

---

**Part 1: Type noun constructions in Germanic languages**



Kristin Davidse, Lieselotte Brems & An Van linden

## 2 Type noun-constructions in English and Dutch

**Abstract:** The articles of this section focus on specific issues in the synchronic description of the functions of constructions with type nouns (TNs) in English and German. This introduction addresses a number of problems in the received view of the diachrony of TN-constructions in English, viz. the absence of essential data such as TN-constructions in Old English and what we argue are errors and gaps in earlier analyses of English TN-constructions. It is important to provide a more adequate and comprehensive diachronic reconstruction, as these earlier studies have had a major impact on accounts of Germanic languages, amongst which those of English predominated. We start by establishing that there were two – not one – lexical source constructions in Old English, in which the TN is either head or modifier, and in which the dependent element is coded by a genitive. We show that the TN/head and TN/modifier constructions formed the source of two – rather than one – diachronic paths, along which constructions with grammaticalized functions developed in different ways than posited hitherto. We describe the transition from the synthetic coding of Old English to analytic coding in Middle English, noting that this was accompanied by a general tendency to develop variants with both pre- and postdependents. In this period, the defining steps were taken in the development of the TN/modifier constructions, whose historical trajectory we outline. We then focus on the trajectory of the TN/head constructions, whose constitutive developments took place in Modern English. For Present-day English we present a comprehensive typology, recognizing more TN-constructions and structural variants than distinguished in the literature on English so far. We research the counterparts of these in Present-day Dutch, by way of a first test of the newly proposed model.

### 1 Introduction

Some of the earliest accounts of type noun (TN) constructions from the perspective of language change have focused on English (e.g. Tabor 1993; Denison 2002).

---

**Kristin Davidse**, KU Leuven (University of Leuven), e-mail: kristin.davidse@kuleuven

**Lieselotte Brems**, Université de Liège, e-mail: lbrems@uliege.be

**An Van linden**, Université de Liège, e-mail: an.vanlinden@uliege.be

Central to their approach were two claims. Firstly, one source construction was posited for all the derived uses, viz. the construction in which a TN, used with the meaning of ‘subtype’, is the head followed by *of* + a superordinate noun (N2), as in (1).

- (1) Crabbe is **an manere of fissce**. (1225, OED)<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Crab is **a type of fish**.’

Secondly, this source construction was claimed to have undergone a structural shift from head–postmodifier to premodifier–head, which was the mechanism ultimately responsible for all derived constructions. The locus of grammaticalization processes was restricted to syntagms with the order TN + N2. Denison (2002) identified the complex determiner construction with quantifying meaning, as in (2), as the earliest attested premodifier–head construction on the path of change. The illogical singular form of the TN was viewed as a sign of the decategorialization accompanying the alleged shift from head to premodifier.

- (2) Spices & **all manere of marchandises** (?a1425 (c1400), *Mandeville’s Trav.*, OED)  
 ‘spices and **all manner of merchandise**’

On this path of change, further constructions were said to develop such as (3), which was analysed by Tabor (1993) as a degree modifying use and by Denison (2002) as a qualifying use.

- (3) But I suppose it’s as a that’s as a **sort of holiday**, kind of doing you know nothing but sitting around (ICE-GB, quoted in Denison 2002: 2).

The locus of grammaticalization processes was thus restricted to syntagms with the order TN + N2.

This diachronic account has influenced not only the – relatively sparse – studies of Germanic languages like Dutch and German, but also certain aspects of studies of Romance languages. By contrast, Odden (2019) does consider binominal genitive constructions in Old Norse, while the Romance tradition has tended to cover, in its

---

<sup>1</sup> Following each attested example its source is indicated between brackets by the Internet url or the abbreviation of the corpus, WordbanksOnline (WB), The York–Toronto–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE), Corpus of Late Modern English – extended version (CL-METEV), Oxford English Dictionary (OED), The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCAE), Russian National Corpus (RNC).

diachronic and synchronic studies, TN-constructions with both the order TN + N2, e.g. *ce genre d'évènement* 'this type of event' and N2 + TN, e.g. *un concert de ce genre* 'a concert of this kind' (see Mihatsch's General Introduction to this volume).

In this introduction, we will show that there are major problems with the received take on the history of English TN-constructions, which pertain both to the historical data considered and the functional-structural shift said to link examples like (1) and (2). As we will explain presently, these problems were revealed to us by Kolyaseva's analysis of TN-constructions in Russian (e.g. Kolyaseva 2021).

Historical studies of TN-constructions like Tabor (1993), Denison (2002) and Brems and Davidse (2010) basically considered data starting in Middle English only. Yet, TN-constructions are attested from Old English on. Importantly, the Old English constructions feature genitive dependents, not the analytically coded dependents of Middle English illustrated in the TN + *of* + N2 syntagms in (1) and (2). If the data with genitives from Old English are taken into account, then it becomes clear, we will argue, that not one but two source constructions existed in Old English, one in which the N2/genitive is a complement of the TN/head, and one in which the TN/genitive is a modifier of the N2/head. In fact, the Middle English examples of TN/head (1) and TN/modifier (2) quoted above will be suggested to have developed from these two source constructions rather than ones like (2) having derived from ones like (1). We will further propose that the TN/head and TN/modifier constructions of Old English formed the start of two distinct diachronic paths, yielding a different and more complex picture than that posited so far in grammaticalization studies of TN-constructions, including our own earlier work (Brems and Davidse 2010). Thus, whereas qualifying TN-constructions as in (3) very likely did develop from the TN/head construction via a change of headedness, we argue that TN/modifier constructions with quantifying meaning like (2) derived from the TN/modifier construction in Old English, without any shift of headedness having taken place. The new view on the history of TN-constructions that we propose dovetails fully with the revised synchronic typology of lexically used TN-constructions (Davidse and Brems this volume), which is based on synchronic functional-structural analysis. Both the new diachronic and synchronic account have been crucially inspired by the analysis of TN-constructions in Russian (Kolyaseva p.c.; Kolyaseva and Davidse 2018; Kolyaseva 2021; Kisiel and Kolyaseva this volume).

In these studies it has been shown that Russian has two nominal source constructions with a TN and a second N (N2). Because of the Russian systems of case, number and gender marking on the one hand and of agreement on the other, the different head-dependent relations in these two constructions can be identified very clearly. The semantics coded by the different dependency structures were elucidated with concepts from Langacker's Cognitive Grammar.

In the first source construction, illustrated in (4), the TN, e.g. *tip* ('type'), is the head, which can take any of the six Russian cases, symbolized as 1–6, and is elaborated by a noun in the genitive, which can be either singular or plural. This is the TN/head construction, whose morphosyntax can be represented as  $tip_{1-6,SG-PL} + N2_{GEN,SG-PL}$ . This is the counterpart of the English TN/head construction illustrated in (1), in which N2 has generally been analysed as a postmodifier (e.g. Denison 2002; Brems, Davidse and De Smedt 2007).

- (4) *Dannyj avtomobil' proizvoditsja i postavljaetsja*  
 This.NOM.M.SG car.NOM.M.SG produce.3SG.PASS and supply.3SG.PASS  
*na naš rynok v trex tipax*  
 onto our.ACC.M.SG market.ACC.M.SG in tree.PRP type-PRP.PL  
*kuzovov.*  
 body.GEN.PL  
 'This car is manufactured and supplied to our market in **three types of bodies.**' (<http://auto.obozrevatel.com/news/2006/04/18/450.htm>) (Kolyaseva and Davidse 2018: 198)

However, Kolyaseva (p.c.) and Kolyaseva and Davidse (2018) analyse the second noun ( $N_{GEN}$ ) in (4) as a complement. For this, they invoke Langacker's (1987: 277f) conceptually motivated definition of complementation. The head of a complementation relation is conceptually incomplete: it needs to be semantically completed by a complement. In the construction illustrated in (4), the relational 'subtype' meaning of the TN head can indeed only be conceptualized in terms of the supertype it is a subtype of, 'three types of bodies'.

In the second source construction, illustrated in (5), the N is the head that can occur in all six cases and the TN is part of the dependent in the genitive case, which modifies the head. Of this modifier, the TN is the head, which is typically, but not obligatorily, singular. This is the TN/modifier construction, whose morphosyntax can be represented as  $N2_{1-6} + Adj_{GEN,M.SG} + tip-(a)_{GEN}$ . Its English counterpart is illustrated in (2) above.

- (5) *Delaetsja popytka ocenit' perspektivy*  
 Do.3SG.PASS attempt.NOM.F.SG evaluate.INF prospect.ACC.PL  
*razvitija sistem različnogo tipa.*  
 development.GEN.N.SG system.GEN.F.PL various.GEN.M.SG type.GEN.M.SG  
 'An attempt is being made to assess the prospects of development of **systems of various sort.** (2004, *Voprosy statistiki*, RNC) (Kolyaseva and Davidse 2018: 201)

The modifier analysis of the genitive constituent is motivated by Langacker's (1987: 235–236, 309–310) definition of modification as a relation in which the modifier is the relational element that cannot stand on its own but needs a conceptually autonomous head. For instance, in (5), the head *sistem* 'systems' is an ordinary noun designating entities, which can be conceptualized as such. In this construction, the 'subtype' meaning of the TN, e.g. *tipa* 'of type' in (5) dovetails with the relational meaning of a modifier.

This introductory section to TN-constructions in Germanic languages will be devoted mainly to correcting the received view on the history of English TN-constructions. The new account of the diachronic development of English TN-constructions has to be developed largely from scratch. In the first place, it requires analysing data that earlier studies failed to consider, viz. Old English data in which binominal constructions involved genitives as well as attestations of NPs with N2 *of* TN-order. These data have been retrieved mainly from the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) corpus, making use of the search function, which ranges all examples of individual TNs on a time line. In the second place, new descriptions have to be thrashed out for TN-constructions not studied so far while for some constructions that have been recognized alternative analyses have to be developed. We then widen this focus by providing a survey of Present-day Dutch TN-constructions, which is novel in comparison with existing accounts. By trying out the newly proposed typology on Dutch synchronic data, we put it to a first test for its soundness and explanatory power.

This introduction differs in terms of its focus and scope from the introductions to TNs in Romance and Slavic languages. Because of its aim to correct the earlier influential studies on English TN-constructions, this introduction is strongly grammar-oriented and focused on one language. By contrast, the other introductions approach the field with a stronger emphasis on the lexicosemantic development of TNs, providing comprehensive lexical inventories and cover more languages within their respective language family. However, we think that there is room for this diversity of contributions to the large field of TN-research, in which errors and gaps of different types remain to be addressed.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In Section 2, we start by establishing the two source constructions in Old English. In Section 3, we describe the transition from synthetic to analytic coding in Middle English. In this period, the defining steps are taken in the development of the TN/modifier constructions, whose historical trajectory we outline. In Section 4, we focus on the trajectory of the TN/head constructions, whose constitutive developments took place in Modern English. In Section 5, we turn to Present-day English and present a comprehensive survey, recognizing more TN-constructions and structural variation than distinguished in the literature on English so far. In Section 6, we address

the question whether or not there are counterparts in Present-day Dutch of all the TN-constructions in Present-day English.

## 2 Two nominal source constructions in Old English

In this section, we reconstruct the emergence of the source constructions with TNs in Old English (OE), 650 to 1150. Old English is typologically more similar to Russian than Present-day English in having case, number and gender marking as well as agreement. Old English attests constructions in which a relation between TN and N2 is expressed by the genitive. It is these data that were not taken into account in the historical trajectories proposed in Denison (2002) and Brems and Davidse (2010). The earliest TN-noun to be used in constructions with genitive dependents was the neuter noun *cynn/kin*. It is with *cynn* that the two different TN-constructions illustrated for Russian in (4) and (5) above, viz. the TN/head and the TN/modifier construction, are attested in Old English.

