:

C-command refers to an asymmetric relation between the constituents in a phrase, which is generally defined in structural terms of a tree diagram: α c-commands β if (i) $\alpha \neq \beta$, (ii) α does not dominate β , and (iii) the node that immediately dominates α also dominates β . When we restrict ourselves to clauses and ignore the verbs, this relation can also be expressed by the functional hierarchy in (i), where $A > B$ indicates that A c-commands B and everything that is embedded in B. This means, for example, that the subject c-commands the nominal objects, the periphrastic indirect object, the PP-complement(s) and all the adjuncts of its clause, including everything that may be embedded within these constituents.

- (i) C-command hierarchy: subject > indirect object-NP > direct object > indirect object-PP > PP-complement > adjunct

Many restrictions on syntactic relations can be expressed by appealing to this notion: movement, for example, is only possible when the landing site c-commands the base position of the moved element, and °binding of an anaphor or a pronoun is only possible when the antecedent c-commands it.

Complement:

The °arguments of a lexical head H, with the exception of the subject. In generative grammar, complements are generally called INTERNAL ARGUMENTS, whereas the subject is called the EXTERNAL ARGUMENT; an exception is the subject of an °unaccusative verb, which is generally assumed to be an internal argument. Internal arguments of verbs are generally obligatorily present (or at least semantically implied), whereas external arguments can occasionally be suppressed, for instance in the passive construction.

Complementive:

This notion refers to the predicative complement of the verb in copular, resultative or *vinden*-constructions. In (i) some examples are given with adjectival predicates. A complementive may also be a nominal or a (spatial) adpositional phrase, e.g., *Jan is leraar* ‘Jan is a teacher’ and *Jan heeft het boek in de kast gelegd* ‘Jan has put the book on the shelves’. In neutral sentences complementives are left-adjacent to the clause-final verb. This is especially clear with PP-complementives as these differ from other PPs in that they cannot undergo °PP-over-V: **Jan heeft het boek gelegd in de kast*.

- (i) a. Jan is *erg aardig*.
 Jan is very nice
 b. Jan slaat de hond *dood*.
 Jan hits the dog dead
 c. Ik vind Jan *erg aardig*.
 I consider Jan very nice

Conjunction reduction:

Within a coordinated structure, deletion of a phrase within a conjunct under identity with a phrase within the other conjunct. If the deleted phrase belongs to the first conjunct, the deletion operation is referred to as BACKWARD conjunction reduction; if the deleted phrase belongs to the second conjunct, the operation is referred to as FORWARD backward conjunction reduction; see also °gapping.

Constituency test:

Test involving movement of a string of words into the sentence-initial position, that is, the position immediately preceding the finite verb in main clauses. Any string of words that can occupy this position in Dutch is considered a constituent. Satisfying this test is sufficient for assuming constituency, but not necessary given that constituents can be embedded within larger constituents that may function as °islands for extraction. The test provides pretty reliable results when it comes to the determination of the clausal constituents (the arguments and the adjuncts of the clause). Other tests that are occasionally used are coordination and clefting.

Control:

Notion used for the relation between the abstract, phonetically empty subject °PRO and the noun phrase (the controller) that determines its reference. In (ia) *PRO* is interpreted as identical to the subject of the matrix clause, and in (ib) it refers to a group of people including the subject of the matrix clause. See, e.g., Van Haaften

(1991), Koster (1984), Broekhuis et al. (1995), Vanden Wyngaerd (1994) and Petter (1998) for extensive discussion of control in Dutch.

- (i) a. John_i tries [PRO_i to fix the sink].
- b. John_i proposed [PRO_{i,...} to leave early].

Coordinate Structure Constraint:

This constraint prohibits movement of a conjunct out of a coordinated structure: for example, *Wh*-movement of the second conjunct in (ia) is impossible, as shown in (ia'). The constraint also prohibits subextraction from one of the conjuncts: for example subextraction from the second conjunct in (ib) is excluded, as shown in (1b'). An exception to the ban on subextraction is when the movement applies in a so-called °across-the-board fashion, that is, simultaneously affects all conjuncts.

- (i) a. Jan heeft [[een artikel] en [een boek]] gelezen.
 Jan has an article and a book read
- a'. *Wat_i heeft Jan [[een artikel] en [t_i]] gelezen?
 what has Jan an article and read
- b. Jan heeft [[een boek van Peter gestolen] en [een CD aan Marie gegeven]].
 Jan has a book from Peter stolen and a CD to Marie given
- b'. *Wat heeft Jan [[een boek van Peter gestolen] en [t_i aan Marie gegeven]]?
 what has Jan a book from Peter stolen and to Marie given

Degrees of comparison:

The degrees of comparison are given in (i). Instead of a laborious term like *comparative in relation to a higher degree*, we use the shorter term *majorative degree*. In (i), these terms are given in small caps.

