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Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Middle Dutch

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Abstract

This thesis describes and analyses Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival and possessive remnants in Middle Dutch from the 13th and 14th century. For data collection Corpus Gysseling and Corpus Van Reenen - Mulder were used. After a description of the noun phrase in Modern and Middle Dutch several patterns of noun phrase ellipsis are analysed. It is found that Middle Dutch adjectives licenses pro which takes the position of the elided noun. Next, the development of the possessive pronoun is discussed. The occurrence of genitive adjuncts with demonstratives provides an argument for the analysis of possessive DP's starting as a small clause. Through reanalysis the possessive pronoun is subsequently seen as an adjectival element to the noun. It cannot however license pro and a definite determiner must be introduced. A possible explanation is proposed and avenues for further research are given.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

In this thesis I investigate ellipsis phenomena within the noun phrase in Middle Dutch of the 13th and 14th century. I specifically look at cases where the head noun is elided from the clause. Throughout this thesis this phenomenon is called Noun Phrase Ellipsis, abbreviated as NPE. Two strategies for elision of the noun are distinguished. The first entails the introduction of an overt pronoun such as in English.

(1)   Hoyer is a rich painter but Bavink is **a poor one**.   [English]

The second strategy involves a silent element licensed by the remnants of the elision. French employs this strategy.

(2)   Hoyer   est   un   peintre   riche   mais   [French]
        Hoyer   is   a   painter   rich   but
        Bavink   est   **un**   **pauvre**
        Bavink   is   a   poor
        'Hoyer is a rich painter but Bavink is a poor one'

I follow Ross' (1967) in referring to these patterns as the pronominalization and the elision strategy respectively.[1] In this thesis I answer the following question:

What is the Noun Phrase Ellipsis strategy we find in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?

This question is very broad and is thus answered in several smaller questions which are described below.

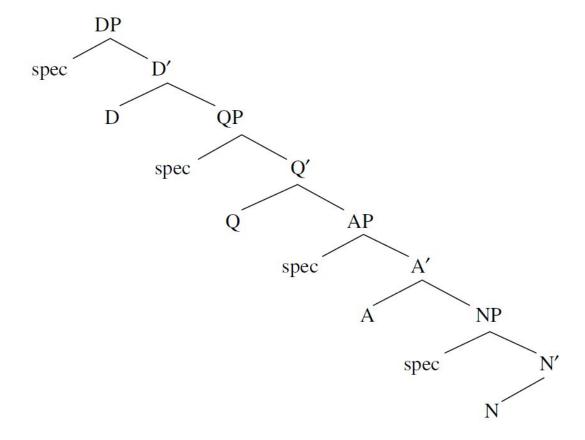[1] The name of the elision strategy does no longer reflect the underlying theory. While Ross (1967) argues this strategy involves introducing a pronoun which was then elided, the current idea is that the position of the noun is filled with a base-generated phonologically empty element. However the name remained as a descriptive label as which I will use it in this thesis.

In my discussion on Noun Phrase Ellipsis I follow Abney's (1987) DP-analysis where the NP is the lexical projection while the determiner is the functional element heading the noun phrase. Structurally this means the DP takes an NP as its complement or the NP is in its complement domain. Several functional projections are assumed to host elements between the determiner and the head noun. Abney (1987) already argues for functional projections for adjectives (AP) and quantifiers (QP) between the DP and NP. For Dutch these projections are argued for by Barbiers (1992).

Zwarts (2011) gives the following structure.

Figure 1. Structure of the Dutch DP

Two important additions to the structure in figure 1. are NumP and PosP. Both functional projections are positioned between the DP and NP to accommodate attributive elements to the noun. The Number Phrase was proposed by Ritter (1991) as the projection of the number feature and is positioned below the DP. PosP is assumed as the position where an element receives the possessor role and is positioned on top of NumP. I discuss these functional projections in the DP in more depth when analyzing the Noun Phrase Ellipsis constructions.

The instances of Noun Phrase ellipsis can be categorized on the remnants that are left after the noun is elided. I discuss two types of Noun Phrase Ellipsis in this thesis. The first case of Noun Phrase Ellipsis I cover leaves behind adjectival remnants. An example in English is given in (3).

(3)   A.   Hoyer sold <u>a big painting</u> while Bavink sold <u>a small painting</u>
      B.   Hoyer sold <u>a big painting</u> while Bavink sold <u>a small one</u>

As can be seen from the example above the noun is not truly elided in English but replaced with *one*. I come back to this observation in section 3.

Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants is the subject of the second part of this thesis. (4) illustrates this construction in English.

(4)   A.   Hoyer sold <u>his painting</u> and I sold <u>my painting</u>
      B.   Hoyer sold <u>his painting</u> and I sold <u>mine</u>

Again we find English does not have true elision but uses a different form of the possessive pronoun. Section 4. describes this in more detail.

For both forms of Noun Phrase ellipsis I describe the constructions found in Modern Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects and compare several analyses of these phenomena to answer my first two sub-questions:

(i)	*What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?*

and

(ii)	*How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?*

Next, I investigate both types of Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Middle Dutch. My goal is to see whether the underlying structures that are proposed for the Modern Dutch constructions hold up when applied to the constructions found in Middle Dutch. This can help me answer my next two sub-questions:

(iii)	*What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?*

and

(iv)	*What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?*

Since Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival and possessive remnants in Middle Dutch is scarcely studied I use two corpora in my investigation which I describe in short here. The first corpus is the Corpus Gysselling which was composed by Maurits Gysseling and includes all Dutch texts before 1301. It consists of two parts. The first part contains charters and other official texts while the second is comprised of literary texts. While the corpus has several official texts from Holland the texts, official and literary, are primarily from the so-called Southern Netherlands which consists of the Dutch speaking regions of Belgium and the area to the south of the Rhine and Meuse river in the Netherlands. This is possibly due to the fact that this region was further developed in the 13th century with more cities and monasteries producing written texts (Hogenhout-Mulder, 1983). I use the corpus search interface of the *Instituut voor de Nederlandse*

Taal 'Institute for the Dutch language' (previously called *Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie* 'Institute for Dutch lexicology) to examine the data in this corpus.

The second corpus I use is the Corpus Van Reenen - Mulder which includes official texts and charters from the 14th century that are dated and located. It was composed by Piet van Reenen en Maaike Mulder and has a more even distribution of locations across The Netherlands and the Dutch speaking regions of Belgium. From every city or region a maximum of 100 texts, evenly distributed over time, was chosen to be included. To examine the data in this corpus I utilize the research portal of the Nederlab project.

As with each investigation into historical language we must be careful with the interpretation of the data we find. Since we mostly do not know which and what amount of texts did not stand the test of time, we cannot assume that the texts we know are representative for the texts produced during the older stages of Dutch. Furthermore, the language under investigation is often highly stylized (in the literary texts) or formal (in the charters and other official texts). This means the language we find in the texts is possibly (and probably) different from the spoken language of the time.

Next, we can give no judgement of ungrammaticality to the forms we do not find in the texts. Not finding a certain construction does not imply the construction did not exist or was considered ungrammatical. It could easily be used in lost texts or never be written down when considered not suitable for written texts. While we can say with some certainty that the constructions we find were considered grammatical, we still need to be cautious. Both text types I described above have their own considerations we should take into account. Literary texts are often translations of older works. Some of the Dutch works are translated quite freely while others are near literal translations of the original work. This can mean properties like word order can be influenced. Furthermore, the word order or the inflection on the last word of the clause can also be changed in literary rhyming texts to preserve the rhyme scheme. In charters and official texts the problem lies with formalized languages. Often these texts contain legal

formulas, phrases that are repeated many times and are found in all parts of the Dutch speaking regions. This highly formalized language is considered artificial and may be the result of older phrases that are no longer productive in the language. These formulas can contain outdated grammatical constructions that could not be used in spoken language at the time the formulas were still written.

The last issue while studying Middle Dutch is the diversity in the language we have to take into account. Middle Dutch was in no way a unified language but should be considered a group of close related dialects in the regions which now use the Dutch language. This means differences are expected, and found, between Middle Dutch of Brugge in West-Flanders and Middle Dutch of Groningen in the North-East of the Netherlands. This means that findings from one region should not be generalized to other regions without careful consideration of the facts from this region.

A similar observation holds for the different time periods these texts come from. As all natural languages (Middle) Dutch has changed over time. While generalizations can be made, the first texts of what we call Middle Dutch are different compared to the later stages of the language. We should take into account the (dis)appearance and change of syntactic constructions when studying historical language.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. In the next section I give a short overview of the Noun Phrase in Modern Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects (section 2.1) and Middle Dutch (section 2.2). This section is meant as a description of the word order and elements we find in the (Middle) Dutch Noun Phrase, providing a background for the next sections.

In section 3 and 4 I answer the four sub-questions I posed above. The subject of section 3 is Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants. In section 3.1 I describe the adjectival remnants we find in Modern Dutch and Dutch dialects to discuss my first sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?* Section 3.2 acts as an analysis of

the patterns described in section 3.1 to give a partial answer to the second sub-question: *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?* The third sub-question, *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?*, is discussed in section 3.3 where I describe my findings of the Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants in Middle Dutch. These findings are analysed in section 3.4 to help answer the fourth sub-question: *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?* In section 3.5 I give a short answer to each of these sub-questions from the discussion of Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants as a conclusion to section 3.

Section 4 of this thesis is dedicated to Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants and is structured similar to section 3. Section 4.1 describes the possessive remnants in Modern Dutch and Dutch dialects, discussing the first sub-question. The patterns found are analysed in section 4.2 to help answer subquestion (ii). Section 4.3 discusses the third sub-question and contains my findings of this construction in Middle Dutch. To answer sub-question (iv) section 4.4 contains an analysis of these findings. As a conclusion to this section I answer the four sub-questions with regard to Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants in section 4.5.

The answers to the sub-questions given in sections 3 and 4 are collected in section 5 where they are distilled to answer my research question: *What is the Noun Phrase Ellipsis strategy we find in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch*? This answer is presented in section 5.1 which acts as a general conclusion to this thesis. Lastly, section 5.2 gives several avenues for further research.

2. The Noun Phrase

In this section I give an overview of the Noun Phrase in Modern Dutch and Middle Dutch. I discuss the constructions we find in Modern Standard Dutch as well as those found in contemporary Dutch Dialects in section 2.1 while section 2.2 discusses the Noun Phrase in Middle Dutch. The discussion in these sections is purely descriptive and is only meant as an observation on the word order and inflectional paradigms found in the Noun Phrase. I wish to

refrain from referring to (proposed) underlying structures at this point. These structures are presented in section 3 for Noun Phrases with adjectives and in section 4 for Noun Phrases with possessive pronouns.

2.1 The Noun Phrase in Dutch (Dialects)

The Noun Phrase in Dutch can be described using the three main parts of the noun phrase; the determiner, attributive elements and the noun. Following Zwart (2011) the determiner and the noun can be seen as the left and right bracket of the noun phrase. The position to the left of the determiner is the initial field which can be filled with quantifiers or with deictic and exclamative elements. Next, the positions between the determiner and the noun make up the middle field which contains cardinal and ordinal numbers, attributive adjectives and gerunds. Lastly, the final field can be found to right of the noun and includes prepositional phrases and (relative) clauses.

The phrase in table 1. summarizes the positions in the noun phrase.

Table 1. Descriptive positions in the Dutch noun phrase

al	de	vier	mooie	te bewonderen	schilderijen	van Rhenen	die Bavink maakte
all	the	four	beautiful	to admire	paintings	of Rhenen	that Bavink made
Initial field	left bracket		middle field		right bracket		final field

Below I will expand on the distribution of these elements.

The initial field of a definite noun phrase can contain the quantifiers *al* 'all', *heel* 'whole' and *elk* 'each' which have a different distribution. While *al* can be used with both singular and plural noun phrases, *heel* can only be used with singular noun phrases. Furthermore, *elk* is only grammatical in Standard Dutch in noun phrases without determiners or determiner-like elements.

Next, the initial field can also hold deictic and exclamative elements when the noun phrase is indefinite. Such elements include *hoe* 'how', *nogal* 'quite', *wat voor (een)* 'what kind of' and *zo* 'so'. Remarkably, the indefinite singular determiner *een* can be used with plural noun phrases in these constructions. I will come back to this observation in section 3.

The left bracket of the noun phrase is filled with determiners or determiner-like elements. Standard Dutch has two determiners; *de* for common gender nouns and plural nouns and *het* for neuter singular nouns. This is different in several, mostly Southern, Dutch Dialects. In these dialects we find three distinct definite determiners; for masculine singular nouns, for feminine and plural nouns, and for neuter singular nouns. This is because these dialects do not make a distinction between common gender and neuter nouns but between masculine, feminine and neuter nouns.

(5) A. de   hond A.' den   hond [Standard & Southern Dutch]
         the:CG   dog   the:MASC   dog
     B. de   fles B.' de   fles
         the:CG   bottle   the:FEM   bottle
     C. het   bed   C.' et   bed
         the:NTR   bed   the:NTR   bed

We also find the difference in gender for the indefinite determiner. In Standard Dutch there is no gender distinction on the indefinite determiner. We find *een* for all singular nouns and Ø for plural nouns. In several dialects however there is a distinction between the masculine indefinite determiner on one side and the feminine and neuter singular determiner on the other.

(6) A. een   hond   A.' nen   hond
         a:INDEF   dog   a:MASC   dog

B.	een	fles	B.'	een	fles
	a:INDEF	bottle		een:FEM/NTR	bottle

C.	een	bed	C.'	een	bed
	a:INDEF	bed		een:FEM/NTR	bed

The determiner-like elements in the left bracket of the noun phrase are definite and include demonstratives, possessive pronouns and possessive phrases. Standard Dutch has two types of demonstratives, one to denote proximate objects, the other distant objects. The pair *dit/dat* is used for neuter singular words while the pair *deze/die* is used for common gender singular nouns and plural nouns.

In Standard Dutch the possessive pronouns do not show agreement with the noun. For all gender and number features of the noun the pronoun has no suffix. This changes in ellipsis constructions where the noun is missing. These cases will be discussed in section 4.

