

Determiner Syntax in Middle Low German:

Evidence from the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*

By

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To my family and friends

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was for me no surprise to be going to graduate school. In fourth grade, after all, I found myself one day having to dress up as my future career. There were the usual options, fireman, policeman, etc., but my parents told me I should wear their regalia to school and dress up as a "professor". I knew vaguely what that was, but I had no clue how to get there, why I should choose that profession, or what exactly it was that I would want to 'profess'. Somehow, though, I ended up being very interested in German. I majored in it as an undergraduate and knew I wanted to continue studying it. Whether my parents had a direct influence on my fourth-grade self or not, I found myself in 2004 in Madison in the Ph.D. program. My experiences in Madison have been amazing, and I know I made the right choice by continuing my studies here.

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## ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I take a look at Middle Low German nominal phrases as evidenced in the Lübecker Ratsurteile, a collection of court proceedings published by Wilhelm Ebel in 1955, which cover the years 1421-1550. By digitizing the corpus, I was able to perform a corpus analysis on noun phrases, where I concentrated on determiner use and form, adjectives, and set phrases. I compare the results of this corpus study to two standard grammars of Middle Low German, namely Lasch's (1914) *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* and Lübben's (1882) *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*. The use of the Lübecker Ratsurteile corpus gives us insight into the relative frequencies of determiners, adjective agreement patterns, and variation, which, while mentioned in both Lübben and Lasch, are not quantified.

This study has three purposes. First and foremost, it is concerned with the determiner syntax as evidenced in the Lübecker Ratsurteile and its relation to the Middle Low German grammars. Second, it aims to facilitate work on Middle Low German syntax in future through the digitization of the corpus. Third, the theoretical framework elaborated in this study (Lexical-Functional Grammar) offers a new method of analyzing German noun phrases that may be extended to other Germanic languages.

## Table of Contents

<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 DISSERTATION OVERVIEW	1
1.2 HYPOTHESES	2
1.3 CHAPTER OVERVIEW	3
<b>2 THE NOUN PHRASE</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 INTRODUCTION	5
2.2 GOVERNMENT AND BINDING THEORY	5
2.2.1 <i>Abney 1987</i>	6
2.3 MINIMALISM	7
2.3.1 <i>Bernstein 2001</i>	7
2.3.2 <i>Roehrs 2006</i>	8
2.3.3 <i>Leu 2008</i>	11
2.3.4 <i>Laenzlinger 2000, 2005, 2010</i>	15
2.4 ANTI-DP	21
2.4.1 <i>Payne 1993</i>	22
2.4.2 <i>Bruening 2009</i>	22
2.5 THE QUESTION OF HEADEDNESS	24
2.6 ADJECTIVES IN MOVEMENT-BASED ANALYSES	25
2.7 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS	30
2.7.1 <i>Generative Grammar</i>	30
2.7.2 <i>Lexicalism and Distributed Morphology</i>	34
2.8 AN OVERVIEW OF LEXICAL-FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR	36
2.8.1 <i>c-structure</i>	37
2.8.2 <i>f-structure</i>	39
2.8.3 <i>c-structure and f-structure Correspondences</i>	42
2.9 A WORKING MODEL OF GERMAN ADJECTIVE AGREEMENT IN LFG	44
2.9.1 <i>Determiners in Lexical-Functional Grammar</i>	45
2.9.2 <i>German Determiners in LFG</i>	46
2.9.3 <i>Adjectives in LFG</i>	48
2.9.4 <i>German Adjective Declension</i>	49
2.9.5 <i>Predicting Strong &amp; Weak Adjective Declension</i>	52
2.10 CONCLUSION	59
<b>3 MIDDLE LOW GERMAN</b>	<b>61</b>
3.1 WHAT IS MIDDLE LOW GERMAN?	61
3.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF LÜBECK	62
3.3 RISE IN USE OF MIDDLE LOW GERMAN	65
3.4 DECLINE OF MIDDLE LOW GERMAN AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE	66
3.5 THE SWITCH TO HIGH GERMAN	67
3.6 WRITTEN LANGUAGE VERSUS SPOKEN LANGUAGE	69
3.6.1 <i>A Spoken Language?</i>	69

3.6.2	<i>Not Spoken?</i> .....	70
3.7	HISTORY OF THE LÜBECKER RATSURTEILE .....	70
3.8	CORPUS EXPECTATIONS.....	71
3.9	METHOD .....	72
3.9.1	<i>Scanning</i> .....	72
3.9.2	<i>Annotation</i> .....	73
3.9.3	<i>php-Script</i> .....	75
<b>4</b>	<b>DETERMINERS IN THE CORPUS.....</b>	<b>78</b>
4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	78
4.2	THE ARTICLES .....	78
4.2.1	<i>de</i> .....	78
4.2.2	<i>en</i> .....	83
4.3	DESSE.....	87
4.4	OTHER DETERMINERS .....	88
4.4.1	<i>malk &amp; elk</i> .....	88
4.4.2	<i>mannich</i> .....	89
4.4.3	<i>sodan</i> .....	89
4.4.4	<i>ider</i> .....	93
4.4.5	<i>the form 'idt'</i> .....	95
4.4.6	<i>-k- &amp; -ch- Determiners</i> .....	96
4.4.7	<i>Forms with 'sulf'</i> .....	103
4.5	A CONTROL .....	105
4.6	CONCLUSION .....	106
<b>5</b>	<b>MIDDLE LOW GERMAN NEGATION.....</b>	<b>108</b>
5.1	DATA .....	109
5.2	ANALYSIS.....	112
5.2.1	<i>Negative Determiners and Adjectives</i> .....	112
5.2.2	<i>Parallel Inflection</i> .....	115
5.2.3	<i>Anomalies</i> .....	117
5.3	NEGATIVE DETERMINER INFLECTION .....	119
5.4	ABOUT THE PHRASE <i>VAN KEYNER WERDE</i> .....	119
5.5	CONCLUSION .....	122
<b>6</b>	<b>POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.....</b>	<b>124</b>
6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	124
6.2	PARADIGMS .....	124
6.3	FIRST PERSON SINGULAR.....	125
6.3.1	<i>Nominative</i> .....	127
6.3.2	<i>Genitive</i> .....	128
6.3.3	<i>Dative</i> .....	131
6.3.4	<i>Accusative</i> .....	134
6.4	FIRST PERSON PLURAL .....	136
6.4.1	<i>Nominative</i> .....	136
6.4.2	<i>Genitive</i> .....	138
6.4.3	<i>Dative</i> .....	145
6.4.4	<i>Accusative</i> .....	149
6.5	SECOND PERSON SINGULAR.....	151
6.6	SECOND PERSON PLURAL.....	151
6.6.1	<i>Nominative</i> .....	151

6.6.2	<i>Genitive</i> .....	152
6.6.3	<i>Dative</i> .....	154
6.6.4	<i>Accusative</i> .....	156
6.7	THIRD PERSON .....	157
6.7.1	<i>Nominative</i> .....	158
6.7.2	<i>Genitive</i> .....	162
6.7.3	<i>Dative</i> .....	165
6.7.4	<i>Accusative</i> .....	168
6.7.5	<i>Remarks on er(e) Forms</i> .....	168
6.8	DATIVE –E .....	169
6.9	CONCLUSION .....	170
<b>7</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>172</b>
7.1	REFLECTION .....	172
7.2	DISCUSSION .....	173
7.2.1	<i>Chapter Two</i> .....	173
7.2.2	<i>Chapter Three</i> .....	174
7.2.3	<i>Chapter Four</i> .....	175
7.2.4	<i>Chapter Five</i> .....	175
7.2.5	<i>Chapter Six</i> .....	175
7.3	THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS.....	176
7.4	LIMITATIONS.....	176
7.5	FUTURE RESEARCH.....	177
7.5.1	<i>Future Research: the to-Infinitive</i> .....	178
<b>8</b>	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>182</b>



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Dissertation Overview

In this dissertation, I take a look at Middle Low German nominal phrases as evidenced in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, a collection of court proceedings published by Wilhelm Ebel in 1955. By digitizing the corpus, I was able to perform a corpus analysis on noun phrases, where I concentrated on determiner use and form, adjectives, and set phrases. I compare the results of this corpus study to two standard grammars of Middle Low German, namely Lasch's still popular (1914) *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* and Lübben's (1882) *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*. The use of the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* corpus gives us insight into the relative frequencies of determiners, adjective agreement patterns, and variation, which, while mentioned in both Lübben and Lasch, are not quantified.

Given the paucity of studies on Middle Low German syntax, almost any new study on Middle Low German syntax covers new ground. Breitbarth et al. (2011) state it bluntly: "[h]istorical Low German syntax is an under-researched field" (2011:f. 3). The present study addresses a variety of issues, not just in Middle Low German syntax, but also in nominal phrase theory.

This study has three purposes. First and foremost, it is concerned with the determiner syntax as evidenced in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* and its relation to the Middle Low German grammars. Second, it aims to facilitate work on Middle Low German syntax in future through the digitization of the corpus. Third, the theoretical framework elaborated in this study offers a new method of analyzing German noun phrases that may be extended

to other Germanic languages.

A basic driving question throughout this study is, how accurate are the grammars of Middle Low German? More specifically, can I quantify what is meant in the grammars when they indicate that one form is "common" or "seldom occurs"? The question of paradigms and their accuracy as related to this corpus is also investigated.

The second aim is the creation of the digitized *Lübecker Ratsurteile* corpus, which is tagged for parts of speech. This may be the very first POS tagged corpus, as Breitbarth et al. (2011) note that there are no Middle Low German tagged corpora.

Lastly, the present study contributes to nominal theory in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar. In the course of this study, I develop a theory of adjective agreement in modern German in this framework as a point of departure for my study of Middle Low German noun phrases. Thus, this dissertation goes beyond historical syntax to provide a model for modern German adjective agreement in LFG.

## 1.2 Hypotheses

Since the corpus covers years in which the Hanseatic League was in decline and individual cities were converting from Low German to High German in their chancelleries, I hypothesize that this will be reflected in the corpus. There should be differences between the first and second half of the corpus regarding the determiners used and their forms.

Our second hypothesis is that the data in the corpus will deviate somewhat from the grammars of Lübben (1882) and Lasch (1914). Both grammars list alternate forms for certain determiners and inflections; given the size of the corpus I should be able to provide data to quantify these assertions and ascertain if there are trends in the data favoring one form over another.

The third hypothesis is that I will find variation in the adjective inflection following a determiner. Whether this variation is random or tends to favor one construction over another can only be determined after analyzing the data.

### 1.3 Chapter Overview

In chapter one, I review the various theories of noun phrases and discuss potential problems with them. I describe a non-transformational approach to syntax (Lexical-Functional Grammar) whose suitability for diachronic syntax has been noted. Within this theory, I propose an agreement system to determine the adjective agreement patterns found in modern Standard German as a starting point from which to describe agreement patterns found in the corpus data.

In chapter two, I discuss the history of Middle Low German, including its use within the Hanseatic League and subsequent replacement by High German in northern chancelleries. I then describe the history of the Lübecker Ratsurteile and how they came to be published by Ebel. The chapter concludes with a review of the methods I used to digitize the corpus and prepare it for further analyses.

Chapter three is concerned with the determiners found in our corpus, their frequency, and their distribution. Both Lasch and Lübben list the determiners that occur in Middle Low German, but they do not give details on usage for specific forms, nor do they quantify determiner use over time. This chapter supplements the information given in Lasch and Lübben by either backing up their assertions with data or suggesting modifications to the claims laid out in these two Middle Low German grammars.

In chapter four, I focus on the negative determiners *gên*, *kên*, and *nên* and variations on these forms. I find that there is a definite preference for one form over another,

depending on the time period being discussed. Additionally, there is a trend to adopt forms more similar to High German forms as time passes.

Chapter five focuses on the possessive pronouns. I give all the forms attested in the corpus for each person and number, and note where the forms agree with or do not conform with grammar paradigms. I find that the paradigms given in Lasch and Lübben correspond very well to the data in the Lübecker Ratsurteile.

In chapter six I review the findings in the previous chapters and discuss possible limitations and possibilities for future research.

## 2 The Noun Phrase

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review the various theoretical approaches taken with regard to noun phrases in different frameworks. I will start with approaches in Mainstream Generative Grammar (hereafter MGG)<sup>1</sup>, also known as transformational grammar here, and then turn to proposals in other frameworks. I conclude with my own theory that I will use for the corpus analysis.

### 2.2 Government and Binding Theory

In the syntactic analyses of the noun phrase through the late 1980s it was common within Government & Binding Theory, and in the Principles & Parameters approach generally, to treat the noun phrase as an NP, with the determiner placed in the specifier of the NP, sister to N' (Figure 1).

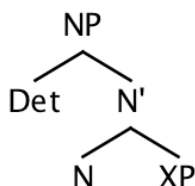


Figure 1

Chomsky's *Barriers* (1986) extended the functional projections of Government & Binding Theory to include the complementizer and inflectional phrases (CP and IP). The clause was no longer seen as being headed by S or S', but was instead analyzed as an IP or CP. The head of IP, Infl, was now interpreted as projecting a full phrase, with the VP as its daughter. The subject of the sentence was located in Spec,IP. The complementizer was

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<sup>1</sup> This term goes back to (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005) in their book *Simpler Syntax* referring to all of Chomskyan (transformational, generative) theories of the last 40 years.

likewise given full-projection status, with the CP being equivalent to the former S'.

However, *Barriers* did not extend the notion of functional projections to NPs (Bernstein 2001:536), and instead left determiners as Det in Spec,NP. Abney's 1987 dissertation put forth a proposal to treat determiners as projecting full phrases, DPs, analogous to the IP of the clause.

### 2.2.1 Abney 1987

Abney's 1987 dissertation is an attempt to bring the nominal phrase in line with the then-current X-bar Theory. As already stated, Chomsky's *Barriers* had sanctioned the notion of functional projections to the clause. Namely, Infl was reborn as IP and the complementizer was given its own functional projection, CP. Abney felt that the determiner, which was at that time generally held to reside in the Spec,NP, would be better analyzed as its own phrase, the determiner phrase, or DP. Abney states clearly that the conceptual motivation behind the DP was for him the driving force for proposing it. He writes, the DP-Hypothesis "permits us to preserve the same restrictive characterization of X-bar Theory which motivates the IP-analysis of the sentence..." (Abney 1987:224). As Abney also remarks, a unique determiner phrase creates room for the specifiers associated with the nominal phrase as well. Abney's comparison of the DP to the IP was highly successful, if not in its ability to successfully explain cross-linguistic nominal phrase differences,<sup>2</sup> then at least in its providing the impetus for further research into the nominal phrase, both inside and outside of MGG. Abney's statement that "the nominal system is not

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<sup>2</sup> For example, the proposal to have D directly select AP, which in turn selects NP, has been found to be problematic and has been replaced by other agreement phrases. See Roehrs (2006) and Julien (2002) for their specific proposals. For more information about Abney's proposal for the AP, see section 2.6.

defective..." with regard to its functional phrases is still valid today, even if his specific analysis is no longer current (1987: 225).

## **2.3 Minimalism**

With the introduction of the Minimalist Program in (Chomsky 1995a) came a flurry of work aimed at reducing the differences between the noun phrase and the complementizer phrase. This marked a change in tactic: previously, Abney (1987) had sought similarities between the DP and the IP, not the CP. Works such as Bernstein (1997) and (2001) posited movement out of  $N^{\circ}$  to account for adjective positioning and movement from  $N^{\circ}$  to  $D^{\circ}$  for proper nouns in Romance languages. Later work such as Laenzlinger (2000), (2005), and (2010) suggested that the noun will always move out of  $N^{\circ}$  to other projections, and Roehrs (2006) and Leu (2008) included movement between two determiner positions as well. The notion of  $vP$  ("little  $vP$ ") in addition to the VP was carried over to the NP, resulting in the creation of  $nP$ . In this section, I will review some of the most influential works on the noun phrase within the Minimalist Program.

### **2.3.1 Bernstein 2001**

Bernstein (2001) presents an overview of all MGG approaches to the noun phrase up to that point, set against the backdrop of comparing the noun phrase structure to clausal structure. She notes that the position of adjectives in the nominal phrase can be used, much like the position of adverbs in the clause, as indicators of the movement or lack of movement of the noun (2001:542). Bernstein (1997) had already proposed this lack of movement in Germanic compared to Romance. However, Bernstein notes in her (2001) article that movement from  $N^{\circ}$  to  $D^{\circ}$ , which is often assumed for proper nouns in Romance

languages, does not appear to be an adequate way for deriving post-nominal adjectives. She indicates there may be other sites where the noun may land, below D° (2001:549).

According to Bernstein, the Germanic languages find themselves at the end of a geographic continuum, starting in southeast Europe with languages such as Sicilian Italian and spreading in a northwesterly direction. The further northwest one goes, the more prenominal adjectives can be found in the local language, i.e. the more movement out of N° one has (2001:548). Later work will not ask whether the noun moves out of N°, but where it moves to, even in languages where it appears to stay within the NP (see Laenzlinger's work in section 2.2.4).

### 2.3.2 Roehrs 2006

Roehrs (2006) is one of the most recent treatments of determiners in Germanic. His analysis is firmly rooted in transformational syntax and appeals very often to movements to arrive at the evidenced word order. The bases for these movements are generally grounded in appeals to feature valuation which force movement of objects lower in the nominal tree (such as those in a lower “artP” position) to higher positions, mainly D° (see Figure 2) (2006:vii). Roehrs sees possible evidence for such movement in the example *am Ende*, where he speculates that the determiner *dem* has moved out of the DP and into P°<sup>3</sup> (2006:8, fn. 2).

One of Roehrs's goals is to create an analysis that presumes that the determiner is base-generated in the same position in all languages. This is in line with the thinking of Chomsky (2001), whose *Uniformity Principle* states that “[i]n the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily

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<sup>3</sup> Although see Wescoat (2005; 2007) for a non-movement-based explanation of this phenomenon within LFG.



detectable properties of utterances." This analysis also treats the CP and DP as parallel structures (2006:8), which could also be interpreted as a nod to the Uniformity Principle, since similarities between the CP and DP would lead to more uniformity not just across languages, but within them as well. Comparison of the CP and DP is also in line with post-*Barriers* work which sees the CP, and not the IP, as the highest phrase in the clause. Roehrs even goes so far as to state explicitly that he will not compare the Germanic DP with IP, although he admits the IP-DP comparison may be warranted for some languages (2006:10, fn. 3).

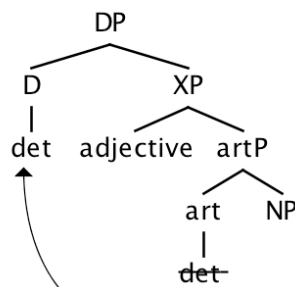


Figure 2

Roehrs starts with the assumption that determiners are nominal auxiliaries (2006:vii), much like Abney before him. Unlike Abney, however, Roehrs treats the AP not as a phrase on the way from NP to DP, but as a phrase filling the specifier of the phrase *agrP* (similar to the  $\alpha P$  of Julien (2002)).

The most important part of Roehrs (2006) is undoubtedly his *Principle of Monoinflection*, which he refines throughout the work. The simple definition will suffice here:

(1) **Principle of Monoinflection**

The first element within a noun phrase carries the strong and the second one the weak ending. (Roehrs 2006:35)

This principle explains why, in the German noun phrase *der gute Wein*, the adjective *gute* has a weak ending, while the first element in the phrase, *der*, has the strong ending *-er*. Complications arise when one looks at the indefinite article in the phrase *ein guter Wein*. One would expect that the first element, *ein*, should have some sort of strong ending, such as *einer*, and the adjective *guter* should instead be *gute*. To overcome this apparent failure of the principle, Roehrs reasons that the principle holds at the point in the derivation when strong and weak endings are assigned to the phrase, which is not necessarily what we see in the form we hear at the level of phonetic form (PF). Which elements receive strong or weak adjective declensions then amounts to a question of where they are in the derivation when these endings are assigned. If the Principle of Monoinflection does not seem to hold, one has to assume there was a movement that rearranged the elements such that the principle must have been true at one point in the derivation but no longer holds.

The reasoning Roehrs employs has some interesting consequences for his treatment of the German indefinite articles in the nominative masculine and neuter singular and accusative neuter singular. Roehrs is compelled to posit that these forms, unlike their feminine counterparts or even their genitive and dative counterparts, are moved later in the derivation, after the adjectives following them have been assigned a strong ending. A second problem with this proposal is Roehrs's treatment of these three forms as all having a *weak* ending. That is, in addition to the weak endings generally assumed for German (*-e* and *-en*, see section 4.4.4), Roehrs assumes the ending *-ø* as being weak as well.

Lastly, Roehrs's use of Distributed Morphology (see section 3.2 for a description) in his analysis provides the foundation for a treatment of the German possessive pronouns *mein*, *dein*, and *sein* as consisting of a possessive head *m-*, *d-*, and *s-* to which attaches a form

of the indefinite article *ein*. Roehrs distinguishes between this form of *ein* and an adjectival *ein*, as shown in the derivation in Figure 3 for *meine eine Tochter*. However, the other possessive pronouns *ihr*, *unser*, and *euer* do not receive the same treatment, as one does not see *ein* as part of their orthographic structure.<sup>4</sup> The analysis, while appealing within a synchronic, Distributed Morphology-based framework, lacks support from diachrony. The forms *mein*, *dein*, and *sein* are the modern equivalents of Middle High German *mîn*, *dîn*, and *sîn*, while modern German *ein* goes back to Middle High German *ein*. The relationship between the forms in the modern language is merely a reflex of the sound shift  $\hat{i} > ei$  between Middle High German and Early New High German and has nothing to do with an underlying *ein* in the possessive forms.

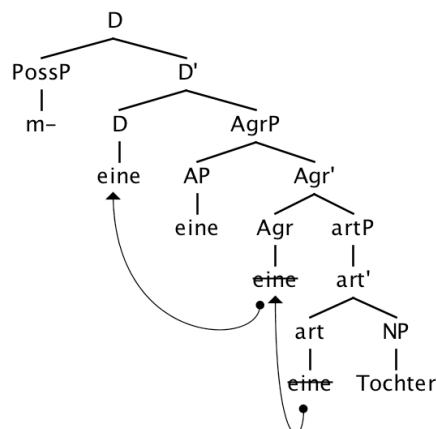


Figure 3

### 2.3.3 Leu 2008

Leu makes it explicit in his dissertation that it will continue the tendency of Minimalist work that involves much more structure and more derivations. This is first apparent when we see that Leu assumes the antisymmetric approach of Kayne (1995) and the theory of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993; Marantz 1997). Since the

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.3.3 for Leu (2008)'s suggestion that some of these forms possibly do involve a form of *ein*.

antisymmetric approach requires through the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) a set head position (i.e. either left- or right-headedness for all phrases),<sup>5</sup> it will entail movement for any complements that do not occur to the right of their head. To justify movement in his dissertation, Leu assumes "something along the lines of Koopman's (1996) *Principle of Projection Activation*:"

(2) **Principle of Projection Activation**

A projection is interpretable iff it contains phonologically realized material at some point in the derivation." (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000:189)

While this principle may prevent unnecessary and otherwise unmotivated specifiers and heads, it does not seem to give good reason for the existence of movement itself. Leu continues his justification for movements:

There are presumably other triggers for movement, to do with properties/needs of a head in the constituent that moves, or of an attracting head. *I will leave the trigger of movement largely implicit.* [emphasis added] (Leu 2008:4)

Unfortunately, in a theory such as Minimalism where movements are defined as having 'costs' and are even ranked according to their costliness, Leu's justification for movements is not nearly well enough defined. One may rightly wonder exactly *why* all of this happens. Although the data may be explained by the transformations that occur, the very reason for these transformations, other than that they do happen and result in the correct surface word order, is left to the reader's speculation. It seems that any insights resulting from these analyses will only be descriptive, but not explanatory, in nature.

Leu's dissertation sets itself apart theoretically from Roehrs (2006) in its use of the concept of *syntactic silence*. Leu breaks this notion down into four subtypes, not including

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<sup>5</sup> The majority of syntacticians who take the antisymmetric approach assume left-headedness for all phrases, resulting in, for example, object raising over the verb in German, which is otherwise an OV language.

the last group, which is for all those types of syntactic silence that do not fit into the other groups.

- *Lexical silence* entails that a word may not be specified for pronunciation.
- *Positional silence* is when an item is not pronounced based on its position in the tree. For example, German allows the topic to be dropped under certain conditions.
- *Geometric silence* is more theory-internal. It involves the silencing of an element that is in a specific structural location and is thus related to the "*Generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter*" which says "no projection has both an overt specifier and an overt head at the end of the derivation" (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000:4).
- *Relational silence* involves c-command of another item. When c-command holds, one item in a tree may prevent another item from being pronounced. Leu mentions the copy theory of movement as a specific example of relational silence.

Leu employs these notions of silence to justify analyses such as in (3). The reasoning is as follows: if colloquial Norwegian, for example, allows such a structure as in (3a), and Swiss German has the structure given in (3b), then the true structure of (3b) is really (3c) (capitalized words being those which are not pronounced but still present in the syntax).

- |     |                    |              |              |                     |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (3) | a. det herre huset | 'this house' | Norwegian    | (Leu 2008:5, ex. 4) |
|     | b. di rosä         | 'this rose'  | Swiss German |                     |
|     | c. di HERE rosä    |              |              |                     |

Another example of how syntactic silence grounds all of Leu's analyses is shown in Figure 4. In the English noun phrase *the large house*, the article we hear pronounced is not

located in  $D^\circ$ , but is within the xAP. Since the right configurational constraints hold, the higher article is able to silence the lower article in  $D^\circ$ .<sup>6</sup> Leu's analysis has the benefit that it can potentially explain determiner spreading in Greek, as long as one assumes that locality or c-command, required to silence lower determiners, does not hold in the relevant Greek examples. If this is the case, the extra determiners are predicted to occur.

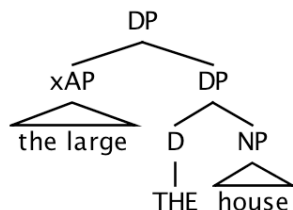


Figure 4

(adapted from (Leu 2008:11, ex. 13))

The movement Leu employs creates an interesting situation, one not encountered in other works on noun phrases, namely, Leu's analysis posits that English (and German) noun phrases with attributive adjectives are full of leftward movement, even though the adjective occurs to the left of the noun. In Abney's analysis, and in those of many others such as Bernstein, the presence of the adjective to the left of the noun indicates that the adjective does not move and there is no noun raising. Leu's treatment is as given in example (4).

- (4)  $[_{DP} [_{xAP} \text{the} [_{t_{\text{song}}} [_{AP} \text{good } t_{\text{song}}]]] [_{\text{the}} [_{\text{song}} t_{xAP}]]]$  (Leu 2008:84, ex. 26f)

The noun phrase *the good song* involves movement of the xAP *the good* across the noun *song* to Spec,DP. From this position, the xAP can silence the article *the* in  $D^\circ$ . In Abney's analysis, there would be no movement necessary.

<sup>6</sup> This idea is not entirely new, as Alexiadou (2001:241-242) notes that extra determiners in the derivation may be eliminated before PF.

Similar to Roehrs (2006), Leu treats possessive pronouns *mein*, *dein*, *sein* as consisting of the indefinite article *ein* plus some kind of possessive head *m-*, *d-*, or *s-*. The plural possessive pronouns are not considered, but the singular feminine possessive *ihr* is given a rather curious treatment. In order to maintain uniformity in his analysis, Leu considers that *ihr Buch* may actually be syntactically [<sub>poss</sub> *ihr S*]-*EIN Buch*, where both *ein* and *s-* remain silent. As appealing as this uniformity might be, it is unfortunately not explainable and even Leu admits "the non-pronunciation of *ein* remains somewhat mysterious at this point" (Leu 2008:158, fn. 34).

#### **2.3.4 Laenzlinger 2000, 2005, 2010**

Laenzlinger's work on the noun phrase over the past decade is distinctive in that it takes a cartographic approach to the noun phrase. The nomenclature used, Vorfeld (prefield), Mittelfeld (inner field), and Nachfeld (post-field) are taken from the so-called Feldermodell, originally created to describe German clause structure, and the noun phrase.

The Feldermodell breaks down the German clause into five parts, the Vorfeld, the Linke Klammer (left bracket), the Mittelfeld, the Rechte Klammer (right bracket), and the Nachfeld. The X-bar CP maps quite directly to the Feldermodell, as shown in Figure 5.

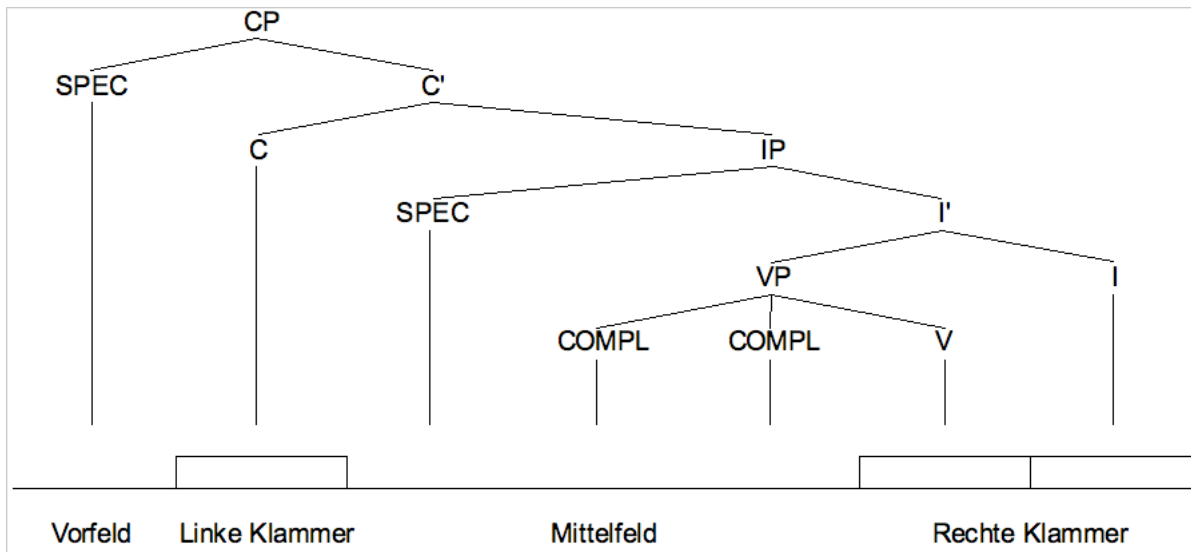


Figure 5

The Vorfeld corresponds to spec,CP. The Linke and Rechte Klammern match up with the heads in the clause, namely  $C^\circ$ ,  $V^\circ$ , and  $I^\circ$ . The Mittelfeld is home to the remaining phrase slots, such as spec,IP and the complements/specifier of the VP. Not shown in Figure 5 is the Nachfeld, which is where extraposed elements occur. These often correspond to right-branching adjuncts of the clause.

The DP-to-Feldermodell mapping is also rather straightforward. Spec,DP maps to the Vorfeld, and the Linke and Rechte Klammern are where the heads in the noun phrase occur, here  $D^\circ$  and  $N^\circ$ . Unlike in Figure 5, however, is the correlation between the complements of the noun and the Nachfeld (Figure 6). The German noun is right branching, while the verb is left-branching. Adjuncts to the noun phrase, mostly APs, occur in the Mittelfeld.



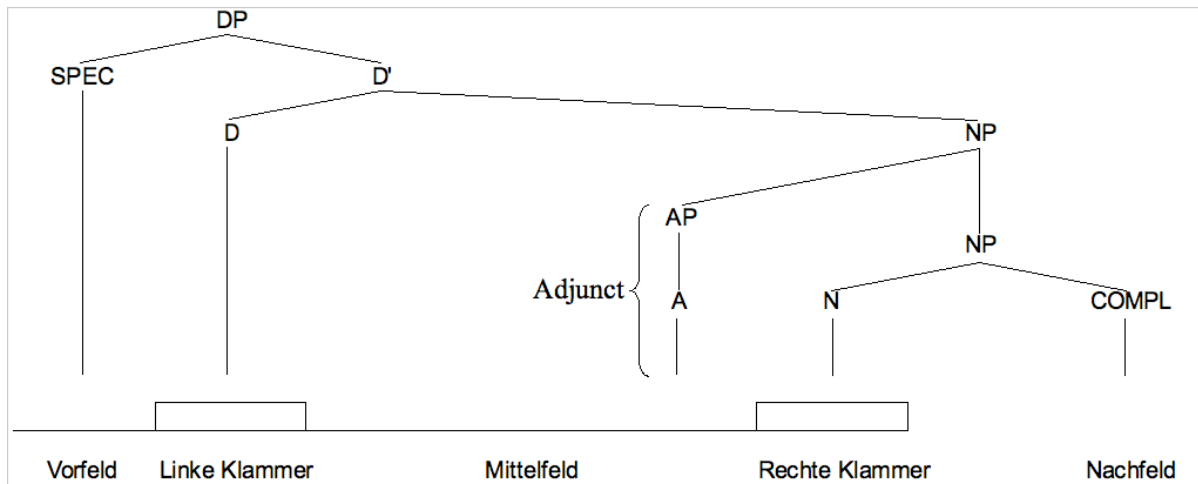


Figure 6

Laenzlinger's correspondences are more nuanced and at the same time more general than the preceding description would suggest, however, as he makes use of more functional heads while dropping the notion of Linke and Rechte Klammern. For example, Laenzlinger assumes an nP domain above the NP. This corresponds to assumptions of a vP in the clause structure. Similar to in the vP, the arguments in the nP "...must leave the nP domain in order to have their Case features matched/assigned a value (previously checked) in the overt syntax" (Laenzlinger 2005:237). Laenzlinger's dropping of the Linke and Rechte Klammern means that the noun phrase heads must be housed elsewhere. He breaks the noun phrase down as follows:

- (5)  $[_{DP} \dots [_{DP} \quad [_{FPadj1} \dots [_{FPadj2} \dots \quad [_{nP} \dots [_{NP} \dots ]]] ]]$  (Laenzlinger 2005:227, ex. 1a)
- Vorfeld                      Mittelfeld                      Nachfeld

In this organization, the head  $D^\circ$  is located in the Vorfeld, while the heads  $n^\circ$  and  $N^\circ$  are in the Nachfeld. The Mittelfeld is reserved for adjectives, as in Figure 6. By adopting Kayne's (1995) Antisymmetry Theory, Laenzlinger is able to assume that the CP and DP match up to the Vorfeld, Mittelfeld, and Nachfeld perfectly. That is, Laenzlinger's CP is also

broken down exactly as in example (5), replacing DP with CP, the functional phrases containing the adjectives with those containing adverbs, and the nP/NP with vP/VP.

Bernstein (2001) had already hinted at the possibility of using adjectives in the noun phrase much like adverbs in the clause to determine the position of the respective noun or verb. She points out that it cannot just be the noun that is moving in these cases, as the adjective sometimes also seems to move with it, as in the French example in example (6). The second half of the demonstrative, *ci* occurs after the adjective *jaune* 'yellow'. Even the object of the noun comes before this part of the demonstrative, as shown in example (7).

(6) ce livre jaune ci (Bernstein 2001:552–553, exx. 27a,b)  
 "this yellow book"

(7) ce délégué du ministère ci  
 "this delegate of the minister"

Laenzlinger's answer to this apparent movement problem is that the adjectives and nominal objects snowball along with the noun. In example (6), the adjective *jaune* moves along with the noun *livre* above the demonstrative *ci* to a point where it is still below *ce*. This happens with objects as well, although Laenzlinger notes that this movement is sometimes optional. He gives the possibilities in example (8) as being equivalent. In example (8a), the adjective *généreux* 'generous' comes after the NP *un don d'argent* 'a gift of money'. In example (8b), however, it is shown that the adjective can also occur after the head noun *don* and before the complement *d'argent*.