- (i) a. POSITIVE degree *groot* 'big'
- b. Comparison in relation to a higher degree:
 (i) comparative: MAJORATIVE degree *groter* 'bigger'

 (ii) superlative: MAXIMATIVE degree *grootst* 'biggest'
- c. Comparison in relation to the same degree:
 EQUATIVE degree *even groot* 'as big'
- d. Comparison in relation to a lower degree:
 (i) comparative: MINORATIVE degree *minder groot* 'less big'

 (ii) superlative: MINIMATIVE degree *minst groot* 'least big'

DO-subject:

The subject of a passive or an °unaccusative verb. This notion is used to express that the subjects of unaccusative and passive verbs have various properties in common with the direct objects of transitive verbs. Other notions that can be found in the literature referring to the same notion are DERIVED SUBJECT and LOGICAL OBJECT.

Expletive:

The element *er* in existential or presentational constructions like (ia&b). Example (ic) shows that, unlike the English expletive *there*, expletive *er* can also occur in transitive clauses, provided that the direct object is nonspecific indefinite. The fact

that (ic) is marked with a definite object may be part of a more general phenomenon: expletive *er* is often disfavored (though acceptable) in the presence of some presuppositional element. This is illustrated in (ic') by means of the locational pro-form *daar* 'there'. See Section 8.1.4 for more discussion.

- (i) a. dat er een probleem met de verwarming is.
that there a problem with the heating is
'that there is a problem with the heating.'
- b. dat er een man op straat loopt.
that there a man in the street walks
'that there is someone walking in the street.'
- c. dat er iemand een/?het lied zingt.
that there someone a/the song sings
- c'. dat (?er) daar iemand een lied zingt.
that there there someone a song sings

Extraposition:

A movement operation that is assumed to place a clause to the right of the verbs in clause-final position. Under the traditional OV-analysis of Dutch, complement clauses are base-generated to the left of the main verb, as in (ib), and obligatorily moved to the right of the verb. Extraposition of PPs is called °PP-over-V. Extraposition of noun phrases and APs is not possible in Dutch.

- (i) a. dat Jan [dat hij ziek is] denkt $\Rightarrow$
- b. dat Jan t_i denkt [dat hij ziek is] $_i$

Since the publication of Kayne (1994), there is a still-ongoing debate concerning whether (ib) is derived from (ia) by means of Extraposition or whether the complement is base-generated to the right of V; cf. Baltin (2006) and Broekhuis (2008:ch.2) for a review of a number of the currently available proposals. In this work, we will use the notion of Extraposition as a purely descriptive term in order to refer to the placement of the clause to the right of the verb.

Focus:

The notion of focus is used in several different ways that should be kept strictly apart; see De Swart and De Hoop (2000) for a more extensive discussion of this notion.

I. When we are concerned with the information structure of the clause, the notion focus refers to the "new" information of the clause. As such it is opposed to the notion of presupposition, which refers to the "old" information in the clause.

II. The notion of focus is also used for certain elements in the clause that are phonetically emphasized by means of accent. Often, a distinction is made between emphatic, contrastive and restrictive focus. EMPHATIC focus simply highlights one of the constituents in the clause, as in (ia). CONTRASTIVE focus is normally used when one or more specific referents are part of the domain of discourse to which the proposition does not apply, and can also be used to deny a certain presupposition on the part of the hearer, as in (ib). RESTRICTIVE focus implies that the proposition in question is not true of any other referents: a specific, restricted set is selected and a

proposition is said to hold for this set only. It is often used for restrictive adverbial phrases like *van Jan* in (ic): assigning focus to this phrase suggests that the other relevant persons in the discourse did not yet hand in the assignment.

- (i) a. Ik heb hem een BOEK gegeven.
I have him a book given
'I have given him a BOOK.'
- b. Nee, ik heb hem een BOEK gegeven (en geen PLAAT).
no, I have him a book given and not. a record
'No, I gave him a BOOK (not a RECORD).'
- c. Van JAN heb ik de opdracht al ontvangen.
from Jan have I the assignment already received
'From JAN, I have already received the assignment.'

Freezing:

The phenomenon that extraction from certain moved constituents is not possible. For example, if a prepositional complement occupies its "unmarked" position immediately to the left of the clause-final verb(s), °R-extraction is possible, as shown by (ia'). However, if it occupies a position more to the left, R-extraction is excluded, as is shown by (ib'). In the primed examples the stranded preposition and its moved complement are given in italics.