(7) A. Hij   bezocht   zijn-ø zoon   [Standard Dutch]

he   visited   his-ø   son:CG

en   zijn-ø kleinkind

and   his-ø   grandchild:NTR

'He visited his son and his grandchild'

B. Hij   bezocht   zijn-ø zoon   en   ik   de   mijn-e

he   visited   his-ø   son;CG   and   I   the   my-e

'He visited this son and I visited mine'

C.	Daar	wonen Jan	z'n-ø	dochter	en	Jan
	there	live Jan	his-ø	daughter:CG	and	Jan
	z'n	kleinkind
	his	grandchild:NTR

'There live Jan's daughter and Jan's grandchild'

A common occuring possessive phrase in spoken Standard Dutch is a doubling construction in which a proper name (or a noun with a proper name reading) is combined with a shortened possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun is congruent with the possessor. In Dutch dialects we also find this doubling construction. Furthermore, the construction is also possible with object pronouns in Dutch Dialects. Remarkably the possessive pronoun does not have to be congruent with the referent noun in many dialects.

It is important to note that there cannot be multiple elements in the left bracket of the noun phrase which is true for all studied Dutch dialects. We do not find noun phrases with a determiner and a demonstrative or with a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun. Again, this seems to be different in ellipsis constructions where a definite determiner has to be combined with a possessive pronoun in Standard Dutch and Dutch Dialects. Furthermore, a determiner can be combined with demonstratives in certain Dutch Dialects.

Next, let us have a look at the middle field of the noun phrase. The left of the middle field contains the cardinal and ordinal numbers. Both do not show agreement with the noun in Standard Dutch and in Dutch dialects. The cardinal numbers always show a null affix (8 A.) while all ordinal numbers have a -*e*-suffix (8 B. and C.) (Zwart, 2011).

| (8) | A. | de | vier-ø | schilderij-en | [Standard Dutch] |
| | | the | four-ø | painting-PL | |

B.	het	zesde	schilderij
	the	sixth	painting

C.	een	zevende	boek
	a	seventh	book

Similar to the possessive pronouns, this situation changes when we look at ellipsis. For several Dutch dialects the cardinal numbers receive a -*e*-suffix in ellipsis which is not there in the regular noun phrase.

(9)	Ik	hew	zes-ø	koenen	en	hij	het'r	acht-e [Urk Dutch]
	I	have	six-ø	cows	and	he	has:there	eight-e

'I have six cows and he has eight'

To the right of the cardinal and ordinal numbers, we find attributive adjectives. These adjectives show agreement with the noun. In Standard Dutch they receive the -*e*-suffix in all cases except with indefinite singular neuter nouns.

(10)	A.	de	aardig-e	jongen	een	aardig-e	jongen
		the:CG	nice-e	boy	a	nice-e	boy
	B.	het	goed-e	boek	een	goed-ø	boek
		the-NTR	good-e	book	a	good-ø	book

Dialects that make a three way distinction in gender also show this on the adjective. The attributive adjective receives a different suffix for masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. This can seen in Asten Dutch.

(11)	A.	de	schoon-en	opa	[Asten Dutch]
		the	nice-MASC	grandfather	

B.	de	deftig-e	oma
	the	poshy-FEM	grandmother

C.	het	leuk-ø	kind
	the	nice-NTR	child

Generally, the attributive adjectives in Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects follow the universal hierarchy as proposed by Vendler (1968). The order of adjectives follows the 'inherent'ness of the adjective; less inherent adjectives are further removed from the noun then more inherent adjectives. Furthermore the order of adjectives can also be changed when focus is used (Corver & Van Koppen, 2009). Adjectives can occur in a position to the left of other adjectives giving them a focus reading.

The most right position of the middle field is taken by gerunds. The regular gerunds do not show agreement. Zwart (2011) argues that this is because in Spoken Standard Dutch the gerunds already end on a schwa-sound which is associated with the -*e*-suffix. An extra argument comes from several irregular gerunds which do not end on a schwa-sound and do get the -*e*-suffix agreement with the noun.

Lastly, we can look at the final field of the noun phrase which is similar to the final field of a clause. Here we find prepositional phrases and clauses. A noun phrase can have multiple of these elements in the final field whose order is not fixed as shown (12) A. and B. Furthermore, temporal and locative adverbs can appear postnominal.

(12)	A.	het	schilderij	[van	Rhenen]	[dat	Bavink	maakte]
		the	painting	of	Rhenen	that	Bavink	made

	B.	het	schilderij	[dat	Bavink	maakte]	[van	Rhenen]
		the	painting	that	Bavink	made	of	Rhenen

The word order as described above is quite rigid in Standard Dutch. However, we find variation in word order in Dutch dialects. Clauses with the quantifier *heel* 'whole' for example can show a different word order where *heel* is positioned in the middle field in a possessive phrase. The same pattern is found for the quantifier *al* 'all'.

(13)	Marie	heul	d'r	huus		[Onstwedde Dutch]
	Marie	whole	her	house		

'Marie's whole house'

2.2 The Noun Phrase in Middle Dutch

In contrast to Modern Dutch Middle Dutch still has a case system with four distinct cases: nominative, genitive, dative and accusative. Noun phrases are inflected according to these cases that correlate with the function of the noun phrase in the clause (Mooijaart & Van der Wal, 2011). Nominal case is seen as the default case, receiving no inflection and is used for the subject of the clause. The genitive case is generally used for noun phrases in a possessive construction while the dative case is used with indirect objects. Lastly, the noun phrase in a direct object receives the accusative case. These case inflections can be found on the noun, determiner, adjectives, pronouns, and demonstratives. This is illustrated in (14).

(14)	A.	een-s	edel-s	end	mechte-s	(Q165a, Groot-Loon; 1356)
		a-GEN	noble-GEN	and	powerful-GEN	
		here-n				
		lord-GEN				

'a noble and powerful lord'

Let us first have a look at the case inflections in the noun phrase. Middle Dutch has two types of nouns, often called 'weak' and 'strong' nouns which receive a different inflection. These two types can be distinguished by the final sound in the nominative (default) form of the noun. Nouns ending on a consonant are called strong while nouns ending on the schwa-sound are called weak.

Similar to several (Contemporary) Dutch dialects Middle Dutch distinguishes three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. All three genders have their own paradigm of case inflection but all plural nouns are inflected according to the same paradigm regardless of gender. The inflection found on nouns is also present on proper names as shown in (15).

(15) A.   Wij   jan-ø   Cantere   ende   (P065p, Brussel; 1300)
             We   Jan-ø   Cantere   and
             Arnout-ø   tresorijr
             Anout-ø   Tresorijr

      B.   Ende   bidden her   jann-e Cantere
             and   pray   lord   Jan-e Cantere
             ende   her   Arnoud-e   Tresorijr
             and   lord   Arnout-e   Tresorijr

Determiners also show case inflection but Middle Dutch has a different set of determiners than Modern Standard Dutch. To be more precise, the determiners *de* and *het* in Modern Standard Dutch are not present in Middle Dutch. Instead *die* and *dat* are used. In Modern Standard Dutch these elements are (distant) demonstratives but in Middle Dutch they can act as both demonstratives and determiners. The determiners in Modern Standard Dutch are derivations of these two elements. *De* is a weakened form of *die* while *het* is a reanalysis of the *'t-* proclitic of *dat* on a noun. The other elements found in the left bracket of the noun phrase, such as

demonstratives and possessive pronouns also receive case inflection similar to the determiners as (16) shows.

(16)   A.   de-r   prochgie   van   sint-e   andries   (0242. Brugge; 1279)

                the-r   parish   of   Saint-e   Andries

        B.   desen   veld-e   (Wrake van Ragisel; 1260)

                this-n   field-e

        C.   mine-n   seghel   (1117A, Holland; 1292)

                my-n   seal

As in Modern Standard Dutch the determiner obligatory precedes the noun in Middle Dutch. This is not the case however for the attributive adjective. These can be found to the left or to the right of the noun. When found preceding the noun, the adjective receives the case inflection while it receives no inflection when the adjective follows the noun. This is almost solely found when the word is in the rhyming position. The pattern is also found for the possessive pronoun. In these cases the noun must be preceded by a determiner.

(17)   A.   .i.   uoghel   clene   (Der Naturen Bloeme; 1287)

                1   bird   small

                'a small bird'

        B.   die   kinder   sijn

                the   kids   his

                'his kids'

The cardinal and ordinal numbers also behave differently in Middle Dutch. The cardinal numbers until twelve are inflected similar to adjectives when they precede the noun. When they follow the

noun they are not inflected or only get an *-e*-suffix. Again, this seems to happen solely in rhyming contexts. Cardinal numbers above twelve do not receive inflection. The ordinal numbers in Middle Dutch precede the noun and are inflected similar to adjectives as well.

(18) A. van-de-n   drye-en   Here-n   (1862, Utrecht; 1300)
          of-the-n   three-n   lord-n
          'of the three lords'

      B. de-r   daghe achte   (Rijmbijbel; 1285)
          the-r   day   eight
          'eight days'

      C. de-n   seeste-n   dach   (1886, Gent; 1300)
          the-n   six-n   day
          'the sixth day'

In older stages of Dutch there were two paradigms for case inflection on adjectival elements called strong and weak (Van Bree, 1987). The strong paradigm was used with postnominal adjectives, predicative adjectives and in Noun Phrases with indefinite articles and possessive pronouns. Prenominal adjectives in Noun Phrases with definite articles and demonstratives on the other hand were inflected according to the weak paradigm. Through assimilation however the weak adjectives took on the inflection of the definite article making the two paradigms only marginally different in Middle Dutch. The two paradigms, as supposed by Overdiep (1946) are shown below.

Table 2. Strong inflection of the adjective in Middle Dutch

Masculine		Feminine
nom.	een out man	ene oude vrouwe
gen.	eens outs mans	ere ouder vrouwe(n)
dat.	eenen ouden manne	ere ouder vrouwe(n)
acc.	eenen ouden man	ene oude vrouwe

Neuter		Plural
nom.	een out paert	oude mannen/vrouwen/paert
gen.	eenen outs paerts	ouder(e) mannen/vrouwen/paerde
dat.	eenen ouden paerde	ouden mannen/vrouwen/paerden
acc.	een out paert	oude mannen/vrouwen/paert

Table 3. Weak Inflection of the adjective in Middle Dutch

Masculine		Feminine
nom.	die oude man	die oude vrouwe
gen.	des outs mans	der ouder vrouwe(n)
dat.	den ouden manne	der ouder vrouwe(n)
acc.	den ouden man	die oude vrouwe

Neuter		Plural
nom.	dat oude paert	die oude mannen/vrouwen/paert
gen.	des outs paerts	der ouder(e) mannen/vrouwen/paerde
dat.	den ouden paerde	den ouden mannen/vrouwen/paerden
acc.	dat out paert	die oude mannen/vrouwen/paert

While the order of elements in the clause in Middle Dutch is relatively free thanks to the case system, the word order in the noun phrase is more similar to Modern Dutch. The initial field is filled with quantifiers such as *al* 'al' and *zo* 'so' and in the left bracket we can come across the possessive pronouns, possessive phrases and demonstratives. Next, the middle field consists of cardinal and ordinal numbers and to the right of these we find the attributive adjectives. In certain contexts the order of the middle field can be different. This can be compared with the focus word order we saw in Modern Dutch. Differences with the word order of modern Dutch are that several attributive elements such as adjectives, numerals but also possessive pronouns can appear to the right of the noun as shown above in (15) A. and B. and (16) B.

Lastly the final field in Middle Dutch can contain prepositional phrases and clauses, similar to Modern Dutch. Similar to Modern Dutch, these elements can be extraposed, appearing outside their corresponding noun phrase. In Middle Dutch these elements can appear further from their original Noun Phrase. (17) A. shows an example from Modern (Standard) Dutch) and B. gives an Middle Dutch example. In both the Noun Phrase and its extraposed material are in bold.

(19) A. **Hij** had **het** **land** verlaten [Modern Dutch]

he had the land left

waar **hij** **altijd** **had** **gewoond**

where he always had lived

'He had left the country where he always had lived'

B. **hare** **cleder** na der ghewontthe [Middle Dutch,

their clothes after the habit 0003, Gent; 1236]

van den hus **die** **goed** **es**

of the house that good is

'(They bring) their clothes that are good as is the habit of the house'

3. Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants

In section 2 I shortly mentioned several remarkable observations in the noun phrase when the noun is elided from the clause. In the following sections I will discuss these observations. These sections are categorized on the content of the remnants of the noun phrase. This section takes a closer look at adjectival remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis.

This section is structured along the four sub-questions I posed in section 1. Section 3.1 describes the adjectival remnants in Modern Dutch (dialects) to answer sub-question (i): *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?* In section 3.2 I analyse the patterns to discuss subquestion (ii): *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?* In Section 3.3 the topic switches to Middle Dutch where I describe the adjectival remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis found in the corpora to answer the third sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* The final subquestion, *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?*, is discussed in section 3.4 where I analyse the Middle Dutch data. Section 3.5 is the conclusion of section 3 where I gather the answers to the sub-questions for the Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants.

3.1 Dutch Dialects

In section 2.1 I showed that Standard Dutch has adjective agreement with the noun; the adjective receives the *-e*-suffix except with indefinite neuter singular nouns. However, in Noun phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants we find the *-e*-suffix on all adjectives.

(20)	A.	een	leuk-e opa		een	leuk-e	[Standard Dutch]
		a	nice-e grandfather		a	nice-e	

B.   een   leuk-e oma   een   leuk-e

       a   nice-e grandmother   a   nice-e

C.   een   leuk-ø kind   **een**   **leuk-e**

       a   nice-ø child   a   nice-e

The form of this invariant suffix can differ between dialects.

(21)   A.   een   leuk-e opa   een   leuk-en   [Zierikzee Dutch]

            a   nice-e grandfather   a   nice-en

      B.   een   leuk-e oma   een   leuk-en

            a   nice-e grandmother   a   nice-en

      C.   een   leuk-ø kind   een   leuk-en

            a   nice-ø child   a   nice-en

While some dialects use an invariant suffix on all adjectives, several dialects are shown to have different suffixes depending on the gender of the elided noun. Such a dialect is Asten Dutch as shown below in (22).

(22)   A.   ne   schon-en   opa   ne   schon-en [Asten]

            a:MASC   nice-MASC   grandfather   a:MASC   nice-MASC

      B.   een   leuk-e   oma   een   leuk-e

            a:FEM/NTR   nice-FEM   grandmother   a:FEM/NTR   nice-FEM

      C.   een   leuk-ø   keind   een   leuk-ø

            a:FEM/NTR   nice-NTR   child   a:FEM/NTR   nice-NTR

As can be seen above Asten Dutch has a different suffix for every gender which is the same as the suffix which is normally found on the adjective in a non-ellipsis context. The differences between these two patterns is analysed in the next section.

