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Zoo/zulcken harden proef – diachronic developments in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction

Zo and *zulk* in 17th-century Dutch and 21st-century Dutch

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The writing of this thesis was a long, sometimes fun, laborious process. Some moments were great: I was so excited when I found another interesting variant in Vondel's texts. I also had some tough times: moments where I got stuck and frustrated that I couldn't just talk to Vondel for a few minutes. This whole process would have been so much easier if – only for a day – I could have traveled to the 17th century with a time machine. Unfortunately, until this day, time machines are just a fairytale, and therefore I want to thank some people who made this long process way more bearable.

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Summary

In 17th-century Dutch, the construction with the elements *zoo* 'so' and *zulck* 'such', an adjective and a noun has many variants. An example of this construction is given in i.

i.   zoo   groot een   man
     so   big   a   man
     'so big a man'

The possible variants of the construction in i. are given in the table below. In the change from 17th-century Dutch to 21st-century Dutch, some of the variants of this construction gradually disappeared.

Variant	*Zoo* 17th century	*Zo* 21st century
So-adjective	zoo grote man	*zo grote man
So-adjective-a	zoo groot een man	*zo groot een man
So-adjective+en	zoo groten man	*zo groten man
So-a-adjective	zoo een grote man	zo'n grote man
A-so-adjective	een zoo grote man	een zo grote man
Variant	***Zulck* 17th century**	***Zulk* 21st century**
Such-adjective	zulcke grote man	*zulke grote man
Such-adjective-a	*zulck groot een man	*zulk groot een man
Such+en-adjective+en	zulcken groten man	*zulken groten man
Such-a-adjective	zulck een grote man	??zulk een grote man
A-such-adjective	*een zulck slecht hotel	*een zulke grote man

Table i, paradigm of the so/such-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th- century Dutch and Standard Dutch*

Within the 17th century, the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* emerged. The variants *so-adjective*, *so-adjective-a*, *so-adjective+en*, *such-adjective*, *such+en-adjective+en* and *such-a-adjective* gradually disappeared after this century and are no longer possible in the 21st century.

    The main research question of this thesis is: How did the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction develop within 17th-century Dutch and in the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch, and how can we explain this development?

    The emergence and disappearance of some of the variants can be explained by the grammaticalization process of *zoo* and *zulck*. In the 17th century, *zoo* partially grammaticalized, and therefore it received another reading. Before this grammaticalization, *zoo* only had an intensifying reading. Having an intensifying property is a characteristic of the lexical category adverbs. In the 17th century, *zoo* got an identifying reading as well, which is a typical reading for the syntactic category determiners, i.e. a functional category. And because grammaticalization is a change from being a lexical category to being a functional category, the direction of change in *zoo* (from lexical to more functional) is to be expected. Due to the extra possible reading of *zoo*, the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* emerged.

    Zulck is grammaticalized as well. Within the 17th-century, *zulck* could behave both adjective-like (e.g. it had a predicative use) and determiner-like (e.g. it could express reference). After the 17th century, *zulck* lost some adjective-like characteristics, and became more determiner-like. The direction of this change is to be expected in a grammaticalization process, because *zulck* changed from being in a lexical category (adjective) to a functional category (determiner). This change in *zulck* caused the variant *such-a-adjective* to disappear.

List of abbreviations

Acc	Accusative
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Comp	Comparative
Count	Count noun
Dat	Dative
F	Feminine
Foc	Focus
Gen	Genitive
PL	Plural
SG	Singular
Sup	Superlative
Mass	Mass noun
N	Neuter
Nom	Nominative
N-N	Non-neuter

1. Introduction

Before the 17th century, there was no such thing as Standard Dutch; each region in the Netherlands had its own dialect. These dialects were not used in all domains. For instance, French was used at court, and Latin was used for scientific and religious purposes. However, the national consciousness was growing, and this gave rise to the desire to have a general national language that could be used in the political, scientific, and religious domains. This was the beginning of a language standardization process (Van der Sijs & Willemijns 2009; Van der Wal & Van Bree 2008).

To benefit the realization of this national language, prescriptive grammars were produced. The first Dutch grammar is the *Twe-spraack* of 1584 (Spiegel 1962). The purpose of this grammar was to refine the Dutch language, with the cultured language Latin as an example. For instance, author Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert (1522-1590) wrote in the preface of this grammar: 'Maar ryck is de tale die van zódanighe verstandighe wóórden heeft overvloedighe verandering[1]' (Spiegel 1962). What Coornhert meant is that cultured languages should have much inflection for case and gender, following the example of Latin. Therefore, more morphological inflectional endings were prescribed than were used in Dutch at the time (Van der Wal & Van Bree 2008).

Some important authors of the 17th century started to think actively about the standardization of the language. P.C. Hooft (1581-1647), a prominent author, wrote down his thoughts on language use: not necessarily with prescriptive intentions, but mainly to discuss variation patterns in the language in a descriptive way. He did this in his *Waernemingen* (Hooft 1635-1638), for instance. One example of variation discussed in Hooft's *Waernemingen* concerns the following noun phrases:

(1) a. zoo[2] groten man
     so   *big*-en *man*
     'so big a man'

 b. zoo groot een man
     so *big* *a* *man*
     'so big a man'

In 17th-century Dutch, both noun phrases in the examples above could be used to express the same thing. In example (1)a, there is no fully-written indefinite article, but the adjective has an *–en* ending. In (1)b, there is an indefinite article, but the adjective is not inflected. P.C. Hooft thought about this variation pattern, and discussed it in his *Waernemingen*:

 "Men zeidt *zo grooten man deed zulks*, hier is *man* Nominatyf, ende *grooten* een andre Casus. Zommighen meenen, dat *zoo grooten* word gezeidt voor *zoo groot een*. Maer men zoude moghen daer tegen meenen, dat men behoort te zeggen *zoo groote man*, gelijk *de groote man*; ende dat men alleenlijk *groot* moet zeggen als 'er *een* voorstaet. Doch men zeidt

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[1] 'But rich is the language that has such wise words with many inflections.'
[2] In 17th-century Dutch, there was no prescribed spelling. Hence, *zoo* could also have the form *soo*, *zo* or *so*. I use the form *zoo* to refer to the adverb *so* in 17th-century Dutch.

zo grooten volk, ende alhier te zeggen *zoo groote volk* gelijk *het groote volk* dunkt mij niet wel aenneemelijk; waer over ik mij liefst houden zouw aen de meening der eersten; te weeten dat het zijn moet *zo groot een man.*"[3] (Hooft 1635-1638: 247)

Hence, Hooft reflected on the two variants in example (1), and described why he preferred the example with the fully-written article. However, not all properties of the language were described or prescribed in the grammar. In addition to the variants in example (1), there are more variants of this construction that are used in the 17th century which are not discussed in grammars. In total, there are five variants of this construction with a singular noun in 17th-century Dutch, according to Van der Horst and Van de Velde (2003)[4] [5]. In the remainder of this study, the construction in (1) with the word *zoo* is called the *so-adjective-noun*-construction. Differences between the variants are described below Table 1.

Variant[6]	Example
1. *so-adjective*	zoo grote vrouw *so big woman*
2. *so-adjective-a*	zoo groot een vrouw *so big a woman*
3. *so-adjective+en*	zoo groten vrouw *so big*-en *woman*
4. *so-a-adjective*	zoo een grote vrouw *so a big woman*
5. *a-so-adjective*	een zoo grote vrouw *a so big woman*

Table 1, the variants of the so-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th-century Dutch*

Only the variants *so-adjective-a* and *so-adjective+en* are discussed by Hooft; the other variants are not.

The first variant, *so-adjective*, does not contain an indefinite article. When the construction does contain an indefinite article it can occur in multiple positions. It can be positioned after the adjective, as in the *so-adjective-a*-variant; between *zoo* and the adjective, as in the *so-a-adjective*-variant; or before *zoo*, as in the *a-so-adjective*-variant.

In Table 1, the variant *so-adjective* is mentioned as a separate category from the *so-adjective+en*-variant. The difference between these two categories is that the adjective in the *so-adjective*-variant always receives the same case, number, and gender agreement as the

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[3] "They say *zo grooten man deed zulks* ('so big-*en* man did this'), *man* is nominative, and *grooten* has another case. Some think that *zo grooten* is said instead of *zo groot een* ('so big a'). But you can argue against that, namely that you should say *zo groote man* ('so big man'), equal to *de groote man* ('the big man'); and that they should just say *groot* when *een* is in front of it. Still, they say *zo grooten volk* ('so big-en nation'), but that you would say *zoo groote volk* equal to *het groote volk* is not likely; therefore I agree with the first opinion; it should be *zo groot een man.*"

[4] If the examples in (1) are seen as the same construction, i.e. in that they only differ in having either an enclitic indefinite article or a fully-written one, there are four possible variants.

[5] Even within authors it was possible to use all the different variants. This is shown in chapter 3.

[6] The place of the noun is not included in the name of the variant, because the noun is always in the final position of the phrase.

noun it modifies. This is not the case in the *so-adjective+en*-variant. The *–en* ending in the variant *so-adjective+en* cannot be an adjective with normal case, gender, and number agreement. This is also mentioned by Hooft in his *Waernemingen*. This can be shown with reference to the paradigm of regular adjectival inflections. The table below provides an overview of the adjectival inflection.

Gender	Case	Determiner	Adjective	Noun
Masculine	Nom.	de	goede	mensche
		the	*good*	*human*
	Gen.	des	goeden	menschen
	Dat.	den	goeden	mensche
	Acc.	den	goeden	mensche
Neuter	Nom.	het	goed(e)	herte
		the	*good*	*deer*
	Gen.	des	goeden	herten
	Dat.	den/het	goeden/goed	herte
	Acc.	het	goed(e)	herte
Feminine	Nom.	de	**goede**	ziel
		the	*good*	*soul*
	Gen.	der	**goede(r)**	ziele(n)
	Dat.	de(r)	**goede**	ziele(n)
	Acc.	de	**goede**	ziel

Table 2, inflection of determiners, adjectives and singular nouns in 17th-century Dutch (Mooijaart & Van der Wal 2011)

Table 2 shows that adjectives that modify a singular feminine noun are never inflected with an *–en* ending. However, when the *so-adjective+en*-variant contains a singular feminine noun, the adjective has an *–en* ending, as demonstrated in Table 1.This *–en* ending on an adjective that modifies a singular feminine noun only occurs in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction. As discussed above, Hooft assumes that this *–en* ending is an enclitic indefinite article, because it is not a normal adjectival inflection ending. Weijnen (1976) supports this analysis. However, others argued that this ending is a special case ending (Van der Horst & Van de Velde 2003). Even though there is no agreement in the literature on the nature of the *–en* ending, it is certain that it is not a regular case inflection. Therefore, the variants *so-adjective* and *so-adjective+en* are discussed as separate variants in Table 2.

For the variant *so-adjective+en* with a masculine or neuter noun, it cannot be determined if this is an example of the variant *so-adjective* or of the variant *so-adjective+en*. The *–en* ending can be either a case ending, as the paradigm in Table 2 shows, or an occurrence of the *–en* ending of the *so-adjective+en*-variant.

The variant *so-adjective+en* is also found with words other than *zoo*. For instance, it also occurs with other adverbs, such as *hoe* 'how' and *al te* 'all too', and with words such as *zulck*

'such'[7] and *zodanig* 'such' (Van der Horst 2008). The latter two behave differently to *zoo*, because they are 'inflected' themselves[8].

(2) a. zulcken groten   vrouw[9]
         such-en *big*-en   *woman*
         'such a big woman'
    b. zodanigen groten   vrouw
         such-en   *big*-en   *woman*
         'such a big woman'

As explained above, the variants *so-adjective-a* and *so-adjective+en* received attention during the 17th century, whereas the variants *so-adjective, so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* were not discussed in grammars. Even though not much attention was paid to the use of these latter variants, a change might have taken place in these variants in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction in the 17th century (Van der Horst & Van de Velde 2003). Van der Horst and Van de Velde's (2003) corpus study shows that the variant *so-adjective* became rarer in the 17th century, whereas the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* were emerging. The fact that this change is not described or prescribed in Dutch grammars of the 17th century, suggests a natural language change.

The development of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction becomes visible if the possible variants in 17th-century Dutch are compared to the possible variants in 21st-century Dutch[10]. Between the 17th and the 21st century, some of the variants of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction remained in use, whereas others gradually disappeared.

In Standard Dutch, it is obligatory to have an indefinite article if the construction contains a singular noun. Hence, the variant *so-adjective* is no longer used. Also, the indefinite article can no longer be placed after the adjective, so the *so-adjective-a*-variant has disappeared. The variants that are used are the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective*.

(3) a. zo'n grote vrouw   *so-a-adjective*
         so-a big   woman
         'so big a woman'
    b. een   zo grote vrouw   *a-so-adjective*
         a   so big   woman
         'so big a woman'

In (3)a, the compound *zo'n* 'so-a' is used. In the *so-a-adjective*-variant, the indefinite article is almost never fully-written, but always an enclitic article to *zo* 'so' in Standard Dutch (Broekhuis 2016).

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[7] From now on, I use the term *zulck* to refer to the word *such* in 17th-century Dutch. Other spellings were also used in 17th-century Dutch, namely *sulck, zulk* and *sulk*.

[8] Occurrences of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction with other words than *zo* and *zulk*, e.g. *hoe* and *zodanig*, will be left for further research.

[9] This construction is called the *such-adjective-noun*-construction in this study. This construction with *zulck* also has different variants, similar to the *so-adjective-noun*-constructions. Which variants can be used with *zulck* is discussed in chapter 3. I call the variant in (2)a *such+en-adjective+en*.

[10] From now on, I refer to 21st-century Dutch with the term *Standard Dutch*.

The use of 17th-century *zulck* in (2)a, is no longer used in Standard Dutch; not with the *–en* ending, and also not with this *–en* ending as a fully-written article. This is shown in (4).

(4) a.   *zulken   groten   vrouw
        such-en   *big*-en   *woman*

    b.   ?zulk   een   grote vrouw[11]
        such   *a*   *big*   *woman*

    c.   *zulk   groot een   vrouw
        such   *big*   *a*   *woman*

A complete overview of the possibilities of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch is provided in chapter 3.

To summarize, some of the variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are discussed in descriptive grammars. This might have had an influence on language users in the 17th century. Language users may have followed Hooft in preferring the *so-adjective-a*-variant over the *so-adjective+en*-variant. Other variants of this construction were not discussed, but they still changed. The *so-adjective*-variant became rarer, whereas the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* were emerging. Hence, both the language standardization process and natural language changes might have influenced the development of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction within the 17th century, and in the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch.

1.1 Research goals and limits

The short description of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction above already provides some insight into a change within this construction. In the 17th century, there were more variants of this construction, but some of the variants gradually disappeared between the 17th century and the present. The following main research question will be answered:

How did the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction develop within 17th-century Dutch and in the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch, and how can we explain this development?

Three sub-questions will be addressed in order to provide an answer to the research question.

The first sub-question is: what variants of the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction occur in 17th-century Dutch, and what variants in Standard Dutch? To describe the development of the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction, an overview of changes in the possibilities of the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction within the 17th-century and between the 17th and 21st century is required. This overview is provided in chapter 3. An empirical study was performed to provide this overview of 17th-century Dutch. To analyze this construction in 17th-century Dutch, work of the author Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) is used as a case study. I used Vondel's texts because he wrote over a long time span, namely for 70 years, between 1605 and 1674. He was also a very productive writer; hence, there are many texts to analyze. Because Vondel wrote over such a long time span, it is possible to examine if a development in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction already takes place within the 17th

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[11] The use of *zulk* in the *such-a-adjective*-variant is archaic in Standard Dutch.

century[12]. A grammar of Standard Dutch is used to provide an overview of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in Standard Dutch.

To explain the development of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction within the 17th century, and between the 17th and 21st century, the question that should be answered is if there are developments in the elements *zoo, zo, zulck* and *zulk* and, if so, what kind of developments. Development within words is attested more often in language. Grammaticalization is an example of development within words. This phenomenon is the development of words from a lexical category to a functional category (Roberts 1993; Robert & Roussou 2003). One possibility is that the development in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction occurs due to a change in categorization between *zoo* and *zo,* and *zulck* and *zulk*. If *zo* and *zulk* have developed from a lexical category to a functional category, this possibly explains their different uses in 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch. Therefore, *zoo, zo, zulck* and *zulk* are classified in chapter 4. In order to do so, three syntactic categories, namely adjectives, adverbs, and determiners, are compared to *zoo, zulck, zo* and *zulk*. Possible readings of the elements *zoo, zo, zulck* and *zulk* in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are also discussed. It is possible that due to grammaticalization these words have lost (part of) their original meaning.

The final question is how the loss of some of the variants between the 17th and 21st century can be explained, and if a development within the elements *zoo, zo, zulck* and *zulk* can explain this loss of some of the variants. To explain why there are different possibilities for the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch, it needs to be examined how the different variants are made possible by the properties of the language system. This is analyzed by using the Minimalist generative framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In this way, it is possible to explain how the development within the elements *zoo, zo, zulck* and *zulk* explain why some of the variants are no longer possible in the language system. The analysis of how the construction is possible in the language system, and why some of the variants are no longer possible in the language system is discussed in chapter 5.

The analysis of 17th-century Dutch poses some challenges, because there are no longer any native speakers of this language. Some characteristics of different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch can be determined with reference to the use of these variants in a corpus. However, this is not always possible. Chomsky's Uniformity Principle states: 'In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances' (Chomsky 2001:2). I follow this principle, and therefore I use properties of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in Standard Dutch and in English[13] to provide insight into the variants of this construction in 17th-century Dutch. I decided to use English, because English still uses variants of this construction that were used in 17th-century Dutch but do not occur in Standard Dutch. In English, the *so- adjective-a*-variant and the *such-a-adjective*-variant can be used, as demonstrated in (5). Both of these variants cannot be used in Standard Dutch, but they are possible in 17th-century Dutch, as is shown in chapter 3.

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[12] Data of Dutch in the 18th, 19th, and 20th century will not be taken into account.
[13] I will not differentiate between different varieties of English. The variants of the *so/such-adjective-a*-construction that I discuss are used in multiple dominant variants of English.

(5) a.   so big a woman   *so-adjective-a*

  b.   such a big woman   *such-a-adjective*

The variants *so-a-adjective*, *a-so-adjective* and *a-such-adjective* do not occur in English:

(6) a.   *so a big woman   *so-a-adjective*

  b.   ??a so big woman   *a-so-adjective*

  c.   *a such big woman   *a-such-adjecitve*

Characteristics of *so* and *such* in English are discussed in chapter 4. If *so* and *such* have similar characteristics to *zoo* and *zulck* in 17th-century Dutch, this provides insight into why the variants *so-adjective-a* and *such-a-adjective* occur in both languages. Comparing *so* and *such* to *zo* and *zulk* in Standard Dutch provides insight into why the variants *so-adjective-a* and *such-a-adjective* occur in English but not in Standard Dutch; and why the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* are possible in Standard Dutch, but not in English.

I will argue that there has been a development within the elements *zoo, zo, zulck* and *zulk* that caused the disappearance of the variants *so-adjective*, *so-adjective-a*, *so-adjective+en* and *such-a-adjective* after the 17th century. This development is different for *zoo* and for *zulck*. I will argue that *zoo* became more grammaticalized, and therefore it received another reading. The possible readings are discussed in chapter 4. Because *zoo* received an extra reading, it was possible for the *so-a-adjective*-variant to emerge within the 17th century. *Zulk* is grammaticalized as well, and therefore it changed in its categorization. In the 17th century, *zulck* was more adjective-like, hence a lexical category. Due to its grammaticalization, *zulck* became more determiner-like, which is a functional category. Therefore, the variant *such-a-adjective* is no longer in use in Standard Dutch. This is further explained in chapter 5.

1.2 Outline of the thesis

The outline of this thesis is as follows. Firstly, Vondel's background is shortly discussed. The characteristics of his language use and the extent to which he was influenced by the language standardization process are topics that are addressed. If he was influenced by language standardization, he might have started to prefer the *so-adjective-a*-variant over the *so-adjective+en* construction, following Hooft's *Waernemingen*. In chapter 3, an overview of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch, and English is provided. This overview is made on the basis of a corpus study of Vondel's 17th century works, and on the basis of descriptions of this construction in grammars of Standard Dutch and English. In chapter 4, a classification of *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* is provided. This classification is produced by comparing characteristics of *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* to characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners. The possible readings of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are discussed as well, to examine if there are developments within the elements *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* that caused interpretative differences between the different variants of the construction. This chapter ends with a discussion of the development in the elements *zoo* and *zulck*. In chapter 5, a syntactic analysis of the different variants is performed in order to analyze why some of the variants are no longer possible in Standard Dutch. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with a summary, discussion, and suggestions for further research.

2. Background Joost van den Vondel

Joost van den Vondel was an important, versatile, and productive author. He wrote many texts during a period of 70 years. Because there are many available texts of Vondel, and because he wrote from the beginning of the 17th century until the end of that century, I have chosen to use Vondel's texts. With Vondel's work as a case study, it is possible to describe changes in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction within the 17th century. To understand Vondel's language use, more information about his background is required. For instance, was he a language purist who blindly followed the prescriptive grammars, or did he follow the natural changes in language as well? This is important, because if he blindly followed grammars, he might have followed Hooft in that the *so-adjective-a*-variant of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction should be preferred over the *so-adjective+en*-variant. Another question is if Vondel had specific characteristics in his language use that caused him to not be representative for the language use of authors in the 17th century.

3.1 Vondel's life

Vondel is born in Cologne in 1587. His family left this city in 1595, because Cologne became too dangerous for them (Smits-Veldt & Spies 2012). They first moved to Utrecht, and then to Amsterdam. During this time, Vondel wrote his first poem in the Rhetoric tradition, in 1605.

In Amsterdam, Vondel became a member of the Chamber of Rhetoric *Het wit lavendel* 'The white lavender'. He already had mastered French, and he taught himself Latin as well, which he mastered by 1620 to such an extent that he was able to read the most important Latin work. During this time, Vondel wrote many satires on opponents, for instance on the Calvinist preachers. He also wrote many epic poems during this time.

Slowly, Vondel got more acquaintances outside of his religious circle (the Mennonites), for instance Roemer Visscher and P.C. Hooft. They often discussed literary matters with each other (Smits-Veldt & Spies 2012). In this time, Vondel wrote a satire on the authority (stadtholder Maurits) forcing him to go underground for a short period of time. In 1635 his wife died, and shortly after his mother as well. After this difficult period, Vondel focused on writing tragedies, of which *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* is the best known (Bork & Verkruijsse 1985).

