On periphrastic expressions of genericity: English kind and Dutch soort

Heidi Klockmann (klockmann@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de)
Goethe University, Frankfurt

Recent Trends in Linguistic Research
Kolloquium WiSe 2018/2019
October 23, 2018

1. Introduction

Nominal reference: kind-referring vs. object-referring
(compare also: generic vs. episodic sentences)

(1) Bears eat honey.
(2) This morning, a bear ate some honey. (Carlson 2011: 1154, ex. 1 & 2)

Gerstner-Link and Krifka (1993), repeated in Carlson (2011): I-genericity vs. D-genericity

- **I-genericity:** “refer[s] to the generalization of situations, events, etc., that have to do with sentence semantics (“IP” semantics)” (Carlson 2011: 1154)

- **D-genericity:** “[t]he reference to things “as a class”, without discussion of particular individuals, [...] (involving the semantics of generic DPs), a property of noun phrase meanings and not entire sentences” (Carlson 2011: 1154)

(3) a. The lion is a ferocious beast. Definite singular
b. A lion is a ferocious beast. Indefinite singular
c. The lions are ferocious beasts. Definite plural
d. Lions are ferocious beasts. Indefinite plural (bare plural)
e. Gold is precious. Mass

(Gerstner-Link and Krifka 1993: 966, ex. 1)

- Gerstner-Link & Krifka 1993:
  D-genericity = bare plurals, bare mass nouns, definite singulars
- Carlson 2011: maybe also definite plurals and indefinite singulars

**Question:** Does nominal kind-reference (D-genericity) have a morphosyntax?

**Carlson (2011: 1175):** “One thing that is perhaps a little surprising is that there has yet to be uncovered an instance of a language which clearly has a specifically generic article or quantifier. Perhaps the closest are languages with classifiers, which have a “general” classifier roughly equivalent to the word “kind”, also present for taxonomic readings (Gerstner-Link 1998). However, it appears that nominal genericity does not make use of specific morphological devices.”
Today’s focus: Periphrastic expressions of genericity, involving a kind-word (e.g. English *kind*, Dutch *soort*) and taxonomic kind-reference (= reference to a sub-kind)
  ⇒ A potential candidate as a syntactic marker of genericity?

(4)  
  a. These kind of books
  b. Two kinds of books

(5)  
  a. Dit *soort* boek-en
     This.N.SG kind book-PL
     ‘These kind of books (lit. this kind of books)’
  b. Twee *soort*-en boek-en
     Two kind-PL book-PL
     ‘Two kinds of books’

(6)  
(Sub-)kind (taxonomic) reference:

```
BOOKS
|
|-- MYSTERY
|-- ROMANCE
|-- FANTASY
|-- SCI-FI
```

Research goals:
- Determine the morphosyntax of periphrastic expressions of genericity
- Contribute to the syntax of genericity (if there is such a thing!)

Roadmap:
- Short discussion of the role of kind-words
- *Kind, type, and sort* in English
- *Soort* in Dutch

2. On the contribution of kind-words

Zamparelli (1998): Kind-words introduce a subkind of which the N2 is the superkind, e.g. “this kind of lion” is a subkind (e.g. Cape lions) of the kind lion (= all lion types).
  ⇒ This looks like a way of syntactically creating reference to the kind-domain!

An argument from Dutch:

De Belder (2008, 2011) observes that mass nouns made count (via an indefinite article or plural suffix) have kind-reference:

(7)  
  a. Ik proefde een chocolade.
      I tasted a chocolate
      ‘I tasted a certain kind of chocolate.’
      # ‘I tasted a piece of chocolate.’
Mass nouns made count and marked by a diminutive suffix do not have kind-reference, only what de Belder terms a “unit” reading:

(8)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Ik proefde een chocola-tje.} \\
& \text{I tasted a chocolate-DIM} \\
& \text{‘I tasted a piece of chocolate.’} \\
& \text{# ‘I tasted a certain kind of chocolate.’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{Ik proefde chocola-tje-s.} \\
& \text{I tasted chocolate-DIM-PL} \\
& \text{‘I tasted pieces of chocolate.’} \\
& \text{# ‘I tasted different kinds of chocolates.’ (de Belder 2008: 118, ex. 18-19)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\Rightarrow\) Kind-reference and object/unit-reference is syntactically distinguished here.

