

Quantifying Expressions in the History of German

Syntactic reanalysis and morphological change

Dorian Roehrs

University of North Texas

Christopher Sapp

University of Mississippi

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia

Table of contents

Preface	xv
List of abbreviations	xvii
CHAPTER 1	
Introduction	1
1.1 Basic proposal	1
1.2 Corpora, methodology, and definitions	5
1.2.1 Corpora	5
1.2.2 Methodology and definitions	6
1.3 The structure of the DP and case assignment	10
1.3.1 Types of quantifiers	10
1.3.2 The structure of the cardinal and proportional constructions	13
1.3.3 The proportional construction in more detail	19
1.3.4 The internal structure of the dependent	21
1.3.5 The quantifier and dependent form a constituent	23
1.3.6 The direction of case assignment	25
1.4 Organization of the book	29
CHAPTER 2	
Simplex quantifying word: <i>viel</i>	33
2.1 Introduction	33
2.2 Data for <i>viel</i> by historical period	34
2.2.1 Etymology	34
2.2.2 Old High German	36
2.2.2.1 <i>filu</i> with dependent N	36
2.2.2.2 <i>filu</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	37
2.2.2.3 <i>filu</i> with dependent DP	38
2.2.2.4 <i>filu</i> with dependent pronoun	38
2.2.2.5 Inflection on <i>filu</i>	39
2.2.2.6 Modification of <i>filu</i> by a degree adverb	39
2.2.2.7 OHG Summary	39
2.2.3 Middle High German	39
2.2.3.1 <i>vil</i> with dependent N	40
2.2.3.2 <i>vil</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	43
2.2.3.3 <i>vil</i> with dependent DP	46

2.2.3.4	<i>vil</i> with dependent pronoun	47
2.2.3.5	Inflection on <i>vil</i>	48
2.2.3.6	Modification of <i>vil</i> by a degree adverb	49
2.2.3.7	MHG Summary	49
2.2.4	Early New High German	50
2.2.4.1	<i>viel</i> with dependent N	50
2.2.4.2	<i>viel</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	55
2.2.4.3	<i>viel</i> with dependent DP	61
2.2.4.4	<i>viel</i> with dependent pronoun	62
2.2.4.5	<i>viel</i> with PP _{von}	63
2.2.4.6	Inflection on <i>viel</i>	64
2.2.4.7	Modification of <i>viel</i> by a degree adverb	64
2.2.4.8	ENHG Summary	64
2.3	Analysis	66
2.3.1	OHG: A semi-lexical, quantifying N	66
2.3.2	Early MHG: A quantifying particle	72
2.3.3	Later MHG: A quantifying adjective	75
2.3.4	The null quantifier SOME	80
2.3.5	ENHG: Change of the dependent from genitive to concord	82
2.3.6	Modern German	84
2.3.7	Summary of the developments of <i>viel</i>	92
2.4	Discussion	93
2.4.1	Three types of reanalysis	93
2.4.2	Head-to-spec reanalysis as degrammaticalization	94
2.4.3	Structural size and the loss of genitive	96

CHAPTER 3

From lexical adjective to quantifying adjective: <i>wenig</i>	97	
3.1	Introduction	97
3.2	Data for <i>wenig</i> by historical period	98
3.2.1	Etymology	98
3.2.2	Old High German	98
3.2.3	Middle High German	100
3.2.3.1	<i>wenic</i> with dependent N	100
3.2.3.2	<i>wenic</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	102
3.2.3.3	<i>wenic</i> with dependent DP	102
3.2.3.4	<i>wenic</i> with dependent pronoun	103
3.2.3.5	MHG Summary	103
3.2.4	Early New High German	104
3.2.4.1	<i>wenig</i> with dependent N	104
3.2.4.2	<i>wenig</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	108

