Abstract

In my thesis, I argue for an ellipsis in the strict AN&A construction in Old English, which is also known as the postposed *and*-adjective construction (Fischer, 2012) or the postnominal 'and adjective' construction (Haumann, 2003). This construction is a case of a prenominal adjective modifying a noun followed by a single postnominal adjective. By 'strict', I mean those cases of AN&A where the construction only has one single referent and does not refer to two distinct referents. I argue that an ellipsis approach is a likelier explanation for the syntax of the strict AN&A construction than the extraposition approach. While Fischer (2012) follows the extraposition approach, my approach resembles the one in Haumann (2003), wherein she proposes that the second adjective is accompanied by a null prominal (*pro*). The extraposition explanation has certain weaknesses, such as the limitations created by the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), which prohibits the movement of a conjunct in a coordination structure. The extraposition approach is thus, unlike the ellipsis approach, a theoretical cost for coordination theory.

This then leaves us with one option which is less desirable due to the theoretical cost for the theory of coordination, extraposition, and another option which is more desirable, ellipsis, as it would be a solution without the need for any extra rules. If OE has an ellipsis rule independently of AN&A, it would be plausible that ellipsis is behind the strict AN&A construction and not extraposition. Given that this is true, there would be no need to create an extra rule for extraposition to allow it to circumvent CSC. To support the ellipsis approach, I used a corpus to locate examples of Noun Phrase Ellipsis (NPE) outside of the AN&A construction in OE. The existence of NPE outside of AN&A and the problems with the extraposition approach thus support the ellipsis approach.

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

In Old English (OE), there exists a construction which I have chosen to call AN&A.[1] This construction, as shown in (1), is a case of a prenominal adjective modifying a noun, after which the same noun is followed by a postnominal adjective.

(1)

Her Leo se æðela papa & se halga forþ ferde
here Leo that noble pope & that holy forth went
'Here that noble and holy pope Leo departed'
(Haumann, 2003: 75); CHROA2,58.814.1

This construction has been the focus of the articles by Fischer (2000, 2012) and Haumann (2003) and there is no clear agreement about how this construction functions semantically and syntactically. This construction appears with what Haumann (2003) and Fischer (2012) call 'strict' and 'sloppy' reference. This means that one occurrence of AN&A can refer to one single referent (strict) while another occurrence can refer to two distinct referents (sloppy). Fischer (2012) holds that this difference leads to two different syntactic explanations. In the sloppy AN&A construction, the postnominal adjective is a nominalized adjective, while in the strict AN&A construction, the postnominal adjective is actually a postposed adjective. In the strict AN&A construction, the adjective was thus originally a prenominal adjective which has been extraposed to the postnominal position. Haumann (2003) disagrees, arguing that both strict and sloppy AN&A can be analysed using one uniform analysis. She believes that AN&A is a case of DP coordination, wherein the postnominal adjective is modifying a non-DP *pro*, an empty element which is silent in the structure.

I argue that the ellipsis approach is a likelier explanation for the syntax of the strict AN&A construction than the extraposition approach which Fischer (2012) proposes. The extraposition explanation has certain weaknesses, such as the limitations created by the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), which prohibits the movement of a conjunct in a coordination structure (see 3.3). Unlike ellipsis, the extraposition approach is a theoretical cost for coordination theory. To support the ellipsis approach, I use an OE corpus to provide evidence of Noun Phrase Ellipsis

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[1] I will here be using A to refer to adjective, N to refer to noun, & to refer to conjuction and D to refer to determiner.

(NPE) in OE outside of AN&A. I argue that, since it is possible to find NPE outside of AN&A, a special extraposition rule just for AN&A is unnecessary. NPE being available in OE, outside of AN&A, shows that there is a language mechanism which could be used to allow ellipsis in AN&A. I thus disagree with Fischer's approach and find agreement with Haumann's position. However, note that even though the approach of my thesis resembles Haumann's, I argue for ellipsis, not *pro*. While ellipsis resembles the *pro* which Haumann argues for, as both ellipsis and *pro* involve a phonologically null element, the ellipsis analysis argues for phonological deletion. As such, the *pro* approach would resemble this: AN&A*pro*, while the ellipsis approach would resemble this: AN&A~~N~~. The latter is what I am providing evidence for. Even so, the difference between the two is less important to my thesis than extraposition being an unlikely explanation for the strict AN&A construction.

One important goal of generative grammar is to uncover how language functions in the mind. Chomsky (1965: 3) writes that 'linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener', yet we do not have a way of studying the language directly in the mind. Instead, we look at the 'performance' of the language user. That is, it is the 'performance' through the written or spoken utterances of language that provide evidence for the 'competence' that an ideal language user has in their mind. The 'competence' is thus the knowledge of language that the language user actually has, while the 'performance' is the actual use of that knowledge. It is important to distinguish between these two because the 'competence' is a flawless ideal which cannot be directly accessed or studied; what we have to deal with is the 'performance', which does have flaws and mistakes. The flaws and mistakes do not necessarily mean that the language user does not know better (Chomsky, 1965: 3-4). To account for this, it is possible to use acceptability and grammaticality judgements made by the language user, generally a native speaker, to ascertain whether an apparent language flaw was a mistake or not (Chomsky, 1965: 10-12).

Because we have no native language speakers, studying OE is problematic. OE is a dead language and the only evidence of the language that we have are written texts. These written texts may be flawed, or the texts, such as poetry, may contain ungrammatical language. There are no native speakers that can make judgements on the texts we do have, which makes it impossible to know for certain exactly how well-formed an utterance is. This means that any evidence found is circumstantial. Any findings will be guesswork, as is the case with any study

which relies on the grammaticality of utterances in dead languages, but it is my aim in this thesis to make plausible guesses that function well with the language evidence that we do have access to in the written material.

In summary, the purpose of my thesis is to argue for ellipsis in the AN&A construction of OE, by showing that the extraposition approach is flawed and that OE does have an NPE mechanism which would support the ellipsis approach. In chapter 2, I present AN&A, focusing on sloppy and strict identity, nominalized adjectives and adjectival inflection. In chapter 3, I present ellipsis, coordination theory and extraposition to create a background for chapter 4 and the arguments in chapter 5. I present the different theories surrounding split constructions and AN&A in OE in chapter 4. Lastly, in chapter 5, I present my evidence and argumentation for NPE in OE outside of AN&A, thus providing support for the ellipsis approach in the strict AN&A construction.

2. AN&A and related issues in OE

2.1   Pre- and postnominal adjectives in PDE and OE

In Present Day English (PDE), adjectives modifying nouns are typically prenominal. If we wish to use two or more adjectives to describe a noun, we can normally stack them, as adjectives in PDE are recursive, as seen in (2a), or have coordinated APs modifying the noun, as seen in (2b).

(2)
    a. The beautiful young girl.
    b. The beautiful and young girl.

We do find cases of postnominal adjectives in PDE too. These, however, are generally taken to be reduced restrictive relative clauses (Haumann, 2010: 72), such as the one in (3) below.

(3)
    [The remedies [**available**]] are injunctions, damages, and an account of profits.
    (Haumann, 2010: 71) (BNC ECD)

The recursiveness of adjectives as it would look syntactically in PDE is a shown below in (4).

(4)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
              (Det)    NP
                      /  \
                    AP    NP
                         /  \
                       AP    NP
                            /  \
                          N  (complement)
```
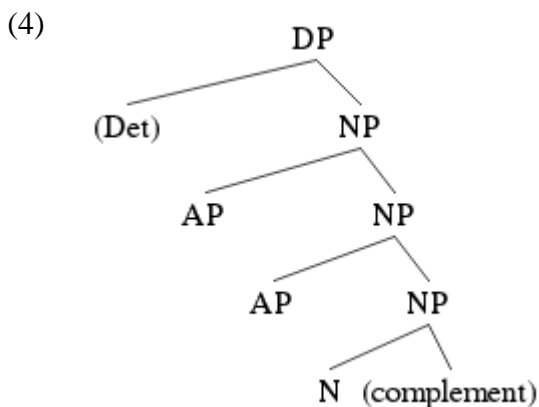
The first adjective is modifying the NP which contains both the second adjective and the noun. They are here in a hierarchical relationship, such as is the case in the PDE phrase 'the large blue ball'. Changing the order of the adjectives to 'the blue large ball' makes the sentence strange and indicates that there is hierarchical order to be found. However, Fischer (2012: 255) writes that adjectives were not recursive in OE. Following Fischer (2012), what happens in OE must look more like example (5) below, where coordination must always take place between two

adjectives if they are both pre- or post-modifying a noun. This is because they cannot be in a hierarchical relationship in OE.

(5)