3.2 Analysis

In the previous section we saw two different patterns of adjectives when the noun is elided. In the first one, as illustrated by Standard and Zierikzee Dutch, an invariant suffix is shown on the adjective while the other pattern shows the same inflection paradigm on the adjectival remnants as on the adjectives in a non-elided Noun Phrase such as Asten Dutch.

This second pattern reminds us of elision in other languages such a French where the noun is elided with no changes in the adjectival inflections or the adjectival remnants.

(23) J'ai   acheté un-e   peinture   belle   mais   il   [French]
      I:AUX bought a-e   painting   beautiful:e   but   he
      a   acheté   **un-e   mauvais-e**
      AUX   bought   a-e   bad-e
      'I bought a beautiful painting but he bought a bad one'

This pattern is often juxtaposed with languages in which the type of elision is not possible and instead a pronominal element must be introduced at the position of the elided noun to ensure the clause is grammatical.

(24)   I bought a beautiful painting but he bought **a bad one**   [English]

As mentioned in section 1. I call these patterns the elision strategy (French) and the pronominalization strategy (English) respectively. Asten Dutch is thus an example of a Dutch

dialect that uses the elisision strategy when the noun is elided. Now we take a look at the other pattern we identified in section 3.2.

At first glance Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Standard Dutch looks very similar to the pattern of French, i.e. the elision strategy, where no pronominal element is introduced. However, on closer inspection we notice a difference between the adjectival remnants and the regular adjective paradigm. Where the adjective receives an -*ø*-suffix for indefinite, neuter nouns, or an -*e*-suffix in all other cases in the regular inflection, the adjective in a Noun Phrase Ellipsis context always shows an -*e*-suffix in Standard Dutch. Van Koppen & Corver (2011) argue that the suffix we find in ellipsis contexts is not adjectival agreement but must be analysed as a different element. This also holds for the deviant inflection found on adjectival remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Dutch Dialects. Van Koppen & Corver (ibid.) show several arguments for their analysis. First, the -*e*-suffix in Standard Dutch occurs in positions that usually do not have this agreement such as attributive past participles. This suffix does appear however when the past participle is the adjectival of the Noun Phrase as shown below.

(25) de   gezouten-ø   vis   de   gezouten-e   [Standard Dutch]
      the   salted-ø   fish   the   salted-e

To check whether a suffix should be considered adjectival inflection or must be analysed as something else Corver & Van Koppen (2011) look at Noun Phrases Ellipsis with multiple adjectives. When we find different inflections on the two (or more) adjectives we can compare the adjectival inflection with the other inflectional suffix. This is illustrated with the example in (26).

(26) A.

Hie	ei	pas		een	nieuw-e	[Zierikzee Dutch]
he	has	recently		a	new-e	
auto	gekocht					
car	bought					

'He has recently bought a new car'

B.

Hie	ei	pas		een	nieuw-en
He	has	recently		a	new-en
gekocht					
bought					

'He has recently bought a new one.'

C.

Hie	ei	pas		een	grot-e/*grot-en	nieuw-en
He	has	recently		a	big-e/*big-en	new-en
gekocht						
Bought						

'He has recently bought a big new one.'

(26) shows that the *-en*-suffix should not be seen as adjectival inflection. This becomes clear in C. where we see that the first adjective takes the regular inflection as in A. but the second adjective shows the same inflection as a single adjective in an elided Noun Phrase (B.).

Above I argued that the suffix on the adjectival remnants is not adjectival agreement. Now we can ask ourselves how it should be analysed. We can start by looking at the proposed underlying structure of ellipsis in the Noun Phrase. Lobeck (1995) argues that ellipsis is the replacement of the noun with a phonologically covert pronominal element *pro*. This element must be licensed by being properly head-governed and governed by a head that is specified for so-called strong agreement which she defines in Lobeck (ibid.) chapter 2 (*44*), reprinted here as (27).

(27)   Strong Agreement

An X-0 is specified for 'strong' agreement iff X-0, or the phrase or head with which X-0 agrees, morphologically realizes agreement in a productive number of cases.

What this means for the Noun Phrase is that the elided NP must be the complement of a phrase that is specified for features that are morphologically expressed. This is exactly what we find in French and Asten Dutch. Following Travis (1988) I assume the adjectives are phrase heads that can licence ellipsis by showing morphologically realized agreement. For French and Asten Dutch in (26) this is gender and number agreement on the adjective. The elisions strategy thus makes use of a silent element *pro* in the position of the elided noun that is checked by the inflected adjective. Corver & Van Koppen (2011) represent the structure as follows.[2]

(28)   A. $[_{DP}$ une$_{fem.sg.}$ $[_{NP}$ verte$_{fem.sg.}$ $[_{NP}$ pro]]]   [French]

          B. $[_{DP}$ ne$_{masc.sg.}$ $[_{NP}$ nijen$_{masc.sg.}$ $[_{NP}$ pro]]]   [Asten Dutch]

Standard Dutch and other Dutch dialects such as Zierikzee Dutch do not show this agreement but instead have an invariant inflection. A first idea could be that the *-e*-suffix acts as a default inflection on the adjective to licence the elided noun. Corver & Van Koppen (2011) argue however that this *-e*-suffix on the adjectival remnants in Standard Dutch is not agreement to license *pro* but a pronominalization pattern comparable to the English *one* construction we saw in (24).

Following Postal (1966) the English *one* in noun phrases ellipsis with adjectival remnants must be seen as a pronoun. The proposed underlying structure is shown in (29).

(29)   A. $[_{DP}$ a $[_{NP}$ bad $[_{NP}$ one]]]   [English]

          B. $[_{DP}$ the $[_{NP}$ small $[_{NP}$ one-s]]]

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[2] In their analysis Corver & Van Koppen assume an extended nominal domain which hosts the positions for the adjectives. This layer is sometimes called nP as an analogy to vP.

There are several arguments to analyse this element as a pronoun. It behaves similar to lexical countable nouns in its position and distribution and shares the same inflection for making plurals as shown in (24) B., has no descriptive content and receives its meaning in context. This is similar to pronouns such as *(s)he* and *you* which denotation depends on the situation it is used in.

Corver & Van Koppen (2015) seek out these characteristics of pronouns to see if these could apply to the Dutch noun phrase ellipsis we saw in section 3.1. First they look at Afrikaans which has two pronominalization strategies voor Noun Phrase Ellipsis.

(30) A.   Hoyer het   'n   groot-ø   skildery   verkoop   [Afrikaans]

                Hoyer has   a   big-ø   painting   sold

                en   Bavink   het   **'n**   **klein-ø**   **skildery**   verkoop.

                and   Bavink   has   **a**   **small-ø**   **painting**   sold

                'Hoyer sold a big painting and Bavink sold a small one.'

      B.   … en Bavink   het   **'n**   **klein-ø**   **een**   verkoop.

                … and Bavink   has   **a**   **klein-ø**   **one**   sold

      C.   … en Bavink   het   **'n**   **klein-e**   (*een) verkoop.

                … and Bavink   has   **a**   **klein-e**   one   sold

                '…and Bavink sold a small one.'

The first one introduces *een* 'one' similar to the English strategy. With the other strategy the adjectival remnants receive an *-e*-suffix on positions where this does not occur normally. These two strategies cannot be combined as shown in C. leading Corver & Van Koppen to argue that these elements occupy the same position. The assumed corresponding structures are shown in (31).

(31)   A.   [DP 'n [nP klein [nP [n [een]j n (= ø)] tj]]] ('n klein een)

        B.   [DP 'n [nP klein [nP [pro]j [n' [n (= e)] tj]]]] ('n kleine)

The Afrikaans *een* behaves as a noun in position and distribution and is even able to receive diminutive suffixes similar to nouns. It can also only be used for countable nouns and has no descriptive content. Like English *one* it must thus be seen as a pronoun. Furthermore, the -*e*-suffix can also receive plural and diminutive suffixes, strengthening the case that the suffix must be seen as a pronoun.

(32)   A.   Hoyer het   'n   groot skildery   verkoop   en   [Afrikaans]

              Hoyer has   a   big   painting   sold   and

              Bavink   het   'n   klein en-etjie   verkoop

              Bavink   has   a   small one-DIM   sold

        B.   . . .   'n   klein-e-tjie   verkoop.

                      a   black-e-DIM   sold

              'Hoyer has sold a big painting and Bavink has sold a small one.'

An important test to distinguish adjectival agreement with the pronominalization strategy is noun phrase ellipsis with multiple adjectives as remnants. Here we see that the -*e*-suffix can only appear on the right adjective.

(33)   A.   Dit   is   'n   groot(*-e)   en   swaar *(-e)   [Afrikaans]

              This   is   a   big-e   and   heavy-e

              'This is a big and heavy one.'

		B.	Dit	is	'n	[groot	en	swaar] -e
			This	is	a	big-e	and	heavy-e

'This is a big and heavy one.'

If the *-e* was adjectival inflection it must occur on both adjectives. This leads Corver & Van Koppen to argue that the suffix is positioned in a position to the right of the adjective and is later combined with the second adjective illustrated in B.

Attestations from Frisian show similar evidence. Along with a true elision strategy with no changes in the adjectival agreement, Frisian can introduce the *-en*-suffix on the adjective. Furthermore *ien* 'one' can be added optionally. Both elements must be seen as pronominalization strategies which have a phonological overt pronoun.

(34)	A.	Hoyer	hie	in	grut-ø	skilderij	ferkocht	[Frisian]
		Hoyer	has	a	big-ø	painting	sold	
		en	Bavin	hie	in	lyts-e	ferkocht.	{true elision}
		and	Bavink	has	a	small-e	sold	

	B.	. . .	Bavink	hie	in	lyts-en	(ien)	{pronominalization}
			Bavink	has	a	small-en	one	
			ferkocht.					
			Sold					

'Hoyer has sold a big painting and Bavink has sold a small one.'

This *-en*-suffix is also found in Several Dutch dialects. It appears on the adjectival remnants but not as an adjectival agreement suffix, providing evidence for identifying it as the pronominalization strategy. Clauses with multiple adjectives show furthermore that the *-en*-suffix can only be positioned on the most right adjective similar to Afrikaans, strengthening this idea.

(35) A.　Hie　　ei　　pas　　　　een　　nieuw-en　　　　　　　　[Zierikzee]

　　　　　He　　has　　recently　　a　　new-en

　　　　　verkocht

　　　　　sold

　　　　　'He has recently sold a new one.'

　　　 B.　Hie　　ei　　pas　　　　een　　grot-e/*grot-en　　nieuw-en

　　　　　He　　has　　recently　　a　　big-e/*big-en　　new-en

　　　　　verkocht

　　　　　sold

　　　　　'He has recently sold a big new one.'

In other Dutch Dialects and Standard Dutch it is more difficult to show the -*e*-suffix they use is a pronominalization strategy. When we look at adjectival remnants with multiple adjectives we see that both adjectives receive the -*e*-suffix.

(36)　　　Hij　　heeft　een　　grot-e　nieuw-e　　　verkocht　　[Standard Dutch]

　　　　　He　　has　　a　　big-e　new-e　　　　sold

　　　　　'He has sold a big new one'

Corver & Van Koppen argue that this does not mean the elision strategy is used. They suggest that the pronoun is undefined for gender. The adjectives then use the default inflection which is incidentally also the -*e*-suffix. For these cases with multiple adjectives they argue that the first adjective receives the usual agreement inflection and the second the pronoun and the agreement inflection. Due to rules of haplology the two consecutive -e-suffices are reduced to one.

Several Dutch dialects show the possibility of having both the elision strategy and the pronominalization strategy. They can show the usual adjective agreement (a -ø-suffix on indefinite, singular neuter nouns) or the -e-suffix on all adjectives.

(37) A. hij   het   een   groot-ø   schilderij   verkocht   [Ossendrecht]
          he   has   a   big-ø   painting   verkocht

          en   jij   een   klein-ø.
          and   you   a   small-ø

      B. . . . en   jij   ne   klein-e.
          And   you   a:MASC   black-e
          'He has sold a big painting and you a small one'

According to Corver & Van Koppen these differences are caused by differences in the functional category N^0. They follow Marantz (1997) proposal that words start out as roots. By moving this root to N, a word becomes a noun. With Noun Phrase Ellipsis we have a root of EEN that can move to different positions. When the pronoun moves to *n* or remains in situ it is spelled out as shown in (38) A. and B. The pronoun is phonologically covert however when it moves to Spec.nP which is illustrated in (38) C., D. and E.

(38) A.   [$_{DP}$ 'n [$_{nP}$ groot [$_{nP}$ [$_n$ [een]$_j$ n (= ø)] t$_j$]]]   ('n groot een) [Afrikaans]
      B.   [$_{DP}$ in [$_{nP}$ grut [$_{nP}$ [$_n$ n (= en)] ien]]]   (in grutten ien) [Frisian]
      C.   [$_{DP}$ een [$_{nP}$ groot [$_{nP}$ [EEN]$_j$ [$_{n'}$ [$_n$ (= e)] t$_j$]]]]   (een grote)   [Standard Dutch]
      D.   [$_{DP}$ een [$_{nP}$ groot [$_{nP}$ [EEN]$_j$ [$_{n'}$ [$_n$ (= en)] t$_j$]]]] (een groten)   [Zierikzee Dutch]
      E.   [$_{DP}$ een [$_{nP}$ groot [$_{nP}$ [EEN]$_j$ [$_{n'}$ [$_n$ (=ø)] t$_j$]]]]   (een groot)   [Asten Dutch]

The next locus of variation is *n*. This position can be occupied with several lexicalizations of *n*, for example *-en* in Frisian (B.) and Zierikzee Dutch (D.) or *-e* in Standard Dutch (C). An phonologically empty lexicalization is also possible as in Asten Dutch (E.).

In their unified structure of the noun phrase Corver & Van Koppen argue that languages with the root remaining phonological covert and an empty lexicalization constitute the elision strategy. They propose that Noun Phrase Ellipsis is only grammatical when as the ellipsis site is identified as a nominal category. This can be done by introducing a root to N^0 or having a phonologically overt lexicalization of n which is the pronominalization strategy. Languages who do not have this can identify the ellipsis site by showing full inflection with the elided noun. This is similar to Lobeck's (1995) proposal of the licensing of *pro* in the position of the elided noun.