(8) a. un don d'argent généreux (Laenzlinger 2000:71–72, fn. 17)  
 b. un don généreux d'argent

"a generous gift of money"

Laenzlinger posits this movement not just for French nominal phrases, but also for English nominal phrases, where one might expect, à la Bernstein (2001), that these do not undergo movement. Bernstein had noted a geographic continuum with respect to noun movement progressing in a southwesterly direction from southeastern Europe .

Laenzlinger assumes movement regardless of the noun's position in the surface string. To illustrate this point, we take a look at his derivation for the English nominal phrase *the beautiful red Italian car* (example (9)).

- (9) [DP<sub>deixis</sub> the [FP<sub>qual</sub> beautiful [FP<sub>color</sub> red [FP<sub>nation</sub> Italian [NP car]]]]] [DP<sub>det</sub> the [FP<sub>qual</sub> beautiful [FP<sub>color</sub> red [FP<sub>nation</sub> Italian [NP car]]]]]] (Laenzlinger 2010:83, ex. 100)

In a Bernsteinian analysis, the noun *car* does not move at all, since the adjectives are already prenominal, as in the case in English. According to Laenzlinger, the entire contents of the phrase, i.e. *the, beautiful, red* and *car*, must move through the structure. This is to ensure agreement between the noun and its adjectives and the determiner *the*, which is now in a higher projection, DP<sub>deixis</sub>.

Laenzlinger notes in his (2005) paper that nouns in Germanic do indeed raise, just like nouns in the Romance languages. Since the relative ordering of noun and adjective remains the same, the lack of movement is only illusory. As he shows in Figure 7 and Figure 8, the French phrase *la voiture rouge* corresponds exactly to the English equivalent *the red car*. The only difference is that, whereas in French the noun *voiture* moves with its NP to the specifier of a higher DP projection, the English NP moves along with the functional phrase whose specifier contains the adjective. Both contain two movements.

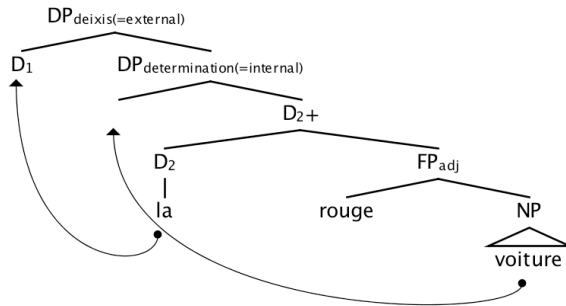


Figure 7

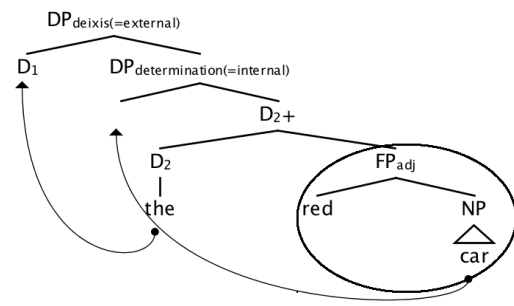


Figure 8

(Laenzlinger 2005:231, exx. 11a,b)

Although it is tempting to attribute the differences between the French nominal phrase and the English nominal phrase to a difference in the type of movement, there is a distinct lack of motivation for this movement other than to value or satisfy features on a higher functional phrase. It is not immediately clear why English should prefer FP movement while French prefers NP movement. The often-claimed appeal to morphological differences, for example in the movement of the conjugated French verb from  $V^o$  to  $I^o$  and the lack thereof in English, does not hold here.

Laenzlinger (2005) discusses what he sees as similarities between the nominal phrase and the verb phrase. He notes the following as similarities:

- split-DP/CP
- NP/VP-shell
- Mittelfeld structure containing projections for adverbs/adjectives and also derived positions for checking features (Case, phi-, informational features for the clause and number, gender features for the noun phrase)
- NP/VP-movement (Laenzlinger 2005:233)

These similarities are, however, entirely theory-internal, and do not say anything about any similarities between nominal phrases and verb phrases that hold beyond the framework Laenzlinger posits. For example, the similarities between the Mittelfeld of the DP and CP exist only if one assumes Kayne's (1995) Antisymmetry Theory. Otherwise, adjectives in languages that normally have noun adjective word order will not occur in a

so-called Mittelfeld, but will occur instead in the Nachfeld in some languages (French, Spanish, and Italian, for example) and in the Mittelfeld in others (English, German, and Dutch to name a few). The split-DP/CP and -NP/VP shells are also meaningless if one does not subscribe to a (sub)theory that assumes their existence. Lastly, the parallel VP and NP movement has been handled in a number of other frameworks without resort to movement of any kind.

After having examined the relevant literature on the nominal phrase, we turn to the next section, which concerns itself with those who are opposed to the notion of a specific determiner phrase.

## **2.4 Anti-DP**

The DP-Hypothesis has not been without its detractors. Arguments against the DP-Hypothesis have generally taken one of two approaches. Either the author seeks to demonstrate that the determiner does not project a DP or select for N (this may entail retaining the older notion that D is subsumed in the NP or the postulation of other categories), or the author argues that the question is one of *headedness*, that is, does the D or the N head the noun phrase, regardless of DP projection. I concern myself here only with the first mode of argument (see section 2.4 for more on the question of headedness).

### **2.4.1 Payne 1993**

Payne (1993) is an early attempt at countering the DP-Hypothesis. Payne points to the fact that a verb that selects for a noun phrase does not restrict its selection based on the determiner or quantifier: there is no verb that only allows a complement noun phrase with *every*, for example (Payne 1993:129–130). In fact, Payne finds that determiners and

quantifiers are akin to adjectives in the noun phrase in that they have no effect on verb subcategorization at all.

#### **2.4.2 Bruening 2009**

Bruening (2009) broaches the subject of headedness in the noun phrase once again, arriving at the same conclusion Payne reached more than 15 years previously: the determiner does not project a phrase and does not select an NP object. Bruening gives a stronger defense of this anti-DP-Hypothesis than Payne, but also mentions his own objections based on verb subcategorization.

Additionally, Bruening brings up the topic of extended projection and discusses how that once IP and CP were accepted as the extended projections of V, it followed naturally that DP should likewise be an extended projection of N. However, Bruening points out that C seems to be the head of the CP and is selected for, not V.<sup>7</sup> This again relates to questions of subcategorization: verbs do not select for D. Bruening thus rejects all the work since Abney (1987) which draws a parallel between CP/IP and DP: "[e]mpirically, clauses and nominals are not parallel in any way" (Bruening 2009:27).

The claim that Ds change predicates into arguments (an idea found in Longobardi (1994) and often repeated, e.g. Bernstein (2008)) Bruening dismisses with the comment that there are languages where singular NPs can be arguments, as well as languages where predicates have articles (2009:32). In addition, the question of headedness is wholly unrelated to any claim about predicate/argument distinctions. The argument against Ds changing predicates into arguments was already explored by Chierchia (1998). Chierchia

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<sup>7</sup> We note in passing that this analysis might not hold for non-MGG theories, such as HPSG and, more relevantly, LFG.

claimed that languages may vary as to whether or not they allow NPs as arguments and that there may be languages that permit both NP and DP in argument position. Possible arguments based on X-bar Theory, which tended to show up in the earliest accounts in support of the DP-Hypothesis, no longer hold in MGG accounts after the introduction of Chomsky's Bare Phrase Structure in Chomsky (1995b).

Bruening closes the article with a suggestion that an nP-shell hypothesis might be the best solution. In his tree (Figure 9), the NP is selected by an array of nP-shells that host determiners and APs.

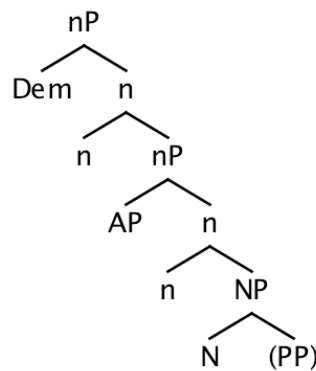


Figure 9

(Bruening 2009:33 ex. 21)

## 2.5 The Question of Headedness

Abney (1987) anticipates a major conceptual problem with his analysis, a problem which will years later continue to rear its ugly head: that of headedness. Abney writes,

I must stress that the existence of a functional head of the noun phrase, and the question whether the determiner is the head of the noun phrase, are two separate questions. (Abney 1987:40)

This question is not only applicable to movement-based analyses, as Payne (1993) showed, but also with others, such as Dryer (2004), who points out that the question can

only be answered on a language-per-language basis (2004:66). Contra Dryer is van Langendonck (1994), who defends, in a dependency framework, the more traditional analysis of N as head of the noun phrase. He points out that the notion that the determiner is the head of the noun phrase dates back to the 1970s, gaining cross-framework popularity in the 1980s and beyond. He argues against the logic behind D as head in such examples as (10), when the N *Mann* has been ellipted. This logic could be then be extended to examples like (11), he counters, where the N *Wein* can be ellipted, presumably leaving the adjective head *guten* as head of the whole noun phrase.<sup>8</sup>

(10) der (Mann) mit dem Bart (van Langendonck 1994:245) ex. (5b)

(11) Ich habe guten (Wein) aus Italien (van Langendonck 1994:245) ex. (6)

Van Langendonck makes use of Hudson's (1990) criteria to distinguish head from dependent, in the hopes that these will clearly prove N as head of the noun phrase. These criteria include the following:

- (12) a. the whole phrase is an instance of the head as cited in (van Langendonck 1994:246, ex. 10)  
 b. the head determines the external relations  
 c. word-order typology

As to (12a), van Langendonck notes *one book*, *a book*, and *the book* are all instances of *book*, and not *one*, *a*, or *the*. This indicates that the N is the head. Applying example (12b) to cases such as *beavers build dams*, we see that while *beavers* is definite, *dams* is not (van Langendonck 1994:249). The head noun already seems to carry (in)definite features without recourse to a D. Example (12c) seems to fail when assuming D as head: although the left-headedness of the English VP would lead one to postulate a left-headed DP, which

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<sup>8</sup> He also notes that in the French noun phrase *la petite fille* 'the small girl', *petite* is "certainly not the head of *fille*" (van Langendonck 1994:254).

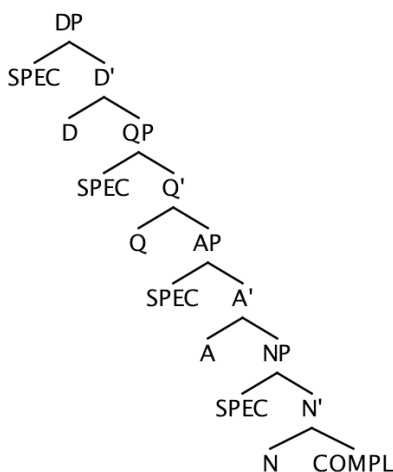


seems to be correct, it would falsely predict a right-headed DP for German and Dutch, both OV languages.

(Hudson 2004) also deals with the headedness question in a Word Grammar framework, addressing van Langendonck directly. His conclusion is that the determiner and the noun are often mutually dependent: sometimes it seems that the noun is the head, other times, the determiner. Dependency should not determine headedness, he concludes (van Langendonck 1994:8, 39).

## 2.6 Adjectives in Movement-based Analyses

Perhaps the most interesting proposal put forth by Abney (1987) is not that D is the head of a functional projection of N, but rather, that adjective phrases are to be treated as auxiliaries of the noun phrase. As shown in Figure 10, Abney's AP selects an NP as its complement, whereas previous analyses in movement-based frameworks had treated APs as adjuncts of the noun phrase.



**Figure 10**

Abney justifies this structure on the basis that it rules out English examples such as (13), where the adjective, which otherwise can have a complement, cannot have this complement in an attributive position.

- (13) \*the proud of his son man                      adapted from (Abney 1987:208) ex. (380a)

While this may hold for English, Abney's justification does little for German, where the AP *can* have a complement in attributive position, as the German translation of this English phrase in (14) shows.

- (14) der auf seinen Sohn stolze Mann

Note, however, that the AP is right-headed in attributive cases, whereas it can be both in predicative cases (as in examples (15) and (16)).

- (15) Der Mann ist stolz auf seinen Sohn.

- (16) Der Mann ist auf seinen Sohn stolz.

In addition to the missing cross-linguistic application to German, Abney's proposal also immediately creates theoretical problems for languages where the adjective often follows the noun, as in the Romance languages. Accepting Abney's DP structure also forces us to accept head/phrase movement of N(P) to a higher projection. This is exactly what Bernstein (1997) and (2001) suggest is the difference between Germanic and Romance: the amount of movement out of N°.

Abney's adjective analysis did find resonance in Delsing (1993)'s analysis of Scandinavian nominal phrases. Delsing posited that the presence of an adjective in the DP would lead to the inability of the Scandinavian noun to move from  $N^{\circ}$  to  $D^{\circ}$ , which it normally does to get its definite suffix (see Figure 11 for Danish *bogen* 'the book').

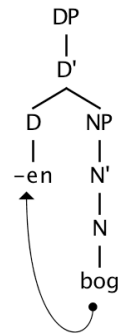


Figure 11

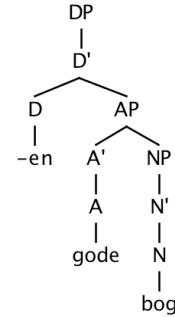


Figure 12

When the adjective *gode* 'good' is present in the DP, it prevents *bog* from moving to  $D^\circ$ . To remedy this situation, a *d-* is inserted into  $D^\circ$  and the resulting phrase is *den gode bog* 'the good book'. This analysis was also adopted by Embick & Noyer (2001), specifically for Danish and Swedish DPs. However, Hankamer & Mikkelsen (2002) reject this analysis on the grounds that Svenonius (1992) already successfully proved that A cannot be the head of the determiner's complement, for it "is not obligatory, it is not unique, and it does not control features on the NP it modifies" (Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2002:3). They take the more traditional approach that AP is in fact an adjunct to the noun phrase.

Leu (2008) also points out another defect of assuming that AP is the complement to D. He notes that in the phrase "the very difficult issue," the adverb *very* modifies *difficult*, and not the grouping *difficult issue*. If Abney's analysis were correct, then *very* should modify *difficult issue* (Leu 2008:75, ex. 5)

The more general trend in movement-based analyses has been to treat the AP as residing in the specifier of an agreement phrase. This was first proposed by Cinque (1994) and used by others such as Giusti (1997) in the form of AgrP and by Fassi (1999), which he calls nP. Julien (2002) introduced what he calls the  $\alpha$ P for Scandinavian, whose specifier hosts the AP and whose head agrees with the head of artP, the locus of definite features.

Lastly, Fanselow (1986), Alexiadou (2001), and Struckmeier (2010) propose that adjectives may have a predicative source. Fanselow and Struckmeier both deal with German adjectives and Struckmeier claims there are similarities between attributive adjective and clause structures. Alexiadou specifically rejects N(P) raising analyses to explain adjective ordering (contra Bernstein (1997) and (2001)) and comes to the conclusion that they are both "empirically and conceptually problematic" (Alexiadou 2001:217). She finds that there are not only interpretive problems, but the N(P) movement analyses are often unmotivated or poorly motivated (see section 2.2.3 above for this problem in Leu (2008)).

Alexiadou points out that the N(P) raising analyses all have in common that they assume the parallelism of noun and clause structure (Alexiadou 2001:219). The motivation for movement is likewise parallel: overt morphology supposedly leads to movement. Whereas the English verb is morphologically impoverished in the present tense, the French verb is not. Accordingly, the French verb raises to I° and the English verb stays in V°, as shown in examples (17) and (18).<sup>9</sup>

(17) Je    lis        souvent   le    journal

I        read   often        the   newspaper

(18) I often read the newspaper

The nominal phrase in which the adjective follows the noun is then explained by the presence of rich morphology, as examples (19) and (20) show for Spanish and English.

(19)    el        libro        rojo

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<sup>9</sup> Although see Abraham's (1997:5) cautious remark on using adverb placement as a method for determining relative movement.

the book red

(20) the red book

Alexiadou notes that Greek nouns are likewise morphologically-laden, yet they evidence no N movement and pattern much like English NPs, with adjectives occurring between the determiner and the noun. She therefore doubts that the presence or absence of rich morphology can provide a motivation for N movement:

[T]here is no *a priori* reason for their being an implication between the strength of an attracting feature and the morphology of the attractor or the attractee (Alexiadou 2001:223)

This criticism is not just a problem for N movement to the left of adjectives, but also for N to D movement, as has been proposed for a number of Romance and Scandinavian languages (see Giusti (1993), Longobardi (1994) and for other functional heads, Julien (2002)).

Having now provided a theoretical background, we now turn to the assumptions that I will be assuming in the present study.

## 2.7 Theoretical Assumptions

Having seen how movement-based approaches analyze the noun phrase, we now turn to our choices on two theoretical assumptions that lie at the heart of almost every syntactic analysis today: first, the question of whether the Minimalist Program, i.e. the current version of Chomskyan syntax, is an adequate tool for syntactic explanation.<sup>10</sup> Second, whether a lexicalist approach or a syntactic approach (i.e. Distributed Morphology) is sounder.

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<sup>10</sup> I consider the choice between the Minimalist Program and other theories syntax to be a valid dichotomy, given the overwhelming prestige and influence Chomskyan theories currently enjoy in the field of syntax.

### 2.7.1 Generative Grammar

Generative grammar has become synonymous with Chomskyan theory, that type of syntactic analysis which Noam Chomsky has proposed since his influential work *Syntactic Structures* (1957). In the last 50 years, Chomsky's theories have changed greatly, from the Standard Theory of the 1960s to the Extended Standard Theory of the 1970s. In the 1980s came the publication of *Lectures on Government & Binding* (1981), which paved the way for work in Government and Binding Theory (GB). *Barriers* (1986) was also written in this framework. GB was associated with the Principles & Parameters approach, i.e. the idea that that language learning is innate and is guided by a set of basic grammatical rules.

Differences arise among languages because the parameters, that is, choices between two linguistic options, are set differently. For example, some languages are underlyingly OV with the object preceding the verb, others are VO with the object occurring after the verb. As Evans & Levinson (2009:432) note, Newmeyer (2004; 2005) has already shown that the Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach does not hold up under closer scrutiny.<sup>11</sup> Work in GB virtually ceased after the publication of *A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory* (1993), in which Chomsky discarded much of the theoretical machinery of GB and introduced the Minimalist Program (MP) also known as Minimalism.

The Minimalist Program has proven to be quite contentious in the last 15 years and has been the subject of many scholarly exchanges about its scientific value. As Culicover & Jackendoff note in their book *Simpler Syntax* (2005), the Minimalist Program has from the start suffered from a lack of stability. Johnson & Lappin (1997) write about the difficulty in even talking about what exactly the theory entails:

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<sup>11</sup> As Levinson & Evans (2010) note, not all syntacticians working in the MP have given up the P&P approach, and even Chomsky seems to be unsure as to which side he is on (2010: 2741).

One of the difficulties one encounters in discussing the MP is that the theory has displayed an acute lack of stability since it was first proposed. The papers in Chomsky[(1995a)] reveal the speed and frequency with which essential features of clause architecture and defining principles of grammar have changed. In many cases, the empirical or conceptual motivations for these changes remain obscure. (Johnson & Lappin 1997:277)

In a series of papers about the nature of the Minimalist Program and the speed with which most syntacticians working in GB dropped their work in GB and switched to the MP, Lappin et al. (2000a; 2000b; 2001) argued that the switch to Minimalism constitutes an "unscientific revolution." Instead of trying and testing the new program to see if it delivered theoretically better results, according to Lappin et al., most syntacticians simply adopted the new framework. The explanation for this rapid switch is Chomsky's enormous personal influence in the field of syntax, rather than the inherent merits of the Minimalist Program itself. They point out that even Reuland (2001), who writes in defense of the MP, has conceded that "GB has considerably wider empirical coverage than the MP" (2001:902).

More recently, Evans & Levinson have stirred the debate with the publications of "The Myth of Language Universals: Language Diversity and its Importance for Cognitive Science" (Evans & Levinson 2009) and "Time for a Sea-Change in Linguistics: Response to Comments on 'The Myth of Language Universals'" (Levinson & Evans 2010), both of which call into serious doubt the underpinnings of Minimalism. They note that there is no adequate definition or agreement as to what counts as data, nor is there even consensus as to what constitutes Universal Grammar (UG), a concept espoused by Chomsky since the earliest days.

Proponents of the Minimalism stress that it is less a theory than a research program, and thus is subject to many errors, much like alpha versions of software. However,

Culicover & Jackendoff (2005:541) point out that, at the time of writing their book, the "program" was already ten years old and that claims that it is not a theory and thus not subject to the same scrutiny a theory would be subject to is a defense that "rings hollow."

A main sticking point for many researchers involves Chomsky's claim that derivations in the MP must be the most economic, although exactly what constitutes economy is unclear. Lappin et al. (2001:911 fn. 7) point out that, since the Minimalist Program seeks to treat derivations in terms of economy, it stands to reason that, some derivations being 'more economical' than others (hence better), a theory with no derivations whatsoever would be the best. The MP rules itself out as a valid theory according to this rubric. Pullum (1997) likewise notes that this concept of economy of derivation is ill-defined in Chomsky's description: "As fast as possible, or as cheaply as possible? These are not usually the same in transport economics." Further, the suggestion that derivations must be the most economical involves a comparison with other derivations. This necessarily leads to a tremendous increase in complexity, as Johnson & Lappin (1997) make clear:

The fact that global economy conditions require the construction of a comparison set of all convergent derivations from a given selection of lexical items raises immediate questions of conceptual and computational complexity that do not arise on the simpler constraint-based view of grammar. (Johnson & Lappin 1997:275)

Lappin et al. (2000:665-667) point out that optimality within grammar has not been defined by Chomsky, and it is very difficult to figure out just what Chomsky intended with his statement. They also note in another article from the same year that Reuland also uses the notion of perfection in grammar to justify syntactic analyses in the MP, yet he also fails to define concretely what is meant by this term (Lappin, Levine, & Johnson 2000b:880).



Worse yet, claims about optimality being inherent in language create problems with regard to falsifiability:

The guiding assumption that natural language exhibits optimal design is not an empirical thesis, and so it has no falsifiable consequences (Lappin, Levine, & Johnson 2001:916).

Johnson & Lappin (1997) further find that the rapid increase in functional heads proposed in Minimalism, with the addition of features that supposedly bring about movement, does not seem to be an advance over other methods of determining word order, such as through constraints:

"Postulating otherwise unmotivated features or functional heads in the lexicon to set word order parameters for a language is not less stipulative than relying on LP constraints." (Johnson & Lappin 1997:318)

I will therefore employ a different, non-Chomskyan theoretical framework that does not run afoul of the criticisms mentioned above. In section 4, I will describe Lexical-Functional Grammar, a constraint-based view of syntax that has been remarkably stable in the last thirty years and is especially suited for historical syntax.

### **2.7.2 Lexicalism and Distributed Morphology**

Modern syntactic analyses are often distinguished in a large part by their choice between two opposing camps: that of lexicalism or that of Distributed Morphology (DM). Before we commit ourselves to one alternative, I review the history that has led to this syntactic dichotomy.

Julien (2001) provides a good review of the events thus far. He starts by noting that Lexicalism is a rather old concept. The idea that syntactic processes are different from morphological processes lies at the heart of the traditional difference between syntax and morphology. It would seem then that any modern proposals to remove the invisible barrier

between the lexicon and syntax should be well supported, as they basically would remove morphology from the structure of language entirely.

The first modern claims against a syntax-morphology dichotomy go back to Sapir (1921) and Jespersen (1924). While Sapir claimed that morphemes are important on a functional level, Jespersen was more direct, claiming that syntax reigns over words *and* morphemes (a viewpoint similar to that taken in DM). Bloomfield (1933) still contended that the locale for syntactic operations is among words.

Chomsky took up Sapir's and Jespersen's position in *Syntactic Structures* (1957). Due to differences in interpretation between gerunds and derived nominals, Chomsky modified his stance in *Remarks on Nominalization* (1970) accordingly and came to the conclusion that only gerundive nominals are syntactically derived while other nominals are not. Inflection, however, was still considered a syntactic and not morphologic operation.

Lapointe (1980) went one step further and claimed that the lexicon dealt with all word formation, including inflection. He called this proposal the Generalized Lexicalist Hypothesis; today it is often referred to as the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, the version in Chomsky (1970) being called the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis. Webelhuth (1995) gives this succinct definition of the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis: "...both derivational and inflectional morphological operations apply exclusively in the lexicon..." (1995:27).

Julien notes that Lapointe's proposal was not without contention, as Anderson (1982) defended the idea that inflection is still syntactic, everything else occurs in the lexicon. Baker (1988) basically assumes Chomsky's 1957 position that inflection and derivation occurs in the syntax. Currently, there are two schools of thought, that of Chomsky's Minimalist Program (1993; 1995a), which generally assumes a version of the

Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, and the theory of Distributed Morphology, proposed by Halle & Marantz (1993) (see also Marantz (1997)).

Marantz writes in his (1997) article "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of your own Lexicon" that "[l]exicalism is dead, deceased, demised, no more, passed on..." (Marantz 1997:202). Distributed Morphology takes as its selling point its ability to completely obviate the need for a mental lexicon where morphological rules apply, instead making the claim that syntax extends down from the sentence level all the way to morphemes: there is no lexicon border to cross along the way. (Halle & Marantz 1993) give the example of how they view word creation:

"word formation" – the creation of complex syntactic heads – may take place at any level of grammar through such processes as head movement and adjunction and/or merger of structurally or linearly adjacent heads (Halle & Marantz 1993:112)

As (Pullum 1996) and (Williams 2007) point out, however, this approach is hardly the one that will bring about an end to lexicalism. Pullum notes the backward-looking nature of the theory:

Halle & Marantz defend an odd *mélange* of 1958-style formatives, 1968-style readjustment rules, 1978-style movement rules, and 1988-style functional heads (Pullum 1996:144).

Williams also points out that this ground has already been covered. Of three points supposedly distinctive of Distributed Morphology, "late insertion," "underspecification," and "syntactic hierarchical structure all the way down," only the last is actually distinctive, the others having been used in various previous syntactic analyses (Williams 2007:10–11).

A further problem with DM are some of the derivations that must be proposed to handle otherwise straightforward data. For example, Halle & Marantz (1993) are forced to posit a somewhat odd derivation for the English verb *went*, ultimately deriving it from the

obscure *wend* and thereby implying that all English speakers still have this lexeme in their vocabulary (1993:136). Given the criticism from many researchers, it seems that Lexicalism is still the better alternative to assuming that syntax handles derivation and inflection. I will accordingly take Lexicalism as being the more accurate and useful theory in this work.

## **2.8 An Overview of Lexical-Functional Grammar**

Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) was first formalized by Joan Bresnan and Ron Kaplan in their 1982 article “Lexical-Functional Grammar: A Formal System for Grammatical Representation.” The architecture of LFG has been remarkably stable in the last 30 years.

LFG posits at least two parallel levels of syntactic representation, referred to as constituent structure (more commonly c-structure) and functional or feature structure (f-structure). The c-structure gives the linear order and constituent grouping of the language in question, while the f-structure contains the relevant features and functions of the individual words and how they relate to each other. In addition to these two levels, recent work in LFG has posited other levels, the most important and most commonly accepted among researches in LFG being argument structure (a-structure). A-structure deals with semantic roles and how they relate to f-structure (Butt, Dalrymple, & Frank 1997). Other proposals are much more recent and are not accepted by all syntacticians (e.g. morphological (m-) structure (Butt et al. 1999), among others, grammatical (g-) structure (Falk 2006), lexical (l-) structure (Wescoat 2005)).

This work will avail itself of the two most basic structures, c- and f-structure. I will go into more detail in the sections below on how these two structures interact with each other.

### 2.8.1 c-structure

LFG's c-structures are licensed by phrase structure rules (PS rules). One might tentatively assume the following simple rules for English.

(21)  $IP \rightarrow DP\ I'$

$I' \rightarrow I\ VP$

$VP \rightarrow V\ DP^*$

$DP \rightarrow D\ NP$

$NP \rightarrow N\ (PP)^*$

These PS rules then licenses the following c-structure for a typical English clause:

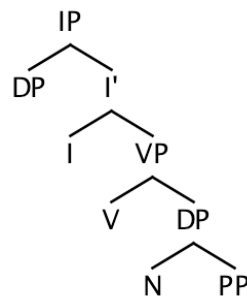


Figure 13

As is shown in Figure 13, c-structures in LFG are graphically represented as X-bar trees. LFG generally recognizes four lexical categories, N, V, A(dv), and P. Additionally, most researchers in LFG also assume the functional categories C, I, and to a lesser extent, D. In addition to these endocentric categories, the exocentric category S is sometimes used for particular languages. The category S is not the extended head of any other category. It is

sometimes used in English as in Figure 14 with the sentence *Freder saves Maria*. Since the English verb is not located in  $I^{\circ}$ , some syntacticians dispense with the IP in such English constructions entirely and have S head the subject NP and the VP.

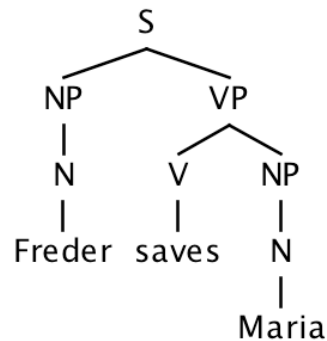


Figure 14

Functional categories in LFG are licensed by the Extended Head Theory, which is formulated as follows:

(22) **Extended Head Theory**

- (i) A functional category  $F^{\circ}$  and its sister correspond to the same f-structure. (Functional heads  $F^{\circ}$  are specialized subclasses of lexical heads which have a syncategorematic role in the grammar, such as marking subordination, clause type, or finiteness.)
- (ii) Every lexical category has a(n extended) head. ( $X$  is an **extended head** of  $Y$  if  $X$  corresponds to the same f-structure as  $Y$ ,  $X$  is of the same/nondistinct category type as  $Y$ , and every node other than  $Y$  that dominates  $X$  also dominates  $Y$ .)  
(Bresnan 1997:11)

If we assume an IP in all English clauses, we can redraw the tree in Figure 14 as in Figure 15. In this figure, the subject NP appears as the sister to  $I'$ , which heads the VP *saves Maria*. Again, since English verbs do not generally occur in  $I^{\circ}$ , I leave it out of the structure.

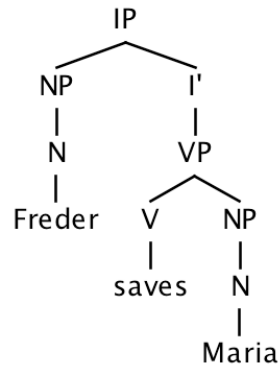


Figure 15

There is no reason why the IP must have an I° head. This kind of tree pruning is regulated by Economy of Expression (23).

(23) **Economy of Expression**

All syntactic phrase structure nodes are optional and are not used unless required by independent principles (completeness, coherence, semantic expressivity). (Bresnan 2001:91)

An additional constraint to c-structure is the Lexical Integrity Principle shown in (24). According to this principle, nodes in the c-structure cannot have more than one word attached to them. Words are indivisible and cannot, as in some transformational theories, be derived from movement of stems and affixes to create a complete word (cf. Roehrs (2006)'s derivation for *meine* in section 2.2.2).

(24) **(Relativized) Lexical Integrity/ Lexical Integrity Principle**

Morphologically complete words are leaves of the c-structure tree and each leaf corresponds to one and only one c-structure node. (Bresnan 1997:10)

We now turn to the other parallel level of representation in LFG, f-structure.

## 2.8.2 f-structure

The second parallel level of representation in LFG are f-structures. These are represented by attribute-value matrices (AVMs), similar to those also used in HPSG. In the





thematic role. (Falk 2001:63)

We see in Figure 17 an ill-formed f-structure. The PRED *save* subcategorizes for a subject and an object. However, this f-structure also contains the oblique object *Georgy*. Since this oblique has no justification for being contained in this f-structure, the f-structure is ill-formed.

$$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'save' } \langle \text{SUBJ, OBJ} \rangle \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{pres} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'Freder'} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} & \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'Maria'} \right] \\ \text{OBL} & \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'Georgy'} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

**Figure 17**

Functional Uniqueness (28) also ensures that f-structures are well formed. Since this principle requires that every attribute in the f-structure has a unique value, f-structures where more than one value for a given attribute is present are ill-formed.

**(28) Functional Uniqueness**

Every attribute has a unique value. (Falk 2001:64)

The f-structure in Figure 18 specifies two contrasting values for TENSE, both present and future. The f-structure is therefore ill-formed.

PRED	'save $\langle$ SUBJ, OBJ $\rangle$ '
TENSE	pres
TENSE	fut
SUBJ	[PRED 'Freder']
OBJ	[PRED 'Maria']

Figure 18

Lastly, the Completeness Condition (29) rules out f-structures in which an argument that is subcategorized for is not present.

(29) **Completeness Condition**

All argument functions specified in the value of the PRED feature must be present in the local f-structure. All functions that receive a thematic role must have a PRED feature. (Falk 2001:63)

In Figure 19, the f-structure is lacking the subject subcategorized for by *save*. It is therefore ill-formed.

PRED	'save $\langle$ SUBJ, OBJ $\rangle$ '
TENSE	pres
OBJ	[PRED 'Maria']

Figure 19

### 2.8.3 c-structure and f-structure Correspondences

C-structure and f-structure are related to each other through mapping relations. When c-structure maps into f-structure it is known as  $\phi$ ; mapping from f-structure into c-structure is then  $\phi^{-1}$ . To more clearly indicate just how f-structures and c-structures relate, the nodes of the c-structure tree may be labeled, as is shown in Figure 20 for the English clause *Freder saves Maria*.

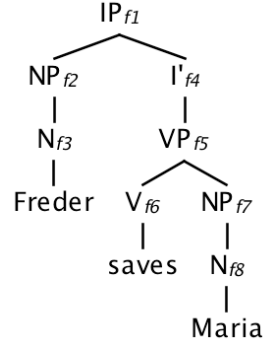


Figure 20

We can also label the f-structure as well, shown in Figure 21. We see that the nodes in the c-structure know as IP, I', VP, and V correspond to the outermost f-structure with the PRED *save*. The nodes  $f_2$  and  $f_3$  in the c-structure are the NP and N above the subject *Freder*, and are mapped to the PRED *Freder* in the f-structure. *Freder* is also indicated as the subject which is subcategorized for by the PRED *save*. Lastly, the nodes NP and N, labeled  $f_7$  and  $f_8$ , refer to the PRED *Maria*, the object of *save*.

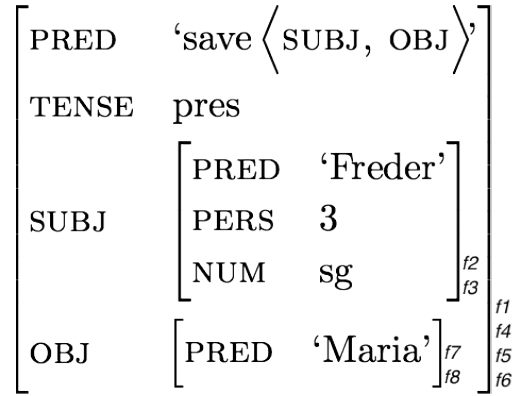


Figure 21

With these annotations, we can write a functional description of the structures. This is shown in (30).

$$\begin{array}{llll}
 (30) & (f_1 \text{ SUBJ}) = f_2 & (f_3 \text{ NUM}) = \text{sg} & (f_6 \text{ PRED}) = \text{'saves'} & (f_8 \text{ PRED}) = \text{'Maria'} \\
 & f_2 = f_3 & f_1 = f_4 & (f_6 \text{ TENSE}) = \text{pres} &
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 (f_3 \text{ PRED}) &= \text{'Freder'} & f_4 &= f_5 & (f_5 \text{ OBJ}) &= f_7 \\
 (f_3 \text{ PERS}) &= 3 & f_5 &= f_6 & f_7 &= f_8
 \end{aligned}$$

We can now create an annotated c-structure for the phrase *Freder saves Maria*. Note the use of the metavariables  $\uparrow$  and  $\downarrow$ . The up arrow indicates the mother of the node. For example  $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ})$  means that the mother of this node has an argument, subject. The down arrow after the equal sign further tells us that this subject argument of the mother is what comes below, the relevant daughter (in this case, *Freder*).