- (i) a. dat Jan al tijden op dat boek wacht.
that Jan already ages for that book waits
'that Jan has already been waiting for that book for ages.'
- a'. het boek *waar* Jan al tijden *op* wacht
the book where Jan already ages for waits
'the book that Jan has already been waiting for for ages'
- b. dat Jan op dat boek al tijden wacht.
- b'. *het boek *waar* Jan *op* al tijden wacht

Gapping:

An operation applying to coordinated clauses, which involves deletion of elements in the second conjunct under identity with elements in the first conjunct. Gapping (in contrast to °conjunction reduction) must at least affect the finite verb of the second conjunct, as in (ia). If the clause contains an auxiliary, either the auxiliary alone, as in (ib), or the auxiliary and the main verb can be deleted, as in (ic). In addition to the verb(s), Gapping can also delete other constituents of the second conjunct, as in (id). The second conjunct must contain at least two pronounced constituents, which are contrastively stressed.

- (i) a. Jan schrijft een roman en Peter [_v Ø] een toneelstuk.
Jan reads a novel and Peter a play
- b. Jan heeft een roman geschreven en Peter [_{AUX} Ø] een toneelstuk opgevoerd.
Jan has a novel written and Peter a play performed
- c. Jan heeft een roman geschreven en Peter [_{AUX} Ø] een toneelstuk [_v Ø].
Jan has a novel written and Peter a play
- d. Jan heeft Marie naar huis gebracht en Piet [_{AUX} Ø] Karel [_{PP} Ø] [_v Ø].
Jan has Marie to home brought and Piet Karel

Implied subject:

See °PRO.

Individual-level predicate:

See Stage/Individual-level predicate.

Intensifier:

An adverbial modifier of a scalar adjective that specifies the degree to which the property denoted by the adjective holds. There are three types of intensifiers: AMPLIFIERS, which scale upwards from a tacitly assumed norm, DOWNTONERS, which scale downwards from the assumed norm, and NEUTRAL INTENSIFIERS, which are neutral in this respect; see Section 3.1.2 for a more detailed discussion.

Island for extraction:

An island for extraction is a constituent out of which extraction cannot take place. A distinction can be made between STRONG and WEAK islands. Strong islands are constituents out of which extraction is blocked categorically, whereas weak islands are constituents out of which only certain elements (especially adjunct phrases) cannot be extracted.

Material implication:

A term from propositional logic for the relation IF X THEN Y. This relation expresses that if X is true Y is true as well, and that if Y is false X is false too. Note that it does not express that if X is false Y is false; if X is false Y can either be true or false.

Left-dislocation:

A construction akin to topicalization that does not involve movement of the dislocated element. The dislocated element is probably external to the clause, which is clear from the fact that it is associated with a resumptive element that is moved into the sentence-initial position immediately preceding the finite verb in second position; cf. °Verb second. In (ia), the noun phrase *dat boek* is the left-dislocated element, and the resumptive element is the demonstrative pronoun *dat*. If the left-dislocated element is logically the object of a preposition, the resumptive element is an °R-pronoun or a complete PP, as in (ib) and (ic), respectively.

- (i) a. *Dat boek, dat heb ik gisteren gelezen.*
that book that have I yesterday read
- b. *Die jongen, daar heb ik gisteren over gesproken.*
that boy there have I yesterday about spoken
- c. *Die jongen, over hem heb ik gisteren gesproken.*
that boy about him have I yesterday spoken

Logical SUBJECT (vs. grammatical subject):

The constituent of which some other constituent in the clause is predicated. This notion of logical SUBJECT coincides with the notion of external °argument in generative grammar and is thus based on the °thematic relations within the clause. It differs from the traditional notion of (grammatical) subject that is used to refer to the nominative argument in the clause. In (ia), for example, the adjective *leeg*

'empty' is predicated of the noun phrase *de fles* 'the bottle', which therefore functions as the logical SUBJECT of *leeg*. Although this is not controversial, we will assume in this work that the predicate and its SUBJECT form a SMALL CLAUSE, that is, a complex constituent headed by the predicative element; cf. Stowell (1981/1983). More examples are given in (ib&c), where the noun phrases *Peter* and *de boeken* function as the SUBJECT of, respectively, a nominal and a prepositional predicate. The notion of SUBJECT is discussed more extensively in Section 6.1.

- (i) a. Jan gooide [_{SC} *de fles* *leeg*].
 Jan threw the bottle empty
 b. Jan noemde [_{SC} *Peter een leugenaar*].
 Jan called Peter a liar
 c. Jan zette [_{SC} *de boeken in de kast*].
 Jan put the books on the shelves

Middle field:

The middle field of the clause is defined as that part of the clause bounded to the right by the verbs in clause-final position (if present), and to the left by the complementizer in an embedded clause or the finite verb in second position of a main clause. The middle field of the examples in (i) is given in italics. It can be argued that the position of the complementizer and the finite verb in second position are actually the same, the so-called C(omplementizer)-position: in main clauses, the finite verb is moved from clause-final position into this C-position, whereas in embedded clauses this movement does not take place, and the complementizer can be used to fill it. In the following abstract representation of the clause, the middle field can therefore be defined as the part between C and V: [_{CP} *e* C V].