3.3 Middle Dutch

In Middle Dutch the adjectival remnants do not show differences in inflection when the noun is elided but instead show the expected case agreement. This is illustrated by the examples below.

(39) A.   te-n   voerseid-en   arm-en   ende   (1145,

          to:the-en   aformentioned-en   poor-en   and   Gent;1292)

          ten   crank-en   begghine-n

          to:the-en   sick-en   beguines-n

          'To the poor and to the sick beguines'

     B.   Die   cort-e   wulleblaw-e   na   die   (0566A, Brugge; 1284)

          the:e   short-e   woolblue-e   after   the:e

          langh-e   wulleblaw-e

          long-e   woolblue-e

          'The short woollen blue one after the long woollen blue one'

     C.   tvlesch   van   de-r   wild-er   haent   (Der Nature Bloeme;1287)

          the:meat   of   the-r   wild-er   cock

          dan   van   de-r   tamm-er

than   of   the-r   domesticated-er

'the meat of a wild cock than that of a domesticated one'

Almost all cases of Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants I found show the expected case agreement. There are however a few exceptions. A subset of these exceptions happen when the adjectival remnants occupy the rhyme position which is shown below in (40).

(40)   Ja   de-r   hooch-st-er   ende   der   meest-e   (Rijmbijbel;1285)

        yes   the-r   high-SUPL-er   and   the-r   most-e

        'yes the highest and the most'

At first the last adjective seems to have a different inflection as its determiner and as the first adjective and its determiner. However, I like to argue that this is caused by its position as the last word of the clause which needs to rhyme with the next clause. An argument for my idea is found when we look at the next line in the text.

(41)   *Ja der hoochster ende der meeste.*

        Somwile medewarde in der feeste.

It seems the *-r*-suffix is unpronounced to make the word rhyme with the noun *feeste* in the next line. The construction in (40) appears an exception since in similar phrases we do find the same inflection on the determiner and the adjective as shown in (42).

(42)   de-n   hog-st-en   ende   de-n   meest-en   (Sente Lutgard K; 1265)

        the-n   high-SUPL-en   and   the-n   most-en

        'the highest and the most'

It remains unknown why not pronouncing the inflection on the adjective was possible. Since the phrase is written down we can assume that leaving out the inflection was at least acceptable to

certain speakers. The grammaticality of not pronouncing the inflection on the adjective is possibly linked to an earlier period of Dutch where we find two different inflections on adjectives, called weak and strong. As discussed in section 2.2 the two paradigms are very similar through assimilation of the suffixes.

However, Modern German, which has a comparable nominal system to Middle Dutch with four cases and three genders, still shows a clear distinction between the strong and weak paradigms. The distribution of these paradigms in Modern German is similar to that in Middle Dutch. The weak inflection on adjectives is found with definite determiners and demonstratives while the strong inflection is found with indefinite determiners and possessive pronouns. Lobeck (1995) argues this distribution is connected to the endings on the determiners and pronouns. The definite determiner and demonstratives take a strong suffix while the indefinite determiners and the possessive pronouns take a weak suffix. She shows a strong inflected element takes a weak inflected adjective while a weak inflected element must have a strong inflected adjective for the noun phrase to be grammatical.[3]

(43)   A.   das   klein-e   Bild
             the:strong   small-weak   painting
             'the small painting'

       B.   ein-ø   groß-es   Bild
             a-weak   big-strong   painting
             'a big painting

It seems there must be at least one element with strong inflection to license the noun. This idea is strengthened when we look at indefinite noun phrases without adjectives. Here we see the indefinite determiner, which usually takes a weak ending, now must take a strong suffix as illustrated in (44).

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[3] Note that I abstract from glossing the gender and case content of the suffix in these German examples but instead gloss them as strong or weak endings to illustrate my argumentation.

(44) (der   Rahmen)   eines   Bildes

      the   frame   a:strong   painting

      'the frame of a painting'

Now turning to ellipsis contexts we see the same pattern. Lobeck (1995) shows that an instance of strong inflection can license *pro* on the position of the elided noun as shown in chapter 4 (*46*) and (*47*), here reproduced as (45) A. and B.

(45) A.   Ich   traf   einige Studenten,   und   **die**   [Modern German]

           I   met   some   students,   and   the:strong

           jung-en   *pro*   wollen   mit   mir   sprechen

           young-weak *pro*   wanted   with me   to speak.

           'I met some students, and the young ones wanted to speak with me.'

      B.   Peter hat   viele gebrauchte   Autos angesehen   und   schließlich

           Peter has   many   used   cars   looked at   and   finally

           ein   **neu-es**   *pro*   gekauft.

           a:weak   new-strong   *pro*   bought.

           'Peter has looked at many used cars and finally bought a new one.'

For Modern German we can say the elided noun is licensed when a single element to the left of *pro*, a determiner or prenominal adjective, is specified for strong agreement features.

Let us now return to our analysis of Middle Dutch. A possible hypothesis is that the proposed analysis of Modern German did also hold for the earlier stages of Dutch when the strong and weak paradigms where still distinct. This could explain why leaving out the inflection on the

adjective in rhyme position as in (XX) is considered grammatical to some: the strong suffix on the definite determiner is enough to license the elided noun.

Unfortunately, I have no more room in this thesis to investigate this hypothesis further. For now I assume the construction in (XX) does not have a different underlying structure but instead the inflection on the second adjective is a weak ending, an remnant from an earlier period of Dutch, used by the author to keep the rhyme intact.

I found several other instances where the adjective of a clause can be different from its determiner, even when outside of the rhyme position, such as in (46).

(46)   na   si-re   groten   (Der Naturen bloeme D;1287)
        after   his-r   big-en
        'After his big one'

The adjective *groten* does not have the *-r*-suffix the possessive pronoun has but instead has an *-n*-suffix.[4] I argue that *groten* should not be seen as a adjective because *groten* would have received the same inflection as the possessive pronoun if it was an adjective. This is shown in (47).

(47)   ons-er koninglek-er ere   ende   recht   (0012, Middelburg; 1254)
        our-er royal-er   honour   and   right
        ende   ons-er grauelek-er.
        and   our-er comital-er
        'our royal honour and right and our comital (honour and right)'

(47) is an example of the regular cases we find where the adjective receives the same inflection as the possessive pronoun. The *-en*-suffix on *groten* must thus have a different explanation. I

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[4] The form *sire* of the possessive pronoun is derived from *sijnere > sijnre > sire* (Mooijaart & Van der Wal, 2011).

assume *groten* must be seen not as an adjective but as a noun. This nominalization of adjectives is frequently found in (Middle) Dutch. The meaning of the nominalized adjective is very general as someone or something which possesses the characteristics of the adjective. This is illustrated with the example from Modern Dutch below.

(48)   A.   de   ziek-e man   ligt   in   bed   [Standard Dutch]

            the   sick-e man   lies   in   bed

            'the sick man lies in bed'

       B.   de   ziek-e   ligt   in   bed

            the   sick-e   lies   in   bed

            'the sick one lies in bed'

I assume the -*en*-suffix on *groten* is not an adjectival inflection suffix but is a nominal suffix which corresponds to the singular, dative, and feminine features of this phrase as we saw in table 3.

Other examples for nominalization as an explanation for unexpected case markings in my corpus come from phrases with multiple adjectives. As seen in section 3.2 these cases can form an argument for a pronominalization strategy. However, in Middle Dutch the inflection on the right adjective is not invariable different from the inflection on the left adjective. In most cases the multiple adjectives are inflected with the same expected suffix as in (49) A.

(49)   A.   en-en oud-en   suartt-en   parysis-en   (O228p,

            a-en   old-en   black-en   parisian-en   Geraardsbergen;1313)

            'an old black parisian one'

       B.   ouder   suarter   parisis-e   (O061p, Aalst; 1316)

            old-er   black-er   parisian-e

'old black parisian ones'

In the exceptional cases, such as (49) B. we see that the right adjective is inflected different from the others. I adopt the same assumption here as for (48) where the right adjective is actually a noun. This can explain the unexpected suffix on *parisise* as an nominal suffix corresponding to the plural, neuter, genitive features of this phrase as shown in table 3. The difference between the two phrases can then be described as the difference between the inflection on an adjective and the inflection on a noun.

A possible case of nominalization in rhyme position can be found in the example below.

(50)   alse   om   eenen ionghen   sot-ø   (Rijmbijbel;1285)
        as   about a-en   young-en   foolish-ø
        'as about a young foolish one (i.e. fool)'

Again, we see that the second adjective is inflected different than the first one. It could be a similar case as in (48) where the second adjective is nominalized. However, if *sot* was considered a noun here the correct case inflection should give *sotte*, corresponding with its singular, masculine or neuter, and dative features. This discrepancy is solved when we look at the previous line in the text.

(51)   *Ende om tfonnesse hilden spot.*
        Also om eenen ionghen sot.

Because the nominalized adjective is in the rhyme position we see a different inflection, similar to (40) where the position at the end of the clause influences the pronounced suffixes. Another possibility is there is no nominalization but that the *-en*-suffix in total is unpronounced because of the rhyming position it is in. With the data we have it is unfortunately not possible to determine which of the two processes has taken place. What is most important for the description

of adjectival remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis is that the unexpected inflections do not behave as an invariant suffix on the right adjective but seems to be the inflection of a noun with different suffixes.

Lastly, there is a small group of instances with unexpected case inflection on the adjective in non-elision contexts. There seems to be no common denominator such as case, gender, or position in the clause, between these findings. Furthermore, the clauses with unexpected case inflection seem to be isolated instances since the same construction can be found with the expected case inflections elsewhere in the same document as shown in (52).

(52) A. de-n   grot-en   onvrede   (Rijmbijbel; 1285)

          the-n big-n   agitation

          'the big agitation'

       B. de-n   grot-e   strome

          the-n big-e   current

          'the big current (of a river)'

I assume that these cases are errors that occured in writing or copying the texts since they are highly irregular in form and occurence. No such instances of unexpected case inflection with adjectival remnants are found however when we assume the two explanations above.

3.4 Analysis

As shown in section 3.3 adjectival remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Middle Dutch show the expected case inflection. In this section I construct the underlying structure of this phenomenon.

The pattern we found in Middle Dutch brings to mind the true elision strategy we saw in French and Asten Dutch. In both these languages we find that the adjectival remnants are not different from the adjectives when the noun is present.

(53)   J'ai   acheté   un-e   peinture   belle   mais   il   [French]

        I:AUX bought   a-e   painting   beautiful:e   but   he

        a   acheté   un-e   mauvais-e

        AUX   bought   a-e   bad-e

        'I bought a beautiful painting but he bought a bad one'

Lobeck (1995) argues that the elisision site contains a *pro* that needs to be licensed. This is possible when *pro* is properly head-governed and governed by a head specified for strong agreement, as we saw in section 3.2. This licensing can be done by an adjective, inflected for gender and number as in French and Asten Dutch.

Corver & Van Koppen (2011) argue for a similar analysis but instead of a phonologically covert pronominal element *pro* they assume a pronominal root in the specifier position of n^0. This element is silent since the position is not visible to PF because it is a phase head.

I argue that Middle Dutch also uses the true elision strategy and no overt pronominal element is introduced. An important test for Corven & Van Koppen is the sequence of multiple adjectives.[5]

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[5] Another test for Corver & Van Koppen (2011) is the coordination of two adjectives such as in (a.)

(a.)   the   big   and   blue   one

This type of coordination is not found in an ellipsis context in the Middle Dutch data. I only came across coordination of DP's as shown below in (b.)

(b.)   so   sout   comen   vp   de-n   outst-en (0186, Grafelijke Kanselarij,
        So   should:it   come   on   the-n   oldest-en   Holland; 1276)
        ende   de-n   naest-en
        and   the-n   nearest-en
        'Then it should come on the oldest and nearest'

This coordination cannot be used to identify affixes on the adjective since the DP's can refer to two different entities, each having a pronoun or *pro* in the structure, giving them the same inflection.

When an suffix is a pronominalization strategy it can only occur on the right adjective. This shows the suffix is attached to the Adjective Phrase as a whole and not only the adjective as shown in (33). However, this is not what we find in Middle Dutch.

(54) en-en   goed-en   hollantsch-en   (E192p, Utrecht; 1324)

      a-en   good-en   Hollandish-en

      'A good Hollandish (i.e. of the province of Holland) one'

As can be seen in (54) both adjectives in the sequence receive the same inflection. This is an indication that the suffix on the adjective is not a pronominalization strategy but the adjectival inflection which licences the phonologically covert element in Spec-nP. We can capture this observation in the structure proposed by Corver & Van Koppen (2011).

(55) [$_{DP}$ enen [$_{nP}$ goeden [$_{nP}$ [EEN]$_j$ [$_{n'}$ [$_n$ (=ø)] t$_j$]]]]   (enen goeden) [Middle Dutch]

There are several differences to point out between the languages which use the true elision strategy; French, Asten Dutch and Middle Dutch.

In French both gender and number of the elided noun can be uniquely recovered from the adjectival remnants. It distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine and produces four (singular and plural) distinctive patterns as shown in (56).

(56) Le   bon-ø   livre   le   bon   [French]

      the:MASC   good-MASC   book   the:MASC   good-MASC

      La   bonn-e   peinture   la   bonn-e

      the:FEM   good-FEM   painting   the   good-FEM

Les	bon-ø-s	livre-s	les	bon-ø-s
the:PL	good-MASC-PL	book-PL	the:PL	good-MASC-PL

Les	bonnes	peinture-s	les	bonn-e-s
the:pl	good-FEM-PL	painting-PL	the	good-FEM-PL

Next is Asten Dutch from which only gender can be uniquely recovered from the adjectival remnants.

(57)

de	schoon-en	opa	de	schoon-en	[Asten Dutch]
the	nice-MASC	grandfather	the	nice-MASC	

de	deftig-e	oma	de	deftig-e
the	poshy-FEM	grandmother	the	poshy-FEM

het	leuk-ø	kind	het	leuk-ø
the	nice-NTR	child	the	nice-NTR

The plural is inflected similar to the feminine words thus the feature number cannot be recovered since there are cases which are not clearly singular or plural when looking only at the adjectival remnants.

Lastly, we arrive at Middle Dutch. From the adjectival remnants both gender and number cannot be uniquely recovered.