```
                    DP
                 /      \
          (Det)          NP
                       /    \
                     AP      NP
                  / | \     /  \
               AP (&) AP   N  (complement)
```
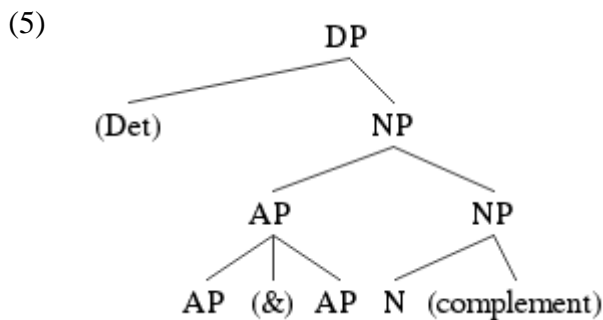
While examples indicating recursiveness can be found, where two adjectives in OE pre-modify a noun, Fischer (2000: 172-174) views these examples as rare exceptions. It is possible that the exceptions she found are simply asyndetic coordination constructions, which lack overt coordination. However, the issue is difficult to decide on because the researcher cannot use native speaker judgements.

Fischer (2012: 255) suggests that the lack of recursive adjectives in OE produced four different possible constructions. As such, when an NP was modified by two adjectives, there were at least four ways to structure the phrase. One possibility was to have prenominal coordination of the APs: A&AN. A second possibility was to have postnominal coordination of the APs: NA&A. A third possibility was to have one AP before the noun and another behind it, without any overt coordination: ANA. This is also known as ambilateral adjective placement, in which case the noun has one prenominal and one postnominal adjective modifying it (Fischer, 2012: 266; Haumann, 2003: 57). The last possibility, which is the one I investigate, is the one where one of the adjectives was prenominal and the second conjunct was postnominal: AN&A, as seen below in (6) (Fischer, 2012: 255). This last construction is particularly interesting as it is unclear whether the single postnominal adjective is a nominalized adjective, a postposed adjective or a result of ellipsis.

(6)
      Siocne monnan and gesargodne
      sick man and wounded

      Sick and wounded man
      (Fischer, 2012: 256); Boethius 4 1.38.123.32

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Alternatively, this construction could also be found with determiners: DAN&DA, as seen in (7) (Fischer, 2012: 255; Haumann, 2003: 57).

(7)
    Her Leo se æðela papa & se halga forþ ferde
    here Leo that noble pope & that holy forth went

    'Here that noble and holy pope Leo departed'
    (Haumann, 2003: 75); CHROA2,58.814.1

AN&A is a construction known by different names. It is called the postposed 'and-adjective' construction by Fischer (2012), while Haumann (2003) calls it the postnominal '*and* adjective' construction. I have here chosen to call it AN&A for succinctness' sake, referring to the coordinated construction as exemplified above. For the purpose of the coming explanations, I will treat the phenomena as if the postposed adjective is modifying a missing noun. This issue, of whether this is a case of ellipsis or not, is something I will address later in this thesis, particularly in chapter 4 and 5.

2.2 Occurrences of AN&A

AN&A can be considered a split construction. Reszkiewicz (1966) wrote that split constructions were a common construction in OE. Examples of the construction can be found in both prose and poetry. Furthermore, he makes clear that this construction is not merely used for emphasis or as a part of poetic language; it is a natural part of the written language, used in different ways. The split constructions might appear with two referents or one referent, although, in poetry, the constructions are more commonly found with only one referent (Reszkiewicz, 1966: 320, 324-326). Fischer's corpus data and her analysis agrees with Reszkiewicz, although her data suggests that the postposed 'and-adjective' construction is rather rare. With a determiner it has a frequency of 78.0 times per million words, while it occurs without a determiner 262.7 times per million words. It occurs about equally as often in Latin-influenced texts and in non-Latin-influenced texts. As such, as Reszkiewicz writes, the construction appears to be a part of the natural language of (written) OE (Fischer, 2012: 263-264).

2.3 'Strict' and 'sloppy' AN&A

Fischer (2012) focuses on the semantic identity of the NP(s) in the AN&A construction; in particular, what does the postnominal adjective in AN&A actually refer to? The identity of the noun of the postnominal adjective might either share identity with the prenominal adjective or refer to something or someone else entirely. The referent of the postnominal adjective might To discuss this phenomena, Fischer (2012: 256) uses the terms 'strict' and 'sloppy' to distinguish between the cases where there is only one referent and the cases where there are several, distinct referents. The term 'strict' is used to describe the cases where the postnominal adjective refers to the same referent as the prenominal adjective, while the term 'sloppy' is used for the cases where the postnominal adjective is not referring to the same referent as the prenominal adjective. In PDE, the example: 'the blue ball and the red ball' would be 'sloppy', as the adjectives 'blue' and 'red' refer to two different referents, that is, there are two distinct balls. The example: 'the red and blue ball' would be 'strict', as both prenominal adjectives refer to the same referent. To determine whether the reference if strict or sloppy, the researcher mostly relies on their own intuition about semantic context, supported by morphological factors, such as case, number and gender. Example (6) and (7) above are likely to represent strict identity in AN&A.

Below are four examples of the AN&A construction, according to Fischer (2012).

(8)
> Ðin modor gewiteð of weorolde þurh scondlicne deað & unarlicne
> your mother departed from this world through a shameful death and dishonourable
> 'Your mother left this world through a shameful and dishonourable death
> (Fischer, 2012: 268); coaelex, Alex:40.7.516

In (8), we have a construction of the strict AN&A type. The adjectives both appear to modify the same referent, 'death', which likely refers to the same single event: the mother's death.

(9)
> Cwæþ se godspellere, Martha & Maria getacniaþ þis lænelice lif & þis gewitendlice.
> said the evangelist Martha and Mary betoken this transitory life and this transitory (lit. 'borrowed' and 'passing')
> '(…) the evangelist said that Martha and Mary betoken this transitory (borrowed) and transitory (passing) life.'
> (Fischer, 2012: 274); coblick, Hom S21[Bl Hom_6]:73.121.911

(9) is of the DAN&DA type, where it again seems likely that the identity is strict. While there are many lives, one for each individual, it is likely that the 'life' referred to here is life in general.

(10)

Ðes deafa mann getacnode & þes dumba witodlice eall Adames cynn
this deaf man betokens and this dumb therefore all Adam's race

'This deaf and dumb man betokens, therefore all of Adam's race'

or

'This deaf man and this dumb man betoken, therefore all of Adam's race'
(Fischer, 2012: 273); coaelhom,+Ahom18:85.2542

(10) is interesting for several reasons. This is a construction that closely resembles the DAN&DA type, but a verb has appeared in the middle of the construction. Fischer (2012: 273) writes that 'the reference [is] both strict and sloppy at the same time'. On the hand, she notes that strict identity is suggested by the singular verb, general knowledge of deafness leading to muteness as well as 'that the deaf-mute serves as unit to symbolise Adam's race' (Fischer, 2012: 273). On the other hand, she writes that 'deafness and dumbness are next used separately in the text that follows' (Fischer, 2012: 273). The latter indicates two different referents. However, she uses the verb to argue for a strict interpretation due to the verb being singular. Even so, she does note that the usage of correct subject-verb agreement varies in the OE sources and might not be reliable evidence. While she notes this, she does not discuss the appearance of another word category in the middle of the postposed and-adjective construction, which is problematic for other reasons (see 4.1 and 4.3) (Fischer, 2012: 273).

(11)

Þæt heo þy feorðan wicdæge & þy syxtan fæston to nones
that they the fourth week-day and the sixth fasted till noon

(…) that they on the fourth week-day and on the sixth week-day fasted until noon.
(Fischer, 2012: 269); cobede, Bede_3:3.162.8.1556

(11) is a construction of the DAN&DA type, where it is clear that the numbers refer to two different days, making the reference sloppy.

It is important to note the differences between the sloppy and strict AN&A constructions, as Fischer (2012) distinguishes between them when she explains them syntactically. In the sloppy AN&A construction, the postnominal adjective is a nominalized adjective, while the strict

AN&A constructions are explained as cases of extraposition. This is why I only investigate ellipsis in the strict version of the AN&A construction.

2.4   Nominalized adjectives

One explanation for the second adjective in the AN&A construction is that it is a nominalized adjective. Nominalized adjectives, also known as N-adjectives or substantival adjectives, are restricted in PDE. When they appear, they generally refer to a particular, plural group of people, or an abstract idea. These adjectives always occur with a determiner and cannot occur with plural morphology (Yamamura, 2012: 18-19). This is exemplified in (12).

(12)
    a.   We need to help the poor and give them food.
    b.   *We need to help the poor and give her food.

Yamamura (2012: 20-21) writes that nominalized adjectives in OE can be interpreted either as singular or as plural. Which alternative is correct is shown through the inflectional ending of the adjective, as seen below in (13) and (14). (13) shows how the nominalized adjectives are interpreted as plural entities. Note how this structure is still acceptable in PDE. (14) shows how the adjective is interpreted as a singular man. In PDE this requires 'one' or another noun, 'man', such as below, to become licit.

(13)
    þætte ða cwican no genihtsumedon þæt hi ða deadan bebyrigdan
    that those quick.PL no longer sufficed that they those dead.PL bury
    'the living no longer sufficed to bury the dead'
    (Yamamura, 2012: 19); cobede,Bede_1:11.50.3.448: o2

(14)
    Se blinda him ondswerede
    that blind.SG him answered
    'The blind man answered him'
    (Yamamura, 2012: 19); coblick,HomS_8_[BlHom_2]:15.23.198: o3

Unlike in PDE, nominalized adjectives in OE seem to be less restricted and they appear more frequently. In OE, nominalized adjectives do not have to be plural, they do not have to refer to people nor do they need to occur with a determiner, as seen in (15) (Fischer, 2000: 176; Mitchell, 1985: 63ff.; Yamamura, 2012: 20).

(15)
    halige gongað of mægene in mægen;

holy.PL go of virtue in virtue
'The saints shall go from virtue to virtue;'
(Yamamura, 2012: 20); cobede,Bede_3:14.212.7.2148: o2

It is assumed that the use of nominalized adjectives declined between OE and PDE due to loss of adjectival inflection, and Yamamura notes that this seems likely when comparing the occurrence of nominalized adjectives in different languages (Yamamura, 2012: 21-22).

2.5   Adjectival inflection in OE

To provide background for chapter 4, it is necessary to shortly explain adjectival inflection in OE. OE inflects nouns, adjectives and determiners according to gender, case and number. Table 1 below shows the strong inflection of an adjective. As can be seen in the example, adjectives in OE have a rich inflection system, meaning that the system is very varied with many different suffixes, denoting case, gender and number.

	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Neuter**
Nominative Sg.	gòd	gòd	gòd
Genitive Sg.	gòdes	gòdre	gòdes
Dative Sg.	gòdum	gòdre	gòdum
Accusative Sg.	gòdne	gòde	gòd
Instrumentalis Sg.	gòde	-	gòde
Nominative Pl.	gòde	gòda	gòd, gòde
Genitive Pl.	gòdra	gòdra	gòdra
Dative Pl.	gòdum	gòdum	gòdum
Accusative Pl.	gòde	gòda	gòd, gòde

Table 1: Strong adjective endings
(Baker, 2003: 89)

While some of the endings resemble each other, particularly the nominative and accusative plural suffixes, there is still a large degree of variation. Adjectives, determiners and nouns all inflect according to this scheme, although adjectives change their inflection between strong and weak according to the circumstances (Mitchell & Robinson, 2012: 31). The weak declension of the adjective does not vary nearly as much as the strong one and many of its suffixes resemble each other. Which declension is used depends on what is premodifying the adjective. If there is a demonstrative pronoun, a possessive adjective or a genitive noun directly to the left of the adjective, the adjective follows the weak inflection (Baker, 2003: 87). Case, number and gender also determine the inflection of nouns, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and cardinal numbers (Baker, 2003: 51).