- (i) a. Gisteren heeft *Jan met plezier dat boek* gelezen.
 yesterday has Jan with pleasure that book read
 b. Ik denk [*dat Jan met plezier dat boek gelezen heeft*].
 I think that Jan with pleasure that book read has

It is important to realize that the middle field of a clause is not a constituent, but simply refers to a set of positions within the clause. This set of positions includes the base positions of the nominal arguments of the verb within VP (but not the verb itself), as well as a variety of positions external to VP such as the positions of the adverbial phrases and positions that can act as a landing site for °scrambling.

Modifier:

Modification is the syntactic relation between two elements by which, e.g., the denotation of the modified phrase is restricted. Modification is typically obtained by means of adverbial phrases. The modifying phrase is referred to as a MODIFIER.

NP-movement:

A movement operation that places an argument from a case-less position into a case-marked position. This operation takes place in, for instance, Passive and Subject Raising Constructions. In Passives, the passive participle is not able to assign accusative case to the theme-argument, which must therefore be moved into the regular subject position. Schematically, this can be represented as

[NP_i Infl [VP V t_i]], where NP_i is the underlying object in regular subject position and t_i is its °trace in the case-less direct object position.

Omission test:

A test used to determine what the head of a certain construction is. The element that cannot be omitted is the head of the construction. Given that the object *mooie boeken* in *Jan heeft mooie boeken* ‘Jan has nice books’ can be reduced to the noun *boeken*, it follows that this noun is the head of the complex noun phrase.

Operator:

A term borrowed from predicate calculus, where it refers to those elements that combine with a formula ϕ , thereby creating a new formula $OP\phi$. Examples of such operators are the existential operator $\exists x$, the universal operator $\forall x$, and the negative operator $\neg$. In generative syntax, this notion is extended to expressions from natural languages such as *iemand* ‘someone’, *iedereen* ‘everyone’, *niet* ‘not’, and *wh*-phrases such as *wie* ‘who’ and *wat* ‘what’.

Parasitic gap:

An empty element in the sentence that is assumed to be licensed by the antecedent of another empty element in the sentence. In (ia), the empty object position in the infinitival clause headed by the verb *lezen* ‘to read’ is assumed to be licensed by the antecedent of the trace that occupies the object position of the verb *opbergen* ‘to file’. The empty position within the adjunct clause *zonder te lezen* cannot be the trace of the moved *wh*-phrase *wat* ‘what’ since adjuncts are °islands for extraction. The structure of (ia) is therefore as indicated in (ib), in which *t* stands for the trace of *wat*, and PG is the parasitic gap.

- (i) a. Wat heb je zonder te lezen opgeborgen?
 what have you without to read prt.-filed
 ‘What did you file without reading?’
 b. Wat heb je [zonder PG te lezen] *t* opgeborgen.

Often, it is assumed that PG is actually a trace of a phonetically empty operator OP that is moved into the initial position of the adjunct clause. In Dutch, parasitic gaps are licensed not only by *wh*-movement, but also by °scrambling. This is shown in (iia), which is assumed to have the structure in (iib), where *t* is the trace of the moved direct object *dat boek*, and PG stands for the parasitic gap licensed by scrambling.

- (ii) a. Jan heeft dat boek zonder te lezen opgeborgen.
 Jan has that book without to read prt.-filed
 b. Jan heeft dat boek [zonder PG te lezen] *t* opgeborgen.

Pied piping:

In interrogative clauses the sentence-initial position must be occupied by a *wh*-word; cf. (ia). Occasionally, however, *wh*-movement may or must involve a larger constituent that contains the *wh*-word. In (ib), for example, the preposition must be moved along with the *wh*-element *wie* ‘who’. This phenomenon is called Pied

Piping; the *wh*-element *wie* pied pipes the proposition *op*. Pied Piping also occurs in the case of other movement types.

- (i) a. Wie heb je gezien?
who have you seen
'Who did you see?'
- b. Op wie heb je gewacht?
for whom have you waited
'For whom did you wait?'

PP-over-V:

Many adpositional phrases can occur both in a position preceding and in a position following the verb(s) in clause-final position. Some examples are given in (i). In traditional generative grammar, it is assumed that the order in (ia) is the base order; (ib) involves PP-over-V of the adverbial adjunct of place *op het station* 'at the station'; example (ic) involves PP-over-V of the PP-complement of the main verb, *op zijn vader* 'for his father'; in example (id) both PPs follow the main verb. Observe that the PPs occur in inverted order in (ia) and (id): PP-over-V of more than one PP results in a mirroring of the original order; cf. Koster (1974).

- (i) a. Jan heeft op het station op zijn vader gewacht.
Jan has at the station for his father waited
'Jan has waited for his father at the station.'
- b. Jan heeft op zijn vader gewacht op het station.
- c. Jan heeft op het station gewacht op zijn vader.
- d. Jan heeft gewacht op zijn vader op het station.