3.2.4.3	<i>wenig</i> with dependent DP	109
3.2.4.4	<i>wenig</i> with dependent pronoun	109
3.2.4.5	Inflection on and modification of <i>wenig</i>	110
3.2.4.6	ENHG Summary	110
3.3	Analysis	111
3.3.1	OHG: An ordinary adjective	111
3.3.2	MHG: The lexical split into adjective and quantifying particle	111
3.3.3	ENHG: Reanalysis from genitive to concord	113
3.3.4	Modern German	115
3.3.5	On the structure of <i>ein wenig</i>	118
3.4	Discussion	121
 CHAPTER 4		
Universal quantifiers <i>all</i> and <i>jeder</i>		123
4.1	Introduction	123
4.2	Data for <i>all</i> by historical period	125
4.2.1	Etymology	125
4.2.2	Old High German	126
4.2.2.1	<i>al</i> with dependent N	126
4.2.2.2	<i>al</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	127
4.2.2.3	<i>al</i> with dependent DP	128
4.2.2.4	<i>al</i> with dependent pronoun	129
4.2.2.5	Inflection on <i>al</i>	129
4.2.2.6	OHG Summary	129
4.2.3	Middle High German	130
4.2.3.1	<i>al</i> with dependent N	130
4.2.3.2	<i>al</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	131
4.2.3.3	<i>al</i> with dependent DP	132
4.2.3.4	<i>al</i> with dependent pronoun	133
4.2.3.5	MHG Summary	134
4.2.4	Early New High German	134
4.2.4.1	<i>all</i> with dependent N	135
4.2.4.2	<i>all</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	136
4.2.4.3	<i>all</i> with dependent DP	138
4.2.4.4	<i>all</i> with dependent pronoun	139
4.2.4.5	Inflection on and modification of <i>all</i>	140
4.2.4.6	ENHG Summary	141
4.3	Analysis of <i>all</i>	141
4.3.1	OHG: Genitive relics	141
4.3.2	OHG: Concord with adjectival <i>al</i>	142
4.3.3	MHG and (early) ENHG: The CardP or OrdP layer	143

4.3.4	(Late) ENHG: Into the DP layer	144
4.3.5	Modern German	145
4.4	Data for <i>jeder</i> by historical period	153
4.4.1	Etymology	154
4.4.2	Old High German	154
4.4.2.1	<i>iowethar</i> with dependent N	155
4.4.2.2	<i>iowethar</i> with dependent pronoun	155
4.4.2.3	Inflection on <i>iowethar</i> and evidence for its complex status	156
4.4.2.4	OHG Summary	156
4.4.3	Middle High German	156
4.4.3.1	<i>ieweder</i> with dependent N	157
4.4.3.2	<i>ieweder</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	157
4.4.3.3	<i>ieweder</i> with dependent DP	157
4.4.3.4	<i>ieweder</i> with dependent pronoun	158
4.4.3.5	Inflection on <i>ieweder</i> and evidence for its complex status	158
4.4.3.6	MHG Summary	159
4.4.4	Early New High German	159
4.4.4.1	<i>jeder</i> with dependent N	159
4.4.4.2	<i>jeder</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	160
4.4.4.3	<i>jeder</i> with dependent DP or pronoun	162
4.4.4.4	ENHG Summary	162
4.5	Analysis of <i>jeder</i>	162
4.5.1	OHG: <i>Bi-morphemic</i> io+(<i>gi</i>)wethar	163
4.5.2	MHG: Univerbation	164
4.5.3	ENHG: In Spec-CardP or Spec-DP	166
4.5.4	Modern German	169
4.6	Discussion	173

CHAPTER 5

Complex indefinite pronouns: <i>jemand</i>, <i>niemand</i>, and <i>nichts</i>		175
5.1	Introduction	175
5.2	Data for <i>jemand</i> , <i>niemand</i> , <i>icht</i> , and <i>nichts</i> by historical period	176
5.2.1	Etymology	176
5.2.2	Old High German	177
5.2.2.1	IndPron with dependent N	177
5.2.2.2	IndPron with dependent Adj	178
5.2.2.3	IndPron with dependent Adj and N	179
5.2.2.4	IndPron with dependent DP	179
5.2.2.5	IndPron with dependent pronoun	180