In 1641, Vondel became Catholic, because he wanted to find more ecclesiastical authority, and because of the respect of the Catholic Church for old traditions. A result of his conversion was that his work after 1641 got a Christian twist (Smits-Veldt & Spies 2012). On 5 February 1678, Vondel passed away.

3.2 Influence of language standardization process

In this section, I discuss if Vondel was a language purist or whether he did not follow prescribed characteristics of the Dutch language.

Vondel was important for the language standardization process because he influenced other writers with his language use, and he thought actively about the standardization of the language (Van der Sijs & Willemijns 2009:233). From early on in his life, Vondel endorsed the idea of pure Dutch (Grootes 2012). Already in his first poem, he did not use loan words from Latin or French. Vondel "strove all his life to use pure, clear, smoothly flowing language" (Grootes 2012:103). Vondel argued in his *Aenleidinghe* (Vondel 1650) that poets

could use the Dutch language in their work, but that they must use the standardized and refined language: dialects were not appropriate.

"Wat onze spraeck belangt, die is, sedert weinige jaren herwaert, van bastertwoorden en onduitsch allengs geschuimt, en gebouwt, en geeft den leerling nu veel vooruit, (…) out Amsterdamsch is te mal, en plat Antwerpsch te walgelijck, en niet onderscheidelijck genoegh."[14] (Vondel 1650:38-40,15-17/30-31)

Vondel argued that Standard Dutch should not contain many characteristics of dialects, but it should also not be too similar to Latin. One must keep the Dutch word order, for instance. However, Vondel himself did put words in a different word order to benefit the meter (Smits-Veldt & Spies 2012).

"Men vermijde, gelijck een pest, de woorden, tegens den aert onzer tale, te verstellen (…)Wy mogen hier in nochte Griecken, nochte Latijnen navolgen."[15] (Vondel 1650:40-41,35-39)

Hence, Vondel has a strong opinion on what kind of Dutch should be used. He thought actively about linguistic matters and practical improvement of the language. According to him, the Dutch language should be a mix of the sociolects of the upper classes of Amsterdam and The Hague (Willemyns 2013). To answer the question if Vondel was a language purist who blindly followed the prescriptive grammars: this is partially the case. He followed the language standardization, for instance he thought one had to use the characteristic word order of Dutch, and that one should not use dialects in their writing. This could mean that he also agreed with Hooft that the *so-adjective-a*-variant with a fully-written indefinite article should be preferred over the *so-adjective+en*-variant. However, in poetry he could use other word orders to benefit the meter.

3.3   Characteristics of Vondel's language use

For using Vondel as a case study to describe the possibilities in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch, it is important that his language use was not completely different from all other authors. Therefore, I will discuss if Vondel had specific characteristics in his language use that made him not to be representative for Dutch 17th-century authors.

In his early work, Vondel used characteristics of the Southern dialect, which is his native language. For instance the weak *h* that is not pronounced (e.g. *uus* instead of *huus* 'house'). Not all authors did this during the 17th century, but because this does not influence the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, it is no problem for the representativeness of this study. Important for the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is that Vondel was able to use an *–en* ending for adjectives that modify a nominative masculine or neuter singular count noun, e.g. *den blijden dag* 'the cheerful day'(Vooys 1970) This is an unusual nominative case ending, as shown in Table 2 in the introduction, repeated below in Table 3.

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[14] "As for our language (Dutch), since a few years it is cleared from loan words, it is purified and cultivated, and this provides the poet student a head start (…) the old dialect of Amsterdam is too ludicrous an the plain dialect of Antwerp is too distasteful an not distinctive enough."

[15] "You should avoid, just as the pest, putting words in an unusual position that is not normal in our language. In terms of word order, we should not follow Greek or Latin."

Gender	Case	Determiner	Adjective	Noun
Masculine	Nom.	**de**	**goede**	**mensche**
		the	*good*	*human*
	Gen.	des	goeden	menschen
	Dat.	den	goeden	mensche
	Acc.	den	goeden	mensche
Neuter	Nom.	**het**	**goed(e)**	**herte**
		the	*good*	*deer*
	Gen.	des	goeden	herten
	Dat.	den/het	goeden/goed	herte
	Acc.	het	goed(e)	herte

Table 3, inflection of determiners, adjectives and singular nouns for masculine and neuter (Mooijaart & Van der Wal 2011)

Normally, these adjectives would only have an –*e* ending in the nominative, as shown above. The –*en* ending that Vondel could use in nominative case is more common in 17th-century Dutch (Mooijaart & Van der Wal 2011). And this phenomenon is important for the distinction between the variants *so-adjective* and *so-adjective+en*. For masculine and neuter nouns in these variants, it cannot be told of which variant they are. Even in nominative case it cannot be told if the –*en* ending is truly the ending of the *so-adjective+en*-variant, because it can also be used as an irregular nominative case ending.

Later in his life, Vondel starts to see the Northern dialect as the more civilized one. Therefore, he stopped using Southern influences in his texts, and he tried to use a more standardized version of Dutch (Vooys 1970). Hence, his language use became more representative for language users that used the standardized language.

During his life, Vondel always sought to have a correct use of case and gender. For instance, he did not want to use an –*en* ending on adjectives that modify a singular feminine noun. Below, the case endings for feminine singular nouns are repeated from the table in the introduction.

Gender	Case	Determiner	Adjective	Noun
Feminine	Nom.	de	**goede**	ziel
		the	*good*	*soul*
	Gen.	der	**goede(r)**	ziele(n)
	Dat.	de(r)	**goede**	ziele(n)
	Acc.	de	**goede**	ziel

Table 4, inflection of determiners, adjectives and singular nouns for feminine (Mooijaart & Van der Wal 2011)

Table 4 shows that adjectives never have an –*en* ending when they modify a singular feminine noun. When Vondel used an adjective to modify a feminine noun, he normally never used an –*en* ending. Not even if the uninflected adjective already had an –*en* ending by itself. This is the case for the adjective *gouden* 'golden'. Even though the –*en* ending in this adjective is not necessarily an inflection ending, he still used this adjective without the -*n*, namely *goude* (Vooys 1970). However, Vondel can use the *so/such-adjective+en* construction with feminine nouns, as is shown in chapter 3. This means that even if the noun is singular feminine in this construction, the adjective has an –*en* ending. This is remarkable for Vondel's language use,

and it indicates that Vondel did not consider the *–en* ending to be a case ending in the *so/such-adjective+en*-variant.

The question in this section was if Vondel's language had specific characteristics that caused him to not be representative for the language use of authors in the 17th century. It seems since that this is not the case: only in his early work his language was influenced by the Southern Dialect. But the characteristics of his language use ascribed above are no problem for providing an overview of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. This overview is given in the following chapter.

3. Overview of the variation in the *so/such-adjective-noun-construction*

In this chapter, an overview of all possible variants of the *so/such-adjective*-noun in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English is given. The overview of 17th-century Dutch is given on the basis of Joost van den Vondel's work. In section 3.1, the empirical methodology to get this overview of 17th-century Dutch is explained, as well as the results of this study. The possible variants in Standard Dutch and English are discussed on the basis of descriptions in grammars. The overview of the possible variants in these languages is given in section 3.2. At the end of the chapter, the possibilities in the three languages are compared.

3.1 17th-century Dutch

3.1.1 *Methodology*

For the overview of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch, I used the complete works of Vondel as a case study. In section 3.1.1.1, I shortly discuss this corpus. Next, I explain how I analyzed the data.

3.1.1.1 Corpus study

Vondel has written many poems, plays, and other work in his life between 1605 and 1674. In section 3.1.1.2, I give an estimation of the total number of words he has written. All Vondel's work is combined in the 19th and 20th century in a book consisting of ten parts, called *De werken van Vondel* 'the works of Vondel'[16]. I used the combined work of the 20th century, namely the WB-edition. In 1927, the first part was published, which contains Vondel's works written between 1605 and 1620. After 1927, the other nine parts were published. Most parts contain diachronically ordered work of Vondel, but part 6 and 7 do not. They contain all Vondel's translations of Latin texts. Below, there is an overview of the ten parts.

Part 1, Vondel's work between 1605 and 1620
Part 2, Vondel's work between 1620 and 1627
Part 3, Vondel's work between 1627 and 1640
Part 4, Vondel's work between 1640 and 1645
Part 5, Vondel's work between 1645 and 1656
Part 6, Vondel's translations of Vergilius
Part 7, Vondel's translations of Vergilius, Horatius and Ovidius
Part 8, Vondel's work between 1656 and 1660
Part 9, Vondel's work between 1660 and 1663
Part 10, Vondel's work between 1663 and 1674

All the occurrences of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are manually looked up and listed. As explained in the introduction, if the variant *so/such-adjective+en* contains a masculine or neuter noun, it cannot be determined if they are an example of the variant *so-adjective* or of the variant *so-adjective+en*, because the *–en* ending can either be a regular

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[16] References can be found in the section *Texts Corpus*

case ending or a special *–en* ending. Even in nominative case, in which adjectives that modify neuter or masculine singular nouns normally never have an *–en* ending, it cannot be concluded if this *–en* ending is truly the *–en* ending of the *so-adjective+en*-variant. This is the case because Vondel often used an *–en* ending on adjectives to modify nouns in nominative case, as explained in chapter 2. Therefore, I listed the examples with a neuter or masculine noun and without a fully-written indefinite article as a separate group, named *unknown*.

I will only discuss the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction with singular nouns, because there was no variation within this construction with a plural noun. If the noun is plural, the construction never contains an indefinite article; this is shown in (7).

(7) a.   soo   sobre   middagh-maelen
      so   *sober*   *lunches*
      'such sober lunches' (Part 1,717,5)
  b.   zulcke   ongeluckige   Waerzeggers
      such   *unfortunate*   *fortune-tellers*
      'such unfortunate fortune tellers' (Part 5,263,1)

After all occurrences of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction were listed, I used the method of close-reading to describe the grammatical and literary properties of the attested variants.

3.1.1.2 Analysis of the data

Per part, and per ten years

For every part of *De werken van Vondel*, occurrences of *zoo* and *zulck* were listed as belonging either to the *so/such-adjective*-variant, the *so/such-adjective-a*-variant, the *so/such-adjective+en*-variant, the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant, the *a-so/such-adjective*-variant or to the group *unknown* (hence the s*o/such-adjective+en*-variant with a masculine or neuter singular noun). For the literary analysis, it was also listed if the example occurred in a text with meter or without. The distribution of the variants per texts with or without meter is discussed in chapter 5.

However, listing the examples per part does not give an accurate diachronic overview. Sometimes a part contains the texts of a timespan of more than ten years, sometimes of only 4 years. Parts 6 and 7 are also not diachronically ordered. To provide an overview of the diachronic changes of the use of *zoo* and *zulck* of Vondel, I have listed the examples per period of ten years. The exact year of origin of the works in part 6 and 7 are often unclear. Therefore, I left these parts out of the diachronic overview.

Number of words

I did not only want the absolute number of occurrences of the variants, but also the relative proportion of occurrences per 1000 words. This was required to be certain that variation in frequency between the variants were true increases and decreases, and not attested because there was a higher or lower value of the total amount of words per part or per ten years.

To create an estimate of the total amount of words used by Vondel, I counted the number of pages and the exact amount of words written by Vondel on twenty randomly selected pages[17]. I divided the outcome of the latter by twenty to know the average number of words per page, and multiplied this by the number of pages. The results are given below, per part, and per ten years.

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10	Total
Number of words (x1000)	101	130	160	197	160	280	238	211	233	133	1.843

Table 5, estimated number of words per part

	1605-1615	1616-1625	1626-1635	1636-1645	1646-1655	1656-1665	1666-1674	Total
Number of words (x1000)	72	166	128	260	161	428	110	1325

Table 6, estimated number of words per ten years

The tables above show that the amount of words differs between parts and between periods of ten years. For instance, between 1656 and 1665 Vondel has written almost six times as much as between 1605 and 1615. Hence, I expected to find more examples of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in the period 1656-1665 than between 1605-1615.

3.1.2 *Results*

In this section, I present the results of the corpus study of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in Vondel's language use. Firstly, I discuss the results per part of *De werken van Vondel*. Next, I discuss the results per ten years, and finally, the increases of the two most occurring variants are discussed in section 3.1.2.3.

3.1.2.1 Results per part

In Table 7, the number of occurrences of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction per part for each variant is given.

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[17] I had to create an estimate, because in the *Werken van Vondel* there are many annotations of the editor of the WB-edition. These annotations were also included in the calculation of the total amount of words in the *Werken van Vondel*, hence an estimate was required of the total of words without these annotations.

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10	Total
So-adjective	0	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	10
So-adjective-a	0	28	23	21	20	48	30	13	28	9	220
So-adjective+en	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
So-a-adjective	4	1	4	8	1	1	0	1	0	0	20
A-so-adjective	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Unknown	10	13	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
Such-adjective	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Such-adjective-a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Such+en-adjective+en	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Such-a-adjective	6	3	13	30	35	43	43	16	33	30	252
A-such-adjective	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Mix, A-so-adjective+en	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mix, Such-a-adjective+en	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mix, Such+en-adjective	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	37	57	45	61	57	92	73	30	61	40	553
Number of words (x1000)	101	130	160	197	160	280	238	211	233	133	1.843
Total per 100.000 words	37	44	28	31	36	33	31	14	26	30	30

Table 7, number of occurrences of the variants of the so/such-adjective-noun-*construction and the estimated number of words per part*

Vondel uses multiple variants in the first two parts of the construction with *zoo*. Then, the variant *so-adjective-a* becomes his dominant variant. *Zulck* undergoes a similar change. Especially in part 1, Vondel uses different variants. From part 3 on, he only uses the variant *such-a-adjective*.

Vondel can use all the different variants with *zoo*, certainly in his early work. For *zulck* however, he never uses the variant *such-adjective-a* or the variant *a-such-adjective*. The fact that Vondel never uses the variant *a-such-adjective* with *zulck* may be coincidental. Because he can place an indefinite article before *zulck* when he only uses *zulck* and a noun (i.e. without an adjective). This is shown in (8).

(8) (…) O   wee **een sulcke stadt**
     oh no   a   such   city
     'Oh no, such a city'   (Part 1,725, 13)

The example in (8) shows that Vondel can use an indefinite article before the word *zulck*. The non-occurrence of the variant *a-such-adjective* with *zulck* might have to do with the infrequency of this construction, as is also the case for *zoo*.

In the first two parts, there are multiple occurrences of the variant *unknown*, which means that Vondel uses either the variant *so-adjective* or the variant *so-adjective+en*. These examples contain a singular masculine or neuter noun and an *–en* ending on the adjective.

Because the noun is masculine or neuter, it is not possible to group these examples with either the variant *so-adjective* or the variant *so-adjective+en* as explained in the introduction. When Vondel gets a preference for the variants *so-adjective-a* and *such-a-adjective*, he uses the variants *so/such-adjective* and *so/such+en-adjective+en* less frequently (and therefore the *unknown* group as well).

In 17th-century Dutch *zoo* and *zulck* can occur modifying the same adjective and noun.

(9)   a.   zo   harden   proef
            so   *difficult*-en *test*
            'so difficult a test' (Part 1,194,409)
       b.   zulcken harden   proef
            such-en *difficult*-en test
            'such a difficult test' (Part 1,240,1577)
       c.   zoo   kort   een   tijd
            so   *short a*   *time*
            'so short a time' (Part 3,509,116)
       d.   zulck   een' korten   tijt
            such   *a*   *short*   *time*
            'such a short time' (Part 6,88,88)

In part 1 and 3, there are some examples that do not match with one of the variants I discussed in the introduction. There are two occurrences of a mix between the variant *so-adjective+en* and the variant *a-so-adjective*. These examples contain a singular feminine noun and an *–en* ending on the adjective. This is a characteristic for the variant *so-adjective+en*. However, the variant *so-adjective+en* does not contain a fully-written indefinite article, which is the case in the mixed examples. They contain an indefinite article in front of the adverb of degree, as shown in (10).

(10)   a.   een   so stouten   daed
            a   *so daring*-en   *deed*.F
            'so daring a deed' (Part 1,428,33)
       b.   een   so nutten   kunst
            a   *so useful*-en   *art*.F
            'so useful an art' (Part 1,429,49)

There is also an example in which Vondel uses the variant *such+en-adjective+en*, but with a fully-written article between *zulck* and the adjective.

(11)   zulck   een' braeven   staet
       such   *a*   *brave*-en   *condition*.F
       'such a brave condition' (Part 3,476,1201)

The last mixed example in Vondel's texts is a combination of the variant *such-adjective*, which does not have a fully-written article or an *–en* ending on the adjective and of the variant *such+en-adjective+en*, in which *zulck* has an *–en* ending.

(12) zulcken onmenschelijcke wreetheyt
      such-en *inhuman*-Ø   *cruelty*.F
      'such an inhuman cruelty' (Part 1,566,4)

3.1.2.2 Results per ten years
In Table 8, the number of occurrences of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction per ten years is given for all the different variants.

	1605-1615	1616-1625	1626-1635	1636-1645	1646-1655	1656-1665	1666-1674	Total
So-adjective	0	6	2	0	1	0	1	10
So-adjective-a	0	1	36	37	18	43	7	142
So-adjective+en	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
So-a-adjective	4	0	1	12	1	1	0	19
A-so-adjective	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
Unknown	2	20	4	3	0	0	0	29
Such-adjective	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Such-adjective-a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Such+en-adjective+en	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Such-a-adjective	2	4	4	42	35	59	20	166
A-such-adjective	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
Mix, A-so-adjective+en	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mix, Such-a-adjective+en	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mix, Such+en-adjective	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	19	40	48	95	55	103	28	387[18]
Number of words (x1000)	72	166	128	260	161	428	110	1325
Total per 100.000 words	26	24	38	37	34	24	25	29

Table 8, *number of occurrences of the variants of the* so/such-adjective-noun-*construction and the estimated number of words per ten years*

It becomes even clearer from Table 8 that Vondel suddenly starts to prefer only one variant for both *zoo* and *zulck*. When he uses *zoo*, he mostly uses the variant *so-adjective-a* after 1626. When he uses *zulck*, he almost exclusively uses the variant *such-a-adjective* after this time. This may indicate that Vondel consciously reinterpreted the variant *so/such-adjective+en* as containing an enclitic indefinite article, which he started to fully write after 1626. I discuss this possibility further in chapter 5.

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[18] Only part 1-5 and part 8-10 are used, therefore the total amount of examples differs from Table 7.

3.1.2.3 Increase use variants so-adjective-a *and* such-a-adjective

As shown above, Vondel almost exclusively uses the variants *so-adjective-a* and *such-a-adjective* after 1626. For the *so-adjective-a*-variant, there is a clear increase of this construction, since Vondel almost never uses this variant in the first twenty years of his writing career. This is illustrated in Table 9 and Table 10.

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10
So-adjective-a	0	28	23	21	20	48	30	13	28	9
Occurrences per 100.000 words	0	22	14	11	13	17	13	6	12	8

Table 9, total amount of occurrences of the variant so-adjective-a *per part and occurrences per 100.000 words*

	1605-1615	1616-1625	1626-1635	1636-1645	1646-1655	1656-1665	1666-1674
So-adjective-a	0	1	36	37	18	43	7
Occurrences per 100.000 words	0	1	28	14	11	10	6

Table 10, total amount of occurrences of the variant so-adjective-a *per ten years and occurrences per 100.000 words*

Vondel starts using the variant *so-adjective-a* after 1626, and in this period, he also uses it more often than in any other period. This might indicate that he was clearly aware of his use of this construction between 1626 and 1635.

Between 1626 and 1635, Vondel does not use the variant *such-a-adjective* as often as the variant *so-adjective-a.* Only after 1636 he starts to use this variant more frequently, as is shown in Table 11 and Table 12.

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10
Such-a-adjective	6	3	13	30	35	43	43	16	33	30
Occurrences per 100.000 words	6	2	8	15	22	18	18	8	14	23

Table 11, total amount of occurrences of the variant such-a-adjective *per part and occurrences per 100.000 words*

	1605-1615	1616-1625	1626-1635	1636-1645	1646-1655	1656-1665	1666-1674
Such-a-adjective	2	4	4	42	35	59	20
Occurrences per 100.000 words	3	2	3	16	22	14	18

Table 12, total amount of occurrences of the variant such-a-adjective *per ten years and occurrences per 100.000 words*

To summarize, Vondel is able to use five different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun-*construction, and three mixed variants. In his works in the first twenty years of his writing career, he did not have a clear preference for one of the variants. Hereafter, he started to prefer the variants *so-adjective-a* and *such-a-adjective*. Below, I discuss which of the variants Vondel uses are also possible in Standard Dutch and English.

3.2 Standard Dutch and English

To provide an overview of the *so/such-adjective-noun-*construction in Standard Dutch and English, use is made of a grammar of Dutch (Broekhuis 2016), and a grammar of English (Cambridge Dictionary 2016). Firstly, an overview of the *so/such-adjective-noun-*construction is given. Next, the possible variants of 17th-century are compared to Standard Dutch and English.

3.2.1 *Standard Dutch*

In 17th-century Dutch *zoo* and *zulck* can occur modifying the same adjective and noun, but in Standard Dutch *zo* and *zulk* have a complementary distribution. The word *zulk* modifies plural and mass nouns, whereas the word *zo* modifies singular count nouns (Broekhuis 2016). The paradigm of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is given in Table 13.

	Count nouns		Mass nouns
	Singular	Plural	
Non-neuter	zo'n mooie vrouw	zulke mooie vrouwen	zulke mooie groente
	so-a beautiful woman	*such beautiful women*	*such beautiful vegetables*
	een zo mooie vrouw		
	a so beautiful woman		
Neuter	zo'n mooi meisje	zulke mooie meisjes	zulk mooi hout
	so-a beautiful girl	*such beautiful girls*	*such beautiful wood*
	een zo mooi meisje		
	a so beaituful girl		

Table 13, paradigm of zo'n *and* zulk *for non-neuter and neuter count and mass nouns in Standard Dutch*

As shown in Table 13, *zulk* has a different form when it modifies a non-neuter mass noun than when it modifies a neuter mass noun. When it occurs with non-neuter mass nouns, it carries an *–e* ending, when it occurs with neuter mass nouns, it does not have this *–e* ending.

In Table 13 is also shown that there are two possible variants for this construction with a singular count noun. Both the variant *so-a-adjective* and the variant *a-so-adjective* can be used.

Important to note is that in the variant *so-a-adjective*, the indefinite article is almost never fully-written, but most of the time an enclitic article to *zo* in Standard Dutch (Broekhuis 2016). It might be the case that in Flemish, these two elements have become one element, because even though the construction contains an enclitic indefinite article, it can occur with plural nouns (Van Olmen & Van der Auwera 2014).

