DEGREES OF INTEGRATION

Resumption after left-peripheral conditional clauses in Middle Low German

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DER MITTELNIEDERDEUTSCHE SPRACHRAUM
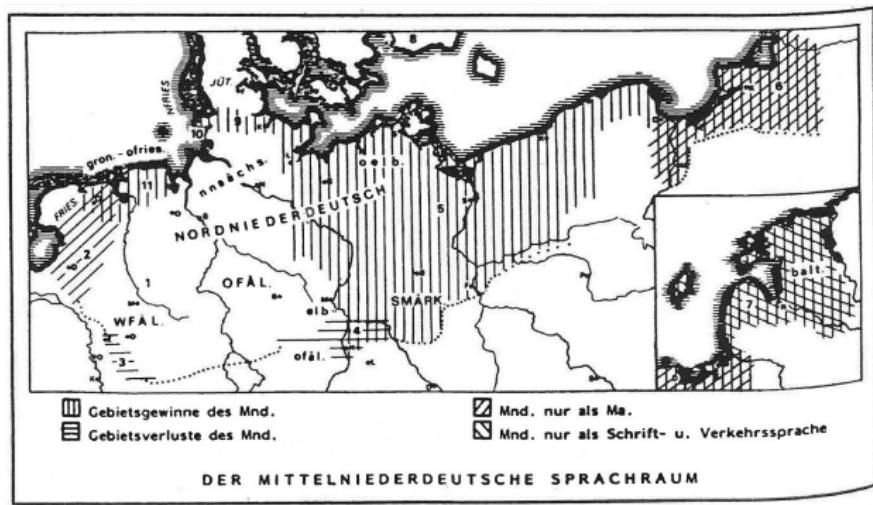
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Today: Degrees of integration

'Resumptive' patterns after left-peripheral (functionally) conditional clauses (LPCC):

$$\text{LPCC} - (\text{XP*}) - \text{V}_{\text{fin}}$$ (*XP = Resumptive / XP / $\varnothing$)

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Middle / Early New High German

- Axel (2002): initial adverbial clauses ("AS$_{links}$") are not integrated in High German until late 15th c., esp. MHG (1050-1350) 14-53% V3 (1) and up to 37-78% resumption (2)

(1)   a.   [Da sie alle zusamen kamen,] sie wurden des zu rate
           'When they all came together, they decided about this.'   (ProLa I 176,10)

      b.   [Und da es umb die mitnacht kam,] der sarganten eyner was offgestanden
           'And when it was around midnight, one of the sergeants had got up.'   (ProLa II 151,3)

(2)   [Und ee dann ir hinweg rytent,] so sagen ich uch vor allen rittern
      'And before you then ride off [so] I will tell you before all knights ... '   (ProLa II 180,26)

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- Thim-Mabrey (1987:199): initial adverbial clauses in ENHG (1350-1650) are followed by resumptive/correlative *so* in 82% of 259 cases in her corpus

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  - III ...

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Entweder behält der integrierende Satz die unmarkierte Reihenfolge bei oder das Vorfeld ist durch ein Korrelat – häufig so – besetzt, das funktional mit dem Adverbialsatz konkurriert. Die Bedingungssätze sind mithin unvollständig integriert." (Tophinke 2009: 170)

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(15) a. *syndetic conditionals*
[Jfft ik denne na dem(e) willen godes van deme dode auerwu(n)nen werde] So sette vn(de) make ik myn testame(n)te vn(de) latesten willen van mynem(e) nalaten(en) gude
'If I should eventually be overcome by death, [so] I set up and make my testament and last will about my goods to bequeathe' (UB Lübeck)

b. *asyndetic/V1 conditionals*
[Do wi des nicht] so schole wi […] to hamborch […] in riden
'If we don't do that, we […] shall ride into Hamburg […]'
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③ argue that d-pronouns are an early and wide-spread resumption strategy

④ claim that they a rather part of a type of Left Dislocation structure

CORPUS STUDY

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  - **1** legal texts (charters, lcodes of law, statutes)
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    - NN Oldenburg, 25 charters, 1331-1375
    - WF Rüthen, *Statutarrecht*, Ms. M, ca. 1350
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  - **4** private letters
    - NN letter of Agneta Willeken, 1535

TYPES OF INITIAL (FUNCTIONALLY) CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