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the AN&A construction and related issues. I have shown how adjectives modify nouns in OE and that the AN&A construction may have one referent (sloppy) or two distinct referents (strict). I have explained that I only investigate the strict AN&A construction, as this is the version where extraposition has been used as an explanation by Fischer. According to Fischer, sloppy AN&A instead has a nominalized adjective. Nominalized adjectives were far more frequent in OE than they are in PDE and certainly less restricted. In OE, adjectival inflection was quite rich, with different cases, numbers and genders. In the next chapter, I will present the different theories behind ellipsis, coordination and extraposition.

3. Ellipsis, coordination theory and extraposition

In this chapter, I present ellipsis in general, NPE, coordination ellipsis, backward ellipsis, Gapping and Stripping, and, finally, extraposition. This chapter is meant to function as a theoretical background for chapter 4 and 5.

3.1   Ellipsis

The term 'ellipsis' is in linguistics used to refer to instances where one or more words are omitted from a sentence, such as in example (16). Ellipsis generally only happens under certain conditions where something makes the ellipsis licit, making it possible for us to interpret the utterance correctly (Van Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013: 701).

(16)
> I wash my cup and he washes his _.

In the example above, the word omitted is easily identified as *cup*, due to the antecedent *cup* in the first clause. As it is clear that we do not need the pronunciation of the word to understand it, much work has been put into discovering how different types of ellipsis function. One question that is often discussed is whether there is syntactic structure in an elliptical site. Evidence exists for both sides of the argument here, based on whether it is possible to find any external evidence for the structure. Examples of this could be case matching, wherein the case assigners remain unpronounced, as seen below in the German example (17) (Merchant, 2013: 8-9, 13).

(17)
> a. Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie wissen nicht, (*wer / *wen / wem).
>
>   He wants someone.DAT flatter but they know not who.NOM who.ACC who.DAT
>
>   'He wants to flatter someone, but they don't know who.'
>
> b. Er will jemanden loben, aber sie wissen nicht, (*wer / wen / *wem).
>
>   He wants someone.ACC praise but they know not who.NOM who.ACC who.DAT
>
>   'He wants to praise someone, but they don't know who.'
>
> (Merchant, 2013: 13)

As ellipsis sites contain no overt morphological or phonological traits, we need an antecedent, like *cup*, to identify the missing word, or words, in the utterance. This antecedent may either be syntactic, where it is present in the utterance, or pragmatic, where the context gives the gap meaning (Lobeck, 1993: 780). That is, if I point towards someone swimming and say 'I can do that', there is no need for me to specify what I can do because the antecedent is pragmatic and can thus be understood from the context. Ellipsis is in general not constrained by the limits of the clause it appears in and it can thus occur, in relation to its antecedent, both in subordinate and coordinate clauses. It is also possible to find it in a different utterance to the ellipsis gap. Ellipsis will also obey the backwards anaphora constraint, meaning that, while they can precede their antecedent, they cannot command it (Lobeck, 1993: 780).

The gap found in the utterance has been explained by at least two different theories. In the first theory, the gap is assumed to be ellipsis, where there is missing material in the utterance, which has structure which has been deleted due to a phonological rule. In the second, the gap is due to a silent pro-form, which is still present in the structure. This pro-form can also be overt, as seen in (18b).

(18)
    a. Mary will take out the trash.
    b. Mary will do it.
    c. A: Will you take out the trash? B: Mary will ~~take out the trash~~.

As can be seen when comparing (18a) and (18b), there is an overt pro-form, *do it*, left behind at the ellipsis site. The structure of (18a) is not present in (18b), rather, the pro-form has its own structure, which is not identical with (18a)'s structure (as pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.)). Its meaning, which can be semantically complex, is derived from its antecedent. However, deletion, as seen in (18c), assumes that there is underlying structure in the ellipsis site from which elements can be extracted, through for example wh-movement. This structure can be visible through the case, number and gender assignment in the gap's surroundings (Baltin, 2011: 381-383).

Ellipsis can be divided into coordinate and non-coordinate types, wherein the first would be cases such as Gapping, while the latter would be cases such as NPE, Sluicing and Verb Phrase Ellipsis (Wilder, 2016: 29). This means that NPE in PDE is not restricted to coordinate structures, while Gapping has to occur in a coordinate structure.

3.2   Noun Phrase Ellipsis

NPE is of particular interest in my thesis, as part of my thesis is dedicated to showing the existence of NPE outside of AN&A in OE. In NPE, a head noun or nominal phrase appears to be omitted from a nominal expression, as seen below in (19). Notice that in all the cases below, something belonging to the DP always remains, such as the possessive 'his'.

(19)
- a. While I write my thesis, he writes his _. (possessive)
- b. I write for three hours, he writes for four _. (cardinal number)
- c. Some people sit and some _ don't sit. (quantifier)

Van Craenenbroeck and Merchant (2013: 731) argue that the missing noun or some stand-in must still be present in the syntax as the omitted part can still control agreement on its surroundings, such as the adjectives, determiners and verbs. This is thus, in their approach, a case of deletion.

NPE should be distinguished from the nominalization of adjectives. One typical example where we must distinguish between the two could be: 'they feed the poor'. According to Giannakidou and Stavrou (1999), deciding whether something is a case of NPE or nominalization can be done by using certain tests or questions (as cited in Van Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013: 732). Firstly, unlike nominalized adjectives, ellipsis tends to need an antecedent to exist. If there is an antecedent, it is likely an example of ellipsis. Secondly, if the adjective is in comparative or superlative, the gap is a case of ellipsis. Nominalized adjectives do not appear in the comparative or the superlative, see: '*they feed the poorer' or '*they feed the poorest'. Thirdly, ellipsis tends to have a fuller range of meanings, while nominalizations tend to be restricted to a smaller subset of meanings than the adjective normally has. Fourthly, one can look at whether the adjective forms a plural with plural nominal morphology, in the cases where this differs from adjectival inflection. If it does not do this, it is ellipsis. The example 'they feed the poor' can be analysed using these criteria to show that it is not a case of ellipsis. There is no antecedent, the meaning of 'the poor' is restricted to a subset and it does not form a comparative. As such, there is no ellipsis site here. Such examples cannot be treated as NPE and it is important to recognize what we are dealing with to avoid confusion.

If we look at German, NPE appears to be more frequent than in PDE. Unlike PDE, German has no strategy comparable to the one-insertion, as seen in (20) (Günther, 2013: 13).

(20)
    a.   *I will have the blue ball and you will have the green.[2]
    b.   I will have the blue ball and you will have the green one.

German's inflectional system is quite rich compared to PDE's inflectional system, as it inflects in gender, case and number. When NPE occurs in German, the element just to the left of the ellipsis site has to have a rich inflectional system, with only the plural cardinal numerals as exceptions. NPE is likely to be less restrictive in German than in PDE due to the fact that most prenominal elements in German do inflect (Günther, 2013: 17-19). Several linguists, such as Lobeck (1995), postulate that it is the German inflectional system that may be the reason why NPE is more frequent in German than in PDE, as PDE has an impoverished inflectional system in comparison. If we compare the inflectional systems of OE and German, we find many similarities, such as case, gender and number. OE, with its four, or five, cases, gender and number, quite clearly has a richer inflectional system than PDE. If it is true that it is the inflectional system that licenses NPE, it stands to reason that OE would show a higher frequency of NPE than PDE (see 5.3).

3.3   Coordination and ellipsis

3.3.1 Coordination structure

A coordination structure is a structure which coordinates two or more elements, such as phrases or entire clauses. The coordinated elements are called conjuncts, and these conjuncts are generally connected by a conjunction. Coordination structures are subject to the Law of Coordination of Like (LCL). This law stipulates that the coordinated conjuncts have to be of

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[2] Notice how this is not the case in Norwegian:

      Jeg vil ha den blå ballen og du vil ha den grønne.

      I want have the blue ball and you want have the green

      'I want to have the blue ball and you want to have the green one.'

Norwegian has a slightly richer inflectional system than PDE, which might be behind the difference.

the same category or type, such as AP and AP or DP and DP. As seen below in (21), coordinating DPs and PPs does not work.

(21)
    a.   *I wrote my thesis and on Wednesday.
    b.   I wrote my thesis and my letter.

However, exactly what LCL means is still up for debate, as it is unclear whether it is the semantic type or the syntactic type that is the deciding factor (Wilder, 2016: 13-14). The Unlike Category Coordination (UCC) seems to oppose LCL, as there appear to be cases where you can coordinate different categories. However, this can be explained using the Conjunction Reduction (CR) approach (Wilder, 2016: 16-17). In that case, we are dealing with the coordination of two phrases which have undergone ellipsis. The phrases would originally have had the same structure, but ellipsis would have caused them to appear like another kind of phrase. An example of this is seen below in (22). In (22a), it appears that the conjuncts are two different kinds of phrases; however, if we assume ellipsis, we could solve this as in (22b), where a verb is shown to be missing.

(22)
    a.   I am [DP a student] and [AP proud of it].
    b.   I [VP am a student] and [VP am proud of it].

According to Ross (1967: 162), who attempts to define coordination cross-linguistically, a coordinate structure must contain at least two conjuncts, though, of course, there may in theory be an infinite number of conjuncts in a coordinate structure. The following explanation refers mainly to examples with two conjuncts. All coordinate structures contain a conjunction, which always appears to belong to the second or non-initial conjunct. This means that the conjunction is a constituent together with the second conjunct and thus cannot leave it. Ross (1967: 162-165) lists a few syntactic reasons for this. Firstly, if the conjuncts are broken up into different sentences, the conjunction always goes with the second conjunct, as seen below in (23).

(23)
    a.   John left. And he didn't even say goodbye.
   b.   *John left and. He didn't even say goodbye.

Secondly, enclitic conjunctions always go with the second conjunct, as seen in Latin, with *que* 'and' and in German, with *aber* 'but'. Thirdly, in appositive clauses, the 'and' appears to be transformed into 'who', as a part of the second conjunct.

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(24)
  a. Even Harold failed, and he is the smartest boy in our class.
  b. Even Harold, who is the smartest boy in our class, failed.

As such, it seems clear that conjunction always attaches to the second or non-initial conjunct and that the conjunction and the following conjunct always appear as a constituent. The structure of this might be like Munn (1993: 12-15) suggests in, that the conjunction forms its own phrase with the non-initial conjunct, and is right-adjoined to the initial conjunct.

(25)

