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An Overview of the Distribution of Quantifiers in Old English

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with distributions of quantifiers in Old English. The quantifiers to be discussed are *eall* 'all,' *begen* 'both,' *manig* 'many' and *sum* 'some.' I will show how different and similar these quantifiers in Old English (OE) and present-day English (PDE) are in distribution. The research was conducted through a study of the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE; Taylor et al. (2003)), by using a Java-based searching program CorpusSearch 2.¹

Let us begin by reviewing some properties of the quantifier *all* in PDE. As is well-known, the PDE quantifier *all* can occur at various positions as shown in (1) and (2).²

- (1) a. **All** *the students* have finished the assignment.
 b. *The students* have **all** finished the assignment. (Bobaljik (2003: 107))
- (2) a. *The children* **all** would have been doing that.
 b. *The children* would **all** have been doing that.
 c. *The children* would have **all** been doing that.
 d. *The children* would have been **all** doing that. (Baltin (1995: 211))

The quantifier *all* in PDE can occupy the pre-nominal position, as in (1a), and the post-nominal position, as in (2a). It can also occupy a position between two verbal elements, as illustrated in (2b) through (2d). It is generally assumed in the generative literature that the quantifier separated from its modifying nominal marks the intermediate subject positions. (cf. Sportiche (1988)). This type of quantifier is called 'floating' quantifiers. Thus, the quantifier cannot occupy the post-verbal position of unergative verbs, as in (3b). This is because that position is neither the initial nor intermediate positions of the moved subject.

- (3) a. **All** *our team* played well.
 b. **Our team* played **all** well. (Quirk et al. (1985: 126))

Just like the quantifier *all* in (4), *both* can also occur at the pre-nominal position, as in (5a), and a position between two verbal elements, as in (5b).

- (4) a. **All** *the boys* will be there.
 b. *The boys* will **all** be there. (ibid.)
- (5) a. **Both** *my parents* are working.
 b. *My parents* are **both** working. (ibid.)

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Quirk et al. (1985) classify quantifiers into several categories depending on their positions and functions. This is illustrated in (6) with slight modifications.

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| (6) a. All <i>students</i> were accepted. | [determiner] |
| b. All <i>the students</i> were accepted. | [predeterminer] |
| c. All of <i>the students</i> were accepted. | [pronoun] |
| d. <i>The students</i> were all accepted. | [floating] |
| e. All were accepted. | [pronoun] |
| f. All of <i>them</i> were accepted. | [pronoun] |
| g. <i>They</i> were all accepted. | [floating] |
| h. ? <i>They</i> all were accepted. | [postmodifier] |

(adapted from Quirk et al. (1985: 258–259))

The difference between (6a) and (6b) is the presence of the determiner *the*. Although Quirk et al. call the quantifiers in (6d), (6g) and (6h) ‘pronouns,’ I will term the quantifiers in (6d) and (6g) ‘floating quantifiers’ and the one in (6h) ‘postmodifier,’ following Bobaljik (2003) and Fischer and van der Wurff (2006).

We now turn to quantifiers used with objects. In contrast to quantifiers modifying subjects, quantifiers exhibit different behavior when they modify objects. For example, they usually cannot follow object noun phrases, as shown in (7). This contrasts with (2a). Moreover, they cannot float from their modifying object noun phrases.

- (7) a. *Mary hates *the students* **all**.
 b. *I like *the men* **all**.
 c. *I saw *the men* **all** yesterday.

If the objects are pronominalized, however, the sentences become grammatical, as in (8).

- (8) a. Mary hates *them* **all**.
 b. I like *them* **all**.
 c. I saw *them* **all** yesterday.

The ‘pronoun-quantifier’ order is the rule in the case of subjects as well. To put it differently, whether a pronoun is a subject or an object, the ‘quantifier-pronoun’ order is not grammatical. This is illustrated in (9) and (10).