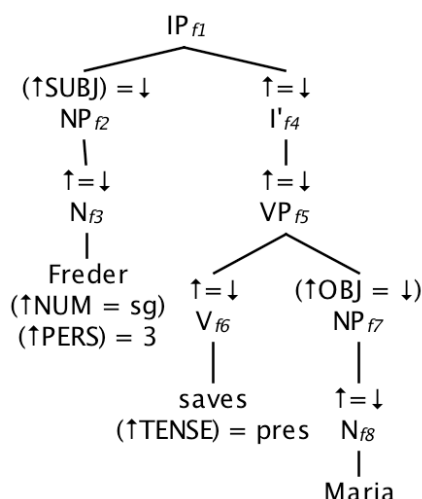


Figure 22

Now we need a model of adjective agreement in LFG. We turn to this issue in the next section.

## 2.9 A Working Model of German Adjective Agreement in LFG

Despite the plethora of work in LFG on verb phrases, there has been much less research on noun phrases, specifically having to do with how the determiner is best captured both in the c-structure and f-structure. Even less interest has been paid the German noun phrase, with Strunk (2004; 2005) being a notable exception for Low Saxon.

In the f-structure, articles are often indicated by use of a feature SPEC, a method first employed by (Kaplan & Bresnan 1982), but which has still been continued even in recent work ((Mittendorf & Sadler 2005), (King & Dalrymple 2004), (Kuhn 1997) to name a few. An exception is Falk (2001), whose particular method I also adopt for German). This means of indicating the determiner is not consistent with other features as used in LFG (it refers directly to a c-structure position, odd for a theory that posits that these levels are separate syntactic realizations), and seems rather akin to the usage of AVMs in HPSG. It is not clear why this should be, especially since it is not used, though could conceivably be, for other instances of c-structure specifiers, such as Spec,IP. With the introduction of the determiner phrase in c-structure, the custom of referring to the 'spec' of the f-structure noun, which in turn is linked to the D° head, seems rather old-fashioned. If, on the other hand, there is to be an f-structure notion of 'spec', it is again unclear why it should only apply to noun PREDs and not others. Accordingly, I will adopt a feature-based approach which I describe in the sections that follow.

### **2.9.1 Determiners in Lexical-Functional Grammar**

The major introductions to LFG (Bresnan 2001; Falk 2001; Dalrymple 2001) all make use of the DP notation when a determiner is present. Note that this is not the same use of the DP as in MGG, since transformational analyses often take the DP to exist regardless of the existence or presence of a determiner. For example, (Rutkowski 2002) argues in a minimalist framework that Polish has DP structures, although it does not possess definite articles.

Among those who concentrate on the noun phrase in an LFG framework, the consensus is not clear one way or the other whether noun phrases even with a determiner

are actually DPs. Thus there is much recent work that still treats determiners as specifiers of the NP (Mittendorf & Sadler 2005; King & Dalrymple 2004; Börjars, Payne, & Chisarik 1999).

The controversial question of noun phrase headedness, although an issue in MGG, is not of importance here. The determiner may head the DP in the c-structure, but the noun is still the main PRED in the f-structure. The benefits of assuming the DP-Hypothesis in LFG do not center around seeking out similarities between the CP/IP and DP. C-structure serves to give us the constituency and linear ordering of phrases. It helps to assume a DP structure for the simple fact that it captures the linear facts: the determiner (at least in German and Middle Low German) occurs to the left of the noun. If we avail ourselves of the DP analysis, this linear ordering comes down to the fact that the DP in German is left-headed. Although this could also be explained by claiming the specifier of the NP is also left-headed, it would not explain why the specifier of the NP hosts both phrases and lexical items such as determiners. The DP provides room for both determiners (in  $D^0$ ) and for prenominal phrases (in Spec,DP). I will assume here that determiners head a phrase called DP.

### 2.9.2 German Determiners in LFG

I demonstrate the two methods most often used in f-structures to indicate definiteness with Figure 23 and Figure 24, both of which represent the German noun phrase *der Mann*.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'Mann'} \\ \text{SPEC} & \text{der} \end{bmatrix}$$

Figure 23

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'Mann'} \\ \text{DEF} & + \end{bmatrix}$$

Figure 24

The benefits of the model shown in Figure 23 are that one can readily read off the exact determiner from a given f-structure. The trade-off is twofold: we do not at once appreciate that the element given as a value for SPEC is either [DEF +] or [DEF -], nor is there a consistent f-structure: the other f-structure elements are grammatical functions or features, not references to c-structure configurations. The analysis in Figure 24 solves these problems; the only drawback is that we are not able to determine by the f-structure alone which particular determiner it is. This is not problematic, as analyses for verb phrases, for example, do not assign a PRED value to the auxiliary verb. For example, Figure 25 shows the f-structure for the phrase *Freder has saved Maria*.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'save' } \langle \text{SUBJ, OBJ} \rangle \\ \text{TNSASP} & \text{presperf} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'Freder'} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{NUM} & \text{sg} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'Maria'} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Figure 25

Note that the auxiliary verb *has* does not have a PRED in this f-structure, since it only contributes to the tense and aspect of the PRED *save*. We should not be surprised that the determiner behaves the same way, only contributing features to the main PRED.

Our treatment of German determiners will proceed as follows. The presence of a definite article is given as the feature [DEF +], while an indefinite article contributes the feature [DEF -]. Absence of this feature indicates a bare noun.

Demonstratives contribute not just a definite feature, but also deixis features, such as [DISTAL +] or [PROXIMAL +]. However, demonstratives do not always contribute these features. Bernstein (2008) points out that there are cases where the demonstrative can actually be indefinite. In the phrase *this guy (on the subway last night) gave me his seat*, the noun phrase *this guy* is indefinite. Yet the same phrase *this guy* can be deictic in a different context: *this guy (right here) just gave me a dollar!* (Bernstein 2008:1260, ex. 26). Bernstein also lists six different possible interpretations for the definite article among the languages English, French, and Spanish. They are *non-specific*, *unique*, *generic*, *possessive*, *inalienable possession*, and *definite* (2008:1254).

In this study, I limit the definition of definiteness to *syntactic definiteness*. The phrase *this guy* will always be syntactically definite even though it may be semantically indefinite in certain contexts.

### 2.9.3 Adjectives in LFG

To illustrate just how adjectives work in LFG, I start with a description of the analysis of Welsh adjectives in a transformational analysis.

Welsh, a language with post-nominal adjectives, has seen its share of N-movement analyses all of which attempt to explain the post-adjectival position of attributive adjectives (Roberts 2005; Longobardi 2001; Cinque 1994). The problem, as (Willis 2006) describes it, is that no movement operation satisfactorily explains the adjective order in Welsh noun phrases. An account that relies only on head N movement to a higher projection (skipping over and leaving the adjective ordering intact and unmoved) should result in an adjectival order that parallels that of languages with left-headed APs, such as English. However, as Willis points out, this is not always the case. So-called mirror-image adjective ordering is



also evidenced. The other common proposal, phrasal movement, is also not satisfactory, as it posits questionable remerging of phrases from complement to specifier position (Willis 2006:1837–1838). Willis concludes "non-antisymmetric approaches, which virtually eliminate movement...present a viable alternative" (Willis 2006:1838).

Within the framework of LFG, (Mittendorf & Sadler 2005) assume Welsh APs to be right-branching adjuncts within the NP; there is no need for a special movement rule. That is, adjectives in LFG are taken to be adjuncts to the noun phrase, much as they were in MGG pre-Abney. In Figure 26, the adjective *big* modifies the noun *city* and is attached to the NP. Adjectives are indicated in the f-structure by the abbreviation ADJ (adjunct). We can see in Figure 27 that the adjective is also enclosed in curly brackets outside of the square brackets. This further indicates the optionality of the adjective in the f-structure.

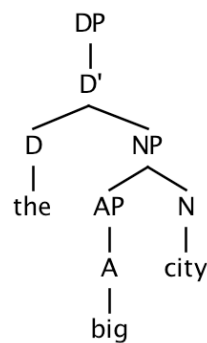


Figure 26

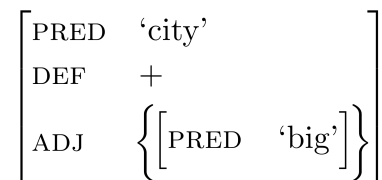


Figure 27

In the next section, I will show how another feature, that of overt morphological marking, also plays a role in noun phrases with attributive adjectives.

#### 2.9.4 German Adjective Declension

Adjectives in German are divided into the so-called weak and strong declensions. Table 1 shows the strong adjective declension. These endings are divided in the singular

into three genders and four cases. The plural forms are only divided into the four cases, as gender differences in the plural no longer exist in modern German.

**Table 1**     *strong adjective declension*

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	er	e	es	e
GENITIVE	en	er	en	er
DATIVE	em	er	em	en
ACCUSATIVE	en	e	es	e

These endings surface when an adjective modifies the noun, but the noun is otherwise unmarked for definiteness. When a determiner is present, however, another set of adjective endings is used. These endings are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2**     *weak adjective declension*

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	e	e	e	en
GENITIVE	en	en	en	en
DATIVE	en	en	en	en
ACCUSATIVE	en	e	e	en

The endings in Table 2 differ from those in Table 1 mainly in that they do not overtly reveal the case and/or gender of the modified noun. In these cases, this function is taken over by the determiner, which typically marks the case, number, and gender of the noun overtly. There are, however, a few instances where this is not the case. For example, the words *ein* 'a' and *kein* 'not a' require different endings, summarized in Table 3. They are frequently referred to as 'mixed', since the endings are in essence a mix of those in Table 1 and Table 2.

**Table 3**     *mixed adjective declension*

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
--	------	-----	------	--------

NOMINATIVE	er	e	es	en
GENITIVE	en	en	en	en
DATIVE	en	en	en	en
ACCUSATIVE	en	e	es	en

The differences between the weak and the mixed declensions are not large, and only consist of the masculine singular nominative and the neuter singular nominative and accusative forms (shaded in Table 3). The remaining endings are identical to those of the weak declension.

Although the mixed declension is often said to be used with so-called *ein*-words, this may lead to the false conclusion that these endings are to be associated with indefiniteness. This is not accurate. In addition to *ein* and *kein* (and their corresponding feminine, plural, and oblique forms), the personal possessive pronouns also require weak declension agreement, although the noun phrase referenced may be considered definite thanks to this possessive form.

In examples (31a) we see that, in the presence of the definite article, the adjective *gut* takes a weak ending. This is contrasted by (31b), where the adjective ending is strong with the indefinite article. Example (31c) contains the possessive pronoun *unser* 'our', and thereby conveys a definiteness to the noun phrase, yet the adjective *gut* is strongly declined.

- (31)
- |    |                       |                  |               |
|----|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| a. | das<br>the.NOM.N.SG   | neue<br>new.WK   | Haus<br>house |
| b. | ein<br>a.NOM.N.SG     | neues<br>new.STR | Haus<br>house |
| c. | unser<br>our.NOM.N.SG | neues<br>new.STR | Haus<br>house |

There are also a number of other determiners besides the possessive pronouns that require a strong ending. Consider the determiner *solch* 'such'. In (32a), *solch* is nominative, masculine, and singular, and requires the adjective *gut* to have the strong ending *-er*. (32b), while still an instance of *solch*, requires a weak adjective ending on *gut*.

- (32)    a.    *solch*                      *guter*                      Mann  
               *such.NOM.M.SG*        *good.STR*
- b.    *solcher*                  *gute*                      Mann  
               *such.NOM.M.SG*        *good.WK*

The adjective ending is not dependent on the definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun. More important is the presence or absence of an overt morphological ending on the determiner. This creates a problem for previous LFG analyses of German adjective declension.

### 2.9.5 Predicting Strong & Weak Adjective Declension

Since c-structure only accounts for word order and constituency in LFG, we must turn to the f-structure to capture adjective inflection. However, it is not clear how we can predict strong or weak declension using previous f-structure models.

Consider the c-structure and the f-structure for the English phrase *the good man* in Figure 28 and Figure 29.

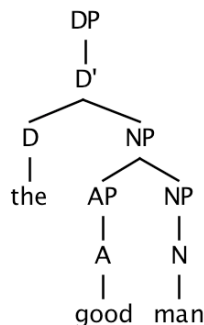


Figure 28

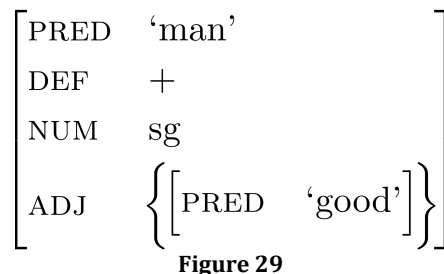


Figure 29

The c-structure gives us the constituency of this noun phrase: the adjective phrase is an adjunct of the NP and the definite article *the* is a head under  $D^{\circ}$ . This corresponds straightforwardly to the f-structure: the main PRED is *man*, which has the feature  $[\text{DEF } +]$  and the adjunct *good*. The definiteness feature of the noun phrase is provided by *the*. No more need be said about this phrase. The German equivalent *der gute Mann* will require a more detailed analysis.

We see that there is no difference in the c-structure between the English and the German noun phrase, whose c-structure is given in Figure 30: the AP remains an adjunct of the NP and the definite article sits in  $D^{\circ}$ . The differences only show up in the f-structure.

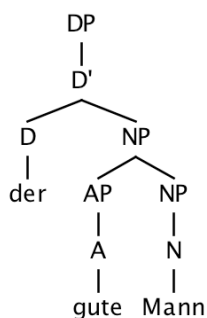


Figure 30

First, let us assume the f-structure for this German noun phrase is similar to its English counterpart (Figure 31). Since German nouns possess both an inherent gender and

can have case, I add the features [GEND = m] and [CASE = nom] to the f-structure. The definite article *der* provides the definiteness marking in the phrase. Through the process of unification, the noun, marked for gender, number, and case, will unify in these features with the determiner *der*, which is likewise marked for gender, number, and case in its lexical entry. The question then arises why the adjective is declined weakly in this phrase.

PRED	'Mann'
DEF	+
CASE	nom
GEND	m
NUM	sg
ADJ	$\left\{ \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'gut'} \right] \right\}$

**Figure 31**

Since the adjective is an adjunct in the c-structure and in the corresponding f-structure, one may ask how it 'knows' that the definite article is one of those that requires a weak adjectival ending. This information is not available to the adjunct in the f-structure: the only feature the definite article contributes is [DEF +]. Moreover, why should there be any linking of features between an adjunct and the PRED it is a part of? I have to modify my f-structure analysis in two ways: the type of determiner must somehow be taken into account and the adjunct must have a relationship to the noun PRED.

The relationship between the adjective and the noun is most often expressed in LFG through the use of a subject function in the adjective f-structure (Wechsler 2009). The adjunct (indicated by XADJ in the AVM) is then said to be 'open'; it relies on a PRED outside of its AVM to fulfill the otherwise unspecified ('open') SUBJ function. The subject of the adjective is then associated with the modified noun, shown by means of a curved line.

Through this relation, the adjective can ensure agreement with the noun by specifying certain noun attributes. Consider the partial lexical entry for the adjective *gute* in example (33).

- (33) *gute*    A    (↑PRED) = 'gute ⟨↑SUBJ⟩'  
                          (↑SUBJ CASE) =<sub>c</sub> nom  
                          (↑SUBJ GEND) =<sub>c</sub> m  
                          (↑SUBJ NUM) =<sub>c</sub> sg

This lexical entry will ensure that the adjective form *gute* will only combine with nouns in the nominative that are masculine singular. However, there is then nothing that would bar the ungrammatical string *\*ein gute Mann* 'a good man'. We have to take into account the morphological marking on the determiner.

I propose that the features [ $\pm$ DEF] and [ $\pm$ OMARK] (for *overt marking*) can determine the correct adjective declension. Before we see how these features work in AVMs, I will define exactly what overt marking is.

Most German determiners evidence robust morphological forms for all genders and cases, and all numbers. In Table 4 are the various forms for the determiner *jeder* 'each'. The stem *jed-* takes the endings shown in bold. For each of the 16 forms there is a distinct visible and audible ending, although not all endings are unique to a specific environment. For example, the suffix *-er* can be used in the feminine singular genitive and dative cases as well as in the genitive plural and nominative masculine singular.

**Table 4**    *determiner endings*

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	<b>jeder</b>	<b>jede</b>	<b>jedes</b>	<b>jede</b>
GENITIVE	<b>jedes</b>	<b>jeder</b>	<b>jedes</b>	<b>jeder</b>
DATIVE	<b>jedem</b>	<b>jeder</b>	<b>jedem</b>	<b>jeden</b>

ACCUSATIVE    **jeden**    jede    jedes    jede

As mentioned above, there are exceptions to these forms. While *solch* may take the suffixes shown in Table 4, it is not mandatory. The determiners *ein* and *kein* always lack these overt suffixes in the masculine and neuter singular nominative forms, as well as in the accusative neuter singular. Determiners such as *solch* and *(k)ein* look just like the stems of other determiners such as *jed-* and *dies-*, which necessarily take overt endings in all forms. We can therefore define overt marking as that marking which is bolded in Table 4. In other words, these are the forms that do not look like the stems.<sup>12</sup> Determiners that possess these endings will be said to be positively omarked. We can use the features [ $\pm$ DEF] and [ $\pm$ OMARK] to categorize German determiners, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5		DEFINITENESS	
		+	-
OVERT MARKING	+	der, die, das, des, dem, den, dieser, diese, dieses, jeder, meine, seine, ihre, solcher	eine, eines, einer, einem, einen, mancher, manche, manches
	-	solch, so <sup>13</sup> , mein, dein, sein, ihr, unser, euer	ein, kein, manch

Note that this system can disregard the question whether forms such as *ein*, *mein*, *dein*, etc. bear a null morpheme; this question becomes irrelevant as the adjective is only sensitive to overt marking. Leu (2008) suggested that a form such as *der* selects a weak

<sup>12</sup> We note that the forms *die* and *das* do not conform completely to this pattern in the spoken language. It seems, however, that speakers still treat *die* as if the -e were morphologically overt, even though it is only part of the grapheme <ie> and not a suffix on \**di-*. As for *das*, the <s> appears to be close enough to -es to be considered identical to it.

<sup>13</sup> *So* may behave colloquially as a determiner in the plural, cf. *So Häuser habe ich nie gesehen!* 'I have never seen such houses!' This is not possible in the singular: \**So Haus habe ich nie gesehen!* (intended is 'I have never seen such a house!')



adjective, whereas  $\emptyset$  selects a strong adjective. *Ein* selects a mixed adjective. In my proposal, one can do away with the concept of mixed adjectives altogether and the null morpheme can also be dispensed with. This is in line with the conclusion reached by Börjars & Donohue (2000) for Dutch and Danish zero morphemes. They admit that null morphemes may exist, but it is advisable to reduce their numbers "as far as possible," although this is not often seen as important in linguistic theory (2000:349).

In Figure 32, I apply the two features [DEF] and [OMARK] to the AVM for the noun phrase *der gute Mann*. Notice that the subject function required by the adjective *gute* is associated by a curved line with the PRED *Mann*. The AVM now also includes the features [DEF +] and [OMARK +], which are both contributed by the determiner. The noun's [GEND = m], [CASE = nom], and [NUM = sg] features are unified with the same features on the definite article.

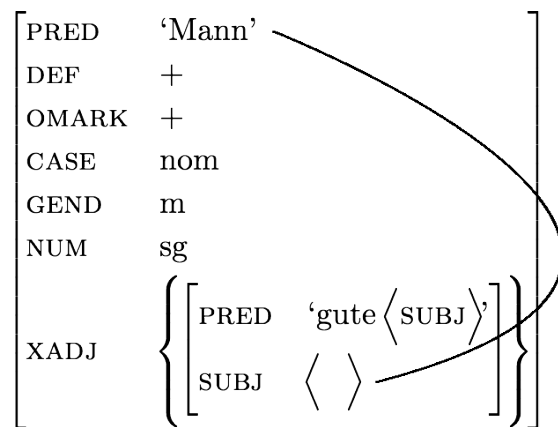


Figure 32

The c-structure is annotated in Figure 33 to show how the lexical entries related to the tree structure and how the nodes relate to each other.

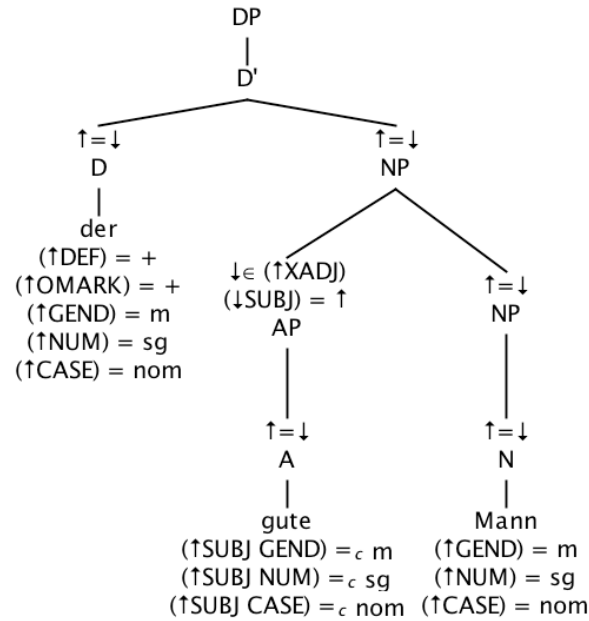


Figure 33

Note that the  $D^o$  node indicated by means of up and down arrows that it is the same as the DP, while the  $N^o$  does likewise. They are one and the same and, although one can say that the DP has as its complement an NP, this is only true of the c-structure relations. The f-structure AVM reminds us that the main PRED is indeed the noun, in this case *Mann*. I give in example (34) the complete lexical entry for *gute*, as it pertains to our example *der gute Mann*.<sup>14</sup>

- (34)    *gute*    A    (↑PRED) = 'gut (↑SUBJ)'  
                          (↑SUBJ OMARK) =<sub>c</sub> +  
                          (↑SUBJ CASE) =<sub>c</sub> nom  
                          (↑SUBJ GEND) =<sub>c</sub> m  
                          (↑SUBJ NUM) =<sub>c</sub> sg

<sup>14</sup> We ignore here the other lexical entries for *gute*, where it may combine with an overtly marked feminine noun in the nominative and accusative singular, among others, as this would take us too far afield. Suffice it to say that morphological processes in the lexicon will associate the proper features with the adjective before it is given over to the syntax component.

The noun phrase *ein guter Mann* is analyzed along similar lines. In this case, the determiner *ein* has the feature [OMARK = -]<sup>15</sup>. The adjective *guter* has in its lexical entry the specification ((↑SUBJ OMARK) ≠ +). This analysis also correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of *der guter Mann*. Since *der* would contribute the feature [OMARK = +] to the f-structure, it would be at odds with the ((↑SUBJ OMARK) ≠ +) specification of *guter*.

The relationship between the noun and the determiner is symbiotic in my analysis: the noun's features unify with those of the determiner while the determiner adds feature specifications to the noun's f-structure, namely overt marking and definiteness.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, we reviewed the relevant literature on the noun phrase from the past twenty years since Abney's 1987 dissertation. I noted that noun phrase analyses have tended to posit more functional categories than previously assumed, even above and beyond Abney's DP. Of particular relevance to German is the work of Roehrs (2006), Leu (2008), and Laenzlinger (2000; 2005; 2010). All of these later proposals were written in

<sup>15</sup> Alternately, we could say that it bears no omarking feature at all, as this would also provide the correct result. However, if we assume that a form such as *manch* contributes the feature [OMARK -] and the noun *Mannes* contributes [OMARK +], this would correctly rule out *\*manch Mannes* 'of some man'. See also footnote 16.

<sup>16</sup> We note here in passing a possible unexpected benefit of this analysis. Considering the following table of German noun forms, we note that only the genitive singular masculine and neuter and the dative plural forms have an overt morphological marking of case (shown in bold). Since we assume that the adjective is sensitive to the noun's overt morphological marking, it should not surprise us that the attributive adjectives in these three instances always end in *-en* (with or without a determiner present). This suffix is synonymous with the weak adjective declension. It may be that the feature [±OMARK] can also be contributed by the noun PREDs.

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	Mann	Frau	Haus	Häuser
GENITIVE	Mann(e)s	Frau	Hause <b>s</b>	Häuser
DATIVE	Mann	Frau	Haus	Häuser <b>n</b>
ACCUSATIVE	Mann	Frau	Haus	Häuser

the framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program. After noting the objections of Payne (1993) and Bruening (2009), both of whom argue against the DP-Hypothesis, we turned to the question of noun phrase headedness. Lastly, we reviewed how adjectives and adjective phrases have been treated in recent MGG work, taking special notice of the fact that the most recent analyses treat the AP as residing in a functional agreement projection of some sort.

In section 3, I discussed two theoretical points critical to the present work. Namely, whether the Minimalist Program presents a viable theory in which to frame my analysis, and whether Lexicalism or Distributed Morphology is the better choice for this work. I came to the conclusion that a constraint-based theory is preferable over Minimalism and that Lexicalism is the route I will take over DM.

After having reviewed the relevant literature and made some theoretical choices, I presented an overview of Lexical-Functional Grammar, a theory of syntax that is constraint-based and that subscribes to Lexicalism. I described the theoretical apparatus of LFG and then set out to create a working model of the German noun phrase and adjectival agreement within LFG. This will serve as point for comparison for the remainder of this work, allowing me to apply my hypotheses about the (modern) German noun phrase to the Middle Low German data.

### 3 Middle Low German

#### 3.1 What is Middle Low German?

Before we look into the nominal syntax of the Lübecker Ratsurteile, we turn to the question of what exactly is meant by the term *Middle Low German*, where the language was spoken, and how it was used.

The Middle Low German period extends from around 1250 up to 1600 and is the successor to Old Saxon, also known as Old Low German, following a period of around 150 years without any attestations (Peters 1973:67; Hundt:3). The German term *Mittelniederdeutsch* was first coined by Jacob Grimm in 1819 as an overarching term which included *Mittelsächsisch*, *Mittelenglisch*, and *Mittelniederländisch* (Cordes 1983:212). Contemporary accounts of the language refer to it simply as *sassesche sprâke* or simply *sassesch*. Only later did the terms *nedderdûdesch* and *nedderlendesch* appear, analogous to the term *hochdûdesch* (Peters 1973:66)

The Middle Low German speaking area consisted of a continuous area of northern Germany bordered on the west by Low Franconian, on the northwest by Frisian, and on the south and east by Middle German and Slavic languages, respectively. As seen in Figure 34 (taken from Sanders 1983:994), Middle Low German is traditionally further subdivided into smaller dialect areas, the two largest being West Low German and East Low German.

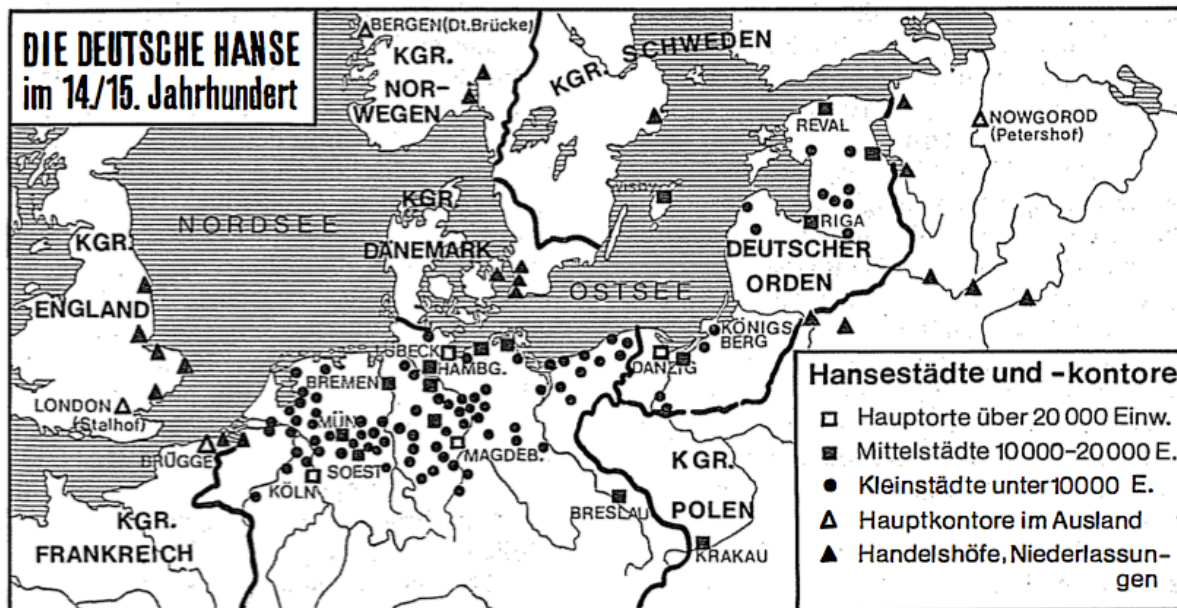


Figure 34

There is no contemporary grammar of a specific Middle Low German language, and there is doubt that such a work ever existed (Cordes 1983:210). The closest one might come to a definition of 'standard' Middle Low German is by an examination of Lübeck and the role this city played within the Hanseatic League.

### 3.2 The Importance of Lübeck

Lübeck played an important role not only within the Hanseatic League but also, and directly because of its role in the Hanseatic League, in the form and use of Middle Low German.



(taken from Sanders 1983:991)1)

Figure 35

The city of Lübeck was founded in 1143 by Count Adolf II von Schauenburg and Holstein, not far from a former Slavic trading area known as Liubice, whence the new city's name. The city was refounded in 1159 by Heinrich der Löwe and became the head of the Hanseatic League by 1300 (Peters 1988:149–150). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Lübeck boasted a population of around 25,000, making it the second-largest city in German lands after Cologne (Peters 1988:150; Hundt:36).

The founders of the city came from all over German-speaking lands, especially from the Lower Rhine as well as East- and Westphalia. There is also evidence that families that had previously moved to newly colonized Slavic lands in the east went westward again, settling in Lübeck. Some of these families came back from as far away as Riga (Brandt 1978:12). Peters maintains that the sheer plurality of the backgrounds the new population of Lübeck had can only mean that the new city dialect could not have been an older

language that was adopted by the new population but an entirely new language that resulted from an amalgamation of many dialects, with no one dialect having the upper hand. At the same time, irregularities and oddities of any one dialect would be leveled out in this new city dialect (Peters 1973:75; Sanders 1983:996; Peters 1988:150). The dialect of Lübeck is classified as North Low German, more specifically, East Elbian (*Ostelbisch*, not shown in Figure 34) and is considered the dialect of Middle Low German that is closest in form to the Middle Low German *Schriftsprache* (Peters 1988:151; Peters 1973:71). Peters splits Middle Low German into two periods, based solely on the written language. The first period reaches from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the beginning of written Middle Low German, while the second period runs from the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which Peters claims as the golden age of the written language. The early period is marked by forms that are closer to the spoken language, while the later period contains forms that are more etymological or even archaic (Peters 1973:80–81). The Lübecker Ratsurteile corpus starts in 1421 and extends to 1550, essentially covering the last decades of the zenith in written Middle Low German and documenting a time during which Middle Low German gave way to High German as a written language in North Germany.

The language-regulating nature of Lübeck, while sometimes said to be due to the prestige Lübeck enjoyed in the Hansa, derives more directly from Lübeck's position as administrative and economic head of the Hanseatic League. Peters notes that Lübeck was both politically and economically the center of the Hanseatic League, and this position led directly to the propagation of the language spoken in Lübeck all over the North and Baltic Sea areas (1973:76; 1988:149). When Gabrielsson calls the Hansa the "Trägerin einer



einheitlichen niederdeutschen Schreibsprache," it is the language Lübeck at the forefront (Gabrielsson 1983:122).

The political power of Lübeck lay in its function as a kind of appellate court for other Hanseatic cities. Cities in the Hanseatic League with legal questions would write to Lübeck and ask for Lübeck's opinion on the case. Although the court opinions of Lübeck were not necessarily binding in other cities' jurisdiction, they were nonetheless seen as being legally important and offering wise advice for the city in question (Peters 1973:77). Lübeck would reply to these legal requests and give the opinion of the city council in a letter. One could thus find the dialect of Lübeck written not just in Lübeck, but in all cities of the Hanseatic League (Bischoff 1983:112). Much of this external correspondence is to be found in the Lübecker Ratsurteile and hence in my corpus.

Due to the strong association of Middle Low German with Lübeck and the Hanseatic League, the written language of this time, and thus that of the Lübecker Ratsurteile, may be classified as *Hansesprache*, *hansisch-lübeckische Schriftsprache*, or simply *mittelniederdeutsche Schriftsprache* (Sanders 1983:991), while Peters underscores this connection with the term *m[itte]l[n[ieder]d[eu]tsche] Schriftsprache lübischer Prägung* (Peters 1973:75).

### 3.3 Rise in Use of Middle Low German

Unlike Old Saxon, whose scant attestations are overwhelmingly religious in nature, Middle Low German was mostly used in secular contexts, such as in legal and administrative documents, histories, and trade (Hundt:27; Bischoff 1983:99). This change is viewed as inevitable by Sanders, who sees the need for a supraregional language arising within the context of the Hansa in order to conduct business as well as for legal and

administrative purposes across northern Europe (Sanders 1983:996). The question arises as to why Latin was not sufficient for these purposes. One possibility is the rise of the lower nobility, who had a talent for trade but who lacked sufficient knowledge of Latin to carry out business (Peters 1973:73–74). The high level of mobility and even possibly interrelatedness among the Hansa city populations helped bring about the change from Latin to *sassesch* even more quickly (Brandt 1978:13). Between 1360 and 1380, many northern city chancelleries had taken to writing in the local German dialect and not in Latin anymore (Peters 1988:151). This marks the beginning of a normalization of the written language (Peters 1973:76, 80).

A sort of early standard language began to develop in the second half of the 14th century, as merchants sought to communicate in a supraregional language that, while not being Latin, did also not clearly belong to one area or another. Bischoff believes that this language, while not preserved because it was only spoken, must have existed, given the nature of the Hanseatic merchant (Bischoff 1983:111). The high mobility of the Hanseatic trader also brought Middle Low German to the Scandinavian countries, which has greatly affected these languages into modern times. Oddly, the Scandinavian languages, with which the Hanseatic merchants often came into contact, cannot be said to have had a large impact on Middle Low German (Marold 1996).

### **3.4 Decline of Middle Low German as a Written Language**

Given that the corpus of the Lübecker Ratsurteile covers a late period in the history of Middle Low German and falls within a period of great linguistic change, it is important to review the reasons why Middle Low German was replaced by High German as a written language in North Germany.

The decline in use of Middle Low German was not sudden, but instead occurred over a long time period that coincides with the decline of the Hanseatic League. Indeed, Gabrielsson sees this decline as a given under the circumstances: "mit dem Rückgang ihrer [der Hanse, E.G.] Bedeutung musste auch die Sprache der Hanse gefährdet sein" (Gabrielsson 1983:120).

The forces that played a role in the Hansa's demise were various. The Reformation and the introduction of the printing press in Europe, while often considered important factors in the change from written Middle Low German to High German, were overshadowed by economic, political, and cultural events (Gabrielsson 1983:120). Foremost among these reasons was the loss of control over trade, not just in the Baltic, but within German lands as well. Sweden and Denmark-Norway began to allow Dutch merchant ships to ply their trade in the Baltic, reducing trade possibilities for Hansa ships, while new trade routes with southern Germany opened up, leading to the redundancy of former Hanseatic trading posts (Gabrielsson 1983:120, 122). In the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, King Edward VI of England closed the Hansa offices in London, dealing another blow to the weakened Hanseatic League (Gabrielsson 1983:121).