If Dutch soort ‘kind’ creates kind-reference syntactically, the addition of soort should create “kinds of units” or “kinds of kinds” interpretations. This seems to be true!

(9)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Twee soort-en bier} \\
& \text{Two kind-PL beer} \\
& \text{‘Two kinds of beer’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{Twee soort-en bier-tje-s} \\
& \text{Two kind-PL beer-DIM-PL} \\
& \text{‘Two kinds of beers (e.g. bottled Heineken and Grolsch, or small (vaasje) and smaller (fluitje) beers)’} \\
\text{c. } & \text{%Twee soort-en bier-en / wijn-en} \\
& \text{Two kind-PL beer-PL / wine-PL} \\
& \text{‘Two kinds of beer kinds / wine kinds (e.g. Sauvignon, Merlot, etc.)’}
\end{align*}
\]

English seems to have something similar:

(10)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Two kinds of wine: red and white} \\
\text{b. } & \text{Two kinds of wines: red wines (Merlot, Syrah, etc.) and white wines (Moscato, Riesling, etc.)}
\end{align*}
\]

Some real life examples below:

(11)  
\[\ldots\] Bruno Granier, \ldots, makes two kinds of wines: bulk, low-grade wine, which he sells to wholesalers, and sophisticated, high-end wines, including a Grenache Blanc and several Carignans.  
\hspace{1cm} (https://www.travelandleisure.com/articles/a-french-revolution)

(12)  
We make two kinds of wines, always red wines. One is the young one from the vintage of the current year and the other one is the last year selection. The
first one is 100 % monastrell, the main grape variety of the Bullas “Denominación de Origen” area.

(http://www.vinest.net/vinestjournal/news/18)

The kind-word seems to make subkind-reference out of whatever the N2 refers to, even if that reference already is kind-referring!

Next up: The morphosyntax of kind-expressions: English, Dutch, (Polish)

3. Kind-expressions in English

English periphrastic kind-referring (taxonomic) expressions:

(13) Two kinds / types / sorts of lions

These have a particular morphosyntax, e.g. in English, a kind-word must express the same number feature as the noun (N2).

(14) a. *This kind of books *sg-pl
    b. *These kinds of book *pl-sg

Taxonomy can also be expressed in other ways, e.g. with species, genre, class, etc., but these do not share the morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies of kind, type, and sort.

(15) a. This family of insects
    b. This class of drugs
    c. This genre of films

Data source:
- (chiefly) Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)
- Native speaker judgments (my own + colleagues /friends)

3.1 English kind-words must match in number with the N2

English kind-words must show identical number to the N2:

(16) a. *This kind / type / sort of books *sg-pl
    b. *These kinds / types / sorts of book *pl-sg

Exception #1: The N2 is mass or abstract.

(17) Mass nouns with a plural kind-word:
    a. At Suez, some silty kinds of sand adhered to the buckets and were extracted with difficulty. (COCA: October 2003)
    b. “They must be trying to make this hospital something else,” Mrs. Rodgers thought, “like the modern world with all those different types of coffee.” (COCA: AntiochRev 2002)
Abstract nouns with a plural kind-word:

a. That year there was all kinds of talk about Judy Garland. (COCA: Ebony 2000)
b. Its aim is to make explicit the types of thinking and reasoning behind particular skills. (COCA: StudiesInEducation 2014)
c. One generation instructs the next in the sorts of contempt and violence that are acceptable and expected (COCA: WashPost 1992)

- Mass and abstract nouns are numberless (no #P) (Borer 2005, a.o.)