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| (9) a. *Jack saw all <i>them</i> / all <i>us</i> / all <i>you</i> . | |
| b. Jack saw <i>them</i> all / <i>us</i> all / <i>you</i> all . | (Brisson (1998:228)) |
| (10) a. * All <i>they</i> / all <i>we</i> / all <i>you</i> left. | |
| b. <i>They</i> / <i>you</i> / <i>we</i> all left. | (ibid.) |

We could summarize the distributional properties of the PDE quantifier *all* as in (11). These properties may be true of the quantifier *both*.³

- (11) distributional properties of the PDE quantifier *all*

- a. The quantifier can float from the quantified noun phrase when the noun phrase is a subject.
- b. The ‘noun-*all*’ order is generally unacceptable when the quantified noun phrase is an object.
- c. When a subject or an object is pronominal, only the ‘pronoun-*all*’ order is acceptable.

With respect to functional slots within the noun phrase and the order of these slots, Fischer and van der Wurff (2006) drew up Table 1 below. They state that when the head noun, which is the central element, is a common noun, it may be accompanied by some modifying elements and that these elements usually occur in a fixed order in PDE. The quantifiers just reviewed, *all* and *both*, are in the outermost position, which is called ‘predeterminer’ as in Quirk et al. (1985). They can also occupy the ‘postmodifier’ position, as in (2a), although it is marked with a question mark in Table 1.

Table 1. Element order within the NP in PDE

Predeterminer	Determiner	Postdeterminer	Premodifier	Modifier	Head	Postmodifier
<i>all, both, half</i>	articles	other	adverbials	adjectives	Noun	prep. phrase
	demonstrative	quantifiers,	adjectives	adjuncts*	Pronoun	(some adj.)
	possessive	numerals				(quantifiers?)
	interrogative					relative
	and relative					clause
	pronouns					
	quantifiers					
	genitives					

* ‘adjuncts’ here refers to the use of nouns as modifiers (attributive nouns), as in ‘a stone wall,’ and to denominal adjectives, as in ‘Chomskyan linguistics,’ ‘criminal law.’

(Fischer and van der Wurff (2006: 114))

An OE version of the table corresponding to Fischer and van der Wurff’s was drawn up by Carlton (1963) for the prose as in Table 2, and by Mitchell (1985) for the poetry as in Table 3.⁴

Table 2. Six-position arrangement of the modifiers in the OE prose

6th Position (<i>eall, sum, manig</i>)	5th Position (pron.)	4th Position (numeral)	3rd Position (<i>oþer</i>)	2nd Position (adj. and part.)	1st Position (noun in gen. case)	Head word (noun)
	þære			geættredan	deofles	lare
		an	oþer	healf		gear
		ænne		blacne		stedan
	þæm	þriim				dælum

	min	twa			wergeld
	þa		oþoro		lond
mænig			oþer	god	man
allum	þæm				halgum
ealle	his			leofan	halgan
sum	þæt				lond
ealle	mine				freondum
			oþrum	sue miclum	ladne

(Carlton (1963: 780); see also Mitchell (1985: §143))

Table 3. Six-position arrangement of the modifiers in the OE poetry*

6th Position (<i>eall</i> , <i>sum</i> , <i>manig</i>)	5th Position (dem. and/or poss.)	4th Position (numeral)	3rd Position (<i>oþer</i>)	2nd Position (adj./ptc.)	1st Position (noun in gen. case)	Head word (noun)
	min			yldra		fæder
	þin agen					bearn
	se			halga	godes agen	bearn
	min se			swetesta	heahengla	god
		twelfe . . .		tireadige	sunnan	scima
	þa	þry				hæleð
	be þisum	feawum				naman
	þa		oðre			forðspellum
manigu			oðru			fynd
sum						gesceaft
eall	þæt					woðbora
ealne				yrmenne		maþ þumgesteald
						grund

* The examples quoted occupy the same half-line unless the symbols | or || appear.