Table 4. Inflection paradigm of Middle Dutch with and without an overt noun

Mannelijk   'the small servant'

Nom. die cleine knecht	die	cleine
Gen. des cleins knechts	des	cleins
Dat. den cleinen knechte	den	cleinen
Acc. den cleinen knecht	den	cleinen

Vrouwelijk   'the small gift'

Nom. die cleine gift	die	cleine
Gen. der cleiner gift	der	cleiner
Dat. der cleiner gift	der	cleiner
Acc. die cleine gift	die	cleine

Onzijdig   'the small bread'

Nom. dat cleine broot	dat	cleine
Gen. des cleins brodes	des	cleins
Dat. den cleinen brode	den	cleinen
Acc. dat cleine broot	dat	cleine

Meervoud   'the small servant/bread/gift'

Nom. die cleine knechte/brode/gifte	die	cleine
Gen. der cleiner knechet/brode/gifte	der	cleiner
Dat. den cleinen knechten/broden/giften	den	cleinen
Acc. die cleine knechte/brode/gifte	die	cleine

The case system makes the Middle Dutch paradigm quite complex but the most important thing to note is that the adjectival remnants do not correspond to unique pair of gender and number.

For example, the nominative singular is the same for both masculine and feminine while the genitive and dative adjectival remnants from masculine and neuter gender are identical. This is also true for the nominative, genitive and accusative of the feminine singular and the plural.

From the three different languages I just discussed, it seems that uniquely recovering the gender and number features of the noun is not necessary to use the elision strategy. It appears to be enough to express number, gender and case on the adjectival remnants the same way as on the adjective in a non-elision context. This can be explained by looking deeper into Lobeck's (1995) theory of strong agreement we came across earlier in section 3.2.

If the inflection on the adjective does not uniquely correspond to a set of features there must be another way *pro* is identified. Lobeck (1995) argues that ellipted categories can be interpreted through reconstruction. As an argument she shows that empty position can be associated with an antecedent which cannot be recovered through strict copying of the antecedent on the ellipsis. This is shown below with an example of VP-ellipsis in (58) which has two interpretations.

(58) Bavink   werkt de   hele   dag   aan   zijn   schilderij
      Bavink   works the   whole day   on   his   painting
      en   Hoyer   ook
      and   Hoyer   too
      'Bavink works all day on his painting and Hoyer does too'.

In the strict interpretation of the clause Hoyer and Bavink are working on the same painting. However this sentence can also be interpreted as the two gentlemen working each on their own painting which shows the meaning identified through reconstruction.

For identification to take place *pro* must be visible to syntactic or discourse processes which link it to an syntactic or pragmatic antecedent. In the case of a syntactic antecedent the referent is known in the clause while a pragmatic antecedent can be reconstructed through the discourse.

Pro is visible for these processes when licensed through association with strong agreement features.

Features are considered strong agreement when they can recover a significant portion of the referential context of *pro* from productive and morphological realization of these features. Lobeck (1995) shows that number, gender and case can be strong agreement features in Modern German. This is helpful in our discussion since Modern German distinguishes the same features as Middle Dutch with four distinct cases and three genders. Most importantly, the inflection suffixes in Modern German do not correspond uniquely to a set of features either. They show overlap similar to Middle Dutch.

Lobeck (1995) shows the adjectival remnants in Modern German must carry [+case] and [+gender] for singular elided nouns and [+case] and [+plural] for plural elided nouns, which is because, similar to Middle Dutch, the plural paradigm in Modern German is identical for all three genders.

As shown in (45), reproduced here as (59), the strong agreement feature only has to appear on one prenominal element. The underlying structure of these clauses is given in (XX).

(59) A. Ich   traf   einige Studenten, und   **die**   [Modern German]
          I   met   some   students,   and   the:strong

          jung-en   *pro*   wollen   mit   mir   sprechen
          young-weak   *pro*   wanted   with me   to speak.

          'I met some students, and the young ones wanted to speak with me.'

B.	Peter	hat	viele	gebrauchte	Autos	angesehen	und	schließlich
	Peter	has	many	used	cars	looked at	and	finally

	ein		**neu-es**		*pro*	gekauft.
	a:weak		new-strong		*pro*	bought.

'Peter has looked at many used cars and finally bought a new one.'

(60) A. [$_{DP}$ die{+case; +plural}[$_{NumP}$ [e] {+plural [$_{nP}$ jung-en {+plural} [$_{nP}$ *pro*]]]]

B. [$_{NumP}$ ein [-plural} [$_{nP}$ neu-es {+case; + gender} [$_{nP}$ *pro*]]]

Lobeck argues that *pro* is licensed in two processes. First, the strong agreement feature is morphologically realized, making *pro* visible to the second process where the content is recovered through reconstruction.

I adopt Lobeck's (1995) analysis for Middle Dutch, proposing that the [+case] and the [+gender] or [+plural] features appear as the adjectival inflection, licensing *pro* even though these suffixes do not always correspond to a unique set of features. A possible solution to this is the second process of reconstruction which recovers the unique content of the elided noun from a syntactic or pragmatic antecedent. Lobeck (1995) therefore argues that the agreement features only serve to make the empty category visible while its semantic content is recovered through reconstruction.

A hypothesis for Noun Phrase Ellipsis could be that *pro* is not licensed by the unique features but by the features in general denoting the empty category as a nominal element since [+gender] and [+case] are inherently nominal features. This could allow *pro* to take the position of the elided noun. Through reconstruction the exact semantic content of the elided noun is then recovered via an antecedent in the syntaxis or the discourse.

3.5 Conclusion

In this section I discussed Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants. In section 3.1 I sought to answer the first sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?* and found that two patterns can be distinguished in Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects. With the first pattern we find the adjectival remnants show no difference in the elided context compared to the non-elision context. The second pattern is characterized by an invariant suffix on the adjectives. Sub-question (ii), *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?*, is answered in section 3.2 where an analysis is given for both patterns. In the first pattern, called the elision strategy, a silent element *pro* is on the position of the elided noun. This element must be licensed which is done by agreement features on the adjective. In the second pattern, called the pronominalization strategy, *pro* cannot be licensed and an overt pronoun is introduced. This pronoun is spelled-out as the suffix found on the adjective.

Section 3.3 describes the pattern in Middle Dutch to answer the third sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* I showed that in Middle Dutch no invariant suffix is found and instead the adjective receives the regular adjectival inflection. I give an analysis of this pattern in section 3.4 to answer the fourth sub-question: *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?* I propose Middle Dutch also introduces a *pro* which is checked by the inflection on the adjective. Next, I show that gender and number do not have to uniquely recoverable to license *pro*. This is not a problem if we adopt Lobeck's (1995) proposal that the strong agreement features that check *pro* are only there to make it visible to another process called reconstruction that recovers the semantic content of the elided noun.

4. Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive pronouns

Section 4 takes a closer look at Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants, more specifically possessive pronouns as remnants. Two observation from section 3 return in this section. First, we find different degrees of agreement with the noun on adjectives and determiners in Dutch dialects. Second, many Dutch dialects cannot truly elide the noun but use a pronominalization strategy where a pronoun replaces the noun. Investigating Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants, we come across these two observations again as source of variation.

Similar to section 3, the subsections correspond with the four sub-questions I posed in section 1. The first sub-question, *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?*, is discussed in section 4.1 where I describe the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis found in Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects. In section 4.2 I look in more depth at these patterns and answer the second sub-question: *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?* Next, I describe the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis found in the Middle Dutch data in section 4.3 to answer sub-question (iii): *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* This leads to section 4.4 where I analyse these patterns to discuss the fourth sub-question: *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?* Lastly, section 4.5 acts as the conclusion to section 4. Here I summarize the answers to the four sub-questions with regard to Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants.

4.1 Dutch Dialects

As shown in section 2 the possessive pronoun in Standard Dutch cannot be combined with other elements in the left bracket of the noun phrase such as determiners and demonstratives and does not receive agreement inflection with the noun. These two observations make the noun phrase ellipsis with possessive remnants look very remarkable.

(61) A.   Daar   woont   zijn-ø   baas   en   hier   de   mijn-e [Standard Dutch]

                There   lives   his-ø   boss   and   here   the   my-e

                'There lives his boss and here lives mine'

       B.   Zij   pakt   haar-ø   boek   en   ik   het   mijn-e

                she   picks:up   her-ø   book   and   I   the   my-e

                'She picks up her book and I pick up mine'

       C.   Zij   pakt   haar-ø   boeken   en   ik   de   mijn-e

                she   picks:up   her-ø   books   and   I   the   my-e

                'She picks up her books and I pick up mine'

       D.   *Zij   pakt   haar-ø   boeken   en   ik

                she   picks:up   her-ø   books   and   I

                de   mijn-e   boeken

                the   my-e   books

                'She picks up her books and I pick up mine'

When the noun is elided in Standard Dutch we find that de possessive pronoun receives the
-*e*-suffix and the definite determiner *de* or *het* is introduced in the clause as shown in (48). The
-*e*-suffix appears with all nouns regardless of its number and gender features. We find the suffix
on elision with common gender singular nouns (A.), neuter gender singular nouns (B.) and plural
nouns (C.) Furthermore, it is important to note that the definite determiner is ungrammatical
when the noun is not elided as illustrated in D.

Across dialects we find several variations of this pattern. In several dialects such as Winterswijk
Dutch we find that the definite determiner is optional as illustrated in B. Other dialects position
the definite determiner to the right of the possessive pronoun or on both sides of the possessive

pronoun which can be seen in C. Lastly there are dialects in which the introduction of a definite determiner is ungrammatical of which an example is given in D.

(62) A.   Daar woont zijn-ø baas   en   hier   de   mijn-e [Standard Dutch]
             There lives   his-ø   boss and   here   the   my-e
             'There lives his boss and here lives mine'

       B.   . . .   en   hier   (d'n)   mien-en   [Winterswijk Dutch]
                 and   here   the:MASC   my-en
                 'and here lives mine'

       C.   . . .   en   hier   (de)   mijn-de   [Northeastern Dutch]
                 and   here   the   my-the
                 'and here lives mine'

       D.   …   en   hier   (*de) mien-e   [Hippolytushoef Dutch]
                 and   here   the   my-e
                 'and here lives mine'

The next locus of variation is the affix we find on the possessive pronoun.

(63) A.   Daar woont zijn-ø baas   en   hier   de   mijn-e [Standard Dutch]
             There lives   his-ø   boss and   here   the   my-e
             'There lives his boss and here lives mine'

       B.   . . .   en   hier   de   minn-en   [Asten Dutch]
                 and   here   the   my-en
                 'and here lives mine'

C.	…	en	hier	de	mèn-n				[Aalst Dutch]
		and	here	the	my-n				

'and here lives mine'

D.	Daar	woont	zin-ø	moeder		en	hier	de	min-ø	[Asten Dutch]
	There	lives	his-ø	mother		and	here	the	my-ø	

'There lives his mother and here lives mine'

As shown in (63), we can find different forms of the suffix placed on the possessive pronoun. Whether these are phonological variants of the same suffix or different underlying suffixes is discussed in section 4.2. The last observation I make here is the fact that in some dialects we find different affixes depending on the gender of the noun that is elided as in (63) B. and D. I come back to these observations in the next section.

4.2 Analysis

We find two loci of variation with the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis as shown in section 4.1. The first is the presence, position and form of a definite determiner. In regular clauses the definite determiner and the possessive pronoun cannot occur alongside each other but this is exactly what we find when the noun is elided.

Let us start with the question why the determiner is introduced. While this definite determiner is obligatory in Standard Dutch it is optional in several dialects such as Winterswijk Dutch. This variation is the starting point in the analysis of Corver & Van Koppen (2011) which I will follow here. To investigate why the definite determiner is optional or obligatory Corver & Van Koppen compare the paradigms of Standard Dutch and Winterswijk Dutch.

(64)   A.   Standard Dutch

de	hoed	mijn-ø	hoed	de	mijn-e
the:CG	hat	my-ø	hat	the:CG	my-e

het	huis	mijn-ø	huis	het	mijn-e
the:NTR	house	my-ø	house	the:NTR	my-e

    B.   Winterswijk Dutch

d'n	hood	mien-en	hood	(d'n)	mien-en
the:MASC	hat	my-MASC	hat	the:MASC	my-MASC

de	muts	mien-e	muts	(de)	mien-e
the:FEM	bonnet	my-FEM	bonnet	the:FEM	my-FEM

't	hoes	mien-ø	hoes	't	mien-e
the:NTR	house	my-ø	house	the:NTR	my-e

Let us have a look at the differences we find in (64). First, Standard Dutch distinguishes two genders, common and neuter while Winterswijk Dutch distinguishes three, Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter. Where Standard Dutch has the same form of the possessive pronoun for both genders, (64) B. shows that Winterswijk has three separate possessive pronouns, one for each gender.

This observation leads Corver & Van Koppen (2011) to assume that the definite determiner is introduced to recover gender features. In Standard Dutch there is no option to distinguish the gender from the possessive pronoun when the noun is elided since it has the same form. By introducing the definite determiner *de* for common gender or *het* for neuter gender, gender can

be recovered from the elided noun phrase. In Winterswijk Dutch however the possessive pronoun has a unique form from which gender can be recovered. The definite determiner is thus optional in this dialect.

This is the case for masculine and feminine gender but not for the neuter gender where we see the definite determiner is obligatory. Although neuter gender has a distinct possessive pronoun it does not in the elided context. Here we find an -*e*-suffix is added. This blurs the distinction between the feminine and neuter paradigm which is solved by adding the definite determiner for the neuter possessive pronoun.

How can we analyse the underlying structure of the definite determiner and possessive pronoun in an elided noun phrase? Similar to Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants a similar silent element is assumed on the position of the elided noun. To licence this pro the possessive remnants must show the same agreement with this position. Corver & Van Koppen (2011) take this to be the reason of the introduction of the definite determiner. The recovery of the gender is necessary to license pro. The proposed structure is shown below in (65).

(65)   A. $[_{DP}$ *pro*$_i$ {~~gen~~, ~~num~~} $[_{D'}$ de {gen}$[_{PosP}$ mijne $[_{Pos'}$ Pos $[_{NumP}$ *pro*$_i$ {gen, ~~num~~}

$[_{Num'}$ Num {num}$[$*pro*$_i$ {gen, num}$]]]]]]]$

Pro is base-generated in the position of the elided noun and carries variable number and gender features. It first moves up to Spec.NumP to check its number features against the head of NumP after which is moves again to check its gender feature with the definite determiner in D^o.