Exception #2: The N2 is numberless.

Numberless (‘massified’) N2

a. The use of window and whole-house fans can minimize very effectively the heat gain from the sun, lights used in the home, appliances, etc. Both types of fan are very inexpensive. (COCA: MotherEarth 1993)
b. She weaves two- and three-rod baskets. They are made of willow, both the coil and the wrap. Two-rod baskets use two rods of willow in the coil that are then wrapped in strips of willow. Three-rod baskets use three rods in the coil. If the rods are warped in weaving, the wrapping is the weft that holds it together and provides the pattern. The difference between the two types of basket is the tightness of the stitch. Two-rod baskets use a gap stitch, wrapping completely over the previous coil. A three-rod basket doesn’t skip over the previous row, instead weaving between the third rod of the previous row, so it has a tighter weave. (COCA: NewsNativeCA 2010)

Notice similar massifications of otherwise count nouns:

Massifications

a. That’s a lot of house for a barber. (quote in Homeland, season 5, ep.7 “Oriole”)
b. Bill got a lot of house for $100,000 (Gillon 1999: 58)

Exception #3: The kind-word is numberless.

Mismatching kind-words with ‘the’ (obligatory additional modification, e.g. RC)

a. Well, the kind of fires that I’m photographing are quite different than what you’re seeing in California. (COCA: NPR_Sunday 2003)
b. They were the sort of women who remained little girls around their mothers. (COCA: VirginiaQRev 2013)
c. And I had never paddled in the type of conditions I would soon be facing. (COCA: PopMech 2015)

Mismatching kind-words with ‘what’

a. And who knows what kind of things are going to blow up. (COCA: CBS 2015)
b. So, what sort of monsters lurk down here? (COCA: FantasySciFi 2014)
c. There also seems to be a misunderstanding of what type of operations are counted for air traffic purposes. (COCA: Chicago 1997)

How do we know the kind-word is numberless?

(a) Demonstratives are plural

(23) Plural demonstratives:
   a. …they’re accessible to people in a way that these kind of images never were. (COCA: PBS_NewsHour 2012)
   b. Judge Brennan generally avoided those type of events whenever he could. (COCA: Bk:Airtight 2013)
   c. And I think there’s a real mean-spiritedness in him, in which these sort of remarks come out. (COCA: NPR_Weekend 1995)

(b) Verbal agreement is plural

(24) Plural verbal agreement
   a. *Well, the kind of fires that I’m photographing is quite different than what you’re seeing in California.
   b. *And who knows what kind of things is going to blow up.
   c. *So, what sort of monsters lurks down here?
   d. *There also seems to be a misunderstanding of what type of operations is counted for air traffic purposes.

(c) Singular-requiring pre-modifiers are ungrammatical

(25) Ungrammatical singular-requiring pre-modifiers
   a. *[A (single)/one /every/each/another/this] kind of things will blow up.
   b. *[A (single)/one /every/each/another/this] type of operations will be counted for air traffic purposes.
   c. *[A (single)/one /every/each/another/this] sort of monsters might lurk down there.

(d) Only number ambiguous pre-modifiers are permitted (see (21), (22))

Summarizing:
- Kind-words match in number with the N2
- Exception #1: N2 is mass or abstract
- Exception #2: N2 is numberless
- Exception #3: Kind-word is numberless

Conclusion: If both the kind-word and N2 have number (= are count), they match in their expression of number.
3.2 English kind-words are (a) semi-functional or (b) restructuring nouns

3.2.1 English kind-words as semi-functional heads

Recall exception #3, a numberless kind-word:
- Agreement (demonstrative, verbal) is with the N2, not the kind-word ((23), (24))
- Only number-ambiguous pre-modifiers are allowed, not singular-requiring ones ((21), (22), (25))

(26) Numberless kind-words
   a. Well, the kind of fires that I’m photographing are quite different than
      what you’re seeing in California. (COCA: NPR_Sunday 2003)
   b. So, what sort of monsters lurk down here? (COCA: FantasySciFi 2014)
   c. Judge Brennan generally avoided those type of events whenever he could.
      (COCA: Bk:Airtight 2013)

Further observation: Numberless kind-words can only indicate a single kind, not
multiple kinds:

(27) These kind/type/sort of people = 1 subkind of people
    ≠ 2+ subkinds of people

Results from its inability to inflect for number, singular being the default?