(Mitchell (1985: §149))

In both of the tables above, the OE *eall* ‘all’ occupies the outermost position, 6th position, just like the PDE *all*. In addition *mænig* ‘many’ and *sum* ‘some’ can occupy the same slot as well. Later I will show that *begen* ‘both’ in OE can also occur in this slot, just as in PDE.⁵

Furthermore, Fischer and van der Wurff (2006) sum up the diachronic syntactic change in the position of quantifiers as in Table 4. They say that whereas in OE the position of quantifiers was relatively free, it has been fairly fixed in Modern English.

Table 4. Syntactic change in the position of quantifiers

Change in	Old English	Middle English	Modern English
position of quantifiers	relatively free	more restricted	fairly fixed

(adapted from Fischer and van der Wurff (2006: 111))

In the following two sections I provide actual examples of the four quantifiers in OE, i.e. *eall* ‘all,’ *begen* ‘both,’ *manig* ‘many’ and *sum* ‘some.’ The examples were retrieved from an annotated historical corpus, the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). In Section 4 some comments will be made on their distributions.

2. Quantifiers as Predeterminers and Postmodifiers

Two syntactic environments to be examined in this section are (i) one where quantifiers are placed before nouns or pronouns and (ii) the other where quantifiers are placed after nouns or pronouns. The former is called ‘predeterminer,’ and the latter ‘postmodifier’ (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 258–259)). A third syntactic environment, where quantifiers and nouns/pronouns are not adjacent, will be discussed in Section 3.

2.1. *Eall* ‘All’

Let us first take examples with *eall* ‘all.’ Its distribution is summarized in Table 5 below. In the case of nominative nouns, 1,390 examples show that the quantifier is placed before noun phrases, that is the ‘*all*-noun’ order, while 58 examples show the opposite order, the ‘noun-*all*’ order. This indicates that 96.0% is the ‘*all*-noun’ order. The examples of both orders are given in (12) and (13). Likewise, accusative noun phrases are almost always placed after the quantifier *eall*. 96.4% of the total occurrences show the ‘*all*-noun’ order.

Table 5. Distribution of the quantifier *eall*

	<i>all</i> -noun	noun- <i>all</i>	<i>all</i> -pronoun	pronoun- <i>all</i>
nominative	1,390 (96.0%)	58 (4.0%)	103 (22.3%)	359 (77.7%)
accusative	2,235 (96.4%)	84 (3.6%)	3 (1.8%)	164 (98.2%)

- (12) nominative ‘*all*-noun’ order
 Hit ne mihte **eall** *mancyn* gedon gif he sylf nolde;
 it NEG might all mankind do if he self not-would
 ‘All mankind could not have done it, if he himself had not willed it;
 (ÆCHom I 343.238)
- (13) nominative ‘noun-*all*’ order
 his neb bið gerifod. 7 *his leomu ealle* gewæhte;
 his face is wrinkled and his limbs all afflicted
 ‘his face [is] wrinkled, and his limbs all afflicted;
 (ÆCHom I 528.113)

In contrast to nouns, nominative pronouns occur before the quantifier *eall* more frequently than after it. The ratio of the nominative ‘pronoun-*all*’ order is 77.7% and that of the accusative ‘pronoun-*all*’ order is 98.2%. The examples with nominative pronouns are provided in (14) and (15).

- (14) nominative ‘*all*-pronoun’ order
Ealle *we* *cumað* *to* *anre* *ylde*. *on* *þam* *gemænelicum* *æriste*;
 all we come to one age on the common resurrection
 ‘We shall all come to one age at the common resurrection,’ (ÆCHom I 220.114)
- (15) nominative ‘pronoun-*all*’ order
 7 *hi* **ealle** *anmodlice* *ræddon* *þæt* *ealle* *his* *gesetnyssa*
 and they all unanimously resolved that all his decrees
aydlode *wæron*;
 annulled were (ÆCHom I 207.32)
 ‘and they all unanimously resolved that all his decrees should be annulled’

We can see from Table 5 above that when nouns are used, whether nominative or accusative, the ‘*all*-noun’ order is dominant; when pronouns are used, by contrast, the ‘pronoun-*all*’ order is much more frequent.