A different structure for the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis is proposed by Corver & Van Koppen (2015). Here, instead of assuming an empty pronominal element which needs to licensed, Corver & Van Koppen argue that Standard Dutch and several Dutch dialects actually make use of the pronominalization strategy which we saw earlier with Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants. I present a short version of their analysis here.

Following Den Dikken's (1998) proposal for possessive phrases and Corver's (2008) adaption for possessive pronouns, Corver & Van Koppen (2015) argue that possessive nominal expressions start out as a small clause and involve DP-internal predicate inversion. They assume the following base structure from which the surface word order is derived.

(66)   [$_{XP}$ POSSESSEE [$_{X'}$ [$_{PP}$ P POSSESSOR]]]

Den Dikken's (1998) proposal starts out with the idea that the possessor is base-generated in a prepositional predicate as the complement of an XP. This can be illustrated with the fact that the possessive can be rephrased as a prepositional phrase with *van* 'of' in Dutch.

(67)   A.   Bavink-'s   schilderij
              Bavink-POSS   painting

        B.   het   schilderij   van   Bavink
              the   painting   of   Bavink

At the heart of this hypothesis lies the idea that the nominal phrase has the same structure as a clausal phrase. To arrive from the order in B. to the word order in A. the possessor is moved across the possessee after which the two elements of the phrase must be connected by a nominal copula. Den Dikken argues that this is the genitive -'s we find. His idea is extended to possessive pronouns by Corver (2008).

(68)   A.   mijn-ø   schilderij
              my-ø   painting

        B.   het   schilderij   van   mij
              the   painting   of   me

Corver (2008) argues that the possessive pronoun is actually the dative form of the personal pronoun *mij* with a nominal copula, spelled out as -n, giving mijn after movement of the possessor.

With structure of (66) in mind Corver & Van Koppen argue that the definite determiner we find in the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis is actually a replacement of the possessee of the small clause as illustrated in (69).

(69)　A.　　$[_{XP}$ POSSESSEE $[_{X'}$ $[_{PP}$ P POSSESSOR$]]]$
　　　B　　　$[_{XP}$ de $[_{X'}$ $[_{PP}$ P mij$]]]$

Similar to the non-elided context the possessor is then moved across the possessee. This creates the wrong word order for Standard Dutch and several dialects. However, this is not a problem since the definite determiner moves to D, crossing the possessor. This is illustrated in the structure in (70).

(70)　$[_{DP}$ $[_{D'}$ de$_q$+D $[_{FP}$ $[_{PP}$ t$_k$ mij$]_i$ $[_{F'}$ F+X$_j$+P$_k$ $[_{XP}$ t$_q$ $[_{X'}$ t$_j$ t$_i$$]]]]]]]$

Corver & Van Koppen (2015) assume the copy-theory of movement where an element is copied after which the lower copy is phonologically deleted. This notion helps explain the last form of variation we have not discussed yet, the definite determiner appearing to (the left and) the right of the possessive pronoun. An example from North-Eastern Dutch is given in (62) C, repeated here as (71).

(71)　Daar　woont　zijn-ø　baas　en　　hier　(de)　mijn-de　　　[Northeastern Dutch]
　　　There　lives　his-ø　boss　and　here　the　　my-the
　　　'There lives his boss and here lives mine'

For these cases Corver & Van Koppen (ibid.) assume that both copies of the determiner are spelled out or only the lower copy is.[6]

Having seen two proposed underlying structures of the introduction of the definite determiner, let us now turn to the second locus of variation; the suffix that is introduced on the possessive pronoun. In Standard Dutch we find an -*e*-suffix which is not normally found on the possessive pronoun paradigm as in (72) A. and Winterswijk Dutch introduces an -*e*-suffix on the neuter possessive pronoun making it look similar to the feminine possessive pronoun as in (72) B. Aalst Dutch shows a similar case to Winterswijk Dutch where the neuter pronoun is not distinct in ellipsis context anymore but instead has an -*n*-suffix, making it look similar to the feminine possessive pronoun, illustrated in (72) C.

(72)   A.   Standard Dutch

de	hoed	mijn-ø	hoed	de	mijn-e
the:CG	hat	my-ø	hat	the:CG	my-e

het	huis	mijn-ø	huis	het	mijn-e
the:NTR	house	my-ø	house	the:NTR	my-e

---

[6] Corver & Van Koppen (2015) argue for another possibility for this word order which is pied-piping to DP putting the possessive pronoun to the left of the definite determiner. Both seem equally possible on the basis of the facts shown.

B.   Winterswijk Dutch

d'n	hood	mien-en	hood	(d'n)	mien-en
the:MASC	hat	my-MASC	hat	the:MASC	my-MASC

de	muts	mien-e	muts	(de)	mien-e
the:FEM	bonnet	my-FEM	bonnet	the:FEM	my-FEM

't	hoes	mien-ø	hoes	't	mien-e
the:NTR	house	my-ø	house	the:NTR	my-e

C.   Aalst Dutch

de(n)	hond	mèn-n	hond	de	mèn-n
the:MASC	dog	my-MASC	dog	the:MASC	my-MASC

de	koe	mèn	koe	de	mèn
the:FEM	cow	my:FEM	cow	the:FEM	my:FEM

't	kiendj	mè	kiendj	't	mèn
the:NTR	child	my:NTR	child	the:NTR	my:NTR-n

Schoorlemmer (1998) argues that the differences between the possessive pronoun in the ellipsis contexts compared to the non-ellipsis contexts are caused by the position they are in. To explain the difference between two types of possessive structures in language she argues that Pos has a variable def-feature in Dutch (and other Germanic languages). To check this feature Pos raises to D which has a fixed def-feature in non-elliptical contexts. With Noun Phrase Ellipsis the noun is replaced with *pro* according to Schoorlemmer, similar to what we saw in Corver & Van Koppen

(2011). *Pro* has a fixed def-feature which checks the variable feature on Pos when it moves there. This means Pos no longer has to move to DP, leaving room for a definite determiner. Furthermore, Schoorlemmer (1998) takes this difference in position to explain the difference in form of the possessor. She argues the possessor is morphologically sensitive to its sister; D (in non-elliptical contexts) or Pos (in elliptical contexts) which causing it to have a different form.

(73)   A. $[_{DP}$ Pos+D $[_{PosP}$ DP$_i$ ~~Pos~~ $[_{NumP}$ N+Num $[_{NP}$ ~~DP$_i$ N~~]]]]   (non-elision contexts)

       B. $[_{DP}$ D $[_{PosP}$ DP$_i$ *pro*+Pos $[_{NumP}$ ~~*pro*~~ $[_{NP}$ ~~DP$_i$ *pro*~~]]]]   (elision contexts)

However, her hypothesis does not show what part of the morphology is different and how the suffix on the possessor in the elision context is derived. Furthermore it only shows that there is an open position for a definite determiner in an ellipsis-context but does not explain why it is obligatory in Standard Dutch as Corver and Van Koppen's (2011) and (2015) proposal do.

Let us thus have a look at their proposals. First, Corver & Van Koppen (2011) argue that the suffix on the possessive pronoun is an element to make the possessive remnants phonologically heavier. However, in contrast with the previous two approaches, Corver & Van Koppen (2015) argue that the introduction of the definite determiner and the suffix on the possessive pronoun should not be seen as separate phenomena but as two outcomes of the same process.

This can be seen when we take a closer look at the underlying structure of the derivation we saw above. The first step is the movement of the possessive pronoun across the definite determiner to Spec.FP. According to Corver & Van Koppen (2015) the X-head follows for reasons of equidistance as argued for by Den Dikken (1998) and P is incorporated into F. This gives an complex head containing F°, X° and P° which is spelled-out as the nominal copula *-n* when Spec.FP is filled with a pronoun. Next, the definite determiner is copied and moved to Spec.DP. The lower copy, which usually remains unpronounced, is then fused with the complex head. It is this fused lower copy's spell-out that forms the affix we find on the possessive pronoun.

(74) $[_{DP} [_{D'} de_q [_{FP} [_{PP} t_k mij]_i [F+X_j+P_k (=n)]+[t_q (=e)] [_{X'} t_j t_i]]]]$

In short, the word order depends on the spell-out of different copies of the definite determiner while the suffix we find is the result of a fused lower copy.

Finally we come to the analysis of the other strategy found in Dutch dialects. This strategy uses and invariant suffix on the possessive pronoun and excludes the occurrence of a definite pronoun. Corver & Van Koppen (2011) propose that this strategy is similar to the pronominalization strategy we find with adjectival remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis where the suffix is assumed to be an overt pronoun. Similar to the first strategy this ellipsis strategy does not involve *pro* but a pronoun that takes the position of the noun.

Corver & Van Koppen (2011) argue that the suffix is derived from the indefinite determiner *een* 'one' and is used similar to the English one in ellipsis contexts. Since the suffix is invariant for all gender nouns, it is proposed the pronoun does not have gender features. It is thus not necessary to have these features checked by introducing a definite determiner which explains why the definite determiner is ungrammatical in these dialects. The structure of this strategy is given below in (75). The pronoun is base-generated in NP and covertly moves to Spec.NumP to check its number feature.

(75) $[_{DP} D [_{PosP} mien- [_{NumP} e [_{num'} Num \{num\} [_{NP} e \{num\}]]]]]$

To distinguish the two patterns we saw in this section I follow Corver & Van Koppen (2015) in the names they give to these two strategies. In their names they describe the underlying processes of deriving the patterns we find. The first pattern, as analysed by Corver & Van Koppen (ibid.), is called the definite pronominalization pattern (DefP) since an definite determiner acts as a pronoun substituting the elided noun. Because the pronoun that replaces the noun is indefinite in

second pattern we found, this is called the indefinite pronominalization pattern (IndefP). For the rest of this thesis I use these names to refer to these strategies.

4.3 Middle Dutch

The possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Middle Dutch are different from the noun phrase before elision, namely a definite determiner is introduced as shown in below.

(76)   A.   bliuen in   ons-e hulpe, ende wi   (1293, Holland,
             stay   in   our-e help   and   we   Grafelijke kanselarij; 1293)
             in   die   har-e
             in   the:e   their-e
             'Stay in our help, and we in theirs'

       B.   sin-en seghel met   de-n   min-en   (1239, Drongen/Gent; 1293)
             his-en seal   with   the-n   my-en
             'his seal with mine'

       C.   na   de-r   ordinasie-n   de-r   tvie-r heren   (0623A, Holland,
             after   the-r   ordination-PL   the-r   two-r   gentlemen Grafelijke Kanselarij;
             ende   de-r   onse-r   1285)
             and   the-r   our-r
             'After the ordinations of the two gentlemen and ours'

The definite determiner that is introduced follows the case inflection present on the possessive pronoun. Similar to the adjectival remnants we find a few exceptions to this pattern. These are most likely writing mistakes and not a different grammatical construction. The constructions with the unexpected case inflections are often used correctly elsewhere in the document, strengthening this idea of a writing or copying mistake. This is illustrated below.

(77)   A.   Abner ende   de   sine-n   [Rijmbijbel; 1285]

                    Abner and   the:e   his-en

                    'Abner and his people'

      B.   ihesus ende   de-n   sine-n   [Rijmbijbel;1285]

                    Jesus and   the-n   his-en

                    'Jesus and his people'

In A. we find a discrepancy between the case inflection on the determiner and the possessive pronoun. In B. the case inflection of the determinter and the possessive pronoun match providing an example of the great majority of the cases found in this document. I therefore conclude A. to be a mistake by the author or copier of the text.

The construction in (77) is frequently found in Middle Dutch texts. Here, the referent noun which is elided from the construction cannot be found elsewhere in the context. This constructions carries the general meaning *people* and can be used for followers (as in B.), family, or subjects of a king or other noble person.

     4.4 Analysis

The Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants in Middle Dutch has an important similarity and an important difference with the pattern we find in Standard Dutch. In both languages the introduction of the definite determiner seems obligatory. In Standard Dutch using only the possessive pronoun is ungrammatical as we saw in section 3.1 and no cases of possessive remnants without the definite determiner were found in Middle Dutch. However, in contrast to Standard Dutch, the possessive pronoun in Middle Dutch shows the expected case agreement with the elided noun instead of an invariant suffix.

4.4.1 Earlier approaches

To analyse the pattern I found in Middle Dutch I apply the proposed structures I discussed in section 4.2 to the new data. I start with Schoorlemmer's (1998) proposal. As shown in section 4.2 she assumes two distinct underlying structures to explain the differences between the elision and non-elision contexts. The two structures are repeated below.

(78) A. $[_{DP}$ Pos+D $[_{PosP}$ DP$_i$ ~~Pos~~ $[_{NumP}$ N+Num $[_{NP}$ ~~DP$_i$ N~~]]]]   (non-elision contexts)

      B. $[_{DP}$ D $[_{PosP}$ DPi *pro*+Pos $[_{NumP}$ ~~*pro*~~ $[_{NP}$ ~~DP$_i$ *pro*~~]]]]   (elision contexts)

In the non-elision contexts the noun moves to NumP to check its number feature while Pos moves to DP to check the [~def] feature Schoorlemmer (1998) argues for. In the elision context on the other hand N is replaced with *pro* which first moves up to check its number features. It then moves to PosP where it checks its [~def] feature. This means Pos does not move to DP and the position is free for a definite determiner. The different form of the possessor is explained by stating Pos is morphologically sensitive to its sister. Since these are different between the two contexts the possessor in the elision contexts has a different form than the possessor in the non-elision contexts.

Let us apply this proposal to Middle Dutch. We find that there is no difference between the possessor in the elision and non-elision contexts in Middle Dutch. In Schoorlemmer's (1998) proposal this means they have the same sister, i.e. the same position, in both contexts since they are morphologically the same. Furthermore, since a definite determiner seems obligatory in elision contexts in Middle Dutch, this position must be PosP to leave a position open for the determiner.

Unfortunately, this theory does not comment on the obligatory presence of the definite determiner but only shows that there is an open position. This means the proposal does not show us why the definite determiner is introduced but gives us only the derivations given above.

The next proposal I apply to the Middle Dutch data is Corver & Van Kopppen's (2010) idea that the definite determiner is introduced to recover the gender of the elided noun to license *pro*. When gender can be recovered without the definite determiner it is optional, as we saw for Winterswijk Dutch in (51). For research purposes, I will assume the definite determiner in Middle Dutch is not optional since no examples have been found where the definite determiner was left out. According to this analysis of Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants the definite determiner is introduced in Middle Dutch to add missing gender information to the noun phrase which is not present on the possessive pronoun.

