5. When verbal complexes become nouns via infinitive nominalization: A parallel to the verbal domain or category-individual?

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Nominalized infinitives (NIs, such as *(das) Gehen* 'walking', *(das) Abschneiden* 'cutting off') are the most frequent deverbal nominalization patterns for abstract nouns in present-day German (PDG; cf. Blume 2004, Werner 2020), the NIs are involved in different constructions in PDG, e.g. in light-verb constructions (such as *ins Rollen kommen* 'to get going') or in the progressive (such as *Sie ist am Arbeiten* 'she is working'). In PDG, the stems of infinitive nominalization come from simplex, prefix, and particle verbs and the NI does not have any morphological restrictions (1a). This is not the case for other nominalization patterns such as *-ung*-nominals (1a'), which originally only accepted only simplex verbs as bases but now also combine with prefix and particle verbs (for the diachronic details, see Demske 2000, Iordăchioaia/Werner 2019).

(1a) *(das) (An-)chatten* '(the) chatting'
(1a')*Chattung*
(1b) *(das) Freunde-Anchatten* '(the) chatting with friends'
(1b')*?Freunde-Anchattung*
(1c) *(das) ständig-die-Freunde-Anchatten* '(the) constantly-chatting-with friends'
(1c') *Ständig-die-Freunde_AKK-Anchattung*
(1d) *(das) Chatten der Freunde_GEN* ‚(the) chatting of friends'
(1d') *Chattung der Freunde*

While NIs can be formed from phrases containing a verb and arguments or modifiers (cf. 1b-d), this is not the case for *-ung*-nouns (cf. 1b'-c') although both patterns form abstract nouns in PDG. In addition, only the NI, but no *-ung*-nouns can nominalize verbal complexes which is shown in (2-5).

(2a) *(das) Gegessen-Haben* lit. '(the) having eaten', i.e., 'the fact that one has eaten'
(2a') *Gegessen-Habung/-Haberei*
(3a) *(das) Akzeptiert-Sein* '(the) being accepted'
(3a') *Akzeptiert-Seiung/-Seierei*
(4a) *(das) Akzeptiert-Worden-Sein* lit. '(the) having been accepted'
(4a') *Akzeptiert-Worden-Seiung/Seierei*
(5a) *(das) Schlafen-Müssen* lit. 'the having-[to]-sleep'
(5a') *Schlafen-Müssung/Müsserei*

Here we see that converted NIs contain perfect, passive and modal auxiliaries while *-ung*-nouns are restricted in PDG (more details in Iordăchioaia/Werner 2019). But also other derivational affixes like *-erei* do also not allow for auxiliary nominalization despite formally non-restricted productivity (cf. *Gegessen-Haberei, *Akzeptiert-Seierei*).

NIs in Old and Middle High German were typically conversions from simplex verbs, while prefix and particle verbs followed later (Werner 2020). In this light, the talk aims to answer the question of how the NIs developed the ability to nominalize verbal complexes or, in other words, to what extent inflectional verbal categories can be integrated into nominals (or, vice versa, Grestenberger 2022). It will be asked if a certain logic can be identified as to whether some verbal categories (e.g., tense) are nominalized before others (e.g., modality or mood). This is of special interest because research on grammaticalization has identified sequences in which verbal categories develop, e.g. that aspect develops before tense (see e.g. Leiss 1992) and that verbal periphrases encoding tense developed from predicative constructions containing adjectives (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994: 61ff). However, in such a view, potential restrictions of such a conceivable development, i.e., whether some categories do not

participate in integration into nominals, are not automatically excluded. Questions regarding the degree to which there is a logic behind the nominalization of verbal categories provide important answers regarding the architecture of verbal categories, of the potential and the limits of nominalizability, and of a better derivation-inflection divide, since verbal categories are only allowed within the pattern of NIs, but not within that of derivation (see 2–5).

By taking a look at the sequence of category changes involved, the data-based talk (corpora: DTA/DWDS, Austrian Media Corpus) shows infinitive nominalization exactly follows the well-known principle of grammaticalization research, namely that aspectual or temporal forms develop first, while modal forms come last. In other words, the development of verbal categories in the nominal domain directly seems to reflect or follow the logic of grammaticalization of the verbal categories in the verbal domain. Despite these parallels however, there are also some differences between the infinitives of the nominal and verbal domain, especially w.r.t. modal verbs. In the light of different kinds of modality (deontic, reportative, epistemic), the talk identifies category-specific restrictions of infinitive nominalization, which have not been described in the literature so far. Furthermore, it aims to explain why the detected restrictions of nominal category change are inherently of stable nature by pointing to results from syntax, semantics. and language philosophy.

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