2.2. *Begen* ‘Both’

Let us go on to a second quantifier *begen* ‘both.’ In contrast to the great number of the occurrences of *eall* ‘all,’ the number of *begen* ‘both’ is small. There are 126 instances found in the corpus. The distribution of *begen* ‘both’ is summed up in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of the quantifier *begen*

	<i>both</i> -noun	noun- <i>both</i>	<i>both</i> -pronoun	pronoun- <i>both</i>
nominative	10 (37.0%)	17 (63.0%)	2 (3.6%)	53 (96.4%)
accusative	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)	0 (0.0%)	23 (100.0%)

It should be noted here that unlike the quantifier *eall* ‘all,’ the quantifier *begen* ‘both’ tends to follow nominative noun phrases (about two-thirds of the examples); when noun phrases are accusative, however, *begen* ‘both’ tends to precede those noun phrases. The examples showing these word order patterns are given in (16) through (19).

- (16) nominative ‘*both*-noun’ order
 Æfter ðan ðridðan dæge þa þa hi fornean wæron adydde. ða comon
 after the third day when they almost were destroyed then came
begen *þa* *apostoli*.
 both the apostles
 ‘After the third day, when they were almost destroyed, came both the apostles’
 (ÆCHom II 38:284.144)
- (17) nominative ‘noun-*both*’ order
 ac ða *apostoli* **begen** hi astrehton æt þæs ealdormannes fotum.
 but the apostles both them stretched at the general’s feet
 ‘but both the apostles stretched themselves at the general’s feet’
 (ÆCHom II 38:281.43)

- (18) accusative ‘*both-noun*’ order
 and het lædan **buta** *þa halgan* togædere to anum sandpytte
 and commanded bring both the saints together to a sandpit
 ‘and commanded men to bring both the saints together to a sandpit’
 (ÆLS [Chrysanthus] 324)
- (19) accusative ‘*noun-both*’ order
 and geworhte *þa burga* **buta** on ægbere healfe eas ær he þonon fore;
 and built the forts both on either half water before he thence departed
 ‘and built both the forts on either side of the water, ere he departed thence’
 (ChronA 918.27)

On the other hand, when the quantifier *begen* ‘both’ is used with a pronoun, the quantifier is placed after the pronoun with only two exceptions, as indicated in Table 6.

2.3. *Mænig* ‘Many’

We next pick up a third quantifier *mænig* ‘many.’ As Table 7 shows, only one example with a pronoun was found in the corpus. From this it can be concluded that *mænig* ‘many’ was not compatible with nominative or accusative pronouns in OE.

Table 7. Distribution of the quantifier *mænig*

	<i>many-noun</i>	<i>noun-many</i>	<i>many-pronoun</i>	<i>pronoun-many</i>
nominative	283 (97.3%)	8 (2.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100.0%)
accusative	267 (97.1%)	8 (2.9%)	0	0

As for the case of nouns, the ‘*many-noun*’ order is much more frequent than the ‘*noun-many*’ order, regardless of whether the nouns are nominative or accusative. This is the same behavior as the quantifier *eall*. Examples (20) though (23) are the ones with the quantifier *mænig* ‘many’ and nouns.