The TN/head + complement construction is the source construction that the literature on English TNs has exclusively focused on so far. As noted in Section 1, Denison (2002), De Smedt et al (2007) and Brems and Davidse (2010) analysed it as a head–postmodifier construction, wrongly so, we now argue. Cogent arguments for a head–complement analysis were given by Keizer (2007) from a functional discourse grammar perspective, which largely square with the cognitive grammar analysis we present below. The Old English coding of this construction with genitival complement is illustrated in (6).

- (6) *Feower synt muneca cyn. Ðæt*  
 four are monk.GEN.PL kind.NOM.PL that.NOM/ACC.N.SG.  
*forme is mynster-monna [. . .]. Oper*  
 first.NOM/ACC.N.SG is monastery-man.GEN.PL other.NOM/ACC.N.SG  
*cyn is ancena.*  
 kind.NOM.SG is anchorite.GEN.PL  
 ‘There are **four kinds of monks**. **The first** [kind] **is of the monastery men**.  
**The second kind is of the anchorites.**’ (c960, *Rule St. Benet*, OED)

The first sentence features the complex NP *feower muneca cyn*, in which the genitive plural *muneca*, i.e. ‘of monks’, precedes the TN/head *cyn*. As *cyn* is a conceptually incomplete head, its dependent *muneca* is a pre-complement. The semantic relation between *muneca* and *cyn* is one of *superordination*: ‘four kinds

of monks'. In the last two sentences in (6), the subjects are *Ðæt forme (cyn)* and *Oþer cyn*, which are complemented by the predicative genitives *mynster-monna* and *ancrena*. The genitive-marked nouns specify the members that fall within the 'type' referred to by the subject NP. In this inclusion sense, there is an *appositional* relation between the subject and the predicative complement NP. Semantically, the context in (6) construes a 'type' interpretation of religious orders: there are four subtypes of religious men, of which two subtypes are specified, viz. monks living in a monastery and anchorites.<sup>2</sup> Example (7) contains a TN/head construction with a genitival postcomplement expressing a superordination relation: 'two types of martyrdom'. Example (8) contains two coordinated TN/head constructions with genitival pre-complements expressing an appositional relation: 'the entire kind of angels and the kind of men'.

- (7) *Gregorius andswarode him, twa cyn beoþ, Petrus,*  
 Gregory answered him two kin.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL Peter  
*þæs martyrhadæs*  
 that.GEN.M.SG martyrdom.GEN.SG  
 'Gregory answered him: "**Two kinds** there are, Peter, **of that martyrdom**"'  
 (c1055–1090, YCOE)

- (8) *Him biþ beforan andweard eal engla cynn &*  
 Him.DAT is before present all angel.GEN.PL kind.NOM.SG &  
*manna cynn*  
 man.GEN.PL kind.NOM.SG  
 'Before Him **the whole kind of angels and kind of men** is present.'  
*Blickl. Hom.* OED)

We conclude that in Old English we find TN/head constructions with genitive complements either preceding or following the head and semantically expressing either superordination or apposition. The referents of TN/head constructions are located in the 'type universe' of interpretation.

In Old English, an appositional relation between TN *kin* and N2 naming the specific type could also be expressed by compounds like *déorcynn* ('animalkind'), *fiscynn* ('fishkind'), *fugolcynn* ('fowlkind'), *wifcynn* ('womankind'), etc. (*kin*, n, †5. OED). These compounds are right-headed (Ackema and Neeleman 2004): the

<sup>2</sup> In the following sentence (not excerpted here) two more subtypes are listed, the sarabaites and the gyrovagues (itinerant monks) (see: <https://christdesert.org/rule-of-st-benedict/chapter-1-the-kinds-of-monks/>).

category referred to is determined by *kin* or *kind*, meaning ‘a large natural group or division, a race’, whose composition is expressed by the pre-head complement, as in *mankind*, ‘the kind of man’, e.g. (9).

- (9) *Godspell is [þa] word þe he spræc on þissere*  
 gospel is the word.NOM.PL REL he spoke on this.DAT.SG  
*worulde, mancynne to lare*  
 world.DAT.SG mankind.DAT.SG to lore.DAT.SG  
 ‘The Gospel is . . . the words that he spoke on this world, (to serve) as knowledge for **mankind**.’ (OE, *ÆLFRICT Homily*, OED)

The second source construction has remained under the radar in the literature on English TNs so far. This is the TN/modifier construction. Its coding in Old English with genitival modifier is illustrated by (10) and (11): a premodifier consisting of a quantifying adjective + *kin* is dependent on the following head noun. These NPs express a superordination relation: the genitive TN designates subtypes, e.g. *monigra cyna* ‘of many kinds’ in (11), and N2 designates the supertype, *wil deor* ‘wild animals’ in (11). The modifiers with adjective + TN can be genitive singular, e.g. *ælcas cynnes déor* ‘animals of each kind’, *nanas cynnes anlicnyssa* ‘images of no kind’ (c.11th c. OED), or genitive plural, e.g. *monigra cyna* ‘of many kinds’. The first attestations of the TN/modifier construction in the OED-data predate those of the TN/head constructions.

- (10) *ælcas cynnes déor*  
 each.GEN.SG kind.GEN.SG animal.NOM.PL  
 ‘**animals of each kind**’ (?c825, *kin*, n. †6 †b, OED)
- (11) *monigra cyna wil deor*  
 many.GEN.PL kind.GEN.PL wild animal.NOM.PL  
 ‘**animals of many kinds**’ (a899, *Old Eng. Martyrol*. OED)

Strikingly, the TN/modifiers emerged in Old English with quantifying adjectives. They ‘literally’ quantify subtypes of the head noun. The TN is not semantically bleached. At the same time, we can note that these TN/modifier constructions contain the same semantic elements as quantifying complex determiner constructions like (2) *all manner of merchandise*, viz. quantifier + TN followed by N2/head. Indeed, as we will argue below, it is the TN/genitive modifier-construction in OE, not the TN/head-complement construction, that is the source construction of the later *all kind/manner/sort of* N-pattern. A number of changes were involved in this but not modifier-head reversal. Hence, the explanations given

for the emergence of quantifying complex determiners in the literature on English TNs so far have to be revised. But first we wrap up this discussion of TN-constructions in OE with Table 1, which visualizes the three types attested: TN/head + superordinate or appositional genitive complement, appositional compound, and N2/head + genitive modifier with TN.

**Table 1:** TN-constructions in Old English.

	predependent + head	head + postdependent
NP with TN/head + superordinate genitive complement	<i>feower muneca</i> <sub>GEN.PL</sub> <i>cynn</i> <sub>NOM.PL</sub> (c960) 'four kinds of monks'	<i>two cyn</i> <sub>NOM.PL</sub> <i>þæs</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>martyrhades</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> (c 1050–1099, YCOE) 'two kinds of that martyrdom'
NP with TN/head + appositional genitive complement	<i>eal engla</i> <sub>GEN.PL</sub> <i>cynn</i> <sub>NOM.SG</sub> & <i>manna</i> <sub>GEN.PL</sub> <i>cynn</i> <sub>NOM.SG</sub> (c971) 'the whole kind of angels and the kind of humans'	<i>wið þa missenlican</i> <sub>ACC.PL</sub> <i>cynd</i> <sub>ACC.PL</sub> <i>nædrena</i> <sub>GEN.PL</sub> (c1000) 'against the various kinds of adders'
appositional compound with TN/head	<i>fugolcynn</i> , <i>manncynn</i> (c971) 'fowlkind', 'mankind'	—
NP with genitive TN/modifier + superordinate N2/head	<i>ælcas</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>cynnes</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>déor</i> <sub>NOM.PL</sub> (?c825) 'animals of each sort' <i>monigra</i> <sub>GEN.PL</sub> <i>cyna</i> <sub>GEN.PL</sub> <i>wil</i> <i>deor</i> <sub>NOM.PL</sub> (899) 'wild animals of many kinds'	—

### 3 From synthetic to analytic coding in Middle English and the development of the TN/modifier constructions

Middle English (ME), 1150–1500, is a transitional period for TN-constructions in many ways. On the lexical level, we see an expansion of the set of TNs occurring in them, with *kin*, *kind*, *sort* and *manner* being the most frequent. Structurally, the expression of the relations between head and dependent gradually shifts from genitive marking to analytic coding, typically involving the linking of head to dependent by *of*. Table 2 gives an overview of the TN-constructions in Middle English.

**Table 2:** TN-constructions in Middle English.

	predependent + head	head + postdependent
complex NP with TN/head + appositional genitive complement	<i>deres-kin</i> (1324) <i>mans kind</i> [ <i>manes-kind</i> ] (1400->a1325) <i>aungels kynde</i> (1425)	---
appositional compound with TN/head	<i>angel kind</i> (1400->a1325)	---
complex NP with TN/head + appositional <i>of</i> -complement	---	<i>twie kyndes, of þe Godhede and manhede</i> (1387) <i>þe kind of man</i> (1425->1400)
complex NP with TN/head + superordinate genitive complement	<i>that sterys kind</i> (a1500)	---
complex NP with TN/head + superordinate <i>of</i> -complement	---	<i>feole cunne of weldede</i> (c1175) <i>an manere of fissa</i> (1225) <i>any kinnes of corne</i> (1500)
NP with genitive TN/modifier + superordinate N2/head	<i>alles</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>cunnes</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>wilde deor</i> (c1384) <i>alle skynnes</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>condiciouns</i> (1384)	<i>þe Gast is unȝesæȝenlices</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> <i>cyndes</i> <sub>GEN.SG</sub> (1175) <sup>3</sup>
NP with TN/( <i>of</i> )-modifier + superordinate N2/head	<i>alle kind</i> [L. genere] <i>of fishis</i> (1384) <i>alle kinde Of women</i> (1393) <i>the worste kynde of Infortune</i> (1413–1385) <i>foure-kin maner</i> [a1325 fowrkyns maners] <i>of glotony</i> (1400) <i>what kynne tidynges</i> (1440)	<i>al þe folk of þis soort</i> (1380) <i>a kinnelle of conforte kynde</i> (1430–1378) <i>othere eglis of a lowere kynde</i> (1430–1380) <i>many Fysches of kynes sere</i> (c1450)

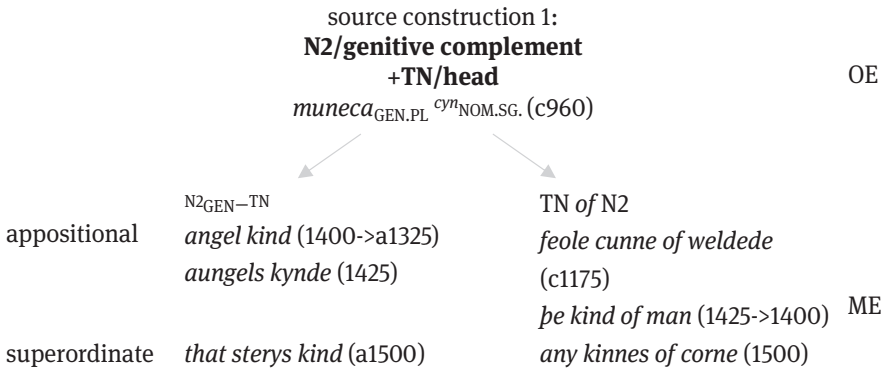
3 This is an early Middle English example in which a TN/genitive used as the predicative complement of a copular clause contains a descriptive adjective:

*þe Gast is unȝesæȝenlices cyndes*  
The Ghost is unspeakable.GEN.SG kind.GEN.SG

'The Ghost is of an unspeakable kind.' (c1175 (\*OE) *Homily* in A. O. Belfour *12th Cent. Homilies in MS Bodl.*).

