Variation in word order of German complex prepositions during grammaticalization

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German complex prepositions originate from several sources, like prepositional phrases, adverbal phrases and subordinated sentences, with prepositional phrases consisting of a primary preposition and a noun with a genitive complement being particularly productive. While in present-day German, where the unmarked position of the adnominal genitive is postnominal except for proper nouns, these complex structures are always prepositional (1a). In Early New High German and early modern German, with the position of adnominal genitive attributes being more variable, there are also circumpositional variants co-existing (1b).

(1)  a. anstatt [eines Sohns]_{GEN}  
     b. an [eines Sohns]_{GEN}  Statt
     ‘instead of a son’

In the case of the complex preposition anstatt ‘instead of’, the loss of a productive circumpositional usage might be due to a general tendency of complex prepositions to show the same word order like primary prepositions, as claimed by Lindqvist (1994) and Di Meola (2000), or to the decline of prenominal genitive attributes in Early New High German. This study aims to determine, if the complex preposition anstatt is affected by the decline of prenominal genitives in the source construction, by comparing the frequency of its word order variants with pre- and postnominal genitive attributes of non-grammaticalized nouns in the extended corpus of the DTA in the time from 1500 to 1800.

Using a fitted generalized linear mixed model which included the fixed effects time, animacy and semantic type of the genitive noun, significant differences were found between the frequency of prenominal genitives in productive noun phrases for several lexemes and the anstatt constructions. Since there were also significant differences between all nominal head noun lexemes considered for the productive genitive pattern, it is not possible to establish a general word order pattern for genitive attributes to compare with the complex preposition. Nevertheless, the data can yield some insights in the rise and decline of the word order variants of anstatt during the process of grammaticalization.