5.2.2.6	Inflection on IndPron and evidence for their complex status	181
5.2.2.7	Modification of OHG complex pronouns	182
5.2.2.8	OHG Summary	182
5.2.3	Middle High German	183
5.2.3.1	IndPron with dependent N	185
5.2.3.2	IndPron with dependent Adj	185
5.2.3.3	IndPron with dependent Adj and N	188
5.2.3.4	IndPron with dependent DP	188
5.2.3.5	IndPron with dependent pronoun	189
5.2.3.6	Inflection on IndPron and evidence for their complex status	190
5.2.3.7	Modification of complex pronouns	191
5.2.3.8	MHG Summary	191
5.2.4	Early New High German	192
5.2.4.1	IndPron with dependent N	193
5.2.4.2	IndPron with dependent Adj	193
5.2.4.3	IndPron with dependent Adj and N	196
5.2.4.4	IndPron with dependent DP	196
5.2.4.5	IndPron with dependent pronoun	197
5.2.4.6	Inflection on IndPron and evidence for their complex status	197
5.2.4.7	Modification of the complex pronouns	198
5.2.4.8	ENHG Summary	198
5.3	Analysis	200
5.3.1	OHG and MHG: Indefinite pronouns are bi-morphemic	200
5.3.2	Univerbation in ENHG	204
5.3.3	Consequences of univerbation: Splitting the nominal and concord	208
5.3.4	Further consequences of univerbation: Restrictions on the dependent	212
5.3.5	Morphological reanalysis	214
5.3.6	Late ENHG: Indefinite pronouns as complex specifiers	217
5.3.7	Modern German	219
5.4	Discussion	223
CHAPTER 6		
A different complex indefinite pronoun: <i>etwas</i>		225
6.1	Introduction	225
6.2	Data for <i>etwas</i> by historical period	226
6.2.1	Etymology	226

6.2.2	Old High German	227
6.2.2.1	<i>ettewaz</i> with dependent N	227
6.2.2.2	<i>ettewaz</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	227
6.2.2.3	<i>ettewaz</i> with dependent DP or pronoun	228
6.2.2.4	OHG Summary	229
6.2.3	Middle High German	229
6.2.3.1	<i>etwaz</i> with dependent N	229
6.2.3.2	<i>etwaz</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	229
6.2.3.3	<i>etwaz</i> with dependent DP or pronoun	230
6.2.3.4	MHG Summary	231
6.2.4	Early New High German	231
6.2.4.1	<i>etwas</i> with dependent N	232
6.2.4.2	<i>etwas</i> with dependent Adj (and N)	233
6.2.4.3	<i>etwas</i> with dependent DP or pronoun	235
6.2.4.4	ENHG Summary	236
6.2.5	Inflection on <i>etwas</i> , its complex status, and modification	236
6.3	Analysis	238
6.3.1	OHG/MHG: Bi-morphemic <i>et+waz</i>	238
6.3.2	ENHG: Univerbation and concord with quantificational <i>etwas</i>	239
6.3.3	Late ENHG: Pronominal (<i>et</i>) <i>was</i> climbs up the tree	242
6.3.4	Modern German: Mono-morphemic and bi-morphemic <i>etwas</i>	247
6.3.5	The null quantifier SOME revisited	251
6.4	Discussion	254

CHAPTER 7

Exceptional adjectives: *ander*, *folgend* and *solch*

257

7.1	Introduction	257
7.2	Data for <i>ander</i> occurring with a quantifier	258
7.2.1	Etymology	258
7.2.2	Old High German	258
7.2.3	Middle High German	259
7.2.4	Early New High German	262
7.3	Analysis of <i>ander</i>	264
7.3.1	OHG: The Ordinal Phrase (OrdP)	264
7.3.2	MHG: In OrdP or CardP	267
7.3.3	ENHG to Modern German: From OrdP to AgrP	268
7.4	Extensions and discussion	269

CHAPTER 8	
Conclusions	273
8.1 Comparison of the quantifying words: Our main claims	273
8.2 Some theoretical implications of our main claims	277
8.2.1 Different types of reanalysis	277
8.2.2 More on head-to-spec reanalysis as degrammaticalization	279
8.2.3 Loss of the genitive: Structural size vs. morphological ambiguity	283
8.3 Extensions for future research and open questions	286
References	291
Index	297