This section will show that, for the TN/head–complement constructions, the shift from synthetic to analytic coding was not accompanied by an extension of their general semantic functions in Middle English. By contrast, for the TN/modifier constructions, this shift involved an expansion of functions. In Old English, TN/modifiers contained only quantifying adjectives, but in Middle English, they came to also feature interrogative and phoric adjectives as well as descriptive lexical modifiers. We will describe this development up till the state it reached, via Early Modern English, in Present-day English. On the basis of the chronology of emergence of the ‘grammatical’ and ‘lexical’ functions of TN/modifier constructions we have to reject the hypotheses that were formulated in earlier work.

We start with the TN/head–complement constructions. In Middle English we see, besides the older constructions with typical pre-head genitive + TN/head, the emergence of the analytic TN/head + *of*-complement construction. This shift from synthetic to analytic coding is accompanied by a reversal of N2 – TN order to TN – N2 order, but the analytic structures code the same appositional and superordinate semantics, as visualized in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** Main Middle English paths that developed from the Old English source N2/genitive complement +TN/head.

For the *appositional* relation, we see its two synthetic codings from Old English moving into Middle English, i.e. NPs with genitive N2 + TN/head and compounds. However, the distinction between them becomes fuzzy, as illustrated by variants such as *deres-kin* (1324, OED), *mans kind* (1400 -> a1325, OED), *aungels kynde* (1425, OED), and *angel kind* (1400 -> a1325, OED). It was the forms in which N2 does not have genitive marking that continued into Modern and Present-day English, either as clear compounds like *mankind* or as NPs with pre-complement like *sed-*

*iment rock types* (WB). In the same period, the appositional relation comes to be expressed analytically in constructions headed by the TN and complemented by *of* + NP with N2, as in *Tweie kyndes, of þe Godhede and manhede* ('two kinds, of the godhood and manhood') (1387, OED), and *þe kind of man* (1425–1400, OED). This construction moved into Modern and Present-day English.

The expression of a *superordination* relation between TN and N2 gradually shifted from NPs with genitive precomplement, e.g. *that sterys kind* ('that kind of star') (a1500, OED), to analytic coding. In the latter, the supertype is expressed by an *of*-complement with N2, as in the existential clause in (12), whose subject is expressed by a discontinuous NP with fronted TN/head, *feole cunne*, and postverbal *of*-phrase, *of weldede*.

- (12) *Feole cunne beoð of weldede*  
 many.NOM.PL kind.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL of good-deeds  
 'many kinds (there) are of good deeds' (c1175, *Lamb. Hom.* OED)

Other examples are *an manere of fissce* (1225, OED), and *any kinnes of corne* (1500, OED).<sup>4</sup> This is the construction that has hitherto – erroneously – been viewed as the single one source construction of English TN-constructions.

Turning to the TN/modifier constructions, we find co-occurrence of three main structural variants in Middle English. Besides the older TN/genitive–N2/head construction, there emerged not only the expected analytic counterpart of N2/head + TN/*of*-postmodifier, but also a TN/premodifier (+ *of*) + N2 structure, whose origin we will discuss further down. The premodifiers of the TN expanded from quantifying adjectives over interrogative and phoric ones to lexical premodifiers. These diachronic developments are visualized in Figure 2.

Structurally, the shift from genitival premodifier to *of*-postmodifier is entirely predictable. Just as in Middle English *of*-postcomplements like *þe kind of man* (1425–>1400, OED) emerged besides the older genitive pre-complements *aungels kynde* (1425, OED), *of*-postmodifiers as in *any Fysches of kynes sere* (c1450, OED) ('any fish of diverse kind') emerged besides the older genitive premodifiers as in *ælces<sub>GEN.SG</sub> cynnes<sub>GEN.SG</sub> déor* (c1384, OED) ('animals of each kind').

A much less predictable development of the genitival TN/premodifier was the analytic TN/premodifier that emerged in Middle English, as in *foure-kin<sub>SG</sub> maner<sub>SG</sub>* [a1425 *fowrkyns maners*] *of glotony* (1400, OED), *what kynne<sub>SG</sub> tidynges* (1440,

<sup>4</sup> As noted in Davidse and Brems (this volume), whereas appositional *of*-complements contain a full NP, *of*-complements coding a superordinate type may either contain the noun as such, e.g. *many breeds of dogs* or a full NP, as in *many breeds of the same species*.

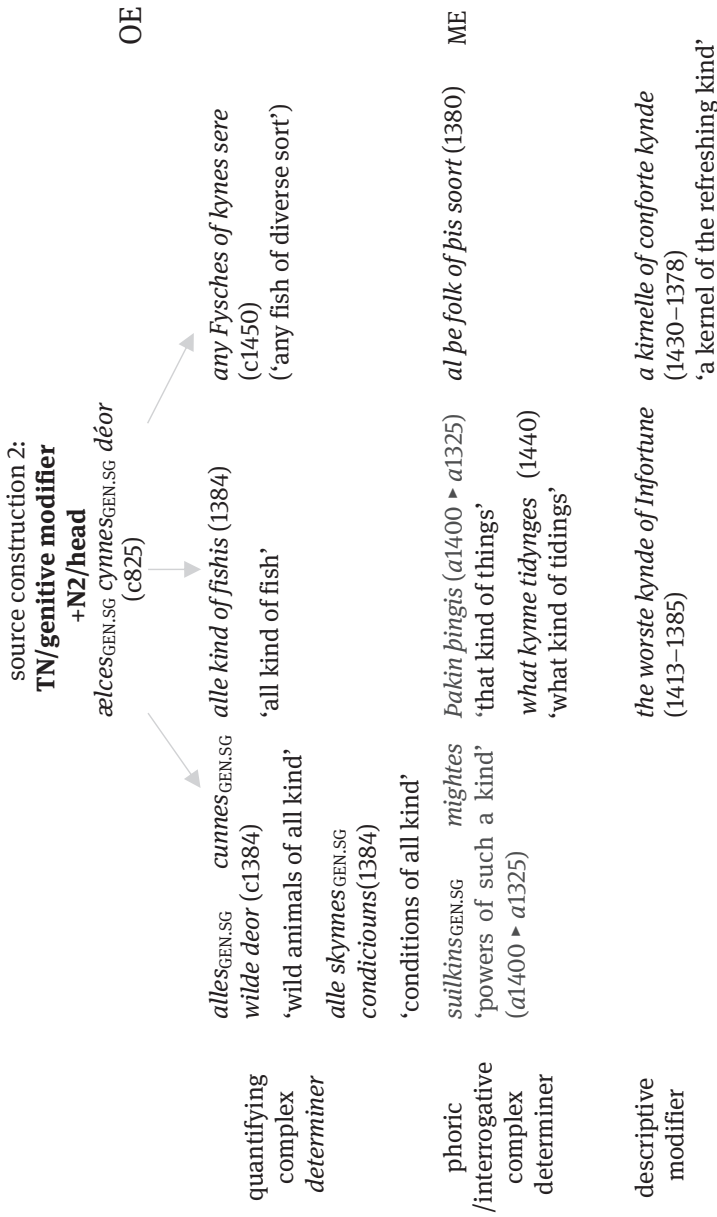


Figure 2: Main Middle English paths that developed from the Old English source TN/genitive modifier + N2/head.

OED), *all sortes<sub>PL</sub> of people* (1520, OED), *these kinde<sub>SG</sub> of vestures* (1566, OED). As shown in these examples, in Middle English the TN/premodifiers are often, albeit not always, linked to the head with *of*. With Langacker (1991: 87–9) and Sinclair (1991: 87–90), we do not view *of* as a typical preposition but as a particle with highly schematic meaning, able to link heads to postdependents as well as predependents to heads (Kruisinga 1932: 391). A striking feature is that some (but not all) examples with a notionally or formally plural premodifier combine with a singular TN, as in *these kinde<sub>SG</sub> of vestures*. It was in fact this number incongruence that was treated by Denison (2002) as an important formal feature of the ‘complex determiner’ construction. While it is not an absolute recognition criterion (see below), it is, as a typical feature, associated with the complex determiner construction with its quantifying, interrogative and phoric functions.

How, then, can the shift be explained from the genitival premodifier as in *monigra<sub>GEN.PL</sub> cyna<sub>GEN.PL</sub> wil deor<sub>NOM.PL</sub>* to complex determiners as in *all sortes<sub>PL</sub> of people* (1520, OED) and *these kinde<sub>SG</sub> of vestures* (1566, OED)? From the OED-entries of *kin*, n. 6b, *kind*, n. 4a, and *manner* n. 1, we can gather the following explanatory factors. The genitive, which was typically placed before the head noun, gradually lost its inflection and came to be treated as an attributive or adjective-like phrase. Transitional forms like *Alle skynnes<sub>GEN.SG</sub> condiciouns* ‘Conditions of all kind’ (1384, OED) illustrate loss of insight in the genitive marking. Inserts like [*fowrkins maners, a1425, Galba*] in (13) show that some early scribes were aware of the genitive singular origin, when they used the inflectionless form.

- (13) *it es funden **bodily foure-kin maner***  
 there be.PRS.3SG found bodily four-kind manner  
 [*fowrkins maners*] **of glotony**  
 fourkin.GEN.SG manner.GEN.SG of gluttony  
 ‘there is found **bodily gluttony of four kinds**’ (a1400 (►a1325), *Cursor Mundi*, OED)

As noted in the OED entry for *kind* n., 8b “analogy with use of the genitive [. . .] would explain the use in the singular within an otherwise plural syntax”. The use of a singular TN with plural quantifiers like *four* in (13), extended to cases with plural *these*, as in (14).

- (14) It is not lawfull to vse **these kinde of vestures** (1566, *Briefe Exam*, OED)

While common, number incongruence is not a defining formal feature of the complex determiner construction, as it is also attested with plural TNs, as in (15). *All sortes of people* is clearly a TN/premodifier construction with *people* as head

because it refers to the individuals making up the army. This excludes it being a TN/head–N2/complement construction, which designates types of a subtype (for further discussion, see below).