To find which information is added with the definite determiner we must take a look at the different paradigms for the possessive pronoun and the definite determiner. Hogenhout-Mulder (1983) argue that the possessive pronoun is inflected similar to the (strong) adjective paradigm. Mooijaart & Van der Wal (2011) agree and give the paradigms below. The first table is for the first person singular possessive pronoun *mijn*. The possessive pronouns for the second person singular *dijn* and for the third person singular used for masculine and neuter possessors *sijn* are inflected the same. The second table is for the first person plural but the second person singular and plural *uwe* and the third person singular for feminine possessors and plural *haere* are inflected according to the same paradigm.

Table 5. The inflection of the possessive pronoun in Middle Dutch

	MASC	FEM	NTR	Plural
Nom.	mijn	mine	mijn	mine
Gen.	mijns	mijn(e)re	mijns	mijn(e)re
Dat.	minen	mijn(e)re	minen	minen
Acc	minen	mine	mijn	mine

	MASC	FEM	NTR	Plural
Nom.	onse	onse	onse	onse
Gen.	onses	onser	onses	onser
Dat.	onsen	onser	onsen	onsen
Acc	onsen	onse	onse	onse

As can be seen in the paradigm for the possessive pronoun there are several cases where gender information cannot be uniquely recovered which is similar to what we saw in the adjectival paradigm in section 3.4. This is for example true for the possessive pronouns of the plural persons: *onse* 'our', *uwe* 'your', and *haere* 'their'. In the nominative case we can find no difference between the masculine, feminine and neuter gender. Furthermore, the genitive and dative case of the masculine and neuter paradigm cannot be distinguished. To find out if these issues could be solved by introducing a definite determiner let us compare the paradigms of the possessive pronoun and that of the definite determiner.

Table 6. Inflection paradigm of the definite determiner in Middle Dutch

	MASC	FEM	NTR	Plural
Nom.	die	die	dat	die
Gen.	des	der	des	der
Dat.	den	der	den	den
Acc	den	die	dat	die

For both examples the definite determiner does not seem to add unique gender information. While introducing the nominative neuter determiner *dat* will distinguish the neuter gender from the other two, we still have no way of differentiating between the masculine and feminine gender since both use the determiner *die* for the nominative case. The definite determiner does not help us out in the second example either. While in the nominative case the determiner can help distinguish between the masculine and neuter case, this is not true for the genitive and dative case where both genders use *des* and *den* respectively. The introduction of the definite determiner in Middle Dutch does thus not recover all the relevant gender distinctions which leads me to the assumption that the definite determiner is not introduced as a last resort to license *pro*.

Lastly, I discussed Corver & Van Koppen's (2015) approach which proposes that the definite determiner must be seen as a pronoun starting as the subject of a small clause and the possessor as its complement. As they point out direct empirical support for the low predicate base-position of the possessor in the Noun Phrase is not found in Modern Dutch since there are no cases of in-situ variants or stranding of material. However, they note that there are several clauses found in Middle Dutch that can help argue for the small clause analysis of nominal possessive patterns. A number of these I already touched upon in this thesis. Below I analyse these clauses in light of the small clause proposal and the definite pronominalization pattern to see the data I found can help argue for their analysis and whether the analysis can correctly capture the Middle Dutch clauses.

Duinhoven (1988) argues that the definite determiner we find to the left of the possessive pronoun in Middle Dutch elision contexts is indeed a pronoun. He assumes analyzing this element as a pronoun is the origin of the construction Corver & Van Koppen (2015) call the definite pronominalization pattern. However, his analysis of the patterns in Modern Dutch is different.

He argues the definite determiner and the possessive pronoun in the studied construction started out as two different elements. As mentioned above he assumes the definite determiner was first analysed as a pronoun, namely a substantive demonstrative pronoun referring to nominal element in the syntactic or pragmatic context. The possessive pronoun on the other hand was analysed as an attributive element to this demonstrative.[7]

He argues for the following development of the construction. Firstly, the possessive pronoun is derived from the genitive case of the personal pronoun as illustrated below.

Table 7. Inflection paradigm of the personal pronoun in Middle Dutch

	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	1.PL	2.PL	3.PL
Nom.	ic	du/ghi	hi/si/het	wi	ghi	si
Gen.	mijns	dijns/uwer	sijns/haer	onser	uwer	haer
Dat.	mi	di/u	hem/haer	ons	u	hen
Acc.	mi	di/u	hem/haer/het	ons	u	hen

Since this case expresses possession or origin it seems logically that the possessive pronoun and the genitive case are closely related. This use of the possessive pronoun as the genitive personal pronoun is still found frequently in Middle Dutch texts. The possessive pronoun could, for example, occur independent when used as a predicate, as illustrated below.

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[7] In this discussion of the development of the possessive pronoun this element is not always analysed as a pronoun. In the rest of this section I use the term *possessive pronoun* solely in a descriptive sense without a theoretical implication.

(79) Dat   nu   mijn   es   (I587r, Heinkenszand; 1312)

      that   now   my   is

      'That is now mine'

Next to this independent use, the possessive pronoun could also be combined with a noun where it would act as an attributive element. In these cases the possessive pronoun can also be rephrased as a prepositional phrase *van mij* 'of me', in the final field of the noun phrase.

(80) Lutgart   die   utuerkorne   mijn   (Sente Lutgard K; 1265)

      Lutgard   the   chosen   my

      'Lutgard, my chosen one'

In this example we see that Middle Dutch indeed shows Corver & Van Koppen's (2015) proposed word order of the small clause where the possessee is the head of the phrase which is followed by a genitive adjunct, base-generated in the PP, that modifies this head. This analysis can also be applied to clauses where the possessee is a demonstrative such as in (81).

(81) ende   ellic   up   dat   sine   (0697, Kuijk?; 1286)

      and   each   on   that:NTR   he:GEN

      'and each of them on that of his'

This gives us the definite pronominalization pattern Corver & Van Koppen (2015) describe, reproduced here as (82).

(82)   [_{XP} POSSESSEE [_{X'} [_{PP} P POSSESSOR]]]

We have now seen that the original analysis of the definite determiner + possessive pronoun is similar to Corver & Van Koppen's (2015) proposal of the underlying structure of the definite

pronominalization pattern. However, Duinhoven argues for a different analysis of this pattern in later stages of Dutch. According to him the construction started out as a demonstrative pronoun with a genitive adjunct and was then reanalysed as a definite determiner with a substantive adjective.

This is illustrated in the two sets of glosses below. The first set of glosses shows the analysis of the possessive pronoun as a genitive adjunct which I have translated with prepositional phrases. The second set of glosses, represented in italics, shows the reanalysis of the possessive pronoun as an adjectival element, translated here with the English possessive pronouns.

(83) ende din   moeder   was   min   suster   (Perchevael; 1276)
      and   you:GEN   mother   was   I:GEN sister
      and   *your*   *mother*   *was*   *my*   *sister*
      ende die   sin
      and   that:MASC/FEM   he:GEN
      and   *the*   *his*
      'and the mother of you was the sister of mine and that of his'
      'and your mother was my sister and his one'

Duinhoven (1988) argues that the reanalysis of this construction was caused by the reanalysis of the genitive personal pronoun. As shown above in (XX) this element could appear independent but could also appear as an adjunct to the noun as (XX) shows. Duinhoven assumes the genitive personal pronoun lost its reading as an independent element through this use where it eventually was no longer considered the semantic core of a constituent but rather a modifier to the noun. This dependency is expressed through the inflection showing on the possessive pronoun, linking it to the features of the noun, similar to other adjectives. Eventually the adverbial possessive pronoun would be superseded by the adjectival use of the possessive pronoun and its position to the left of the noun became fixed, similar to what happened to the adjective.

The reanalysis of the genitive personal pronoun into an adjectival possessive element as described above also meant the Noun Phrase Ellipsis construction was reanalysed. The possessive pronoun was no longer a genitive adjunct to a demonstrative but was interpreted as an adjectival element with a definite determiner.

The idea of an adjectival possessive pronoun in this construction is not remarkable when we compare it to the adjective. Similar to the adjective the possessive pronoun started out as an adjunct with relative independence of the noun but became an adjectival element set in a fixed position to the left of the noun. The construction definite determiner + possessive pronoun should thus be seen as analogous to the adjective in clauses like (84).

(84   Die-n   coensten   van   den   lande   (Wisselau; 1291)

       The-n   valiant-SUPL-en   of   the-n land

       'The most valiant one of the land'

We find two competing theories here. The earlier analysis of the construction as an demonstrative with a genitive adjunct corresponds with Corver & Van Koppen's (2015) approach analysing the determiner as a pronoun and the possessive pronoun being base-generated in a prepositional phrase to the right of the pronoun. The reanalysis of the construction as proposed by Duinhoven (1988) as a determiner with a nominalized possessive however, looks more similar to Corver & Van Koppen's (2011) proposal where the elided noun is replaced with *pro* which needs to be licensed by agreement on the remnants. As we saw in section 3.4 the case inflection on adjectives can license *pro*. Analyzing the possessive pronoun as an adjectival element would mean this also holds for the inflection on possessive pronouns.

However I argue that the possessive pronoun cannot license *pro* alone since a definite determiner must be introduced, which is not necessary for adjectives. This is strange since we saw that the definite determiner does not introduce new gender information.

4.4.2 Comparison to German

To discuss this issue further I look at Lindauer (1998) in his approach to the genitive structures in Modern German. This can help the analysis for two reasons. First, Modern Standard German still has a comparable case system to Middle Dutch. Next, we find similar Noun Phrase Ellipsis constructions in this language. I analyse these construction here to investigate what can license *pro* in a language with case.

Similar to what we saw for Middle Dutch above Modern Standard German also has a weak and strong inflection paradigm. Lindauer (1998) shows the choice of the paradigm depends on the content of the Spec.DP. When Spec.DP is empty or filled with an element which is non-inflected (weak) the attributive adjective receives the strong inflection while the weak inflection is used with inflected elements (Strong) in Spec.DP as in Middle Dutch, similar to Lobeck's (1995) description we saw in section 3.3.

For German Lindauer (1998) argues a similar development of possessive pronouns as described for Dutch by Duinhoven (1988). The possessive pronouns started out as the genitive of personal pronouns and became the possessive pronouns with the inflectional part of the adjective. In German the case markings on the noun were lost in German which also happened in the related older stages of Dutch. This meant the attributive adjectives and the determiners inflected as adjectives, such as possessive pronouns, became the real bearers of case marking in these languages.

Lindauer proposes that morpho-syntactically possessive pronouns, along with definite and indefinite determiners and quantifiers, are adjectival word-forms in Spec.DP behaving similar to attributive adjectives i.e. having the same phi-features. He assumes the roots of possessive pronouns are adjectives which are base-generated in the NP and consequently move to Spec.DP. The case inflection is found in D^{o} and attaches as an suffix to the possessive pronoun or to

another adjectival element in Spec.DP. It is important to note that the suffix can only occur on the most right adjectival element.

Similar to Dutch the possessive pronoun cannot be used in ellipsis contexts but needs an inflectional suffix as illustrated by the following example.

(85) sein-*(es)   gefällt   mir   gar-nicht   [Standard German]
      his-strong   pleases   me   not-at-all

In these cases it could be argued the possessive pronoun move to Spec.DP and received the strong inflection.

German also has another form which closely resembles the Standard Dutch pattern of Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants.

(86) *(das)   sein-e   gefällt   mir gar-nicht
      the (STRONG)   his-affix (WEAK)   pleases   me not-at-all

Here, the possessive pronoun did move to Spec.DP and did not receive the strong inflection. It can thus not license ellipsis. However, when a definite determiner is introduced, receiving the strong inflection in D^0, the clause is grammatical.

As shown in section 3.3 it seems that in German a strong inflection suffix is required to license an ellipsis context. This also holds for possessive pronouns as shown in (63) and (64). This is different in Middle Dutch where we find that even with strong agreement on the possessive pronoun the definite determiner seems to be obligatory. In the section below I analyse the role of the introduction of this element further.

4.4.3 Possessive pronouns as indefinite elements

As we saw in the previous subsection Middle Dutch differences from Modern German in the fact that a definite determiner is obligatory even when the possessive pronoun shows strong agreement. A first hypothesis could be that the definite determiner was deemed obligatory since in earlier stages the possessive pronoun did not have strong inflection. The strong inflection was possibly missing since the possessive pronoun in elision contexts was first analysed as an adjectival element to the right of an definite determiner, according to Duinhoven (1988), which meant it received weak inflection as discussed in section 3.3. Only later through assimilation we come to the situation found in Middle Dutch where the definite determiner and the possessive pronoun both carry the strong inflection.

However this hypothesis does not answer the question why we do not find the possessive pronoun with strong agreement in these early cases, similar to what we find in German in (XX), but only later via assimilation. We must thus ask ourselves why the possessive pronoun cannot license an elided noun after it received strong inflection or why it could not receive this strong inflection on its own. While it is possible the construction was fossilized and the definite determiner remained in its position although it was no longer required, I propose a different analysis.

I assume the strong inflection on the possessive pronoun can license an elided noun and does not need a definite determiner for licensing. The definite determiner is obligatory however, but for a different reason. While Corver & Van Koppen (2010) argue that the determiner must be seen as gender marker, not a definite marker, this could be exactly the reason of its introduction in Middle Dutch. As shown by Duinhoven (1988) phrases with a possessive pronoun where not considered definite in the earlier stages of the reanalysis. This can be illustrated with the following examples from Duinhoven (1988).

(87) Een   sijn   oude   vrient
     a   his   old   friend
     'An old friend of him

(88) een   sijn   oom
     a   his   uncle
     'an uncle of him'

As shown above the possessive pronoun could occur in indefinite noun phrases since it was only seen as a classification on the noun, similar to an adjective. As shortly mentioned above, no cases are found of the definite determiner with a possessive pronoun and a noun but Duinhoven expects these cases to have been possible since they are found in Old Germanic, Romance, and in German and France until the 17th century. The definite determiner could thus be obligatory in ellipsis context to make the phrase definite. Only later the possessive phrase was analysed as definite which made the definite determiner redundant in a non-elision context.

There are several arguments why we indeed should analyse the possessive pronoun as not definite. First, I return to Schoorlemmer (1998). As shown in section 4.2 she assumes the possessive pronoun in Standard Dutch and several related languages has a variable def feature which needs to be checked. She argues that possessives are not always definite by showing that possessors can be derived from indefinites in Dutch (and English).