Possible analysis: The kind-word is a functional head in the functional structure of the
N2 (let’s call it KindP for now; see also Zamaparelli 1998, 2000)

(28) DP
    |     |
    |     | KindP
    |    | #P
    |   | #
    | | SizeP
    | | Size √N2

But, notice that modification of the kind is possible:

(29) One of the middle-ground sort of compromises that has been apparently
    kicked around

Open issue: Would this suggest the kind-word is not a functional head, but a (semi-
lexical) noun? Or do modifiers dominating a KindP necessarily modify the kind?
Is there a functional projection for kind-reference or is it a result of the lexical semantics
of the noun?
3.2.2 English kind-words as restructuring nouns

When not semi-functional, English kind-words have the morphosyntax of nouns:
- They can bear singular or plural morphology: *kind(s), type(s), sort(s)*
- They can be preceded by D-level material
- They can be preceded by Q-level material
- They can be preceded by adjectives

(30) *Kind-words allow the full range of nominal pre-modifiers*

a. The question, in Lake's view, is whether Palin can continue to appeal to **those two different kinds of voters**, the far right and the moderates. (COCA: *USNWR* 2008)

b. **These two broad types of endogamy** are not mutually exclusive. (COCA: *Ethnology* 1994)

c. How did **these two sorts of cleavages** interact? (COCA: *IntlAffairs* 2004)

d. Our lives are filled with **so many different sorts of good-byes**, I thought. (COCA: *Bk:AllGlitters* 1994)

The N2 under the kind-word shows a reduced distribution:
- It can bear singular or plural morphology (*this kind of dog, these kinds of dogs*)
- It **cannot** be preceded by D-level material (exception: *a(n)*)
- It **cannot** be preceded by Q-level material
- It can be preceded by adjectives

(31) *D-level material not permitted*

a. *This {kind / type / sort} of {the / this / that} dog*

b. *These {kinds / types / sorts} of {the / these / those} dogs*

c. *This {kind / type / sort} of {each / every / some} dog*

d. *This {kind / type / sort} of {me / them / her / you / Paris / Maartje}*

e. *These {kinds / types / sorts} of {me / him / them / us / Paris / Maartje}*

(32) *Q-level material not permitted*

a. *These {kinds / types / sorts} of {many / a few} dogs*

b. *This {kind / type / sort} of one dog*

c. *These {kinds / types / sorts} of {two / three / a hundred} dogs*

d. *This {kind / type / sort} of {a lot / a ton / bunch} of coffee*

e. *These {kinds / types / sorts} of {a lot / a ton / a bunch} of dogs*

(33) *Adjectives permitted*

a. **What kinds of uncontrolled narratives** were taking form out there among the people? (COCA: *Analog Science Fiction & Fact* 2017)

b. …how much skill would it take to ask for a hard hat and pair of gloves to help carry heavy loads, pick up trash or **any other type of unskilled help** at the construction site to help move it toward completion? (COCA: *Colorado Springs Gazette* 2016)

c. **These sorts of important briefings** between heads of state should be happening in a classified setting, not over cocktails and appetizers. (COCA: *The Boston Globe* 2017)
**Hypothesis, part I:** The kind-word is a restructuring noun, and as such combines with an N2 which is smaller than a full DP, i.e. it only projects up to $\#P$ (Number Phrase).