- (15) A Iugurth . . . anone prepared the greattest army that he coude of **all sortes of people** (?1520, *Cron. Warre agaynst Iugurth*, OED)

*Of*-insertion may have been supported by the equivalent use of *manere* borrowed from Old French, in which at an early stage *of* was inserted, as in *al maner o suet spices* ‘all manner of sweet spices’ (1400 (*a1325*), *Cursor Mundi*, OED). The particle *of* generalized to the structures with *kin*, *kind* and *sort*. The OED entry for *kin*, n. †6 †b, notes that in Middle English *kin* and its premodifiers often combined, yielding such forms as *alkin(s)* ‘all kind(s)’, *anykin(s)* ‘any kind(s)’, *fele-kin(s)* ‘many kind(s)’, *manykin(s)* ‘many kind(s)’, *nokin(s)* or *nakin(s)* ‘no kind(s)’, *otherkin(s)* ‘other kind(s)’, *sere-kin(s)* ‘distinct kind(s)’, *swilkin(s)* ‘such kind(s)’, *same-kin(s)* ‘same kind(s)’, *thiskin(s)* ‘this kind(s)’, *whilk-kin(s)* (*hwil-kyn*) ‘which kind(s)’, *whatkin(s)* ‘what kind(s)’. Few came down to 1500, except *whatkin*, which is attested in the 16th century and which survives in Scottish and north English as *what’n*. These univerted forms appear as prototypical “compound determiners” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 391), in which the TN is semantically bleached and decategorized.<sup>5</sup>

In sum, from the Old English genitival TN/premodifier construction, the complex determiner construction developed in Middle English and early Modern English as the result of the loss of genitive marking combined with three tendencies: generalization of the singular form of the TN, compounding of premodifier and TN, and *of*-insertion. We have to reject the earlier hypotheses which assumed that examples like *alle kind of fishis* (1384, OED), with grammatical, quantifying meaning developed from lexical TN-structures like *feole cunne of weldede* (c1175). This was thought to be the result of re-analysis of the erstwhile lexical TN/head into a decategorized premodifying noun. The quantifying complex determiners were viewed as the first grammaticalized construction type. In fact, as the Old English and Middle English data show, there was a straight line from TN/genitival premodifiers with quantifying adjective, e.g. *ælcas<sub>GEN.SG</sub> cynnes<sub>GEN.SG</sub> déor* (c825) to quantifier + TN/premodifier + *of*, e.g. *alle kind of fishis* (1384, OED), as visualized in Figure 2. The development did not involve any head–modifier reversal. Since Old English, the TN had been part of the premodifier and the N2 had been the head. What was re-interpreted is the genitive singular TN into an uninflected TN, which

<sup>5</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that such compound determiners co-occur in a number of examples with a less bleached TN as in *four-kin maner* in (13).

yielded the apparent number incongruence. There was also a meaning shift from quantifying subtypes, *ælcas*<sub>GEN.SG</sub> *cynnes*<sub>GEN.SG</sub> *déor* ‘animals of each kind’, to the quantifying meaning, as in *alle kind of fishis* (1384), which refers to ‘manifold, very many fish’ in the Gospel story of the miraculous catch of fish. In view of the formal and semantic changes involved, the emergence of the complex determiner construction can certainly be viewed as constituting a process of grammaticalization.

While our earlier hypotheses about its genesis stand corrected, the complex determiner construction can still meaningfully be distinguished and we can largely keep its definition of form and meaning as in De Smedt et al. (2007) and Brems and Davidse (2010). We have to distinguish complex determiner constructions very clearly from TN/head–complement constructions because, in their analytic coding, they may manifest as the same surface string (Janebová and Martinková 2017), in contrast with Old English, where the genitive clearly marked the dependent, as either the complement or the modifier. Table 3 summarizes the grammatical and semantic distinctions between the two which were invoked in the above discussion, and which we further elaborate with examples (16)–(22).

**Table 3:** Grammatical and semantic differences between TN/head and complex determiner constructions.

	TN/head construction	Complex determiner construction
Grammar	det. [TN <sub>head</sub> + N2 <sub>complement</sub> ]	[det. + TN] <sub>premodifier</sub> N2 <sub>head</sub>
Designatum	subtype of supertype	Instances
Examples	<i>alle kyndes of bestis</i> (1348) ‘all kinds of animals’	<i>alle kind of fishis</i> (1384) ‘manifold fish’
	<i>These two sortes of the chyldren of Israel</i> (1562)	<i>these kind of reasonings</i> (1744) ‘such reasonings’
	<i>What Sorts of Manure</i> (1754)	<i>what kynne tidynges</i> (1440) ‘what tidings’
		generic class: <i>those sort of Ulcers the Farriers call cankers</i> (c1720) ‘canker-type ulcers’
	subtype (of) ‘x’ <i>the kinde of man</i> (1583)	

(16) In **alle kyndes of bestis** þe femel is more febil þan þe male.  
‘In **all kinds of animals**, the female is more feeble than the male’. (1398, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, OED)

(17) **These two sortes of the chyldren of Israel** (1562, *Pilgr. Perf.*, OED)

- (18) **What Sorts of Manure or Amendment** do they chiefly use for their Land...? (1754, *Queries proposed Gentlemen*, OED)
- (19) A nette sent in to the see, and of **alle kind** [L. *genere*] **of fishis** gedrynge. ‘A net sent in to the see, and saturated with **all kinds of fish**’ (c1348, *Bible*, OED)
- (20) “Our very pride, methinks, should be a sufficient guard, and turn whatever favourable thoughts we might have of such a one, unknowing his design, into aversion, when once convinced, he presumed upon our weakness.” In **these kind of reasonings** did she continue some time. (1744, CLEMETEV)
- (21) He shall telle yow **what kynne tidyinges** that he hathe browte. ‘He shall tell you **what kind of tidings** he has brought.’ (c1440, *Gesta Romanorum*, OED)
- (22) A mishapen or rusty Bit . . . will create **those sort of Ulcers the Farriers call cankers**. (c1720, *Farriers New Guide*, OED)

With TN/head–N2/complement constructions, the determiner + TN/head intrinsically designate a (sub)type (of a supertype). Hence, their referents are situated in what Langacker (1991: 71) calls the “type” universe of interpretation.<sup>6</sup> Most commonly, they refer to subtypes of a supertype within established taxonomies, as in examples (16)–(18), which illustrate how the subtypes may be quantified (16), pointed to (17), or inquired into (18). The determiner scopes over the TN<sub>head</sub> + N2<sub>complement</sub> unit.

Complex determiner constructions clearly contrast semantically and structurally with the TN/head construction. The complex determiner, made up of simple determiner and TN, scopes over N2 only, which is the head of the NP. The referents of the NP are typically concrete instances of N2,<sup>7</sup> as in (19)–(21), but can also be generic subtypes, as in (22). *Alle kind of fishis* (1384) in (19) refers to the ‘very many and manifold’ fish caught miraculously in the Gospel story. In (20), the

<sup>6</sup> In Davidse and Brems (this volume), we explain that this ‘subtype’ reference may figure in NPs with generic reference, like (16)–(18), as well as NPs with dual reference, i.e. overtly to a subtype but with pragmatically implied reference to concrete spatiotemporal referents, and non-referential predicate nominatives.

<sup>7</sup> In the OED entry of *kind*, n. 8b, it is noted that “In the [. . .] attributive or adjective-like use of *kind of* . . . [i]n early modern English the reference to *individual members* [italics ours] of a class becomes clear”.

complex determiner *these kind of* gives the reader instructions to infer properties that characterize the *reasonings* referred to anaphorically from the preceding representation of specific reasonings. In (21) the interrogative complex determiner *what kynne* enquires into a property of the *tidings* in question, e.g. whether bad or good. Complex determiner constructions may also realize generic reference. An example is given in (22), in which *those sort of* instructs the reader to cataphorically retrieve the subclass of the head noun *ulcers* referred to, viz. ‘canker-type (of) ulcers’. All these complex determiners with TNs have simple determiner counterparts: *multiple fishes* (19), *such reasonings* (20), *what tidings* (21), *such ulcers as the farriers call cankers* (22).

We can now situate the complex determiner construction within the wider set of the main subtypes of the schematic TN/modifier construction, i.e. its pre- and postmodifier variants, and the various modifiers the TNs can take. These include not only quantifying, phoric and interrogative modifiers but also lexical modifiers of the TN, as visualized in Table 4.

**Table 4:** TN/modifier constructions.

Semantics	Construction in De Smedt et al (2007)	TN/premodifier + N2/head	Modifier of TN	N2/head + TN/postmodifier
Quantification	Complex determiner	<i>alle kind of fishis</i> (1384)	Quantifying	<i>ij. quartelletes, of dyvers sortes</i> (1459)
Class or quality specification		<i>these kind of reasonings</i> (1744)	Phoric	<i>al pe folk of bis soort</i> (1385)
		<i>those sort of Ulcers the Farriers call cankers.</i> (c1720)		<i>lovers of such a sort, That feignen hem an humble port</i> (1390)
		<i>what kynne tidyinges</i> (1440)	Interrogative	<i>of which sorte bee these sayings</i> (1547) <sup>8</sup>
	Descriptive modifier	<i>the worste kynde of Infortune</i> (1413–1385) <i>a counterfeit kind of curtesie</i> (a1522)	Lexical	<i>fysche of the smalliste sorte.</i> (1545) <i>a kirnelle of conforte kynde</i> (1430–1378)

In Table 4, the fourth column indicates the four main subtypes of modifier of the TN: quantifying (in a broad sense), phoric, i.e. ana- and cataphoric, interrogative and lexical. The complex determiner construction subsumes the subtypes with TN/*premodifiers* containing quantifying, phoric and interrogative modifiers, which are put in grey shading in Table 4. As we saw, these subtypes

<sup>8</sup> In this example the ‘postmodifier’ *of which sorte of these sayings* is actually fronted.

resulted from a number of formal and semantic changes which together constitute a grammaticalization process. The TN/*postmodifiers* containing quantifying, phoric and interrogative modifiers did not grammaticalize or idiomatize to the same extent. In Middle English, the postmodifier variants with quantifier occurred in both the singular, e.g. (23), and plural, e.g. (24), and tended to keep the sense of ‘different’ subtypes, as reflected by the use of adjectives like *sondry* (23) and *diverse* (24).

(23) What pepyll they were that came to that dysport I shall yow declare **of many a sondry sort**.

‘What people they were that came to that entertainment I shall explain to you (to be) **of many a different sort**’ (c1420, *Assembly of Gods*, OED)

(24) ij. quartelettes, **of dyvers sortes**

‘II quarters [vessels] **of various sorts**’ (1459, *Paston Lett.*, OED)

In Present-day English, TN/*postmodifiers* with quantifiers still seem to have largely compositional semantics, with numbers like *one* and *two*, and quantifiers like *many* and *various* quantifying subtypes, e.g. *digestive disturbances of many sorts* (WB), *lilies of many kinds* (WB). However, there are two patterns with quantifiers that are processed non-compositionally and can convey quantifying meaning. The first is formed by the idiomatized expressions of *all sorts/kinds*. The universal relative quantifier *all* generally means ‘very many’, and while the notion of ‘many subtypes’ remains present, they also tend to invite the inference of ‘a great number’, as in (25). The second pattern features negation + *postmodifier of any kind/sort* and conveys emphatic negative quantification, as in (26).

(25) The children crept closer and there were gasps of pleasure and excitement. There were **trinkets of all kinds**. (WB)

(26) there must be **no publicity of any kind**. (WB)

Because of their ‘closed class’, quantifying meaning, these two patterns can functionally be grouped together with quantifying complex determiners.

If we look at the TN/*modifier* constructions from a broad semantic point of view, then the main opposition is between those with quantifying modifier and those with phoric, interrogative and lexical modifier, as indicated in the second column of Table 4. Ultimately, phoric, interrogative and lexical modifiers serve the same semantic goal, viz. *characterization* of the referents of the NP, which can be instances of the type designated by the head noun or, less commonly, generic

subtypes. TN/modifier constructions with these three modifier types are all about adding semantic specifications to the subtype or instance referred to. TN/premodifiers with phoric and interrogative modifiers emerged in Middle English. Examples of TN/premodifiers with lexical modifiers appear with some frequency from Early Modern English on, as in (27).