(89) Er   hangt   iemand-'s   schilderij   [Standard Dutch]
     there   hangs   someone-POSS   painting
     aan   de   muur
     on   the   wall
     'there is someone's painting on the wall'

Next she shows that [unique] is a lexical property of definite articles. This property is not shared with possessive pronouns however since they can refer to any member of a set. This is illustrated with the example in (xx).

(90)   mijn   boek   staat   in   de   boekenkast
       my   book   stands in   the bookcase
       'My book is in the bookcase'

While the nominal group *mijn boek* is considered definite, it is not considered unique. Most speakers will not analyse this sentence as to mean the person has only a single book. *Mijn boek* can refer to any book in the book collection of the speaker and its exact referent must be recovered through syntactic or pragmatic context.

Lastly, Schoorlemmer (1998) discusses a set of languages where definite and indefinite determiners can co-occur with possessive pronouns such as Italian.

(91)   A.   il   mio   libro   [Italian]
            the   my   book
            'my book'

       B.   un   suo   amico
            a   his   friend
            'one of his friends'

Note that (91) B. is glossed similar to the examples of Middle Dutch with indefinite determiners. Schoorlemmer (1998) argues that in these languages Pos does not have the variable def feature, allowing for both options since there is no Pos-to-D movement. This parameter shows how Middle Dutch can be reanalysed from allowing indefinite possessive phrases to a definiteness reading of possessive pronouns.

Further evidence comes from the inflectional paradigm of possessive pronouns. The possessive pronoun is grouped with indefinite determiners in Modern German, both causing strong agreement when an adjective follows them (Lobeck; 1995). For Modern Dutch dialects Corver & Van Koppen (2010) argue the possessive pronoun follows the same inflection paradigm as the indefinite determiners which is illustrated with the paradigm below in (92).

(92) A.   ene   stal   mene   stal   [Oerle Dutch]
           a:MASC   barn   my:MASC   barn

      B.   en   schuuier   men   schuuier
           a:FEM   barn   my:FEM   barn

      C   e   schaop   me   schaop
           a:NTR   sheep   my:NTR   sheep

They propose the possessive pronoun consists of two parts; a pronominal part, base-generated in the specifier position of PosP and an inflection part, base-generated in Num^o, the assumed position of indefinite elements. The proposed structures for (93) are given below.

(93)   A.   [$_{DP}$ D [$_{PosP}$ m [$_{Pos'}$ Pos [$_{NumP}$ ene [$_{NP}$ stal]]]]]
       B.   [$_{DP}$ D [$_{PosP}$ m [$_{Pos'}$ Pos [$_{NumP}$ en [$_{NP}$ schuuier]]]]]
       C.   [$_{DP}$ D [$_{PosP}$ m [$_{Pos'}$ Pos [$_{NumP}$ e [$_{NP}$ schaop]]]]]

They follow Schoorlemmer's (1998) proposal on the variable def feature on Pos to explain why the possessive pronoun is definite in Standard Dutch. As we have seen above a variable def feature makes Pos move to D which makes the possessive phrase definite.

The arguments above lead me to assume the possessive pronoun is not inherently definite but is interpreted as definite when the variable def feature is checked. I propose this variable def feature was not yet present on the possessive pronoun in Early Middle Dutch.

In the last part of this section I discuss this proposal further. As mentioned above Duinhoven assumes the construction definite determiner + possessive pronoun + noun was possible but is not found in the Middle Dutch texts. We do find the construction indefinite determiner + possessive pronoun + noun however until the 17th century. We also find a Modern Dutch dialect which allows for a definite element to appear in a possessive phrase.

(94)   die   mijn   planten   [Hooghalen Dutch]
        those   my   plants
        'those plants of mine'

Next, Duinhoven (1988) argues the reanalysis from a attributive genitive to an adjectival element did not change the meaning of the possessive pronoun and could still be rephrased with a prepositional phrase. He argues the possessive pronoun identifies the possessor since it is specified for person but only classifies the possessee as any other adjective. Duinhoven uses a similar argument as Schoorlemmer (1998) and says that the possessive pronoun can only show the possessee is a member of a group but cannot refer to a unique element.

This can be illustrated with an example from (87) where the possessive pronoun identifies the possessor as *him* since the possessive pronoun refers to a masculine singular possessor.[8] Next, the possessee is classified as member of *his friends* but does not refer to a unique referent. Since the construction possessive pronoun + noun is indefinite an indefinite determiner can be introduced.

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[8] Of course, the exact content of *him* must then be recovered from the syntactic or pragmatic context.

To make a construction with a possessive pronoun definite a definite element must be introduced. As mentioned above no definite constructions with a prenominal possessor are found but we do find the possessive pronoun as an attributive element to the right of the noun which has a definite determiner as shown in (17), reproduced here as (95).

(95)   die   kinder   sijn   (Der Naturen Bloeme; 1287)

              the   kids   his

              'his kids'

Duinhoven (1998) argues the counterpart of this construction, with a prenominal possessive pronoun, was sometimes interpreted as definite because the possessive pronoun can classify a noun, as shown above. This interpretation had made the definite determiner feel superfluous, causing it to become obsolete.

Furthermore, using a indefinite determiner as in (87) became also ungrammatical later since the analysis of the possessive pronoun caused a mismatch between the indefinite determiner and the (definite) possessive pronoun.[9]

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[9] An indefinite construction with a possessor is possible in Modern Dutch but must be formed with the prepositional *van hem* 'of his'.

        (a.)   een   vriend van   hem
                a   friend of   him
                'a friend of his'

It seems the prepositional possessive is analysed as indefinite as a definite determiner cannot be used here.#

        (b.)   *de   vriend van   hem
                'the   friend of   him'
                'the friend of his / his friend'

Remarkably, a demonstrative can take this position as shown in (a.)

        (c.)   die   vriend van   hem
                that   friend of   him
                'that friend of his'

Returning to Middle Dutch, I assume the possessive pronoun behaves similar to an adjective in the studied period of Middle Dutch which only classifies a possessee but does not make it definite. To express this definiteness a definite determiner must be introduced. In non-elision contexts this definite determiner was quickly rendered obsolete but continued to be used in the elision contexts. This is because the construction was analyzed as an definite determiner + adjective.

4.5 Conclusion

Section 4 sought to answer the four sub-question with regard to Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants. Sub-question (i), *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?*, is discussed in section 4.1 where I described two general patterns that can be distinguished. The first pattern is characterized by the introduction of definite determiner. The position and optionality of this determiner are loci of variation. In the second pattern the possessive pronoun receive an invariant suffix and the introduction of a determiner is ungrammatical. Section 4.2 provides several analyses for these two patterns to answer sub-question (ii): *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?* Three analyses of the first pattern were discussed. First, Schoorlemmer (1998) argues that the different form of the possessive pronoun is dependent on its position. In ellipsis the possessive pronoun is in PosP leaving an open position for a determiner. Corver & Van Koppen (2010) propose that the definite determiner is introduced to recover gender features. Lastly, Corver & Van Koppen argue that the first pattern does not make use of *pro* but that the definite determiner should be seen as a pronoun. The second pattern is analysed by Corver & Van Koppen (2010) as a pronominalization strategy involving a pronoun as an affix on the possessive pronoun.

This is possibly due to focus. We also find a definite determiner possible in a focus reading as in (d.)

> (d.) de vriend van HEM
>   the friend of HIM
>   'the friend of his(focus)'

Unfortunately, I have no space in this thesis to discuss these examples further but the possibly different underlying structures of the clauses provide an interesting avenue for further research.

Section 4.3 was dedicated to answering the third sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* I found that we see no differences between the possessive pronoun in ellipsis and non-ellipsis contexts. However, a definite determiner must be introduced in ellipsis contexts. I analyse these observations in section 4.4 to answer the fourth sub-question: *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?* First I applied the proposed structures seen in section 4.2 to the Middle Dutch Data. We saw that the introduction of the definite determiner in Dutch did not recover information to licence *pro*. Two proposed analysis were then compared. First I showed that the development of the possessive pronoun gave several arguments to assume Corver & Van Koppen's (2015) proposal that the definite determiner must be seen as a pronoun. Next, further developments in the possessive pronoun let Duinhoven (1988) to analyse the ellipsis pattern as a nominalized adjective. However, it remained unclear why the definite determiner is obligatory in these cases when compared to Modern German. I proposed the possessive pronoun in Middle Dutch does not have a variable def feature and the definite determiner is introduced to ensure the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are interpreted as definite.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Summary

In this thesis I set out to describe and analyse Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival and possessive remnants in Middle Dutch from the 13th and 14th century to answer the following research question: *What is the Noun Phrase Ellipsis strategy we find in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* For my data collection I used Corpus Gysseling and Corpus Van Reenen - Mulder. First, I described the noun phrase in Standard Dutch and Dutch dialects. I focused here on the variation. An important locus for variation is the gender distinction and where this is expressed. While most dialects distinguish only two genders, several dialects distinguish three. Next, I gave a description of the Middle Dutch Noun Phrase. Middle Dutch distinguishes three

different genders and attributive elements such as adjectives and possessive pronouns can occur to the right of the noun.

In section 3 I described and analysed Noun Phrase Ellipsis with adjectival remnants. The first sub-question, *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?*, can be answered as follows. In Dutch dialects we find two distinct patterns. The first shows no difference between the adjectives in the noun phrase and those in the ellipsis context. In the second pattern an affix is added to the adjectives in ellipsis contexts. The next section provided an answer to the second sub-question: *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?* The first pattern is analysed as the elision pattern where the noun is replaced by *pro* which is checked by strong agreement on the noun. In the second pattern the invariant affix must be analysed as an overt pronoun.

In the second half of section 3 I focused on Middle Dutch. First I answered the third sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* I showed that Middle Dutch adjectives do not receive an affix in ellipsis contexts. Next the fourth sub-question, *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?*, is answered. I argued Middle Dutch follows the first pattern as described above where a *pro* replaces the noun. Furthermore I showed that number and gender features do not have to be uniquely recoverable to licence *pro*. This can be solved by assuming the strong agreement only recovers the nominalness of *pro* making it visible to other processes, which recover the exact content of the noun, such as reconstruction.

Section 4 discussed Noun Phrase Ellipsis with possessive remnants. I first answered the first sub-question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in Modern Dutch (dialects)?* and distinguished two patterns. The first pattern introduces an optional or obligatory definite determiner to the left of the possessive pronoun while the second pattern only has an invariant suffix on the possessive pronoun. Next, I looked at these patterns in detail to answer the third sub-question: *How do current theories analyse the underlying structure of these patterns?* For

the first pattern an empty pronominal element is assumed in the early analysis. To license this *pro* the definite determiner must be introduced to recover gender features. In a later analysis the definite determiner is taken to be a pronoun starting as the subject of a small clause. The second pattern is analysed similar to the pronominalization pattern seen in section 3; the invariant suffix is taken to be a pronoun.

Next, I looked at the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis in Middle Dutch. First I described my findings from the data to answer the third research question: *What patterns of Noun Phrase Ellipsis are found in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch?* I found possessive pronouns in non-elided and elided noun phrases are similar. However, while the inflection on the pronoun remained the same introducing a definite determiner seems to obligatory. Lastly, I answered the fourth subquestion: *What underlying structure can explain the Noun Phrase Ellipsis patterns found in Middle Dutch?* By comparing the paradigms of the possessive pronoun and the definite determiner I found that the definite determiner is not introduced to recover gender feature since no new information is added with the definite determiner. I showed two competing theories for the analysis of the pattern found in Middle Dutch. The first analysis is similar to the later analysis for Dutch dialects in which the definite determiner must be seen as an pronoun. The Middle Dutch examples show several arguments why this indeed can be assumed. The second analysis is remarkably assumed on the reanalysis of the facts that speak for the first pattern. Here I argue that the possessive pronoun must be seen as an adjective with the definite determiner introduced to add definiteness. I proposed the possessive pronoun in Middle Dutch did not have a variable def feature, allowing it to appear in indefinite and definite clauses. To make the possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis definite a definite determiner must be introduced.

With the answers to the four sub questions for both adjectival and possessive remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis I can now answer my research question, repeated here: *What is the Noun Phrase Ellipsis strategy we find in 13th and 14th century Middle Dutch*? For both types of Noun Phrase

Ellipsis discussed in this thesis Middle Dutch uses a empty pronominal element on the position of the elided noun which is licensed by the inflection on the adjective or possessive pronoun.

5.2 Further Research

Further research is needed to create a more sound analysis of the underlying structures of the Middle Dutch Noun Phrase (in ellipsis contexts). This thesis has only covered a short period of time in the development of Dutch and already we have seen the reanalysis of several structures. Investigating the consequent periods of Dutch can learn us more on the development of the noun phrase and its relations to its attributive elements.

Specifically for this topic, looking at the early stages of Modern Dutch when the case system was lossed can shed more light on the connection between the elision and pronominalization strategies. I analysed Middle Dutch to use the elision strategy but Standard Dutch is analysed to use the pronominalization strategy. Finding and analysing the clauses found in the period between these two can help our understanding of language change and reanalysis of syntactic structures.

Lastly, more work is to be done for 13th and 14th century Dutch as well. Other remnants of Noun Phrase Ellipsis can be studied such as numerals and demonstratives which can shed new light on ellipsis in Middle Dutch and the underlying structures of these elements. Furthermore, more texts can be used in the study of the phenomena investigated by this thesis. The 14th century data came from charters and other official texts. It is possible that other text types such as narrative texts contain new examples of structure providing arguments to adopt new theories.

6. References

6.1 List of glosses

ACC	Accusative case
CG	Common Gender, i.e. Non-Neuter gender
DAT	Dative case
DIM	Diminutive
FEM	Feminine gender
GEN	Genitive case
MASC	Masculine gender
NOM	Nominative case
NTR	Neuter gender
POS	Possessive
PL	Plural
SG	Singular
SUPL	Superlative

6.2 List of tables and figures

Table 1. Descriptive positions in the Dutch noun phrase

Table 2. Strong inflection of the adjective in Middle Dutch

Table 3. Weak Inflection of the adjective in Middle Dutch

Table 4. Inflection paradigm of Middle Dutch with and without an overt noun

Table 5. The inflection of the possessive pronoun in Middle Dutch

Table 6. Inflection paradigm of the definite determiner in Middle Dutch

Table 7. Inflection paradigm of the personal pronoun in Middle Dutch

Figure 1. Structure of the Dutch DP

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