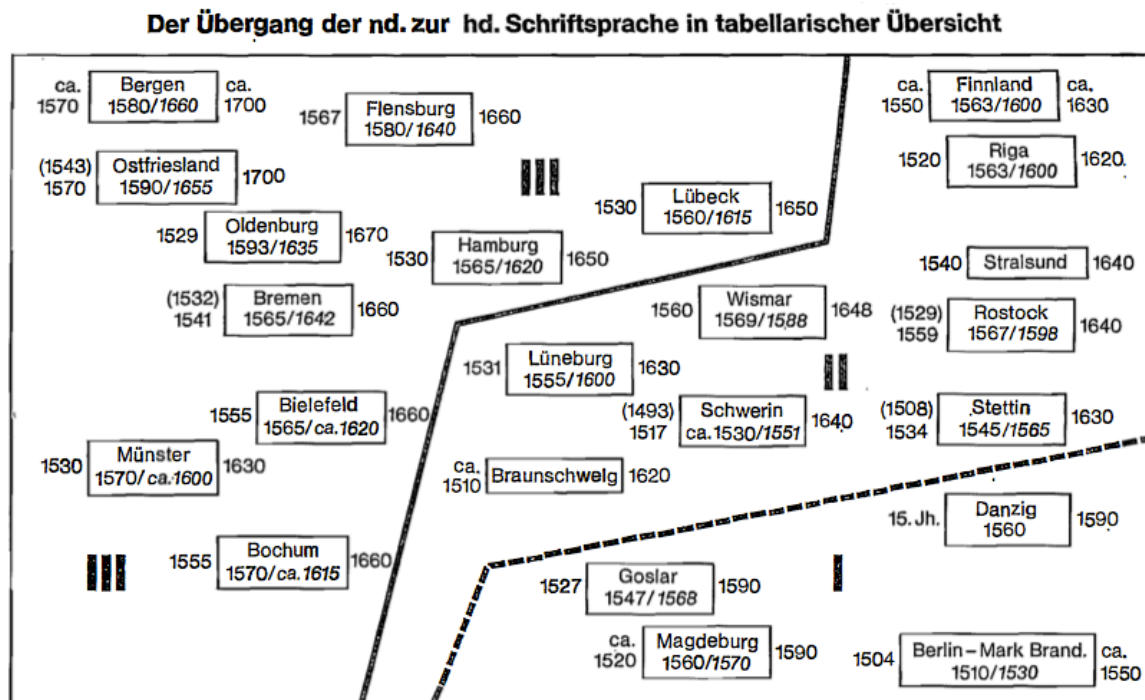
### **3.5 The Switch to High German**

High German first made its appearance in Hanseatic offices in their correspondence with cities outside the Hanseatic League that also used High German in their chancelleries<sup>17</sup> (Sodmann 1973:117). One by one, however, northern chancelleries began to switch over

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<sup>17</sup> Although the dialect of Cologne did not belong to the Middle Low German dialect area, Cologne's chancellery nonetheless corresponded in Middle Low German with other Hanseatic cities as a member of the Hansa.

entirely to High German in their external correspondence. This is shown in Figure 36 by the year given inside the rectangle on the left.



(taken from Gabrielsson 1983:149)

Figure 36

As can be gleaned from Figure 36, Lübeck completely switched over to High German in its external correspondence by 1560. However, it took another 55 years before Lübeck entirely switched to High German in its internal chancelleries. Even then, some city paperwork was still written in Middle Low German until at least 1650 (the year to the right of the rectangle), ending a process that had started 120 years earlier (year left of rectangle)<sup>18</sup>. The timeline is very similar to that of Hamburg.

The switch within the Hansa from Middle Low German to High German progressed in a northwesterly direction, starting in and around Brandenburg and moving toward Schwerin and Rostock, heading towards Norway, where the change was finally completed

<sup>18</sup> Exact dates differ between researchers. Bischoff (1983:114) gives the timeframe for the switch as between 1530 and 1615, while Gabrielsson mentions that the official court documents are written in High German starting in 1550 (1983:140)

in Bergen around 1700 (Sodmann 1973:118). Not all High German incursions were successful at first, as the years given in parentheses in Figure 36 show. Particularly in the second phase of High German expansion in the cities of Schwerin, Rostock, and Stettin, High German was used for a while but then later given up, correspondence again being written in Middle Low German, only for this change to reverse itself a generation or so later. Indeed, it appears that chancelleries took about one generation to switch from Middle Low German to High German (Sodmann 1973:119).

### **3.6 Written Language versus Spoken Language**

One of the most important questions about Middle Low German and what qualifies as Middle Low German in this corpus is the question whether it was a spoken language or not. That is, not whether there were Middle Low German spoken dialects but rather, whether the language of the Hansa was a spoken supraregional dialect with influence from Lübeck or just a written language.

#### **3.6.1 A Spoken Language?**

Peters believes that there existed a spoken, supraregional Middle Low German language. He justifies this assertion with an appeal to the nature of Hanseatic trade: such a supraregional language was absolutely necessary in order for the merchants to conduct business. This spoken language was very close to the written language propagated through Lübeck and was spoken by the same class of people (Peters 1973:83). Bischoff is of the same opinion, believing in an affinity between the written and spoken languages of Lübeck (Bischoff 1983:112). Peters points to the fact that the dialects of East Frisia, Schleswig, and the East use the Einheitsplural *-en* which one would otherwise not expect and which

remain unexplainable unless one assumes a close relationship between the written and spoken Hanseatic language (Peters 1973:83). Bischoff agrees and notes further that modern East Frisian also uses the form *uns* 'us' instead of the expected *us* for the first person plural accusative forms, another indication of a supraregional spoken language (Bischoff 1983:113).

### 3.6.2 Not Spoken?

Sanders doubts that the Hansa language was actually ever spoken and claims that the existence of written forms in dialects where they are not expected is not a strong enough argument for the existence of a spoken language (Sanders 1983:998). He comments that written forms should be considered to result from a 'standard' orthographic system and not necessarily be related to the language actually spoken. Middle Low German spelling was conservative, often being etymologic or retaining archaic forms, which hid the spoken language of the time. The texts we have from this time never form a uniform linguistic system (Sanders 1983:991, 997–998). Even Bischoff has said elsewhere that later written Middle Low German was not the same as the spoken language: "Etymologisierende, zu den Vollformen zurückgehende Tendenzen sind später besonders für die sog. mnd. Schriftsprache charakteristisch" (Bischoff 1983:109).

## 3.7 History of the Lübecker Ratsurteile

The *Lübecker Ratsurteile* are a collection of court opinions totaling 2,980 cases. These opinions were first published by Wilhelm Ebel in 1955. Ebel had intended to include more cases, but at the time, the court opinions from the period after 1550 were unavailable to him as they had been relocated to the city archive in Potsdam in East Germany. Other

parts of the Lübecker Ratsurteile had also been lost during the last years of the Second World War (Ebel 1955:xiv). The years covered here constitute only a part of the total court opinions still in existence. However, the quantity of the documents still spans three volumes, with the court pronouncements in the last 50 years (1500-1550) constituting the greater part of the work.

The majority of opinions in the collection come from the so-called 'Niederstadtbuch', which was so called because it was stored in the basement of the city hall (Ebel 1955:vii, xiii). The earliest document dates from 1421, while the last comes from 1550. Not all of the intervening years are represented in the corpus; there are multi-year gaps in the record, particularly in the earliest years of the collection.

The court in Lübeck was considered the highest court for cities in the Hanseatic League into the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Ebel 1955:v). The Lübeck court would only accept cases that had first been decided in their local jurisdictions and then appealed to a higher court. Cases that had originated in Lübeck's Lower Court could also be appealed to this High Court. Thus, pronouncements concerning affairs in Lübeck as well as those affairs in other Hanseatic cities are to be found in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*.

### **3.8 Corpus Expectations**

Given the aforementioned history of the Middle Low German language, what can we expect from the Lübecker Ratsurteile corpus? How should one treat the language of the Lübecker Ratsurteile and what will an analysis of this language mean for Middle Low German in general?

In this dissertation, I evaluate and analyze the corpus on its own merits. I do not assume a direct connection between the spoken language of Lübeck and the language of the

Lübecker Ratsurteile. Rather, I view the language of the Lübecker Ratsurteile as an object of study unto itself. Any insights into the syntax of the text are not necessarily applicable to spoken Middle Low German, although it is hoped that insights gained by this study are useful for other research into Middle Low German.

We turn now to the methods used to analyze the corpus.

### 3.9 Method

In this section, I will detail the steps taken to convert the Lübecker Ratsurteile, as printed in Ebel's 1955 edition, into a digital corpus suitable for syntactic analysis.

#### 3.9.1 Scanning

The entire contents of the three volumes comprising Ebel's 1955 edition<sup>19</sup> of the Lübecker Ratsurteile were scanned into digital form. The resulting PDF files were then processed with Adobe Acrobat Pro 9, which cleaned the files of extraneous markings and performed an optical character recognition (OCR) scan on all the documents. From these PDF files, the underlying text was extracted, resulting in text files which were further broken down into five-year increments. A total of 26 text files resulted.

Since the software was not able to recognize any living language in the PDF files, and due to the inherent lack of a standardized orthography in such a corpus, the program was forced to rely on the shape of the word when creating the text files and could not hazard a guess based on context. This meant that the text files often differed wildly from the original PDF. Accordingly, each text file had to be manually compared with its corresponding PDF file and corrected. Ebel's titles and any later material were also removed from the corpus.

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<sup>19</sup> Ebel included a fourth volume in 1967 which carried the subtitle *Ergänzungen und Nachträge 1297-1550*. This volume was not included in this corpus.



The final text files contain around 550,000 words. Once the 26 files were created, it was necessary to tag each word according to its part of speech.

### 3.9.2 Annotation

To more easily search the corpus for strings such as "article adjective noun", individual words in the corpus were tagged. The tagging method is similar to html tagging, although it uses different bracketing. The method used was as follows: a capital letter surrounded by curly brackets precedes each word. The same capital letter in curly brackets follows the word, although this time a backslash precedes the letter to indicate the end of the word. The capital letter in the brackets indicates the part of speech of the word it surrounds. Example (35) demonstrates how the adjective *ersam* 'honorable' appears in the annotated corpus.

(35) {A}ersam{\A}

This bracketing can be read as {A} – hereafter follows an adjective, 'adjective', and {\A} this is the end of the adjective. Relevant parts of speech were assigned a capital letter for this bracketing purpose. The tag letters used in the corpus can be seen in example (36). The letters are drawn from the words in the rightmost column, which help serve as a mnemonic device, with the origin of the letter in bold where appropriate.<sup>20</sup>

(36)

Letter	Indicates...	Derived from...
A	adjective	<b>A</b> djective
D	determiner, article, quantifier	<b>D</b> eterminer
E	adverb	adv <b>E</b> rb
K	"and"	Esperanto <i>Kaj</i> 'and'
L	Latin	<b>L</b> atin
N	noun	<b>N</b> oun

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that the script can handle any single letter in the English alphabet, whether upper- or lower-case, and can return results bearing letters not found in example (36), should the need ever arise for a more differentiated tagging system.

P	preposition	<b>Preposition</b>
R	da-/wo-compound	<i>daRvan</i> MLG 'thereof', etc.
U	unknown	<b>Unknown</b>
V	verb	<b>Verb</b>
X	wildcard	–
Z	number	German <i>Zahl</i> 'number'

Since the sheer size of the corpus prohibited part of speech tagging on a word-for-word basis, the corpus was screened for word frequencies and these words were then identified and tagged accordingly. Words which were not immediately identifiable or whose part of speech could only be detected in context were general tagged as 'unknown'<sup>21</sup>; infrequent vocabulary items were similarly labeled. Since determiners are very relevant for this study, they were always explicitly labeled as D, regardless of how rare they might be in the corpus. Erring on the side of caution, all *possible* determiners were also tagged as such, leading to the inevitable mislabeling of certain complementizers that are not orthographically distinct from the determiners, such as *dat* 'that'.

Example (37) shows a selection from the corpus with and without notation. A php-script receives the annotated corpus as input for its searches.

(37) Corpus without Annotations	Corpus with Annotations
1546 Jan. 17 De Ersame Raedt tho Lubeck hebben twisken Jacob Kryvitz in nhamen und vulmacht syner ehelichen husfruwen und der vormunderen Marten Holmß...	{Z}1546{\Z} {N}Jan#\N {Z}17{\Z} {D}De{\D} {A}Ersame{\A} {N}Raedt{\N} {P}tho{\P} {N}Lubeck{\N} {V}hebben{\V} {P}twisken{\P} {N}Jacob{\N} {U}Kryvitz{\U} {P}in{\P} {N}nhamen{\N} {K}und{\K} {N}vulmacht{\N} {D}syner{\D} {A}ehelichen{\A} {N}husfruwen{\N} {K}und{\K} {D}der{\D} {N}vormunderen{\N} {N}Marten{\N} {N}Holmß{\N}

<sup>21</sup> Words that are untagged are invisible to the php-script, therefore, all words must be tagged if the search results are to be reliable.

### 3.9.3 php-Script

After the corpus was completely annotated, it was necessary to compose a computer program to perform the searches in a more efficient way. It would have been possible to run regular expression searches on the tagged corpus, but this would have become unwieldy when looking for complex strings. For example, the search for a determiner followed by an adjective followed by a noun would require the regular expression shown in example (38)<sup>22</sup>.

(38)  $(\{D\}S^*\{\{D\}\})\{0,1\}(\{,|\backslash.\backslash:|\backslash;|\backslash s\backslash-\}$   
 $\{0,1\}\{0,1\}s\{(\{0,1\}(\{A\}S^*\{\{A\}\})\{0,1\}(\{,|\backslash.\backslash:|\backslash;|\backslash s\backslash-$   
 $\{0,1\}\{0,1\}s\{(\{0,1\}(\{N\}S^*\{\{N\}\})$

Thanks to the php-script<sup>23</sup>, however, this process is automated. To search for a determiner followed by an adjective and a noun, the string DAN can be used. The script runs in any browser and takes as its input any text files in the folder in which it is also located. In Figure 37, we can see the interface as it looks when the script is first started. The box labeled *Eingabe* is where one enters the search string desired. This can be any combination of the tags which are found in the corpus text files. For example, to search for all determiner noun strings, the entry would be 'DN'. To see what is to the right and left of this phrase, any amount of wildcard tags can be added, such as 'XXDNXX', which will deliver the two words preceding and following the string 'DN'.

<sup>22</sup> This is in fact the string that the php-script uses when searching for the string determiner-adjective-noun.

<sup>23</sup> I offer my sincerest thanks to Günter von Schenck and Markus Funke for the coding of this script. Günter von Schenck coded the original script and the interface, Markus Funke was responsible for re-coding and fine-tuning.

**Syntaxanalyse**

Eingabe:

Treffer:

Regulärer Ausdruck:

Figure 37

In Figure 38, the results for the search determiner-adjective-noun ('DAN') are given. In the second box of the interface, the number of hits is shown. Below this is the regular expression that the script used to find these hits and below that is the results field. This field lists all the hits in a table. Since the text files are named according to what years they cover, this table also gives us the time span for the given results. We can thus narrow a particular string down to a five-year range. Additionally, the results field gives us a column header that tells us which parts of speech are in each column (as long as they are of the predefined set. Otherwise *Wort* appears here). It is important to note that the accompanying tag is also shown in the results, so we can see if the string has been properly labeled. In cases where we look for wildcards, this is also extremely useful to properly identify the results.



## 4 Determiners in the Corpus

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we look at the determiners<sup>24</sup> in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, the forms they take, and how they interact with the nouns and adjectives that follow them. I use Lasch's and Lübben's list of demonstrative pronouns as a guide.

### 4.2 The Articles

#### 4.2.1 de

Lasch and Lübben give the forms of the definite article in Middle Low German as shown in (39) (Lasch 1914:218; Lübben 1882:109–110). Besides the usual variation we see in most of the paradigms Lasch and Lübben give (the masculine and neuter dative forms in either *-em* or *-eme*, the feminine genitive and dative in *-er* or *-ere*), we also see that the non-neuter nominative definite articles vary, as do the accusative forms. However, I find that the variety of forms given by Lübben and Lasch are not attested in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*.

(39)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	dê, di(e)	dü, dê, di(e)	dat	dê, di(e)
GENITIVE	des	der(e)	des	der
DATIVE	dem(e), den	der(e)	dem(e), den	den
ACCUSATIVE	den(e)	dê, di(e)	dat	dê, di(e)

<sup>24</sup> The term 'determiner' is considered vague by some. For example, Giusti (1999) deems the word "spurious" and imprecise in that it often refers just to elements generally located on the leftmost side of the noun phrase. She also argues against treating quantifiers as determiners (Giusti 1999:110). However, others such as Dipper (2005) treat quantifiers as determiners based on adjective inflectional properties. We will use the term 'determiner' to refer to the parts of speech generally called articles, demonstratives, and pronouns, i.e. those parts of speech that in Germanic generally affect adjective inflection when present.

In all non-neuter nominative forms, Lübben and Lasch give the articles *dê* and *di(e)*. In the corpus, *de* is the most widely attested form. As can be seen in examples (40-42), this form is used with masculine, feminine, and plural nouns.

(40) de man 19 January 1548

'the man'

(41) de fruwe 19 January 1548

'the woman'

(42) de anclegere 9 May 1521

'the plaintiffs'

The form *dü*, given for the feminine nominative, is not attested in the corpus. For the neuter nominative, I find the expected *dat* (example (43)).

(43) dat gelt 16 June 1518

'the money'

The form *die* shows up as expected with feminine and plural nouns (examples (44) and (45)), and with masculine nouns (examples (46) and (47)).

(44) die erfischichtinge 19 October 1547

'the inheritance division'

(45) die gudere 12 October 1547

'the goods'

(46) die Raed 15-29 January 1462

'the council'

(47) die sulvige her Jacob 1481

'the same Mr. Jacob'

The accusative forms appear as in the paradigm, save for the longer *dene* form given for the masculine (example (48)). The feminine accusative occurs as *de* (example (49)).

- (48) durch den schryver 19 March 1546  
'by the writer'
- (49) de erffschichtinge tho doende 9 August 1521  
'to do the inheritance division'

In addition to the forms given in the paradigms above, there are isolated cases of unexpected forms in the masculine and neuter. I first looked at the nominative masculine attestations and noticed that there are instances in which the definite article for this case shows up as *der*. As seen in example (50), the masculine noun *ancleger* 'plaintiff', a very common noun in the Lübecker Ratsurteile, is preceded by the determiner *der*.

- (50) Nha deme **der ancleger** sine clage wolde bowisen 15 July 1528  
'after the plaintiff wanted to prove his claim'

The form *der* is not limited to a specific construction and appears with other masculine nouns, such as *andtwordesmann* 'defendant' in (51).

- (51) dariegen **der andtwordesmann** gesecht, dat de frowe 14 January 1530  
mit erem zeligen manne wer ungeervet gebleven  
'against which the defendant said that the woman was  
left, with her deceased husband, without inheritance'

Furthermore, it does not appear that the writer of this ruling was certain about which form of the article to write. In example (52), the noun phrase *der ancleger* 'the plaintiff' appears. Within the same sentence however, the masculine noun *andtwordeßmann* 'defendant' appears with the article *de*. The number of the noun



*andtwordeßmann* is clear from the verb *kan* 'can', which is conjugated for third person singular.

- (52) und **der ancleger** is ohme nicht wider de bosate tho 17 July 1527  
 vorborgen dan wes de andtwordeßmann mit  
 lubeschen rechte darup bringen kan vorpflichtet

'and the plaintiff is not obligated to him to be liable for  
 the property, [not] more than the defendant can bring  
 thereupon (to bear) under Lübeck law'

I even find this rhotic form in the formulaic noun phrase *der ersame Radt tho Lubeck* 'the honorable council of Lübeck' and have 18 attestations of *der* in this phrase between 1501 and 1545 (example (53)). It should be noted that these attestations are still minuscule when compared with 1800 instances of *de ersame rad* from this same time frame.

- (53) **Der Ersame Radt tho Lubeck** 6 September 1536

'the honorable council of Lübeck'

The adjective inflection after this determiner is *-e*, the expected weak ending according to both Lübben and Lasch ((54) and (55)).

- (54) **der beklagte** 23 January 1546

'the defendant'

- (55) **der gedachte Peter** 26 June 1546

'the aforementioned Peter'

The neuter definite article is attested four times as *das* in three separate rulings. In example (56), the noun phrase *das meiste deel* appears where one would expect *dat*; the same is true for example (57).

- (56) Baltzar von Dalen hedde **das meiste deel** by sinem 11 June 1550  
 levende nha inholde des Testaments uthgegeven und

betalt

'Baltzar von Dalen had spent and paid the most part  
during his life, according to the will'

(57) wolde ock **das hus** nicht vorkopen 11 August 1529

'(he) did not want to sell the house'

Also of note in example (57) is that the house in question is referred to a few lines later as *dath hus* (example (58)).

(58) Na dem **dath hus** der frowe und dem kinde stunde 11 August 1529  
thogeschreven

'after the house was willed to the wife and child'

Lasch and Lübben both give a long and a short form of the masculine and neuter dative singular article, *deme* and *dem*. Lasch notes that "[d]ie langformen *deme*, *dere*, *dene*<sup>25</sup> gehören der älteren periode an, ohne doch in der jüngerer der kurzform ganz gewichen zu sein" (Lasch 1914:218). I tested this claim with the corpus and give the results in Figure 39.

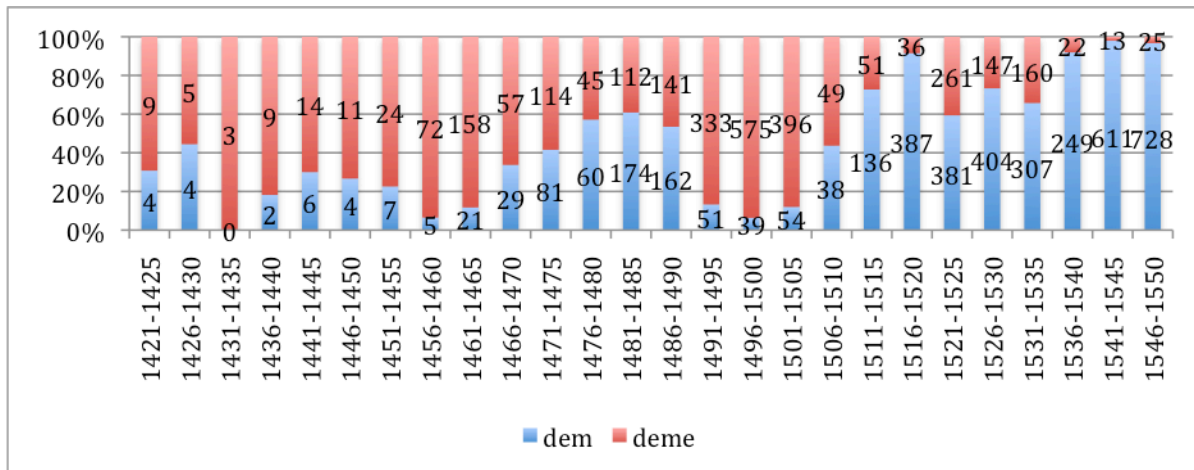


Figure 39

Although the long form *deme* constitutes only 42% of the total masculine and neuter dative singular attestations, these attestations are not spread evenly throughout the

<sup>25</sup> The forms *dere* and *dene* do not occur in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*.

corpus. The long form is more common until the period beginning in 1476, in which the short form is more prevalent, a trend that continues until a large drop between 1491 and 1510, after which *dem* becomes the preferred form and maintains that position to the end of the corpus. The data therefore give support to Lasch's claim.

#### 4.2.2 *en*

The indefinite article in Middle Low German is either a form of *ên* (in Lasch's grammar) or *ein*, with *ên* as a variant (in Lübben's grammar). The form *ên* is older than *ein* and it attested in Old Saxon as well, while the <i> form is reminiscent of Middle High German *ein* (Jacob Grimm et al. 1984a:col. 112). Schiller & Lübben's dictionary lists both *ein* and *en* and I find in the data that these forms are both attested, but not uniformly, throughout the corpus. Lübben writes, "Die Form *ein* hat, einsilbig gebraucht, den Vorzug vor *ên*; **zweisilbig dagegen kommt häufiger vor *enes, eneme, enen*; im ganzen ist ihre Anwendung beliebig**" [*emphasis added*] (Lübben 1882:118). This statement is not supported by the data in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. Not only are certain periods dominated by one form over another, but I find a definite trend in their use.

To avoid false hits in the search, two oblique forms of the indefinite article were chosen (the form *en* can also be a negative particle). The two forms that were selected always function as indefinite articles: *enes* and *ener*. I searched the corpus for the three variants *enes/ener*, *eynes/eyner*, and the variant *eines/einer*, where the choice of <y> or <i> appears to be trivial; they are in essence the same forms.

In Figure 40, I have charted the data for the series *enes/eynes/eines*. Although the attestations from the earliest years are scant (most likely due to the smaller size of this half

of the corpus), they strongly tend to be *enes* forms. Only later towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century do *eynes* forms appear, followed soon after by the variant with <i>.

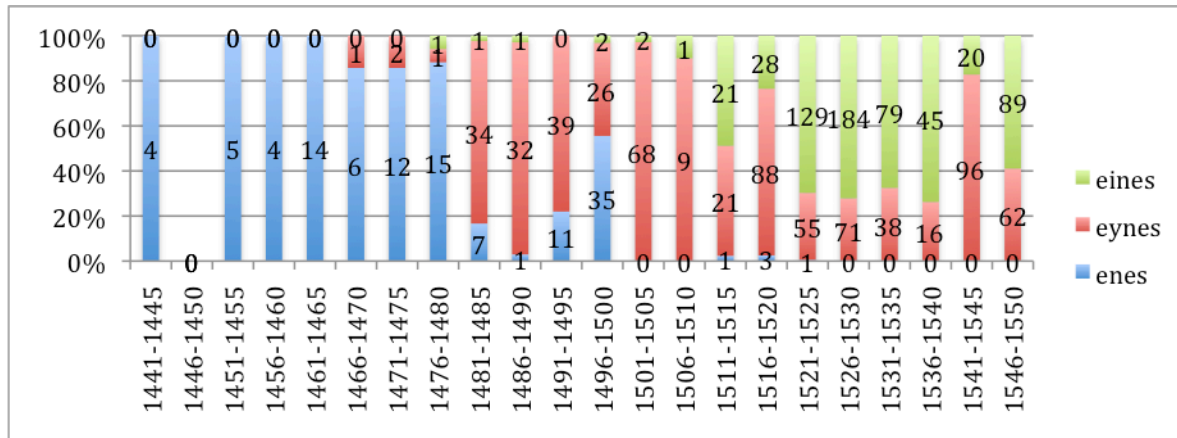


Figure 40

I also graphed the data for relevant periods for the series *ener/eynes/eines* (shown in Figure 41). Much as in the previous figure, the attestations for the *en-* form are most well represented in the earliest lustra. Toward the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, both *eyner* and *einer* forms appear, although most forms with <i> occur between 1511 and 1550.

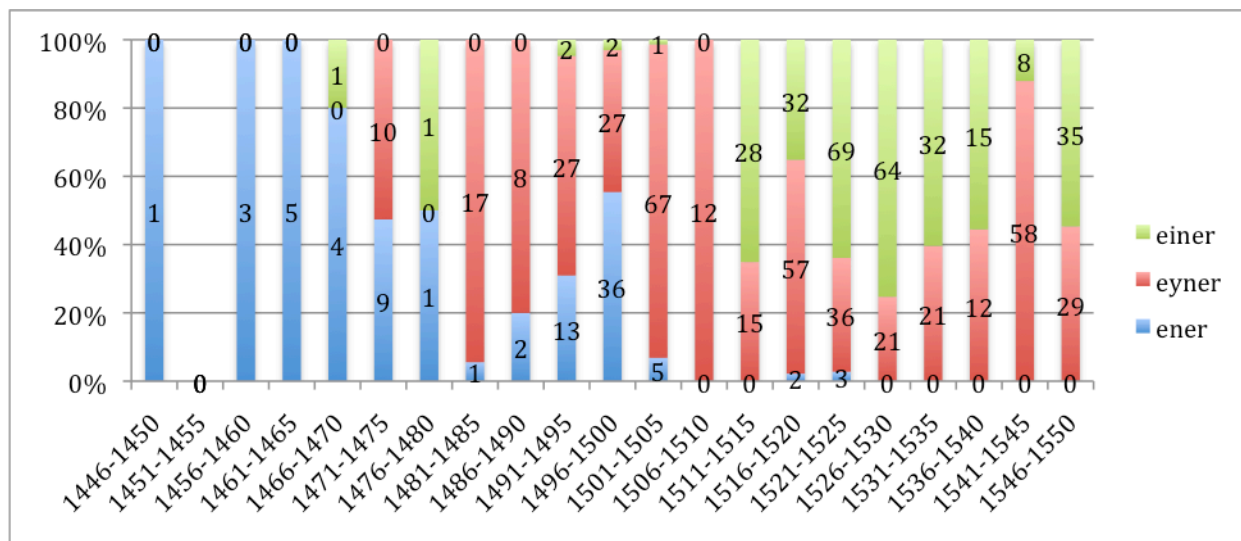


Figure 41

I also looked at the dative singular masculine and neuter attestations in order to see if they also show a preference for the *-e*-less forms over time. I first conflated all the

various forms of *en* (*en*, *eyn*, and *ein*) and looked solely at the endings documented. I show in Figure 42 the results of this analysis.

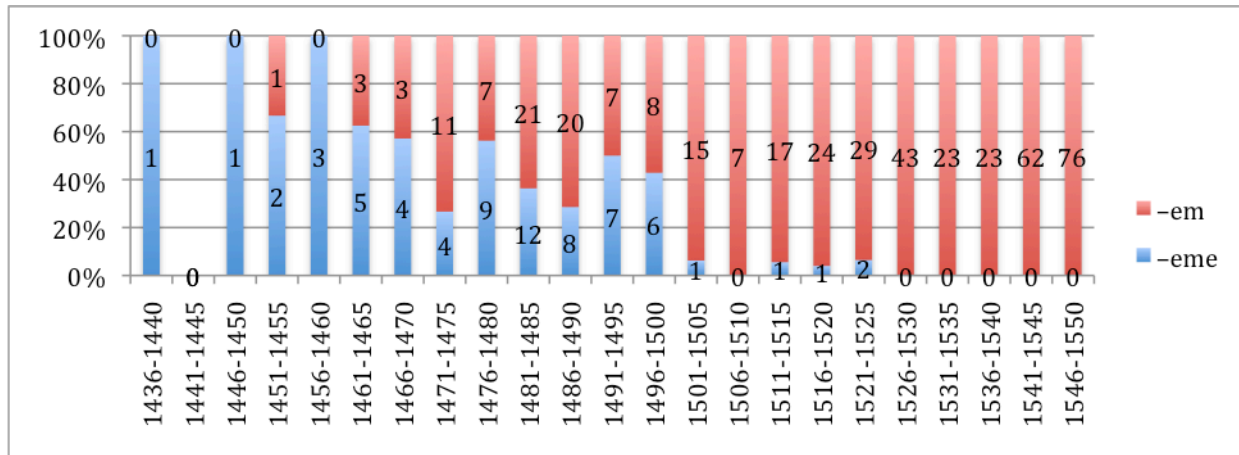


Figure 42

As expected, the longer forms disappear into the 16<sup>th</sup> century and are unattested in the last 25 years. However, when we consider which root (*en*, *eyn*, *eyn*) is combining with which ending (*-eme* or *-em*), I find that the older form *en* occurs 56% of the time as *eneme* and 44% of the time as *enem*. The root *eyn*, on the other hand, leans much more toward the *-em* ending, occurring only 13% of the time as *eyneme* and 87% as *eynem*. For the third form *ein*, the difference is even stronger: there are no attestations of *eineme* at all. I show in Figure 43 the percentages per lustrum. Although *enem* forms coexist with *eneme* forms, they both become less common in the period 1486-1490, where *eyneme* and *eynem* become more common. The second half of the corpus is dominated by *einem* and *eynem* forms. These chronological changes are unexpected according to Lübben's grammar. I find that the use of *en*, *eyn*, or *ein* is not arbitrary, nor is the use of the long dative ending over the shorter form.

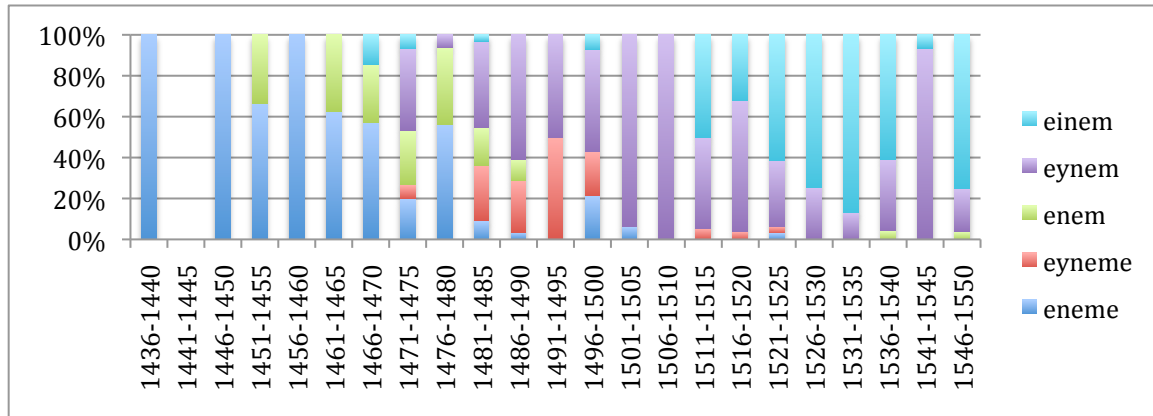


Figure 43

Next, we look at the inflectional patterns that occur with *en*. I concentrate on the set phrase 'an honorable council' – written variously as *en erbar radt* or *en ersam radt* (with varying adjective declension).

I found that the most common formulation is *ein erbar/ersam radt*, where the adjective is not marked for gender. This form makes up 75% of the attestations, and as shown in Figure 44, it occurs in every period from 1501-1550 but does not always dominate. The second most common form is *ein erbare/ersame radt*, which occurs 22% of the time. This is the most popular variant from 1511-1520, but soon declines in use over the bare adjective form. Lastly, 4% of the attestations were of the type *ein ersamer/erbarer radt*. This type of inflection appears sporadically throughout the period and does not seem to increase over time, although all attestations occur in the last 50 years.

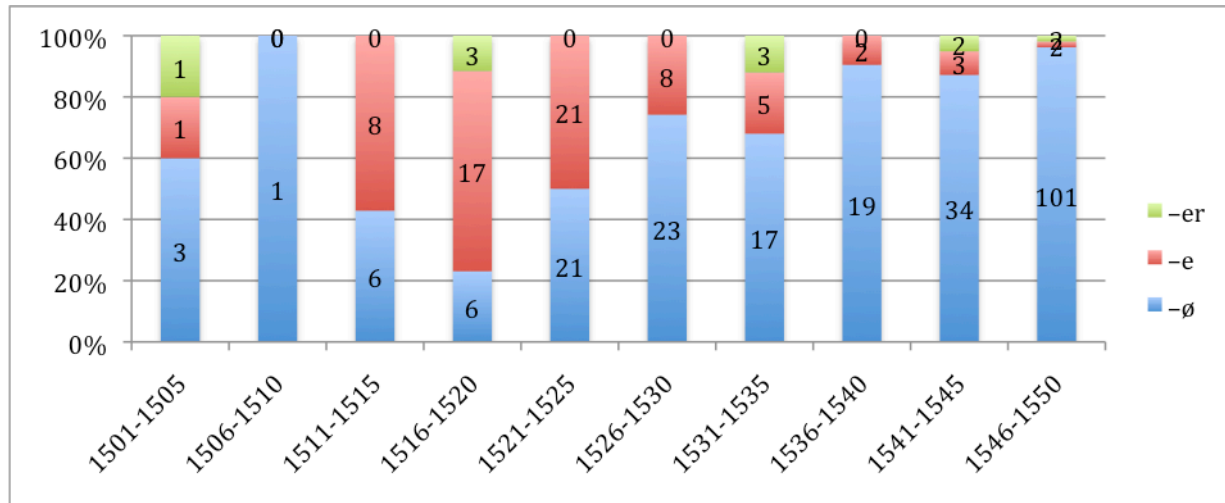


Figure 44

### 4.3 desse

The demonstrative *desse* 'this' is given in the following paradigm by Lasch and Lübben. As with the previous paradigms, variation is indicated with parentheses.