- (27) Giuing her the *vale* with **a counterfeit kind of curtesie.**

‘bidding her goodbye with **a false kind of curtsy**’ (a1522, tr. *Aeneid*, OED)

This is, of course, an example of the attributive, or descriptive, modifier construction associated with instantial reference in Kruisinga (1932: 391) and De Smedt et al. (2007). Brems and Davidse (2010) stated that this construction, like the complex determiner construction, resulted from re-analysis of the erstwhile head of the TN/head construction into a modifier. They situated its emergence at the start of Early Modern English. Again, this has to be corrected. The analytic TN/premodifier constructions attributing semantic specifications to instances or generic subclasses descended from the TN/genitival premodifiers of Old English. No shift of headedness was involved. A process of change that can be argued for is semantic bleaching of the TN. Already in Middle English, some examples with a lexical modifier are attested, as in (28), in which reference is to a generic subclass, viz. ‘the worst misfortune’.

- (28) **The worste kynde of Infortune** is þis A man to haue be in prosperite And it remembren when it passed is.

‘**The worst kind of misfortune** is this: a man to have been in prosperity and remembering it when it is over.’ (a1413 (c1385), *Troilus & Criseyde*, OED)

The category of the descriptive (pre-)modifier construction as such can be kept if one recognizes its ability for both instantial and generic reference. But, it is important to see the larger pattern it is part of, as visualized in Table 4. When it comes to describing class or quality properties of the referents, not only the TN/premodifier variants but also the TN/postmodifier variants, as illustrated in (29) and (30), have to be considered.

- (29) **Al þe folk of þis soort** is a world þat shal be dampned.

‘**All the people of this sort** is a world that shall be damned.’ (c1380, *Eng. Wycliffite Serm.*, OED)

- (30) There myghte men the ryal egle fynde..And **othere eglis of a lowere kynde.**

‘There might men find the royal eagle, and **other eagles of a lower kind**’ (1430->1380, *Parl. Fowls*, OED)

In (29), *of his sort* instructs the hearer to retrieve properties of *the folk*, e.g. ‘sinful’, from the preceding text. In (30), the adjective *lower* directly characterizes the subtype of eagles.

In this section, we have sketched the development from the Old English source construction of the genitival TN/modifier construction to analytic TN/modifier constructions, for which Middle English was a crucial period. Much more detailed data-study will be required to verify and flesh out this outline in terms of finer processes of change and the semantic-pragmatic effects accompanying them.

## 4 Modern English: The trajectory of development of the TN/head constructions

In this section, we focus on the trajectory starting from the Old English N2/genitival complement + TN/head construction (Section 2), which may convey a superordination relation, as in *feower muneca<sub>COMPL</sub> cyn<sub>HEAD</sub>* ‘four kinds of monks’ (6) or an appositional relation, as in *manna<sub>COMPL</sub> cynn<sub>HEAD</sub>* ‘the kind of man’ (8). As we saw in Section 3, this construction was gradually replaced by analytic constructions of the TN/head–complement relation, as in *feole cunne<sub>HEAD</sub> of weldede<sub>COMPL</sub>* ‘many kinds of good deeds’ (12) and *þe kind<sub>HEAD</sub> of man<sub>COMPL</sub>* ‘the kind of man’ (1425->1400, OED). It is these constructions that, in Modern English, led to the nominal qualifier construction, e.g. *he is a sort of genius*, via a shift of head-status from the TN to N2. The nominal qualifier construction then broke free from the limits of the NP (Denison 2002: 12): *sort of* and *kind of* came to function as adverbials modifying grammatical classes like the whole NP, the verb, the VP, and the whole proposition. Apart from our analysis of the source construction as containing a complement rather than a postmodifier, we follow Denison’s (2002) hypotheses about this trajectory.

Mihatsch (this volume: 23) points out that nominal qualifier constructions may evolve by wear-and-tear of the TN/head–N2/complement construction into “a (rough) assignment of an object to a superordinate” category with unfamiliar, hard-to-classify entities. In (31) from Captain Cook’s *The First Voyage* we find an example of such a precursor of the qualifier TN-construction.

(31) The Trees we saw were **a small kind of Cabbage Palms**. (CLMETEV, 1768–71)

Grammatically, this example still has many features of the TN/head–N2/complement construction.<sup>9</sup> *A small kind* is not a premodifier as suggested by the non-equivalence to (30) of an alternate in which the TN-constituent is construed as postmodifier: *The Trees we saw were Cabbage Palms of a small kind*. At the same time, N2 *Cabbage Palms* is the most important constituent for the representational meaning of the predicative NP categorizing the subject *the trees*. In other words, examples like (31) seem to prepare the shift of head status from TN to N2 without actually manifesting it in any full sense.

In examples like (32), N2 *spiritualitie* has acquired full head status, with *some kind of* functioning as its premodifier.

- (32) There must be..in the passions..**some kind of spiritualitie** (1683, *Theologia Mystica*, OED)

There is no notion of superordination here. *Spirituality* is the only category that is being considered. The ‘subtype’ meaning of the TN has bleached into that of ‘peripheral variant’, conveying absence of some of its canonical semantic features. The hedging of N2 by the premodifier TN-constituent may also convey interpersonal effects such as degree modification of gradable features in the head noun, as in (33), attenuation of pejorative features and metalinguistic framing of a stylistically marked noun (Aijmer 2002).

- (33) I haue the wit to thinke my Master is **a kinde of a knaue**. (1616, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, OED)

At a later stage, the qualifying constituent also developed postmodifier variants such as *of sorts*, in (34).

- (34) In the old days Spain provided **an outlet of sorts**. (1902, *Daily Chron*, OED)

In Modern English, the qualifying constituent and the element in its scope occur not only as the modifier and lexical head of a NP but develop the new structure of a qualifying adverbial able to scope over other elements of the NP or the whole NP as well as (elements of) the VP. In (35), which represents colloquial speech, we see adverbial *kind of* qualifying the whole following predication.

<sup>9</sup> Kolyaseva (2021: 11) notes that in Russian, TN/head–complement/N2 constructions, which can be clearly identified by their case marking, may be used with qualifying meaning.

- (35) Captain Davis had a gun, He **kind of** clapt his head on ‘t. (1775, *Amer. Broadside Verse*, OED)

As noted in the OED entry of *sort n.*, 5c, the full form *sort of* can also follow the statement it qualifies, as in (36).

- (36) Except I feel like, well, what you’re doing anyway is just sitting here and saying all these things just to tease me and to taunt me, **sort of**. (1959, *Psychiatry*, OED)

The adverbial qualifier developed further into “a parenthetic qualifier expressing hesitation, diffidence, or the like, on the speaker’s part” (*sort n.*, 5c. (*a*) *sort of*, *o’*, *a*, *sorter*, OED). Denison (2002: 4, 14) categorizes these uses as discourse particles because they do not apply to any clear scopal domains. In this respect, they are not part of a structure.<sup>10</sup> They apply more diffusely to the discourse, through which they are scattered, as in (37), a diffident student’s reaction to an explanation by a professor.

- (37) S: Yes, I think I’m er beginning to understand it better now and I must say, I’m **sort of** impressed . . . I quite like the idea of, er, **sort of**, er, **sort of** flexibility I think is the key word, isn’t it? . . . in the **sort of** Prospectus. (Martin 1980)

From the adverbial qualifier also developed quotative markers like *be/go sorta/kinda* or simply *sorta/kinda*, as in (38) (Aijmer 2002).

- (38) “I just got a visual, Sharon standing in front of the class going, (SCREAM), while these little kids **kinda** “Señorita Flynn? Hee hee hee hee hee.” (SBCAE)

This extension was probably motivated by the simulative meaning component of *sorta/kinda*, which is cross-linguistically a source of quotatives introducing ‘replicas’ of utterances (Güldemann 2002). In English, this last development has not been very productive yet.

In conclusion to this section we can note that the path starting from the lexical TN/head construction yielding the qualifying and related constructions

---

<sup>10</sup> Keizer (this volume) focuses in depth on English expressions like *sort of the enemy of Trump*, *kind of the pageant world*, investigating, amongst others, whether we are dealing here with adverbial qualifier or discourse marker uses, and in what way these differ semantically and pragmatically from qualifying complex NPs like *a sort of enemy of Trump*.

is a straightforward grammaticalization path to which the loss of head status of TN and the reanalysis of (determiner + ) TN + *of* into a qualifying constituent was central. We can now turn to a survey of TN-constructions in Present-day English.

## 5 Survey of TN-constructions in Present-day English

In this section we survey the sets of TN-constructions used in Present-day English: (1) nominal TN-constructions with lexical functions, (2) nominal TN-constructions with grammatical functions, and (3) non-nominal TN-constructions serving grammatical and discursive functions. In comparison with earlier typologies, this survey adds the constructions whose structural assemblies are realized with N2 – TN order.

We begin by surveying the nominal TN-constructions with lexical functions visualized in Table 5. This set subsumes the analytic counterparts that emerged in Middle English from the two source constructions with genitively coded dependents in Old English. Central to it is the functional-structural opposition between head–complement and head–modifier and the different semantics these code.

**Table 5:** English NP-constructions with TN with lexical functions.

meaning	lexicogrammar	predependent + head	head + postdependent
reference to subtype(s) of supertype	NP with TN/head + superordinate complement	<i>a rare</i> <i>marble</i> <sub>PRECOMPLEMENT</sub> <i>type</i> <sub>HEAD</sub>	<i>a rare type</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> <i>of</i> <i>marble</i> <sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub>
reference to subtype (of) ‘x’	NP with TN/head + appositional complement	<i>the horror</i> <i>film</i> <sub>PRECOMPLEMENT</sub> <i>genre</i> <sub>HEAD</sub>	<i>the genre</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> <i>of the</i> <i>horror film</i> <sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub>
attributing semantic specifications to instances or generic subclasses	NP with TN/modifier + superordinate N2/head ( <i>be</i> ) <i>of</i> + NP with TN	<i>pop and lock</i> <i>kind</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> ( <i>of</i> ) <i>dance moves</i> <sub>HEAD</sub>	<i>dance moves</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> <i>of</i> <i>the pop-and-lock</i> <i>kind</i> <sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub> <i>be of the skinny sort</i>

The TN/head–N2/*of*-complement construction referring to subtypes of a supertype has been called the binominal construction (Denison 2002) and the referential construction (Keizer 2007) in the literature. However, this conception of the binominal construction was incomplete in two ways. Firstly, it did not include TN/head constructions with precomplements. Secondly, it tended to overlook the point that TN/head constructions, with either pre- or postcomplements, can have

appositional semantics. The more comprehensive typology in Table 5 includes this structural variation and the options of superordination and apposition.<sup>11</sup>

The TN/premodifier + N2/head construction was referred to as the descriptive modifier construction in our earlier work (Brems and Davidse 2010). We now argue that these semantics can also be expressed by N2/head + TN/*of*-postmodifier (Davidse and Brems this volume). Finally, we also point out the use of predicative *of* + NP with TN to ascribe semantic properties to the subject, as in (39), a construction that has been around from ME on (see footnote 3).

(39) . . . the skeletons at Skhul and at Qafzeh are **of the AMHS type**. (WB)

Table 6 gives an overview of NP-constructions in which the TN-constituent serves grammatical functions. None of them have a complementation structure, which is associated with designating superordination, as in *a rare type<sub>HEAD</sub> of marble<sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub>* or apposition, as in *the genre<sub>HEAD</sub> of the horror film<sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub>*. All TN-constructions with grammatical functions have a head–modifier structure. They also all have a pre- and a postmodifier variant. The third column of Table 6 lists the determiners that are typically used in the TN-modifier.