PP-over-V seems to be related to the information structure of the clause. In Dutch the presence of expletive *er* signals that the clause does not contain a constituent expressing a presupposition. Given the fact that the expletive is optional in (iia), we must conclude that the PP *in het stadion* can be interpreted either as part of the focus of the clause or as a presupposition. However, the obligatory presence of the expletive in (iib) indicates that the postverbal PP must be part of the focus of the clause (See also Guéron 1980, Koster 1978, Scherpenisse 1985).

- (ii) a. dat (er) in het stadion gevoetbald wordt.
that there in the stadium played.soccer is
'People are playing soccer in the stadium.'
- b. dat *(er) gevoetbald wordt in het stadion.

The traditional assumption that PP-over-V involves extraposition of the PP (Koster 1973/1974) has recently been challenged, and many alternative proposals are available at this moment; see, e.g., Kayne (1994), Koster (2000), Barbiers (1995), Kaan (1997), Bianchi (1999), De Vries (2002), and Broekhuis (2008) for relevant discussion. Since it is descriptively simpler, we adopt the traditional view in the main text, but it must be kept in mind that this is not the generally accepted view at the present moment.

Preposition stranding:

See °R-extraction.

PRO:

A phonetically unrealized pronominal noun phrase that may act as the subject of, e.g., an infinitival clause. PRO may be °controlled by (= construed as coreferential with) some noun phrase in the matrix clause, as in (ia), or be interpreted as having arbitrary reference, as in (ib).

- (i) a. John_i tries [PRO_i to fix the sink].
- b. It is nice [PRO to visit Mary].

Projection:

Each lexical head L is assumed to form a projection (= a larger structure) LP by combining with its arguments and (optional) modifiers. Generally, it is assumed that a projection is hierarchically structured: first, L combines with its complement(s) and after that it combines with its subject and modifiers. Evidence for this comes from, e.g., °binding: a subject can bind an object but not vice versa.

In current generative grammar it is commonly assumed that functional heads (like complementizers, numerals or determiners) project a so-called functional projection FP by combining with some lexical projection LP or some other functional projection. For example, the noun phrase *de drie kleine kinderen* ‘the three little children’ is assumed to have the structure in (i): first, the lexical N *kinderen* ‘children’ combines with its attributive modifier *kleine* to form the lexical projection NP; after that, the numeral *drie* ‘three’ forms the functional projection NumP by combining with the NP; finally, the determiner *de* ‘the’ combines with the NumP, and forms the functional projection DP.

- (i) [DP de [NumP drie [NP kleine kinderen]]]
 the three little children

Quantitative *er*:

Indefinite (but not definite) noun phrases containing a cardinal numeral or a weak quantifier may co-occur with so-called quantitative *er*; cf. (ia&b). A noun phrase associated with quantitative *er* is characterized as containing an interpretative gap [*e*]. The descriptive content of this gap must be recoverable from the discourse or the extra-linguistic context. Example (ic) shows that the empty noun must be [+COUNT]; when it is [-COUNT], quantitative *er* cannot be used. Quantitative *er* is discussed in more detail in Section A6.3.

- (i) a. Jan heeft twee (mooie) boeken en Piet heeft er [drie [*e*]]. [indefinite]
 Jan has two beautiful books and Piet has ER three
- a'. *Jan heeft de twee boeken en Piet heeft er [de drie [*e*]]. [definite]
 Jan has the two books and Piet has ER the three
- b. Jan heeft weinig boeken maar Marie heeft er [veel [*e*]].
 Jan has few books but Marie has ER many
- c. *Jan heeft veel wijn maar Piet heeft er [weinig [*e*]].
 Jan has much wine but Piet has ER little

Relativized minimality effect:

The phenomenon that movement of an element across an element of the same or a similar type is prohibited. For example, in (ib), movement of the direct object across the subject into the position preceding the empty interrogative complementizer $\emptyset$ is impossible due to the fact that they are both *wh*-phrases. The only way to derive an acceptable embedded interrogative clause is by placing the subject in the position preceding $\emptyset$, as in (ia).

- (i) a. Ik weet niet [_{wie_i} $\emptyset$ [_{t_i} wat gelezen heeft]].
 I know not who what read has
 'I don't know who read what.'
 b. *Ik weet niet [wat_j $\emptyset$ [wie t_j gelezen heeft]].

R-extraction:

In Dutch, $\circ$ preposition stranding is not possible through movement of an NP-complement of the adposition, but only through extraction of an $\circ$ R-pronoun (*er/waar*) from pronominal PPs like *er onder* 'under it' or *waar onder* 'under what'. Stranding of the preposition may be the result of, e.g., $\circ$ scrambling of the R-pronoun, as in (ia), or *wh*-movement or relativization, as in (ib&b'). Generally, we use italics to indicate the parts of the discontinuous PP. A comprehensive discussion of R-extraction is given in Section P5.3.