```
        XP
       /  \
     XP    &P
          /  \
        &   YP
```
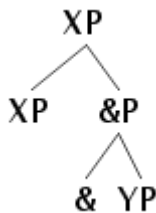
Ross (1967: 161) formulated the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) as follows:

(26)
  In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

After stating the CSC, he then established that the only exception to this seemed to be Across-the-Board (ATB) movement, in which case that the constituent which is moved must be moved out of all conjuncts (Ross, 1967: 176). CSC and ATB were formulated to explain the failure, and success, of sentences such as the ones below, taken from Ross (1967: 158, 160, 176-177):

(27)
  a. He will put the chair between some table and sofa.
  b. *What sofa will he put the chair between some table and?

Example (27) shows that questioning just one conjunct of the coordinated structure is illicit.

(28)
  a. The nurse polished the trombone and the plumber computed my tax.
  b. *The nurse who polished her trombone and the plumber computed my tax was a blonde.

In example (28), relativization of one of the conjuncts appear to be illicit.

(29)
  a. Tom picked these grapes, and I washed these grapes, and Suzie will prepare these grapes.
  b. *Tom picked, and I washed, and Suzie will prepare, these grapes.
(30)

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    a.   Tom picked these grapes, and I washed some turnips, and Suzie will prepare these grapes.

    b.   Tom picked, and I washed some turnips, and Suzie will prepare, these grapes.

According to Ross (1967: 176-177), (29) and (30) show that one must use ATB movement to remove all the relevant constituents from the conjuncts to make the sentence licit and that all these conjuncts must be referring to the same entity.[3] Altogether, this shows that coordination structures are units in which one cannot move anything, unless it is through ATB movement, wherein all the constituents must refer to the same entity and be removed from all the conjuncts. In addition, the conjunction belongs with the second or non-initial conjunct, not the first or initial one, and the conjunction and the second conjunct does as such appear to be an independent constituent in the structure.

3.3.2 Conjunction reduction

As AN&A is a case of coordination, it is relevant to investigate how ellipsis functions within coordination theory. 'Conjunction reduction' (CR), also known as 'coordination ellipsis', is a term used to describe cases of ellipses which occur within coordinate structures. CR can be described as either forward or backward. In forward CR, (31a), the ellipsis is found in the non-initial conjunct, like below, and it can be divided into different kinds of ellipsis such as Gapping and Stripping. The gap, which the missing material leaves, receives its identity from its pronounced antecedent in the initial conjunct.

(31)

    a.   They support their children, but ~~they support~~ no other children.

    b.   I can meet on the twenty-first ~~of May~~ and on the thirtieth of May.

In backward CR, (31b), the material missing is in the initial conjunct and it appears to gain its identity from the material in the non-initial conjunct (Wilder, 2016: 2-3, 7). For this thesis, it is forward CR that is of most relevance, as this is the pattern found in AN&A, given that AN&A is a case of ellipsis. AN&A, as forward CR, would then presumably look like AN&A~~N~~.

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[3] As pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.), the movement analysis is disputed and one alternative to this explanation of (29) and (30) would be Backward Ellipsis, as discussed below. In this case, 'these grapes' would have undergone ellipsis and not movement.

Wilder (2016: 3-4) discusses coordination and sharing of material using 'α' to indicate that material is shared between the conjuncts, '&' to indicate the location of the conjunction and '…' to indicate nonshared material in each conjunct. Using symbols to indicate how the structure is, would look like in example (32) below:

(32)
I write my thesis and he writes his _.
… α & … α
nonshared shared & nonshared shared

Forward CR, backward CR and ellipsis in AN&A would then look like in example (33) below.

(33)
    a.   <[α…] & [α̶…]> Forward CR
    b.   <[…α̶] & […α]> Backward CR
    c.   <[…α] & […α̶]> Ellipsis in AN&A

There is not one theory of sharing in coordination, but many. While there is agreement that the shared material is semantically present in each conjunct, it is uncertain whether the shared material is also syntactically present. If the material is only semantically shared, the shared material might be said to be outside the conjuncts, as in (34) (Wilder, 2016: 4-5).

(34)
    a.   α <[…] & […]>
    b.   <[…] & […]>α

However, how sharing would work for AN&A is unclear to me as the shared material, unlike in backward and forward CR, is located in the middle of the coordination structure. It is also possible that ATB movement has extracted α from all the conjuncts, leaving only traces behind and placing it outside the coordination, as seen below (35).

(35)
    a. $_t$α <… $_t$α…] & [… $_t$α…]>
    b.   <[… $_t$α…] & [… $_t$α…]> $_t$α

Again, for the same reason as for (34), it is unclear to me how this would work for AN&A.

However, although CR is also known as coordination ellipsis, this does not mean that 'and', or another conjunction, has to be present in the structure for it to be a case of coordinate ellipsis. It is enough that the structure resembles coordination, as can be seen in comparative cases (Wilder, 2016: 7). Such cases would look something like this: 'he understood more outside of context than Bill ~~understood~~ within context'. While this is not a typical coordinate structure, the example does resemble that structure and could be analysed as one.

3.4   Backward ellipsis

To provide background for chapter 5, it is necessary to understand the difference between backward and forward ellipsis. So far, what has been discussed is forward ellipsis. Forward ellipsis, such as NPE, is perhaps the most common form of ellipsis, where the antecedent comes first before the ellipsis site appears, as seen in (33) above. The directionality here is important, as backward ellipsis has the opposite directionality to forward ellipsis. In backward ellipsis, as seen in (33) and (36), the gap comes first and it is only after the gap that the antecedent appears.

(36)
   a.   I am busy on the first _, but I can be there on the second of March.
   b.   Just tell me when _ and where to meet.

Backward ellipsis show traits that do not quite fit with forward ellipsis. While canonical ellipsis phenomena (forward CR) targets only one specific category type, be it VP, NP or something else, backward ellipsis does not limit itself in that way. Additionally, backward ellipsis does not show the kind of identity mismatches that forward CR shows (Wilder, 2016: 46, 56).

Wilder (2016: 63-65) notes that there are ways to distinguish between forward ellipsis and backwards ellipsis. An example of this could be the possessors, as the possessors alternate between forms such as *my/your/her* and *mine/yours/hers* between forward and backward ellipsis, as seen in (37). Note how backward ellipsis in (37c) does not allow *mine* to occur before the ellipsis site, while it is permissible with the forward ellipsis in (37a).

(37)
   a.   I like your thesis and you like mine _.
   b.   I prefer to read in my _ rather than in your thesis.
   c.   *I prefer to read in mine _ rather than in your thesis.

It is also possible to find differences between backward ellipsis and Verb Phrase Ellipsis (VPE). While backward ellipsis can strand the progressive form *being*, VPE cannot. Backward ellipsis can also remove finite lexical verbs without triggering *do*-support, unlike VPE, and remove non-finite perfect 'have'. Unlike VPE, backward ellipsis 'cannot trigger *do*-support except in emphatic *do* contexts' (Wilder, 2016: 65). It is thus clear that the directionality of the ellipsis is important.

3.5 Gapping and Stripping

To understand the later chapters, it is also necessary to have some knowledge of Gapping and Stripping. Gapping is a form of ellipsis which is only found within clausal coordination. The clause with the gap is always located in a coordination structure with another clause; that is, it is two clauses that are conjuncts, not two phrases, such as PPs or DPs.

(38)
        I like books and Mary _ songs.

In (38), the ellipsis occurs in the non-initial conjunct clause. Only the verb appears to be elided. In Gapping, it is typically the verb and the auxiliaries which undergo ellipsis, while two constituents are left behind, the subject and a postverbal phrase such as the object or a PP (Wilder p.c.). Gapping is an example of forward ellipsis, as can be seen by the presence of the antecedent in the initial conjunct. Traditionally, Gapping has been restricted to only allowing two remaining constituents, however this restriction appears to be too strict when we look at Gapping across different languages (Van Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013: 719, 743).

Stripping is also only found within clausal coordination, seen below in (39). Here, too, it is in the non-initial conjunct clause that ellipsis is found, but, unlike in Gapping, Stripping only leaves behind one constituent, the subject 'Mary'.

(39)
        I like books and Mary _ too.[4]

Stripping and Gapping greatly resemble each other. They both rely on being in a coordination structure with their antecedent, which is found in the initial conjunct (Van Craenenbroeck &

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[4] Notice that example (39) is ambiguous. While it could mean that that Mary likes books, it is also possible for 'I like' to have been elided: 'I like books and I like Mary too'.

Merchant, 2013: 718-719). Because of this they are both cases of forward ellipsis as their antecedent is always found before the gap. The elided constituents are the verb and any auxiliaries. As seen above in (39), unlike in Gapping, Stripping normally only leaves one constituent behind, in addition to a polarity element, such as 'too' (Van Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013: 719). Even so, like with Gapping, the remaining constituent is typically the subject or a postverbal phrase such as the object or an adverbial (Wilder p.c.).

Lorido (2009: 39) writes that the elements left after the gap are in focus in the second sentence and are always put in contrast to the previous sentence, such as in (40) below:

(40)
    a.   Kate read the book and James _ the newspaper.
    b.   Kate read the book and James _ too.

In split coordination in PDE, you have an obligatory polarity element such as 'too' or 'also', which indicates the contrast between the two clauses. But, unlike in PDE, this element is not obligatory in OE (Lorido, 2009: 39).

3.6   Extraposition

Extraposition is the rightward movement of a constituent, consisting of one or more words, in a sentence. This constituent is typically 'heavy' and is moved to make the sentence easier to process. Extraposition generally affects clauses, but the movement may or may not be obligatory (C. Wilder p.c.). In example (41), we are dealing with a verb with a clausal complement.

(41)
    a.   Mary promised [that she will come] yesterday.
    b.   Mary promised yesterday [that she will come].

If we consider (41a) to have the original position of the constituents, we can see that the clausal complement in (41b) has moved rightwards, past the adverbial. Other cases of extraposition can also be found, as in example (42) below:

(42)
    a.   [That the baby was a girl] was well-known.
    b.   It was well-known [that the baby was a girl].

As pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.) and discussed in Wilder (2016: 18-22), 'discontinuous coordination', as seen below, is a challenge to coordination theory, namely LCL and CSC.

(43)
He left *his phone* at home, and *his credit card*.
(Wilder, 2016: 18)

Munn (1993: 15) suggest that the structure is caused by extraposition, which would oppose CSC. Following this proposal, the second conjunct 'and his credit card' has been moved from its position to the right of the PP 'at home'. This allows the structure to work with LCL, and the coordination is shown to be DP coordination.

(44)
He left <[$_{DP}$ his phone] t_j> at home, [and his credit card]$_j$.
(Wilder, 2016: 18)

However, when we try to do the same using a collective predicate, we can see that this cannot be correct, as seen below in (45).

(45)
   a.   He combined zinc and hydrochloric acid yesterday.
   b.   *He combined zinc yesterday, and hydrochloric acid.
       (Wilder, 2016: 18)

Here it is not possible to move the second conjunct to the right of the adverbial. Extraposition thus seems to have failed as an explanation here. To continue to use extraposition as an explanation in this case, one would have to create a special extraposition rule to explain its failure in certain cases, as it is clear that it does not always work.

According to forward CR analyses, discontinuous coordination can be adequately explained by Stripping, in which case the first example can be explained like below (Wilder, 2016: 19).

(46)
<[$_{TP}$ He left *his phone* at home], and [$_{TP}$ ~~he left~~ [*his credit card*] ~~at home~~]>

(Wilder, 2016: 19)

To allow Stripping to function as a solution, we must allow the coordinated conjuncts to be entire clauses, where the second conjunct clause has been reduced to one constituent (Wilder,

2016: 19). Unlike extraposition, this approach does not violate CSC and would not be a theoretical cost to coordination theory.

3.7   Summary

This chapter has dealt with different types of ellipsis, coordination theory and extraposition; this is the background for the next chapters. Note that there are ways to diagnose NPE in PDE, that there are restrictions on coordination ellipsis (such as CSC and LCL) and how extraposition works. The next chapter will focus on the content of different articles focused on split coordination and AN&A.