(59)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	desse <sup>26</sup>	desse	dit, düt	desse
GENITIVE	desses	desser	desses	desser
DATIVE	dessem(e)	desser	dessem(e)	dessen
ACCUSATIVE	dessen	desse	dit	desse

Unlike in the case of *dem(e)*, the variation between the short and long forms of the masculine and neuter singular dative is much smaller, with only nine occurrences of *desseme* versus 67 of *dessem*.

Many variant forms of the demonstrative are given by both Lasch and Lübben (see footnote 26), and Lasch comments on this: "*desse* ist die weiter verbreitete form, die als die schriftsprachliche form anzusehen ist" (1914:219). I searched the corpus to verify this claim, and found that Lasch's observation holds for the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. I find that, of

<sup>26</sup> There are many variants of this form for the masculine and feminine, such as *düsse*, *dese*, *disse*, and *dosse*, which can also occur in the other cases ["case" is ambiguous here] (Lasch 1914:218–219; Lübben 1882:110).

the 944 demonstratives in the corpus, 86.9% are a form of *desse*, while *duisse* forms constitute only 7.9% of the total. The forms *disse* and *diese* make up only 4.7% and 0.5% of the data, respectively. Of the neuter variants *dit* and *düt*, *dit* occurs 154 times (where I count <dyt> as *dit*) versus 37 instances of *dut* (where the umlaut is never marked). As expected, I never find *desse* referring to neuter nouns.

In the next section, we turn to the other determiners in the corpus: *malk*, *elk*, *mannich*, *sodan*, *ider*, *etlik*, *sulk*, and *welk*.

#### 4.4 Other Determiners

#### 4.4.1 malk & elk

The determiners *malk* and *elk* both mean 'each' and are very sparsely attested in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*.

The determiner *malk* is only attested once in the corpus, in a phrase from 1462 (example (60)) with the possessive pronoun *zine* 'his'.

- (60) und **malke zine gudere** [...] to delende unde to  
betalende

'and to pay for and to share each of his goods'

The determiner *elk* is attested only three times, all three attestations coming from the same case.

- (61) **elken van sinen kinderen** 11 January 1499

'each of his children'

- (62) **elken 400 rinschgulden**  
'each of 400 Rhinish guilders'

- (63) **elken sinen kinde**





*sodan* might be expected to appear for all three genders. Alternately, gender may be marked, with *sodaner* for masculine, *sodane* for feminine, and *sodan* for neuter.

To determine the inflection patterns used in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, I looked for forms that might correspond to the possible nominative forms given above. I found that *sodaner* does not occur with singular masculine nouns, but only in the feminine genitive and dative and in the plural genitive. The form *sodant* is also limited to pronominal use and never appears before a neuter noun. I find that the masculine form is uniformly *sodane*, which parallels the feminine form in this case. Masculine examples are given in (66) and (67) with the noun *breff* 'letter'.

- (66) Dat **sodane breff** [...] were men eyne fruntlick 13 February 1495  
bedebreff

'that such letter, however, was a friendly request'

- (67) Na deme **sodane breff** nicht van werde were 1 September 1464

'after such letter was not valid'

The adjective declines weakly after this form ((68)).

- (68) **sodane vorscrevene breff** 22 April 1452

'such aforementioned letter'

An example with the feminine noun *renthe* 'income' is shown in (69). However, two isolated instances of a feminine noun preceded by *sodan* were found ((70) and (71)). Note that the word *vorlust* is given by Schiller & Lübben as usually being feminine; it is possible it is a neuter form here (Schiller & Lübben 1880:400).

- (69) Weme **sodane renthe** steit togeschreven 3 June 1497

'to whomever it is written such income belongs'

- (70) so moste de cleger **sodan schult** [...] bowysen 5 February 1511  
unde inbringen

'so the plaintiff must prove and bring in such  
allegation'

- (71) dath ome umb **sodan vorlust** gar nicht bewust 30 January 1544

'that he did not even know about such loss'

Unlike with the masculine and feminine forms, I was unable to easily ascertain the general ending for *sodan* with neuter nouns. I find both bare forms and forms ending in *-e*. To determine which is more common, I chose the common neuter noun *gelt* 'money' and searches for occurrences with this determiner.

Surprising is the form *sodanes*, attested in a case from 7 November 1460 (shown in example (72)). The inflection *-es* is not otherwise attested for determiners or is even common with adjectives accompanying neuter nouns.

- (72) Na deme Lechtes kinderen **zodanes gelt** van ereme 7 November 1460  
vader, de wile he noch levede, gegeven was unde en  
**zodane gelt** tohorde, unde Hans Bremen und Albert  
Loer **sodanes gelt** van erem vader to truer hand to  
der kinder behoff gedan was

'After such money was given to Lechte's children by  
their father, while he was still living, and such money  
belonged to them, and Hans Bremen and Albert Loer  
received such money from their father [to keep] in  
custody for the sake of the children'

However, this case is isolated and much more common are the forms *sodan* and *sodane*. As shown in Figure 45, *sodane gelt* occurs much more frequently than *sodan gelt*.

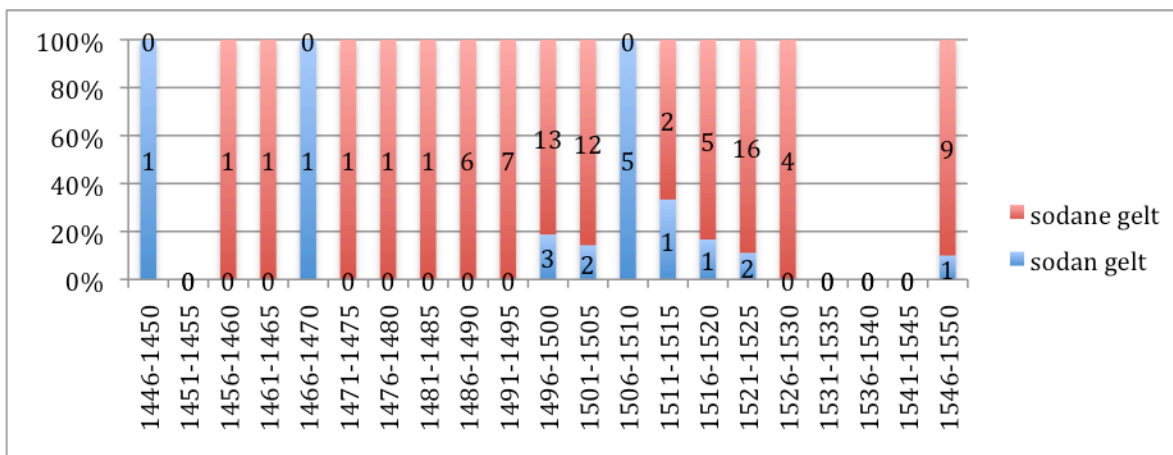


Figure 45

What is surprising about this is that the other determiners that appear with *gelt* are more likely not to end in *-e*, such as *etlik gelt* versus *etlike gelt* or *sulk gelt* versus *sulke gelt*. While the ultimate cause of this discrepancy might lie in the origins of the determiners in question (*sodan* is the only determiner in this group that is derived, in part, from a past participle), I do not have enough data at this time to provide an explanation for this phenomenon.

As with previous determiners, I compared occurrences of the long form of the masculine and neuter singular dative (*sodaneme*) with occurrences of the short form (*sodanem*). Although we have seen in Figure 39 that the use of *deme* decreases over time in favor of *dem*, the data for *sodanem(e)* is much different. There is a total of 24 *sodanem* forms, the earliest from 1444. However, there is only one attestation for *sodaneme*, from 1465. That is, the long form of this multisyllabic determiner is highly dispreferred in the corpus, perhaps indicating that erosion of the final *-e* in these forms is subject to the syllabicity of the determiner.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This may also be the reason for the dispreference of *desseme*, see section 4.3 above.

As with the definite article, the determiner *sodan* is attested with a final *-en* in the masculine and neuter dative singular (examples (73-75)). The dative *-e* marking on the noun is still present, as shown with *gelde* 'money'.

- |      |                   |                  |
|------|-------------------|------------------|
| (73) | van sodanen gelde | 21 January 1499  |
|      | 'from such money' |                  |
| (74) | van sodanen papir | 20 February 1498 |
|      | 'from such paper' |                  |
| (75) | tho sodanen gelde | 15 March 1525    |
|      | 'to such money'   |                  |

#### 4.4.4 ider

The determiner *ider* 'each' is listed by both Lasch and Lübben, while Lübben mentions specifically that the form is "nicht sehr gebräuchlich; sie [scheint] erst später unter hochdeutschem Einflusse entstanden zu sein [...]" (1882:117). This is supported by the data from the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*: *ider* forms only occur between 1506 and 1550, with fewer than five attestations per lustrum until the period 1541-1545, which evidences nine cases. The most attestations (21 of 39 total) are found in the very last lustrum.

We see in example (76) that the root is sometimes taken to be *id-/jed-* and inflects here with an adjectival ending. This is not always so.

- |      |   |                  |
|------|---|------------------|
| (76) | dar van de frowe van viff jaren <b>jedes jar</b> de rente<br>gebort und entfangen hedde | 19 November 1547 |
|      | 'from which the woman had received and [?] the<br>income each year for five years'      |                  |

In example (77), for instance, the genitive is given as *iders*, which includes the *-r-* as part of the root.

- (77) van wegen twier jaer versetener hushur, 5 February 1546  
**iders jars** 40 M lub.

'because of two years late rent, each year 40  
 Lübeck marks'

When this determiner follows the indefinite article *en*, it inflects weakly, as in example (78), where *jeden* follows the indefinite article in the genitive singular *eynß*.

- (78) dat beiden parten von **eynß jeden geforderden** 27 March 1546  
**tuchniß** copien gegeben werden

'that copies of each demanded testimony are given  
 to both parties'

In fact, the formulation with the indefinite article is very common with this determiner, although there is still confusion about the root to be inflected.

In example (79), the form *idern* follows the indefinite article in the dative, having been inflected weakly with the root *ider-*. A similar attestation from four years earlier, however, shows the weakly inflected form *jeden*, based off the root *jed-*. It may appear that the writers treat the determiner differently based on how it is spelled, with the <i> variant having the rhotic stem and the <j> variant as the simpler form. This hypothesis does not hold for all instances, though, as example (81) shows with *jedern*.

- (79) **eynem idern** 30 July 1544

'each one'

- (80) **einem jeden kinde** 1 September 1540

'each child'

- (81) **einem jedern** 6 June 1548

'each one'

Lastly, the collocation with the indefinite article in the nominative varies with the form of *en* used. In example (82), the bare form *ein* appears with *ider*, but in example (83) it is the longer form *einer* that occurs with *ider*.

(82) dath **ein ider**, de erffgudt manen wolde 27 July 1543

'that a person, who wanted to sue for inheritance

(83) **einer ider** ock sin recht vorsehen und vorsumen 13 April 1543  
konde

'each could provide for and [or?] lose his rights'

#### 4.4.5 the form 'idt'

Lübben and Lasch both make mention of the form *idt*, a reduced form of the neuter nominative and accusative definite article *dat* (Lasch 1914:218; Lübben 1882:109). There is evidence in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* for this form, such as the phrase *idt perdt* 'this horse', shown in example (84) and *eth hus* 'this house' in (85).

(84) Na dem de anthwordesmann **idt perdt** van deme 13 November 1521  
anleger gehuret und de hure betalt

'since the defendant rented this horse from the  
plaintiff and paid the rent'

(85) dath die cleger **eth hus** gekofft 17 August 1543

'that the plaintiff [had] bought this house'

These forms are identical to the third person neuter pronoun and thus present difficulties when trying to establish use of *idt* versus *dat* as a determiner. When occurring with *sulve* 'self' or one of its variants, however, I find that *idt* only appears between 1511 and 1550, indicating limited use in the corpus.

#### 4.4.6 –k– & –ch– Determiners

I group the determiners *etlik* (many) and *sulk* (such) together, since they both exhibit the same characteristic: they both have dual forms, one unshifted (the '-k– forms') and one shifted (the '-ch– forms'). However, these variants are not always given in Lübben's or Lasch's grammars. The determiner *etlik* (with the listed variants *et(t)elik*, *it(te)lik*, *itlik*, and *ietslik*) has no variant *etlich* in either grammar, contrary to evidence from the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. Likewise, both Lasch and Lübben list *sulk* (with variants *solk*, *sölk*, *sülk*, *alsülk*, *sôlîk*, and *sölik*), but only Lasch gives the form *söllich*, without further comment (1914:219).

I find that both these determiners have shifted forms, details of which I present in the following sections.

##### 4.4.6.1 *etlik*

The determiner *etlik* appears in the period 1456-1550 and is attested 156 times. Of these, 74% are of the form *etlik*, while 26% are shifted. The distribution of –k– and –ch– forms is not uniform, with the shifted forms appearing only in the period 1511-1550, with a tendency to become more frequent with the progression of time. I note that this form is similar to the Middle High German form *ētelîch* and be influenced by the introduction of High German into Lübeck's chancelleries around this time (Jacob Grimm et al. 1984b:col. 1175).



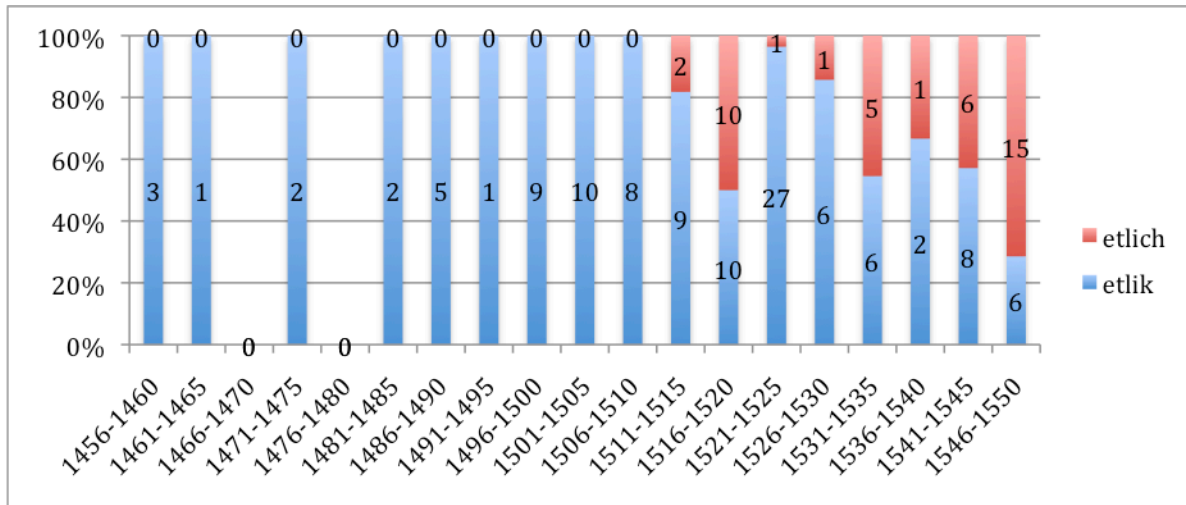


Figure 46

Neither Köbler (2000) nor Gallée & Lochner (1910) gives an Old Saxon form for *etlik*, nor does Grimm mention a Low German equivalent in his dictionary, but Schiller & Lübben (1880) do list it in their dictionary, albeit only in the –k– form.

The determiner *etlik* is listed as an adjective, and it does often behave like one. In examples (86) and (87), we see that both *etlike* and the adjective following it end in the expected –e of the accusative plural. If *etlik* were behaving as a determiner, we would expected the weak ending –en on *echte* 'legitimate' and *opene* 'open'.

(86) dar mede he ock **etlike echte kindere** gehat 1 April 1492

'with whom he also had many legitimate children'

(87) de genante Clawes Swagersson vorbrachte und togede **etlike opene breve** 9 October 1465

'the aforementioned Clawes Swagersson presented and showed many open letters'

The same pattern is found in the genitive plural, where both *etlik* and the adjective exhibit the strong inflection –er. We see in both (88) and (89) examples of this type of inflection.

(88) na lude **etliker vorseghelder breve** 3 December 1501

'according to many sealed letters'

- (89) **etliker unredeliker und ungeborliker worde** unde 20 January 1496  
vorachtinge halven

'because of many irrational and posturing words and  
derision'

This parallel inflection also occurs in the feminine singular, an example of which is given in (90) with the adjective *vorseten* 'delinquent'.

- (90) van wegen **etliker vorsetener renthe** 25 August 1497  
'concerning much delinquent income'

The parallel inflection pattern is by no means the only pattern attest with *etlik*. There are also phrases where the adjective after *etlik* has a weak adjective ending, implying it is behaving more like a determiner than a regular adjective. In example (91), the adjective *nastendigen* 'in arrears' is weakly inflected, as well as the two adjectives *vorseten* 'delinquent' and *bodageden* 'late' in (92) (I assume that *vorseten* has a syncopated weak ending *-en*).

- (91) **etliker nastendigen schulde** halven 28 November 1550  
'because of a debt in arrears'

- (92) von wegen **etliker vorseten und bodageden renthe** 16 January 1516  
'because of much delinquent and late [?] income'

- (93) van wegen **etliker waltsamen averfaringe** 16 June 1518  
'because of much violent experience [?]

There are 15 cases of *etliker* followed by an adjective with the weak ending *-en* compared with 12 cases of parallel inflection in *-er*. Given the paucity of the data and lack of any large discrepancy in occurrences of each form, it appears that the adjective inflection

following *etlik* varied by writer. However, evidence for a strong/weak pattern preference may be found in the masculine and neuter singular dative forms. Unlike the previous uses of *etlik*, these forms only appear with an adjective that is weakly inflected, as shown in examples (94) and (95). The strong/strong inflection pattern does not occur.

(94) **etlikem uthgesechten gelde** 12 August 1502  
'much adjudicated money'

(95) van wegen eyner lade und **etlickem reden gelde** 4 March 1531  
'concerning a box and much cash'

Lastly, I note that the masculine and neuter genitive forms can appear with either strong/strong or strong/weak inflection patterns. In the example given in (96), the adjective *thogefogeden* 'inflicted' is inflected weakly following the strongly inflected *ethliches*. However, the same phrase from two decades prior occurs with both *etlik* and the adjective inflected weakly and only the noun exhibiting genitive *-s*.

(96) **ethliches thogefogeden schadens** halven 10 September 1544  
'regarding much inflicted damage'

(97) van wegen **etlicken thogefugeden schadens** 6 February 1527  
'regarding much inflicted damage'

The weak inflection of *etlik* with a genitive noun is not limited to cases in which it precedes an adjective. In example (98), *ethlichen* occurs weakly inflected with no adjective modifier. It should be noted that the weak inflection on *etlik* is not necessarily an indication of whether it is being used as a determiner or an adjective: adjectives in the Lübecker Ratsurteile masculine and neuter genitive may end in *-es*. In example (99), the adjective *gemeltes* 'aforementioned' is inflected strongly.

(98) van wegen **ethlichen geldes**

3 September 1521

'regarding much money'

(99) luth **gemeltes breves**

14 November 1505

'according to the aforementioned letter'

#### 4.4.6.2 sulk

As with *etlik*, both shifted and unshifted forms of *sulk* occur in the corpus. I plotted these by year and find the same phenomenon found with *etlik*, namely, that shifted forms occur increasingly frequently in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* with the progression of time.

We see in Figure 47 that forms with <ch> begin to appear in the lustrum 1511-1515 and dominate the remaining years. They never displace the forms with <k>.

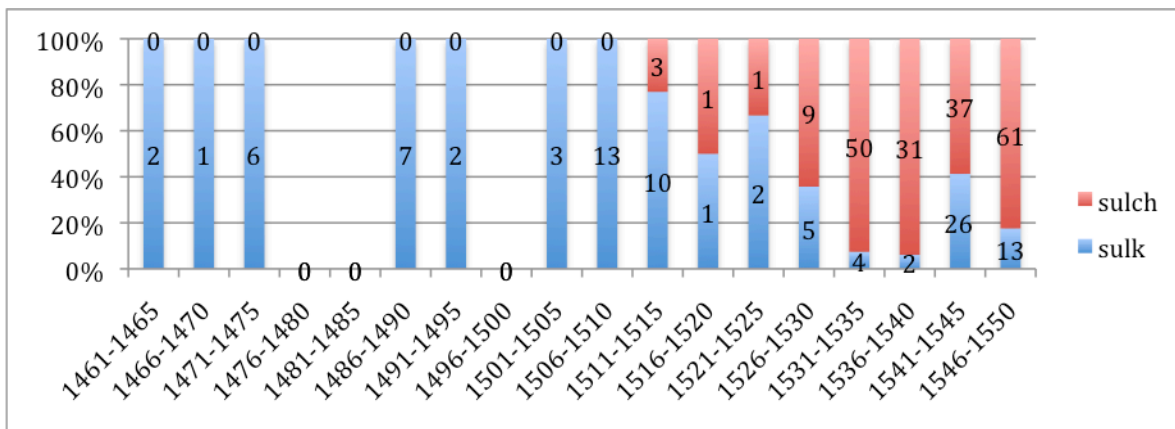


Figure 47

In her discussion of this determiner, Lasch mentions that so-called 'full forms' ("volle formen") are common. The full forms Lasch refers to are the forms where an *i* intervenes between the liquid and the stop or fricative, i.e. *söllich* and *sölik* (Lasch 1914:219). Lasch states that this process of anaptyxis is a more recent development (1914:123).

I was able to test this assertion by plotting instances of *sollich* and *solik* against those such as *solk* and *solch*. We see in Figure 48 that the shorter forms dominate the corpus in the first half-century, while full forms begin to appear starting in 1511 and increasing until 1531, after which they occur more seldom.

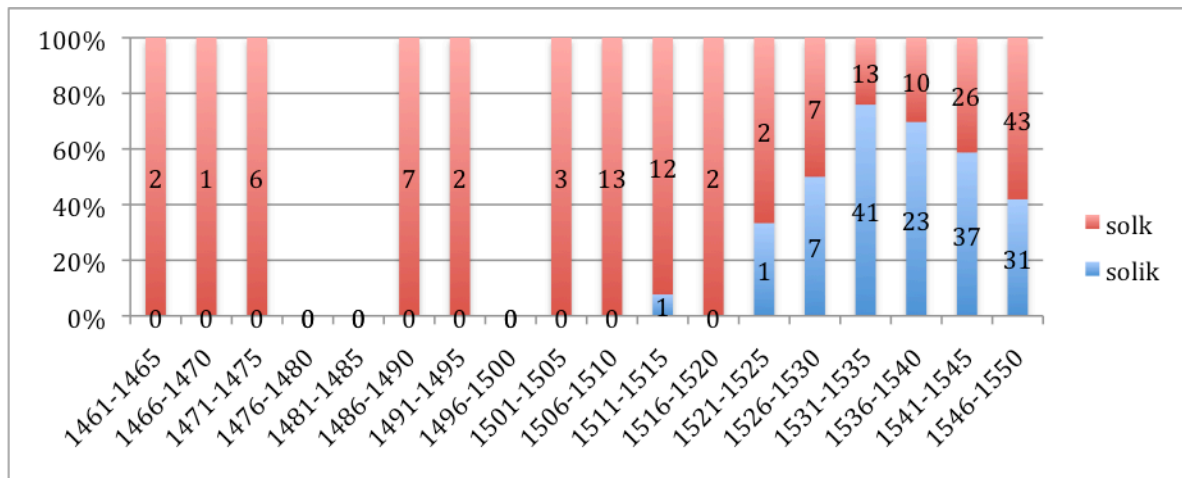


Figure 48

In Grimm's dictionary, Grimm notes that "die niederdeutschen mundarten halten vielfach das aus u umgelaute *ü*, vereinzelt auch *u* fest, während in den hochdeutschen *ö* herrscht" (Jacob Grimm et al. 1984b:col. 1427). If we assume that the umlauted vowel was often unmarked in this corpus (as appears to be the case with the city name *Lübeck*, which shows up most often without any marking on the *u*), then we expect that the original Middle Low German form is written *sulk* while a form such as *solk* is more similar to the High German form. Plotting occurrences of these two forms by year, we see in Figure 49 that forms with <ö> are attested only in the periods from 1511 onward.

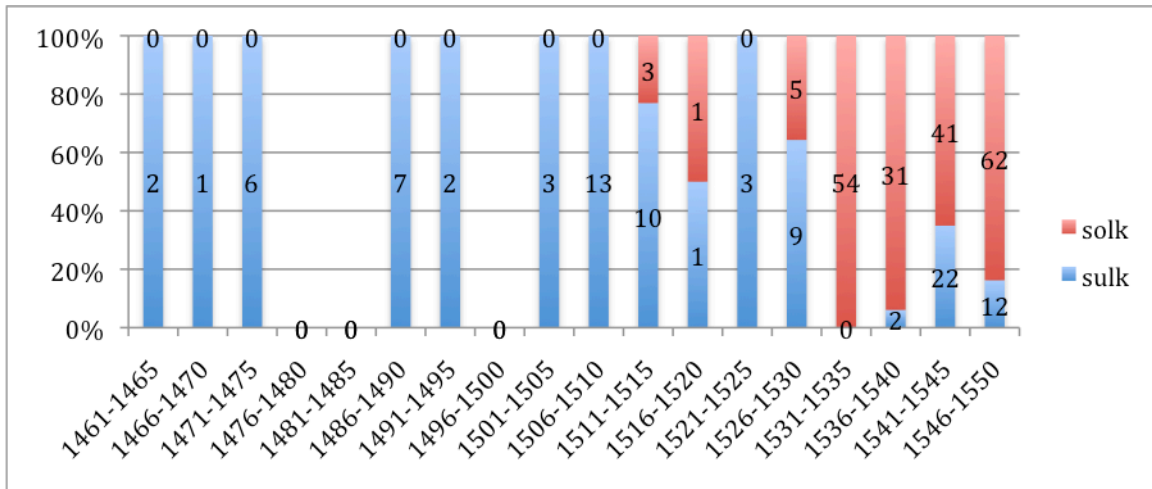


Figure 49

This seems to indicate that the forms with <o> may have been influenced by High German forms, especially as the introduction of High German in Lübeck's chancelleries began in the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

To further support this claim, I looked at the interaction of vowel quality with the <k> and <ch> alternation seen in Figure 47. I hypothesize that the forms with <ch> as well as the forms with <o> are influenced by High German forms. If this is true, then there should be a high correlation between use of <o> and <ch>, but not of <u> with <ch> or <o> with <k>. This hypothesis is borne out by the data. In (100), I break down the total occurrences of *sulk* (290) according to their vowel quality and /k/ lenition.

(100)	<b>U</b>	<b>O</b>	Total
<b>K</b>	83	14	97
<b>CH</b>	10	183	193
Total	93	197	<b>290</b>

While *sulk* forms total 83, the *solk* forms (which I view as a sort of 'frankenstein' form: a High German vowel with a Low German unshifted /k/) total only 14. On the other side, we see that *solch* forms occur 183 times, but *sulch* forms only 10. In Figure 50, I

present a more detailed graph showing the four possible forms (*sulk*, *solk*, *sulch*, *solch*) and their frequency in the corpus.

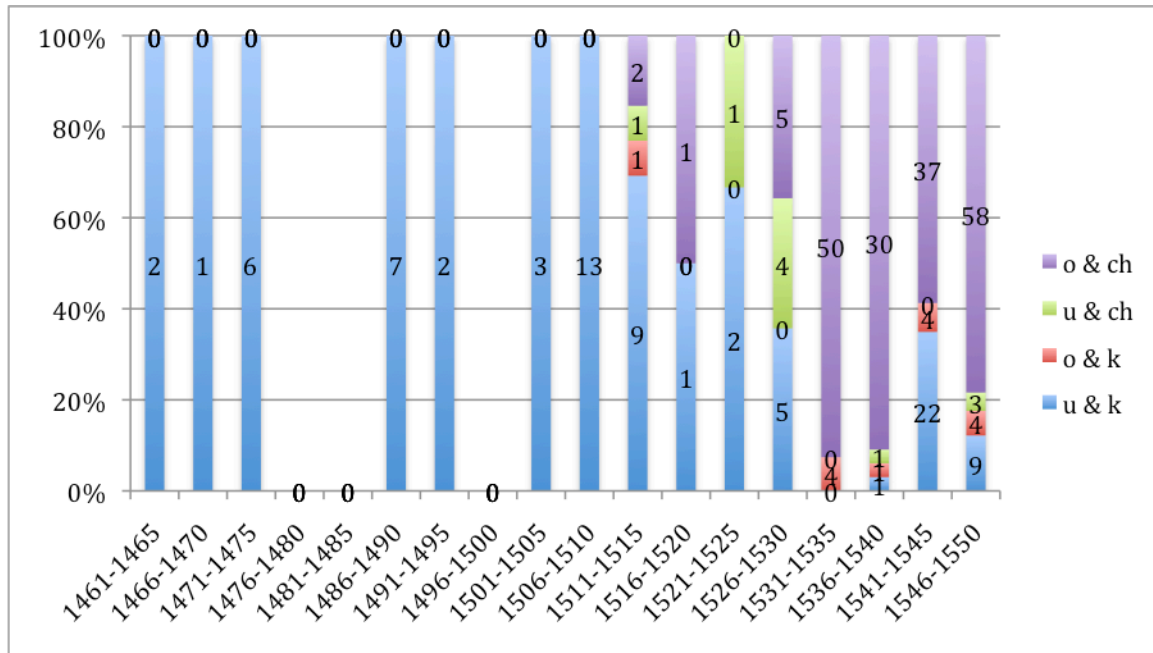


Figure 50

I note that the *solch* forms occur towards the end of the corpus, while the *sulk* forms occur in the first half. In the switch from a purely Middle Low German form to the High German form, however, there is evidence that forms are being confused. After the introduction of the High German forms in the period 1511-1515, there is no period where mixed forms do not occur and, unlike the situation with other determiners and forms, no one form wins out by the last lustrum of the corpus.

#### 4.4.7 Forms with 'sulf'

The adjective *sulf* 'same' can appear in a variety of forms in Middle Low German. Lasch lists the forms *selfste*, *sülfste*, *sülf*, *sölf*, *selve*, *selvige*, *sülfte*, *sülfte*, and *sülfte* along with the form *self*, which she says is the main written form (Lasch 1914:219). Lübben gives the additional forms *sulf*, *sullef*, *solve*, *sulft*, *silf*, and *sof*, but remarks that *self*, *silf*, and *sof*

are uncommon, which is at odds with Lasch's grammar (Lübben 1882:118). I find that the form *self* and its variants do not occur in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* at all. Instead, I consistently find variants with the vowel <u>: the forms *sulve*, *sulfte*, and *sulvige*. The form *sulve* is most common and accounts for 73% of the 1719 attestations, following in frequency by *sulvige* with 17.2%, and *sulfte* with 9.8%. We see in Figure 51 that, while *sulve* forms are attested throughout the corpus, *sulfte* forms are mostly clustered in the periods 1456-1480 and 1496-1505. The *sulvige* forms only appear from 1511 onwards, but never come to dominate *sulve* forms.

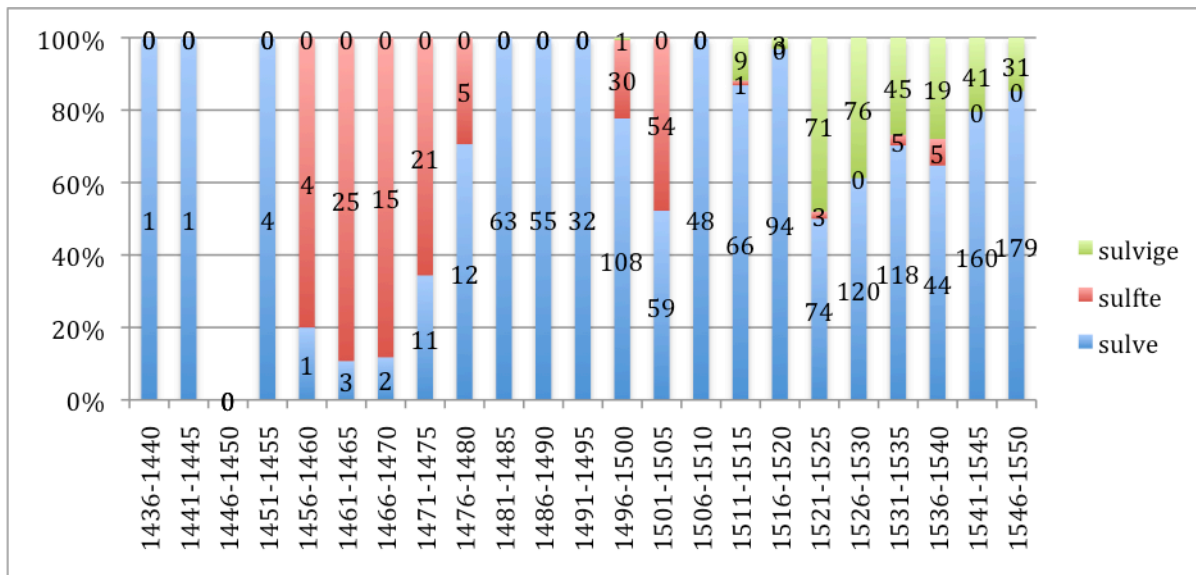


Figure 51

The reason for the sudden influx of *sulvige* forms may be contact with High German *selbig*. Grimm's dictionary gives *selbig* as a High and Middle German form and comments that, although listed in Schiller & Lübben's dictionary, no attestation is given (Jacob Grimm et al. 1984c:col. 435). This is yet another indicator that High German forms in an otherwise Middle Low German text preceded the introduction of High German into Lübeck's chancelleries.



#### 4.5 A Control

I hypothesized in sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.2 that High German influence may have played a role in the appearance of shifted forms in *etlik* and *sulk*, and in the form *sulvige*. As a sort of control, I searched the corpus for other indications of influence from outside Middle Low German.

First, I looked at the occurrence of the third person singular 'to be', given in the grammars as *is* with the secondary form *ist* (Lasch 1914:246–247; Lübben 1882:83). I surmise that the form closer to the High German form, *ist*, will occur more often in the later lustra where shifted *etlik* and *sulk* occur. Although there are a few instances of *ist* in the years prior to 1500, the last years of the corpus are witness to a large increase in this longer form (Figure 52).