- (20) nominative ‘*many-noun*’ order
 ac **manega** ðing sind fram ðam anum;
 but many things are from the one
 ‘but many things are from that one’
 (ÆCHom II 34:256.46)
- (21) nominative ‘*noun-many*’ order
Þa Romaniscan mædenu **manega** eac ðurhwunodon on clænum mægðhade
 the Roman maidens many also continued in clean virginity
 for Cristes lufe, æfter Agnes gebysnunga þe þær bebyrged is.
 for Christ’s love after Agnes example who there buried is
 ‘Likewise many of the Roman maidens continued in pure virginity for the love of
 Christ after Agnes’ example, who is there buried.’
 (ÆLS [Agnes] 293)

- (22) accusative ‘*many-noun*’ order
 Ðu wurðast **manega** *godas* and **manega** *gydenan*;
 thou worshippesst many gods and many goddesses
 ‘Thou worshippesst many gods, and many goddesses;’ (ÆLS [Sebastian] 227)
- (23) accusative ‘*noun-many*’ order
 and se cyng genam scipa and wæpna and *sceattas* **manega**.
 and the king took ships and weapons and treasures many
 ‘and the king took their ships, and weapons, and many treasures’ (ChronE 1071.11)

About the ‘*noun-many*’ order, a comment is in order. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this order is marked as poetic and archaic and the earliest occurrence is cited from a work in circa 1220. The examples from the *OED* are given in (24).

- (24) Placed after the noun. poetic and archaic
 a. In ðe se senden *selcudeð* **manie**. (c1220 Bestiary 556/*OED* s.v. *many* A.2.c)
 ‘In the sea are many wonders’
 b. As there be *goddess* **many** and *lordes* **many**.
 (1526 Tindale 1 Cor. viii. 5/*OED* s.v. *many* A.2.c)

The present study shows that there seem to be earlier instances: example (21) is from the work written between 950–1050 and (23) is from the one in 1150 at the latest.

2.4. *Sum* ‘Some’

The last quantifier to be considered is *sum* ‘some.’ Its distribution is summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Distribution of the quantifier *sum*

	<i>some-noun</i>	<i>noun-some</i>	<i>some-pronoun</i>	<i>pronoun-some</i>
nominative	968 (99.0%)	10 (1.0%)	49 (53.8%)	42 (46.2%)
accusative	548 (97.3%)	15 (2.7%)	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)

It can be seen from Table 8 that the ‘*some-noun*’ order is much more frequent than the ‘*noun-some*’ order regardless of their case, nominative or accusative. It could be said that the ‘*some-noun*’ order is the rule. This is common to the quantifiers *eall* ‘all’ and *mænig* ‘many.’ Each word order pattern of *sum* ‘some’ is exemplified in (25) through (28).

- (25) nominative ‘*some-noun*’ order
 Ða geseah Sebastianus hu *sume* Ða cristenan woldon awacian for ðam
 then saw Sebastian how some the Christians would lapse for the
 ormætum witum,
 exceeding tortures
 ‘Then Sebastian perceived how some of the Christians were ready to lapse because of
 the exceeding tortures’ (ÆLS [Sebastian] 21)

- (26) nominative ‘noun-*some*’ order
 Betwux ðam ascuton þa awyrigedan gastas **sume** of þære nywelnysse wið
 between the shut the accursed spirits some of the abyss towards
 min. mid byrnendum eagum.
 me with burning eyes
 ‘In the meanwhile some of the accursed spirits shut up towards me from the abyss, with
 burning eyes’ (ÆCHom II 23:200.49)
- (27) accusative ‘*some*-noun’ order
Sume ðas race we habbað getrahtnod on oðre stowe.
 some this narrative we have expounded in another place
 ‘Some of this narrative we have expounded in another place.’ (ÆCHom II 15:151.34)
- (28) accusative ‘noun-*some*’ order
 and siððan his apostolas **sume** eac adyddon;
 and afterwards his apostles some also destroyed
 ‘and afterwards also destroyed some of his apostles’ (ÆCHom II 18:173.125)

To sum up this section: with regard to word order of nouns and quantifiers, the three quantifiers *eall* ‘all,’ *manig* ‘many’ and *sum* ‘some’ share a common distributional property: the ‘quantifier-noun’ order is dominant. Only *begen* ‘both’ indicates a different distribution: the ‘*both*-noun’ order is more frequent when it modifies an accusative noun; the ‘noun-*both*’ order is more frequent when it modifies a nominative noun. In contrast to the high frequency of the ‘quantifier-noun’ order, the ‘quantifier-pronoun’ order is quite low in frequency. The opposite order is by far more frequent instead. In the case of *sum*, however, both of the orders occur with almost the same frequencies when pronouns are nominative.