- (i) a. Jan heeft *er* gisteren *naar* gevraagd.
 Jan has there yesterday for asked
 'Jan asked for it yesterday.'
 b. *Waar* heeft Jan *naar* gevraagd?
 where has Jan for asked
 'What did Jan ask for?'
 b'. het boek *waar* Jan *naar* gevraagd heeft
 the book where Jan for asked has
 'the book that Jan has asked for'

R-pronominalization:

The process of creating a pronominal PP, that is, a PP consisting of a preposition and an $\circ$ R-pronoun.

R-pronoun:

In Dutch, prepositions cannot be followed by third person, neuter pronouns like *het* 'it' or *iets* 'something'. So, whereas (ia) is fully acceptable, (ib) is excluded: the neuter pronoun is obligatorily replaced by a so-called R-pronoun *er/daar/ergens/...*, as in (ib'). Occasionally, the replacement by an R-pronoun is optional, e.g., in the case of the quantificational pronouns *iets* 'something' or *niets* 'nothing' in (ic). See Section P5.2 for extensive discussion.

- (i) a. naar hem/haar 'to him/her'
 b. *naar het
 c. naar (n)iets
 'to something/nothing'
 b'. er naar 'to it'
 c'. (n)ergens naar
 'to something/nothing'

Scope:

In semantics, the scope of an operator is that part of a formula it is combined with; if $\forall x$ combines with a formula ϕ thus forming the formula $\forall x(\phi)$, all elements included by ϕ are in the scope of the operator $\forall x$. In generative grammar, it is assumed that syntactic operators such as *iemand* ‘someone’, *iedereen* ‘everyone’, *niet* ‘not’, *wie* ‘who’ and *wat* ‘what’ are operators that take scope. The scope of these elements may or may not be reflected by their actual position in the sentence. By extension, we will also use the notion to indicate which part of the structure is modified by a certain modifier.

Scrambling:

The word order of Dutch in the °middle field of the clause is relatively free. Generally this is accounted for by assuming that Dutch has a set of “short” leftward movements that target clause-internal positions. In this way constituents may be moved across adverbial phrases, thus giving rise to word order variation. This is illustrated in (i).

- (i) a. Jan zal waarschijnlijk morgen dat boek kopen.
 Jan will probably tomorrow that book buy
 ‘Jan will probably buy that book tomorrow.’
 b. Jan zal waarschijnlijk dat boek morgen kopen.
 c. Jan zal dat boek waarschijnlijk morgen kopen.

Scrambling is not a unitary phenomenon but actually functions as a cover term for several types of movement. In the prototypical case, scrambling is related to the information structure of the clause. In an example like (ia), in which the noun phrase *het boek* is not scrambled, the noun phrase typically belongs to the °focus (“new” information) of the clause. In (ic), where it is scrambled, it belongs to the PRESUPPOSITION (“old” information) of the clause; in this example it is instead the adverb *morgen* that constitutes the focus of the clause. Scrambling can, however, also apply for other reasons. In (iia’), for example, the scrambled AP *zo aardig* is assigned emphatic focus, and in (iib’), scrambling of the PP *voor niemand* is forced due to the presence of negation on the nominal complement of the preposition.

- (ii) a. dat Jan nog nooit zo aardig geweest is.
 that Jan yet never that nice been is
 ‘that Jan has never been that kind before.’
 a’. dat Jan ZO aardig nog nooit geweest is.
 b. *?dat Jan aardig voor niemand is.
 that Jan nice for nobody is
 ‘that Jan isn’t kind for anybody.’
 b’. dat Jan voor niemand aardig is.

There are many controversies concerning the nature of scrambling, including the question of whether movement is involved, and, if so, whether this movement has properties normally associated with A-movement (like the movement that places the subject into the regular subject position), or with A’-movement (like *wh*-movement or topicalization), or with both. There is a vast literature on scrambling;

here we mention only some important more recent contributions: Verhagen (1986), Vanden Wyngaerd (1988/1989), Grewendorf & Sternefeld (1990), De Hoop (1992), Corver and Van Riemsdijk (1994), Neeleman (1994b), and Broekhuis (2000/2008).

Second order predicate:

Second order predicates are predicates that denote properties, not entities, and are characterized by the fact that their °logical SUBJECT is itself a predicate, which therefore need not be a noun phrase; typical examples are given in (i). In the generative literature, the use of predicates as SUBJECTs in constructions of the type in (i) is sometimes referred to in terms of the notion “honorary NP” (cf. Safir 1983).

- (i) a. Onder het bed is een goede schuilplaats.
under the bed is a good hiding place
b. Rood is een mooie kleur.
red is a nice color

Stacking:

The term stacking refers to constructions containing two or more modifiers of the same kind, in which one modifier has °scope over the other. Some examples of constructions with stacked restrictive relative clauses are given in (i).