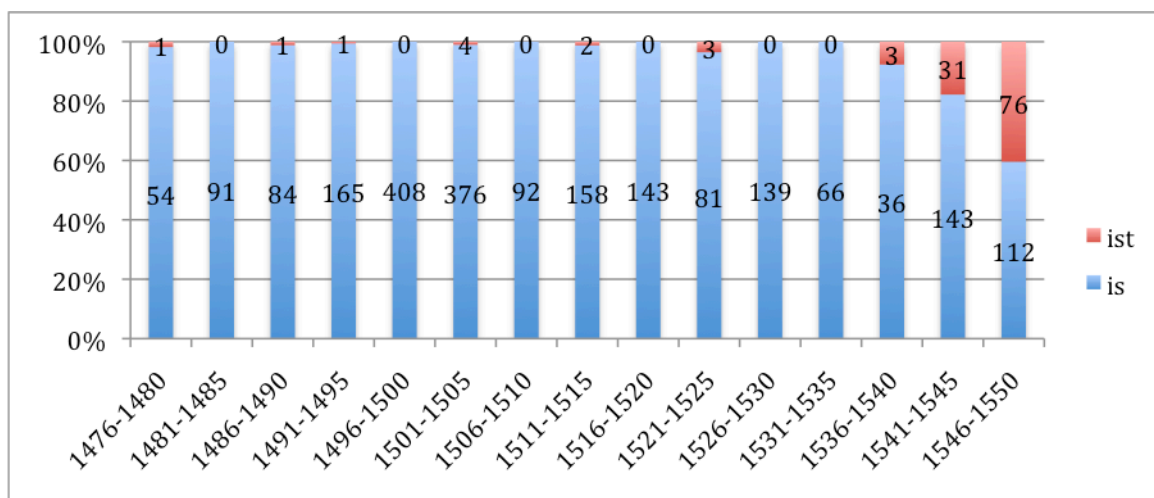


Figure 52

The second control I performed involves the word *sake* 'case'. This word evidences an unshifted /k/, unlike its High German counterpart. I searched for the forms *sake* (expected) and *sache* (unexpected). As I show in Figure 53, the shifted *sache* forms first appear in the lustrum 1516-1520 and generally increase, with a large spike in the period 1531-1535.

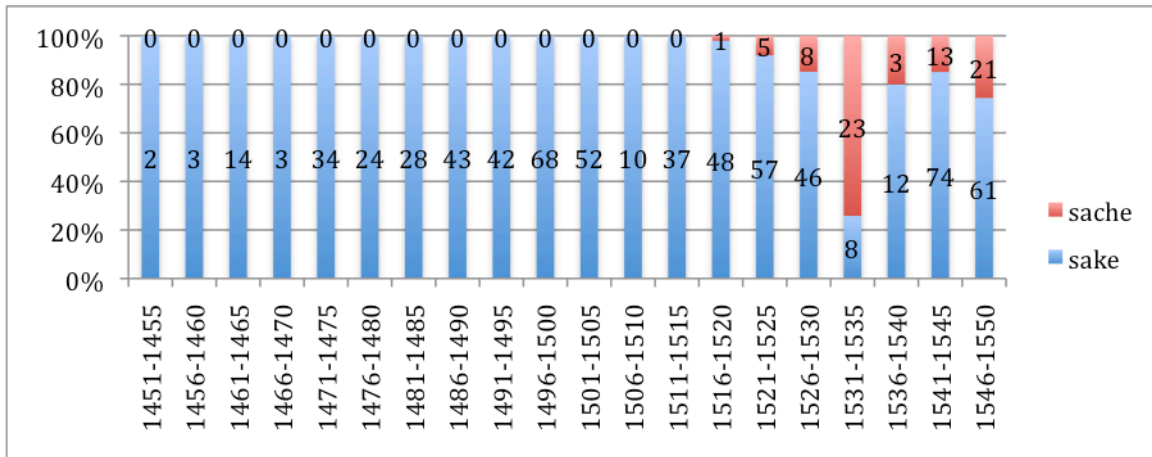


Figure 53

Both of these cases provide evidence beyond that found for the determiners that non-Middle Low German forms are evident in the last decades of the corpus, prior to the switch from Middle Low German to High German in Lübeck's chancelleries.

#### 4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we reviewed the determiners that are present in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. We looked at the definite and indefinite articles and their forms, and noted where the data supported or differed from the statements in Lasch and Lübken. We examined attestations of the demonstrative *desse*, and determined which of the variants listed in the grammars are found in the corpus. In section 6.3, I noted seven determiners listed by Lasch and Lübken, giving examples of each and noting their inflection with nouns in different cases and genders. I mentioned the form *idt*, a variant of the neuter definite article *dat*, and showed its use with the adjective *sulve*. In the case of the determiners *etlik* and *sulk*, I presented data that indicate that variants of these determiners change over time and correspond more and more to High German forms, this despite the fact that the texts in which these forms are found are still Middle Low German. I also found that the adjective *sulf* has many variants in Lasch's and Lübken's grammars, but my data does not support

Lasch's claim that the form *self* is the common written variant. Lastly, I provided a control with the words *is(t)* and *sake/sache*, whose distribution in the corpus lends weight to the claim that the appearance of shifted determiners and the form *sulvige* are due to High German influence.

## 5 Middle Low German Negation

According to Lasch (1914), Middle Low German exhibits more than one form of the negative determiner (corresponding to modern German *kein*). According to Lasch, the negative determiner has the forms *nên*, *nîn*, *kên*, *nichên*, *nigên*, and *gên* (1914:221) and is declined the same as the indefinite article *ên* (1914:208). The forms for the negative determiner are given in (101).

(101)	MASC	FEM	NEUT
NOM	<i>nên</i> ( <i>nêner</i> )	<i>nêne</i> , <i>nên</i>	<i>nên</i>
GEN	<i>nênes</i>	<i>nêner</i> (e)	<i>nênes</i>
DAT	<i>nênem</i> (e)	<i>nêner</i> (e)	<i>nênem</i> (e)
ACC	<i>nênen</i>	<i>nêne</i>	<i>nên</i>

Of note among these forms are the forms in the nominative masculine singular (*nêner*) and the nominative feminine singular (*nên*). While the masculine form *nêner* may be expected in instances where the negative determiner does not modify a noun, as in modern German, the feminine form *nên* is not expected.

The question then arises, how are these represented in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*? To answer this question, I ran the query XDXXX and filtered out the Ds that were negative. The following forms are evidenced in (102).

(102)	G	N			K	
	<i>geen</i>	<i>neen</i>	<i>nener</i>	<i>neynes</i>	<i>kein</i>	<i>keins</i>
	<i>genen</i>	<i>nein</i>	<i>nenes</i>	<i>nien</i>	<i>keine</i>	<i>keyn</i>
	<i>gener</i>	<i>neine</i>	<i>neyn</i>	<i>nyn</i>	<i>keinem</i>	<i>keyne</i>
	<i>geyn</i>	<i>neinen</i>	<i>neyne</i>	<i>nyne</i>	<i>keinen</i>	<i>keynen</i>
	<i>geynen</i>	<i>neiner</i>	<i>neyneß</i>	<i>nyneme</i>	<i>keiner</i>	<i>keyner</i>
	<i>ghen</i>	<i>nen</i>	<i>neynen</i>	<i>nynen</i>	<i>keines</i>	<i>keynes</i>
	<i>gheen</i>	<i>nene</i>	<i>neyner</i>	<i>nyner</i>		

I divide the forms into G-, N-, and K-forms, according to which letter they begin with. Note that not all forms listed by Lasch are evidenced in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*: the forms where the negative particle *ni-* has combined with *chên/gên* are not found. The form *negen* shows up, but this is clearly the numeral 'nine' and not the negative determiner, as example (103) shows.

- (103) van wegen negen schymessen lettouwessehgesponnen 7 May 1498  
vlessen garns  
3)

'regarding nine packs of Lithuanian spun fleece yarn'

The N-forms were given extra attention, as they can also be part of a yes-or-no collocation, shown in (104), or can function as a VP negation, shown in (105).

- (104) Hans van Bingen antworde unde **neen** zede 1471-1475

'Hans van Bingen answered and said 'no''

- (105) so mach he anders **nene** maken Aug. 20 1502

'he cannot do [it] any other way'

Forms that could possibly fall into one of these two categories were searched for individually in the corpus and manually removed from the data set. Lastly, forms such as *nigen* may show up, but are limited to instances of the adjective 'new':

- (106) van wegen eynes **nigen** stallrhumes 29 November 1544

'because of a new stall'

## 5.1 Data

Having filtered out the false hits, I break down the three negative determiner types into five-year increments, for a total of 26 periods. There are no negative determiner attestations for the periods 1426-1430 and 1431-1435.

(107)

	N	G	K
1421-1425	0	2	0
1426-1430	0	0	0
1431-1435	0	0	0
1436-1440	3	0	0
1441-1445	2	0	0
1446-1450	2	0	0
1451-1455	1	0	0
1456-1460	1	0	0
1461-1465	15	0	0
1466-1470	7	1	0
1471-1475	24	0	0
1476-1480	7	0	0
1481-1485	23	2	2
1486-1490	23	0	0
1491-1495	21	0	1
1496-1500	29	0	1
1501-1505	22	0	0
1506-1510	10	0	1
1511-1515	29	0	3
1516-1520	27	11	1
1521-1525	44	4	16
1526-1530	20	1	55
1531-1535	53	0	18
1536-1540	15	0	13
1541-1545	10	0	66
1546-1550	3	1	91
Total	391	22	268

The first thing one may notice about this breakdown is not only the relative paucity of attestations in the text, 681 instances in a corpus of more than 500,000 words, but also that the first ten periods evidence relatively few attestations. This can be attributed to the fact that the corpus has more entries in the later years, but very few in the first decades.

If we look at just the three negative determiner forms and how they relate to each other, we notice that they are not all evenly distributed. I plotted the information in (107) in a line graph (Figure 54) to see how the forms are evidenced over the 130-year time period the corpus covers.

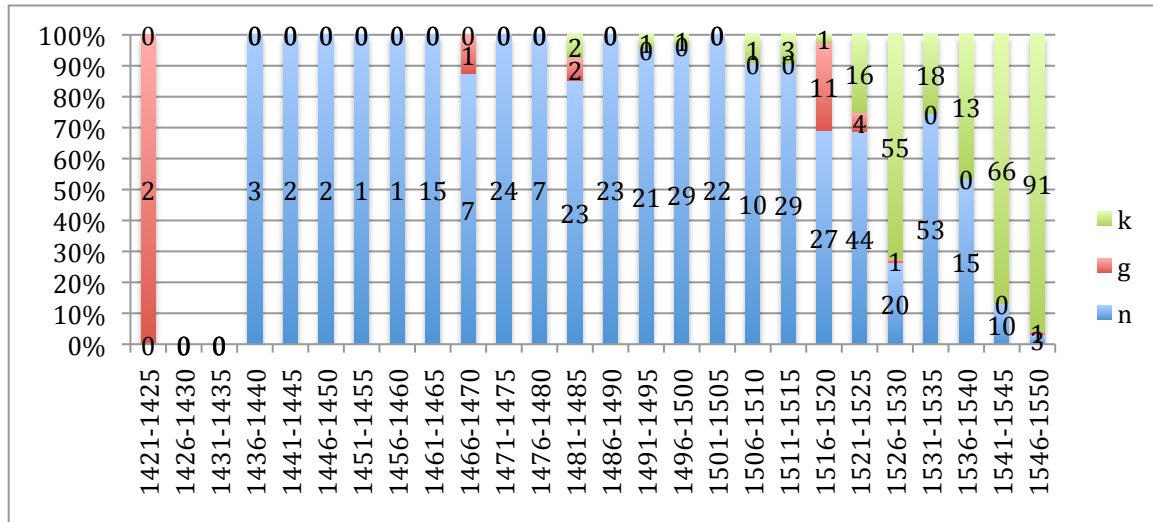


Figure 54

It is immediately clear that there is a trend present, which is most easily seen in the last decades. We can see now what Lasch's list of negative determiners could not give us insight into the actual patterns of use of the three negative determiner forms. While the *n*-forms are most often attested and comprise 57% of the negative determiners, they lose their dominance in the period 1526-1530 and again in 1541-1550. In these periods, *k*-forms become most prominent. The *g*-forms make no significant contribution to the data and, except for the two occurrences in the very first period, never constitute a majority of negative determiner forms.

It is important to remember that these forms were competing against each other in the corpus, meaning that the choice for speakers was one form to the detriment of the other two. I speculate about a possible reason below. First, we turn to an analysis of these phrases.

## 5.2 Analysis

The first step is to give the lexical entries for the N-, G-, and K-forms (represented here by *neyn*, *geyn*, and *keyn* respectively). These will be part of a larger f-structure that includes a PRED with a noun. The entries are similar to those for the indefinite article with the value [DEF = -], but they have the added feature [POL = neg]. POL stands for 'polarity' and may have the value POSitive or NEGative (in cases where [POL = pos], I will leave the feature out of the f-structure). This feature indicates whether the nominal phrase it is a part of is negative or positive. We see in example (108) the lexical entries for the three negative determiner forms.

- (108)   *neyn*     D     (↑DEF) = -  
                               (↑POL) = neg
- keyn*     D     (↑DEF) = -  
                               (↑POL) = neg
- geyn*     D     (↑DEF) = -  
                               (↑POL) = neg

Each of these forms adds to the f-structure a negative polarity and a negative definiteness. That is, these forms only differ with regard to their phonological content.

### 5.2.1 Negative Determiners and Adjectives

To test whether the morphological marking of the negative determiners has an effect on the adjective, I look at those instances in the corpus where an adjective follows a negative determiner. Unfortunately, the negative determiner seldom occurs with an adjective.



In the following phrase from the period 1521-1525, we can see how the negative determiner *keiner* in the dative with a feminine noun causes the weak ending *-en* on the adjective *apenbar*. This is the same as in modern German and what one would expect.

- (109) in keiner apenbaren veide 1521-1525  
 in no.F.SG.DAT open.WK feud.F.SG.DAT  
 'in no open feud'

Let us turn to the f-structure for the nominal phrase *keiner apenbaren veide*. In Figure 55 we see that the negative determiner has contributed the DEF and POL features to the f-structure with PRED *veide*. The adjective, being an open adjunct (XADJ) has as its subject the PRED *veide*, to which it is linked via a curved line.

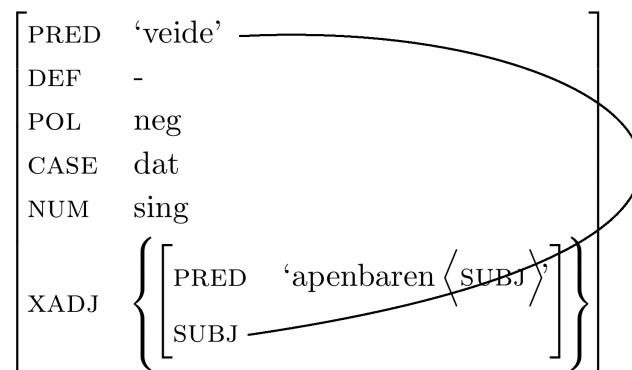


Figure 55

The c-structure is given in Figure 56 and shows that the AP is an adjunct to the NP and is annotated to show that it is a member of the XADJuncts of the f-structure headed by *veide*. (I have abstracted away from the CASE and NUMber features of *neyner*, which unify with those of *veide* in the f-structure.)

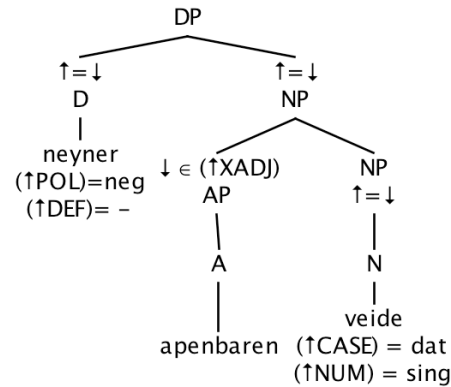


Figure 56

The question then arises, where is the feature *OMARK* proposed in the introduction as being essential for determining the appropriate adjectival inflection for the noun phrase?

It would appear that in many noun phrases with an adjective, the adjective does indeed look to the overt morphological marking of the noun for its inflection. In examples (113), (111), and (112) are three phrases in oblique cases where the negative determiner is fully inflected. The accompanying adjective is inflected weakly, in all instances, with *-en*.

(110)	keynen	andern	bevel	1541-1545
	no.M.SG.ACC	other.WK	order.M.SG.ACC	
(111)	keynen	rechten	bescheit	1541-1545
	no.M.SG.ACC	legal.WK	decision.M.SG.ACC	
(112)	keiner	andern	gestalt	1546-1550
	no.SG.GEN	other.WK	form.SG.GEN	

In these instances, we may assume that the negative determiners are marked with the feature *[OMARK +]* and contribute this to the *f*-structure headed by the relevant noun (example (113)). The adjectives are affected by this feature and accordingly include a specification in their lexical entry (shown in (114)).

- (113) keyner     D     (↑DEF) = -  
                               (↑POL) = neg  
                               (↑OMARK) = +
- (114) andern     A     (↑PRED) = 'andern (↑SUBJ)'  
                               (↑SUBJ CASE) ≠ nom  
                               (↑SUBJ GEND) =<sub>c</sub> m  
                               (↑SUBJ NUM) =<sub>c</sub> sg  
                               (↑SUBJ OMARK) =<sub>c</sub> +

I note that all these forms occur in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, there are also instances in which the adjective is not inflected according to this system. We now turn to these examples to see why they inflect the way they do.

### 5.2.2 Parallel Inflection

In a number of examples, the adjective in a DP does not show the expected weak inflectional ending *-en*. This is found with both n- and k-forms.

- |       |           |             |                     |           |
|-------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|
| (115) | keyne     | menlicke    | lyves erven         | 1526-1530 |
|       | no.PL.ACC | male.ST     | inheritances.PL.ACC |           |
| (116) | nene      | besetene    | borgeren            | 1501-1505 |
|       | no.PL.NOM | resident.ST | citizens.PL.NOM     |           |
| (117) | neyne     | besetene    | borgere             | 1486-1490 |
|       | no.PL.NOM | resident.ST | citizens.PL.NOM     |           |
| (118) | nyne      | nye         | kopperhutten        | 1471-1475 |
|       | no.PL.ACC | new.ST      | copper-mills.PL.ACC |           |

The endings we see in these examples are parallel, that is, both the ending for the negative determiner and the ending for the adjective is *-e*. This seems to indicate a different inflectional pattern, one in which the negative determiner has no effect on the adjective. I can capture this in my system by assuming the lexical entry shown in (119) for the adjective *menlicke*. The feature [OMARK +], required of the subject in the lexical entry for

the adjective in (114), is not included in this entry. I have struck through the requirement for expository purposes.

- (119) *menlicke* A (↑PRED) = 'menlicke {↑SUBJ}'  
 (↑SUBJ CASE) ≠ {gen|dat}  
 (↑SUBJ NUM) =<sub>c</sub> pl  
~~{↑SUBJ OMARK} =<sub>ε</sub> +~~

There are still requirements placed on the subject of *menlicke*, including that the subject be plural (in this case<sup>28</sup>) and that the case of the noun be neither genitive nor dative. If the noun fulfills these requirements, *menlicke* may modify it.

There remains, however, the question of whether this is really a case of parallel inflection or if, in these examples, the final /n/ of the adjectives has been dropped in the spoken language, this being reflected in the orthography. How do we distinguish this from n-dropping in this instance? If this is accurate, then there should be other instances of parallel inflection where *-n* is not a factor. I do indeed find two cases with a negative determiner; example (120) is an example from the period 1546-1550.

- (120) *keiner*      *entlicker*    *rekenschup*    *noch*    *quitantien*                      1546-1550  
                  no.F.SG.GEN   final.ST      bill.F.SG.GEN    nor      receipts.F.PL.GEN

This very late attestation contains the negative determiner *keiner* in the genitive singular followed by the adjective *entlicker*. Contrary to the expected weak ending on the adjective, we see that this adjective bears the same strong inflection as the negative determiner. In this instance, I rule out n-dropping and write the following lexical entry for *entlicker*:

- (121) *entlicker* A (↑PRED) = *entlicker* {↑SUBJ}'  
 (↑SUBJ CASE) =<sub>c</sub> gen

<sup>28</sup> As in previous examples, we abstract away from the other possibilities here, such as that *menlicke* can also function with feminine singular nouns in the nominative and accusative, for example.

(↑SUBJ NUM) =<sub>c</sub> pl

The second phrase comes from the period 1521-1525 and evidences a singular feminine noun following the dative preposition *mith* (example (122)). As with the previous example, we have a case of parallel inflection on the adjective despite the overtly marked indefinite article *ener*. In my analysis, the lexical entry for the adjective *vullenkamener* also lacks the specification for the feature [OMARK = +].

(122)	mith	ener	vullenkamener	clage	1521-1525
	with	a.F.SG.DAT	complete.ST	complaint.F.SG.DAT	

In this section, I have explained two different types of agreement with the negative determiner: the strong/weak agreement pattern still current in modern German and the strong/strong agreement of examples (115-118) and (120). Likewise, I have shown how my framework can handle both of these inflectional patterns. There are, however, a few other anomalous patterns that I will explain in the next section.

### 5.2.3 Anomalies

In the phrase *keyne vullenkamen clage* ('no complete complaint') from the period 1526-1530, we have an apparently uninflected adjective:

(123)	keyne	vullenkamen	clage	1526-1530
	no.F.SG.NOM	complete.∅	complaint.F.SG.NOM	

We would expect the ending *-e* here in a form such as *vullenkamene*. Instead, the adjective is bare. This seems unusual for an adjective modifying a feminine noun. However, it may help to consider the derivation of this particular adjective. The adjective *vullenkamen* is derived from the verb *vul(len)komen* ('to come true'), meaning that

*vullenkamen* is a participial adjective. If we look at other examples of participial adjectives in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, we see that they too often do not decline as might be expected.

In examples (124a-e), we see that *vullenkamen* often does not evidence a weak ending in the dative case. However, the argument may be made that these examples are actually instances in which a final *-en* has been assimilated to the preceding *-en* of the participial adjective ending.

(124)	a.	mit	ener	vullenkamen	klage	1491-1495
	b.	mit	eyner	vullenkamen	clage	1491-1495
	c.	mit	eyner	vullenkamen	clage	1491-1495
	d.	myt	ener	vullenkomen	clage	1501-1505
	e.	myt	eyner	vullenkamen	clage	1506-1510
		with	a.F.SG.DAT	complete.Ø	complaint.F.S.DAT	

Although that explanation may be maintained in these examples, it seems less likely in the variety of other instances where the expected ending is not present. In example (125a), we see that *vorschreven* ('aforementioned') is without an ending following the indefinite article in the accusative case. Examples (125b,c) are likewise without an ending, although this could be an example of *-en* assimilation as well.

(125)	a.	de	vorschreven	Hans	1501-1505
		the.M.SG.ACC	aforementioned.Ø	Hans.M.SG.ACC	
	b.	eyne	fullenkamen	clage	1526-1530
		a.F.SG.ACC	complete.Ø	complaint.F.SG.ACC	
	c.	des	vorschreven	amptes	1501-1505
		the.N.SG.GEN	aforementioned.Ø	office.N.SG.GEN	

That *vullenkamen* can indeed take a weak *-en* ending where appropriate is without doubt; we see this in two examples from the second half of the corpus:

(126)	myth	eyner	vullenkamenen	klage	1541-1545
	with	a.F.SG.DAT	complete.WK	complaint.F.SG.DAT	
(127)	nene	vullenkamenen	macht		1496-1500
	no.F.SG.ACC	complete.WK	authority.F.SG.ACC		

### 5.3 Negative Determiner Inflection

Negative determiner inflection follows the expected pattern given in (101).

However, it may be noted that the forms Lasch gives in parentheses for feminine genitive and dative (*nênere*) do not occur in the corpus. The dative masculine and neuter forms in parentheses, which end in a schwa (*nêneme*), occur only twice in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, both occurrences in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the same set phrase 'of no value' ((128), (129)).

(128)	van	nyneme	werde	1461-1465
(129)	van	nyneme	gewerde	1481-1485

In cases where the negative determiner does not inflect as expected, it appears that the suffix *-en* has been assimilated to the preceding nasal. In examples (130) and (131), the masculine singular accusative of *kein/nein* does not evidence the expected *-en* suffix.

(130)	kein	bowið	1526-1530
(131)	nein	bewið	1481-1485
	no.M.SG.ACC	proof.M.SG.ACC	
		'no proof'	

### 5.4 About the Phrase *van keyner werde*

One phrase that is often repeated in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* involving a negative determiner is *van keyner werde* 'of no value'. This phrase appears around 64 times in the corpus and is more often attested than its positive counterpart, which only appears four

times in the years 1461-1470 and only in the form *van werde*. The noun *werde* is always accompanied by *macht* in this phrase (132-135).

(132) efft de breff **van werde unde macht** wesen scholde 1461-1465

'if the letter should be valid'

(133) densulven breff hijr bevorn **van werde unde macht** gedelet hedde 1461-1465

'...had considered the same letter here valid'

(134) so scholde de breff noch **van werde unde macht** wesen 1461-1465

'so should the letter still be valid'

(135) de scholde **van werde unde macht** wesen 1466-1470

'it should be valid'

There is one occurrence of a negation of this phrase that does not use a negative determiner: *machtloß unde nicht van werde* from the period 1456-1460. When the negative determiner is present, the word *macht* is not negated with *werde* (136).

(136) van unmacht unde nynen werde 1461-1465

However, the negative phrase usually occurs without *macht* and is evidenced with all three forms of the negative determiner, without a particular preference for any one form.

(137) van gener werde 1526-1530

(138) van neyner werde 1501-1505

(139) von keyner werde 1546-1550

Although this is clearly a set phrase, it still is subject to the variation in the use of the negative determiner seen in the rest of the corpus. What also stands out are the agreement



patterns used in this phrase. In (140), the possible endings for the negative determiner are given along with the forms of *werde* and their frequencies in the corpus.

(140)	Negative determiner ending	Form of <i>werde</i>	Frequency
	-er	werde	67% (43 occurrences)
	-er	werden	17% (11 occurrences)
	-en	werden	9% (6 occurrences)
	-en	werde	5% (3 occurrences)
	-eme	werde	2% (1 occurrence)

The most common pattern is the expected *van keiner werde*, with *werde* a singular feminine dative noun. The second most common form is *van keiner werden*, where the noun is treated as a weak noun with the expected *-er* ending on the negative determiner. The remaining 10 attestations evidence both *werde* and *werden*, but differ from the others in that the negative determiner unexpectedly indicates a masculine or neuter noun.

If we graph the occurrences of the unexpected form *werden* against the expected form *werde*, a pattern emerges (Figure 57). I note that the period before 1520 does not contain a single instance of *werden*. Starting in the period 1521-1525, however, the form *werden* appears and even outweighs instances of *werde*.

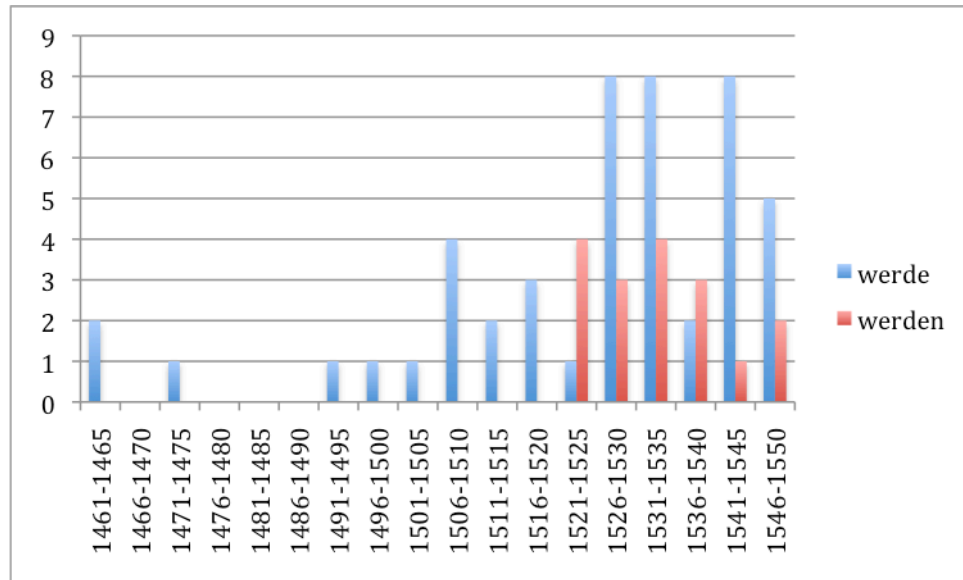


Figure 57

An explanation for this sudden change from *werde* to *werden* is not at first apparent. If we consider, though, that Lübeck's chancelleries began to switch over to High German starting around 1530, it is possible that this is a crossover effect from writing High German and confusion between strong and weak nouns. The High German equivalent of *werde*, *wert*, is either masculine or neuter, but not feminine as in Middle Low German. I suggest that this may have interfered with this Middle Low German phrase, causing some writers to treat *werde* as a weak, even perhaps masculine/neuter, noun.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the negative determiners in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. Using Lasch's paradigm as a guide, I reviewed which forms of the negative determiner occur in my corpus and which do not. We also were able to witness the decline of the N-forms over time in favor of the K-forms. I demonstrated how my theoretical model treats negative determiners and how adjective inflection is determined according to that model, as well as accommodating the parallel inflectional pattern of certain phrases with a

negative determiner. Lastly, I looked more closely at the collocation *van keyner werde* and its variants. I determined that forms with *werden* appear in the later decades of the corpus and I speculated that the introduction of High German in Lübeck's chancelleries may have played a role in that diachronic change.

## 6 Possessive Pronouns

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I look at the paradigms for the possessive pronouns given in Middle Low German grammars and compare the paradigms with evidence from my corpus. Individual analyses of nominal phrases will be given where appropriate, and I will suggest why forms may deviate from the expected paradigms. Lastly, with evidence from my corpus, I attempt to corroborate comments and examples given in the grammars.

### 6.2 Paradigms

According to Lasch (1914), Middle Low German has the following forms of the possessive pronoun:

(141)	SG.	PL.
1	mîn	unse
2	dîn	iûwe
3	sîn, sîner, is, es er, ere, erer, örer	er, ere, erer, örer

Lübben (1882) contains the additional forms shown in (142), while leaving out the forms ending in *-r* in the first person singular and the feminine singular and plural. Howe (1996) also includes the rhotic forms *unser*, *ûser* for first person plural and *jûwer*, *ûwer* for second person plural. It should be noted that these are given as genitive forms; Howe does not list separate possessive forms.

(142)	SG.	PL.
1	mîner, mîr	use
2		juwe
3	sîr ir, ire	ir, ire

Lübben and Lasch both indicate that the possessive pronouns decline like adjectives, Lübben specifically mentioning that these pronouns can take both strong and weak forms. However, just as in modern German, the nominative singular forms for masculine and neuter do not have overt morphology, c.f. *mîn*, *dîn*, etc. The strong endings that are expected are shown in Table 6.

**Table 6** *expected possessive pronoun declension*

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	-	(e)	-	e
GENITIVE	es	er(e) <sup>29</sup>	es	er(e) <sup>29</sup>
DATIVE	em(e)	er(e)	em(e)	en
ACCUSATIVE	en	e	-	e

Both Lasch (1914:213) and Lübben (1882:103) add that the masculine and neuter singular dative forms in *-em* sometimes show up as *-en*, this being a purely phonological change.

We now look at the first person singular forms.

### 6.3 First Person Singular

The genitive forms in the first person singular given by Lübben include the two rhotic forms *mîner* and *mîr*. This purely genitive form occurs only once in the corpus in a case [disambiguate] from 29 November 1544.

(143) alze boseten burgere ome van **myner** wegen  
antoseggende

29 November 1544

'to tell him on my behalf as resident citizens'

<sup>29</sup> Here, Eggert (1902) has only *-e*. This may be a typo.

The remaining instances of *mîner* occur in feminine singular dative phrases following a preposition (as in examples (144), (145), and (146)), and as a genitive singular form in (147). Note in example (147) that the possessive pronoun does not repeat for the nouns *lyves* and *gudes*, which, unlike *ere*, are masculine and neuter.

(144) vor **myner** und vor siner **tidt** 1541-1545

'before my and his time'

(145) up **myner** slapkamer 1541-1545

'in my bedroom'

(146) neffens **myner** achterkamer 1541-1545

'next to my back room'

(147) beholden **myner** ere, lyves und gudes oct 9 1423

'except my honor, life, and goods'

This indicates that the purely genitive forms of the first person singular possessive pronoun was not used in possessive construction in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. This genitive form does also not occur elsewhere in the corpus; the syncopated form *mîr* is not present in the text.

The remaining forms for the first person singular possessive pronoun that are expected in the text according to Lasch and Lübben are as follows:

(148)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	mîn	mîn(e)	mîn	mine
GENITIVE	mînes	mîner(e)	mînes	mîner(e)
DATIVE	mînem(e)	mîner(e)	mînem(e)	mînen
ACCUSATIVE	mînen	mîne	mîn	mîne

These first person singular forms are only attested 24 times in the entire corpus, once the possibility of mistaken identity has been taken into account. Many of the forms, which on the surface appear to be first person possessives, are in fact instances of a word meaning 'less,' as the clause in example (149) indicates.

- (149) all hedde de frouwe teyn kinder, **myn** offte meer 17 July 1472  
 'should the woman have ten children total, more or less...'

### 6.3.1 Nominative

We look first at the nominative forms evidenced in the corpus. This form is not well attested, but the pattern found does correspond to the paradigms given above. In example (114), we have a neuter singular noun *hus* that is preceded by the expected neuter singular form *myn*. Of note here is the lack of an ending on the adjective *ander*.

- (150) myn                    ander                    hus 1461-1465  
          my.SG.NOM.ST    other.SG.NOM    house.N.SG.NOM  
                                  'my other house'

In the next example, we have both a feminine noun *handschrift* and a neuter noun *marck* being preceded by the first singular possessive pronoun. This is the only attestation for this feminine form and, although it comes from the last decade of the corpus and therefore in a time period in which much of Lower Germany was switching over to High German, it is a form without a final *-e*. *Myn marck*, on the other hand, is the expected form.

- (151) ſo is dith **myn egen handschrift** und **myn** 12 December 1547  
          **marck** hirsulvest undergeschreven  
          'so is this my own signature and my sign written  
                                  down here'

In examples (152) and (153) we have plural forms that accompany the plural nouns *vorfaren* and *vormundere*. The forms are expected.

- (152) **myne vorfaren** ock woll hedden mith liden  
konen 29 November 1544

'my ancestors also had to suffer along'

- (153) dat **myne vormundere** de kindere dar van  
scholen vorstan und truweliken besorgen 18 December 1465

'that my caretakers should govern and faithfully  
care for the children thereof'

### 6.3.2 Genitive

There are only four attestations of this pronoun in the genitive, none of which exhibit the final suffix *-e*, given as a possible form by Lasch. We have already seen above in (147) an example of a genitive following an adjective. In example (154), the genitive follows the preposition *van wegen* 'because of'. This expected form, *myner*, is followed by the noun *frowen* 'woman', here declined as a weak noun.

- (154) Dar ume leven heren hope ik na lub[eschen] rechte van  
wegen **myner frowen**, de negeste to wesende und nicht  
Kniwe kinder. 1480

'Therefore, dear sirs, I hope to be the next [in line for  
inheritance] because of my wife and not Kniwe's  
children, according to Lübeck law'

The next example is of the possessive pronoun and an adjective without accompanying noun. We see that the adjective *rechten* is weakly declined in the presence of the strong overt ending *-es* on *mynes*, despite the lack of a head noun in the phrase.

- (155) vorkoveringh **mynes rechten** 1480

'winning my rightful [inheritance]'



The last example is of a noun phrase in the genitive modifying another noun. In this phrase, *mynes testamentes unde lesten willen* 'of my testament and last will' is the complement of *entrichtinge* 'execution'. Of note here is the weak ending on the adjective *lesten*, despite the absence of the possessive pronoun *mynes* in the second noun phrase headed by *willen*.

- (156) alle myne anderen gudere bewechlik unde unbewechlik, 18 December 1465  
de na entrichtinge **mynes testamentes unde lesten**  
**willen** verbliven

'all my other goods mobile and immobile, that remain  
after execution of my testament and last will'

To illustrate how this phrase can be captured in LFG and, more specifically, the adjective agreement system I discussed previously, I include here both the c- and f-structure for this phrase.

Figure 58 is the c-structure, which I start with the prepositional phrase headed by *na*. The complement of this preposition is the DP headed by the possessive pronoun *mynes*, and, in the c-structure, this pronoun has two noun phrase complements headed by *testamentes* and *willen*. The adjective *lesten* is an adjunct to the second NP.