**Hypothesis, part II:** The size of the N2 under the kind-word, i.e. whether it is a $\#P$ or smaller, can vary, with consequences for the morphosyntax.

**Configuration #1:** The N2 has no $\#P$ or SizeP\(^1\) (= it is mass, abstract, massified)

(34) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\#P} \\
\text{\#} \\
\text{SizeP} \\
\text{Size} \\
\text{\sqrt{P}} \\
\text{\sqrt{kind/type/sort}} \\
\sqrt{N2} \\
\end{array} \]

- Structure predicts full independence of number on kind-word and N2.

**Configuration #2:** The N2 has no $\#P$, only SizeP (= partial count syntax)

**Proposal:** Because SizeP is dependent on $\#P$, the lack of a $\#P$ for the N2 initiates a dependency between the number on the kind-word and the number on the N2. This accounts for the matching effect we see.

(35) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\#P} \\
\text{\#_{sg/pl}} \\
\text{SizeP} \\
\text{Size} \\
\text{\sqrt{P}} \\
\text{\sqrt{kind/type/sort}} \\
\text{SizeP} \\
\sqrt{N2} \\
\end{array} \]

Similar examples of doubled tense, mood, and aspect in Swedish restructuring infinitives have also been found (Wiklund 2008), modeled by Wiklund through Agree relations.

(36) **TMA doubling in Swedish restructuring infinitives**

a. Lars försöker o skriver ett brev.
   Lars try\textunderscore{PRES} & write\textunderscore{PRES} a letter
   ‘Lars tries to write a letter.’

b. Lars försökte o skrev ett brev.
   Lars try\textunderscore{PAST} & write\textunderscore{PAST} a letter
   ‘Lars tried to write a letter.’ (Wiklund 2008:172)

---

\(^1\) SizeP comes from de Belder (2008, 2011) who argues that object-referring nouns need SizeP in addition to $\#P$. 
Periphrastic expressions of genericity
Recent trends in linguistic research

**Configuration #3:** The N2 has SizeP and #P (= full count syntax)

(37) 
```
#P
  |
  #
  |
SizeP
  |
  Size
  |
  \sqrt{P}
  |
  \sqrt{kind/type/sort}
  |
  #P
  |
  #
  |
SizeP
  |
  Size
  |
  \sqrt{N2}
```

- Structure predicts full independence of kind-word and N2

**Potential contender for this structure:** Examples in which the N2 co-occurs with an indefinite (taking the indefinite to instantiate #) [also *pluralia tantum* nouns, but the data is sparse, and difficult to conclude from]

(38) *Indefinite-marked N2*
   a. It’s not research, like Dr. Lantos was talking about, but it’s a moral experiment for the parents in *this kind of a situation.* (COCA: CNN_King 1990)
   b. We wish there was no need for *this type of a camp* but the reality is there is a need. (COCA: OrangeCR 2013)
   c. I don’t think there’s any evidence that there’s *any sort of a bandwagon effect* based on who’s ahead (COCA: NPR_Science 2004)

Yet, mismatches seem ungrammatical:

(39) *No mismatches with indefinite*
   a. *These kinds of a rabbit*
   b. *These types of a car*
   c. *These sorts of a rug*

**Carlson (1977):** A single entity cannot instantiate multiple sub-kinds (let’s call this “mutual exclusivity”)

(40) There are two kinds of cars in the world: cars that run right, and Fords (Carlson 1977:213)

- The examples in (39) violate mutual exclusivity: the plural on the kind-word is semantically incompatible with the singular on the N2.² This can be circumvented, given enough context:

² This also explains one-sided matching effects, e.g. case where SG-PL is grammatical, but PL-SG not. This holds for Dutch *soort*, as well as English *species, class, genre*, assuming the N2 is not mass or massified (see e.g. (19)).
(41) %I was interested in portraying that a sexual life for a woman isn’t necessarily compartmentalized; it flows in and out of the other kinds of a woman that she is -- a worker, a lover, a mother, a daughter, a friend -- all those dimensions are woven into one another. (COCA: America 1994)

Conclusion: Kind-words are restructuring nouns, and depending on the size of the N2 under the kind-word, there may or may not be a number matching effect.