- (i) • Stacked restrictive relative clauses
a. De [[student_i [die_i hier net was]]_j [die_j Engels studeert]] is mijn vriend.
the student who here just was who English studies is my friend
‘The student who was just here who studies English is my friend.’
b. De [[man_i [die_i hier net was]]_j [die_j Russisch sprak]] is een bekend schrijver.
the man who here just was who Russian spoke is a well-known writer
‘The man that was just here who spoke Russian is a well-known writer.’

As indicated by the bracketing and indexing, the first relative clause in (ia) modifies the antecedent *student* ‘student’, while the second relative clause modifies the sequence *student die hier net was* ‘student who was just here’. The structure of these sentences differs from those in examples (iia&b), which illustrate cases of nesting and coordination, respectively. In (iia), the second relative clause modifies an element contained in the first R-clause; in (iib), the two relative clauses modify the same antecedent.

- (ii) a. De man_i [die_i gisteren een boek_j kocht [dat_j over WO II gaat]] is mijn vriend.
the man who yesterday a book bought which about WW II goes is my friend
‘The man who bought a book yesterday which is about the war is my friend.’
b. De man_i [die_i hier net was] en [die_i Russisch sprak] is een bekend schrijver.
the man who here just was and who Russian spoke is a well-known writer
‘The man who was just here and who spoke Russian is a well-known writer.’

Stage/Individual-level predicate:

A stage-level predicate expresses a transitory property of the entity it modifies. The stage-level predicates stand in opposition to the individual-level predicates, which denote a more permanent property. This distinction seems to be syntactically relevant in several respects. Stage-level adjectives, for instance, can be used in (i)

expletive copula, (ii) resultatives and (iii) absolute *met*-constructions, (iv) allow the copula *worden* ‘to become’, and (v) can be combined with a time adverb such as *vandaag*, whereas these patterns lead to a weird result in the case of the individual-level adjectives.

- (i) a. Er is iemand ziek/?intelligent.
there is someone ill/intelligent
- b. De spaghetti maakte Jan ziek/?intelligent.
the spaghetti made Jan ill/intelligent
- c. [Met Jan ziek/?intelligent] kan de vergadering niet doorgaan.
with Jan ill/intelligent can the meeting not take.place
- d. Jan wordt ziek/*intelligent.
Jan becomes ill/intelligent
- e. Jan is vandaag ziek/*intelligent.
Jan is today ill/intelligent

Supplementive:

The supplementive is a constituent of the clause that denotes a property of the subject or the direct object. This is illustrated in (ia&b) by means of supplementive adjectives. In (ia), the adjective *dronken* ‘drunk’ denotes a property of the subject *Jan*, and in (ib) the adjective *leeg* ‘empty’ denotes a property of the direct object *de fles* ‘the bottle’.

- (i) a. *Jan ging dronken naar huis.*
Jan went drunk to home
‘Jan went home drunk.’
- b. *Marie zet de fles leeg in de kast.*
Marie puts the bottle empty into the cupboard
‘Marie is putting the bottle into the cupboard empty.’

The relation between the supplementive and the clause is one of “simultaneousness” or “material implication”. The property expressed by the supplementives in (i) holds at the same time as the action expressed by the clause. Example (ib), for instance, can be paraphrased as “Marie puts the bottle in the cupboard **while** it is empty”. In (ii), we give an example in which the relation is a material implication: “that you will iron your shirt smoother **when** it is wet”. The supplementive is extensively discussed in Section 3.6.6.

- (ii) dat je je overhemd nat gladder strijkt.
that you your shirt wet smoother iron
‘that you will iron your shirt smoother wet.’

Thematic relation:

See °thematic role.

Thematic role:

A thematic role is a formal means to express the semantic relation between a head and its °arguments. It is often assumed that there are different thematic roles that can be assigned to arguments, e.g., AGENT, THEME (or PATIENT), GOAL and SOURCE.

Topicalization:

Topicalization is a movement operation that places some constituent into the clause-initial position of a main clause, that is, into the position in front of the finite verb. In (i), the italicized phrases are topicalized, although it has been suggested that the subject NP in (ia) has not been topicalized but occupies the regular subject position; cf. Zwart 1993/1997 for relevant discussion.

- (i) a. *Marie* heeft dat boek gisteren op de markt gekocht.
 Marie has that book yesterday at the market bought
 ‘Marie bought that book at the market yesterday.’
 b. *Dat boek* heeft Marie gisteren op de markt gekocht.
 c. *Gisteren* heeft Marie dat boek op de markt gekocht.
 d. *Op de markt* heeft Marie gisteren dat boek gekocht.

Pragmatically seen, a topicalized phrase can have several functions. It may be the topic of discourse: in (ia), for example, the discussion is about Marie, in (ib) about the book, etc. The topicalized phrase may also be used contrastively, for instance to contradict some (implicitly or explicitly made) supposition in the discourse, as in (ii). In these cases, the topicalized phrase receives contrastive accent.

