A unified account of Dutch adjectival and verbal equatives

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Outline

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    (2)   John (*as.PM) danced as/like.STM Karen.

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  "some languages [such as Dutch] prefer to add the demonstrative correlate 'so' in front of the 'how' word, [...] this strategy **cannot be called parameter marking** because the demonstrative correlate is **not associated with the parameter** but directly precedes the standard marker."

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- I argue that this syntactic structure is the same as that of adjectival *zo...als*-equatives.

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- ▶ Note that the *zoals*-word order is possible with an intonational pause.
- ▶ In that case the reading is evaluative.
- ▶ I will only focus on adjectival equatives with a degree reading.

(9)   Jan   heeft zo gedanst als Karen.
        John has   so danced as Karen
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Verbal equatives

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(11) Jan   heeft gedanst zoals Karen.
     John has   danced so.as Karen
     'John has danced like Karen.'

Data

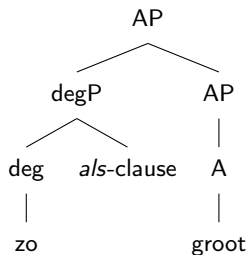|	*zo...als*	preverbal *zoals*	postverbal *zoals*
Adjectival Equatives	✓	X	X
Verbal equatives	✓	✓	✓

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Syntax of Dutch equatives

Adjectival equatives

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- *zo* is a degree head, like *-er* in comparatives. (a.o. Corver 1990; Merchant 2011; Vela-Plo 2020; Fabregas 2020)
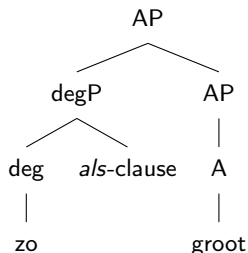
Syntax of Dutch equatives

Adjectival equatives

```
                    AP
             _____/_____
           degP            AP
         __/\__             |
       deg  als-clause      A
        |                   |
       zo                 groot
```
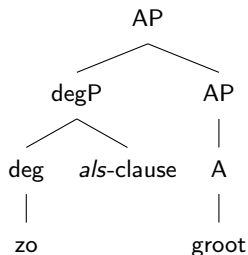
- *zo* is a degree head, like *-er* in comparatives .
- The Degree Phrase is an adjunct of the adjective. (Borsley 1981; Larson 1988; Heim 2000; Kennedy 2002; Mendia 2020)
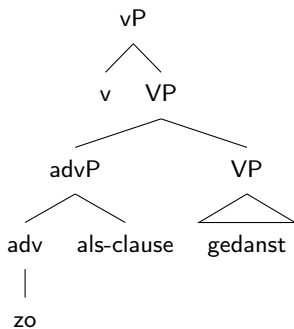
Syntax of Dutch equatives

Adjectival equatives

- ▶ *zo* is a degree head, like *-er* in comparatives.
- ▶ The Degree Phrase is an adjunct of the adjective.
- ▶ *zo* takes the *als*-clause as its complement, just like *-er* taking the *dan*-clause as its complement. (Bresnan 1973; Lechner 1999, 2004; 2004; Bhatt & Pancheva 2004; Pancheva 2006; Mendia 2020)
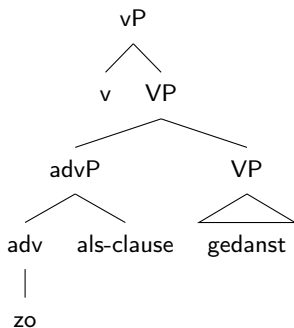
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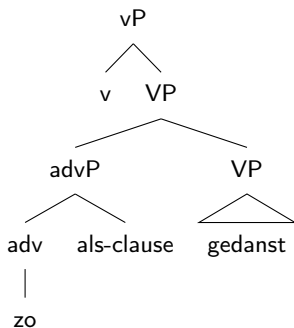
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(12)   Jan is zo groot als Karen.
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(13)   Continuations
        a. #Jan is 1m80 en Karen 1m85.
            John is 1m80 and Karen 1m85
            'John's height is 1m80 and Karen's is 1m85.'   (evaluative)
        b. Jan is 1m68 en Karen ook.
            John is 1m68 and Karen too
            'John's height is 1m68 and Karen is 1m68 too.'