4. Theories about AN&A in OE

In this chapter, I will introduce different theories relating to AN&A in OE. I will first present split coordination in OE, as seen in Lorido (2009). This is give an understanding of how split coordination in OE typically functions. Thereafter I will introduce the theories and the criticism of theories by Haumann (2003), Yamamura (2012) and Fischer (2012). Together, these articles all discuss the AN&A construction and they form the background to the discussion and arguments presented in chapter 5.

4.1   Lorido 2009: Split coordination

Discontinuous phrases are frequently found in OE texts. Yet this topic, especially split coordination, has received too little attention according to Lorido (2009: 31-32). AN&A is one possible example of this kind of split coordination, but the phenomenon is widespread. Lorido's article is an attempt to describe split coordination in greater detail. In particular, his study looks at split subjects, as seen below in (47).

> (47)
> Her Beorhtric cyning forþferde & Worr aldormon
> here Beorhtric king departed and Worr ealdorman
> 'In this year king Beorhtric passed away, and ealdorman Worr'
> (Lorido, 2009: 31); *ChronA* 800.58

One of his focus areas is what causes the split coordination: 'heaviness', afterthought and/or focus. As always, we have to remember that all the examples we have from OE are written examples, not spoken ones. As such, it is hard to know how it affects the syntactical structure of the language. It is likely that the syntax could have differed in spoken OE compared to the written OE. As Günther (2013: 126-127) shows, there is a difference between ellipsis in spoken and written PDE. In spoken language, NPE seems to be more restricted to more clearly accessible adjectives, such as colours, while written language does not match this pattern. As such, looking at the causes behind the split construction, it makes sense that one of Lorido's three causes is labelled as 'afterthought'. After all, it is not unlikely that the writers sometimes had to make additions in their handwritten texts and did so merely by adding a coordinated subject. Another reason could have been to highlight the split element; perhaps the element was

moved toward the right of the sentence to give it focus. Or it is possible that the split construction is due to structural complexity, also known as 'heaviness'. The split element would thus have been moved to ease processing (Lorido, 2009: 33).

Heaviness as a cause has long been the standing theory behind split coordination and was mentioned as such by Reszkiewicz (1966) and Traugott (1972). Reszkiewicz (1966: 313, 322) appears quite certain about the cause of the split, and OE syntax in general, and explains that OE syntax is ordered according to the size of the constituents, not the function. However, he does admit that the linguists of his time do not appear to agree about the causes of split coordination. Traugott (1972: 97), six years later, merely states that the heaviness has been 'suggested' as the cause, without putting further support behind it. Lorido (2009: 34) writes that with 'heaviness' as a cause, split coordination would neatly fit with 'other right-extraposition phenomena, such as Heavy-NP Shift or Relative Extraposition'. However, this view does not actually have much empirical support, and Lorido attempts to prove that this is not the most important cause behind split coordination.

Lorido (2009: 34-37) defines 'heaviness' as something based on length and complexity; length being the number or words, complexity being the internal constituent architecture such as how many nodes there are. His corpus analysis shows that split coordination in OE does not depend crucially on either of these two criteria for 'heaviness'. Firstly, it is quite possible for long and complex coordinated subjects to stay together, as seen below in (48) and (49).

(48)
    Þa Pompeius & Cato & Ealle þa senatus þæt hierdon, þa …
    when Pompeius and Cato and all the senate that heard then
    'When Pompeius and Cato and all the members of the senate had heard that, then …'
    (Lorido, 2009: 35); Or 126.22

(49)
    Þæt teoðe wæs þæt ealle ða cnihtas & ealle ða mædena þe on þæm lande frumcennede wæron wurdon on anre niht acwealde.
    that tenth was that all the boys and all the maidens that in those lands firstborn were were on one night killed
    'The tenth was that all the boys and all the girls who had been firstborn would be killed on one night'
    (Lorido, 2009: 37); Or 26.5

Furthermore, 'light' subjects are frequently split, as seen below in (50).

(50)
    þ is, þ englas habbath & wise men
    that is that angels have and wise man

'That is, what angels and wise man have'
(Lorido, 2009: 35); Boeth 254.4

Using these examples as evidence against 'heaviness' as the primary cause, Lorido moves on to focus.

Focus, or emphasis, has been looked at in PDE split coordination, where the split element is found in the right-most position. This is also the position where it is most likely to receive focus. However, the split element in OE is not always moved to the rightmost position and it is thus uncertain whether focus can be considered a cause for the split (Lorido, 2009: 40). As Lorido (2009: 40-41) comments, Mitchell (1985) seems uncertain about how emphasis and split coordination relates to each other. Mitchell writes that that split coordination was 'at times a matter of style or emphasis', while there are also 'of course times when splitting would weaken the force (…)' (1985: 616). Given this, it seems unlikely from this perspective that splitting could have been mainly motivated by emphasis and style, as it would not always mean that the split element gained emphasis. Or perhaps, rather, that splitting was not necessary to gain emphasis. Lorido (2009: 41) finds the argument in Reszkiewicz (1966), against emphasis being found in split coordination in OE, to not be very convincing. Lorido states that basing the argument on OE translations of Latin texts is the main weakness of the claim.[5] He further comments that it is difficult to make any conclusions about emphasis in split coordination in OE when we do not have the prosodic information to base the conclusions on (Lorido, 2009: 41).

Lorido (2009: 42) attempts to prove that split coordination was not meant to focus the split element; rather, the split element was moved because it was considered to be less important in the sentence. To prove this, he presents three different pieces of evidence: semantics, groupings and a difficult coexistence. Semantically, what is moved when split coordination occurs is the subject with the lesser status (Lorido, 2009: 41). If the subject consists of 'the king and his men', it is always the final conjunct with the men which is split and moved to the right. Lorido makes the assumption that the split element is de-focused and in the cases where there is no

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[5] Looking back at 2.2, note that Fischer finds that AN&A occurs about equally as often in Latin-influenced texts as in non-Latin-influenced texts.

split, the subject receives focus. If the referents of the second or the third conjunct in the subject have been equal participants in the action, they are allowed to stay (Lorido, 2009: 45).

His second piece of evidence relates to groupings made within the coordinate structure. This is also based on status, according to Lorido (2009: 46-48). What becomes the split element, is the lesser group in the structure. If it is 'the king, the bishop and their men' that are doing something, 'the king, the bishop' will function as one group, while 'their men' becomes the split element. The split coordination thus shows us what is considered to be the most important, or least important, group in the subject. His third piece of evidence is mainly based on his observation that sentences with complex, coordinated subjects rarely experience topicalized objects. Lorido suggests that this might be due to the focus that coordinated subjects are afforded. He concludes that focus cannot be the primary function of split coordination (Lorido, 2009: 46-48).

Split coordination being simply the consequence of forgetfulness, is Lorido's last possibility. Forgetfulness, that is, afterthought, refers to the cases where someone made an addition to amend the text after the first part was already written. This possibility is convincing when one looks at examples of the same subject being split in one edition and not in another of the same text (Lorido, 2009: 41). However, Lorido does not find this possibility convincing, as split coordination is often found in very short sentences. In addition, split elements do not always appear at the end of the sentence, but sometimes also in the middle (Lorido, 2009: 48-49, 51). Lorido (2009: 52) concludes his paper by stating that split coordination is not the result of heaviness nor primarily focus. Instead he finds that it is rather a stylistic choice triggered by the status, informational or social, of the involved subjects.

4.2   Haumann 2003: NonDP *pro*

According to Haumann (2003: 63-64), has generally been analysed as a 'special case of noun modification of two (or more) adjectives', by for example . For example, Spamer (1979: 244ff.) argues that, seeing as strong adjectives in OE are nonrecursive[6], the AN&A construction must

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[6] As mentioned in 2.1: That the adjectives are nonrecursive means that they cannot appear stacked in front of an adjective, as in the PDE example: 'the big white balloon'.

be used when 'two (or more) strong adjectives (…) modify the same noun' (as cited in Haumann, 2003: 63-64). Fischer (2000: 169-176) takes this further, suggesting that also weak adjectives are nonrecursive. However, there are exceptions, such as in (51), which Fischer (2000: 173) explains as possible idiomatic units. Fischer suggests that is possible that the adjective and the noun, 'slimy mucus', functions as an idiomatic unit.

(51)
> þæt ofstandene þicce <weak> sliþige <weak> horch
> that remaining thick slimy mucus
>
> The remaining thick, slimy mucus.
> (Fischer, 2000: 173; Haumann, 2003: 64); Læceboc2 1.16.1.14

Fischer (2000: 174-176) proposes an analysis of AN&A, in which the adjectives, all of which are strong, have a predicative nature. As such, they cannot be hierarchically ordered nor occur recursively in pre- or postnominal position. If the adjectives in the construction are weak, she suggests that they should be analysed as nominalized adjectives (see also Haumann, 2003: 64-65).

Haumann (2003: 65), unlike Fischer (2000), proposes a uniform analysis of AN&A, which should be able to explain all the cases of the construction, be the adjectives weak or strong. Haumann (2003) argues that AN&A should not be analysed as a case of ambilateral adjective placement, in which case, one adjective is prenominal and the other is postnominal, both modifying the same noun. The ambilateral pattern is what has been argued in the case of the ANA example below:

(52)
> Ða easternan tungelwitegan gesawon niwne steorran beorhtne
> the eastern astrologers saw new star bright
>
> 'The oriental astrologers saw a new bright star'
> (Haumann, 2010: 58); ÆCHOM I, 7 (234.71)

Instead, according to Haumann (2003), all cases of AN&A, be they strict or sloppy, should be explained as cases of DP coordination with an empty *pro* in the final conjunct.

Haumann's analysis of AN&A differs from traditional ellipsis analysis in that she does not consider the noun to be elided, but rather, as several linguists such as Lobeck (1993) and Kester (1996) has argued, that the missing noun is represented as an empty nominal *pro* (as cited in Haumann, 2003: 65ff.). To exist, the empty *pro* needs to be licensed and identified. Licensing

is a syntactic process which is done to make the empty *pro* licit in the context, while identification means that the empty *pro*'s features must be identified so that the reader or listener can retrieve the meaning of the noun. For Lobeck and Kester, this means that the empty nominal *pro* needs strong agreement, such as a rich inflectional system, to be licensed (Günther, 2013: 25-26; Haumann, 2003: 65-66). Haumann (2003: 66-67) builds on this theory when she analyses AN&A as a construction containing an empty nominal *pro*. *Pro* is licensed by strong agreement and, for OE, this means gender and number agreement between the adjectives and the nouns (see 2.5). Languages without this kind of overt adjectival inflection lack *pro*, as seen in PDE. As seen in example (53), *pro* is unacceptable in PDE, while the same sentence, directly translated in (53b), is acceptable in Norwegian.

(53)
  a. *May bought the green painting and the yellow [pro]
  b. May kjøpte det grønne bildet og det gule [pro]

This might be explained by how PDE's adjectives do not inflect at all, while Norwegian adjectives have a richer inflectional system, as seen below in table 2 (see 3.2 for further information).

		M.	N.	F.
Sg.	Indef.	gul	gult	gul
	Def.	gule	gule	gule
Pl.	Indef.	gule	gule	gule
	Def.	gule	gule	gule

Table 2: Adjectival inflection in Norwegian

OE's inflectional system is even richer. Haumann (2003: 66) uses the strong agreement argument to argue that OE, which does have a rich inflectional system for adjectives, has adjectives that may function as licensers for *pro*. As such, unlike PDE, OE should have cases of what Haumann (2003: 71) calls non-DP *pro*.

Haumann (2003: 70-71) argues that instances of non-DP *pro*, licensed by the rich inflectional system of OE, is found in a lower portion of DP, excluding both the determiner and the adjective. Non-DP *pro* is then to be found in the complement of the head of AgrP, as seen below in (54).

(54)