3. Floating Quantifiers

So far we have seen the examples in which the quantifiers are adjacent to noun phrases or pronouns. This section makes a few comments on non-adjacent, floating, quantifiers.

First we found 248 instances of the quantifier *eall* ‘all,’ which floats from nominative nouns or pronouns, and 50 are ones of accusative nouns and pronouns. The results are summarized in Table 9 and two examples of nominative pronouns are given in (29).

Table 9. Distribution of the floating quantifier *eall*

	noun	pronoun
nominative	49 (19.8%)	199 (80.2%)
accusative	23 (46.0%)	27 (54.0%)

- (29) a. and ðeah hi ne magon beon **ealle** gegaderode;
 and though they NEG may be all gathered
 ‘and though they may not all be gathered’ (ÆCHom II 14.77)
- b. þi we sceolon **ealle** beon on gode gebroþru.
 therefore we should all be on God brothers
 ‘therefore should we all be brothers in God’ (ÆCHom I 327. 47)

In the examples the quantifier *eall* ‘all’ is apart from the pronouns and occupies the position between two verbal elements, just like the sentences in (2), repeated here as (30).

- (30) a. *The children* **all** would have been doing that.
 b. *The children* would **all** have been doing that.
 c. *The children* would have **all** been doing that.
 d. *The children* would have been **all** doing that. (Baltin (1995: 211))

In addition Table 9 shows that the quantifier *eall* ‘all’ floats from nominative pronouns more easily than from accusative pronouns.

Next, as can be seen from Table 10 below, the quantifier *begen* ‘both’ as well as *eall* ‘all’ floats from nominative pronouns most frequently. Examples are given in (31).

Table 10. Distribution of the floating quantifier *begen*

	noun	pronoun
nominative	6 (9.8%)	55 (90.2%)
accusative	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)

- (31) nominative pronoun
- a. *Hi ða **begen** þone apostol gesohton: his miltsunge biddende.*
 they then both the apostle sought his compassion praying
 ‘Then they both sought the apostle, praying for his compassion’
 (ÆCHom I 4:214.239)
- b. *Hi feollon ða **butu** mid flowendum tearum to Maures fotum*
 they fell then both with flowing tears to Maurus’ feet
 ‘Then they both fell with flowing tears at Maurus’ feet’
 (ÆLS [Maur] 22)
- c. *Hi eodon þa **begen** on þære bricge togædere,*
 they went then both on the bridge together
 ‘They then went both on the bridge together’
 (ÆLS [Exalt_of_Cross] 59)
- d. *Hi comon þa **begen** mid bliðum andwlitum and ansundum*
 they came then both with blithe faces and wholly-sound
 lichamum to þam geleafleasan deman;
 bodies to the unbelieving judge
 ‘Then came hey both with blithe faces and wholly-sound bodies, to the
 unbelieving judge’
 (ÆLS [Vincent] 59)

In examples (31b, c, d) the unaccusative or mutative verbs are used and the quantifier *begen* ‘both’ appears to occupy the postverbal position of the main verbs *feollon* ‘fell,’ *eodon* ‘went’ and *comon* ‘came.’