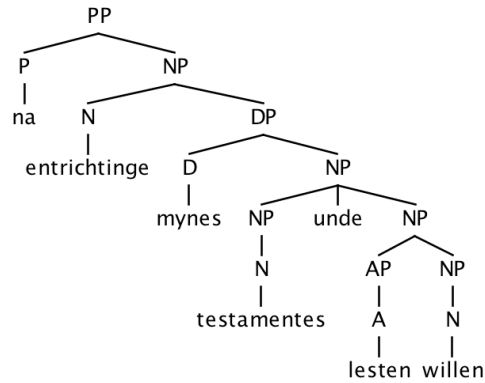


Figure 58

In the f-structure, given in Figure 59, we can more clearly see how the adjective *lesten* is required to be weakly declined. The POSS values for the possessive of *entrichtinge* are shown through curly brackets as being the coordinated PREDs *testamentes* and *willen*. Both PREDs have a requirement for the function POSS, which is given in the smallest avm containing *testamentes*. However, *willen* also requires a POSS value which is not present. Through the curved line, we see that the POSS feature of *willen* is satisfied by the value of POSS given for *testamentes*.

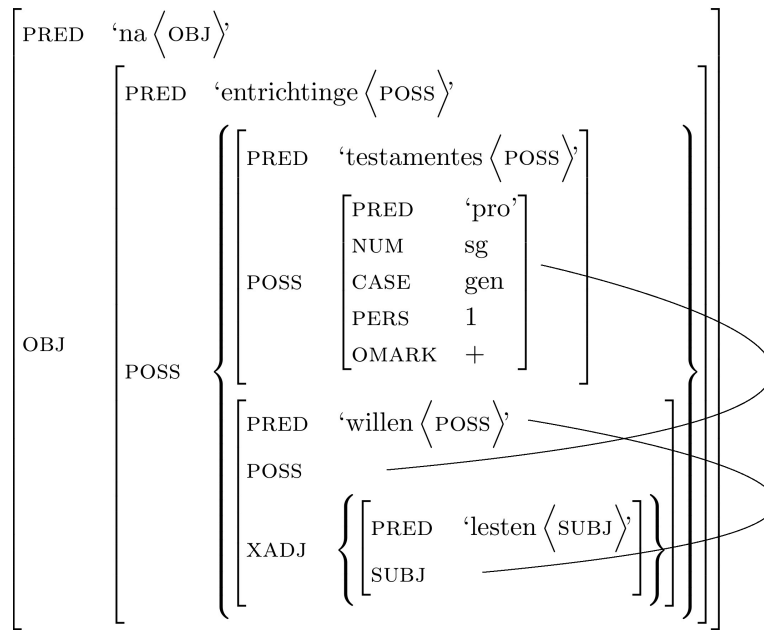


Figure 59

The XADJ *lesten* has as its subject the PRED *willen*. Since the PRED *willen* has the same POSS as *testamentes*, it also contains [OMARK +]. This value ensures that only a weakly declined adjective may agree with it, correctly predicting the ending of *lesten*, even though the possessive *mynes* does not directly proceed it.

### 6.3.3 Dative

The *Lübecker Ratsurteile* evidence very few forms of the first person singular possessive pronoun, given the fact that the court judges did not write their pronouncements as individuals, but as a group. However, a complaint about a neighbor's new horse stall includes a copy of the original letter of complaint submitted by the plaintiff. As such, it is written in the first person and includes a handful of *mîn* forms, as seen in the following examples and in the previous example (152).

I first look at the instances of feminine singulars, noting that, like the genitive attestations listed above, there are no feminine singular forms ending in *-e*. In example (157), we have an instance of a dative following the preposition *up*. Example (158)

instances the possessive pronoun following the preposition *vor*, in this instance the equivalent of modern German *vor* and not Middle Low German *vor* in the sense of modern German *für*. Example (159) shows a feminine singular form after the preposition *neffens* 'next to'.

- (157) darumb ick vor rumor und unlust van synen 29 November 1544  
perden up **myner slapkamer** nicht eyn rowsame  
stunde kan hebben

'therefore, because of noise and din from his  
horses, I cannot have a single peaceful hour in my  
bedroom'

- (158) Idt hadde vor **myner** und ock vor siner **tidt** eyn 29 November 1544  
stalrhum tho synem huse gelegen

'there had been a stall in his house, before my and  
also before his time'

- (159) de muren dessulvigen vorigen stallens neffens 29 November 1544  
**myner achterkamer** wurde wechgebraken

'the walls of this same aforementioned stall next  
to my back room were removed'

In example (160), the dative phrase comes not following a preposition, but as the dative object of the adjectives *schedelich* 'damaging' and *boschwerlich* 'regrettable'.

- (160) Nachdem idt **myner personen**, ock **mynem huse** 29 November 1544  
gantz schedelich und boschwerlich wer

'after it was damaging and regrettable to my  
person and my house'

I find an instance of *mîn* with the neuter singular noun *bedde* 'bed' in this same letter of complaint. The form is lacking the *-e* suffix, which is somewhat expected considering this instance occurs late in the corpus (see Section 8.20 for more on final *-e* in the possessive pronoun forms).

- (161) de mure [is] nicht mer als ein half stein dicke 29 November 1544  
thwischen dem perde und **mynem bedde**

'the wall is not more than half a stone thick  
between the horse and my bed'

In example (162) we have one instance of the *m>n* change found in many Middle Low German texts (Lasch 1914:205).<sup>30</sup> In this example, *vordervern*, translated here as 'misfortune', is the substantivized infinitive. As in modern German, substantivized infinitives are neuter singular and we expect the form *mynem* in this example. We will see that the more common pronoun *sîn* evidences more of these reduced forms.

- (162) und dat ik neringeloß byn geworden van desser 5 June 1475  
sake wegen to **mynen groten vorderven'**

'and that I became destitute because of this case,  
to my great misfortune'

The next example presents an unexpected form. In this prepositional phrase with the preposition *sunder* 'without', we expect either genitive or accusative case. However, the form *mynen* does not agree with the noun to which it is nearest, namely the neuter noun *weten* 'knowledge'. The pronoun instead appears to agree with the masculine noun *willen* 'desire'.

- (163) sunder **mynen weten und willen** 29 November 1544

'without my knowledge or desire'

This is unfortunately the only evidence for the first person singular possessive with *sunder*. A search for the phrase *weten und(e) willen* yields mostly unprecedented phrases or phrases with *mit(h)* 'with' in the dative. However, one other instance of this phrase with a form of *sîn* and the preposition *sunder* was found. In a ruling dated 28 March, 1511, the phrase

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<sup>30</sup> This change is then purely phonological and does not reflect case syncretism.

*sunder synem weten unde willen* appears. This time, *sunder* has taken a dative and not the accusative or genitive, listed as being the only cases possible according to Schiller & Lübben's 1875 dictionary.

The solitary plural attestation comes from the first half of the corpus and confirms the form given in Lasch and Lübben:

- (164) totekene ik **mynen vorbenomeden kindern** 20 November 1465  
 'I bequeath to my aforementioned children'

#### 6.3.4 Accusative

The accusative forms of *mîn* are evidenced as direct objects and as objects of accusative-taking prepositions. We start with the phrase *up myn eventur* 'at my risk', which occurs three times with this pronoun (examples (165), (167), and (167)).

- (165) ...dat honych leyt ik up den waghen slan und 9 October 1423  
 schepede dat und dat lach in deme schepe up **myn eventur**...  
 'I had the honey put on the cart and shipped it and  
 it lay in the ship at my own risk...'
- (166) up **myn eventhur** 1421-1425
- (167) uppe **myn eventhur** 1421-1425

All three forms are consistent with the grammars of Lasch and Lübben, as is the form in example (168), the object of the two-way preposition *vor*.

- (168) eyn lathert afft stalrhum vor eyn perdt vor **myn bedde** gelecht 29 November 1544  
 'placed a [?] or stall for a horse in front of my bed'

The following two examples are neuter direct objects. In both instances, the possessive pronoun is bare, as expected.

- (169) **myn ander hus** dat ik hebbe in der klockengeterstraten 18 December 1465

'my other house that I have in the in the Klockengeter  
[bell casters'] street'

- (170) und **myn recht** to beschermende 5 June 1475

'and to protect my rights'

There are no attestations for a feminine or masculine direct object. In example (171), though, we have the accusative object of the preposition *an*. The possessive pronoun *mynen* is morphologically marked according to Lasch's paradigm.

- (171) Ju ist bowust, ick Ju up volgenden dato van desser 29 November 1544  
schrifte up dem markede an **mynen naber** Jacob  
van der Hellen geschicket hebbe

'It is known to you, [that] I have sent you on the  
following date of this document at the market to  
my neighbor Jacob van der Hellen.'

The last example in this section is a very early phrase from 1423 about the left of honey from a ship. The phrase occurs seldom in the corpus, only seven times in total. This occurrence is similar to example (163) and the collocation *weten und(e) willen* and presents a similar agreement issue. As in that example, the pronoun *myne* appears to agree with the second of the two coordinated nouns, *vulbord* 'permission'. This noun was either feminine or neuter and occurs as both in the corpus.

- (172) under des quam Godke Baezeler und nam dat honych 9 October 1423  
wedder ut deme schepe dat gode und my tho horde,  
sunder **myne weten und vulbord**

'meanwhile, Godke Baezeler came and took the honey out  
of the ship again, that belonged to me and God[?], without  
my knowledge or permission'

It is therefore difficult to determine if this is an instance of agreement with the second noun or an example of a plural pronoun form for the coordination *weten und vulbord*.

We now turn to the first person plural forms, which are more often attested.

#### 6.4 First Person Plural

The Lübecker court recorded its actions by frequent use of the plural pronoun as well as using the plural when addressing other courts in the Hanseatic League. I have just under 200 attestations for the first plural possessive.

According to Lasch's Middle Low German grammar, the forms I expect are as in example (173). Because the final *-e* is part of the stem, the nominative forms in all genders and in the plural all look alike. In the accusative, this is true for all forms except the masculine.

(173)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	unse	unse	unse	unse
GENITIVE	unses	unser(e)	unses	unser(e)
DATIVE	unsem(e)	unser(e)	unsem(e)	unsen
ACCUSATIVE	unsen	unse	unse	unse

##### 6.4.1 Nominative

Nominative forms invariably correspond to the form given by Lübben and Lasch. There is no suffix marking the gender or number of the noun which follows. This is seen in examples (174) and (175), where the appositives *unse borger* 'our citizen' and *unse medeborger* 'our fellow citizen' do not differentiate themselves for gender or number.

(174) De beschedene Hinrik Blome **unse borger** is vor uns  
gewesen

17 July 1472



'The wise Hinrik Blome, our citizen, was before us'

(175) de boschedene Arnd Bode **unse medeborger** 1480

'the wise Arnd Bode, our fellow citizen'

As can be seen in example (176), this lack of morphological marking extends even to the adjective in such a phrase. Here, the adjective *selige* has not inflected based on the presence or absence of overt morphological marking on the determiner, but on the mere presence of such a determiner. This holds for example (177) as well.

(176) hir up hefft **unse selige vader** entgegen 9 December 1525  
viffhundert marck hovetstoles

'hereupon, our deceased father received 500  
mark capital'

(177) Ludeke Mantel **unse leve medeborger** 22 April 1485

'Ludeke Mantel, our dear fellow citizen'

The feminine forms are not as easy to analyse. In example (178), the adjective *fruntlike* 'friendly' can be either a strong or a weak ending. However, given the occurrence of the masculine examples above, it seems likely that the adjective here is likewise only inflected based on the presence of the possessive pronoun *unse*.

(178) hir umme is **unse fruntlike begheer** mit vlitiger 17 July 1472  
andacht biddende

'Concerning this, it is our friendly desire  
requesting with an eager reminder...'

In example (179), we have a plural noun phrase with an adjective. We see in this example that the adjective *besetenen* 'resident' is declined weakly in the presence of *unse*. This agrees with the paradigm given by Lasch and Lübben.

(179) de beschedene manne Brand Hogevelt unde Everd 22 July 1476  
Holeholsche **unse besetenen borgere**

'the wise men Brand Hogevelt and Everd Holeholsche,  
our resident citizens'

#### 6.4.2 Genitive

The genitive forms are more well attested than nominative forms in the corpus. I break them down into masculine/neuter and feminine/plural groups.

##### 6.4.2.1 Masculine & Neuter

The masculine and neuter attestations are various and pattern as expected, such as in example (180), where the phrase *unes ordels* 'of our judgment' is the genitive complement to the noun *aveschrifft* 'copy'.

(180) mit ener ingelachten beslotenen aveschrifft **unes ordels** 28 September 1459

'with an attached, sealed copy of our judgment'

We also have the collocation *unes her(e)n*, which is attested in the fifty year time span from 1451 to 1505. It is often used when reference is made to the current year, as shown in examples (181), (182), and (183).

(181) de geven unde ghescreven sint na Christi gebort 1505  
**unes heren** vefteynhundert jar

'which are given and written 1500 years after the  
birth of Christ our Lord'

(182) Witlik zij dat in den jaren **unes heren** dusement 22 April 1452  
veerhundert tweundevefflich ame sonnavende

'let it be known that in the years of our Lord 1452  
on Saturday'

(183) in den jaren **unes heren** 1457 an **unes heren** 25 May 1457  
**hemelvardes avende**

'in the years of our Lord 1457 on the evening of  
the ascension of the Lord'

Of especial note in example (183) is the second noun phrase with *uneses*. In this phrase, there are two genitive noun phrases preceding the noun *avende* 'evening'. The possessive noun phrase *uneses heren* modifies *hemelvardes* 'ascension', which is the genitive complement of the noun *avende*. In Figure 60, I give the annotated c-structure for this phrase.

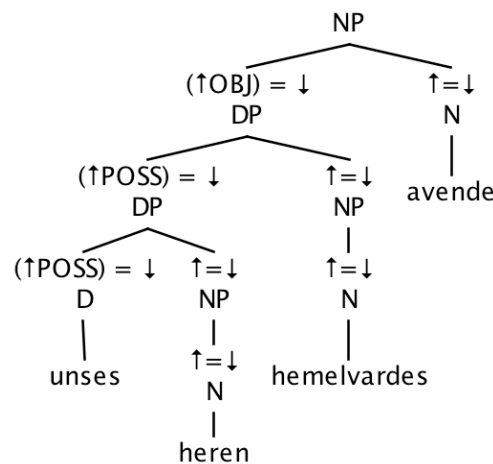


Figure 60

We see in the c-structure that the genitive complement of *avende*, *hemelvardes*, is located to the left of its head. The annotation of  $(\uparrow\text{OBJ}) = \downarrow$  above the DP node indicates that this DP is the OBJ of the PRED *avende* in the f-structure. The possessor *uneses heren* is located in spec,DP and is annotated as the POSSessor for *hemelvardes*. Within this DP is the D head *uneses*, itself annotated to show that it is the possessor for the PRED *heren*.

In Figure 61, I show the corresponding f-structure for this phrase.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> For a different treatment of possessors in LFG, see Chisarik & Payne (2001) and their distinction between NCOMP and SUBJ.

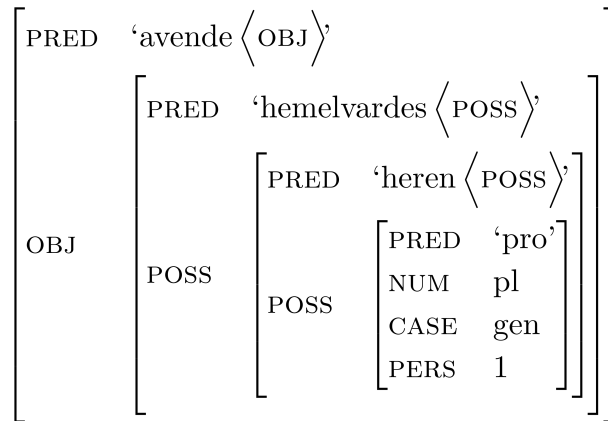


Figure 61

In the next examples, we have variations on the genitive complement *unses* *aldergnedigsten heren Romischen Koninges* 'of our most gracious lord Roman king', the complement of the noun *camergerichte* 'superior court' in example (184). This collocation can be found both before the head noun, as seen in (184), or after it, as seen in example (185).

- (184) in **unses aldergnedigsten heren Romischen Koninges** 16 September 1501  
Camergerichte

'in the superior court of our most gracious lord Roman king'

- (185) na lude eyns [...] breves **unsers aldergnedigsten** 20 May 1503  
**hern Romesschen Koninges**

'according to a letter of our most gracious lord  
Roman king'

In example (186), however, we have an instance of an additional determiner plus adjective preceding the preposed genitive complement.

- (186) eyn appellation an dat Chamergericht **des vorscreven** 20 May 1503  
**unses aldergnedigsten hern Romeschen Koninges**

'an appeal to the superior court of the aforementioned,  
our most gracious lord Roman king'

I suggest the c-structure shown in Figure 62 as a possible representation for this phrase. In this structure, I treat the string *uneses aldergnedigsten hern* 'our most gracious lord' as an adjunct within the DP *des vorscreven Romeschen Koninges* 'of the aforementioned Roman king'.

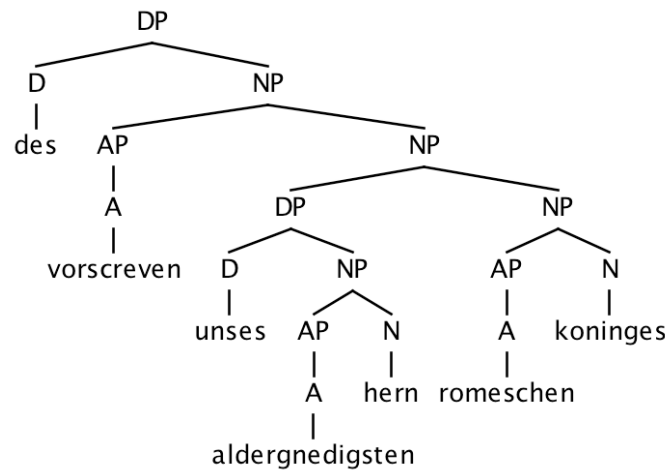


Figure 62

Another possible analysis is to treat *des vorscreven* as a DP with no N head. The phrase *uneses aldergnedigsten hern Romeschen Koninges* is then an appositive to the empty N°. It is unclear if a definitive choice can be made between the two possible interpretations.

#### 6.4.2.2 Feminine & Plural

I not only find examples of the Saxon genitive with masculine and neuter nouns, but also occurs with feminine nouns such as in example (187). The collocation *under unser stadt secrete* 'under our city seal' is found in the period 1456 to 1505. The *Lübecker Ratsurteile* do not evidence a possible compound *\*stadtsecrete*, but invariably give the genitive singular *unser stadt* immediately preceding the head noun *secrete*.

- (187) Screven under **unser stadt** secrete ame vrygdage negest 28 March 1505  
na Annuntiationis Marie

'written under the seal of our city on the Friday nearest to  
the Annunciation'

This phrase is also often found in letters to other cities, in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* most often with Tallinn (examples (188) and (189)).

(188) under **unser stadt** secrete vorsegelt na older unde guder 23 March 1485  
gewoenheit

'sealed under our city seal according to old and good custom'

(189) under **unser stadt** secrete vorsegelt May 18 1485

'sealed under our city seal'

Lastly, the Saxon genitive is used when referring to St. Mary's church, as in example (190) and, with an adjective, example (191). The adjective is declined weakly, as is expected.

(190) vicario bynnen **unser vrouwen kerken** to 29 September 1457  
Lubeke

'vicar in Our Lady's Church in Lübeck'

(191) hengende vor dem hilligen licham in **Unser Leven** 31 August 1524  
**Frowen kercken**

'hanging before the holy body in the church of our dear  
Lady'

Lastly, it must be mentioned that there is no evidence for the form *unsere*, given in the grammars as a possible feminine singular and plural genitive form.

#### 6.4.2.3 Unexpected Forms

Although most of the attestations for the first person plural possessive pronoun are as expected, there are a few that are not. In (192) for example, we have the DP *unsers stad* instead of an expected *unser stad*. This form, which appears to be a combination of the masculine/neuter genitive *unses* and the feminine/plural form *unser* may be best viewed as



This is also true in (195) and (196) from the following two decades. The fact that both attestations have the exact same spelling, yet occur ten years apart, suggests that this phrase was used more often than the number of attestations in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* suggest.

(195) in krafft unnd macht dusses unnsers breffs 1499

(196) in krafft unnd macht dusses unnsers breffs 3 December 1509

'in the power and force of this our letter'

I give the c-structure of this noun phrase in Figure 63. As shown in the figure, the DP *dusses unnsers breffs* 'of this our letter' has two D° heads, *dusses* and *unnsers*. While the demonstrative *dusses* is annotated with the symbol  $\uparrow=\downarrow$ , indicating that it is the same as its mother, i.e. it is the same as the N° *breffs*, which is similarly labeled, the D° *unnsers* is labeled with  $(\uparrow\text{POSS})=\downarrow$ . This denotes the possessor relation between *breffs* and *unnsers*, which we will see in the f-structure below. The determiner *dusses* adds the feature  $[\text{DEF}+]$ , not shown here.

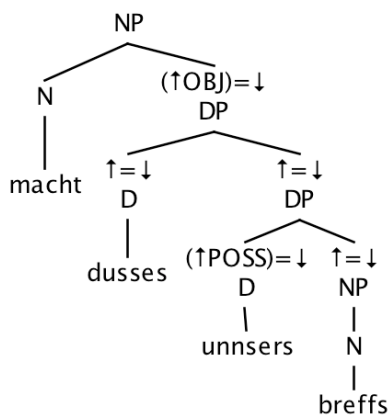


Figure 63

In the f-structure in Figure 64, we see how the determiner *dusses* and the possessive pronoun *unnsers* relate to the PRED *breffs*.



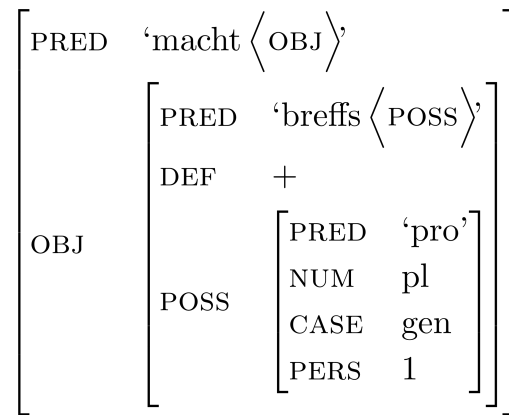


Figure 64

I also find the form *unsers* in the phrase seen earlier that refers to the Roman king (also seen in example (185)). These two examples occur more than thirty years apart, yet are almost identical, indicating their formulaicity. The *etc* given in (198), which cuts the phrase short, is a further indication that this collocation was so well-known that it could be abbreviated without loss of meaning.

- (197) in deme Camergerichte **unsers aldergnedigsten** 16 September 1501  
**heren Romischen Koninges**

'in the superior court of our most gracious lord  
 Roman king'

- (198) als keyserlicher Majestet **unsers** 8 May 1535  
**allergnedigsten hern etc.**, vorordenten  
 comissarien

'as the ordained commissaries of the imperial  
 majesty, our most gracious lord etc.'

### 6.4.3 Dative

The feminine forms of this possessive pronoun are, as with the genitive attestations, only evidenced as *unser*, that is, lacking the *-e*. They are otherwise unremarkable, and show up in the corpus as in example (199).

- (199) Nha des clegers egen bokanthenisse, dath he 15 August 1533  
 viande gudere inne gehatt und in viande lande

syn wolde, van **unser warschuwinge**

'After the plaintiff's own admission, that he possessed enemy goods and wanted to go to enemy lands, [as seen] from our point of view'

There is more variation with the masculine and neuter forms, although they too generally pattern according to the previous paradigms. This is shown in example (200), which is similar to the formula shown above with the Saxon genitive *unser stad*. In this instance, however, the possessive pronoun refers directly to the noun *secrete* 'seal'.

(200) under unsem Secrete vorsegelt 7 November 1460  
'sealed under our seal'

Masculine and neuter dative nouns, when used as appositives, seem to be more likely to have *unsen* than *unsem(e)*, a tendency which was not mentioned in either Lasch or Lübben, although they do note that *unsen* forms do appear in the dative. In example (201), the noun phrase *deme erscrevenen Hinrike Blomen* 'the aforementioned Hinrik Blome' is declined as expected, with the determiner *deme* showing not just appearing with the dative marker *-m* but with the full, older form *-me*. The adjective is likewise weakly inflected, and even the name has been marked not once, but twice, for dative: the form *Hinrike* evidences a dative *-e* and *Blomen* appears to have the weak ending *-n* (he is referred to at the beginning of the letter in the nominative as *de beschedene Hinrik Blome* 'the honorable Hinrik Blome').

(201) mit deme erscrevenen Hinrike Blomen **unsen borgere** 17 July 1472  
'with the aforementioned Hinrik Blome, our citizen'

The appositive in this instance, *unsen borgere*, while inflected for dative on the noun *borgere* 'citizen', is lacking the characteristic *-m* on *unsen*. Since the phrase is otherwise

marked for dative, it is clear that this example is not an instance of case syncretism, but a phonological change of  $-m > -n$ , as Lasch also mentions (1914:204).

The next example contains a very common phrase in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, *na unseme ripen rade* 'according to our wise council', which is found at the end of many of the court pronouncements immediately before the decision is given. As such, it provides a good subject for closer study.

(202) dat wy na **unseme ripen rade** unde besprake na 1 June 1481  
 unseme lubeschen rechte in maten nabescreven  
 sodane juwe ordel confirmeret, bevestiget unde  
 bestediget hebben

'that we have confirmed, acknowledged, and  
 approved this your ruling according to our wise  
 council and discussion according to our Lübeck  
 law in the manner described hereafter'

The phrase in example (202) is expected from the paradigms: the adjective *ripen* 'wise' is weakly declined in the presence of the possessive pronoun *unseme*. The head noun *rade* 'council' is also marked with a dative  $-e$ . This is not always true, and in the next section we look at other patterns that occur.

#### 6.4.3.1 *na unsem ripen rade*

The collocation *na unsem ripen rade* occurs 31 times between 1466 and 1490, the first half of the corpus and in the period before High German was prominent in Lübeck's chancelleries. Of these attestations, 77% (24 instances) occur with a strong/weak pattern: the possessive pronoun ends in  $-m(e)$  and the adjective ends in  $-en$ . The remaining 23% (7 instances) have a parallel declension pattern. In this type of pattern, the possessive pronoun ends in  $-em(e)$  and the adjective appears as *ripem(e)* (example (203)).

(203) dat wy na **unseme rypeme rade** unde na 20 December 1486

lubeschen rechte sodane ergeschrevene iuwe  
ordel confirmeret, bevestiget unde bestediget  
hebben

'that we have confirmed, acknowledged, and  
approved the aforementioned ruling of yours  
according to our wise council and Lübeck law'

Interestingly, it appears that the presence of the longer possessive pronominal form (*unseme*) coincides with the full adjectival form (*ripeme*). In examples (204), (205), and (206), only the form *ripeme* occurs.

- (204) dat wij na **unseme ripeme rade** sodane juwe 22 August 1477  
ergemelte ordel na unseme lubeschen recht  
bevestiget, bestediget unde confirmeret hebben

'that we have confirmed, acknowledged, and  
approved this your ruling according to our  
Lübeck law [and] according to our wise council'

- (205) dat wij na **unseme ripeme rade** na unseme October 31 1478  
lubeschen rechte sodane erscrevene juwe ordel  
confirmeret, bevestiget unde bestediget hebben

'that we have confirmed, acknowledged, and  
approved this your aforementioned ruling  
according to our wise council [and] according to  
our Lübeck law'

- (206) dat wij na **unseme ripeme rade** dar upp gedelet 29 October 1479  
hebben na unseme lubeschen rechte

'that we have ruled about that according to our  
wise council [and] according to our Lübeck law'

In instances where the possessive pronoun does not exhibit a final *-e*, the declension of the adjective is likewise short. The following examples cover a fifteen year time span, but consistently have parallel inflection on both the possessive pronoun and the adjective.

- (207) dat wy na **unsem ripem rade** unde besprake 22 July 1476

sodane vorscreven juwe ordel bevestiget,  
bestediget unde confirmert hebben

- (208) dat wy na **unsem rypem raide** unde na 16 March 1485  
lubeschem rechte sodane ergescreven juwe ordel  
confirmeret, bevestiget unde bestediget hebben
- (209) Welck luwe affgesprakene ordell dath wy nha 15 October 1490  
**unßem rypem raede** confirmeren bevestigenn  
und bestedigenn in krafft desser breves.

It appears there is a strong preference for this parallelism, at least in the instances where both the possessive and the adjective decline similarly. A search for any exceptions to this pattern occurring with a form of *unseme* only turned up one result, given in example (210). In this instance, there is no adjective present, but instead the possessive is preceded by a demonstrative. It is the demonstrative that does not evidence *-e*, while the possessive is a full form.

- (210) Dat wy juwe Ersamheiden na older wontliker 28 March 1505  
wyse in **dessem unseme breve** also gutlick  
vorwitliken

'that we then make well known your Honor in  
this our letter according to old custom'

#### 6.4.4 Accusative

The masculine accusative singular form *unsen* is not well attested, but appears to always differentiate itself from the feminine/neuter accusative form *unse*, as in example (211).

- (211) vor **unsen allergnedigsten heren** den 9 July 1501  
Romischen Koninck unde syner koninckliken  
Maiestat hochwerdige Camergericht

'for our most gracious lord the Roman King and  
the esteemed superior court of his royal Majesty'

Other examples with feminine nouns include examples (212) and (213) (*ordel* 'judgment' may be feminine or neuter, but usually appears as feminine in this corpus).

- (212) dat wij **sodane unse ordel** myt flijte angeseen [...] 28 September 1459  
hebben

'that we have viewed this our judgment with eagerness'

- (213) deshalven wij hir bevorne **unse delinge** na lude juwes 29 October 1479  
breves gedaen hebben aldus ludende

'therefore, we here present have made our decision  
according to the wording of your letter, [which [our  
decision]] reads thus'

After the accusative preposition *up*, with the meaning 'to' here, the expected form *unse* also occurs. However, the ending *-e* on *laeste* 'last', while expected modern German feminine forms, is not the form Lasch gives. Lasch specifically mentions that this form is always *-en* (1914:205). There are unfortunately no more instances of *unse* with a feminine noun and adjective in the accusative to gauge the prevalence of this weak adjective form.

- (214) Na deme gy iw up **unse laeste ordell** refererenn 1492

'after you refer to our last judgment...'

The last two examples show a feminine noun phrase following an adjective. The forms are as given by Lasch and Lübben.

- (215) unde nademe sullike assche in de Hensestede, nemptlik in 15 June 1481  
**unse stad**, to hus behorde

'and according to which such ashes belong at home in the  
Hanseatic city, namely in our city'

- (216) dat he to redeliker tijd bynnen **unse stad** Lubeke kome 17 July 1472

'that he should come inside our city Lübeck within a  
reasonable time'

## 6.5 Second Person Singular

The official, formal nature of the corpus means it is unlikely that it will contain many second person singular forms. In fact, the only attestation for the second person singular possessive comes from a letter from the first half of the corpus. It occurs with a masculine singular noun in the genitive.

(217) Alhard, na deme du eyn ankleger van wegene 10 February 1492  
dynes hovetmannes bist

'Alhard, since you are a plaintiff because of your  
chief litigant...'

The form is unremarkable and conforms to the paradigms given above.

## 6.6 Second Person Plural

The second person plural has as its base form *juwe*, whose final *-e*, much like in the case [??] of *unse* (section 8.5) causes all nominative forms in both singular and plural to be identical. This is also true of the accusative forms, save for masculine.

The expected forms for this possessive pronoun are given in (218).

(218)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	juwe	juwe	juwe	juwe
GENITIVE	juwes	juwer(e)	juwes	juwer(e)
DATIVE	juwem(e)	juwer(e)	juwem(e)	juwen
ACCUSATIVE	juwen	juwe	juwe	juwe

### 6.6.1 Nominative

The nominative forms are not well attested, but conform to the expected paradigms. In example (219) we see *iuwe* with the masculine noun *broder* in the nominative, while example (220) shows a masculine noun with an adjective, which is weakly inflected.

(219) selighe Herman **iuwe broder** 28 July 1487

'deceased Herman, your brother'

(220) Dar ock **iuwe zelige vader** Hans Duncker mede ahnn 1499  
unnd over gewesenn is

'Since your deceased father Hans Duncker was also  
present [as a witness]...'

### 6.6.2 Genitive

The genitive attestations are more common and can be found in a variety of contexts. In example (221), we see the noun phrase *iuwer klage* 'of your complaint' as the genitive complement to the noun *inholde* 'content'.

(221) inholde iuwer klage 1496

'content of your complaint'

We also see a feminine genitive form after *na lude* 'according to' (lit. after sound), which sometimes appears as just *lude*.

(222) na lude iuwer ansproke 26 August 1485

'according to your claim'

These forms are often used as Saxon genitives, in this instance (examples (223) and (224)) both with the noun *ersamheide* 'honor'.<sup>32</sup>

(223) Juwer ersamheide breff 18 July 1496

'your honor's letter'

(224) juwer Ersamheide breff lengers begrepes 28 March 1505

'your honor's letter with a larger breadth'

---

<sup>32</sup> Example (224) demonstrates the need to distinguish between noun complement and possessive, as already mentioned in footnote 31 above.



Examples (225) and (226) likewise contain Saxon genitives, this time in a position where a compound noun such as *\*stadtborgermeister* would also suffice but, as in example (187), is not attested.

(225) juwer stadt borgermeistere 28 March 1505

(226) juwer stadt borgermeister 23 March 1485

'mayor of your city'

Lastly, example (227) gives an instance of *iuwer* with the plural noun *frunde* 'friends'

(227) von iuwent unnd iuwer frunde wegenn 1512

'because of you and your friends'

Note that none of the feminine singular or plural genitive forms contain the final *-e* given as a possibility in the grammars. As with *unser*, these forms do not occur.

As for the masculine and neuter forms, we see in (228) that the form *juwes* declines strongly, along with the determiner *sodans* as the genitive complement of *vorhalinge* 'mention'. In example (229), I note two things. First, the participial adjective *uthgesprochenen* 'pronounced' is weakly inflected and the weak adjective ending *-en* has not been assimilated to the preceding *-en-* as sometimes happens. Second, the noun *ordel* is being treated as neuter here, although we saw previously that it often shows up as feminine in this corpus.

(228) mit vorhalinge **sodans juwes breves** 16 May 1470

'with mention of such your letter'

(229) dar inne gy jw uppe unse voer ordel unde confirmacien 16 April 1483  
**juwes uthgesprochenen ordels** refereren

'in which you refer to our pre-judgment and

confirmation of your pronounced judgment'

### 6.6.3 Dative

The feminine datives inflect with *-er* as expected, as shown in examples (230) and (231), both with weakly inflected adjectives. Once again, the forms with a final *-e* were not found in the corpus.

- (230) oock antworde cedulen mit **juwer affgespraken** 18 July 1496  
**ordele** hebbe wy entfangen

'we have also received responses with your  
 pronounced judgments'

- (231) na deme gij myt **juwer seligen hues frauwen** 6 January 1492  
 nicht syn beervet

'since you are not bequeathed with your deceased  
 wife'

The masculine and neuter attestations evidence both the *juwem* and *juweme* forms, with *juwem* occurring 12 times, that is, as often as *juweme* (examples (232) and (233)).

- (232) in **juwem breve** 26 August 1485

'in your letter'

- (233) na **juweme rijpen rade** 27 September 1482

'according to your wise council'

Roughly one third of the time (10 instances), *juwen* shows up as a dative singular form. This is evidenced when *juwen* comes in a noun phrase used as an appositive (example (234)), or after a dative preposition in the very early phrase in example (235).

- (234) in der twistigen sake twisschen deme ersamen 29 October 1479  
 heren Wilhelme Rinckhove **juwen**  
**mederadeskumpane**

'in the dispute case between the honorable Mr.