**Table 6:** English NP-constructions with TN with grammatical functions.

meaning	TN/premodifier + N2/head	determiner of TN	N2/head +TN/ <i>of</i> -postmodifier
qualifying of category designated by N2	<i>some sort of<sub>PREMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>plans</i> <i>a kind of<sub>PREMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>groupie</i>	<i>some, a</i>	<i>comfort of a sort<sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>a suit of some</i> <i>sort<sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub></i>
modifying degree	<i>that kind of<sub>PREMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>pressure</i> <i>what sort of<sub>PREMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>monster</i>	<i>that, what,</i> <i>some</i>	<i>pressure of that</i> <i>kind<sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub></i>
quantifying of instances designated by NP	<i>all sorts of<sub>PREMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>problems</i>	<i>all, no</i>	<i>trinkets of all</i> <i>kinds<sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub></i> <i>no regard of any</i> <i>sort<sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub></i>

<sup>11</sup> Umbach (this volume) studies the semantic distinction between ‘identity’ and ‘subsumption’ for binominal NPs with *Art* and *Typ* in German.

Table 6 (continued)

meaning	TN/premodifier + N2/head	determiner of TN	N2/head +TN/ of-postmodifier
instructing retrieval of semantic specifications ascribed to referent of NP	<i>those kind of</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>scare tactics</i>	<i>that, this,</i> <i>those,</i> <i>these, the</i>	<i>suicide bombings</i> <i>or attacks of that</i> <i>kind</i> <sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub>
inquiring into semantic specifications of NP	<i>what sort of</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>clients</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>Union of what</i> <i>sort</i> <sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub>

In the top half of Table 6, we have put the qualifying and degree modifying constructions, which are related to each other in terms of their diachronic development and their semantics. The qualifying constructions in a strict sense are those that modify the category designated by N2: they allow for absence of canonical category features, e.g. *comfort of a sort*, or attenuate some of its attitudinal overtones, e.g. *a kind of groupie*. In the degree modifying use, gradable features of N2 are modified, either upgraded, as in *what sort of monster*, or downgraded, as in (40), which besides the qualifying meaning has a downtoning inference.

(40) are you in **trouble of some sort** (WB)

Quantifying TN/modifiers quantify the instances referred to by the NP in a hyperbolic way, either as a very large quantity (*all sorts of problems*) or as no quantity at all (*no publicity of any kind*). TN/modifiers with interrogative and phoric determiners ultimately serve the same semantic goal as descriptive modifiers, viz. ascription of semantic specifications to the referents of the NP, which in Present-day English are typically instances of the type designated by the head noun but can also be generic subtypes. We subsume TN/modifiers with interrogative and phoric determiners under TN-constructions with grammatical functions because determiner and TN together form a unit with determining, procedural meaning (Traugott and Dasher 2002), which instructs the addressee to retrieve semantic specifications. They do not name semantic specifications the way descriptive TN/modifiers do. TN/modifiers with interrogative determiners inquire into semantic specifications still to be identified, as illustrated for premodifiers in (41) and postmodifiers in (42).

(41) Prostitution has existed as long as history has been recorded . . . Many people have no concept of **what sort of clients** use sex services and seem to think it is the dregs of society. (WB)

- (42) Nevertheless most responsible opinion saw no alternative to a Union of the two countries, but **Union of what sort** was less an object of agreement. (WB)

Those with phoric determiners instruct the addressee to retrieve semantic specifications either from the preceding text (43) or from information following in the NP itself (44). This retrieval often involves inferencing, rather than literal retrieval, and this further entails that generalization beyond the actual textual ‘antecedent’ may be involved. For instance, in (43) *these sort of scare tactics* refers back to ‘linking plastic milk bottles and cancer’, requiring the addressee to infer a generalization like ‘unproven or exaggerated risk claims’, under which many other ‘*such*’ claims fall. Indeed, as noted by Mackenzie (1997: 89) phoric complex determiners can often be replaced by *such (a)*. In TN/phoric postmodifiers as in (44) *of the kind* can signal a relation of exemplification, which also requires the addressee to infer a generalization.

- (43) We were only able to respond that we were unaware of any evidence linking plastic milk bottles and cancer, but your investigative report puts the whole issue into perspective. Unfortunately **these sort of scare tactics** do a lot of harm (WB)
- (44) He led me down a hallway that was lined with **nineteenth-century American country antiques of the sort one finds all over Port Frederick**. (WB)

Finally, we survey the TN-constructions that have broken free from the boundaries of NP structure, which were discussed in Section 2.4. They are listed in Table 7. The most productive are the qualifying adverbial, illustrated in (35)–(36) above, and the discourse particle, e.g. (37).<sup>12</sup> Whereas the qualifying adverbial is an element of structure relating to the constituent it scopes over, the discourse particle is not an element of a clear structure. Two more constructions can be identified, which are infrequent in English. One is the quotative marker, illustrated in (38) above, which Aijmer (2002) has drawn attention to. The other is the emergent complex preposition in examples like (45), where *of the type* means ‘like’. This is probably a further development of cataphoric postmodifiers as in (44). Whereas complex prepositions with TN have received attention in studies

---

<sup>12</sup> Aijmer (this volume) presents a further semantic subclassification of qualifying adverbials in terms of the various following grammatical categories and of the various discourse marker types.

on Romance languages (e.g. Voghera 2013; Rosier 2002) and Slavic language (e.g. Kolyaseva 2021; Kisiel and Kolyaseva this volume), they have been largely overlooked in work on English hitherto.

(45) words **of the type** *elentri* ‘star-queen’ seldom occur in Quenya. (WB)

**Table 7:** English extra-NP-constructions with TN with grammatical and discursive functions.

meaning	structure	
qualifying (hedging, approximating, attenuating, degree modifying, metalinguistic framing)	adverbial – scopal domain	<i>There are kinda three ways to do this;</i> (Google) <i>Gomez was kind of a smart ass.</i> (2005, OED) <i>He was sort of proud of them.</i> (1858, OED) <i>He kind of clapt his head on ‘t.</i> (1775, OED)
quotative	marker – report	<i>these little kids kinda ‘Señorita Flynn</i> (SBCSE)
exemplifying, simulative (‘like, such as’)	preposition – complement	<i>words of the type elentri ‘star-queen’(WB)</i>
tentativeness, diffidence, filler	discourse particle	<i>I quite like the idea of, er, sort of, er, sort of flexibility I think is the key word, isn’t it? . . . in the sort of Prospectus</i>

It is with these inventories of TN-constructions in Present-day English that, in the next section, we turn to Present-day Dutch, one of the closest living languages to English, to take stock of its TN-constructions.

## 6 Survey of TN-constructions in Present-day Dutch

Very little research has hitherto been done on TN-constructions in Dutch with some important exceptions like Schermer-Vermeer (2008) and De Troij and Van de Velde (2020). This section presents a first exploration focusing on the TNs *soort* ‘sort’ and its cognates, *type* ‘type’, and *aard* ‘type, nature’, using attested examples found with Google searches. As in the preceding sections, our main question is which TN-constructions, in the sense of Langacker’s (2021) functional-structural assemblies, are available in Dutch.

We start with nominal TN-constructions with lexical functions, visualized in Table 8.

**Table 8:** Dutch NP-constructions with TN with lexical functions.

meaning	lexicogrammar	predependent + head	head + postdependent
reference to subtype(s) of supertype	NP with TN/head + superordinate complement	<i>een roze</i>	<i>een echt roze soort</i> <sub>HEAD</sub>
		<i>marmor</i> <sub>PRECOMPLEMENT</sub> <i>soort</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> 'a pink marble type'	<i>marmor</i> <sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub> 'a really pink type of marble' <i>het type</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> <i>van de verpakking</i> <sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub> 'the type of packaging'
reference to subtype 'x'	NP with TN/head + appositional complement	<i>het griezelfilm</i> <sub>PRECOMPLEMENT</sub> <i>genre</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> 'the horror film genre'	<i>de soort</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> <i>hout</i> <sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub> 'the sort wood' <i>het genre</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> <i>van de musical</i> <sub>POSTCOMPLEMENT</sub> 'the genre of the musical'
		NP with TN/modifier + superordinate N2/head	<i>een no-nonsense soort (van)</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>kerel</i> <sub>HEAD</sub> 'a no-nonsense sort (of) bloke'
	<i>zijn van</i> 'be of' + NP with TN	---	<i>is van het rancuneuze soort</i> 'is of the rancorous sort'

Table 8 shows that Dutch has exactly the same lexical TN-constructions as English (Table 5). As in English, the main structural and semantic opposition is between TN/head–N2/complement constructions and TN/modifier–N2/head constructions. The TN/head–N2/complement constructions can designate either superordination or apposition, and have pre- and postcomplements. The one morphosyntactic difference with English is that reference to subtypes of a supertype can be grammatically realized with a postcomplement not linked to the head by particle *van* 'of', as in (46).<sup>13</sup>

- (46) als je **een echt roze soort**<sub>HEAD</sub> **marmor**<sub>POSTCOMPL</sub> zoekt  
 if you a really pink sort<sub>HEAD</sub> marble<sub>POSTCOMPL</sub> search  
 'if you are looking for **a really pink type of marble**', ([salontafelmarmor.nl](http://salontafelmarmor.nl))

The Dutch TN/modifier + N2/head constructions, e.g. (47), are fully parallel with English, offering the same semantic and morphosyntactic options. The descriptive TN/postmodifier construction is illustrated in (47).

<sup>13</sup> Like De Troij and Van de Velde (2020), we provide for the sentences containing the TN-construction a word-by-word English transliteration followed by a more idiomatic translation.

- (47) Timmerman Nico was een man<sub>HEAD</sub> van het type ‘niet lullen,  
 Carpenter Nico was a man<sub>HEAD</sub> of the type not waffle  
 maar poetsen’<sub>POSTMOD.</sub>  
 but clean<sub>POSTMOD.</sub>  
 ‘Carpenter Nico was a man of the type “don’t waffle but clean”’  
 (<https://www.ad.nl/gouda/timmerman-nico-was-een-man-van-het-type-niet-lullen-maar-poetsen~a8295889/>)

Table 9 lists nominal TN-constructions with grammatical functions in Dutch. As in English (Table 6), they are all TN/modifier–N2/head constructions, but unlike English, they do not all have postmodifiers. It is the qualifying and degree modifying constructions that have a premodifier realization only.

This split coincides with the different source constructions that we identified in English for the qualifying and degree modifying constructions versus the quantifying, phoric and interrogative modifiers. Qualifying and degree modifying constructions emerged as TN/premodifier–N2/head constructions through a shift of headedness from the lexical TN/head–superordinate N2/complement construction, and developed postmodifier variants at a later stage. In Dutch, no such postmodifier variants are available, as far as we can see. We can notice that, just as in their source construction illustrated in (46) above, the Dutch qualifying (48) and degree modifying (49) constructions do not feature the particle *van* ‘of’. In the nominal qualifying construction, the TN *soort* ‘sort’ can also occur as its cognate *soortement*, which is restricted to this construction. The suffix *-ement* added to *soort* seems to be used here in the pseudo-learned but colloquial and somewhat pejorative sense in which it is also added to *kaak* ‘jaw’, yielding *kake-ment* ‘face, mug’, or to *ziel* ‘soul’, yielding *zielement* ‘(pitiable) body’ (*zielement* n., De Coster 2002). The pejorative element in *soortement* conveys that N2 applies only to a certain extent to the phenomenon referred to and imposes a pejorative slant on it.