```
                DP
              /    \
            D      AGRP
                  /    \
                AP     Agr'
                      /    \
                    Agr    NP
                            |
                           pro
```
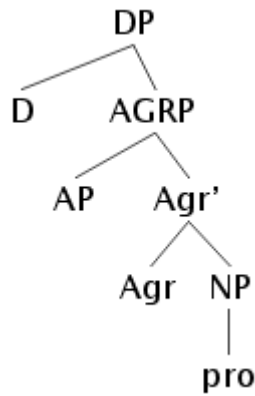
In AN&A, the analysis would thus look as in (55) below.

(55) Soðfæstne man [& [DP [D][AGRP[AP unscyldigne][Agr'[Agr][NP pro]]]] be acwele ðu þone næfre
     righteous person and guiltless not kill you that-one never

     The righteous and innocent person that you never kill
     (Haumann, 2003: 71); LAW2,40.45

As previously said, non-DP *pro* must be licensed to be allowed to appear. This licensing happens due to a rich inflectional system which is apparent in the strong agreement of the adjective. Strong agreement here does not refer to the strong or weak distinction of OE adjectives, but rather to the overt agreement visible in the morphology of the adjective (Haumann, 2003: 73). Using example (55), Haumann (2003: 73) argues that it is the head of AgrP which carries the Φ-features necessary to license non-DP *pro*. The grammatical information related to non-DP *pro* is found through the strong adjectival agreement, while the semantic information is found through the lexical antecedent (Haumann, 2003: 74). In (55), the grammatical information is found in the empty Agr, while it is the lexical antecedent *man* which provides the semantical identity.

The identity of the non-DP *pro* in the AN&A would not necessarily refer to the same referent. Haumann (2003: 76) here distinguishes between strict and sloppy identity. The non-DP *pro* has a strict identity interpretation with its antecedent if they both refer to the same referent, while it has a sloppy identity interpretation if the non-DP *pro* and its antecedent refer to different referents. This poses a problem for Fischer's analysis of AN&A; in the cases of weak adjectives in the AN&A, wherein the adjective in the final conjunct would be nominalized, it is not possible for the non-DP *pro* and its antecedent to have the same referent (Haumann, 2003: 75-

76). As such, Fischer's analysis makes it impossible for example (56) below to refer to the one and same pope, while Haumann's analysis, which is uniform, encounters no such problem.

(56)

    Her Leo se æðela papa & se halga forþ ferde
    here Leo that noble pope & that holy forth went
    'Here, Leo, that noble and holy pope, departed'.
    (Haumann, 2003: 75); CHROA2,58.814.1

In summary, Haumann (2003) argues that AN&A is a case of DP coordination, wherein non-DP *pro* is found in the final conjunct. The non-DP *pro* is licensed through strong agreement, that is, a rich inflectional system. This non-DP *pro* is structurally found within the complement of AgrP. The grammatical identity of the *pro* is located through Agr, while the semantic identity is found in its antecedent. This analysis does not distinguish between sloppy or strict identity; it is a uniform analysis. She then uses this information to argue that the decline of adjectival inflection in OE and Middle English (ME) led to the rise of *one* in English. Nominalized adjectives became less available leading to the need of a replacement. *One* is to be located in Agr and displays overtly the number morphology needed to license non-DP *pro*, which is still extant in PDE (Haumann, 2003: 77-78, 80).

4.3   Yamamura 2012: Criticism of Haumann's *pro*

Yamamura (2012: 37-38) critizes Haumann's analysis of AN&A and non-DP *pro*. Firstly, he finds it problematic that she only uses AN&A constructions to provide evidence for the rise of *one* and ignores typical cases of nominalized adjectives. Nominalized adjectives are commonly linked to the rise of *one* and it does not make sense to leave them out of the discussion. Secondly, Yamamura (2012: 38-40) notes that not all of Haumann's examples of AN&A appear to be AN&A. According to Yamamura, it is important to note that split constructions in OE were allowed (see 4.1) and that there were cases where two conjuncts were split apart and the second conjunct was extraposed. Haumann (2003: 65) argues that AN&A, which she calls the postnominal '*and* adjective' construction, is not restricted to the coordination of DPs, but may also coordinate other phrases such as PPs, as seen below in (57).

(57)

    He nolde heafod befon mid gyldenum cynehelme ac mid þyrnenum *pro*
    he would not his head clothe with golden crown but with thorny *pro*
    'He would not be clothed in a golden crown, but with a thorny one'

However, Yamamura (2012: 38-40) notes that these examples seem to exemplify split constructions, not AN&A. He suggests that these cases are not cases of ellipsis, but rather extraposition, citing the presence of both preposition and determiner in the second conjunct. Iwata (2006: 16), 'suggests that it was possible for a coordinate structure to be split apart by extraposition in OE and early ME, especially when its size was larger than that of the following phrase' (as cited in Yamamura, 2012: 63). The second conjunct has thus originally been extraposed from a prenominal position. Taking an example where AN&A functions as the subject, he writes that the singular verb indicates that this might just as well be an example of a split construction, as the AN&A construction appears to have a strict interpretation. If this is the case, there is no reason to assume that at least some occurrences of AN&A could not be cases of extraposition. If so, the loss of AN&A may be attributed to the loss of extraposition and not to the rise of *one*, as Haumann suggests. Using AN&A to discuss the loss of nominalized adjectives and its link to the rise of *one* is thus likely not a good way to find answers, as the AN&A constructions used may not be relevant examples.

In summary, Yamamura notes that extraposition could be the solution to at least some cases of AN&A, as the examples provided by Haumann might be examples of split constructions. In addition, Yamamura notes the lack of any actual evidence for non-DP *pro* in the final conjunct of AN&A. This last problem, the lack of evidence, is part of the problem that I will address in chapter 5.

4.4   Fischer 2012: The postposed '*and*-adjective' construction

Fischer (2012) addresses topics related to the AN&A construction, some of which were raised by Haumann (2003) and Haumann (2010). Fischer (2012: 251-252) starts by making clear that OE and PDE should be viewed objectively as two different languages so that one does not miss the differences, or similarities, of the grammatical systems. As such, the relationship between OE and PDE should be viewed in the same way as PDE and Arabic. Her article is concerned with adnominal adjectives in OE, in particular postposed adjectives preceded by 'and'. She notes that while many have considered the postposed adjective to have the same function and meaning as the preposed adjective, this is not the case. Continuing on, she recaps her previous argument from Fischer (2000) that preposed and postposed adjectives do have different

functions. Preposed, generally weak, adjectives convey 'thematic', known, information and are attributive. Postposed adjectives are strong, predicative and convey 'rhematic', new, information. The postposed adjectives form a separate constituent in AN&A and do not function as modifiers for the head nouns. Strong adjectives in the preposed position still convey rhematic information through stress and thus function like postposed adjectives. In this way, the morphological form of the adjective is directly linked to its semantic meaning.

Looking at Haumann (2010) and her proposal that the distinction between strong and weak adjectives does not matter, only position does, Fischer (2012: 253-255) finds a problem. She questions the lack of explanation for why OE would have both weak and strong preposed adjectives if they have same function in the same position. Fischer's point here is then that it is still possible that the difference between predicative and attributive function in OE could be indicated by both the syntactical position and the morphological information. Fischer links the loss of the postposed adjective to the change of word order in OE. As the postposed adjectives were predicative, they only continue to exist postposed in ME as part of relative clauses or as subject or object complements. Otherwise they would have to find a preposed position.

On the structure of the AN&A, Fischer (2012: 256) partially agrees with Haumann (2003: 57) in that the example below is not a case of ambilateral adjective placement. Haumann considers this to be a case of DP coordination with a non-DP *pro* in the final conjunct, as discussed in 4.2.

(58)
    Siocne monnan and gesargodne
    sick man and wounded
    'A sick and wounded man'
    (Fischer, 2012: 256); Boethius 4 1.38.123.32

Fischer considers Haumann's analysis to be similar to her own analysis of (59) below as a nominalized adjective.

(59)
    Twa & hundsefontig boca þære ealdan æ & þære niwan he awende
    two and seventy of-books of-the old law and of-the new he translated
    'Seventy-two books of the old law and of the new law he translated.'
    (Fischer, 2012: 256); ÆCHom 1, 30 429.12

Haumann's analysis is uniform; if the adjective is preposed it is attributive and conveys known information, if it is postposed it is predicative and conveys new information. Position and function is aligned. However, according to Fischer, while this is perhaps a better and more economic solution within the generative framework, it is a disadvantage that the strong postposed adjective is no longer uniformly considered to be predicative. While this may be a gain for Haumann, it is a loss for Fischer's theory. As such, according to Fischer, more work needs to be done on the postposed *and*-constructions in OE (2012: 257-258).

Fischer (2012: 258-260) then discusses Haumann's non-DP *pro*. Firstly, she notes that Haumann (2003) bases her analysis on the generative framework and is as such concerned with finding generalizations. Haumann follows earlier work by Lobeck (1993), suggesting that ellipsis should be analysed as containing an empty *pro* rather than being a case of deletion under identity. According to Fischer, this was done to explain the similarity between pronominals and ellipsis' behaviour. As mentioned earlier in 4.2, for the *pro*-analysis to work, the *pro* needs to be governed by a functional head with the right feature specification, in this case strong agreement. The advantage of this analysis is that it is streamlined and that it seems to function cross-linguistically. The disadvantage is that this system comes at a cost; while pronouns only show strict identity with their antecedent, ellipsis may have sloppy identity.

(60)

    a.   John ordered one beer, but George ordered many *pro*.

    b.   The girl struggled so much with her sums that she lost all sense of time.
            (Fischer, 2012: 259)

In (60a), the antecedent and the *pro* do not share the same identity, while (60b) clearly shows that 'the girl' and the pro 'she' share the same identity. The *pro*-analysis does not explain this difference.[7] In addition, by positing *pro*, one also posits an empty element in the structure. This makes the grammar more abstract and may impact language learning theories. However, how

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[7] As pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.), this is not a good argument. A *pro* which replaces an entire DP argument is a pronominal DP, which would be expected to share a strict idenity with its antecedent. Haumann's non-DP *pro* is not replacing the entire DP, just a noun or an NP within the DP. Its identity is thus not expected to be the same as its antecedent, which is why (60a) is fine. It is also the reason why the overt *pro* 'one' can have a sloppy identity, as seen in: 'I have a red ball and you have a blue one'.

it impacts language learning theory depends on which theory one follows, and Fischer leaves it open to further consideration (2012: 259-260).