Wilhelm Rinckhof your co-advisory councilor'

- (235) dusse zake tho entshedene na **juwen edelen** 9 October 1423  
**lubeschen rechte**

'to decide this case according to your noble  
 Lübeck law'

Between 1476 and 1500, we have five occurrences of the phrase *na juwem ripen rade* 'according to your wise council', which I looked at more closely. Just as with the phrase mentioned previously *na unseme ripen rade*, this variant shows both strong/weak and parallel adjective inflectional patterns.

The expected pattern is evident in example (236), in which the adjective *rypen* has a weak ending following the strong ending on *juwem*.

- (236) na juwem rypen rade unde besprake 18 July 1496

'according to your wise council and discussion'

In the same phrase from eleven years prior, the adjective *rypem* has a strong adjective ending even after *juwem*. However, this is the sole occurrence of this pattern with *juwem*; all the others inflect according to the strong/weak pattern.

- (237) na juwem rypem raide 16 March 1485

'according to your wise council'

Lastly, we have example (238), which is an example of *juwen* as a dative plural. It is unclear what the category for *schaden* is, that is, if it is being used as a weak adjective meaning 'damaged' or a noun compounding with *gudern* 'goods' to give the same sense.

- (238) averst van **juwen schaden gudern** one nicht 18 September 1517  
 bewust werhe

'on the other hand, he did not know about your  
 damaged (?) goods'

#### 6.6.4 Accusative

The accusative attestations of the second person plural possessive pronoun include direct objects, as in example (239), and objects of accusative prepositions, as in example (240), both with a masculine noun.

- (239) **sodanen juwen breff** hebben wij [...] wol  
vornomen 29 October 1479

'we have looked at such your letter closely'

- (240) kegenn **iuwenn radth** 1481  
'against your advice'

Feminine forms with an accompanying adjective sometimes pattern with the weak adjective ending *-en*, as Lasch gives in her paradigm. In example (241), the adjective *latesten* has the weak adjectival suffix *-en* in the presence of the determiner *juwe*. This is likewise true in example (242), although the final *-en* has been assimilated to the *-en* of the participial adjective *vorgescreven* 'aforementioned', a phenomenon that we have observed elsewhere.

- (241) dar upp gij [...] na juweme ripen rade unde besprake  
**juwe latesten delinge** gedan hebben 26 May 1480

'whereupon you made your latest decision according  
to your wise advice and discussion'

- (242) dat wy **sodane juwe vorgescreven ordell unde**  
**delinge** na rypen rade und lub. rechte hebben 28 March 1505  
confirmert unde bestediget

'that we have confirmed and acknowledged such your  
aforementioned ruling and decision according to wise  
advice and Lübeck law'

Unexpected, however, is the form of the adjective present in example (243), in which both *erscrevene* 'aforementioned' and *affgesprokene* 'pronounced' are inflected with

–e. This form, while not mentioned in Lasche or Lübben, sometimes occurs when the feminine noun in accusative case is preceded by other possessive pronouns, as we will see below.

- (243) dat wij na unseme ripen rade unde na unseme  
lubeschen rechte **sodane juwe erscrevene**  
**affgesprokene ordel** approberet, bevestiget  
unde bestediget hebben
- 29 October 1479

'that we have approved, confirmed, and  
acknowledged such your aforementioned  
pronounced ruling according to our wise advice  
and according to our Lübeck law'

## 6.7 Third Person

The third person forms of the possessive pronoun given by Lasch and Lübben are shown in (244) for the masculine and neuter forms and (245) for feminine and plural.

(244)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	sîn	sîn(e)	sîn	sîne
GENITIVE	sînes	sîner(e)	sînes	sîner(e)
DATIVE	sînem(e)	sîner(e)	sînem(e)	sînen
ACCUSATIVE	sînen	sîne	sîn	sîne

As with *unse* and *juwe*, the feminine and plural possessive is given as (possibly) ending in –e, which makes all nominative forms look the same. In the nominative plural, however, the form *ere* is given as the complete form.

(245)	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	er(e)	er(e)	er(e)	ere
GENITIVE	eres	erer(e)	eres	erer(e)
DATIVE	erem(e)	erer(e)	erem(e)	eren
ACCUSATIVE	eren	ere	er(e)	ere

The accusative forms, save for masculine, may all appear as *ere*, although in the neuter, this *-e* is marked as a variant.

### 6.7.1 Nominative

In the nominative case, masculine and neuter *sin* has no other inflection and occurs with the weak adjective ending, as seen in the second *sin* phrase in example (246). Despite the lack of a clear marker in the determiner, the adjective still inflects with *-e* and not with a more masculine or neuter specific marker.

- (246) wor to her Brun antwerde, yd were **sin huze gud**, unde 22 May 1438  
Hans Knust sede, yd were **sin erfflike pacht gud** unde  
nyn huze gud

'to which Mr. Brun answered, it was his house property, and Hans Knust said, it was his inherited rented property and not house property'

In the plural, the inflection is the expected *-e* (example (247)) and the adjective is inflected weakly with *-en* ((248)).

- (247) unde **syne gudere** hiir to Lubike tor stede zint 10 October 1474  
'and his goods are here in Lübeck'

- |       |                                       |                  |
|-------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| (248) | sine beiden suster Ursula und Barbara | 30 November 1549 |
|       | 'both his sisters Ursula and Barbara' |                  |

It should be noted that, according to the paradigms given above, the feminine singular form can be either *sin* or *sine*. Both forms are attested in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, although feminine singular nouns in the nominative occur much more seldom than masculine and neuter nouns.

In examples (249) through (253), we have five noun phrases in which the final *-e* is present on the possessive. These occur throughout the corpus.

- (249) sine hußfrouwe [...] hadde nicht so vele gekregen alze er behorde 13 January 1481  
 'his wife had not received as much as belonged to her'
- (250) sine husfrowe 12 May 1498  
 30 January 1499  
 5 July 1545  
 'his wife'
- (251) Elsebe sine suster 18 July 1526  
 'Elsebe his sister'
- (252) sine vorpandinge 19 June 1545  
 20 June 1548  
 'his mortgage'
- (253) sine handtschrift 15 July 1547  
 'his signature'

In the next set of examples, we see many of the same nouns from examples (249) to (253), but this time preceded with the form *sin*. These attestations are more limited in the corpus and occur in the period after 1520. However, there is otherwise no clear preference for one form over another; both *sin* and *sine* are used equally often with feminine nouns in the nominative case. Note especially example (255), in which the determiner is uninflected, yet the adjective still has the weak ending *-e*.

- (254) scholde em **sin suster** unvortogelick dat entfangen 27 July 1524  
 geldt weddergeven  
 'his sister should give him the received money  
 straightaway'
- (255) **sin selige dochter Czillige** 31 August 1524  
 'his deceased daughter Czillige'
- (256) nadem **sin moder** vermuge dersulven schrifte 19 October 1540  
 de negeste erve

- 'after his mother [was] the closest inheritor by virtue of the same document...'
- (257) **sin handtschrift** 16 July 1546  
'his signature'
- (258) **sin fruwe** 7 April 1549  
'his wife'
- (259) **sin suster** 16 October 1549  
'his sister'
- (260) **sin dochter** 7 March 1550  
'his daughter'

The feminine form *er(e)* occurs in the full form with masculine nouns, such as in examples (261) and (262), taken from two distinct periods in the corpus.

- (261) **ehr brutschat** [...] scholde vor allem 17 June 1547  
kindergelde gefriet [...] werden  
'her dowry should be freed from all *kindergeld*'
- (262) Clawes Karbouwen **ere broder** 11 November 1461  
'Clawes Karbouwen, her brother'

In the presence of an adjective, the adjective inflects weakly with *-e* and neither the determiner nor the adjective shows a distinct masculine ending.

- (263) dat **ere erbenomede man** unde see in sodanem 9 May 1500  
vorberorden huse lange tijd her gewonet hadden  
'that her aforementioned husband and she had lived in this  
aforementioned house for a long time'
- (264) dat **ere erbenomede man** wykaftich syn scholde 17 June 1491  
'that her aforementioned husband is supposedly on the run'





- (268) dath **ohr selige man** Hinrich Hesterman in sin  
bock mit eigener handt geschreven 30 October 1549

'that her deceased husband Hinrich Hesterman  
[had] written in his book with his own hand'

- (269) **ohre selige mann** wol hedde schreven konnen 6 September 1550

'her deceased husband well could have written'

### 6.7.2 Genitive

The genitive *sînes* is attested as a partitive genitive in example (270), where the noun *vele* 'many' takes as its complement the genitive *sines gudes* 'of his goods'.

- (270) vele **sines gudes** 14 October 1437

'many of his goods'

Other examples include use of these genitive forms in the Saxon genitive construction. As seen in previous examples, the Saxon genitive is used in examples (271) and (272) in place of a prepositional phrase.

- (271) to **sines huses** behoff 24 August 1444

'to his house's need'

- (272) in **sines schepes** nut 27 August 1524

'in the use of his ship'

The form *sines* is also found when in apposition to another noun phrase in the genitive (example (273)). Of interest in this example is the nature of the apposition, which occurs inside a Saxon genitive and precedes a prepositional phrase. The head noun *gelt* 'money' is separated from its complement *eines Osewald Wolders* 'of [a certain] Osewald Wolder' by both the appositive and a prepositional phrase.

- (273) up eines Osewald Wolders, **sines schuldeners**,  
up Vemeran wanhaftig, gelt 13 October 1525

'concerning the money of Osewald Wolder, of  
his debtor, living in Fehmarn'

In the presence of this possessive, the adjective is inflected weakly with *-en*, as in example (274).

(274) van wegen siner seligen husfrowen Judit 9 January 1499

'because of his deceased wife Judit'

As a final note on the masculine/neuter form, we have example (298). The feminine noun *erffschichtinge* 'division of inheritance' is preceded by the adjective *vaderliker* 'paternal'. Unexpected is the strong adjective ending *-er* here; we expect *-en*.

(275) van wegen siner vaderliker erffschichtinge 27 February 1497

'because of the division of his paternal  
inheritance'

Lastly, the feminine and plural form is witnessed in example (276) with the weakly inflected adjective *seligen* 'deceased'. The forms are unremarkable.

(276) nachdem sine husfruwe upgemelt uth den guderen **ohres** 28 January 1540  
**seligen vaders** Hermen Hillebrandt ohren brutschat  
enntfangen

'after his wife, aforementioned, [had] received her dowry  
from the goods of her deceased father Hermen Hillebrandt...'

In the genitive plural, the forms in the corpus end in *-er*, not *-ere*, an alternate form according to the grammars.

(277) van wegen **orer husfrawen** 14 October 1546

'because of their wives'

### 6.7.2.1 A Note on *erer beider/erer beiden*

Lasch comments that *bêde* 'both', attested in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* as *beyde/beide*, inflects with strong adjective endings in the plural (1914:209). This was borne out in the majority of examples with *bêde* in the presence of *erer* we looked at. In all instances, *erer beider* preceded the noun, when standing alone as in the example with *vader* in the nominative in (278), or after a preposition as in (279), (280), and (281).

- |       |  |               |
|-------|--|---------------|
| (278) | <b>orer beider vader</b>                     | 16 April 1548 |
|       | 'both their father'                          |               |
| (279) | in <b>erer beider nhamen</b>                 | 16 April 1548 |
|       | 'in both their names'                        |               |
| (280) | uth <b>ohrer beider nhagelatenen guderen</b> | 5 July 1544   |
|       | 'from both their inherited goods'            |               |
| (281) | na <b>orer beider dode</b>                   | 27 April 1532 |
|       | 'after the death of both of them'            |               |

All together, there were 40 instances of *erer beider* in the corpus. Additionally, however, I found four instances of *erer* followed by *beiden*, which exhibits the weak adjectival inflection otherwise expected for adjectives.

We see these weak forms in the second half of the corpus, beginning in 1505. They occur within prepositional phrases (examples (283) and (282)) and in appositive position (example (284)).

- |       |                               |                 |
|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| (282) | to <b>erer beyden lyve</b>    | 16 April 1505   |
|       | 'to the life of both of them' |                 |
| (283) | tho <b>ohrer beiden beste</b> | 14 October 1550 |

'for the best of both of them'

(284) van seligen Hinrick Grellen, **orer beiden broder** 8 November 1527

'of the deceased Hinrick Grellen, both their brother'

In the last instance of this construction, there is an adjective present, *wolgewunnen* 'well-earned', which is seemingly uninflected but most likely is an example of the weak adjective ending *-en* being assimilated to the preceding *-en* of the past participle, *-en* being the correct inflectional form on an adjective modifying a feminine noun in accusative case. This weak ending is unexpected, given that there is no determiner present and the phrase *orer beiden* is actually a genitive complement, not a structure that would require a weak adjective.

(285) und **orer beiden wolgewunnen gude** by sick 8 May 1527  
gebracht

'and brought the well-earned goods of both of  
them to himself'

### 6.7.3 Dative

Dative attestations for the masculine and neuter possessive pronoun generally have the ending *-em*, as in the dative appositive in example (286) or in the possessive after a dative preposition in (287).

(286) so zelige Dethleff Kruse van Peter van Alevelde, 10 May 1532  
**sinem hovethmanne**

'so the deceased Dethleff Kruse from Peter van  
Aleveld, his chief litigant...'

(287) dann thom Stralesunde tho nenem **sinem** 3 June 1524  
**geringen schaden** up geschepet

'then [he] shipped it over to Stralsund at his not  
small expense'

There are also instances where *sinen* is used for a dative singular (in (288)). As with previous examples of m>n, the final dative *-e* on the word *gelde* 'money' indicates that this is not case syncretism.

- (288) sunder mit **sinen egenen gelde** 4 August 1498  
'but with his own money'

In her discussion of possessive dative forms, Lasch mentions the contraction *sîneme* > *sîme* as being common in Middle Low German (1914:213). My corpus does not support this claim, there being only two instances of *syme* in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, both from the first 25 years (examples (289) and (290)).

- (289) do selige Hans van den Eycken in **syme** 1421-1422  
**dodbedde** lach  
'as the deceased Hans van den Eycken lay on his deathbed'
- (290) Wolde de erbenomede Hermen mit **syme** 14 June 1450  
**rechte** dat beholden  
'If the aforementioned Herman would want to hold onto that with his rights'

The only example of parallel agreement is found at the end of the corpus, following the determiner *solichem* 'such'.

- (291) de beclagte solichem **sinem gedanem wilkor** 12 May 1549  
genoch doen und ock alhir tho recht  
andtworden scholde  
'[that] the defendant should do enough for such his decision, [already] made, and also answer here rightly'

As with previous forms with feminine nouns, the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* do not evidence the ending *-ere*, only *-er*, (177).

(292) he wuste **van siner rekenunge** nichts 17 July 1546

'he did not know anything about his bill'

In the feminine and plural possessives, we see the expected forms, such as in example (293) after the preposition *van*.

(293) sodanes gelt **van erem vader** 7 November 1460

'that money from their father'

We also see *erem* before a masculine noun in an appositive position (example (294)).

(294) deme vorbenomeden Bernde **erem brodere** 16 August 1499  
vortan plichtich unde schuldich wesende

'being from now on duty bound and owing to  
the aforementioned Bernd, her brother'

For the masculine and neuter inflections, there are three possible endings given by Lasch and Lübben: *-eme*, *-em*, and *-en*. I examined the attestations more closely to determine if a preference for one form over another was evident when comparing *sin-* forms to *er-* forms. I found that the masculine/neuter and feminine possessives pattern similarly. As shown in Table 7, the total attestations of *sinem* and the total of all *erem* forms are rather evenly present in the corpus. In both instances, the *-em* inflection is most present, while the remaining occurrences are split almost evenly between the endings *-eme* and *-en*.<sup>33</sup>

Table 7	<i>-em</i>	<i>-eme</i>	<i>-en</i>	Total
<i>sin-</i>	253 (87%)	16 (6%)	21 (7%)	290
<i>er-</i>	255 (81%)	30 (10%)	29 (9%)	314
Total	508	46	50	604

<sup>33</sup> See section 6.8 below for a comprehensive look at alternative dative forms among all possessive pronouns.

Lastly, the plural is attested with *-er* and, as seen in example (295), occurs with weakly inflected adjectives ending in *-en*.

- (295) **ohrer olderen anderen nagelaten gudere** 22 November 1525  
'of her other older inherited goods'

#### 6.7.4 Accusative

The accusative forms of the third person possessive pronouns are straightforward, corresponding to the forms given in the grammars. We see in example (296) as a direct object the masculine singular noun *andeel* 'part, share' with the masculine/neuter possessive *sinen*. In example (297) we have the feminine/plural pronoun accompanying another direct object.

- (296) **eder sinen andeel** mit gelde to betalende 18 March 1482  
'or to pay his share with money'
- (297) **eren brutschat** tho frien 6 May 1547  
'to release her dowry'

The accusative forms are also evidenced as prepositional objects, such as in (298). In this instance, the possessive is part of a phrase with the neuter noun *hus* 'house'.

- (298) **an sin hus** were een breff gekomen 19 May 1448  
'a letter had come to his house'

The attestations correspond to the forms given in Lasch and Lübben.

#### 6.7.5 Remarks on *er(e)* Forms

Both Lasch and Lübben list different vowels for the third person feminine and plural possessive pronouns, specifically the stems *ir-*, *-er-*, and *ör-*. I searched for these forms in the corpus and determined that the *ir-* forms do not occur, neither as possessive pronoun



nor as another pronominal form. The forms that do occur are variants of *er-* and *or-*, both at times including the spelling *ehr-* and *ohr-* and three instances of *eer*. Although the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* do not always mark umlauted forms, the letter *ö* does occur in the corpus, although never in a pronoun.

I broke down the *er-* and *or-* forms by year to see if one form was more prevalent than another at a specific time. I found that, although total attestations generally increase over time along with corpus size, it is clear that *er-* forms dominate the period prior to 1500. From 1500 on, *or-* forms become much more prevalent in the corpus, already constituting more than 50% of attestations in the period 1506-1510 (Figure 65).

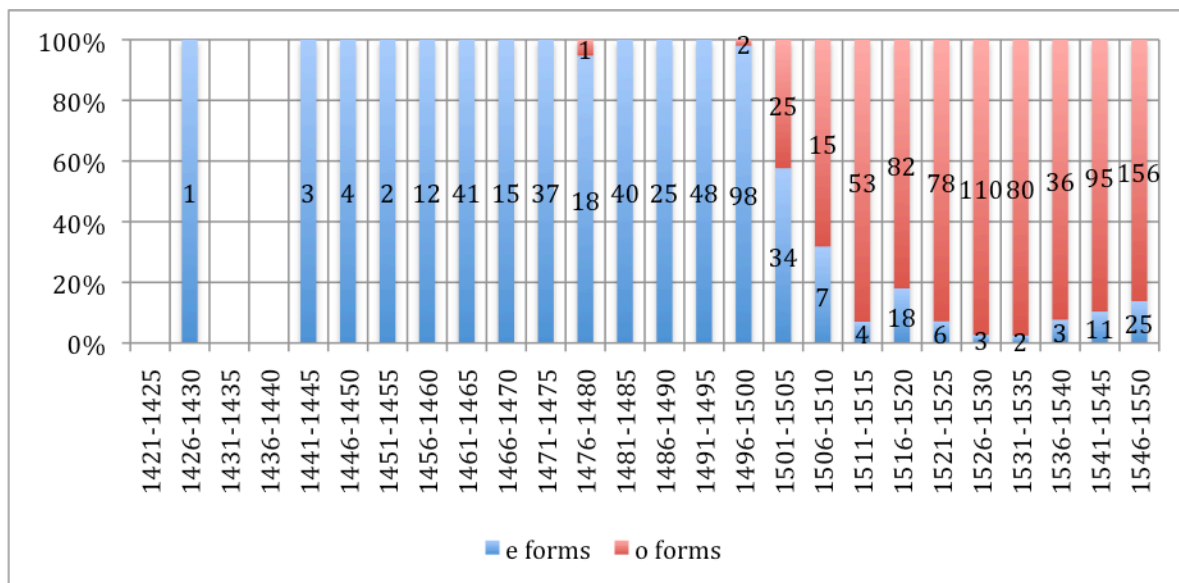


Figure 65

## 6.8 Dative –e

Both Lasch and Lübben give two forms for the masculine and neuter dative endings, *–em* and *–eme*. They also mention the reduction of *–em* to *–en*, both suggesting that these reduced forms are common (Lübben 1882:102; Lasch 1914:213). We have already seen in the third person attestations that *–em* forms were most common overall, while the other

forms were equally uncommon. In order to test the greater claim that one ending is generally more common than the others and in order to see if there is a chronological change at work, I combined all the possessive pronoun forms in the masculine and neuter dative. I then plotted the attestations by time period (Figure 66).

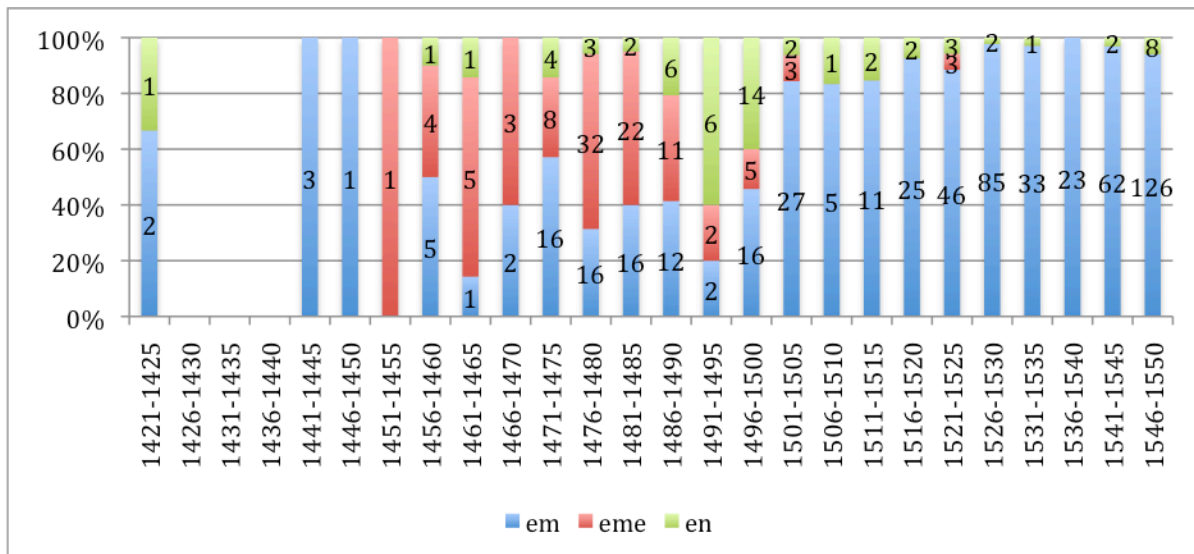


Figure 66

What is immediately visible is that there is a trend apparent. As time progresses, the forms ending in *-em* become much more common than the others. Once again, the period after 1500 is unlike the previous years. In the last fifty years, the *-eme* and *-en* forms play only a marginal role in the corpus. Perhaps most surprising revelation is the paucity of *-en* attestations, which were both said to be much more frequent. I speculate that the text type plays a role here: the reduced *-en* forms may have been regarded as marked and were not stylistically appropriate for the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*.

## 6.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed all the possessive pronominal forms given in the two main Middle Low German grammars by Lübben and Lasch. We looked at each person in

turn, pointing out examples from the corpus that either corroborated the forms given in the grammars or provided exceptions to those forms. When the forms did not conform to the grammars, I made suggestions where appropriate as to the possible cause of the unexpected attestations. In select examples, I demonstrated how my theoretic framework analyzes the phrases given or looked at specific collocations to see if they show variation within the corpus.

Lastly, I reviewed two instances where the grammars of Lübben and Lasch made claims about the form of the pronoun. I found that the forms evidenced in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* do not always match those in the grammars, and that the claim that a reduced dative form is common was not corroborated by this corpus.

## 7 Conclusion

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I sum up the work presented in the preceding chapters, point out limitations, and discuss future research possibilities.

### 7.1 Reflection

As was seen in the introduction to this study, I have three hypotheses I sought to confirm or reject. The first hypothesis was that there should be a noticeable difference between the first and second halves of the corpus. I confirmed this hypothesis, noting that determiners and their forms changed in the second half of the Lübecker Ratsurteile. I also determined that High German forms, or forms presumably influenced by High German, occur more often in the last fifty years between 1500 and 1550. The second hypothesis was that data from this corpus would not always agree with the Middle Low German grammars of Lübben and Lasch. I was also able to confirm this. For example, Lübben's comment that *en-* and *eyn-* forms are used interchangeably was disproven. I showed that there is a trend toward the form *eyn-*. Lastly, I hypothesized that there would be variation in adjective inflection following a determiner. I confirmed this and noted both strong/weak inflection patterns as well as strong/strong patterns. I accommodated these data into my framework through the use of constraints on the adjective and suggested a missing constraint on the adjective in the strong/strong inflection pattern.

This study contributes to the study of Middle Low German syntax in two ways. The first is through the confirmation of my hypothesis that the Middle Low German grammars are not always correct. This dissertation is a first step in correcting this problem in that it backs up or disproves statements from these grammars with data from a large Middle Low

German corpus. The second contribution to the study of Middle Low German syntax is the creation of a POS tagged Middle Low German corpus, perhaps the first of its kind. It is hoped that other researchers will be able to use this corpus in the future. Lastly, this study also contributes to nominal phrase syntactic theory by positing a method of capturing adjective inflection in modern German within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar.

## **7.2 Discussion**

### **7.2.1 Chapter Two**

In chapter two, I reviewed the theoretical noun phrase. I discussed Abney's seminal dissertation "The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect" and its impact on Government and Binding Theory and theories of noun phrases in general. From there, I moved into more recent work in Minimalism, which seeks to find relationships between the noun phrase and the complementizer phrase. The noun phrase, once considered to terminate at NP, was reanalyzed as being headed by a determiner, whose phrase, DP, has an NP as its complement. Abney compared the notion of a determiner phrase with that of the inflection phrase, IP, and used this comparison to argue for the existence of a DP. Later syntacticians, working in the successor theory to Government and Binding, Minimalism, compared the DP not with the IP, but with the complementizer phrase. The most recent work in this vein, such as that of Bernstein (2001), Roehrs (2006), Leu (2008), or Laenzlinger (2000, 2005, 2010), all assume movement within the DP, with Roehrs and Leu further positing movement of determiners from some lower position. Payne (1993) and Bruening (2009) were presented as two viewpoints against the notion of a DP. Both

mention verb subcategorization as a basis for rejecting the DP-Hypothesis, and Bruening offers a different analysis. The notion of headedness and the different opinions on what exactly constitutes the head of the noun phrase were also discussed.

In this chapter, I also reviewed how adjectives are treated by different theoreticians. I specifically noted problems with treating AP as a selector for NP. I mentioned the problems with analyzing any noun phrases in Minimalism and offered arguments against the soundness of the theory. I also covered the division between Lexicalism and Distributed Morphology, and provided reasons why Lexicalism is a more viable alternative. Lastly, I concluded that my analysis would be lexicalist and not Minimalist. With these criteria in mind, I offered an overview of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), including my own working model of adjective agreement in modern German. This model laid the groundwork for my analyses in the following chapters.

### **7.2.2 Chapter Three**

In chapter three, I gave the background of Middle Low German, what is meant by the term, and what importance Middle Low German had for the Hanseatic League. I discussed the use of Middle Low German over time, including its decline as a written language and the switch of many northern chancelleries to High German for both internal and external correspondence. Reasons for this decline were given, as well as whether or not there was a spoken "standard" Middle Low German. I discussed the history of the corpus, and what we might expect in a corpus of this nature. I then outlined my method for digitizing the corpus and making it searchable through the use of POS tags.

### 7.2.3 Chapter Four

Chapter four was concerned with the use and attestations of determiners in the corpus. Using both Lasch's and Lübben's *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* as a guide, I covered the determiners evidenced in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* and, when possible, how they pattern with adjectives in their presence. I noted where the grammars differ from the data and where they are accurate, as well as noting that there is a difference in the last lustra of the corpus which could be explained by High German influence on the Middle Low German writers. To verify that the changes I witnessed were not merely due to chance, I included two control searches for both a verb and a noun and confirmed that the corpus is indeed witness to a linguistic change over time.

### 7.2.4 Chapter Five

Chapter five was concerned with negative determiners in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, namely *gen*, *ken*, and *nen*. I mentioned the frequency of each form and noted a change over time in form preference. As in chapter four, I noted adjective inflection with these determiners and I mentioned anomalous forms in the data. I concluded with a closer look at the phrase *van keyner werde*, which, although highly formulaic, does nonetheless vary in its appearance during the years the corpus covers.

### 7.2.5 Chapter Six

Chapter six focused on possessive pronouns in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*. I relied on the paradigms of Lasch and Lübben and compared the forms in the data to the ones they give. On the whole, I noted that the forms mostly coincide with the grammars, although I did note unexpected forms where they occurred. I also provided a theoretical analysis of

some of the phrases with possessive pronouns to demonstrate how my framework functions.

### **7.3 Theoretical Implications**

In this study, I used LFG as a framework in which to analyze noun phrases in Middle Low German. By confining the differences in adjective inflection vis-à-vis the determiner to the lexicon, I was able to reduce the types of adjective inflection in modern German to two forms (strong and weak) and eliminate the so-called mixed adjective endings. Applying this to the Middle Low German data, I determined that there are generally two patterns of adjective inflection with a determiner present: the strong/weak pattern and the strong/strong pattern. I found that I could accommodate the strong/strong pattern, absent in modern German, by the elimination of the constraint on the adjective feature  $[\pm\text{OMARK}]$ , a feature I proposed to correctly predict adjective inflection in modern German. This feature may have relevance beyond modern German and Middle Low German; it may be useful in other Germanic languages and any languages in which adjectives inflect because of determiner morphology.

### **7.4 Limitations**

Digitizing a corpus previously unavailable in electronic format is exciting; the corpus can be analyzed using new methods and new information can be gleaned from such a text. However, being the first to digitize such a large corpus brings with it many difficulties. Although I proofread the digitized corpus, there are still errors in the text that need to be corrected. The POS labeling is also only a first approximation: many forms of speech were determined mainly by their outward appearance and not by context. There



are instances where generalization has led to mislabeled forms. For example, to ensure that all determiners were marked as such, it was necessary to label the subordinating conjunction *dat* 'that' as the neuter definite article *dat* 'the'. Only context can determine which category the word belongs to; to label each word in the corpus according to context lay outside the scope of this study. Lastly, the php-script that searches the corpus is not perfect and is limited both in the strings it can search for (there is no variable 'NOT', for example) and in the results it delivers. For this study, the results produced by the php-script had to be crosschecked with a text-editing program to ensure that they were accurate. It is hoped that the php-script can be improved upon in subsequent work.

An additional limitation of this study, and a goal for future research, is that the authors of the rulings remain uninvestigated. Unique attestations in the corpus hint at the existence of many hands, some who perhaps only wrote once. Taking a closer look at the original manuscripts and identifying different writing styles will help differentiate among authors. Comparison of the digital corpus with the originals will also serve to verify the text of Ebel's edition and the possible presence of errors and corrections in that work.

## 7.5 Future Research

The digitization of this large corpus lays a solid foundation for future study, not only on the noun phrase but also on verbal constructions and the clause itself. It is my hope that this digitization may be incorporated into a larger collection of Middle Low German corpora, such as that proposed recently by Breitbarth et al. (2011).

With regard to future studies on noun phrases in this corpus, I hope to explore the adjective inflection in noun phrases without a determiner present. Of further interest is the question of definiteness and its role in adjective inflection in Middle Low German. Roehrs &

Julien (2012) note differences between German and Norwegian definiteness marking and adjectives: German adjectives inflect according to morphosyntactic criteria, while Norwegian adjectives inflect weakly or strongly for semantico-syntactic reasons. There is evidence that adjectives in my Middle Low German corpus may behave similarly to Norwegian in some instances.

Lastly, there is still much to be investigated with regard to *to*-infinitives in the *Lübecker Ratsurteile*.

### 7.5.1 Future Research: the *to*-Infinitive

The infinitive in the modern West Germanic languages can appear as a bare-infinitive, such as with the German verb *gehen* 'to go', or as a so-called *to*-infinitive: *zu gehen* 'to go'. A similar construction also appears in earlier stages of West Germanic, such as in Old High German and Old Saxon. While the exact treatment of this 'to' has been the subject of much research in the syntactic literature, most studies concentrate on the modern languages (Koster & May 1982; Pullum 1982; Falk 2000 among others for English). There are also attempts to assign a specific structural location for the Old High German equivalent of this construction (such as Abraham 2004, although he also deals with modern German). However, the *to*-infinitive in Late Middle Low German behaves differently and needs a different treatment than previous accounts offer.

The older forms of West Germanic evidence an additional form of the *to*-infinitive which is often ignored in the literature. As we see in example (299), the earlier Old High German form consists of the preposition *zi* 'to' plus an infinitive in the dative case.

(299) Old High German (Otfrid Ev. 1, 4, 63)



- hundred      guilders      to      give.DAT.SG  
    'to give a hundred guilders'
- (302)      *ore*              *fracht*      **to**      ***entrichten***              27 February 1545  
    their              cargo              to      arrange.INF  
    'to put their cargo in order'

While we may expect much repetitiveness in phrasing and style in such a corpus, the *Lübecker Ratsurteile* still show great variation with regard to *to*-infinitives. In the recurring phrase 'to take an oath' with the verb *don* 'to do', *don* is attested as both a bare-infinitive and as a dative gerund (example (303)). The writing of a will, a common occurrence mentioned in the *Urteile*, can appear as a phrase with a gerundial *makende* 'to make' or the bare-infinitive *maken* (example (304)).

- (303) a.      *or recht* ***tho don***              11 August 1529  
                  b.      *or recht* ***tho donde***              22 March 1532  
    'to take (their) oath'
- (304) a.      *eyn testament* ***to makende***              2 September 1499  
                  b.      *eyn testament* ***to maken***              5 July 1545  
    'to make a will'

In this corpus, the earliest decades show little or no bare forms, while later decades evidence an increasing number of bare infinitives, the period after 1500 is especially high in these bare forms (Figure 67).

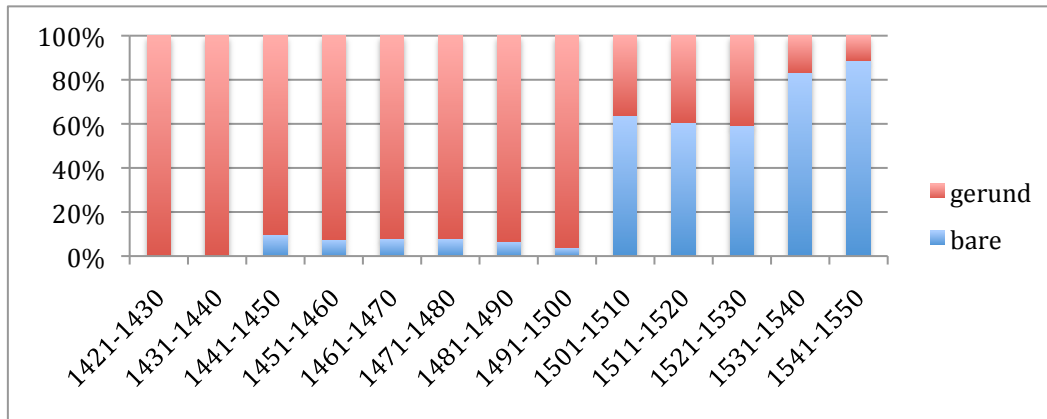


Figure 67

We know that Middle Low German's historical antecedent Old Saxon had an inflected infinitive in the dative and we know that modern German has only bare infinitives, so we are not surprised when these verbs come to prefer the bare infinitive form in the corpus. It is perhaps only an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization of the infinitival preposition that we are witnessing. I hope in future to take a closer look at the individual verbs to determine if all verbs behave this way, that is, if they all show a progression from a preference for the dative gerund to a preference for the bare infinitive.

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