(13) zo'n mannen   (Van Olmen & Van der Auwera 2014:216)
      so-a men
      'such men'

The variants that are not possible in Standard Dutch are the following:

(14) a. *zo   grote man   *so-adjective*
          so   big   man

     b. *zo   groot een   man   *so-adjective-a*
          so   big   a   man

     c. *zo   groten   man   *so-adjective+en*
          so   big-en   *man*

     d. *zulke grote   man   *such-adjective*
          such   big   man

     e. *zulk   groot een   man   *such-adjective-a*
          such   big   a   man

     f. *zulken groten   man   *such+en-adjective+en*
          such+en *big*+en *man*

     g. *zulk   een   grote man   *such-a-adjective*
          such   a   big   man

     h. *een zulke   grote man   *a-such-adjective*
          a   such   big   man

3.2.2 *English*

The word *so* in English can only occur in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction if the noun is singular, and if it is followed by an adjective that is followed by an indefinite article. Hence, only (15)a occurs, the other variants in (15) do not.

(15) a. so big a man   *so-adjective-a*
     b. *so big man   *so-adjective*
     c. *so a big man   *so-a-adjective*
     d. ??a so big man   *a-so-adjective*

Such can only occur if it is directly followed by an indefinite articular when it modifies a singular count noun. When it modifies a plural count noun or a mass noun, it can either be directly followed by an indefinite article or by the adjective. If the latter is the case, there cannot be an indefinite article in the construction. Therefore, the following variants are not possible with *such* in English:

(16) a. *such big a man   *such-adjective-a*
     b. *a such big man   *a-such-adjective*

Below, the paradigm of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is given.

	Count nouns		**Mass nouns**
	Singular	Plural	
So-adjective-a	So beautiful a woman	*So beautiful a women	?So nice a wine
Such-a-adjective	Such a beautiful woman	Such a beautiful women	Such a nice wine
Such-adjective	*Such beautiful woman	Such beautiful women	Such nice wine

Table 14, paradigm of so *and* such *for count and mass nouns in English*

3.3 Interim summary

Below, the possible variants of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English are compared. This overview is only for singular count nouns, because they are most common in Vondel's works[19].

Variant	Zoo	Zo	So
So-adjective	zoo grote man	*zo grote man	*so big man
So-adjective-a	zoo groot een man	*zo groot een man	so big a man
So-adjective+en	zoo groten man	*zo groten man	-
So-a-adjective	zoo een grote man	zo'n grote man	*so a big man
A-so-adjective	een zoo grote man	een zo grote man	??a so big man

Table 15, paradigm of the so-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th- century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

There are differences in possible variants between all three languages. 17th-century Dutch has five possible variants for the *so-adjective-noun*-construction. Standard Dutch does not have the variants *so-adjective, so-adjective-a* and *so-adjective+en*, whereas English does not have the variants *so-adjective*, *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective*. Hence, standard Dutch and English differ completely. English only has one possibility for this construction, and this possible variant is not available in Standard Dutch.

The possible variants of the *such-adjective-noun*-construction are presented in Table 16.

Variant	Zulck	Zulk	Such
Such-adjective	zulcke grote man	*zulke grote man[20]	*such big man
Such-adjective-a	*zulck groot een man	*zulk groot een man	*such big a man
Such+en-adjective+en	zulcken groten man	*zulken groten man	-
Such-a-adjective	zulck een grote man	??zulk een grote man	such a big man
A-such-adjective	*een zulck slecht hotel	*een zulke grote man	*a such big man

Table 16, *paradigm of the* such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th -century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

17th-century Dutch is similar to English in that they both have the *such-a-adjective*-variant. Standard Dutch does not have this possibility; if this variant is used it is archaic. 17th-century Dutch also has the variants *such-adjective* and *such+en-adjective+en*, whereas Standard Dutch and English do not have this variant. Interesting is that the variants *such+en-adjective+en* and *a-such-adjective* are not used in any of the languages.

Hence, *zoo* is different in its possibilities than *so* and *zo,* and *zulck* is different to *zulk* and *such*. To explain the different possibilities in all languages, the classification of the elements *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* is discussed in the next chapter. In chapter 5, an analysis of how the possible variants are made available by the language system is given. The classification of the elements *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* is required to explain how these words developed between the 17th century and the 21st century, and this development explains why some of the variants are no longer possible in the language system.

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[19] It is important to note that a star in front of a sentence in 17th-century Dutch means that it is not attested in the corpus. Because I cannot make use of negative evidence, it is not possible to be certain a construction cannot be used. This needs to be kept in mind throughout the whole analysis of 17th-century Dutch.

[20] This variant is possible with mass nouns.

4. Classification and development of *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such*

The previous chapter has shown that there are differences between the possible variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English. In the introduction I argued that this might have to do with a difference in classification for the words *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such*. Therefore, I provide a classification of these words in this chapter. The method I used to create this classification is to compare characteristics of the syntactic categories adjectives, adverbs and determiners to the characteristics of *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such.* I have chosen to use these syntactic categories in the comparison, because *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* are often classified as one of these categories in the literature.

It might also be possible that interpretative differences between the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction cause the variation patterns discussed in chapter 3. Therefore, the possible readings of the different variants of this construction need to be examined.

Firstly, I provide a summary of the most important characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners. Next, I discuss the characteristics of *so* and *such* in English, and *zo* and *zulk* in Dutch on the basis of earlier classifications of these words in the literature and on the basis of the characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners. After this discussion, a classification of *zoo* and *zulck* in 17th-century Dutch is provided in section 4.2.1. In section 4.3, I examine if there are interpretative differences between the variants in the *so/such-adjective*-noun construction. Finally, I summarize the developments between the elements *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such* in section 4.4, and argue that grammaticalization of the elements *zoo* and *zulck* has taken place.

4.1 Characteristics adjectives, adverbs and determiners

The characteristics I discuss in this section are chosen because they are either known to be important characteristics of a particular category (for which I used Broekhuis 2016) or important for the classification of *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such*. Especially *such* in English is much discussed in the literature. Firstly, I discuss the characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners. Next, the characteristics are summarized in section 4.1.1.4.

A crucial thing to be aware of in this section is that there is gradience between syntactic categories (DeLancey 1997). Most words do not belong strictly to one syntactic category. Words have often characteristics of more than one syntactic category. This is the case for certain adjectives, adverbs and determiners, but certainly for the elements *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such,* as becomes clear in section 4.2.

4.1.1 *Adjectives* [21] [22]

Adjectives are typical known for having a predicative use, in addition to an attributive use (Broekhuis 2016).

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[21] Important to note is that not all adjectives have the same properties. For instance, some adjectives do not have a predicative use (e.g. *wooden*/*houten*). I discuss characteristics that are typical for most adjectives.

[22] I provide examples in Dutch. The characteristics are also features of adjectives in English, unless stated otherwise.

(17) a. de   grote man   *Attributive use*
       the   big   man
       'the big man'

     b. De   man is groot.   *Predicative use*
       the   man is big
       'The man is big.'

Having a predicate use is used in the classification of *such* in studies of Spinillo (2003) and Van de Velde (2010)[23] to argue *such* is adjective-like.

   Another feature of adjectives that is used by Spinillo (2003), is that adjectives can be stacked, as shown in (18) below.

(18)   de   grote   Nederlandse   man
        the   big.adj   *Dutch*.adj   *man*
        'the big Dutch man'

Typical for adjectives is that they have a comparative and superlative formation (Broekhuis 2016):

(19) a. De   man is **groter**   dan jij   bent.
       the   man is bigger.comp *than you   are*
       'The man is bigger than you are.'

     b. De   man is het **grootst**   van   ons   allemaal.
       the   man is the   biggest.sup *of   us   all*
       'The man is the biggest of us all.'

Adjectives can be modified by an adverb of degree, both in attributive use, and in predicative use.

(20) a. de   zeer grote man   *Attributive use*
       the   very big   man
       'the very big man'

     b. De   man is zeer groot.   *Predicative use*
       the   man is very big
       'The man is very big.'

A characteristic of Dutch adjectives, but not of English adjectives, is that they are inflected for gender and definiteness when they are used attributively.[24] When adjectives modify a singular indefinite neuter count noun, as in (21)b, the adjective is uninflected. In other cases they have an –*e* ending, as illustrated in (21)a.

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[23] Discussions and examples of the studies I mention in this section are given in section 4.2.

[24] If adjectives in Dutch are used as predicates, they are never inflected.

(21) a. een   grote man
         a   big-e *man*.N-N
         'a big man'
      b. een   groot   paard
         a   big-Ø   *horse*.N
         'a big horse'

Dutch differentiates between two elements for negations, namely *geen* 'no' and *niet* 'not'. According to Van de Velde (2009, 2010), *geen* is used as a determiner within the NP, whereas *niet* is used in all other cases. *Geen* can have scope over an attributively used adjective; hence it is part of the NP. *Niet* can have scope over a predicatively used adjective.

(22) a. Ik zie   **geen** grote man.   *Attributive use*
         I   see   no   big   man
         'I don't see a big man.'
      b. De   man is **niet** groot.   *Predicative use*
         the   man is not   big
         'The man isn't big.'

And naturally, an adjective can be replaced by another adjective, but not by an adverb or determiner.

(23) de   **grote**   man
      the   big   man
      'the big man'

(24) a. de   **lieve**   man   *Replaced by adjective*
         the   sweet   man
         'the sweet man'
      b. *de **zeer** man   *Replaced by adverb*
          the very man
      c. *de **een** man   *Replaced by determiner*
          the a   man

The example in (23) also shows the adjective can be placed between a determiner (*de*) and a noun (*man*), and that the adjective can modify a noun. This latter characteristic of adjectives is used in the studies of De Mönnink (2000), Wood (2002), Spinillo (2003), Van de Velde (2010) and Ghesquière & Van de Velde (2011). This is discussed in section 4.2.

   Two features that an adjective does not have is the ability to amplify another adjective[25], as shown in (25)a, or to express reference, as shown in (25)b. In (25)b, the adjective in the second sentence cannot refer back to the adjective in the previous sentence.

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[25] An adjective can amplify a repetition of itself.
i.   Jan heeft hard, HARD   gewerkt!   (Broekhuis 2016)
         Jan has   hard hard   worked
         'Jan has worked very hard!'

(25) a. de   grote aardige man
   the   big   nice   man
   #'the very nice man'
   b. Zo   groot is de   tafel.   De   stoel is groot.
   so   big   is the   table   the   chair is big
   #The table is this big. De chair is also this big.

Greenbaum (1996), Wood (2002) and Ghesquière & Van de Velde (2011) discuss the ability of expressing reference for *such* in their studies. Ghesquière & Van de Velde (2011) also discuss the ability to amplify an adjective.

4.1.2 *Adverbs* [26]
Adverbs do not have a predicative use like adjectives, as shown in (26)a. They also do not have comparative or superlative formation. Furthermore, they cannot occur after adjectives, as demonstrated in (26)b.

(26) a. *De   man is altijd.
      the man is always
   b. *de   lieve   altijd   man
      the sweet   always   man

They also cannot be modified by an adverb of degree.[27]

(27)   *de zeer altijd   lieve man
      the very always sweet man

Adverbs are not sensitive to gender, hence they are never inflected. They can occur with the negation element *geen* when they are within a noun phrase[28], otherwise they occur with *niet*.

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[26] There are many different adverbs, such as adverbs of degree, adverbs of manner, and indefinite adverbs. Not all these adverbs have the same characteristics. In this section I have chosen the indefinite adverb *altijd* 'always' as an example to examine the characteristics are of tadverbs.

[27] If the adverb is an intensifier, it is possible that it is modified by an adverb of degree in Standard Dutch (Broekhuis 2016).

i. de heel   erg   lieve   man
   the very.adv *very*.adv *sweet*.adj *man*
   'the very sweet man'

[28] Not all adverbs can occur within a noun phrase.

ii. *de   ergens   lieve   man
   the   somewhere.adv *sweet*.adj *man*

(28) a. Ik zie **geen** altijd lieve man
I see no always sweet man
'I do not see a man who is always sweet.'
b. Ik zie jou **niet** altijd.
I see you not always
'I do not always see you.'

Adverbs can be replaced by other adverbs, but not by adjectives or determiners.

(29) Ik zie jou **altijd**.
I see you always
'I always see you.'

(30) a. Ik zie jou **nergens**. *Replaced by adverb*
I see you nowhere
'I do not see you anywhere.'
b. *Ik zie jou **lief**. *Replaced by adjective*
I see you sweet
c. *Ik zie jou **een**. *Replaced by determiner*
I see you a

Adverbs can be placed between a determiner and a noun as in (31)a, but only if the adverb modifies an adjective. The adverb cannot modify a noun, as (31)b indicates.

(31) a. de altijd lieve man
the always sweet man
'The man who is always sweet.'
b. *de altijd man
the always man

Adverbs can amplify an adjective; this is shown in (31)a. And finally, adverbs cannot express reference. In (32), the adverb *ergens* cannot refer back to a place mentioned in a previous sentence.

(32) Op de grond ligt een bal. Ik pak de bal ergens.
on the ground lies a ball I get the ball somewhere
#There is a ball on the ground. I get the ball from the ground.

4.1.3 *Determiners*
Determiners do not have a predicative use, as shown in (33)a, and they do not have comparative or superlative formation. They also cannot occur after adjectives, which is shown in (33)b.

(33) a. *De man is de.
          the man is the
      b. *grote de man
          big the man

Also, determiners cannot be modified by an adverb of degree.

(34) *zeer de man
        very the man

Determiners cannot be inflected. It is possible to replace a determiner by another determiner, but not by an adjective or adverb.

(35)   **de** grote man
        the big man
        'the big man'

(36) a. **deze** grote man   *Replaced by determiner*
         this big man
         'this big man'
      b. ***lieve** grote man   *Replaced by adjective*
         sweet big man
      c. ***altijd** grote man   *Replaced by adverb*
         always big man

Determiners cannot amplify an adjective:

(37) de grote man
      the big man
      #very big man

And they can only occur with the negation element *niet*, not with *geen*.

(38) a. Ik zie de grote man **niet**.
         I see the big man not
         'I do not see the big man.'
      b. *Ik zie **geen** de grote man
         I see no the big man

A typical characteristic of a determiner is that it cannot occur after another determiner, as shown in (39).

(39) *deze de grote man
        this the big man

Determiners can also modify a noun, as shown in (40), and they can express reference, illustrated in (41). This expression of reference is typical for determiners (Broekhuis 2016).

(40) de   man
     the   man

(41) Ik zag   een   man. De   man liep.
     I saw   a   man the   man walked
     'I saw a man. The man walked.'

In (41) the determiner *de* causes the phrase *de man* to refer back to the previous introduced referent *een man*.

4.1.4 *Interim summary*
Table 17 summarizes the characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners.

	Adjective	**Adverb**	**Determiner**
Predicative use	✓	x	x
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓
Expresses reference	x	x	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓

Table 17, *characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners*

The categories share some characteristics, which is to be expected because of the gradience of syntactic categories.

In the following section I compare the characteristics of the elements *so, zo, zoo*, *such, zulk* and *zulck* with the characteristics of adjectives, adverbs and determiners. This is done to examine if these words can be classified as one of these syntactic categories or as between these categories.

4.2 Classification *zoo, zo, so, zulck, zulk* and *such*

Firstly, I discuss the classification of *so* and *such* in English. I discuss English first, because the classification of *such* already received much attention in the literature. Hence, I can explain the classification of *such* in the literature. Next, Standard Dutch is discussed, and finally *zoo* and *zulck* in 17th-century Dutch are classified.

4.2.1 *English*

Firstly, I discuss the classification of *so*. Next, I discuss *such*.

4.2.1.1 So

The word *so* cannot be used predicatively:

(42)   *He is so.

It also does not occur after adjectives:

(43)   *other so man

So does not have comparative or superlative formation, and it cannot be modified by an adverb of degree, as shown in (44).

(44)   *the very so good a man

So can be replaced by an adverb, but not by an adjective or a determiner.

(45)   **so** big a man

(46)   a.   **how** big a man   *Replaced by adverb*
       b.   ***sweet** big a man   *Replaced by adjective*
       c.   ***the** big a man   *Replaced by determiner*

The word *so* cannot be placed between a determiner and a noun; not even when it modifies an adjective in the noun phrase, as shown in (47). It also cannot modify a noun or DP, as (48) shows.

(47)   *the so big man

(48)   a.   *a so man
       b.   *so a man
       c.   *so man

It is possible for *so* to amplify an adjective:

(49)   He is so sweet.

Finally, *so* cannot express reference. In (50), *so* cannot refer back to the noun phrase *a man*, which is introduced in an earlier sentence (Ghesquière & Van de Velde 2011).

(50) I saw a big man. So big a man walked.
    #I saw a big man. The big man that I saw walked.

Table 18 summarizes the characteristics of *so*.

	Adjective	**Adverb**	**Determiner**	*So*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	x
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	x
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	✓
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	x
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	x
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	x

Table 18, *characteristics adjectives, adverbs, determiners and the English word* so

So has most of its characteristics in common with adverbs, hence it seems to behave adverb-like. Important is that *so* does not have a predicative use, which is typical for adjectives, and it cannot express references, which is characteristic for determiners. An important characteristic of adverbs is that they cannot modify a noun, which is the case for *so*. Therefore, I classify *so* as close to the class of adverbs, but with some characteristics of determiners and adjectives as well.

4.2.1.1.1   Such
As mentioned above, the classification of *such* is much discussed in the literature. In this section, I provide a classification of *such* as well, partially based on arguments in the literature.

   Such has a predicative use, contrary to *so*. This is one of the arguments of Spinillo (2003) and Van de Velde (2010) for their classification of *such* as an adjective, because a predicative use is typical for adjectives.

(51) The guilty person never admitted to being **such**.   (Spinillo 2003:202)

The example in (52) shows that *such* can modify a noun. This example also shows that *such* occurs after other adjectives. This is another argument of Spinillo (2003) of why *such* must be adjective-like, because adjectives can be stacked.

(52)   more destructive **such** children   (Spinillo 2003:203)

Such does not have comparative or superlative formation, and it also cannot be modified by an adverb of degree. However, according to Spinillo (2003), this does not have to rule out that *such* is adjective-like, because some adjectives also do not have comparative or superlative formation, and cannot be modified by an adverb of degree. This is illustrated in (54). This fits well into the idea of gradience of categories; not all adjectives have exactly the same characteristics.

(53)   a.   *sucher/the suchest books   (Spinillo 2003:205)
       b.   *very/extremely such books

(54)   a.   *utterer/the utterest nonsense   (Spinillo 2003:205)
       b.   *very utter nonsense

Such cannot be replaced by an adjective, adverb or a determiner in the *such-adjective-noun*-construction:

(55)   **such** a big man

(56)   a.   ***sweet** a nice man   *Replaced by adjective*
       b.   ***very** a nice man   *Replaced by adverb*
       c.   ***this** a nice man   *Replaced by determiner*

The word *such* can be placed between certain determiners and nouns, but not after all determiners. This is an argument in favor of *such* being adjective-like according to De Mönnink (2000), Wood (2002), Spinillo (2003) and Van de Velde (2010). They argue that this indicates *such* can be adjective-like, because the position of *such* in (57)b and (57)c is a typical position for adjectives.

(57)   a.   *the such man
       b.   … there's no effective service saving there, so **these such** things can go towards
            meeting this income condition.   (Wood 2002:111)
       c.   **all such** things   (Spinillo 2003:196)

In the constructions in (57), *such* can be replaced by an adjective. This is done in (58) for (57)b.

(58)   these great things

Such cannot amplify an adjective:

(59)   *He is such big!

Finally, *such* can express reference.

(60)   I saw a big man. Such a big man walked.
       Meaning: I saw a big man. An equally/similar big man walked.

In (60), *such* refers back to *a big man*; not to the specific big man of the first sentence, but to a similar big man. Greenbaum (1996) sees this as his main argument of *such* being determiner-like. Wood (2002) agrees that because *such* can express reference it is sometimes determiner-like, but because it can also be followed by a determiner, *such* is sometimes adjective-like.
       Table 19 summarizes the characteristics of *such*.

	Adjective	Adverb	Determiner	*Such*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	✓
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	✓
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	✓
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	✓
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	x
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	x
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	✓
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	x

Table 19, characteristics adjectives, adverbs, determiners and the English word such

Such has 8 characteristics in common with adjectives, and 6 characteristics with a determiner. Hence *such* seems to behave adjective-like, for instance that it has a predicative use, but also determiner-like, since it can express reference. *Such* can therefore be classified between the categories of adjectives and determiners.

4.2.2   *Standard Dutch*
In the following two sections, I discuss the classification of *zo* and *zulk*.

4.2.2.1 Zo
Zo can be used predicatively:

(61)   Hij   is zo.
       he   is   so
       'He is like this.'
Zo cannot occur after an adjective:

(62)   *(een)   grote (een) zo vrouw
           a   big   a   so woman

Zo does not have comparative or superlative formation, and it cannot be amplified by means of an adverb of degree, as illustrated in (63).

(63) *een heel zo grote vrouw
        a   very so big   woman

Z*o* is never inflected. Something that is possible for *zo* is that it can be replaced by another adverb, an adjective or a determiner.

(64) een **zo** grote vrouw
      a   so big   woman
      'so big a woman'

(65) a. een **zeer** grote vrouw   *Replaced by adverb*
         a   very   big   woman
         'a very big woman'
      b. een **lieve** grote vrouw   *Replaced by adjective*
         a   sweet big   woman
         'a lovely big woman'
      c. *een **die**   grote vrouw   *Replaced by determiner*
          a   that big   woman

Zo can occur with the negation element *geen* when it amplifies an adjective and with *niet* when it expresses reference.

(66) a. Ik zie **geen** zo grote vrouw.
         I see   no   so big   woman
         'I do not see so big a woman.'
      b. Hij is **niet** zo.
         he   is not   so
         'He is not like that.'

In (66)a, *zo* must amplify the adjective to make the sentence grammatical. It can also amplify an adjective that is used predicatively, as in (67)a. This is an argument of Ghesquière & Van de Velde (2011) in favor of *zo* being an adverb of degree, because it can amplify an adjective.

(67) Zij is zo groot.
      she is so big
      'She is so big.'

Before the examples in (66), I already mentioned *zo* can express reference. This becomes clearer by the example in (68).

(68) Sommige vrouwen   shoppen graag. Zij   is zo.
some   women   shop   gladly she   is so
'Some women like to shop. She is like that.'

In (68), *zo* refers back to some women that like to shop. However, if *zo* is preceded by an indefinite article, it cannot express reference.

(69) Sommige grote vrouwen   shoppen graag. Zij   is een   zo grote vrouw.
some   big women   shop   gladly she   is a   so big   woman
#'Some big women like to shop. She is a big woman like that.'

Zo can be placed between a determiner and a noun:

(70) een   zo grote vrouw
a   so big   woman
'so big a woman'

Finally, *zo* cannot modify a noun.

(71) *een zo lawaai
a   so noise

In Table 20, the characteristics of *zo* are summarized.