Finally, compared to the ample examples of *eall* ‘all’ and *begen* ‘both,’ there are few examples of *mænig* ‘many’ and *sum* ‘some’ found in the corpus. The distributions of the two quantifiers are shown in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11. Distribution of the floating? quantifier *mænig*

	noun	pronoun
nominative	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)
accusative	0	0

Table 12. Distribution of the floating quantifier *sum*

	noun	pronoun
nominative	10 (41.7%)	14 (58.3%)
accusative	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)

- (32) Him comon eac *mys* to, **manega** geond þat land
 them came also mice to many throughout the land
 ‘Many mice also came to thme throughout the land’ (ÆHom 22:240)

In this example the unaccusative verb *comon* ‘came’ is used and the subject *mys* ‘mice’ occupies the postverbal position.

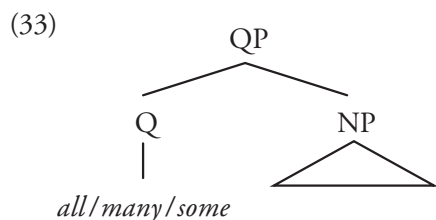
4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, on the basis of the data retrieved from the YCOE, I have obtained an overview of the four quantifiers (*eall*, *begen*, *mænig* and *sum*) in OE, and have shown the following points:

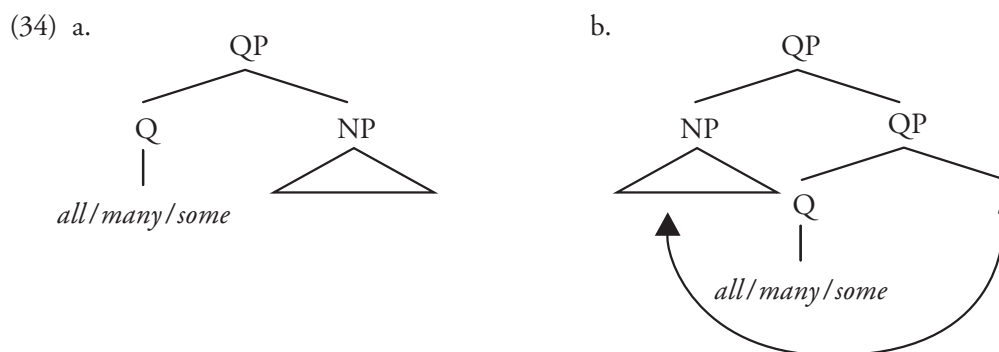
- (i) *Eall* ‘all’ and *begen* ‘both’ can float from nominative pronouns they modify.
- (ii) *Eall* ‘all’, *mænig* ‘many’ and *sum* ‘some’ tend to exhibit the ‘quantifier-noun’ order rather than the ‘noun-quantifier’ order; by contrast, *begen* ‘both’ shows almost the same frequencies of both orders.
- (iii) Quantifier floating can be considered to be a property of subjects in OE as well as in PDE.
- (iv) *Eall* ‘all’ and *begen* ‘both’ tend to follow pronouns regardless of their case; *mænig* ‘many’ is rarely used with pronouns; and *sum* ‘some’ can either precede or follow pronouns with almost the same frequencies.
- (v) The position of the quantifiers seems to be relatively fixed in OE.

The point of (v) is apparently a different suggestion from the one made by Fischer and van der Wurff (2006). Rather, the positional variation of the quantifiers has not drastically been altered from free to fixed in the history of English.

As regards the syntactic position of the quantifiers and the derivation, a few comments will be made here.⁶ Among the four quantifiers discussed in Section 2, three quantifiers, *eall*, *mænig* and *sum*, almost always precede noun phrases, whether they are nominative or accusative. This seems to be the rule though there are some exceptions. Taking this fact into consideration, we can safely assume that the ‘quantifier-noun’ order is the basic one and that it has the syntactic structure in (33).⁷



In (33) the quantifier is the head of Quantifier Phrase (QP) and selects an NP as its complement. From this structure, the inverted order, i.e. the ‘noun-quantifier’ order, would be derived by adjoining the NP to the QP, as schematically illustrated in (34).⁸



It should be noted here that there is one constraint on adjunction: if the target of adjunction is in an argument position, the adjunction as in (34b) is prohibited (cf. Chomsky (1986) and Bošković (1997), among others). The idea behind this prohibition is that adjunction to an argument interferes with theta-role assignment. We also assume with Bošković (2004) and Stepanov (2001) that adjunction is applicable to the structure in the counter-cyclic way. The conditions on adjunction are summed up in (35).