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(14) Jan   heeft zoals Karen gedanst.
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(14) Jan heeft zoals Karen gedanst.
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(15) Continuations for verbal equative
a. Namelijk in cirkels.
namely in circles
'Namely in circles.'
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▶ The available reading directly correlates with the category with which *zo...als* combines.

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- There is thus a unified semantic account for adjectival and verbal equatives.

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▶ There is a unified semantic account for *zo...als* and *zoals*.

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▶ Dutch verbal equatives can be expressed by both *zo...als* and *zoals*.

zoals and *zo...als*

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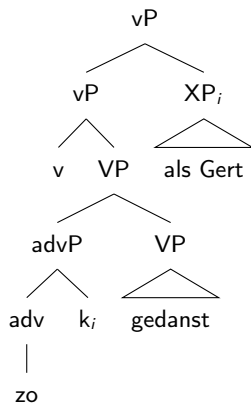- They convey the exact same meaning, namely that John and Karen dance in the same manner.
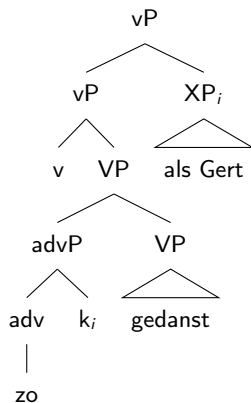
Zoals and *zo...als*

Syntactic structure
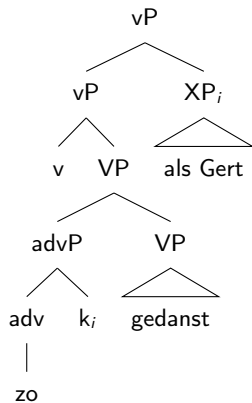
```
                        vP
                   ╱         ╲
                 vP            XP_i
               ╱    ╲         ╱  ╲
              v      VP    als Gert
                  ╱     ╲
               advP      VP
              ╱   ╲     ╱  ╲
           adv    k_i  gedanst
            │
           zo
```

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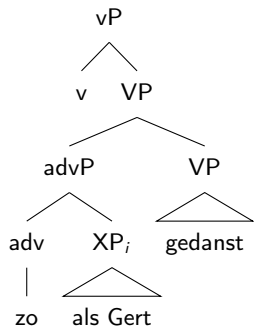- ▶ The *als*-clause undergoes quantifier raising to avoid the type mismatch.
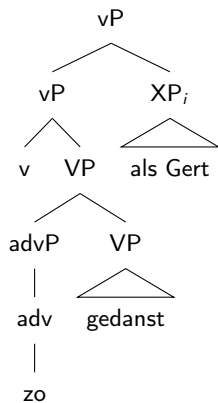
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- ▶ The *als*-clause undergoes quantifier raising to avoid the type mismatch.
- ▶ The *als*-clause can be spelled out in its QRed position (*zo...als*) or in its base-position. (*zoals*) (Fox & Nissenbaum 1999)

LF structure
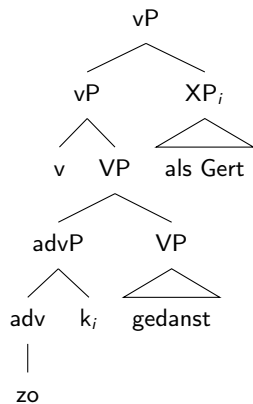
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Zoals and *zo...als*

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▶ The movement of the *als*-clause is semantically motivated (both a problem and a blessing).

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- Dutch adjectival equatives cannot have *zoals*.

What about adjectival equatives?

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       John is tall   so.as Marie
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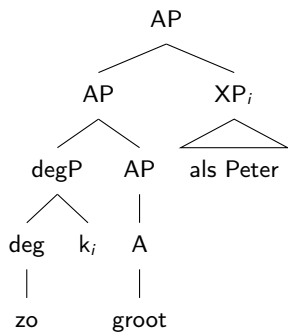
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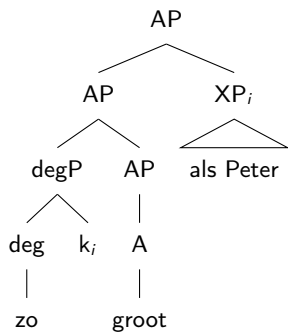- Dutch adjectival equatives cannot have *zoals*.