	Adjective	Adverb	Determiner	*Zo*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	✓
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	x
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	✓
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	✓
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	✓
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	✓
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	✓
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	x
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	x

Table 20, characteristics zo

Zo has 12 characteristics in common with adverbs, and one of those characteristics is that it cannot modify a noun, which is typical for adverbs. Hence, *zo* seems to behave adverb-like.

However, it can also express reference, which is typical for determiners. Therefore, *zo* is between different syntactic categories.

4.2.2.2 Zulk

In Standard Dutch, *zulk* cannot be used predicatively.

(72) a. *Zij   is   zulk.
         she   is   such

Zulk does not have comparative or superlative formation, and it cannot occur after other adjectives:

(73)   *zulker/   de   zulkst   mooi   hout
          such.Comp *the*   *such*.Sup *beautiful   wood*

(74)   *ander   zulk   hout
          other.adj *such   wood*

Zulk cannot be amplified by an adverb of degree, but it can amplify an adjective, as shown in (75), but only in attributive use.

(75) a.   *zeer   zulke   mooi   hout
             very   such   beautiful   wood
      b.   zulk   mooi   hout
             such   beautiful   wood
             'such (very) beautiful wood'
      c.   *Dat hout   is zulk mooi!
             that wood   is such beautiful

As mentioned before, *zulk* can be inflected for gender and definiteness. *Zulk* has an –*e* ending when it modifies non-neuter nouns and definite neuter nouns. When it modifies indefinite neuter nouns, as shown in (76)b, it is not inflected.

(76) a. **zulke**   mooie   groente
          such-e   *beautiful   vegetables*.N-N
      b. **zulk**   mooi   hout
          such-Ø   *beautiful   wood*.N

Zulk can be replaced by an adjective, adverb and a determiner.

(77)   Dat   is **zulk** mooi   hout.
          that   is such beautiful wood
          'That is such beautiful wood.'

(78) a.　Dat　is　mooi　**bruin**　hout.[29]　　　*Replaced by adjective*
　　　　　that　is　beautiful　brown　wood
　　　　　'That is beautiful brown wood.'

　　b.　Dat　is　**zeer**　mooi　　hout.　　　*Replaced by adverb*
　　　　　that　is　very　beautiful　wood
　　　　　'That is very beautiful wood.'

　　c.　Dat　is　**dat**　mooie　　hout.[30]　　*Replaced by determiner*
　　　　　that　is　that　beautiful　wood
　　　　　'That is that beautiful wood

Zulk can only be negated with the negation element *niet*, not with the element *geen*:

(79) a.　*Ik　zie　**geen**　zulk　mooi　　hout.
　　　　　I　see　no　such　beautiful　wood

　　b.　Ik　zie　**niet**　zulk　mooi　　　hout.
　　　　　I　see　not　such　beautiful　wood
　　　　　'I do not see such beautiful wood.'

It cannot be placed between a determiner and a noun either:

(80)　*het　zulk(e)　mooie　　　hout
　　　　the　such　beautiful　wood

Because *zulk* is not compatible with determiners, as shown in (80), *zulk* is determiner-like according to Ghesquière & Van de Velde (2011).

　　Zulk can modify a noun as in (81), and it can also express reference, as shown in (82).

(81)　Ik　heb　zulke pijn.
　　　　I　have　such　pain
　　　　'I am in such pain.'

(82)　Er　ligt　daar　veel　mooi　　hout.　Zulk mooi　　hout koop ik altijd.
　　　　there lies　there much beautiful wood　such beautiful　wood buy　I　always
　　　　'There is much beautiful wood over there. I always buy beautiful wood like that.'

In (82), *zulk* refers back to the wood that is introduced in the first sentence. This ability of expressing reference is an argument of Ghesquière & Van de Velde (2011) in favor of *zulk* being determiner-like.

　　Table 21 summarizes the characteristics of *zulk*.

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[29] Because of the hierarchy of adjectives, the adjectives are placed in a different order.

[30] The adjective must be inflected, because whereas *zulk* gives the noun phrase an indefinite reading, *dat* gives it a definite reading. If a determiner that modifies singular neuter nouns is definite, the adjective is inflected.

	Adjective	Adverb	Determiner	*Zulk*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	x
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	✓
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	✓
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	x
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	✓
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	✓
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	✓
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	✓

Table 21, *characteristics of* zulk

Zulk has 10 characteristics in common with the class of determiners; among these characteristics the ability to express reference. It has only 4 characteristics in common with the class of adjectives, and 7 characteristics in common with adverbs. Hence it seems that *zulk* can be classified between different syntactic categories. Sometimes it behaves determiner-like, and sometimes adverb-like.

4.2.3 17th-century Dutch

Firstly, I examine the classification of *zoo* and compare this to *so* and *zo*. Next, I discuss the classification of *zulck* and compare this to *such* and *zulck*.

4.2.3.1 Zoo

Zoo in 17th-century Dutch has a predicative use:

(83)　(…) **zoo**　is't　geverwt　geloove
　　　　so　*is-the*　*painted*　*faith*
　　"that's how the false colored faith is" (Part 1,456,237)

Zoo is never placed after an adjective, and it does not have comparative or superlative formation. It is never modified by an adverb of degree, and it is never inflected. Unfortunately, it cannot be tested if *zoo* can be replaced by an adjective, adverb of determiner, because there are no native speakers of 17th-century Dutch to consult.

There are no occurrences of *zoo* combined with the negation element *geen* in the corpus. There are examples with *niet*, as in (84).

(84) a. Den arbeyd, zeght de Mier, kan **niet** zoo schand'lijck zijn,
the labor says the ant can not so shameful be
'Labor, says the Ant, cannot be this shameful' (Part 1,631, 8)

b. (…) maer noch de heerschappyen (…)
but neither the dominions
Noch 't groot gebiet voên **niet** zoo groot een hovaerdy,
neither the large area nourished not so big a pride
'But neither dominions or this large area provided so big a pride' (Part 7,593,208/210)

The test above is used by Van de Velde (2009, 2010) to determine if *zulck* in the 17th century was more adjective-like or determiner-like. However, this might not be a good test to determine if *zoo* and *zulck* are adjective-like or determiner-like, because the distinction between *geen* and *niet* was not as strong in 17th-century Dutch as it is in Standard Dutch. There was a competition between the two negation elements, and the negation element *geen* is found in positions were *niet* is used in Standard Dutch (Van der Horst 2008).

(85) Wy en conde (daar) met **geen** sware schepen (Van der Horst 2008:1300)
we not could there with no bulky ships
comen door dyen
come by waves
'We couldn't go there with bulky ships, because of the waves.'

Zoo can be placed between a determiner and a noun, but only if *zoo* modifies an adjective:

(86) Gezondheyd voede my met **een zoo stercke reuck**, (…)
health fed me with a so strong smell
'Health provided me with such a strong smell (…) '(Part 2,357, 23)

In (86), *zoo* can amplify the adjective that follows it. *Zoo* cannot modify a noun, only when this noun is preceded by an indefinite article (i.e. a DP), as shown in (87).

(87) zoo een maeghd
so a virgin
'such a virgin' (Part 3,510,158)

Zoo can express reference, as becomes clear from (88).

(88) Hy   knielt. ah! ah! **hy   sneeft,   met sleep   van nederlaegen,**
      he   kneels ah   ah   he   falls-down with trail   of   defeats
      En   storting   aller plaegen.
      and flood   all   plagues
      De   boôm   van Duytschland kraeckt, en   ziddert overal,
      the soil   of   Germany   squeaks and   trembles everywhere
      Van **soo   vermaerden   val**.
      of   so   famous   fall
      'He kneels, ah ah! He falls down with as a result a trail of defeats and a flood of
      plagues. The soil of Germany trembles of such a famous fall.'(Part 3,342,29-32)

The fall in (88) refers back to the fact that someone fell in the first two lines.
    The characteristics of *zoo* are summarized in Table 22.

	Adjective	**Adverb**	**Determiner**	*Zoo*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	✓
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	x
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	-
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	✓
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	✓
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	-
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	x
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	-

Table 22, characteristics of zoo

Zoo has 8 characteristics in common with the class of adverbs, and 7 with determiners. Hence, it seems *zoo* is classified somewhere between adverbs and determiners. An important characteristic that is typical of adverbs is that they can amplify an adjective, and this is also possible for *zoo*. A typical property of determiners is that they can express reference; this is also possible for *zoo*. Characteristic for adjectives is that they can occur in predicative position; this is possible for *zoo* as well. Hence, it seems that *zoo* sometimes behaves adverb-like, sometimes determiner-like and sometimes even adjective-like.

    Zoo differs from *so* in English, in that *so* does not have a predicate use and *so* cannot be placed between a determiner and a noun, which are characteristics of adjectives. Therefore, *zoo* seems to behave more adjective-like than *so*. *So* also cannot express reference, whereas

zoo can. Expressing reference is typical for determiners, hence *zoo* behaves more determiner-like than *so*.

    Zoo differs from *zo* in Standard Dutch in that it does not occur with the negation element *geen*, which is possible for adjectives. However, as discussed above, this is not a strong argument for 17th-century Dutch. If we do not take this argument into account, *zoo* and *zo* have similar characteristics.

4.2.3.2 Zulck

Z*ulck* can be used predicatively, which is shown in (89).

(89) **Zulcx** is der vleyers kunst (…)
     Such is the flatterers art
     'The fine art of the flatterers is like that' (Part 1,579,15)

The example in (8), repeated as (90), shows that *zulck* can be placed between a determiner and a noun.

(90) (…) O wee **een sulcke stadt**
        oh no a such city
        'Oh no, such a city' (Part 1,725, 13)

The example in (90) also shows that zulck can modify a noun.

    Zulck is never preceded by an adjective, and it does not have comparative or superlative formation. It is also never modified by an adverb of degree. Something that is possible for *zulck* is that it can be inflected. It can have an *–e* ending when it modifies something else than an indefinite neuter singular noun, similar to Standard Dutch.

(91) zulck**e** ongehoorde daedt
     such-e *outrageous act*.F
     'such an outrageous act' (Part 1,566,4-5)

Unfortunately, it cannot be tested if *zulck* can be replaced by an adjective, adverb or determiner.

    In the corpus, I did not find a combination of the negation element *geen* and *zulck*. I did find *zulck* combined with *niet*. However, as discussed above, the occurrence with negation elements *geen* or *niet* is not a good argument in 17th-century Dutch, because *geen* and *niet* do not always behave like these elements in Standard Dutch.

(92) Wy lage verstanden onderwinden ons **niet** zulke treffelijke zaken te
     we low minds undertake us not such important matters to
     verhalen (…)
     tell
     'With our foolish minds, we do not dare to talk about such important matters.' (Part 7,268,3-4)

Zulck never amplifies an adjective; it is always immediately followed by a determiner or noun. Hence the examples in (93) do not occur.

(93) a. *zulck ongehoorde een daedt
        such outrageous a   act
     b. *De daedt is zulck ongehoord!
        the act   is such   outrageous

Zulck can express reference, as shown in (94).

(94) Potiphar :
     Zoo straft   ghy **overspel,   gewelt, en   maeghdeschennis**?
     So punishes you adultery   violence and virgin-lese
     Ioseph:
     Wel degelijck. helaes!   gaf Godt dat ick geen kennis
     does indeed   unfortunately gave God that I   no   knowledge
     Most dragen van die wraeck, noch **zulck   een schendigh stuck**.
     Should have of that revenge nor such   a   shameful offence
     'Potiphar: Do you punish adultery, violence and virgin-lese like that? Ioseph: Indeed,
     unfortunately! God said I should not have knowledge of that revenge nor of such a
     shameful offence.' (Part 4,178,611-613)

The crime (*stuck*) refers back to the *adultery, violence and virgin lese* in the first sentence of the example.

   The characteristics of *zulck* are summarized in Table 23.

	Adjective	**Adverb**	**Determiner**	*Zulck*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	✓
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	✓
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	-
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	✓
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	x
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	-
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	✓
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	-

Table 23, characteristics of zulck

Zulck has multiple characteristics in common with the class of adjectives, including the characteristic feature of adjectives of having a predicate use. It also has many characteristics in common with the class of determiners. For instance, *zulck* can express reference, what seems to be unique for the class of determiners. Typical for adverbs is that they cannot modify a noun; however it is possible for *zulck* to modify a noun. Therefore, it seems that *zulck* is more adjective-like and determiner-like than adverb-like.

Zulck is quite similar to *such*. They both have the adjective-like characteristics of having a predicate use, being able to be placed between a determiner and a noun, and they both have the determiner-like characteristic of having the ability to express reference.

Zulk in Standard Dutch is more determiner-like than *zulck* and *such*. For instance, *zulk* does not have a predicative use, and it cannot be placed between a determiner and a noun.

4.2.4 *Interim summary*

In the section above, I have discussed the classification of *so, zo, zoo, such, zulk* and *zulck*. Tables 24 and 25 give an overview of characteristics of *so, zo* and *zoo,* and *such, zulk* and *zulck.*

	Adjective	Adverb	Determiner	*So*	*Zo*	*Zoo*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	-	x	x
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	x	✓	-
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	-	✓	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	x	✓	✓
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	✓	✓	✓
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	✓	✓	-
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	x	x	x
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	x	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	x	x	-

Table 24, characteristics of so, zo *and* zoo

Important differences between *so, zo* and *zoo* are marked red. Within these differences, *zo* and *zoo* cluster together, whereas *so* is different in all three characteristics. *So* does not have a predicative use, and it cannot be placed between a determiner and a noun, two characteristics of adjectives that *zo* and *zoo* do have. *So* can also not express reference, a characteristics of determiners, which is possible for *zo* and *zoo*. What the differences between these words indicate is discussed in section 4.4. The influence of these differences on the possibilities in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is discussed in chapter 5.

Table 25 summarizes the characteristics of *such, zulk* and *zulck*.

	Adjective	Adverb	Determiner	*Such*	*Zulk*	*Zulck*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	✓	x	✓
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	✓	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	-	✓	✓
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	✓	✓	-
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	-	x	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	✓	x	✓
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	x	✓	x
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	x	✓	-
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	x	✓	-

Table 25, characteristics of such, zulk *and* zulck

Such is certainly more adjective-like than *zulk*, because it can be replaced by an adjective. *Zulk* can be replaced by a determiner, and is therefore probably more determiner-like. The important differences between *such, zulk* and *zulck* are marked in red again. For these differences, *zulck* seems to cluster with English *such*. Both *zulck* and *such* have a predicative use, and can be placed between a determiner and a noun, both properties of adjectives. Therefore, *zulck* and *such* seem to be more adjective-like than *zulk*. *Zulk* is not compatible with determiners, and therefore, it is more determiner-like. The meaning of these differences is discussed in section 4.4. The influence of these differences on the possibilities of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is discussed in chapter 5.

The analysis of the changes within *zoo* and *zulck* is discussed in section 4.4. Firstly, I discuss interpretative differences between the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, because if there are interpretative differences, these differences can also cause the variation patterns discussed in chapter 3.

4.3 Possible readings *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction

In this section, I examine if there are interpretative differences between the variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun* construction within languages, and between languages. Determining interpretative difference in this construction in 17th-century Dutch is a challenge, because there are no longer any language users of this language to ask for judgements. Therefore, I used the method close-reading and a comparison with English and Standard Dutch to discuss possible readings of the variants in 17th-century Dutch. Use is made of a comparison with English and Standard Dutch in the light of the uniformity principle of Chomsky (2001), which

states that 'in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform' (Chomsky 2001:2).

Firstly, I discuss the possible variants in English and Dutch, next I examine the variants in 17th-century Dutch, and finally I compare the possible readings in the three languages.

4.3.1 *English*

In the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, two different readings can be distinguished: an intensifying and an identifying reading. When a noun phrase has an intensifying reading, it expresses something with a high degree. The phrase can be paraphrased with an intensifier such as *very*.

(95) He is so tall!
      Intensifying reading: He is very tall!

When a noun phrase has an identifying reading, it has a defining referent in the context to which it can refer. The phrase can be paraphrased with *like that*. This is illustrated in (96).

(96) Some men are very sweet. He is such.
      Reading: Some men are very sweet. He is like that.

In English, there is a difference in reading between the construction with *so,* and the construction with *such*. *So* can only have an intensifying reading (Wood & Vikner 2011). The example in (97) shows that only an intensifying reading is possible, not an identifying one.

(97) … which are **so big a part** of the present system   (Wood & Vikner 2011:90)
      Intensifying reading: 'a part of the present system that is very big'
      #Identifying reading: 'a big part of the system like that'

The construction with *such* can both have an intensifying[31] and an identifying reading, as the example in (98) shows.

(98) …which are **such a major part** of the present system   (Wood & Vikner 2011:90)
      Intensifying reading: 'a part of the present system that is very big'
      Identifying reading: 'a big part of the system like that'

4.3.2 *Standard Dutch*

Zo and *zulk* both have two possible readings in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. They can have an intensifying reading and an identifying reading, as shown in (99).

---

[31] S*uch* can only have an intensifying reading if there is a gradable adjective or a gradable noun in the construction.

(99) a. Zo'n mooie   vrouw zie je   niet vaak.
          so-a beautiful   woman see you   not   often
          Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so extremely beautiful.'
          Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a beautiful woman like that.'

      b. Zulke   mooie   groente zie je   niet vaak.
          such   beautiful   vegetables see you   not   often
          Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see vegetables which are so extremely
                                beautiful.'
          Identifying reading: 'You do not often see beautiful vegetables like that.'

However, when *zo* is not followed but preceded by the indefinite article, *zo* can only have an identifying reading for the adjective, not for the whole noun phrase, as shown in the example below.

(100)   Een zo   mooie   vrouw zie je   niet vaak.
         a   so   beautiful   woman see you   not   often
         Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so extremely beautiful.'
         #Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a beautiful woman like that.'
         Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is exactly this beautiful.'

Hence, in (100) *zo mooi* can refer back to the discourse in which the degree of beautifulness already is discussed. This is what happened in the second identifying reading. *Zo* cannot refer back to a previously mentioned set of beautiful women.

4.3.3 *17th-century Dutch*

4.3.3.1 Zoo
Zoo can both have an intensifying and an identifying reading.

(101)   De   dappere Hector (…)
         the   brave   Hetor
         vreesde Achilles   sang meer   als   uwe oorlooghsmaght:
         feared Achilles'   song more   than your war-power
         En   in **soo groot   eene angst**, die   yeder   een deê beven,
         *and in *so*   *big*   *a*   *fear*   *that* *every*   *one* *did* *tremble*
         De   vloot der   Thessalen is ongeterght gebleven.
         the   fleet the   Thessalen is untouched   stayed
         'The brave Hector feared Achilles more than your war power, and in so big a fear, which let everyone tremble, the fleet of Thessalen has stayed untouched.'(Part 2,557, 470-482)

The example in (101) is about the severity of the fear. Namely, the fear is very, very great, even greater than the fear of the war power. Hence, it has an intensifying reading.

In (87), repeated as (102), *zoo* has a kind reading, Vondel refers to a particular kind of virgin.

(102)   zoo   een   maeghd
        so   a   virgin
        'such a virgin' (Part 3,510,158)

However, not every variant of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction has both an intensifying and an identifying reading.
    The variant *so-adjective-a* has an intensifying reading, as is shown in (103).

(103)   De   swaerte   die   recht toe   recht aen, en   sonder   horten
        the   heaviness   that   straightforward   and   without   bumping
        Met **soo geswind een' slagh** quam   tegens   d'aerde   storten,
        with   so   fast   a   fall   came   against   the-earth   fall-down
        'The heaviness of the body made the body fall down to earth in such a fast fall,
        because it fell down straightforward ' (Part 2,608,1571-1572)

In (103), the focus is on the fastness of the fall, because the body fell down straightforwardly. Of the examples of the *so-adjective-a*-variant in the corpus, there are no examples that must be identifying. This would be the case if the adjective and noun were not gradable, because if there is no gradable element in the construction, *so* cannot intensify anything, and the construction must have an identifying reading. There is no such example in the corpus, which might indicate that the *so-adjective-a*-variant always has an intensifying reading. It is difficult to provide evidence for this analysis, because it is not possible to ask language users for judgements. Therefore, I compare this variant in 17th-century Dutch to this variant in English. In English, the *so-adjective-a*-variant can indeed only have an intensifying reading, which is shown in (97), repeated in (104).

(104) … which are **so big a part** of the present system   (Wood & Vikner 2011:90)
      Intensifying reading: 'a part of the present system that is very big'
      #Identifying reading: 'a big part of the system like that'

Because all examples of the *so-adjective-a*-variant certainly have an intensifying reading, (i.e. they all contain a gradable element), and because the *so-adjective-a*-variant in English only has an intensifying reading, I argue that the *so-adjective-a*-variant in 17th-century Dutch only has an intensifying reading as well.
    In the *so-a-adjective*-variant, *so* can have an intensifying meaning[32]. For instance in (105):

(105)   Met **zoo een schendigh stuck**, als   't   schenden   van   het   Kruis.
        with   so   a   disgraceful offence   as   the   violate   of   the   Cross
        'with so disgraceful an offence as the violation of the Cross' (Part 3, 1259)

---

[32] In chapter 5, I argue that the variant *so-adjective+en* is the same construction as the *so-adjective-a*-variant, only with an enclitic article instead of a fully-written article. Therefore, I only discuss the *so-adjective-a*-variant in this section, but characteristics of this variant are probably also characteristics of the variant *so-adjective+en*.

Zoo een stuck refers to the violation of the cross, an event that is very, very disgraceful according to the text. There are no examples of the *so-a-adjective*-variant without a gradable adjective, and therefore, it is difficult to provide evidence for an identifying meaning in this variant. Therefore, I use a comparison with the possible readings of this variant in Standard Dutch. In Standard Dutch, the *so-a-adjective*-variant both has an intensifying and an identifying reading, as shown in (99)a, repeated in (106).

(106)   Zo'n mooie   vrouw zie je   niet vaak.
        so-a beautiful   woman see you   not often
        Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so extremely beautiful.'
        Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a beautiful woman like that.'

In Standard Dutch, the variant *so-a-adjective* has an identifying reading, and therefore I argue that this is also the case for this variant in 17th-century Dutch.

The *a-so-adjective*-variant only has 3 examples in the corpus, and that is not enough to draw conclusions from. In Standard Dutch, this variant does not have the same identifying reading as the *so-a-adjective*-variant, this is shown in (100), repeated in (107).

(107)   Een zo   mooie   vrouw zie je   niet vaak.
        a   so   beautiful   woman see you   not often
        Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so extremely beautiful.'
        #Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a beautiful woman like that.'
        Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is exactly this beautiful.'

If we compare 17th-century Dutch with Standard Dutch, this might indicate that the *a-so-adjective*-variant cannot refer back to a referent of the noun in the construction.