Fischer (2012) views Haumann's *pro*-analysis of AN&A to be based on two factors: it provides a uniform explanation of all *and*-adjective constructions, both strict and sloppy, as well as AN&A with or without determiners, and it is useful for Haumann's perspective on the development of *one* after OE. The first is of greater importance for this thesis than the latter. Haumann's analysis proposes, according to Fischer, 'that the postposed adjective in the *and*-Adjective (sic) construction is in fact preposed, and hence attributive' (2012: 260). This is problematic since this means that there are two different kinds of postposed adjectives, the one in a conjunct and the one without. And while Haumann explains why the *and*-adjective construction changed, she does not explain why it existed in OE. This means that Haumann does not link the position to semantics or pragmatics. Whether the adjective is preposed or postposed has no meaning. Fischer notes that Haumann argues against N-movement as the reason for the construction. Unlike Fischer, Haumann's account appears to be focused solely on syntactic factors, while Fischer seeks the solution in semantics and pragmatics (Fischer, 2012: 260-262).

Unlike Haumann (2003), Fischer (2012) remains insistent that AN&A cannot be explained using one uniform analysis. She insists that AN&A must have different analyses based on whether the identity of the AN&A construction is strict or sloppy. That is, all AN&A constructions must be analysed based on what the final conjunct's referent is. According to Fischer (2012), the strict identity version cannot be said to have *pro* at all as it occurs without a determiner and is really a case of a postposed adjective, i.e. extraposition. It shares the same structure as ANA, without the coordination. The sloppy identity type tends to occur with a determiner, it has a nominalized adjective and it does have *pro*. Using purely syntactic measures on AN&A is problematic for Fischer (2012), as the difference lies in the semantics and pragmatics. After all, the distinction between sloppy and strict AN&A is primarily semantic.[8] Sloppy identity structures without the determiner are rare, usually only found in the plural and

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[8] However, as pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.), this insistence on using the semantic criterion of sloppy and strict identity to divide AN&A into two different syntactic structures is dubious.

only with antonymic adjectives. The disappearance of these constructions can be blamed mostly on the loss of this postposed position, the mechanism for extraposition, not on the loss of agreement features as Haumann (2010) suggests (Fischer, 2012: 278-279).

While this could be used to argue against AN&A being a case of coordinated DPs, it is not quite as clear-cut as that. Strict AN&A constructions are not coordinated DPs, according to Fischer, but are rather postposed from a prenominal position, and the strict AN&A construction does not appear with determiners. As pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.), there is a weakness in the referent argument. It is not the case that two coordinated DPs cannot refer to the same entity and thus gain a strict reference. If AN&A is caused by extraposition, as would be the case for the strict version according to Fischer (2012), it would only contain one noun with one single referent. The number of adjectives modifying the noun does not matter, as the noun would still get a singular reading, like in the 'red and blue book'. Here, there is only one singular book. If AN&A is caused by ellipsis, AN&A would be a case of coordinated DPs. Logically, it would be easy to follow Fischer's assumption that the two nouns would then each have their own reading and refer to two different referents, like in 'the red book and the blue one'. It is clear that this example refers to two distinct books.

However, it is not actually the case in PDE that two DPs cannot be coordinated and still refer to the same entity. This can be seen in the examples below, where it is clear from the subject-verb agreement that the subject is one single entity. There is only one man in each of the sentences, who is both the husband or ex-boyfriend as well as the father of the writer's child. More examples of this kind of DP&DP coordination can easily be found online.

(61)
    a.   My ex-boyfriend and the father of my son is now dating my ex-friend.
          (Renae, 2016)
    b.   My husband and the father of my 14 month-old daughter has been refused his right to remain in the UK and is being forced to leave to go back to his home country of South Africa.
          (Stafford, Unknown)

As such, we can see that there are cases of DP coordination in PDE which yield only one referent, which means that there must be a mechanism in the language allowing this to happen. This mechanism allows a singular reference for coordinated DPs without noun ellipsis

occurring; it is then plausible that this same mechanism might allow a singular reference reading for coordinated DPs with noun ellipsis occurring, that is, strict AN&A.[9]

4.5   Summary

In this chapter, I have presented Lorido's view on the causes behind split constructions. He concludes that split constructions seem to be a stylistic choice in OE. I, then, presented Haumann's views on the AN&A construction, wherein she believes that all cases of the construction can be explained by a non-DP *pro*. Looking at Yamamura, I presented his arguments for why the AN&A constructions might, at least in some cases, be split constructions. AN&A would thus be caused by extraposition, at least in some cases. He also noted that Haumann does not provide evidence for the existence of non-DP *pro* in AN&A. Lastly, I looked at Fischer, who does not agree with Haumann's non-DP *pro*, and argues that at least the strict AN&A construction is more likely to be a case of extraposition. In the next chapter I will argue for the opposite, that AN&A, at least the strict version, better fits the ellipsis approach.

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[9] However, following Fischer's insistence on not comparing PDE and OE, this might not be the best argument. In any case, more research should perhaps be done to ascertain how long a singular referent reading of coordinated DPs have beeen licit in PDE, to make certain of its diachronic existence. While AN&A does seem to point toward it, it would be interesting to see whether the singular referent reading of coordinated DPs can also be found in ME.

5. AN&A: ellipsis or extraposition?

The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain how likely it is that the syntactical structure of strict identity AN&A is the result of ellipsis, not extraposition. As shown in chapter 4, there is some disagreement about AN&A, relating to its interpretation, strict or sloppy identity, whether it is a split construction and whether the postnominal adjective is nominalized (Fischer, 2000, 2012), if AN&A is the result of non-DP *pro* (Haumann, 2003, 2010) or possibly extraposition, at least in the strict identity cases (Fischer, 2012; Yamamura, 2012). The nominalized interpretation is kept for the cases of sloppy identity. Haumann's non-DP *pro* is supposed to account for all the cases of AN&A in OE. Yamamura, however, finds this to be unlikely, as it seems fully possible for, at least, the strict identity version of AN&A to be a case of extraposition, not ellipsis. This is because split coordination in OE seems to be a case of extraposition, thus making it likely that strict identity AN&A is also caused by the same structural mechanism.

If the structure of strict identity AN&A is caused by extraposition, it would likely look like (62) below.

(62)

A&AN → A__N&A

In that case, the adjectives would have originally been coordinated in a prenominal position until something caused the non-initial conjunct to be extraposed to the right of the noun. This could look like (63) below, following Munn (1993), as discussed in chapter 3.3.1.

(63)
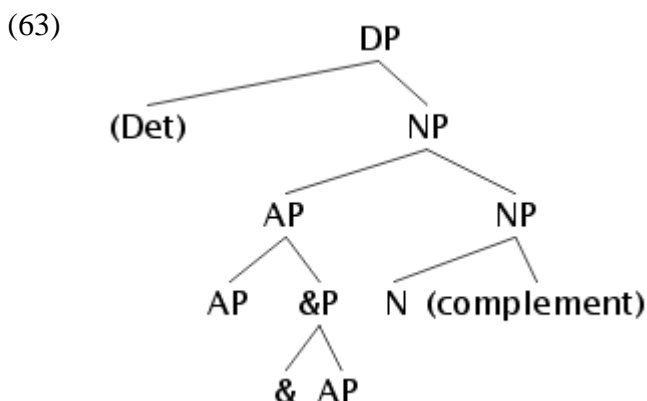
What exactly triggers the extraposition is unclear, as it is possible to find examples of A&AN in OE, where extraposition has not happened, even with determiners. Haumann maintains that

the positions of the adjectives are not particularly linked to meaning and certainly not to adjectival inflection. Fischer suggests that the position is linked to the adjectival inflection, and that the inflection itself is linked to specific interpretations, such as new and known information. Although, contradicting this, strong adjectives, which are supposedly linked to known information, are found both in pre- and postnominal position (Haumann, 2010). If one wishes to provide support for extraposition, this is perhaps something that should be further investigated.

If the structure of strict identity AN&A is caused by an ellipsis rule, it would likely look something like in example (64) below:

(64)
AN&AN → AN&A~~N~~

In this structure, you would thus need two coordinated DPs, as seen in (65), not the smaller conjuncts that extraposition would need (see (63)).

(65)
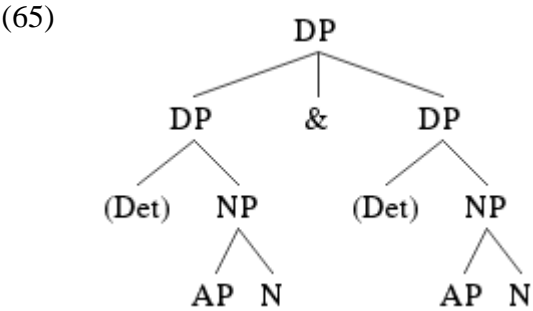
In this case, the noun in the non-initial conjunct has been elided. Exactly which explanation we use for the ellipsis matters little to the greater argument, which is that ellipsis is to be found in this construction at all. The point is that the non-initial conjunct has always been located in the postnominal position, before being elided, possibly due to redundancy. No movement rule has been applied. Although, as discussed in chapter 3, there are other possible options.

As seen above, there are two possible solutions to the conundrum of what structure strict identity AN&A has. The greatest problem with the extraposition approach as the solution for AN&A is the CSC, which, repeated for convenience from chapter 3, is as follows:

(66)

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> In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

The only exception to this is ATB movement, in which the shared constituent is moved out of all conjuncts. Assuming that this is valid, extraposition of the non-initial conjunct of AN&A should not be possible, as positing extraposition suggests that a conjunct may be moved in a coordination structure. Thus, extraposition directly opposes CSC. Allowing extraposition as an exception here would be a theoretical cost for coordination theory and CSC, as extraposition would need a special rule which would allow it to circumvent CSC (see 3.3). As pointed out to me by C. Wilder (p.c.), extraposition, as found outside the AN&A construction, must obey CSC. Take the that-clause which is extraposed in (67):

(67)
    a.   [That the thesis must be written] is clear.
    b.   It is clear [that the thesis must be written].

The above example is licit and unproblematic. However, if the that-clause is located within a coordination structure, it cannot extrapose to the right in the coordination structure, as seen in (68).

(68)
    a.   [That the thesis must be written is clear] and [I will do it].
    b.   *[It is clear] and [I will do it] that the thesis must be written.

Extraposition out of the coordination structure is only possible if it extraposes out of both conjuncts at the same time (ATB-movement), as seen in (69).

(69)
    a.   [That the thesis must be written is clear] and [that the thesis must be written is obvious].
    b.   [It is clear] and [it is obvious] that the thesis must be written.

Seeing that extraposition cannot normally circumvent CSC, the extraposition rule proposed for AN&A must have some special characteristics, as it is clear that it cannot be the traditional extraposition rule.

In a theory where the easiest option is the preferred option, extraposition should be unnecessary. So, even though typical split coordination appears to use the extraposition rule, strict identity AN&A should have no need for such a rule. Unlike extraposition, ellipsis does not require anything to be moved out of the coordination structure. What is required is the possibility of an

ellipsis rule in OE, which would allow the noun to be elided. In that case, the structure of AN&A would not need to allow for a movement rule to occur and would have the AN&AN structure before deletion.