4. Kind-expressions in Dutch

Data source:
- Corpus of Contemporary Dutch (Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands), Dutch Dutch
- Native speaker judgments and discussion

4.1 Soort according to The syntax of Dutch

(42) Two types of ‘soort’ (excluding the approximator reading)

a. Deze/die soort aap/apen Soort 1
   This.C/that.C kind monkey/monkey.PL
b. Dit/dat soort auto/auto’s Soort 2
   This.N/that.N kind car/car.PL

(Broekhuis & den Dikken 2015: 631, ex. 158a,b)

47a: “…the noun soort is clearly used as a referential expression and the binominal construction refers to a contextually determined species of monkey.” (Broekhuis & den Dikken 2015: 631)

Properties of soort 1 (according to Broekhuis & den Dikken 2015):
- Has common gender, cannot co-occur with an N2 which is neuter, pluralizes
- Verbal agreement targets soort 1

47b: “…has a type reading in the sense that it refers to a set of cars that resemble a certain car/certain cars that is/are under discussion” (Broekhuis & den Dikken 2015: 631)

Properties of soort 2 (according to Broekhuis & den Dikken 2015):
- Has neuter gender, N2 not restricted in gender, no plural?
- Verbal agreement targets soort 2 or N2.

4.2 Findings, via corpus & native speaker discussion

Corpus: Corpus of Contemporary Dutch (Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands), (CoCD), using the subcorpus of “Dutch Dutch” and a subset of 1000 examples

3 Search query: [word != "een"] [lemma="soort"] [pos="NOU-C."], which means “return a sequence of three elements, the first of which is not an indefinite article (to exclude the approximator interpretation), the second of which is a form of the word soort, and the third of which is a common noun”; where no relevant examples to illustrate the pattern were found in the subcorpus, the larger corpus was consulted.
Two interpretations of *soort*, roughly:
(a) Established kind, e.g. via world knowledge (e.g. animal species) or context
(b) Out-of-the-blue kind, determined on the spot via context

**Working hypothesis:** These show different (contradictory) agreement properties:
(a) Established kind: Demonstrative/adjective agreement with N2
    Verbal agreement with N2?
(b) Out-of-the-blue kind: Demonstrative/adjective agreement with *soort*
    Verbal agreement with N2 or *soort* (formal)

Let’s call them *soort1* (established kind?) and *soort2* (out-of-the-blue kind?).

### 4.2.1 An aside: Agreement in Dutch

- Standard Dutch has two numbers (SG, PL), and two genders ([COMMON], [NEUTER]).
- Gender distinctions are collapsed in the plural.
- Gender is realized on determiners, demonstratives, relative pronouns, and via adjectival agreement.
- Number is realized on determiners, demonstratives, relative pronouns, and via adjectival agreement and verbal agreement.

(43) **D-material:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>ditPROX/datDIST</td>
<td>dezePROX/dieDIST</td>
<td>dit die het de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>dezePROX/dieDIST</td>
<td>dezePROX/dieDIST</td>
<td>die die de de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(44) **Attributive adjectival agreement:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEF</th>
<th>INDEF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(45) **Verbal agreement:**

a. Het kind heeft gegeten.
   The child has eaten
   ‘The child has eaten.’

b. De kinderen hebben gegeten.
   The children have eaten
   ‘The children have eaten.’

In sum, neuter singular is distinguished in demonstratives, relative pronouns, and definite determiners, while neuter singular indefinite is distinguished among adjectives.
4.2.2 DP-internal agreement: Determiners, demonstratives & adjectives

**Generalization:** DP-internal modifiers (determiners, demonstratives, and adjectives) agree with the N2 for *soort1* and with *soort* (as neuter) for *soort2*.