Possible readings of the *so-adjective* construction are difficult to discuss, because there are not many examples of this construction, and this variant does not occur in English or Dutch. Hence, I will not discuss this variant in this section.

4.3.3.2 *Zulck*

Zulck can both have an intensifying and an identifying reading as well. In (108), the example is about a fever that is so extremely hot that it must be cooled down with blood, hence a degree reading. The example in (109) is about a particular word that is spoken, hence a kind reading.

(108)   (…) of is 't om d'ackers,   die   nu   quynen
            or is it to   the-field   who now   wither
        Aen **zulck   een heete   koorts**, te koelen met hun   bloed?
        to   such   a   hot   fever   to cool   with their blood
        'Or is it to cool the field, which is withering of a hot fever, with their own blood?'
        (Part 3,833,658-659)

(109)   Hoe laetghe **zulck   een woord** uw' kuischen   mond   ontgaen?
        how do-you such   a   word   your pure   mouth   escape
        'How could you say such a word with your pure mouth?' (Part 3,595,1755)

The *such-a-adjective*-variant can have an intensifying reading, such as in example (108), but it can also have an identifying reading. This can be shown, because *zulck* can occur in the *such-a-adjective*-variant without a gradable element in it.

(110)   zulck   een   houte   stadt
   such   *a*   *wooden city*
   'such a wooden city' (Part 8,656,76)

In (110), both the adjective and noun are not gradable, and therefore, the phrase must have an identifying reading.

 For the *such+en-adjective+en*-variant, there are not enough examples in the corpus to examine the possible readings. Unfortunately, this variant is also not possible in either English or Standard Dutch. Hence, it is not possible to draw conclusions for this variant.

4.3.4 *Interim summary*

In the section above, the possible readings of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in English, Standard Dutch and 17th-century Dutch are discussed.

	English	**Standard Dutch**	**17th-century Dutch**
So-adjective-a	Intensifying	-	Intensifying
So-a-adjective	-	Intensifying + Identifying	Intensifying + Identifying
A-so-adjective	-	Intensifying	Intensifying
Such-(a)-adjective	Intensifying + Identifying	Intensifying + Identifying	Intensifying + Identifying

Table 26, possible readings variants so/such-adjective-noun-*construction*

Every variant on itself probably has the same readings in all three languages. The *so-adjective-a*-variant only has an intensifying reading in English and 17th-century Dutch, similar to the *a-so-adjective*-variant, which only has an intensifying reading in Standard Dutch and 17th-century Dutch. *So-a-adjective* both has an intensifying and an identifying reading in Standard Dutch and 17th-century Dutch, similar to the *such-(a)-adjective*-variant, which has both readings in all three languages. None of the variants only has an identifying reading.

In the following section, I discuss the variation between *so, zo, zoo, such, zulk* and *zulck,* and the readings of variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction between the three languages with respect to a development that might have caused the disappearance of some of the variants from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch.

4.4 Grammatical change

In the two previous sections, *so, zo, zoo, such, zulk* and *zulck* are classified, and possible readings of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are discussed. In this section, I discuss the development between *zoo* and *zulck* in 17th-century Dutch, and *zo* and *zulk* in Standard Dutch. Firstly, I argue that *zoo* is partially grammaticalized, and

therefore has gained a possible reading. Next, I argue that *zulck* is grammaticalized from a more lexical category (adjective-like) to a functional category (determiner-like).

4.4.1 *Zoo → Zo*

Zo has not really changed in its characteristics. It already behaved more as *zo* in Standard Dutch than as *so* in English in 17th-century Dutch. Both *zoo* and *zo* have multiple characteristics of the syntactic class adverbs. Hence, it seems that *zoo* has not gone through a development in its classification between the 17th and 21st century.

There is however, an important difference between *zo* in the different variants of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction. Some of the variants only have an intensifying reading, whereas *so-a-adjective* bot has an intensifying and identifying reading. This is summarized in Table 26, partially repeated in Table 27.

	Standard Dutch	**17th-century Dutch**
So-adjective-a	-	Intensifying
So-a-adjective	Intensifying + Identifying	Intensifying + Identifying
A-so-adjective	Intensifying	Intensifying

Table 27, possible readings variants so/such-adjective-noun-*construction*

To understand the underlying cause of this difference in readings between the variants, some more information on the development of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction is required. Van der Horst and Van de Velde (2003) provide an overview of the diachronic changes in the possible variants.

Period	*So-adjective*	*So-adjective-a*	*So-a-adjective*	*A-so-adjective*
Old Dutch	✓			
1200-1350	✓	✓		
1350-1500	✓	✓		
1500-1600	(?)	✓		
1600-1700	✓	✓	✓	✓
1700-1800		✓	✓	✓
1800-1900		✓	✓	✓
Contemporary			✓	✓

Table 28, diachronic overview so-adjective-noun-*construction.*

Hence, the *so-adjective-a* with only an intensifying reading is used since 1200.
The *so-a-adjective*-variant was first attested in the 17th century. Hence, this construction came into being during Vondel's life. It seems that *zoo* only had an intensifying reading before the 17th century, and within the 17th century, it also got an identifying reading. This is illustrated in (111).

(111)
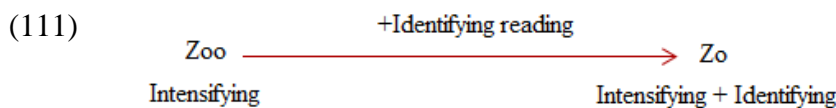
The extra reading of *zo* might be caused because of a grammaticalization process of *zo* in which *zo* became more determiner-like. A typical characteristic of determiners is that they can refer to something that is already known in the discourse. *Zoo* also got this feature and therefore it got an identifying reading. Hence, *zoo* is changed from being more adverb-like (i.e. only having an intensifying function) to more determiner-like (i.e. also having a identifying function). This change in *zo* is to be expected in a grammaticalization process. In a grammaticalization process, words change from a lexical category to a more functional category (Roberts 1993; Robert & Roussou 2003). This is partially the case for *zo* as well. It changed from a more lexical category (i.e. adverb-like) to a more functional category (i.e. determiner-like). However, the old use of *zoo* is also still possible. In English, *so* is not grammaticalized, and therefore it only has an intensifying use.

   Another variant, namely the variant *a-so-adjective,* came into being in the 17th century as well.[33] This variant has a partial identifying meaning as well. However, it cannot refer back to an entity, only to a characteristic of the noun in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction. This is illustrated in (100), repeated in (112).

(112)   Een   zo   mooie   vrouw   zie   je   niet   vaak.
        a   so   beautiful   woman   see   you   not   often
        Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so extremely beautiful.'
        #Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a beautiful woman like that.'
        Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is exactly this beautiful.'

To summarize, *zoo* is partially grammaticalized causing it to get an identifying meaning in addition to an intensifying one.

4.4.2 *Zulck* → *Zulk*
Zulck has also changed in its characteristics in the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch: it became more determiner-like. This becomes clear by the comparison of the characteristics of *zulck* and *zulk* in Table 29.

---

[33] Why this variant came into being will be left for further research. A possible analysis is that this was the case because of the emergence of the determiner (Van de Velde 2009, 2010). Therefore it might have become possible to fill the specifier of D in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction 17th-century Dutch.

	Adjective	Adverb	Determiner	*Zulck*	*Zulk*
Predicative use	✓	x	x	✓	x
Occurrence after adjectives	✓	x	x	x	x
Comparative/superlative formation	✓	x	x	x	x
Modification by means of an adverb of degree	✓	x	x	x	x
Inflection (Dutch only)	✓	x	x	✓	✓
Replaced by adjective	✓	x	x	-	✓
Negation *geen* 'none' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	x	x	x
Placement between determiner and noun	✓	✓	x	✓	x
Amplification of an adjective	x	✓	x	x	✓
Replaced by adverb	x	✓	x	-	✓
Negation *niet* 'no' (Dutch only)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modification of a noun	✓	x	✓	✓	✓
Expresses reference	x	x	✓	✓	✓
Replaced by determiner	x	x	✓	-	✓

Table 29, characteristics of zulck *and* zulk

Zulk hast lost the ability to occur between a determiner and a noun, and also to occur as a predicate. These are two typical characteristics for adjectives. Therefore, *zulck* became more determiner-like. This change is illustrated in (113).

(113)
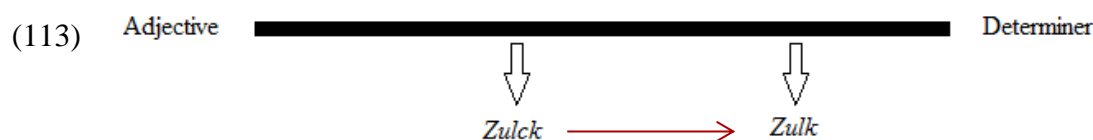
The change of *zulck* from being somewhat adjective-like and somewhat determiner-like to more determiner-like, is in agree with the common idea of grammaticalization. According to Roberts (1993) and Robert and Roussou (2003), grammaticalization is always an upward movement. This indicates that a particular word that is grammaticalized changes from a more lexical category to a more functional category. This is exactly what happened with *zulck*, it changed from a more lexical category (adjective-like) to a more functional category (determiner-like).

4.5 Interim summary

In this chapter *so, zo, zoo*, *such, zulk* and *zulck* are classified, possible readings of different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-variant are discussed, and I have argued that both *zoo* and *zulck* have gone through a grammaticalization process.

So, *zo* and *zoo* seem to behave adverb-like. One important difference between *so* on the one hand, and *zo* and *zoo* on the other hand is that *zo* and *zoo* can express reference, and this gives them the possibility to have an identifying reading. This reading became possible in the 17th-century. In this century, *zoo* was in the middle of a grammaticalization process in which

it got more determiner-like, and therefore gained an identifying reading. This is a typical reading for determiner-like elements. In English, *so* has not grammaticalized, and it still only has an intensifying reading.

As for classification of *zulck*, *zulck* and *such* seem to cluster together. They are both between the category adjectives and the category determiners. *Zulk* is more determiner-like than these two words. This indicates that *zulck* has undergone a development in which it went from a more lexical category (i.e. adjective-like) to a more functional category (i.e. determiner-like), which is typical change in a grammaticalization process.

In the following chapter, I discuss how the developments of *zoo* and *zulck* have had influence on the possible variant of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. To discuss this, an analysis of how the different variants are made possible by the language system is required, because some of the variants are probably gradually disappeared or emerged because of the possibilities in the language system.

5. Analysis *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction

In chapter 4, I analyzed the grammaticalization of *zoo* and *zulck*. This analysis raises the question how this grammaticalization process influenced the use of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. In the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch, some of the variants of this construction gradually disappeared. In the tables below, the possible variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction with a singular noun that are discussed in chapter 3, are repeated. The possible variants in English are also given, because these examples can contribute to the explanation of some of the variants that were still possible in 17th-century Dutch, but no longer in Standard Dutch.

Variant	*Zoo*	*Zo*	*So*
So-adjective	zoo grote man	*zo grote man	*so big man
So-adjective-a	zoo groot een man	*zo groot een man	so big a man
So-adjective+en	zoo groten man	*zo groten man	-
So-a-adjective	zoo een grote man	zo'n grote man	*so a big man
A-so-adjective	een zoo grote man	een zo grote man	??a so big man

Table 30, *paradigm of the* so-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th- century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

Variant	*Zulck*	*Zulk*	*Such*
Such-adjective	zulcke grote man	*zulke grote man	*such big man
Such-adjective-a	*zulck groot een man	*zulk groot een man	*such big a man
Such+en-adjective+en	zulcken groten man	*zulken groten man	-
Such-a-adjective	zulck een grote man	??zulk een grote man	such a big man
A-such-adjective	*een zulck slecht hotel	*een zulke grote man	*a such big man

Table 31, *paradigm of the* such-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th -century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

To examine why the variants *so-adjective, so-adjective-a*, *so-adjective+en*, *such-adjective, such+en-adjective+en* and *such-a-adjective* are no longer in use in Standard Dutch, an analysis of the different variants is required to examine why some of the variants were possible in the language system in the 17th century, but are no longer possible in Standard Dutch. To perform this analysis, the linguistics generative framework is used (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

Firstly, I discuss the base-generated structure of all the variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. The purpose of this discussion is to examine whether there already is a distinction between the variants in how they are base-generated. Secondly, I discuss whether movement has taken place in the noun phrases. I conclude by discussing the derivations of the variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, and how the grammaticalization of *zoo* and *zulck* can account for the gradual disappearance of some of the variants.

5.1 Base-generated structure

To discuss the base-generated structure of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, I firstly discuss the literature in which this base-generated structure is discussed. In section 5.1.2, I discuss the base-generated structure per variant of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction.

5.1.1 *Theoretical background*

Two possible analyses for the derivations of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are discussed in the paper by Wood and Vikner (2011). The first analysis assumes there is movement from the adjective position directly before the noun to a position that precedes the indefinite article (Matushansky 2002).

(114)   [such/so bad]$_j$ a t_j hotel   (Wood & Vikner 2011:91)

Hence, *such, so* and the adjective are base-generated in a higher position than the noun. An alternative analysis is that the elements *so* and *such* are base-generated as predicates in a small clause, and the DP is the subject of this small clause (Bennis, Corver & Den Dikken 1998). *So, such* and the adjective are then moved to a position before the article and noun, as shown in (115).

(115)   [such/so bad]$_k$ a hotel [ec t_k]   (Wood & Vikner 2011:91)

Before I discuss Wood & Vikners's analysis of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, I go into detail on the analysis in (115).

Bennis et al. (1998) argue that there is predication in noun phrases. The argumentation for this statement is the parallel between predicates on a sentence level, and predicates on a noun phrase level, as demonstrated in (116) and (117).

(116) a.   De   grootste beer is die   kerel.   *sentence level*
            the   biggest bear is that   guy
            'That guy is the biggest bear.'

      b.   een   beer van een   kerel   *noun phrase level*
            a   bear of   a   guy
            'a bear of a guy'

(117) a.   Zo   is een   kerel.   *sentence level*
            so   is a   guy
            'A guy is like that.'

      b.   zo'n kerel   *noun phrase level*
            so-a guy
            'such a guy'   (Bennis et al. 1998:86)

On a sentence level, it is clear that *de beer* and *zo* are predicates, and according to Bennis et al. (1998), this is also the case on a noun phrase level. Hence, *zo* is a predicate of the subject *kerel* in both examples in (116).

Bennis et al. (1998) discuss several constructions with predication on a noun phrase level, for instance the *N van een N* constructions in (116)b. In (116)b, *a bear* is a predicate of *a man*, because the property 'being like a bear' is ascribed to the man. Bennis et al. (1998) argue that predicates of a noun are base-generated in a small clause position. Hence, to get the word

order in (116)b, a reordering of the word order has taken place, similar to the reordering in the sentences in (118).

(118) a.   John is the best candidate.   (Bennis et al, 1998:88)
      b.   The best candidate is John.

In (118) the predicate *the best candidate* is fronted, similar to *a bear* in (116)b. In (118)b, the predicate probably moves to the same position as the subject in (118)a, namely [Spec,IP]. The nature of the position where the predicate moves to in (116)b is left for further research by Bennis et al. (1998:91).

   It is certain that the predicate moves, motivated by the word order in (116)b, the predicate is placed before the subject. In constructions with a moved predicate, the predicate moves to a higher specifier. This head movement of the predicate to a higher position can have as a reflex that the head of that layer (where the predicate moves to) will be overtly spelled out. In (116)b the overt spell out of the head is *van*, in (118)b it is a form of the verb *to be*. Hence, these elements often occur when predicate movement has taken place.

   The indefinite article *een* in (116)b and the enclitic indefinite article *'n* in (117)b are a spell out of the head of the small clause according to Bennis et al. (1998), and occurs often in predicate movements constructions as well[34]. After the indefinite article is base-generated in a small clause, it moves to a higher position (e.g. D or a functional head lower than D). When the indefinite article occurs in predicate movement constructions, it does not behave like a normal indefinite article. The indefinite article is spurious according to Bennis et al. (1998), because it does not seem to belong to the noun. Normally, the indefinite article is only found with singular count nouns, not with mass or plural nouns, as illustrated in (119).

(119) a.   Ik heb   een   boek   gelezen.   (Bennis et al, 1998:92)
            I   have   a   book.SG.Count   *read*
            'I have read a book.'
      b.   *Ik   heb   een   boeken   gelezen.
            I   have   a   books.PL   *read*
      c.   *Ik   heb   een   spinazie   gegeten.
            I   have   a   spinach.Mass *eaten*

In the *N van een N* construction, the noun that follows the indefinite article is spurious in that it can either follow a plural or a mass noun, as shown in (120). This indicates the indefinite article *een* in (120) is not a determiner of the noun. According to Bennist et al. (1998), it is an overt reflex of movement of the predicate.

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[34] The indefinite article in (117)b is considered to be base-generated in a head above the small clause instead of in the small clause by Corver & Van Koppen (2009). In the analysis in section 5.2.2, I follow this analysis.

(120) a.   ?die ramp   van een   getalscongruentiefeiten (Bennis et al. 1998:92-93)
             that disaster of   a   number-agreement-facts.PL
             'that disaster of a number agreement facts'

     b.   een   pracht   van een   spinazie
             a   beauty of   a   spinach.Mass
             'a beauty of a spinach'

Bennis et al. (1998) assume there is predicate movement in noun phrase constructions with *zo* (*zo'n kerel* 'such a guy') as well, however, they leave the detailed analysis of this construction for further research. The analysis of predicate movement in this construction is described more elaborately by Wood & Vikner (2011), who follow the analysis that *so* and the adjective in the *so-adjective-a*-variant and *such* in the *such-a-adjective*-variant are base-generated as predicates, with the noun as a subject of the small clause. Evidence for this analysis is that sentences with the surface word order are attested:

(121)   She told me she never saw **a man so pleased** by a glass of wine.

<div align="right">(Wood & Vikner 2011:96)</div>

The part *so pleased* in (121) is in postnominal position, hence the surface order of the variant *so-adjective-a* in example (122). This indicates the predicate *so pleased* is generated below the noun phrase *a man*.

(122)   so pleased a man

Another argument in favor of *so-adjective* being a predicate is about the examples in (123). Normally, the adjective *ashamed* can only be used predicatively. Therefore, (123)a is ungrammatical because it is used attributively. However, (123)b seems to be grammatical. This indicates that the adverb of degree and the adjective are derived by predicate-raising, and because *ashamed* is a predicate, (123)b is grammatical.

(123) a.   *the ashamed shoplifter
     b.   So ashamed a shoplifter I have never seen.   (Wood & Vikner 2011:96)

The predicate-raising analysis is also the most plausible derivation for *such* in the *such-a-adjective*-variant, according to Wood and Vikner (2011). For their argumentation, they use examples from German. In the sentence in (124)a, *solch* 'such' is uninflected, contrary to *solch* in (124)b.

(124) a.   **solch**   ein   Hotel   (Wood & Vikner 2011:98)
             such-Ø a   hotel
             'such a hotel'

     b.   ein   **solches** Hotel
             a   such-es hotel
             'such a hotel'

In German, adjectives that are used predicatively are never inflected, contrary to adjectives that are used attributively. *Solch* can be inflected in a similar way to adjectives. Because *solch* in (124)a is not inflected, it must be used predicatively according to Wood & Vikner (2011) [35].

Hence, *so-adjective* in the *so-adjective-a*-variant and *such* in the *such-a-adjective*-variant are predicates, and therefore they are base-generated in a small clause. The analysis that *so-adjective* and *such* are base-generated higher than the noun is not likely, because *so-adjective* and *such* are predicatively used. Of the two possible analyses in (114) and (115), repeated in (125) and (126), the second analysis is most plausible, because *so-adjective* and *such* are predicates in this analysis.

(125) [such/so bad]$_j$ a t_j hotel   (Wood & Vikner 2011:91)

(126) [such/so bad]$_k$ a hotel [ec t_k]   (Wood & Vikner 2011:91)

To receive to right word order, *so-adjective* and *such* must be raised. Wood & Vikner (2011) provide the following structure:

(127)   (Wood & Vikner 2011:104)
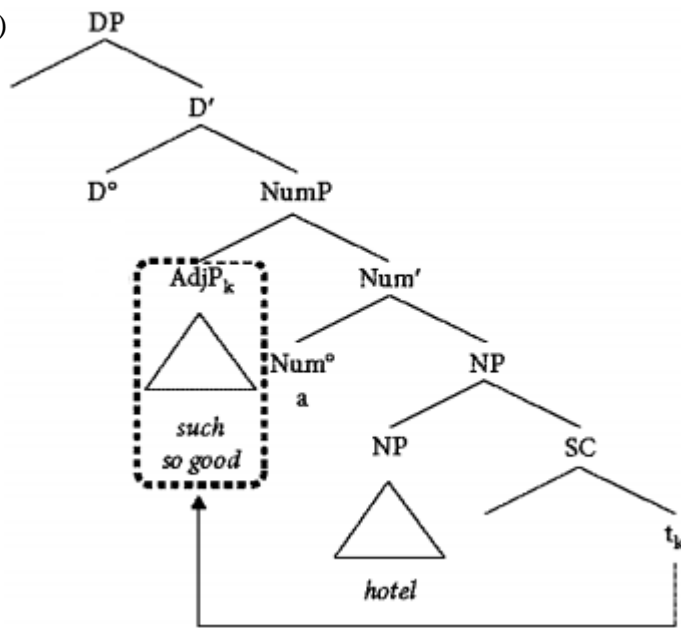
Wood & Vikner (2011) do not provide an analysis of why *so-adjective* and *such* move or why they would move to NumP, as shown in (127). I discuss the nature of this movement in section 5.2, but first I discuss the base-generated structure of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th-century Dutch.

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[35] In the example of Wood & Vikner (2011), there is no adjective included. If an adjective is added to the example in (124)a, *solch* is still uninflected, and therefore it might be used predicatively.

i.   solch ein   slechtes   Hotel
      such a   *bad*   *hotel*
      'such a bad hotel'

5.1.2 *Base-generated structure per variant*

In this section, I discuss the base-generated structure of the variants *so-adjective-a, so/such-a-adjective, a-so-adjective* and *so-adjective*. In 17th-century Dutch, and also in Standard Dutch and English to explain why some of the variants are not possible in these languages. This is due to an impossible base-generated structure in Standard Dutch and English.

5.1.2.1 So-adjective-a-variant

In this section, I discuss the base-generated structure of the *so-adjective-a*-variant. Below, I argue that the variants *so-adjective-a* and *so-adjective+en* have the same analysis. I explain that this is the case because the *so-adjective+en* variant is the same variant as the *so-adjective-a*-variant, only in a different form. It has an enclitic indefinite article instead of a fully-written one. Next, the base-generated structure of this variant is discussed.