This then leaves us with one option which is less desirable due to the theoretical cost for the theory of coordination, extraposition, and another option which is more desirable, ellipsis, as it would be a solution without the need for any extra rules. If OE has an ellipsis rule independently of AN&A, it would be plausible that ellipsis is behind strict AN&A and not extraposition. Given that this is true, there would be no need to create an extra rule for extraposition to allow it to circumvent CSC. What remains then, of this thesis, is whether NPE exists in OE independently, outside of the AN&A construction.

5.1   Method

I used the Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus to locate cases of NPE outside of AN&A. The DOE Web Corpus is an online database which has at least one copy of every OE text still in existence. As such, it contains over three million words of OE. The corpus considers the OE period to be between 600 and 1150 CE. The corpus was compiled as a part of the Dictionary of Old English project at the University of Toronto (*Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, 2009). To locate the relevant strings of OE, I made use of the DOE Web Corpus' search engine. I chose to only locate strings from prose literature, thus excluding any strings from poetry. I did this to avoid poetic language, wherein I suspected that I was more likely to find examples which might not have been grammatical in OE. As I have no native speaker intuition to help me, I kept to prose examples.

The DOE Web Corpus' search engine locates, in addition to the relevant search item, the surrounding context of the located word or phrase. Therefore, more than one sentence is often present in the search results. In other words, if the target word(s) are found in two closely related sentences, they both show up in the results. In some cases, I searched for only one adjective, while in other cases I searched for antonymic antonyms, such as 'new' and 'old'. I, then, manually located relevant examples, wherein the first relevant adjective in the string appeared with a noun while the second adjective did not. After I had located the relevant examples, I translated and analysed them. In all of the chosen cases, the missing noun seemed likely to have the same meaning as the first, although it appeared to have a different referent.

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I excluded any cases where it was apparent that I was dealing with backward ellipsis and not forward ellipsis, such as in (70) below.

(70)

    (…) ge fæstun & weopun on ðæm fiftan & on ðam siofoðan monðe nu hundsiofantig wintra (…)

    you fast and weep in that fifth and in that seventh month now seventy winters

    '(…) you fast and weep in the fifth month and in the seventh month, now seventy winters (…)'

    CP B9.1.3 [1551 (43.315.24)]

5.2   Results

The examples presented below were fairly easy to find and all represent likely cases of NPE in OE. They were not the only examples I found, but were chosen for the variation of adjectives and content. Note that all of the cases below appear to be located in a coordination structure.

(71)

    Þæt an lif is deaðlic: þæt oðer undeaðlic.

    that one life is deadly that other undeadly

    'That one life is deadly; that other life is immortal'

    ÆCHom I, 15 B1.1.17 [0074 (303.122)]

Example (71) above is a kind of asyndetic coordination, where there is no overt conjunction, yet it is obvious that the two clauses are linked together and function as if they were actually 'conjuncts' in a coordination structure. The NPE occurs in the second 'conjunct'. In addition to the NPE, there also appears to be a case of Gapping (see 3.5), where the verb in the second conjunct, presumably 'is', has been elided. It is quite clear that the two clauses are separate from each other, yet they still appear to contain shared material, which is visible with the antecedent *an* and not visible with the second adjective *oðer*.

(72)

    God sylf bebead on þære ealdan æ, and eac manað on þære niwan, þæt…

    god self announced on the old law and also advised on the new that

    'God himself announced the old scripture, and also gave advise on the new one, that…'

    ÆHom 31 B1.4.31 [0018 (75)]

In (72) is what appears to be a typical case of NPE in a coordination structure, wherein the shared material likely appears in two different clauses. Notice that the two conjuncts contain different verbs and that it is clear that they are each referring to different laws and, because of this, that they appear to have a sloppy identity. It is therefore difficult to imagine that the adjective *niwan* is not modifying something with same identity as *æ*. It is possible that this is a

case of a nominalized adjective. However, as I mentioned in chapter 3.2, nominalized adjectives, at least in PDE, tend not to need an antecedent. *Ealdan æ* seems to be a very likely candidate for an antecedent in this context.

(73)
> Ge etað ealde mettas oð eow niwe cumon.
> you ate old flesh or you new came
> 'You ate old flesh or new flesh was attained by you.'
> Lev B8.1.4.3 [0154 (26.10)]

The same applies to example (73) as to example (72) above. There is obviously shared material in the two conjuncts here, there is an antecedent in the first conjunct and they have different verbs.

(74)
> We rædað on bocum, ægðer ge on ðære ealdan æ, ge on þære niwan, þæt þa menn …
> we read in books both in the old law and in the new that the men
> We read in the books, both in the old scripture and the new one, that the men…
> ÆLS (Ash Wed) B1.3.13 [0009 (33)]

However, while the same as above in (72) and (73) mostly applies to (74) as well, in (74) we are instead dealing with smaller PP conjuncts: *on ðære ealdan æ* and *on þære niwan.*

(75)
> Is eac to witene ðæt sume gedwolmen wæron ðe woldon awurpan ða ealdan æ,
> is also to know that some heretics were the would vanish the old scripture
> 'It is also known that there were some heretics that wished to get rid of the old scripture,'
>
> & sume woldon habban ða ealdan & awurpan ða niwan, swa ða Iudeiscean doð;
> and some would have the old and vanish the new like when Iudeiscean did
> 'while some wished to keep the old and get rid of the new, like Iudescean did;'
> ÆGenPref B8.1.7.1 [0033 (101)]

In example (75), there is one antecedent and then two gaps later on in the sentence. They all appear to refer to a scripture. In the sentence, the antecedent refers to the old scripture, the first gap to the old scripture and the last gap to the new scripture. They share the same sense of identity, but do not all refer to the same referent.

5.3   Discussion

As we can see from the examples above, NPE does appear to occur naturally in OE, at least in prose literature. This supports the idea that NPE can be located outside of strict identity AN&A.

As a consequence, this strengthens the likelihood that AN&A is a case of ellipsis rather than that extraposition has a special rule allowing it to circumvent CSC.

In addition to this, it would also be possible to argue that extraposition is an unlikely explanation for the lack of the second noun, seeing as we can find examples of DAN&DA with strict identity, as seen below in (76).

(76)
        Her Leo se æðela papa & se halga forþ ferde
        here Leo that noble pope & that holy forth went
        'Here, Leo, that noble and holy pope, departed'.
        (Haumann, 2003: 75); CHROA2,58.814.1

In those cases, there are two determiners, suggesting that if extraposition is the right theory we are dealing with coordinated DPs, not the small conjuncts suggested for extraposition above. Prenominal coordinated DPs can also be found, making the construction DA&DAN, as seen below in (77).

(77)
        Þæt bio sio soðe & sio fulfremede gesælð
        that be that true and that perfect fortune
        'That is that true and perfect fortune.'
        (Haumann, 2003: 64); BOETH,78.10

However, these cases are likely cases of backward ellipsis: DA~~N~~&DAN (see 3.4). If extraposition happens in this case, it would still violate CSC.

Note also that I have found no cases of NPE in OE outside of coordination structures or asyndetic coordination. In PDE, NPE is not bound to coordination. The ellipsis might occur both outside and inside of that structure. In OE, it seems like coordination is where NPE naturally occurs. However, as I have not searched the entire corpus for NPE outside of coordination it may well be that it does exist in OE, I simply have not come across it. This is not unlikely as my focus has merely been to find NPE in OE outside of AN&A, not to find out if NPE is coordinationbound. Whether it is or not is a question requiring further research.

6. Conclusion

In summary, the purpose of my thesis was to argue for ellipsis, rather than extraposition, in the strict AN&A construction. Extraposition being the explanation for AN&A would require a special extraposition rule allowing extraposition to circumvent CSC, as extraposition of the conjunct is prohibited. If the construction is a case of ellipsis, instead of movement, we would be able to avoid allowing a rule which contradicts coordination theory. This is plausible if the ellipsis rule can be found outside of AN&A, which, as shown above in chapter 5, it appears it can; my corpus search shows that NPE can be found in OE outside of AN&A, although the found cases of NPE appear to be coordinationbound. Thus, in conclusion, it does seem plausible that the strict identity AN&A constructions are due to ellipsis, not extraposition.

Future research should perhaps look into whether NPE in OE is bound by coordination or not. As a related issue one might also take a closer look at whether a rich inflectional system is behind a higher frequency of NPE in German than in PDE. OE's inflectional system resembles German's system. If one supposes that the relation between the inflectional system and NPE is supposed to be cross-linguistic, one might wish to take a closer look at whether NPE really is as restricted in OE as it seems to be. If not, one should consider whether the inflectional system is the deciding factor after all.

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The relevance of the master's thesis for my teaching career

The topic of my master's thesis might not seem directly relevant for my future teaching career, but the knowledge I have gained from it absolutely is. Firstly, I have through my work on the thesis learned a great deal about the grammar and syntax of language. I have learned terminology and gained an understanding of differences between Norwegian and English syntax. This knowledge will be very useful for teaching my students about English and the way the language works. In addition, I now have the terminology I need to describe the language and to efficiently point out the reasons for common language mistakes and to explain why something might be correct or not. This knowledge is equally useful for teaching Norwegian, as I have learned more about the differences between English and Norwegian, as well as the similarities.

Secondly, I have learned a great deal about the writing process. I now know more about how to use Word efficiently and all the easy solutions one can use to format a document. In addition, I have gained a deeper understanding of the typical problems a writer experiences and the, often, easy fixes to these problems, especially procrastination. Furthermore, my writing process has given me a better understanding of the feedback process, both as the one receiving feedback and the one giving it. I now have a greater understanding of how to create an effective feedback process, on both ends. I also know much about how the process might go wrong. All of this knowledge will be very useful in the classroom when my students are expected to learn to use Word, write texts and give and receive feedback.

In conclusion, I believe writing the master's thesis has been very helpful for my future teaching career, as it has taught me relevant skills that are easy to apply in the classroom; I now know more about English linguistics, Word, the writing process and the feedback process.