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- But if *zoals* is merely a combination of *zo* and *als*, why is this not possible?
- I argue that the ungrammaticality of *zoals* in adjectival equatives is due to adjectival syntax (in contrast to verbal syntax).
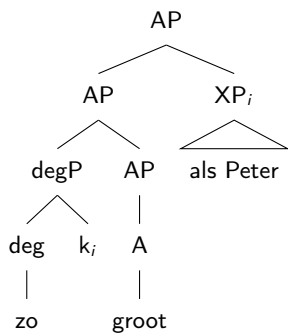
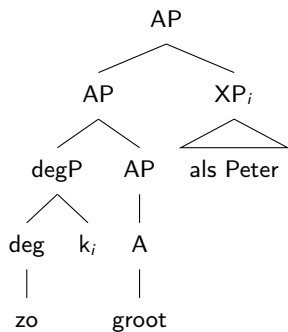# What about adjectival equatives?

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```
              AP
           /      \
        AP          XP_i
       /   \        /  \
    degP    AP    als Peter
    /  \    |
  deg  k_i  A
   |        |
   zo     groot
```

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```
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                   ┌────┴────┐
                  AP         XP_i
              ┌────┴───┐    ┌──┴──┐
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          ┌──┴──┐     │
         deg   k_i    A
          │           │
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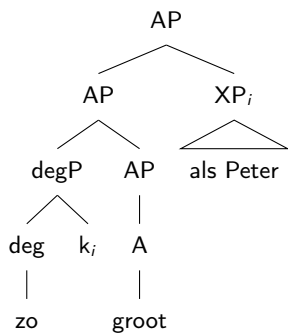
▶ Type mismatch between *zo* and *als*-clause is resolved by QR.

▶ The *als*-clause can only be spelled out in its QRed position.

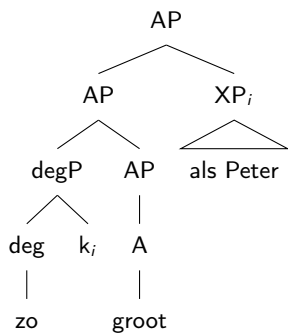# What about adjectival equatives?

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- ▶ Cf. Head Final Filter

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- Grosu & Horvath (2006) have analysed this in terms of a head-to-head adjacency effect.

Outline

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(21)   Ik heb gedanst zoals Gert.
          I   have danced so.as Gert
          'I have danced like Gert.'

Postverbal *zoals*

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(22)   Ik heb <zo> gedanst <*zo>.
         I   have so   danced so
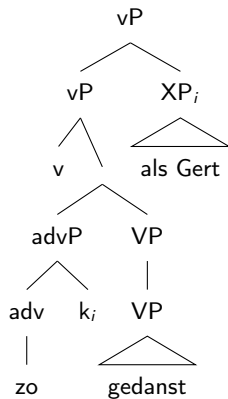   'I have danced like that.'

Postverbal *zoals*

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▶ Note that *zo* cannot occupy this postverbal position in the absence of an *als*-clause

    (22)   Ik heb <zo> gedanst <*zo>.
                I have so   danced so
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▶ My analysis thus far cannot account for postverbal *zoals*.

Outline

Fronting of *zo*

- ▶ *Zo* cannot be fronted without the *als*-clause.

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        so tall am I never been as Mary
        'I have never been as tall as Mary.'

  vs.

  (26) Zo groot als Marie ben ik nooit geweest.
        so tall as Mary am I never been
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Outline

Fronting of *als*-clause

▶ The *als*-clause cannot be fronted without *zo*.

(27) *als Gert heb ik nooit zo gedanst.
       as Gert have I   never so danced
       'I have never danced like Gert.'

Outline

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- Dutch does not follow H & B's (1998) tendency.
- *Zoals* can be decomposed into *zo* and *als*.
- *zoals* is low copy spellout, whereas *zo...als* is high copy spellout.
- Adjectival and verbal equatives have the same underlying syntax and semantics.
- *Zoals* is ruled out in adjectival adjectives because of a head-to-head adjacency effect.