–en ending as an enclitic article

As mentioned in the introduction, the important author P.C. Hooft interpreted the *–en* ending in the *so-adjective+en*-variant as an enclitic article in the 17th century. Hence, in this case the examples in (1), repeated in (128), actually contain the same variant.

(128) a. zoo   grot**en**   man
       so   *big*-en   *man*
       'so   big a man'
   b. zoo   groot **een**   man
       so   *big*   *a*   *man*
       'so big a man'

The *–en* ending on the adjective in (128)a is an enclitic indefinite article according to P.C. Hooft, and in (128)b, this article is fully-written.

   I follow this analysis, because there are two arguments in favor of this analysis. Firstly, when the noun in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is plural, the *–en* ending as in (128)a is not used. Plural forms of this construction have the following form:

(129)   zoo   glorioze zielen
      so   *glorious souls*
      'such glorious souls' (Part 2,124,451)

Adjectives in constructions with a plural noun like (129) never have an *–en* ending, except for when this is a regular case ending. The *–en* ending does not occur with plural nouns, because the indefinite article cannot occur with plural nouns in 17th-century Dutch. Therefore, the sentence in (130) is not attested. That this *–en* ending does not occur in the same way on adjectives modifying a plural noun as it does in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction with a singular noun, indicates this *–en* ending might be an enclitic indefinite article.

(130)   *Zo   groot   een   mannen
      so   *big*   *a*   *men*

If the *–en* ending in the *so-adjective-a*-variant is an enclitic indefinite article, it is not expected to occur with plural nouns, and this is indeed what happens in the corpus.

Secondly, Vondel can use mixed variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, as discussed in chapter 3. For instance, he can use a mixed variant of the variants *such+en-adjective+en* and *such-a-adjective*. This is shown in (11), repeated in (131).

(131) zulck **een'** braev**en** staet
       such *a* *brave*-en *condition*.F
       'such a brave condition' (Part 3,476,1201)

In (131), Vondel uses an *–en* ending on the adjective, which is no regular case ending of the adjective, because it modifies a feminine noun. However, Vondel also uses a fully-written indefinite article before the adjective. Usually, *zulck* also has an *–en* ending in this variant. This is shown in (9)b, repeated in (132).

(132) **zulcken** harden proef
       such-en *difficult*-en *test*
       'such a difficult test' (Part 1,240,1577)

In (131), Vondel has written the *–en* ending on *zulck* that is used in (132) as an indefinite article. This indicates Vondel saw this *–en* ending as an enclitic indefinite article. Because in 17th-century Dutch it was not possible to have two indefinite articles following each other, the example in (134) is not attested.

(133) * zulck**en** **een'** braeven staet
         such-en *a* *brave*-en *condition*.F

Hence, the *–en* ending of the *so-adjective+en*-variant seems to be an enclitic indefinite article, which can be fully-written as well. Therefore, the variants *so-adjective+en* and *so-adjective-a* can be seen as two different forms of the same construction, and I will give one analysis for both of these forms.

Derivation *so-adjective-a*-variant

Wood & Vikner (2011) argue that *so-adjective* in the *so-adjective-a*-variant is base-generated as a predicate in a small clause with the noun as a subject. In this section, I discuss if this is a possible analysis for the base-generated structure of the *so-adjective-a*-variant as well. To examine this, I take a closer look at the behavior of the adjective in this variant, and at the behavior of the part *so-adjective* in 17th-century Dutch.

In the variant *so-adjective-a,* the adjective is never inflected. In 17th-century Dutch, adjectives are not inflected when they are used predicatively. This is shown in (134)a. The form of the predicate in (134)b is not used in 17th-century Dutch.

(134) a. D'een   Tessche is **hallefblind**, en   d'and're   Feecx   is **leep**
         the-one woman is half-blind-Ø and the-other vixen   is squint-Ø
         'the one hag is half blind and the other vixen is cross-eyed' (Part 1,341,5)

   b. * D'een   Tessche is **hallefblinde**
        the-one   woman is half-blind-e

Because the adjective in the variant *so-adjective-a* is never inflected, this might indicate that it is a predicatively used adjective.

   Another argument in favor of the adjective being predicative is that a typical characteristic of predicates is that they cannot be stacked. They require a coordinating conjunction between them. This is illustrated in (135)a. Variants of the example in (135)b are not attested.

(135) a. De   jongen is noch **dom   en   wulpsch**
         the boy   is still ignorant and inexperienced
         'The boy is still ignorant and unexperienced.'

   b. * De jongen is noch **dom   wulpsch**
        the boy   is still ignorant inexperienced

This is also the case for the *so-adjective-a*-variant. If *zoo* modifies two adjectives in the *so-adjective-a*-variant, there must be a coordinating conjunction between the two adjectives. The *so-adjective-a*-variant is never attested with two adjectives without this conjunction, as illustrated in (136)b.

(136) a.   zoo **groot en   geluckigh** een   voorteken
            so   big and fortunate   a   sign
            'so big and fortunate a sign' (Part 6,882,58)

   b.   *zoo **groot geluckigh** een   voorteken
   *so   big   happy   a   sign*

The two arguments above indicate that the adjective in the *so-adjective-a*-variant is used predicatively, and this means it can be base-generated as a predicate in a small clause.

   The whole part *so-adjective* can occur as a predicate as well. This is shown in (137).

(137)   Ghenade, o Iupiter! Wie zijt ghy die **zoo licht**
         grace   o Jupiter who be you that so   light
         V   hielen (…) licht?
         your   heels   go
         'Grace, o Jupiter! Who are you that you can go away so easily?' (Part 1,213,891)

Hence, the example in (137) shows that *so-adjective* can be a predicate, and this might mean that *so-adjective* in the *so-adjective-a*-variant is generated as a predicate as well. This indicates that the *so-adjective-a*-variant in (9)c, repeated in (138), has the base-generated structure that is given in (139).

(138)   zoo   kort   een   tijd
         so   short a   time
         'so short a time' (Part 3,509,116)

(139)
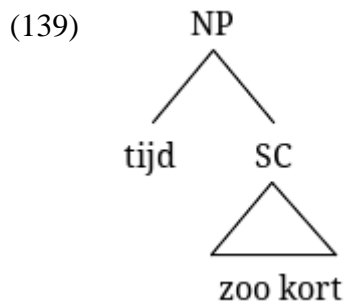
In (139), *zoo kort* is generated as a predicate in a small clause with the noun *tijd* as subject. The indefinite article *een* is base-generated in a higher position as a marker of movement of the predicate. This is discussed in section 5.2.

    Another argument in favor of the structure in (139) is that this base-generated structure is attested in 17th-century Dutch.

(140)   (…)   en   dat   **een' moord soo straf**   *17th-century Dutch*
                     and   that   a   murder so   cruel
         Den   naem   van   bruyloft voere: (…)
         the   name   of   wedding carried
         'that a wedding was known for so cruel a murder' (Part 2,555,436-437)

For English it is also possible to use the base-generated structure of the variant *so-adjective-a*. This is an argument of Wood & Vikner (2011) in favor of *so-adjective* in the variant *so-adjective-a* being base-generated as a predicate. This is shown in (121), repeated in (141).

(141)   She told me she never saw **a man so pleased** by a glass of wine.

                                                        (Wood & Vikner 2011:96)

Variant *so-adjective-a*-variant cannot be used in Standard Dutch. A possible reason for this is that the base-generated structure in (139) cannot be used in Standard Dutch, contrary to English.

(142)   *ze   zag   nooit **een   man zo blij**   door wijn   *Standard Dutch*
         she   saw   never a   man so pleased by   wine

Because (142) cannot be used in Standard Dutch, this indicates *so-adjective* cannot be generated as a predicate in a small clause in Standard Dutch.

    Interesting is that the word order of the *so-adjective-a*-variant cannot be used with *such*; not in 17th-century Dutch, but also not in English and Standard Dutch. This is shown in Table 16, repeated as Table 32.

Variant	*Zulck*	*Zulk*	*Such*
Such-adjective	zulcke grote man	*zulke grote man	*such big man
Such-adjective-a	*zulck groot een man	*zulk groot een man	*such big a man
Such+en-adjective+en	zulcken groten man	*zulken groten man	-
Such-a-adjective	zulck een grote man	?zulk een grote man	such a big man
A-such-adjective	*een zulck slecht hotel	*een zulke grote man	*a such big man

Table 32, paradigm of the such-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

This can be explained by one of the characteristics that *zulck, zulk* and *such* have in common, namely that they cannot modify an adjective. This is shown in examples (59), (75)c and (93)b, repeated in (143).

(143) a.   *He is **such big**!   *English*

b.   *Dat hout   is **zulk mooi**!   *Standard Dutch*
      that wood   is such beautiful

c.   *De   daedt   is **zulck   ongehoord**!   *17th-century Dutch*
      the   act   is such   outrageous

Because *such, zulk* and *zulck* are not able to modify an adjective, the structure in (139) is not possible for these words. In the structure in (144), *zulck* modifies an adjective. However, *zulck* is not able to modify an adjective, and therefore the structure in (144) is not possible.

(144) *
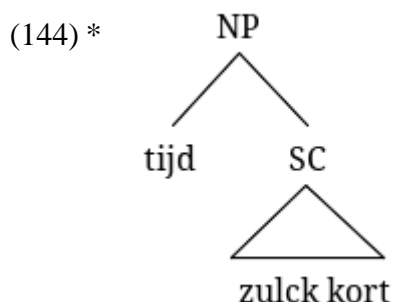
Because the base-generated structure in (144) is not possible for English, Standard Dutch and 17th-century Dutch, the variant *such-adjective-a* cannot be used.

5.1.2.2 So/such-a-adjective-*variant*

In this section, I discuss the base-generated structure of the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant, and if it is likely that *so-adjective* is also base-generated in a small clause in this variant. To examine this, I discuss the behavior of the adjective first. Next, I discuss the possible predicative use of *zoo* and *zulck*.

The adjective in the so/*such-a-adjective*-variant is probably used attributively. This assumption can be supported by the fact that some adjectives only have an attributive use, not a predicative use. Material adjectives are examples of adjectives that only have an attributive use. An example is the adjective *houten* 'wooden'. In 17th-century Dutch it is also the case that this adjective can only be used attributively (Van der Horst 2008). In the following example of the *such-a-adjective*-variant, this adjective is used:

(145)   zulck   een   houte   stadt
         such   a   wooden   city
         'such a wooden city' (Part 7,656,76)

Hence, because *houten* is used in (145), this adjective is attributively used. Another argument in favor of the adjective being attributive in the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant is the example in (146). In this example, two adjectives immediately follow each other. This is not possible for adjectives that are used predicatively, as discussed in the section above.

(146)   sulck een   edel   ridderlijck held
         such a   noble chivalrous hero
         'such a noble and chivalrous hero' (Part 1,628,6)

Hence, the adjective is used attributively, and therefore it is not base-generated as a predicate in a small clause.

   Zoo and *zulck* can both be predicates in 17th-century Dutch, as shown (83) and (89), repeated in (147).

(147) a. (…) **zoo**   is't   geverwt   geloove
              so   is-the   painted   faith
              "that's how the false colored faith is" (Part 1,456,237)
      b. **Zulcx**   is der   vleyers   kunst (…)
              such   is the   flatterers   art
              'The fine art of the flatterers is like that' (Part 1,579,15)

Because *zoo* and *zulck* both can be predicates, this means they both can be base-generated in a small clause.

   Another argument in favor of *zulck* being base-generated as a predicate in the *such-adjective-a*-variant is that *zulck* is never inflected in this variant.

(148)   **zulck**   een   vreemde   tael
         such   a   unfamiliar language.F
   'such an unfamiliar language'

Normally, *zulck* is inflected when it modifies something else than an indefinite neuter singular noun and is used attributively. This is shown in (91), repeated in (149).

(149)   zulck**e**   ongehoorde   daedt
         such-e *outrageous   act*.F
         'such an outrageous act' (Part 1,566,4-5)

Because *zulck* is never inflected in the *such-a-adjective*-variant, this indicates it is used predicatively, because when *zulck* is used predicatively, it is never inflected. Wood & Vikner

(2011) argue that this is also the case for *solch* in German. *Solch* is never inflected in the *such-a-adjective*-variant, and therefore, *solch* is generated as a predicate.

Hence, *zoo* and *zulck* are probably base-generated as predicates in a small clause, with the noun as subject. The adjective is base-generated in an attributive position. This gives the following structure:

(150)
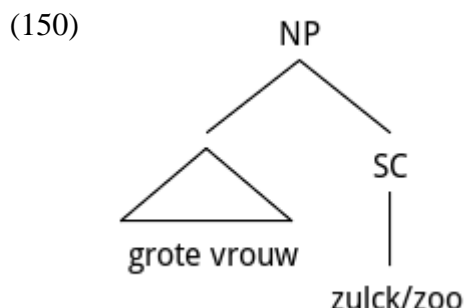
More support for this base-generated structure comes from the adverb of degree *al te*. This adverb cannot be used predicatively in 17th-century Dutch, contrary to the adverb of degree *zoo*.

(151)   *De   man   is   al   te.
          the   man   is   all too

Since *al te* cannot be used predicatively, it should not be possible that it is base-generated as predicate in a small clause, which is the case for *zoo* and *zulck* in the *so/such-a-adjective* - variant. Therefore, I expect the adverb *al te* cannot occur in the construction *all-too-a-adjective*, because it cannot be a predicate such as *zoo* and *zulck* in this variant. A study of the adverb of degree *al te* of Vondel's texts shows that it is indeed the case that this variant does not occur.

	Part 1	Part 2	Part 3	Part 4	Part 5	Part 6	Part 7	Part 8	Part 9	Part 10	Total
All too-adjective	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	6
All too-adjective-a	0	2	2	0	3	1	2	1	1	2	14
All too-adjective+en	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
All too-a-adjective	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
A-all too-adjective	3	2	3	5	1	2	5	0	4	3	28
Unknown	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	5	4	7	7	6	3	7	1	7	5	52

Table 33, number of occurrences of the different variants of the all-too-adjective-noun-*construction*

Because the variant *all-too-a-adjective* is not possible in 17th-century Dutch, this is an argument in favor of *zoo* and *zulck* being base-generated as a predicate in the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant.

In English, the variant *such-a-adjective* can be used as well, and the base-generated structure of this variant is the same as in 17th-century Dutch. *Such* is base-generated as a

predicate in a small clause according to Wood & Vikner (2011). This is possible because *such* can be a predicate. This is shown in (51), repeated in (152).

(152) The guilty person never admitted to being **such**.   (Spinillo 2003:202)

In Standard Dutch, the variant *such-a-adjective* cannot be used. This is the case because whereas *such* and *zulck* can be predicates, *zulk* in Standard Dutch cannot. This is shown in chapter 4 in example (72), repeated in (153).

(153)   *Zij   is   zulk.
            she is   such

Because *zulk* cannot be a predicate, it cannot be base-generated as a predicate in a small clause, and therefore the variant *such-a-adjective* does not occur in Standard Dutch. The same reasoning accounts for why the variant *so-a-adjective* is not used in English. In English, *so* cannot be a predicate, as shown in chapter 4 in example (42), repeated in (154).

(154)   *He is so.

Because *so* cannot be a predicate, it cannot be base-generated as a predicate, and the variant *so-a-adjective* is not possible in English. In Standard Dutch, *zo* can be a predicate, and therefore, the *so-a-adjective*-variant is possible in Standard Dutch. This is shown in (61)a, repeated in (155).

(155)   Hij   is   zo.
            he   is   so
            'He is like this.'

To summarize, in 17th-century Dutch and English, *zulck* and *such* can be used predicatively. Therefore, they can be base-generated as predicate in a small clause. This causes the variant *such-a-adjective* to be possible in these languages. *Zulk* in Standard Dutch cannot be used predicatively, and therefore the variant *such-a-adjective* is not possible in Standard Dutch.

    In 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch, *zoo* and *zo* can be used as predicates, which is not possible for *so* in English. Therefore, the variant *so-adjective-a* is possible in 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch, but not in English.
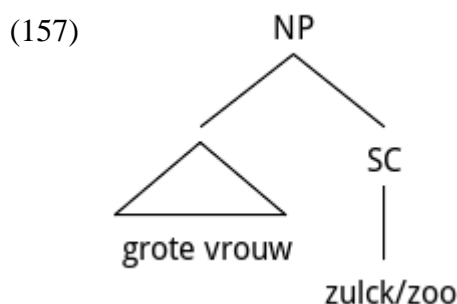
5.1.2.3 A-so-adjective-variant

Another variant of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction is the *a-so-adjective*-variant. A question is if in this variant *so-adjective* is base-generated as a predicate in a small clause, similar to the *so-adjective-a*-variant. This is probably not the case, because the adjective in this variant is probably used attributively. Unfortunately, there are not enough examples of this construction in 17th-century Dutch to provide evidence for this analysis, and therefore I used a comparison with Standard Dutch for this assumption.

The adjective *groot* 'big' can have two readings if it is used attributively in Standard Dutch. It can mean *big* or *great*. If this adjective is used predicatively, it only has the reading *big*. In the *a-so-adjective*-variant in (156), the adjective has two readings; hence it can have the attributive reading *great*.

(156)   een   zo grote   vrouw
        a   *so big/great   woman*
        'such a big/great woman'

This indicates that the adjective in the variant *a-so-adjective* is used attributively in Standard Dutch, and I assume this is also the case for 17th-century Dutch. In both Standard Dutch and 17th-century the adjective is generated attributively, and in both languages *zoo* and *zo* can be predicates, as discussed in the previous section. This gives the same base-generated structure as the *so-a-adjective*-variant, repeated in (157).

(157)

Because *so* in English cannot be a predicate, the structure in (157) is not an option, and therefore, the variant *a-so-adjective* cannot be used in English.

The base-generated structure in (157) seems to be possible for *zulck* and *such* as well, because those elements can be base-generated as predicate. However, in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English, the variant *a-such-adjective* is not possible, as demonstrated in Table 16, repeated in Table 34.

Variant	*Zulck*	*Zulk*	*Such*
Such-adjective	zulcke grote man	*zulke grote man	*such big man
Such-adjective-a	*zulck groot een man	*zulk groot een man	*such big a man
Such+en-adjective+en	zulcken groten man	*zulken groten man	-
Such-a-adjective	zulck een grote man	??zulk een grote man	such a big man
A-such-adjective	*een zulck slecht hotel	*een zulke grote man	*a such big man

Table 34, paradigm of the such-adjective-noun*-construction in 17th -century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

The examples of the *a-such-adjective* construction in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English are ungrammatical, because *zulck, zulk* and *such* cannot modify an adjective, as discussed in section 5.1.2.1. This is shown in example (143), repeated in (158). These examples are ungrammatical because *zulck, zulk* and *such* must modify an adjective.

(158) a.　　*He is **such big**!　　　　　　　　　*English*

　　b.　　*Dat hout　　is **zulk mooi**!　　　　　*Standard Dutch*

　　　　　 that wood　 is such beautiful

　　c.　　*De daedt　　is **zulck　ongehoord**!　　 *17th-century Dutch*

　　　　　 the act　　　is such　 outrageous

In the variant *a-such-adjective*, *such* modifies the adjective, and therefore, this variant is not possible in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch or English. Hence, the ungrammaticality of the *a-such-adjective*-variant is not due to the base-generated structure in 17th-century Dutch and English, but due to the movement operation that causes *zulck* and *such* to modify an adjective.

5.1.2.4 So/such-adjective-variant

Unfortunately, it is difficult to provide an analysis of the structure of the variant *so/such-adjective*, because there are not many examples of it in the corpus, and this variant cannot be used in Standard Dutch or English. The examples in our corpus do not provide evidence whether the adjective is base-generated as a predicate in the small clause or whether it is base-generated higher up in the tree as an attributive adjective. Therefore, I do not provide an analysis of the base-generated structure for this variant.

5.1.3　Interim summary

In the section above, I have discussed the base-generated structures of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. In the variant *so-adjective-a*, *so* and the adjective are generated as predicate in the small clause.

(159)
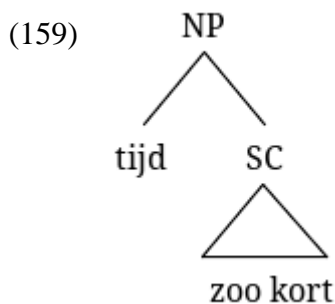
In 17th-century Dutch and English, the structure above is possible, and therefore the variant *so-adjective-a* can be used in these languages. In Standard Dutch, this structure is not possible.

　　Such, zulk and *zulck* are all not able to modify an adjective, and therefore the structure in (159) is not possible. As a result, the variant *such-adjective-a* does not occur in any of the three discussed languages.

　　Variants *so/such-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* have the same base-generated structure:

(160)

Both *such* and *zulck* can be generated as a predicate, and therefore the variant *such-a-adjective* is possible in English and 17th-century Dutch. *Zulk* cannot be a predicate, and therefore the variant *such-a-adjective* is not possible in Standard Dutch.

In Standard Dutch and 17th-century Dutch, *zo* and *zoo* can be used as a predicate, and therefore, the structure in (160) is possible. Because (160) is possible, the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* are possible in Standard Dutch and 17th-century Dutch. In English, *so* cannot be used predicatively, and therefore, these variants are not possible in English.

In the following section, I discuss how the different word orders in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction are derived.

5.2 Movement operations

In the section above, I have argued that in the variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction either *so-adjective* is base-generated as a predicate in a small clause or only *so* and *such*. This base-generated structure does not provide the word orders of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. In this section, I argue that movement operations have taken place in this construction. Firstly, I discuss possible movement operations that might have taken place that are discussed in the literature. Next, I discuss the different movement operations in the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction.

5.2.1 *Theoretical background*

In multiple studies, it has been observed that word order alternations within a noun phrase often indicate a pragmatic effect, e.g. focalization and emphasis of a particular constituent (Aboh, Corver, Dyakonova & Van Koppen 2009). Pragmatic effects might also be the reason for movement in the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction.

Generally, two types of pragmatically construed relations are distinguished, namely the topic-relation and the focus-relation. In a topic-relation, there is a "relation of aboutness between a proposition and a discourse entity" (Aboh et al. 2009:785). An example is the pronoun *he* in (161).

(161) A: What will John do?   (Aboh et al. 2009:785)
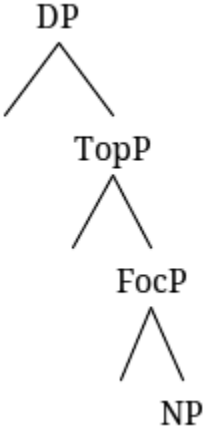   B: [Topic He] will warn the police.

In a focus-relation, "focus refers to the most informative part of the utterance, i.e., the information that the speaker takes to be new and non-recoverable for the hearer" (Aboh et al.

2009:785). Two types of focus are distinguished, namely information focus and contrastive focus. The former contains a focus element that contains new information; the latter contains a focus element that gives information on a subset of a set. This is illustrated in (162).