**Manipulation:** Mismatch in gender (neuter (N) vs. common (C), the (a) examples) or mismatch in number (neuter singular (N) vs. plural (PL), the (b) examples)

**Determiners**
(removable RC, usually with the relative pronoun showing the same gender as Det.)

(46) *Agreement with N2* (*soort1*: established kind?) [CoCD]
   a. De *soort* spanning die voetballers en supporters…
   The.C kind excitement.C that.C football.players and supporters
   ‘The kind of excitement that football players and supporters…’
   b. Te beginnen met de officiële promotiecampagne, zoals …
   To begin with the official promotion.campaign such.as
   informatie geven over de *soort* woningen die…
   information give about the.PL kind houses that.PL
   ‘To begin with the official promotional campaign, such as … giving
   information about the kinds of houses that …’

(47) *Agreement with ‘soort’* (*soort2*: out-of-the-blue kind) [CoCD]
   a. Het *soort* regen dat uit de zee wordt aangedragen
   The.N kind rain.C that.N from the sea is brought
   door lage donkere wolken die…
   by low dark clouds that
   ‘The kind of rain that is brought out of the sea by low dark clouds that …’
   b. Hij hoorde niet tot het *soort* componisten dat zegt: doe maar
   He belonged not to the kind composers that says: do just
   wat je wilt zolang het overtuigend klinkt
   what you want so.long.as it convincing sounds
   ‘He did not belong to the kind of composers that say: do what you want so
   long as it sounds convincing.’

**Demonstratives**

(48) *Agreement with N2* (*soort1*: established kind?) [CoCD]
   a. Dit en vorig jaar werd *deze* soort belasting met een stuiver
   This and last year was this.C kind tax.C with a five.cent
   verhoogd
   raised
   ‘This year and last year, this kind of tax was increased by five cents’
   b. *Deze* soort tegels worden op vele plaatsen toegepast en vormen
   These kind tiles are on many places fit/used and form
   geen belemmeringen
   no obstacles.
   ‘These kind of tiles are used in many places and do not form an obstacle.’
(49) *Agreement with ‘soort’* (soort2: out-of-the-blue kind?) [CoCD]

a. Op dit soort werkgelegenheid zit Drenthe te wachten. For this N kind employment. C sits Drenthe to wait ‘Drenthe is waiting on this kind of employment.’

b. Dat soort bedrijven waren er nodig om de That. N kind companies were there needed in order to the Europese landbouwpolitiek uit te voeren European agricultural policy out to run ‘Those kind of companies were needed in order to implement the European agricultural policy.’

**Attributive adjectives**

(50) *Agreement with N2 (soort1: established kind?) [CoCD]*

a. Niet alleen de fietser op trektocht of een andere soort tourist Not only the biker on hiking tour or a other. C kind tourist. C komt voor huurin aanmerking comes for rent in qualifies ‘Not only the biker tour or another kind of tourist is eligible for rent.’

b. Op latere leeftijd gaan ze stelen om lijm te kunnen kopen, At later ages go they steal to glue to can buy de goedkoopste soort drugs the. PL cheapest. PL kind drugs. PL ‘At a later age, they steal to be able to buy glue, the cheapest kind of drugs’

(51) *Agreement with ‘soort’* (soort2: out-of-the-blue kind?) [CoCD]

a. Dat is een heel ander soort angst That is a whole other. N kind fear. C ‘That is a whole another kind of fear.’

b. …illegale groepen, …, de opdracht kregen uit te kijken illegal groups the assignment received out to look naar een nieuw soort jachtvliegtuigen dat op deze basis for a new kind jet fighter that on this base gestationeerd zou worden. stationed shall be ‘Illegal groups received the assignment to look out for a new kind of fighter jet what would be stationed on this base.’

