

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 *wenig* with dependent DP 109
- 3.2.4.4 *wenig* with dependent pronoun 109
- 3.2.4.5 Inflection on and modification of *wenig* 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 *ein wenig* 118
- 3.4 Discussion 121

CHAPTER 4

Universal quantifiers *all* and *jeder*

123

- 4.1 Introduction 123
- 4.2 Data for *all* by historical period 125
 - 4.2.1 Etymology 125
 - 4.2.2 Old High German 126
 - 4.2.2.1 *al* with dependent N 126
 - 4.2.2.2 *al* with dependent Adj (and N) 127
 - 4.2.2.3 *al* with dependent DP 128
 - 4.2.2.4 *al* with dependent pronoun 129
 - 4.2.2.5 Inflection on *al* 129
 - 4.2.2.6 OHG Summary 129
 - 4.2.3 Middle High German 130
 - 4.2.3.1 *al* with dependent N 130
 - 4.2.3.2 *al* with dependent Adj (and N) 131
 - 4.2.3.3 *al* with dependent DP 132
 - 4.2.3.4 *al* with dependent pronoun 133
 - 4.2.3.5 MHG Summary 134
 - 4.2.4 Early New High German 134
 - 4.2.4.1 *all* with dependent N 135
 - 4.2.4.2 *all* with dependent Adj (and N) 136
 - 4.2.4.3 *all* with dependent DP 138
 - 4.2.4.4 *all* with dependent pronoun 139
 - 4.2.4.5 Inflection on and modification of *all* 140
 - 4.2.4.6 ENHG Summary 141
- 4.3 Analysis of *all* 141
 - 4.3.1 OHG: Genitive relics 141
 - 4.3.2 OHG: Concord with adjectival *al* 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+(gi)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

Secondly, investigating the development of several quantifying words one after the other reveals many interesting issues. Sometimes, the analysis of one quantifying word calls into question the analysis of another one. Nonetheless, we tried to be consistent in our assumptions and analyses throughout the discussion in the attempt to find general patterns that are common to the development of all quantifying words. As a consequence, this led sometimes to somewhat surprising (but we hope at the very least interesting) proposals. While the current book is not the final word on these constructions, we hope it is a good first attempt, which will stimulate more research on these fascinating structures.

Parts of this book were presented at the Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference 18 (Indiana University), DIGS 15 (University of Ottawa), and the Wuppertaler Linguistisches Forum. An earlier version of Chapter 2 of this book appeared as Sapp & Roehrs (2016). We thank our audiences and anonymous reviewers for questions and comments, especially Elly van Gelderen and Werner Abraham. We are also indebted to Sandra Waldenberger and Sarah Kwekkeboom for help with the *Bochum Mittelhochdeutschkorpus*. Each author would like to acknowledge the receipt of a summer travel grant from his respective home institution.

Denton, TX and Oxford, MS, December 2015

Dorian Roehrs and Chris Sapp