(35) Conditions on adjunction

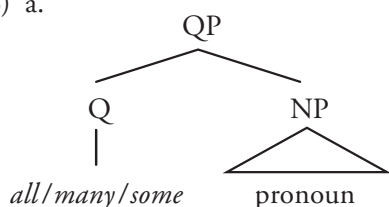
- a. Adjunction to arguments interferes with theta-role assignment.
- b. Adjunction can be applied to the structure acyclically.

(cf. Chomsky (1986); Bošković (1997))

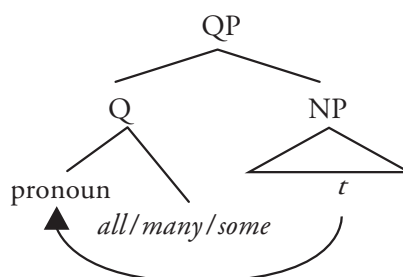
In some examples the objects may move out of the argument position skipping adverbs and in others there may not be clear evidence of such object movement since there is no intervening element between the objects and its governing verb. The low frequency of the ‘noun-quantifier’ order in the retrieved data may result from at least ‘superficially’ avoiding a violation of the conditions in (35).

In comparison with the ‘noun-quantifier’ order, the ‘pronoun-quantifier’ order is much more frequent, as described in Section 2. This exhibits a clear contrast. The higher frequency of the ‘pronoun-quantifier’ order can be accounted for, assuming that the pronoun, unlike the noun phrase, is adjoined to the head of the QP, as illustrated in (36).

(36) a.



b.



Unlike adjunction to the maximal projection described in (34), adjunction to a head does not interfere with theta-role assignment. The head-adjunction can take place without a violation of the conditions of (35), no matter where the QP in (36b) occurs.

Finally, it is assumed in the literature that object movement is not economical unless it is semantically or pragmatically motivated (cf. Chomsky (1995, 2001)). Thus, this might lead to the extremely low frequency of the ‘quantifier-noun’ order. On the other hand, the high frequency of the ‘pronoun-quantifier’ order can be attributed to the ‘clitic’ property of object pronouns in OE (cf. Van Kemenade (1987), Koopman (1990), and Pintzuk (1996), among others). As for clitics, it is generally assumed that they have disappeared in the history of English. Nevertheless the ‘pronoun-quantifier’ order is frequent or the rule in PDE. A reason for this is left open for future research.

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Notes

1. CorpusSearch 2 was created by Beth Randall (2007). It is downloadable at <<http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net/>>.
2. In (1)–(6) italics and boldfaces are mine.
3. For synchronic studies of the PDE quantifier *all*, see Bobaljik (2003), Bošković (2004), Brisson (1998), Doetjes (1997), Fitzpatrick (2006), Giusti (1991), McCloskey (2000) and Maling (1976).
4. See also Carlson (1978) and Lightfoot (1979) for diachronic analyses of quantifiers in general.
5. According to Carlton, *eall* ‘all’ always precedes all other modifiers of the head word and is not preceded by other modifiers. As pointed out by Mitchell (1985: §145), however, there are some exceptions to this. An example is given in (i).
 (i) þine ealle gebann (Latin: *omnia mandata tua*)
 ‘all your commands’ (PPs 118.86/Mitchell (1985: §145))
 Sentences like (i) are not touched upon in this paper for their rarity.
6. The analysis here is basically based on that of Yanagi (2008).
7. The structure in (33) is proposed in Giusti (1991) and Yanagi (2008, forthcoming), too. See also Bošković (2004) for an alternative analysis.
8. The inverted order may be rare enough to be ignored, though.

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