- (48) Onze Braziliaanse chauffeur heeft er lol in dat hij Maarten Goffin naar zijn biologische moeder voert, . . . Voor Maarten is het bittere ernst.  
 ‘Alsof ik in een soortement<sub>HEAD</sub> Blind date-show<sub>POSTMOD.</sub> ben  
 as if I in a sort<sub>tHEAD</sub> Blind date-show<sub>POSTMOD.</sub> have  
 beland’.  
 ended up  
 ‘Our Brazilian driver is amused that he is driving Maarten Goffin to his biological mother. For Maarten it is dead serious. “As if I have ended up in a (bad) sort of Blind date-show.”’ (<https://www.standaard.be/plus/20170909/bijlage/dsw/optimized>)

**Table 9:** Dutch NP-constructions with TN with grammatical functions.

meaning	TN/premodifier + N2/head	determiner of TN	N2/head + TN/postmodifier
qualifying of category designated by N2	<i>een soort</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> “uniform” ‘a sort of “uniform”’	<i>een</i>	---
modifying degree	<i>dat soort</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>geweld</i> ‘that sort of violence’ <i>wat voor een</i> ( <i>soort</i> ) <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>monster</i> ‘what sort of monster’	<i>dat, wat voor</i> <i>een</i>	---
quantifying of instances designated by NP	<i>allerlei/allerhande</i> ( <i>soort</i> ) <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>problemen</i> ‘all sorts of problems’	<i>allerhande,</i> <i>veler-/allerlei</i>	<i>problemen</i> <i>allerhande</i> <sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub> ‘problems of all sorts’
instructing retrieval of semantic specifications ascribed to referent of NP	<i>dat soort (van)</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>uitwassen</i>	<i>dat, het</i>	<i>herinneringen van dien</i> <i>aard</i> ‘memories of that sort’ <i>elke vergunning van die</i> <i>aard</i> <sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub> ‘each permit of that sort’
inquiring into semantic specifications of NP	<i>wat voor soort</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>mens</i> ‘what sort of person’ <i>welke ‘soort’ (van)</i> <sub>PREMODIFIER</sub> <i>mensen</i> ‘what sort of people’	<i>wat voor een,</i> <i>welke</i>	<i>een boef, maar van welke</i> <i>soort</i> <sub>POSTMODIFIER</sub> ‘a criminal, but of which sort’

Degree modifying constituents typically have a demonstrative determiner. As shown by the use of neutral singular *dat* ‘that.N’ in *dat soort geweld* ‘that sort of violence’ in (49), *soort* used in degree modifiers has neutral gender,<sup>14</sup> whereas in its original lexical ‘subtype’ sense, as in *de soort hout* ‘the sort wood’, it has feminine gender and takes *de* ‘the.F’ rather than *het* ‘the.N’ as article.

<sup>14</sup> Presumably, this shift from feminine to neutral gender is motivated by semantic shift and bleaching.

- (49) Tiener krijgt levenslang voor moord op meisje van 10:  
 “Nooit **dat** **soort**<sub>HEAD</sub> **geweld**<sub>POSTMOD.</sub> gezien bij 15-jarige.”  
 never that sort<sub>HEAD</sub> violence<sub>POSTMOD.</sub> seen with 15-year old  
 ‘Teenager gets life sentence for murder of 10 year old girl. “Never seen **that sort of violence** in a 15 year old.”’ (Tiener krijgt levenslang voor moord op meisje van 10: “Nooit dat soort geweld gezien bij 15-jarige” | Buitenland | hln.be)

Let us now turn to the quantifying, phoric and interrogative modifiers, which in Present-day Dutch do have pre- and postmodifier variants. In Old English, the TN/modifier construction started off with a quantifying genitive premodifier. In Middle English, the premodifier lost its genitive inflexion and came to be viewed as a premodifying noun which could be linked by *of* to the head. TN/*of*-postmodifier variants gradually developed. In Middle and Modern English, the TN/modifier construction developed a wider range of quantifying, phoric and interrogative pre- and postmodifiers (Table 4). In Dutch, the premodifier variants, which typically lack particle *van* ‘of’, seem to us to be more common and TN/postmodifier constructions seem subject to more restrictions. This might be the result of a diachronic development similar to English. Beginning with the quantifying type, we find compound modifiers like *allerhande/allerlei*, and *velerlei*. The origin of *allerhande* ‘of all sorts’ is the Middle Dutch genitive plural *aller* of *al* ‘all’ plus *hand* ‘hand’ in its derived meaning ‘sort’ (Philippa et al. 2003–2009). *Allerlei* and *velerlei* likewise derive from the genitive plural *aller* of *al* ‘all’ and *veler* of *veel* ‘many’ plus *lei* ‘law, principle, manner’, yielding the meanings ‘of all/many sorts’. As compound predeterminers they can be followed by another TN, as in (50). They can also be used as postmodifier, as in *problemen allerhande* ‘problems of all sorts’.

- (50) Ik heb dagelijks mensen over de vloer met **allerhande**  
 I have daily people over the floor with of all hands  
**soort**<sub>PREMOD</sub> **problemen**<sub>HEAD</sub>.  
 sort<sub>PREMOD</sub> problems<sub>HEAD</sub>  
 ‘Every day I have people in my shop with **all sorts of problems**.’ (<https://www.wintersport.be/forum/topic/90239>)

This historical trajectory has many parallels with the development from Old English genitival (pre)modifiers of Middle English compound determiners like *alkin(s)* ‘all kind(s)’ and *fele-kin(s)* ‘many kind(s)’ discussed in Section 3.

TN/premodifiers with interrogative determiners, then, serve the grammatical function of complex determiner, as shown by the fact that they can be replaced by

other (simple and complex) determiners. But, like descriptive TN/modifiers, they are concerned with the ascription of semantic properties to the referents of the NP, as shown in the example with interrogative complex determiner in (51). The *wh*-interrogative with *wat voor soort mens* (lit. ‘what for sort person’) is followed by more specific polar interrogatives in which the alternative properties of ‘super normal’ versus ‘very abnormal’ are substituted for interrogative ‘what sort of’.

- (51) **Wat voor soort**<sub>PREMOD</sub> **mens**<sub>HEAD</sub> ben jij?  
 what for sort<sub>PREMOD</sub> person<sub>HEAD</sub> are you  
 Ben jij super normaal? Of een heel abnormaal mens???  
 ‘**What sort of person** are you? Are you super normal? Or a very abnormal person???’  
 (<https://www.quizlet.nl/quiz/74978/wat-voor-soort-mens-ben-jij>)

Besides the form *wat voor soort* in (51), interrogative complex determiners in Dutch can take variant forms like *welk soort* ‘which sort’ and *wat voor een*, which can perhaps be compared to North English *what’n* (Section 3). Example (52) illustrates the postmodifier variant *van welk soort* ‘of which sort’.

- (52) Hij is een **boef**<sub>HEAD</sub>, **maar van welk soort**<sub>POSTMOD</sub>?  
 He is a crook<sub>HEAD</sub> but of which sort<sub>POSTMOD</sub>  
 Hij oogste ongeloof. Net als de stelling van de Neus dat hij niet „is geïnteresseerd in geld”.  
 ‘He is **a crook, but of which sort**? He met with disbelief. Just like the claim by the Nose that he is not “interested in money”.’ (Holleeder zegt dat hij snakte naar een burgermansbestaan – NRC)

Phoric TN/modifiers give the addressee instructions to retrieve semantic specifications either from the preceding text (53) or from information following in the NP itself (54).

- (53) Wat beleefd van u dat u de moeite neemt om nog te reageren op Petra en Frank. Beiden leven in een fantasiewereld dat wij in Nederland een soort DDR2.0 hebben.  
**Dat soort**<sub>PREMOD</sub> **uitwassen**<sub>HEAD</sub> zit vooral  
 that sort<sub>PREMOD</sub> excesses<sub>HEAD</sub> sits mainly

aan het uiterst rechtse politieke spectrum van de FvD.

‘How polite of you that you go to the trouble of reacting to Petra and Frank. Both are living in a fantasy world that in Netherlands we have a sort of DDR2.0. **That sort of excesses** is located mainly at the extreme right political spectrum of the FvD.<sup>15</sup>

(comment to Inboedel na ontruiming zaak van gemeente (binnenlandsbestuur.nl))

- (54) Het is niet goed dat de mensch alleen zij. Deze woorden, of woorden van gelijke strekking, zijn gezegd of geschreven door de heer Saulus te D.

**Vage herinneringen**<sub>HEAD</sub> **van dien aard**<sub>POSTMOD</sub>

vague memories<sub>HEAD</sub> of that sort<sub>POSTMOD</sub>

jagen althans, als mistflarden in december, door mijn brein.

‘It is not good for man to be alone. These words, or words to the same effect, were said or written by mister Saul at D. At least, **vague memories of that sort** fleet, like trails of mist in December, through my brain.(from: Andreas Burnier, 1983. *De litteraire salon*, Querido)

In (53) the complex determiner *dat soort* (‘such’) contains the neutral noun *soort*, just like the degree modifier in *dat soort geweld* in (49), which confirms the association of the neutral noun with grammaticalized constructions, as opposed to feminine *die soort* found in lexical taxonomizing constructions. The reader is instructed to infer the properties of the ‘excesses’ from the preceding discourse, which refers to commentators calling Nederland (‘Netherlands’) NeDDRland. In (53), instructions for anaphoric retrieval are expressed by the postmodifier *van dien aard* (‘of that nature’).

The third and final set to consider is the extra-NP-constructions with grammatical and discursive functions, set out in Table 10, which can be compared with Table 7 for English.

---

<sup>15</sup> FvD stands for Forum for Democracy, which is viewed as an extreme right wing party.

**Table 10:** English extra-NP-constructions with TN with grammatical and discursive functions.

meaning	structure	
qualifying (hedging, approximating, attenuating, degree modifying, metalinguistic framing)	adverbial – scopal domain	<i>Het is soort van mooi.</i> ‘It’s kind of pretty’ <i>Ik zeg soort van uitdagend:</i> ‘I say sort of defiantly’ <i>Hij is soort begraven bij de raffinaderij</i> ‘he is sort of buried at the refinery’ <i>Dit is soort van wat wij doen.</i> ‘This is sort of what we do’
quotative	marker – report	--
exemplifying, simulative (‘like, such as’)	preposition – complement	<i>Imperatieven van het type ‘niet te lang pruylen’<sup>16</sup></i> ‘imperatives of the type “not pout too long” ‘
tentativeness, diffidence, filler	discourse particle	<i>Het regent eigenlijk een soort van.</i> ‘It’s raining actually sort of’

Present-day Dutch has adverbial qualifiers like *soort* and *soort van* ‘sort of’ (De Troij and Van de Velde 2020). In informal registers they can be used in a variety of grammatical contexts, scoping over, amongst others, adjectives, adverbials (55), verbs and predicative complements, as illustrated in Table 10.

- (55) Ik probeer cool te blijven en zeg **soort van uitdagend**: ‘jij  
I try cool to remain and say sorta defiantly you  
niet zeker’  
not surely  
‘I try to remain cool and say **sort of defiantly**: ‘don’t you?’ (M’n vrienden  
willen wel een MILF-je. . . | Wine-up!)

Dutch *soort* and (*een*) *soort van* ‘sort of’ are also developing discourse particle uses, as in (56), heard on television and explained as an interpersonal marker of tentativeness and politeness on the website quoting it. In contrast with adverbial qualifiers, discourse particles do not have a clear scopal domain.