- (ii) a. *MARIE* heeft het boek gekocht (niet JAN).
 Marie has the book bought not Jan
 b. *BOEKEN* heeft ze gekocht (geen PLATEN).
 books has she bought not records

Trace (t):

A formal means of marking the place a constituent once held before it was moved to another position. The trace and the moved constituent are coindexed.

Unaccusative verb:

Unaccusative verbs never take an accusative object. The subject of these verbs stands in a similar semantic relation with the unaccusative verb as the direct objects with a transitive verb. This is quite clear in the pair in (i); the nominative noun phrase *het glas* ‘the glass’ in the unaccusative construction (ib) stands in the same relation to the verb as the accusative noun phrase *het glas* in the transitive construction in (ia).

- (i) a. Jan breekt het glas.
 Jan breaks the glass
 b. Het glas breekt.
 the glass breaks

It is assumed that the subject in (ib) originates in regular direct object position but is not assigned accusative case by the verb, so it must be moved into subject position, where it can be assigned nominative case. For this reason, we call the subject of an unaccusative verb a °DO-subject. The fact that (ib) has a transitive alternate is an incidental property of the verb *breken* ‘to break’. Some verbs, such as *arriveren* ‘to arrive’, only occur in an unaccusative frame.

It is often assumed that regular intransitive verbs and unaccusative verbs have three distinguishing properties: (a) intransitives take the perfect auxiliary *hebben* ‘to have’, whereas unaccusatives take the auxiliary *zijn* ‘to be’; (b) the past/passive participle of unaccusatives can be used attributively to modify a head noun that corresponds to the subject of the verbal construction, whereas this is not possible with intransitive verbs; (c) the impersonal passive is possible with intransitive verbs only. These properties are illustrated in (ii) by means of the intransitive verb *lachen* ‘to laugh’ and the unaccusative *arriveren* ‘to arrive’, cf. Hoekstra (1984a). See Section V2.1 for a comprehensive discussion.

(ii)	• Intransitive	• Unaccusative
a.	Jan heeft/*is gelachen. Jan has/is laughed	b. Jan is/*heeft gearriveerd. Jan is/has arrived
a’.	*de gelachen jongen the laughed boy	b’. de gearriveerde jongen the arrived boy
a’’.	Er werd gelachen. there was laughed	b’’. *Er werd gearriveerd. there was arrived

There are, however, cases that show only part of the prototypical behavior of unaccusative verbs. Locational verbs like *hangen*, for example, enter an alternation similar to the verb *breken* in (i), but nevertheless the verb *hangen* in (iiib) does not exhibit the behavior of the verb *arriveren* in (ii). It has been suggested that this might be due to the fact that there is an aspectual difference between the verbs *arriveren* and *hangen*: the former is telic whereas the latter is not.

- (iii) a. Jan hangt de jas in kast.
Jan hangs the coat into the wardrobe
- b. De jas hangt in de kast.
the coat hangs in the wardrobe

Verb-Second:

The phenomenon in Dutch that the finite verb normally occupies the so-called second position of the main clause, that is, is preceded by precisely one constituent (see also °constituency test). In embedded clauses the finite verb is placed in clause-final position, just like the non-finite verbs, which is generally considered as its “base”-position; Verb-Second is often used for the movement placing the finite verb in second position.

VP-topicalization:

Topicalization of a projection of the main verb. This construction is possible only when an auxiliary verb or the semantically empty verb *doen* ‘to do’ is present. Some examples are given in (ia).

- (i) a. [_{VP} die boeken lezen]_i wil ik niet *t_i*
those books read want I not
‘I don’t want to read those books.’
- b. [_{VP} dat boek gelezen]_i heb ik niet *t_i*
that book read have I not
‘I didn’t read that book.’

- c. [_{VP} dat boek lezen]_i doe ik niet *t_i*
 that book read do I not
 ‘I don’t read that book.’

Occasionally, only the verb itself has been placed in sentence-initial position. It can however be maintained that in that case a projection of the verb has also been moved into sentence-initial position. The only reason that the examples in (ii) appear to involve movement of the verb itself is that the direct object has been scrambled out of the VP, so that what is moved into clause-initial position is a VP containing the trace of the direct object.

- (i) a. [_{VP} *t_j* lezen]_i wil ik die boeken_j niet *t_i*
 b. [_{VP} *t_j* gelezen]_i heb ik dat boek_j niet *t_i*
 c. [_{VP} *t_j* lezen]_i doe ik dat boek_j niet *t_i*

***Wh*-movement:**

Movement of a *wh*-phrase such as *wie* ‘who’ or *wat* ‘what’ into clause-initial position.

- (i) a. *Wie_i* heeft Jan gisteren *t_i* ontmoet?
 who has Jan yesterday met
 ‘Who did Jan meet yesterday?’
 b. *Wat_i* heb je vandaag *t_i* gedaan?
 what have you today done
 ‘What did you do today?’

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