4.2.3 DP-external agreement: Verbs

**Generalization:** Verbal agreement targets N2, and sometimes soort2?

**Manipulation:** Mismatch in number (singular soort vs. plural N2)

(52) *Agreement patterns unclear (soort1: established kind?) [CoCD]*

a. Deze soort tegels worden op vele plaatsen toegepast en vormen These kind tiles are on many places fit used and form geen belemmeringen no obstacles. ‘These kind of tiles are used in many places and do not form an obstacle.’
b. **Deze soort walvissen staat** bekend als heel slim
   ‘These kind of whales is known as very smart.’

(53) *Agreement with N2 (soort2: out-of-the-blue kind?)* [CoCD]
   a. *Met een budget van de gemeente Meppel en gesponsord*  
      With a budget from the municipality Meppel and sponsored  
      door het Burgerweeshuis *worden dit soort activiteiten mogelijk*  
      by the Burgerweeshuis are *this N kind activities possible*  
      gemaakt.  
      ‘These kind of activities are made possible with a budget from the  
      municipality and sponsorship from the Burgerweeshuis.’
   b. *Dit soort dingen lijken mij geen vooruitgang.*  
      *This N kind things* seems to *me not progress*  
      ‘These kind of things do not seem to be progress to me.’

There are exceptions for *soort2* (and perhaps *soort1*), which seem to occur in high  
register texts and may be due to prescriptivism (thanks to Ruby Sleeman):

(54) *Exception: Agreement with ‘soort’ (soort2: out-of-the-blue kind?)* [CoCD]
   a. *Het soort dijken dat Ackersdijck hier beschrijft, was*  
      *The N kind dikes that N Ackersdijck here describes was*  
      karakteristiek voor het noordelijk deel van Nederland  
      *characteristic for the northern part of the Netherlands.*
   b. *Dit soort boeken lijdt aan een paradoxaal euval*  
      *This N kind books suffers from a paradoxical evil*  
      ‘These kind of books suffers from a paradoxical evil.’

The use of the numeral *één* ‘one’ seems to force agreement with *soort*.

(55) *Als er één soort boeken is dat ik leuk vind, dan is het wel*  
    *If one kind books is that I nice find, then is it*  
    *PPI* natuurfundeboeken!  
    *science books*  
    ‘If there is one kind of books that I like, then it is science books!’

4.2.4 **Plural soorten ‘kind’**

Plural *soorten*:
- The out-of-the-blue kind interpretation seems to be missing with *soorten*
- Pre-modifiers always agree with *soorten*
- Verbs always agree with *soorten*
Periphrastic expressions of genericity
Recent trends in linguistic research

(56) **DP-internal and external agreement with plural ‘soorten’**

a. **Binnen in het dorpshuis werden de verschillende soorten**
   Inside in the village house were the different kinds of beer
   ‘...in the village house, the different kinds of beer were made cold’

b. **Twee soorten straf werden het meest genoemd**
   Two kinds of punishment were the most mentioned
   ‘Two kinds of punishment were mentioned the most.’

4.2.5 **Summary & preliminary conclusions**

- Dutch appears to have grammaticalized the “established-ness” of the subkind, through varying the agreement properties? → suggests there is a grey area in between where both types of agreement patterns may occur.
- **Soort1**: “Established kind” – DP-internal agreement with N2, verbal agreement with N2 or soort
- **Soort2**: “Out-of-the-blue kind” – DP-internal agreement with soort (neuter), verbal agreement with N2 or soort (formal)
- **Soorten**: Always controls agreement

5. **Conclusions**

- Both English and Dutch (and many other languages) make use of kind-words to create reference to a subkind of the kind denoted by the N2.
- Kind-words show a peculiar morphosyntax, which suggests they are not run-of-the-mill lexical nouns (rather they are semi-lexical).
- Is the correlation between them being semi-lexical and expressions of genericity meaningful?

6. **References**