- (56) Het regent eigenlijk **een soort van**.  
it rains actually a sort of  
It is actually **sort of** raining. (Is ‘soort van’ eigenlijk wel vaagheid? Of is het  
een vorm van beleefdheid soort van? (trouw.nl)

<sup>16</sup> The cited form *pruylen*, Present-day Dutch *pruilen*, is from an older stage of Dutch.

Finally, emergent complex preposition with TNs are attested, as in (57), in which *van het type* means ‘like, such as’.

- (57) Imperatieven **van het type** *niet te lang pruylen*  
 imperatives of the type *niet te lang pruylen*  
 ‘imperatives **like** “don’t pout too long”’ (De Nieuwe Taalgids. Jaargang 33-  
 dbnl)

Dutch does not have quotative markers with TNs. However, it has developed an innovative quotative marker with a simulative meaning, *ik heb zoiets van*, as in (58), generally accepted to be the equivalent of *I’m like*.

- (58) En ik heb zoiets van wees niet zo hard voor jezelf  
 And I have something like be not so hard for yourself  
 ‘And I’m like, don’t be so hard on yourself’

In this section it has become clear that there is extensive parallelism between Present-day English and Dutch in terms of their great variety of TN-construction-types. In English, we have shown, this great variety is due to the different changes affecting the developmental paths from the two source constructions with genitival dependents in Old English. There have not been any diachronic studies of Dutch TN-constructions from the perspective we have outlined. However, in historical relics in some Dutch TN-constructions, parallels could be observed with the English diachrony such as the development of compound determiners like *allerhande* (all sorts of) and *velerlei* (‘many sorts of’) from older genitival TN-modifiers. However, systematic quantitative corpus-based studies are needed to verify the inventory of constructions offered here and to assess the relative productivity of the TN-constructions in our typology. This might reveal that Dutch is lagging somewhat behind English in speed of grammaticalization (see Vandeveldde and Lamiroy 2017).

## 7 Conclusion

The field of TNs in any language covers an exceptionally extended area of the lexicogrammar, which moreover has undergone substantial diachronic change and extension. This field can be approached mainly from the lexical or the grammatical end. To the grammatical analyst, the field presents a great number of constructions, which further multiply if one increases the degree of granularity

with which they are described. The processes of change that led to these multiple constructions are varied and complex. TN-constructions thus constitute a vast field to be charted grammatically, semantically and pragmatically and to be studied in terms of language variation and change.

In this chapter we have addressed gaps and errors of analysis in the existing interpretations of the grammaticalization of TN-constructions in English. Firstly, we have remedied the gap in the data studied hitherto by including Old English data, in which binominal NPs involved a genitive dependent. We have argued that the analysis developed by Kolyaseva (2021) and Kisiel and Kolyaseva (this volume) for binominal NPs with genitives in Russian largely applies to Old English, which was typologically similar. Contra received thinking on English, not one but two source constructions have to be recognized. The earliest and hitherto overlooked source construction was that with TN/genitive, *ælcas cynnes*<sub>GEN.SG</sub> *déor*<sub>NOM.PL</sub> ‘animals of each kind’, which we analysed as a TN/modifier–N2/head construction. The second source construction with N2/genitive, *muneca*<sub>GEN.PL</sub> *cyn*<sub>NOM;PL</sub> ‘kinds of monks’, was analysed as a N2/complement–TN/head construction.

Secondly, we showed that not one, but two distinct diachronic paths developed from these two source constructions when their dependents came to be coded analytically, correcting analyses in our earlier work that were shown to be untenable. The construction with TN/genitival (pre-)modifier led to the complex determiner and the descriptive modifier constructions. When the genitive inflexion was lost, the TN was re-interpreted as a nominal premodifier that didn’t need to but could be linked to the head noun by *of*. Postmodifiers coded analytically as *of* + TN also developed. Contra claims in the literature, as in Brems and Davidse (2010), no modifier–head reversal took place on this path. The second source construction, N2/genitival complement–N/head, we proposed, came to be realized analytically as N/head + *of* + N2/complement. For this lexical source construction, we do see the earlier posited shift of headedness as the most likely mechanism to have led to the nominal qualifying construction, in which the TN is part of a premodifier. The nominal qualifying construction also developed post-modifier variants. From the nominal qualifier construction developed adverbial qualifiers with their variety of scopal domains, which eventually led to discourse particles used in speech, and more marginally, quotative markers and complex prepositions.

For Present-day English we presented a comprehensive typology, recognizing more TN-constructions and structural variants than distinguished in the literature on English so far. By way of a first test of the newly proposed model, we researched the counterparts in Present-day Dutch of the TN-constructions in Present-day English. We found that, with the exception of some minor variants, the synchronic typology of Dutch is in its basic outlines very similar to that of

English. Moreover, Present-day Dutch TN-constructions feature relics from earlier stages such as TN/genitive-derived quantifiers like *allerhande* (lit. ‘of all hands/sorts’), which also appear to support the proposed model.

These findings call for future grammar-oriented research. First of all, more qualitative and quantitative corpus study is needed to verify and flesh out the diachronic model proposed for English. Secondly, the proposed lines of development have to be investigated for other Germanic languages. It should be studied whether their diachronic development of TN-constructions involved not only analytic complex NPs but also ones with genitives. Diachronic studies of Scandinavian languages (e.g. Toft 2009, Odden 2019) have recognized the role played by these two types of constructions, i.e. analytically coded NPs like *Swedish flygplan av typen Boeing 777* ‘plane of the type Boeing 777’ (Odden 2018), and binominal genitive constructions. The latter type, Odden (2018) observes, developed mainly into idiosyncratic and semi-fixed constructions, particularly with quantifiers and demonstratives”, as in Norwegian *allskens* (all.GEN.SG-kind.GEN.SG), ‘of all kind’. The more specific hypotheses to be investigated in the history of other Germanic languages pertain to the two main source constructions posited by us for English, i.e. TN/head–N2/complement and N2/head–TN/modifier. Is there evidence in other languages for the central contrast we posit between complementation and modification constructions – both within their genitival and analytic realizations? Is there support for the two distinct developmental trajectories we have hypothesized for the complementation and modification source constructions? In sum, the more comprehensive diachronic model of English TN-constructions developed in this introduction calls for new grammar-oriented studies addressing these questions in other Germanic languages. Such studies will, in turn, allow to better flesh out the synchronic inventories of TN-constructions and elucidate their rich semantics-pragmatics.

## References

- Ackema, Peter & Ad Neeleman. 2004. *Beyond morphology: Interface conditions on word formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aijmer, Karin. 2002. *English discourse particles: Evidence from a corpus*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Brems, Lieselotte & Kristin Davidse. 2010. The grammaticalization of nominal type noun constructions with *kind/sort of*: chronology and paths of change. *English Studies* 91. 180–202.
- De Coster, Marc. 2002. *Woordenboek van populaire uitdrukkingen, clichés, kreten en slogans*. Den Haag: Sdu.

- Denison, David. 2002. History of the *sort of* construction family. Paper presented at the Second International conference on Construction Grammar, Helsinki, September 6–28, 2002.
- De Smedt, Liesbet, Lieselotte Brems & Kristin Davidse. 2007. NP-internal functions and extended uses of the ‘type’ nouns *kind*, *sort*, and *type*: Towards a comprehensive, corpus-based description. In Roberta Facchinetti et al. (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics 25 years on*, 225–255. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- De Troij, Robbert & Van de Velde, Freek. 2020. Beyond mere text frequency: assessing subtle grammaticalization by different quantitative measures. A case study on the Dutch *soort* construction. *Langages* 5. 55.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2002. When ‘say’ is not say: The functional versatility of the Bantu quotative marker *ti* with special reference to Shona. In Tom Güldemann & Manfred von Roncador (eds.), *Reported discourse: A meeting ground for different linguistic domains*, 253–287. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keizer, Evelien. 2007. *The English noun phrase. The nature of linguistic categorization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kolyaseva, Alena. 2021. The nominal uses of the Russian *rod* (‘genus’, ‘genre’, ‘kind’) and *tip* (‘type’): the starting point of desemantization, *Slovo a Slovesnost* 82. 3–44.
- Kolyaseva, Alena & Kristin Davidse. 2018. A typology of lexical and grammaticalized uses of Russian *tip*. *Russian Linguistics* 42. 191–220.
- Kruisinga, Etsko 1932. *A handbook of Present-day English*. 5th edition. Groningen: Noordhoff.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Vol. 1: Theoretical preliminaries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Vol. 2: Descriptive application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald. 2021. Functions and assemblies. In Kazuhiro Kodama & Tetsuharu Koyama, (eds.), *The forefront of Cognitive Linguistics*, 1–54. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
- Janebová, Markéta & Michaela Martinková. 2017. NP-internal *kind of* and *sort of*: evidence from an English-Czech parallel translation corpus In Markéta Janebová, Ekaterina Lapshinova-Koltunski & Michaela Martinková (eds.), *Contrasting English and other languages through corpora*, 164–217. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Mackenzie, J. Lachlan. 1997. Grammar, discourse and knowledge: the use of *such*. In Jan Aarts, Inge de Mönnink, Herman Wekker (eds.) *Studies in English language and teaching. In honour of Flor Aarts*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 85–105.
- Martin, James 1980. *Text grammar*. Course notes. Linguistics Department. University of Sydney.
- Odden, Oda Røste. 2018. Dynamics of the Scandinavian type nouns as renewal, reinforcement and analogy in determiner/proform-like systems. Paper presented at Workshop Pragmatic functions of type nouns: a crosslinguistic perspective. University of Tübingen, 18.6.2018 – 20.6.2018.
- Odden, Oda Røste. 2019. *North Scandinavian type noun constructions: Patterns with slags, SORTs and TYP(E)*. Oslo: University of Oslo doctoral dissertation.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. 1933. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (www.oed.com)
- Prince, Ellen. 1981. Towards a taxonomy of given–new information. In Peter Cole (ed.), *Radical Pragmatics*, 223–255. New York: Academic Press.

- Philippa, Marlies, Frans Debrabandere, Arend Quak, Tanneke Schoonheim, & Nicoline van der Sijs. 2003–2009. *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Rosier, Laurence. 2002. *Genre: le nuancier de sa grammaticalisation*. *Travaux de Linguistique* 44. 79–88.
- Schermer-Vermeer, Ina. 2008. De *soort*-constructie: Een nieuw patroon in het Nederlands. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 13. 2–33.
- Sinclair, John. 1991. *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tabor, Whitey. 1993. The gradual development of degree modifier *sort of* and *kind of*: a corpus proximity model. In Katherine Beals, Gina Cooke, David Kathman, Karl-Erik McCullough, Sotar Kita & David Testen (eds.), *Papers from the 29th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, 451–465. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Toft, Ellen H. 2009. *Adnominal and adverbial genitive constructions in Old Norse: a cognitive construction grammar account*. Oslo: University of Oslo doctoral dissertation.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Richard Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van de Velde, Freek & Beatrice Lamiroy. 2017. External possessors in West Germanic and Romance: differential speed in the drift towards NP configurability. In Hubert Cuyckens, Lobke Ghesquière & Daniel Van Olmen (eds.), *Aspects of grammaticalization: (Inter) subjectification, analogy and unidirectionality*, 353–399. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Voghera, Miriam. 2013. A case study on the relationship between grammatical change and synchronic variation: the emergence of *tipo*[-N] in Italian. In Anna Giacalone Ramat, Catarina Mauri Piera Molinelli (eds.), *Synchrony and diachrony. A dynamic interface*, 283–312. Amsterdam: Benjamins.