(162) A: What did Jan swallow?   (Aboh et al, 2009:786)
    B1:   Jan swallowed a WORM.   *Information focus*
    B2:   Jan swallowed a WORM, not a fly.   *Contrastive focus*

In (162), the first answer contains new information. In the second answer, the focus is on the contrast between a worm and a fly.

    These pragmatic relations do not just occur at a sentence-level: it is also possible to have a topic-layer or focus-layer within a noun phrase (Aboh 2004; Aboh et al. 2009; Corver & Van Koppen 2009). This gives the following possible structure of a noun phrase:

(163)   DP   (Aboh et al. 2009)
             / \
          TopP
          / \
        FocP
        / \
          NP

Corver and Van Koppen (2009) provide multiple arguments to prove there is a focus phrase in the DP (FocP). One of their arguments is on adjective ordering. In neutral contexts, adjectives are ordered in quite a strict way (Sproat & Shih 1991 in: Corver & Van Koppen 2009). The more inherent an adjective is, the closer it is to the noun. Corver and Van Koppen illustrate this with the following example in Standard Dutch:

(164)   de   roze Amerikaanse auto's   (Corver & Van Koppen 2009:3)
        the   pink American   cars
        'the pink American cars'

The nationality adjective *Amerikaanse* 'American' is more inherent to the noun, and is therefore closer to the noun than the color adjective. However, when the adjective *Amerikaanse* is stressed, the word order can change.

(165)   de   AMERIKAANSE   roze auto's   (Corver & Van Koppen 2009:4)
        the   American.Stress   *pink cars*
        'the AMERICAN pink cars'

The adjective *Amerikaanse* is stressed in (165), and to receive this stress it is moved to the focus phrase. This gives the following DP-structure:

(166)   [$_{DP}$ de [$_{FocP}$ AMERIKAANSE$_i$ [$_{Foc'}$ Foc [$_{YP}$ roze [$_{Y'}$ Y [$_{ZP}$ t_i [$_{Z'}$ Z [$_{NP}$ auto's]]]]]]]]]

                                                                        (Corver & Van Koppen 2009:4)

Hence the adjective ordering in (165) is evidence for a focus layer in the DP.

Focus occurs in more constructions in noun phrases, another example is given in (167). In this example, there is focus on the adjective. Corver and Van Koppen argue that this focus is visible in the *–en* ending, because this ending is a focus marker.

(167)   Hy   is in dreg-**en**   baas.   (Corver & Van Koppen 2009:19)
         he   is a tough-en   *boss*
         'He is a very tough boss.'

The *–en* ending on the adjective in (167) emphasizes the meaning of the adjective, and therefore it is a focus marker. This *–en* ending is also found in some Dutch dialects in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction:
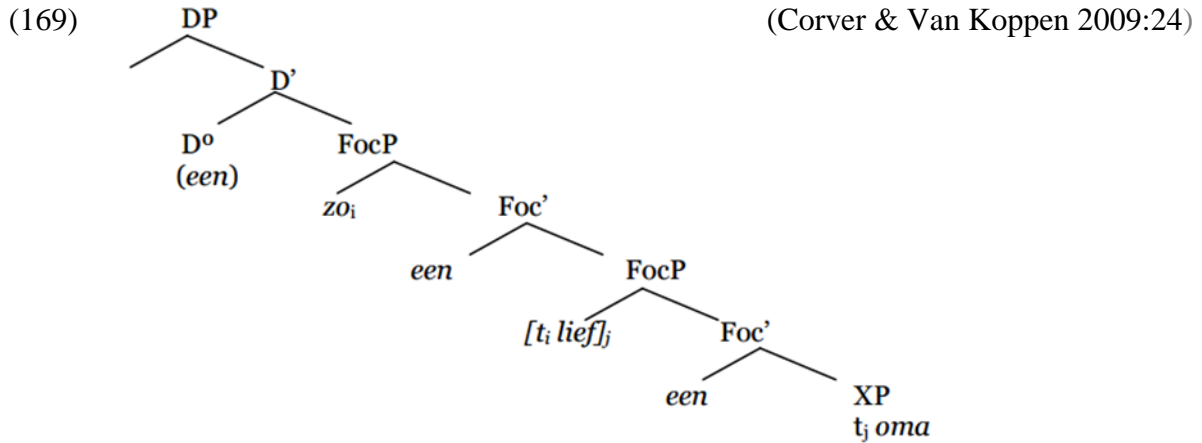
(168)   Zo'n   lief-**en**   oma!   *Kruiningen Dutch*
         such-a   sweet-en   grandmother
         'Such a sweet grandmother!'   (Corver & Van Koppen 2009:20)

The *en*-ending on the adjective *lief* 'sweet' in (168) only occurs in this particular intensifying construction. This suggests it is a marker of emphatic force, such as the *–en* ending in Frisian is a marker of emphatic force. The *–en* ending on the adjective in (168) is considered to be an indefinite enclitic article by Corver and van Koppen (2009)[36]. This is similar to the *–en* ending in the *so-adjective+en*-variant, in which the *–en* ending is an enclitic indefinite article.

In (168), the AP *zo lief* 'so sweet' is moved into the focus layer. This focus layer can be recursive, and in the above construction it occurs twice, hence there are two enclitic indefinite articles.[37]

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[36] The construction in (168) is considered to be an example of indefinite article doubling, which occurs more often in other Germanic languages (Delsing 1993). These constructions contain more than one indefinite article. Both the adverb of degree and the adjective in (168) are thus followed by an enclitic indefinite article.

[37] In my analysis of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, I do not include the movement of *zo* to a higher FocP.

(169)   (Corver & Van Koppen 2009:24)

```
                DP
               /  \
                   D'
                  /  \
               D°    FocP
             (een)   /  \
                   zoᵢ   Foc'
                        /   \
                      een    FocP
                            /    \
                      [tᵢ lief]ⱼ   Foc'
                                  /   \
                                een    XP
                                      tⱼ oma
```

In (169), the head of D can be optionally filled by a determiner.

   Evidence that there is movement of the AP *zo lief* to another position is provided by an analysis of the *–en* ending as an indefinite article by Corver and Van Koppen (2009). The indefinite article as a focus marker is not like any indefinite article but it is spurious, similar to *een* in the *N van een N* construction, described by Bennis et al. (1998). Usually the indefinite article can only occur with singular count nouns in Standard Dutch. However, in the *so-a-adjective* construction, the indefinite article can occur with mass nouns.

(170)   Zo'n lekkere   spinazie
         So-a   tasty   spinach.Mass
         'so tasty a spinach'

The example in (170) shows that the indefinite article and the noun are not a constituent, because then the example in (170) should be ungrammatical because the noun is not a singular count noun. The spurious indefinite article is not similar to a normal indefinite article, but because it is spurious it is a marker movement of the predicate, as discussed in section 5.1.1. This is the case because the spurious article is found in more predicate movement constructions. Hence, the indefinite article is a marker of the movement of the predicate *zo lief* to the focus layer of the noun phrase in (168).

   To summarize, movement to the left periphery of the noun phrase might be movement for a pragmatic effect, for instance to receive a topic of focus interpretation. Corver & Van Koppen (2009) argue that it is indeed the case that *so-adjective* in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction can move to receive a focus interpretation. The indefinite article in this construction is often spurious, because it is a focus marker instead of a true indefinite article.

   In the following section, I discuss the movement operations in the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction.

5.2.2 *Movement operations per variant*

In this section, I discuss movement operations in the variants *so-adjective-a*, *such/so-a-adjective, a-so-adjective* and *so-adjective*.

5.2.2.1 So-adjective-a-*variant*

In this section, I argue that the predicate *so-adjective* in the *so-adjective-a*-variant moves to receive focus. A marker of the predicate movement is the indefinite article. In the variant *so-adjective-a*, the indefinite article is spurious: both in 17th-century Dutch and in English. In 17th-century Dutch and English, this variant can be used with mass nouns, as shown in (171).

(171) a.　　zoo　vet　een'　buit
　　　　　　so　big　a　booty.Mass
　　　　　　'so big a booty' (Part 3,869,1567)
　　　b.　　This garden (…) has for me **so powerful a charm**　　(BNCweb)

Because the indefinite article is spurious in the *so-adjective-a*-variant, this indicates the predicate *so-adjective* moves. But why does it move, and where to? I argue that this has to do with the intensifying reading of this construction.

　　In chapter 4, I have discussed that the variant *so-adjective-a* only has an intensifying reading, not an identifying one. The examples used for this reasoning were based on the English example that is repeated in (172).

(172)　　… which are **so big a part** of the present system　　(Wood & Vikner 2011:90)
　　　　　Intensifying reading:　　'a part of the present system that is very big'
　　　　　#Identifying reading:　　'a big part of the system like that'

Because the variant *so-adjective-a* in English only has an intensifying reading, I have argued that this is also the case for this variant in 17th-century Dutch.

　　In the variant *so-adjective-a*, *so* and *zoo* do not just give a degree reading to the noun phrase: they give a high degree reading. This is illustrated in (101), repeated as (173).

(173)　　De　　dappere Hector (…)
　　　　　the　brave　Hetor
　　　　　vreesde Achilles　sang meer　als　uwe oorlooghsmaght:
　　　　　feared　Achilles'　song more　than　your　war-power
　　　　　En　　in **soo　groot　eene angst**, die　yeder　een　deê　beven,
　　　　　and　in so　big　a　fear　that　every　one　did　tremble
　　　　　De　vloot der　Thessalen　is ongeterght gebleven.
　　　　　the　fleet the　Thessalen　is untouched　stayed
　　　　　'The brave Hector feared Achilles more than your war power, and in so big a fear, which let everyone tremble, the fleet of Thessalen has stayed untouched.'(Part 2,557, 470-482)

The example above is about the severity of the fear. Not just a great fear, but a fear that is very great, even greater than the fear of the war power. I argue that *so* received this high degree reading due to movement to the focus-layer in the noun phrase. For this assumption, I compare the *so-adjective-a* construction, which contains the predicate *so-adjective* with the predicate *so-adjective* on a sentence level. I use Standard Dutch to provide example sentences.

(174)   Een   man is zo groot.   *Standard Dutch*
         a   man is so big
         Identifying reading: 'A man is exactly this big.'
         #Intensifying reading: 'A man is very big.'

In the sentence above, the predicate is generated as a predicate in a small clause with *een man* as subject (Bennis et al. 1998). The subject *een man* is indefinite, and therefore not introduced as an entity in the discourse. Because *een man* has not been introduced before, it contains new information in the discourse. The example in (174) shows that the predicate *so-adjective* cannot intensify a property (i.e. the bigness of the man) of the subject: it can only refer back to an exact size that is already known in the discourse. If the subject is definite, and therefore known in the discourse, the predicate can intensify a property of this subject. This is shown in (175). However, to receive this intensifying reading, the predicate *so-adjective* must receive emphasis/focus.

(175)   Die   man is zo   groot!
         that man is so.Foc   *big*.Foc
         # Identifying reading: 'That man is exactly this big.'
         Intensifying reading: 'That man is very big!'

In (175), the subject is already known in the discourse, and if refers back to a man that is previously introduced. The predicate *so-adjective* has received emphasis, and because of this emphasis, an identifying reading is no longer possible. It cannot refer to an exact size that is already known in the discourse, but it must provide new information on the subject. Hence, the subject is already known in the discourse, and the predicate *so-adjective* provides new information on this subject. In the theoretical background, a focus relation between subject and predicate is discussed. The definition of focus is: "focus refers to the most informative part of the utterance, i.e., the information that the speaker takes to be new and non-recoverable for the hearer" (Aboh et al. 785). *Die man* does not contain new information in the noun phrase, the predicate does. Therefore, the predicate *so-adjective* receives focus, and the predicate must move to the focus-layer in the noun phrase to receive this focus.

   It is possible to draw a parallel between the construction in (174) and (175), and the *so-adjective-a*-variant[38]. The *so-adjective-a*-variant has the same base-generated structure as the

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[38] I follow Bennis et al. (1998) , who draw this parallel between structures on sentence level, and on a noun phrase level, as discussed in section 5.1.1. Bennis et al. (1998) provide the following parallel:

i. Zo is   een   kerel   *Sentence level*
    so is   a   guy
    'A guy is like that'
ii. zo'n kerel   *Noun phrase level*
    so-a guy
    'such a guy'

constructions in (174) and (175), the predicate *so-adjective* is generated as predicate in a small clause, and the noun is the subject of this small clause. In the *so-adjective-a*-variant, the subject must be known in the discourse, because it cannot have an identifying reading. This is also shown on a sentence level in (175). If the noun is already known in the discourse, the predicate *so-adjective* cannot have an identifying reading, only an intensifying reading. This is also the case for the *so-adjective-a*-variant, as shown in (172), repeated in (176).

(176) … which are **so big a part** of the present system   (Wood & Vikner 2011:90)
          Intensifying reading: 'a part of the present system that is very big'
          #Identifying reading: 'a big part of the system like that'

Because *so-adjective* must have an intensifying reading, this indicates it must contain new information on the subject that is already known in the discourse. This results in a focus-relation between the predicate *so-adjective* and the subject, similar to the construction in (175). Therefore, I assume the predicate moves to the specifier of the focus-layer in the variant *so-adjective-a*, as illustrated in (177).

(177)
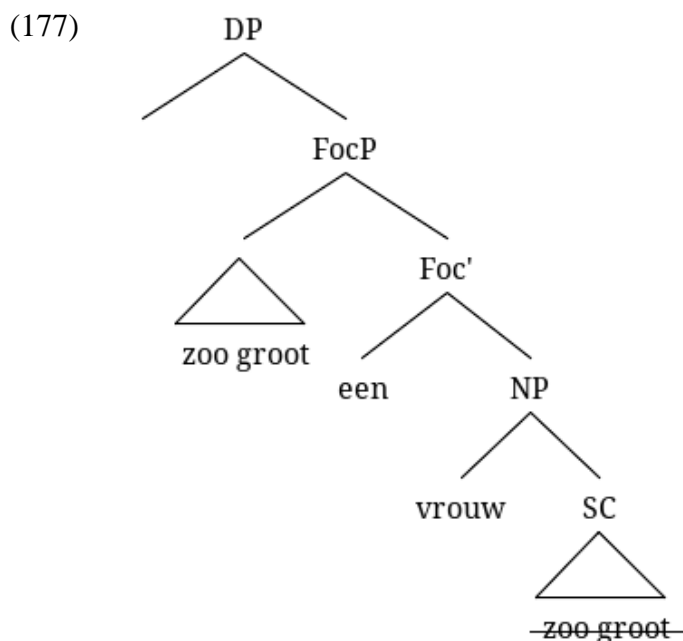
The movement of the predicate in (177) to receive focus derives the word order of the *so-adjective-a*-variant.

5.2.2.2 So/such-a-adjective-*variant*

In the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant, the predicate moves. This is indicated by the indefinite article that is spurious, both in 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch for the variant *so-a-adjective,* and both in 17th-century Dutch and English for the variant *such-a-adjective*. The article is spurious because it can occur with mass nouns:
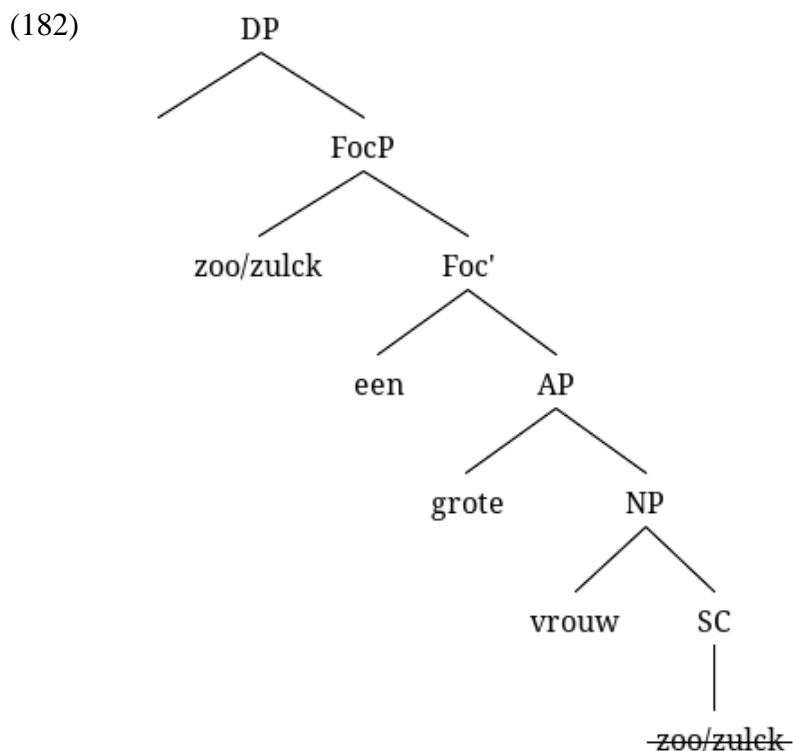
(178) a.   zoo   een   yd'le   hoop   *17th-century Dutch*
               so   *a*   *wishful* *hope*.Mass
               'so wishful a hope' (Part 1,321,5)

      b.   zo'n lekkere spinazie   *Standard Dutch*
               so-a nice   *spinach*.Mass
               'so nice a spinach'

(179) a.   zulck   een   rijck bezit   *17th-century Dutch*
               such   *a*   *rich* *possession*.Mass
               'such a rich possession' (Part 3,669,683)

      b.   alder is **such a plain-looking wood**   *English*   (BNCweb)

The spuriousness of the indefinite article indicates there is predicate movement in the structure, but where do *zo* and *zulck* move to?

    There are two possible readings of the *so-a-adjective*-variant in 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch: an intensifying and an identifying meaning. These two readings are also available for the *such-a-adjective*-variant in 17th-century Dutch and English. For the *so-a-adjective*-variant, this is determined on the basis of the Standard Dutch example in (99)a, repeated in (180). An English example with the two possible readings of the *such-a-adjective*-variant is given in (98), repeated in (181).

(180)   Zo'n mooie   vrouw zie je   niet vaak.
           so-a beautiful   woman see   you not often
           Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so extremely beautiful.'
           Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a beautiful woman like that.'

(181)   …which are **such a major part** of the present system   (Wood & Vikner 2011:90)
           Intensifying reading: 'a part of the present system that is very big'
           Identifying reading: 'a big part of the system like that'

In the previous section, I already discussed that an intensifying reading highlights new information on a property of the subject. An intensifying reading is possible for the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant, which indicates *so* and *such* can move to the focus layer to create a focus relation between the predicate and the subject. Because *so* and *such* move to the focus layer of the noun phrase, they can emphasize the adjective, which contains new information on a subject that is already known in the discourse. This would provide the following structure:

(182)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                      FocP
                     /    \
              zoo/zulck    Foc'
                          /    \
                       een      AP
                               /  \
                           grote   NP
                                  /  \
                             vrouw    SC
                                      |
                                   ~~zoo/zulck~~
```

The reading of the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant can also be identifying. I draw a parallel with the construction on a sentence level, to show *so* and *such* must move to a different position than if they have an intensifying reading to provide this reading.

   As shown in (174), repeated in (183), the predicate *so-adjective* can have an identifying meaning, even if the subject is not known in the discourse. This is also the case for the predicate *so* without an adjective, as in (184).

(183)   Een   man is zo groot.
        a   man is so big
        Identifying reading: 'A man is exactly this big.'

(184)   Een   man is zo.
        a   man is so big
        Identifying reading: 'A man is like that.'

As discussed in the previous section, because the subject *een man* is indefinite, it is not known in the discourse, and it contains new information. The predicates *so-adjective* and *so* can refer back to something that is already known in the discourse, namely to an exact size or to how a man is. Hence, the predicates in (183) and (184) do not necessarily give new information about the subject, but they provide a relation between the subject *een man* and something that is already known in the discourse. This shows that the predicate is in a topic-relation. In a topic-relation, there is a "relation of aboutness between a proposition and a discourse entity" (Aboh et al. 2009:785). The predicates in (183) and (184) refer back to a referent that is already known in the discourse; hence they are part of a topic relation. To receive a topic reading, the predicates in (183) and (184) have to move to the topic-layer in the noun phrase.

I draw a parallel between the constructions in (183) and (184), and the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant. In the variant *so/such-a-adjective*, the predicate can be identifying. This indicates it contains a relation of aboutness with something that is already known in the discourse. Therefore, *so* and *such* can move to the topic-layer in the noun phrase, to receive this topic interpretation.

(185)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                  /    TopP
                 /    /    \
                /  zoo/zulck  Top'
               /           /    \
              /          een     AP
             /                  /  \
            /               grote   NP
           /                      /    \
          /                    vrouw    SC
                                         |
                                    ~~zoo/zulck~~
```
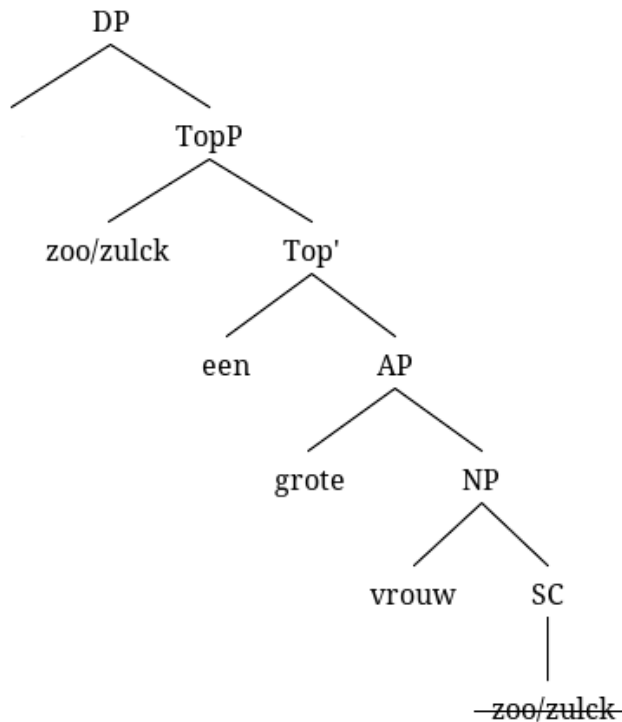
Because the adjective is base-generated above the small clause, it does not move to the topic-layer with the predicate. This gives the word order of the *so/such-a-adjective*-variant.

5.2.2.3 A-so-adjective-variant

In the variant *a-so-adjective*, the indefinite article can occur with mass nouns in Standard Dutch, which indicates that it can be spurious. There are no examples of this variant with a mass noun attested in 17th-century Dutch, but because it is possible in Standard Dutch, I assume it is also possible in 17th-century Dutch.

(186)   een   zo grote buit   *Standard Dutch*
         a   *so big   booty*.Mass
         'so big a booty'

The spurious indefinite article indicates movement of the predicate has taken place in the noun phrase in (186), but what kind of movement?

   In the *a-so-adjective* variant, the phrase cannot refer back to a subject that is already known in the discourse. This is illustrated with a Standard Dutch example in (137), repeated in (187).

(187) Een zo   mooie   vrouw zie je   niet vaak.
       a   so   beautiful   woman see you not   often
       Intensifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is so beautiful.'
       #Identifying reading: 'You do not often see this kind of beautiful woman.'
       Identifying reading: 'You do not often see a woman who is exactly this beautiful.'

Because *so* cannot refer back to a woman in (187), it cannot have a topic-relation between the predicate and the subject. *So* can intensify the adjective, and therefore it can convey new information about the subject. This means *so* could move to the focus layer, similar to the *so-adjective-a*-variant. This gives the following structure:

(188)
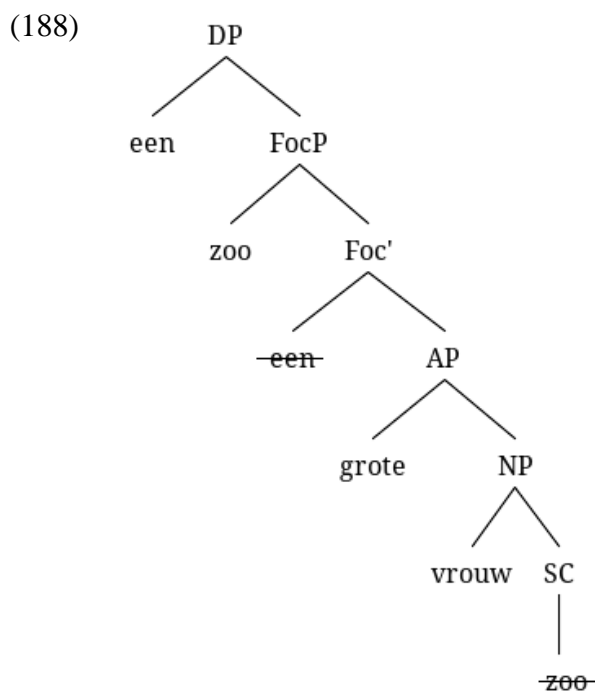
Zoo and *so* are base-generated as a predicate in a small clause and *zoo* moves to the focus-layer to get an intensifying reading. The indefinite article can move into the DP[39].

As discussed in section 5.1.2.3, variant *a-such-adjective* is not attested in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch or English, because in the structure in (188), *such* modifies an adjective, which is not possible for this word.

5.2.2.4 So/such-adjective-variant
In the variant *so-adjective* there is no indefinite article as a marker of movement of the predicate. I also could not provide an analysis of the base-generated structure of this variant. Below, I speculate about a possible analysis for this variant.

Normally, if *zo* or *such* refers to something in the discourse, it needs to be followed by an indefinite article in 17th-century Dutch. This is shown in example (87) , repeated in (189)a and (189)b.

---

[39] The source behind this movement is left for further research.

(189) a.   zoo   **een**   maeghd

          so   *a*   *virgin*

          'such a virgin' (Part 3,510,158)

     b.   zulck   **een**   word

          such   *a*   *word*

          'such a word' (Part 3,595,1755)

Because there is no indefinite article in the *so-adjective*-variant, this might indicate it cannot have an identifying reading. This would mean it only has an intensifying reading. Therefore, it might be that *zoo* moves to the focus layer, to receive this intensifying reading[40]:

(190)
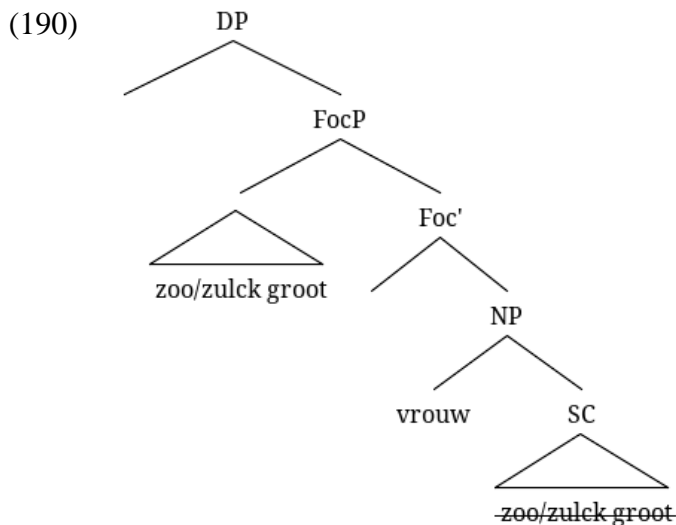
The structure in (190) differs from the other variants in that the head of FocP is not filled. The assumption that it is possible to leave the head of FocP empty in 17th-century Dutch is supported by another construction, namely the *wat een*-construction. An example of this structure is given in (191), which also indicates that the indefinite article is spurious, because it can occur with mass nouns.

(191)   Wat   een   lekkere   wijn!   *Standard Dutch*

         what a   *nice*   *wine*

         'What a nice wine!'

In the w*at een*-construction, *wat* 'what' starts as a predicate in a small clause with the noun as subject, and moves to [Spec,FocP], just as *zoo* and *zulck* (Corver & Van Koppen 2009). The indefinite article is a marker of focus, and therefore located in the head of FocP. This gives the following structure:

---

[40] In the structure in (190), *zoo/such+adjective* is seen as predicate. It could also be that *so/such* is base-generated by itself as a predicate. More examples of this variant are required to argue for one or the other analysis.

(192)

```
                    DP
                    |
                   FocP
                  /    \
               wat     Foc'
                      /    \
                   een      AP
                           /   \
                      lekkere   NP
                               /   \
                            wijn    SC
                                    |
                                   wat
```
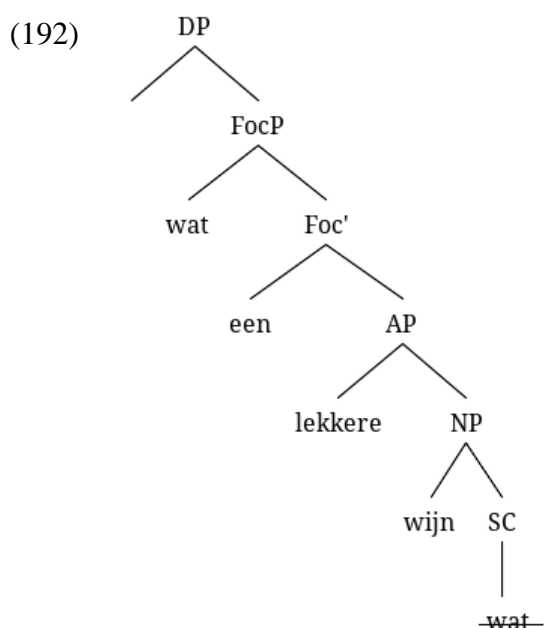
In 17th-century Dutch, the *wat een*-construction can also be used, but the indefinite article is optional.

(193) a. Ayme, **wat soeticheit** vloeyt mij   door   al   mijn leên!
           ay   what sweetness flows me   through all my   bodyparts
           'What a nice feeling I have in my body!' (Hooft 1616:56,554)

  b. (…) **wat een werck**
           what a   work
      Is 't   hof, ten   hemel opgetogen.
      is the court to   heaven built up
      'What a work was it to build the court hat is constructed to the heaven!'(Part 9,185,147-149)

The example in (193)a shows that it is not obligatory to fill the head of FocP in 17th-century Dutch, because there is no spurious indefinite article in this construction either. The analysis of why the head of FocP could remain empty in 17th-century Dutch, and why it has to be filled in Standard Dutch is beyond the scope of this paper.

5.2.3 Interim summary

In the section above, I have discussed the movement operations in the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction. There are two reasons for movement in this construction. Firstly, *so* or *so-adjective* can move in all variants to receive focus. Due to this focus, the variants get an intensifying reading. Secondly, in the variant *so/such-a-adjective*, *so* and *such* can also move to become the topic of the noun phrase. This happens if the noun phrase has an identifying reading, and hence, the predicate has a relation of aboutness with a referent previous mentioned in the discourse.

In the following section, I discuss what the influence of grammaticalization of *so* and *such* was on the possible variants in 17th-century Dutch and English. The grammaticalization of *so* and *such* explains why some base-generated structures or movement operations discussed above became possible or are no longer possible in the language system.

## 5.3 Explanation different possibilities *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction

In this section, I discuss why some of the variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction disappeared, and why some other variants emerged.

5.3.1 *So-adjective-noun*-construction

Firstly, I discuss the development in the variants with *so*. In section 5.3.2, the variants with *such* are discussed. I discuss changes within 17th-century Dutch, and also between Dutch in the 17th and 21st century.

5.3.1.1 Changes within 17th-century-Dutch

In 17th-century Dutch, two new variants of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction emerged, namely the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective*. Before this century, the variants *so-adjective, so-adjective+en* and *so-adjective-a* were the only used variants (Van der Horst & Van de Velde 2003). The variants *so-adjective+en* and *so-a-adjective*[41] have the following base-generated structure:

(194)
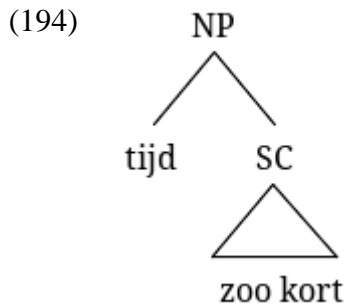
In this structure, the predicate *so-adjective* could move up to the focus layer of the noun phrase to receive a high degree reading.

In the 17th-century, *zoo* got another reading, namely an identifying reading. Because of this extra reading, *zoo* could have a predicative use. This resulted in *zoo* being able to be base-generated as a predicate in a small clause by itself. This gives the following base-generated structure for the *so-a-adjective*-variant:

(195)
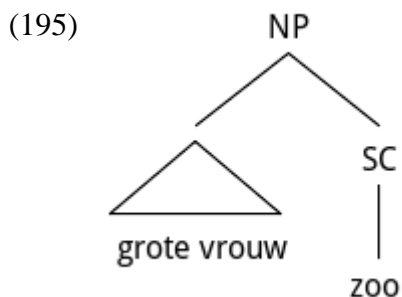
Due to *zoo*'s new identifying reading, it could refer back to something that is already known in the discourse, and therefore, it could be in a topic-relation with its subject. Hence, the development of *zoo* within the 17th-century explains why new variants of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction emerged.

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[41] The base-generated structure of the variant *so-adjective* cannot be argued for.

Vondel wrote exactly during the period of the changing *so-adjective-noun*-construction. Therefore, it is not surprising he could use all the variants at the beginning of his life. However, a question that arises is why Vondel starts to prefer the *so-adjective-a*-variant over the other variants, even over the new variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective*. The following table provides more background information on his use of the different variants in texts with meter or without meter.

Variant	Meter	No-meter	Total
So-adjective	8	2	10
So-adjective-a	160	60	220
So-adjective+en	6	1	7
So-a-adjective	19	1	20
A-so-adjective	3	0	3
Unknown	29	0	29
Total	297	113	604
Total number of words (x1.000)	1.600	200	1.800
Total per 100.000 words	19	57	

Table 35*, number of occurrences per variant in texts with and without meter*

Table 35 shows the occurrences of each of the variants, sorted by occurrence in a text with meter or in a text without. The table shows that Vondel almost exclusively uses the variant *so-adjective-a* in his work without meter. This indicates a clear preference for this construction. In his texts with meter, Vondel is freer in his word order, as discussed in chapter 2. This might have been the reason for the occurrences of the *so-a-adjective-* and *a-so-adjective*-variant in texts with meter. This indicates that other variants than the *so-adjective-a*-variant were already possible in Vondel's language system, but he almost exclusively used them if this was required for the meter.

   Why Vondel almost stopped using other variants than the *so-adjective-a*-variant after 1626, might have to do with the language standardization process. In this particular period, authors (for instance P.C. Hooft) became more aware of the *–en* ending in the *so-adjective+en*-variant, as discussed in the introduction. Hooft described in his *Waernemingen* (Hooft 1635-1638) why the variant *so-adjective-a* should be preferred over *so-adjective+en*, namely because the *–en* ending in this last variant was an enclitic indefinite article that should be fully-written. The description of these variants might have caused Vondel to become more aware of this construction. This would explain the increase of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction between 1626-1635, as discussed in chapter 3. Hereafter, he might still have had a preference for this construction because it was discussed in grammars. This would indicate Vondel did not follow the natural change in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction.

5.3.1.2 Changes between the 17th and 21st century

In 17th-century Dutch, multiple variants of the *so-adjective-noun*-construction could be used. It seemed that there was true optionality[42] between the variants *so-adjective-a* and *a-so-adjective*, because their interpretation was the same. Between the 17th and the 21st century, the variant *so-a-adjective* gradually disappeared, and the variant *a-so-adjective* stayed in use. Because both of the variants express the same thing, it might be that one of these options became superfluous. One reason why the variant *so-adjective-a* is the one that disappeared is that there might have been a change in the possibility of having *so-adjective* as a predicate in a small clause[43]. In 17th-century Dutch, the base-generated word order in (194), repeated in (196), could be used. This is no longer possible in Standard Dutch. This is shown in (140), repeated in (197).

(196)
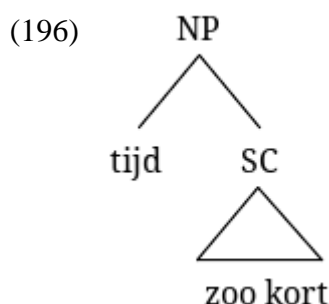
(197) a. (…) en dat **een' moord soo straf**   *17th-century Dutch*
     and that a   murder so   cruel
   Den naem van bruyloft voere: (…)
   the name of wedding carried
   'that a wedding was known for so cruel a murder' (Part 2,555,436-437)
  b. *dat **een moord zo wreed** de bruiloft   *Standard Dutch*
   that a   murder so cruel the wedding
   bekend maakte
   famous made

5.3.2 *Such-adjective-noun*-construction

In this section, I discuss why the variant *such-a-adjective* became the most common variant in 17th-century Dutch, and why this variant is no longer in use in Standard Dutch (except for archaic construction).

5.3.2.1 Changes within 17th-century Dutch

In Vondel's early work, Vondel could use three variants of the *such-adjective-noun*-construction. After 1626, Vondel only used the variant *such-a-adjective.*. This could be due to the same reason why he had a preference for the *so-adjective-a* construction, namely because this was the only variant that received attention in grammars. He might have reinterpreted the variant *such+en-adjective+en*, as the *–en* ending being an indefinite article, similar to Hooft's interpretation of the *so-adjective+en*-variant. Due to the attention paid to this variant, Vondel

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[42] A notion mentioned by Biberauer and Roberts (2006), about two variants that seem to express exactly the same thing, only vary in word order, for instance.
[43] Why this change occurred is left for further research.

might have started to prefer it. During the 17th century, the change of *zulck* becoming more determiner-like did not show. Therefore, Vondel could still use the *such-a-adjective*-variant in his last written work.

5.3.2.2 Changes between the 17th and 21st century

Between the 17th and 21st century, *zulck* is being grammaticalized. In the 17th century, it was still adjective-like. It could occur as a predicate, for instance. Therefore, *zulck* could be base-generated as a predicate in the variant *such-a-adjective*.

(198)
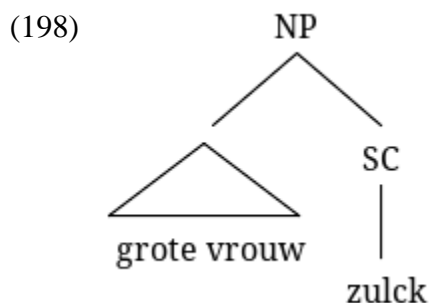
In the 21st century, *zulk* became more determiner-like due to grammaticalization, and it lost its ability to occur as a predicate. Therefore, the structure in (198) could no longer be generated. Because the structure in (198) is no longer possible in Standard Dutch, the variant *such-a-adjective* cannot be used in the present. When *zulk* became more determiner-like, its base-generated position has probably become higher, hence closer to the D domain.

5.4 Interim summary

In this chapter I have discussed the derivations of the different variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction, and how the possible derivations changed because of developments in the elements *zoo* and *zulck*.

Zoo got an identifying reading during the 17th-century, and therefore, the variant *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* emerged. In these structures, *zoo* is base-generated as a predicate in a small clause.

Zulck has also undergone a change. It changed from being classified between adjectives and determiners, to more determiner-like. In this process, *zulck* lost its ability to occur as a predicate. Therefore, the variant *such-a-adjective* is no longer possible in Standard Dutch, because in this variant *zulck* is base-generated as a predicate.

6. Conclusion and discussion

The research question of this thesis is:

How did the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction develop within 17th-century Dutch and in the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch, and how can we explain this development?

To answer this research question, three sub-questions were answered. The first sub-question was: what variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction can be used in 17th-century Dutch and what variants can be used in Standard Dutch? Possible variants of this construction in English were also included, because English has two possible variants of the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction that were possible in 17th-century Dutch, but which are not possible in Standard Dutch. The properties of these variants, i.e. *so-adjective-a* and *such-a-adjective*, were used to examine these variants in 17th-century Dutch. The possible variants in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English were given in tables 15 and 16, repeated as Table 36 and Table 37.

Variant	*Zoo*	*Zo*	*So*
So-adjective	zoo grote man	*zo grote man	*so big man
So-adjective-a	zoo groot een man	*zo groot een man	so big a man
So-adjective+en	zoo groten man	*zo groten man	-
So-a-adjective	zoo een grote man	zo'n grote man	*so a big man
A-so-adjective	een zoo grote man	een zo grote man	??a so big man

Table 36, paradigm of the so-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th- century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

Variant	*Zulck*	*Zulk*	*Such*
Such-adjective	zulcke grote man	*zulke grote man	*such big man
Such-adjective-a	*zulck groot een man	*zulk groot een man	*such big a man
Such+en-adjective+en	zulcken groten man	*zulken groten man	-
Such-a-adjective	zulck een grote man	??zulk een grote man	such a big man
A-such-adjective	*een zulck slecht hotel	*een zulke grote man	*a such big man

Table 37, paradigm of the such-adjective-noun-*construction in 17th-century Dutch, Standard Dutch and English*

Differences between 17th-century Dutch and Standard Dutch are that the variants *so-adjective, so-adjective-a, so-adjective+en, such-adjective, such+en-adjective+en* and *such-a-adjective* were possible in 17th-century Dutch, but are no longer possible in Standard Dutch. I have also discussed that the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective* were new variants in the 17th century. Between the 17th and the 21st century, no other variants emerged. The only change was that some of the variants gradually disappeared.

The second sub-question was about the development within the elements *so* and *such*. Were there developments in these words in Dutch within the 17th-century, and between the 17th and 21st century? I have argued that there has been a development within these words. In the 17th-century, *zoo* partially grammaticalized, and therefore it received another reading. Before this grammaticalization, *zoo* only had an intensifying reading in the *so-adjective-noun*-construction. The ability to intensify another element is a typical characteristic of some adverbs (i.e. a lexical syntactic category). In the 17th-century, *zoo* got an identifying reading

as well, which is a typical reading for a determiner (i.e. a functional syntactic category). Hence, *zoo* received another reading that was more typical for functional elements. This indicates *zoo* grammaticalized from a lexical element to partially being a functional element as well. This direction is to be expected in grammaticalization, because within grammaticalization elements often change from being in a lexical category to being in a functional category (Roberts 1993; Robert & Roussou 2003).

The grammaticalization of *zoo* already started in the 17th-century. *Zulck* has also been grammaticalized, but this happened after this century. Within the 17th-century, *zulck* could behave both adjective-like (e.g. it had a predicative use) and determiner-like (e.g. it could express reference). After the 17th century, *zulck* gradually lost some adjective-like characteristics, and became more determiner-like. For instance, it could no longer occur as a predicate. The direction of this change is to be expected in a grammaticalization process, because *zulck* changed from being in a more lexical category (adjectives) to a more functional category (determiners). Hence, both *zoo* and *zulck* grammaticalized.

The final sub-question was how the loss of some of the variants in Dutch between the 17th and 21st century could be explained. I have argued that because *zoo* received another reading, it could be used in the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective*. In these constructions, *zoo* could be base-generated as a predicate in a small clause. The possibility of this base-generated structure made the emergence of these variants possible. In 17th-century Dutch, it was possible to base-generate the part *so-adjective* as a predicate in a small clause. This base-generated structure makes the *so-adjective-a*-variant possible. In Standard Dutch, it is no longer possible to base-generate the part *so-adjective* as a predicate, and therefore, the variant *so-adjective-a* can no longer be used. I have also argued that *zulck* became more determiner-like, and therefore, it lost its ability to occur as a predicate. Therefore, *zulk* can no longer be base-generated as a predicate, and as a result, the variant *such-a-adjective* can no longer be used in Standard Dutch.

Hence, the answer to the main research question - How did the s*o/such-adjective-noun*-construction develop within 17th-century Dutch and in the change from 17th-century Dutch to Standard Dutch, and how can we explain this development? – is that the construction developed in that it gradually lost some of the variants due to the grammaticalization of *zoo* and *zulck*.

In this thesis, it was often difficult to provide conclusive evidence for arguments on 17th-century Dutch. This is the case, because it is not possible to get grammatical judgements on it. In this study, parallels between Dutch, English and 17th-century Dutch were drawn, to support argumentation on 17th-century Dutch. To strengthen this support, it might be beneficial to take another Germanic language into account, for instance German.

It was also difficult to provide an analysis for the *so-adjective*-variant and the *a-so-adjective*-variant, because there were not many examples of these constructions in the corpus. To strengthen the analysis of the *so-adjective*-variant, data of earlier centuries than the 17th century should be examined. For the analysis of *a-so-adjective*, data of the 18th and 19th century might be insightful.

An interesting question for further research is why *so* and *such* did not grammaticalize in English, and therefore, English did not get the possibility of the variants *so-a-adjective* and *a-so-adjective,* and did not lose the possibility of using the variant *such-a-adjective*.

A change I did not explain is that *zoo* and *zulck* could occur with the same adjectives and nouns in the 17th century, whereas in Standard Dutch *zo* and *zulk* have a complementary distribution. *Zo* occurs with singular count nouns, and *zulk* with plural count nouns and mass nouns. This change is an interesting question that remains for future research.

As mentioned in the introduction, *zoo* en *zulck* were not the only words that could occur in the *so/such-adjective+en* construction. It will be interesting to examine if these words (e.g. adverb of degree *hoe* 'how' and demonstrative *zodanig* 'such') are also grammaticalized.

To conclude, more is discovered about the *so/such-adjective-noun*-construction in Dutch, but there is still enough to examine. My hope is that this thesis will provide a basis for further research.

Texts corpus

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