(16) a. **syndetic protases**
[Oft en man sines tuges wil afgan […]] he sal bekennen vnde lesten eder besaken vnde dare vore sweren
'If a man wants to rid himself of his witness […] then he shall confess and carry out, or deny and swear (an oath) on it.' (Oldenburg, *Sachsenspiegel*)

b. **asyndetic/V1 protases**
[Do wi des nicht] so schole wi […] to hamborch […] in riden
'If we don't do that, we […] shall ride into Hamburg […]' (UB Lübeck)

c. **pseudo V1 protases**
[were dat al so [dat eyn vrowe eyne dochter hedde vnd er ere man vorstorue vnd se eynen anderen man neme vnd van deme eyne ander dochter hedde] so solde yo de yrste dochter de se van dem yrsten manne hadde der moder gherade boren
'If it were the case that a woman should have a daughter and her husband should die and she should marry another man and have a daughter with him, so should her first daughter that she had with the first husband be of the same legal status to the mother' (Rüthen, *Statutarrecht*)

d. **"irrelevance" conditionals/ universal free relatives**
[So wey dat dede] dey sȯlde wedden deme Rayde dey hoyghesten bȯte
'Whosoever did that (he) should pay the council the highest fine.' (Soester Schrae)
(= if anyone did that …)

CORPUS RESULTS

- XP between LPCC and matrix clause can be a:
  1. d-pronoun
  2. personal pronoun
  3. NP, PP
  4. *so*, *da*
  5. locative adverb, pronominal adverb
  6. impersonal pronoun, expletive ...

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	d-pron		*so*		pers.pron		NP		PP		Σ
synd	3	(11.1%)	21	(77.7%)	3	(11.1%)	1	(3.7%)	0		27
V1	43	(27.6%)	55	(35.3%)	27	(17.3%)	27	(17.3%)	4	(2.7%)	156
irr.	74	(79.6%)	10	(10.8%)	3	(3.2%)	5	(5.4%)	1	(1.1%)	93
were	40	(59.7%)	19	(28.4%)	0		8	(11.9%)	0		67
Total	160		105		33		41		5		344

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		d-pron		*so*		pers.pron		NP		PP		Σ
1350	synd	3	(30.0%)	5	(50.0%)	2	(20.0%)	0		0		10
	V1	43	(28.9%)	51	(34.2%)	24	(16.1%)	26	(17.4%)	4	(2.7%)	149
	irr.	74	(79.6%)	10	(10.8%)	3	(3.2%)	5	(5.4%)	1	(1.1%)	93
	were	40	(62.5%)	16	(25.0%)	0		8	(12.5%)	0		64
1500	synd	0		16	(94.0%)	1	(5.9%)	1	(5.9%)	0		17
	V1	0		4	(50%)	3	(37.5%)	1	(12.5%)	0		8
	were	0		3	(100%)	0		0		0		3
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(diachronic variation unfortunately linked to genre variation –
only 5 charters from Lübeck are from around 1500)

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- observation (III): even without irrelevance conditionals, resumption by d-pronouns is a prominent strategy in the 14th c. (39% d-pronouns, vs. 37% *so*-resumption)

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   c.   [Were dat also. dat eyn man ofte sine vront eynen man begripen by syner dochter in syner were] den mochten se halden ane broke des gherichtes vnd dvingen en . dat he de iuncvrowen tho echte neme
'If it were so that a man or his friends caught a man with his daughter in his guard, they are allowed to hold him without going to court and force him to marry the virgin.'   (Rüthen, *Statutarrecht*)

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2. "resumption" by d-pronoun very frequent early on, esp. with less prototpical LPCCs, viz. irrelevance and *were*-conditionals, but also without irrelevance conditionals

3. the d-pronoun is a familiar topic introduced inside the LPCC, while *so* resumes the entire LPCC

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Summary of observations:

1. resumption by *so* is preferred with syndetic protases
2. "resumption" by d-pronoun very frequent early on, esp. with less prototpical LPCCs, viz. irrelevance and *were*-conditionals, but also without irrelevance conditionals
3. the d-pronoun is a familiar topic introduced inside the LPCC, while *so* resumes the entire LPCC
4. V1-protases: higher frequency of personal pronouns, NPs, PPs etc. between LPCC and matrix Vfin

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ANALYSIS

THE IDEA

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(33) a. $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ $[_{\text{TopP}}$ frame-setter $[_{\text{FocP}}$ $[_{\text{TopP}}$ LD-topic $[_{\text{FinP}}$ d-pron. $[_{\text{Fin}'}$ V_i] $[_{\text{VP}}$ … t_i]]]]]]]

b. Hanging Topic $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ $[_{\text{TopP}}$ frame-setter $[_{\text{FocP}}$ $[_{\text{TopP}}$ $[_{\text{FinP}}$ pers.pron. $[_{\text{Fin}'}$ V_i] $[_{\text{VP}}$ … t_i]]]]]]]

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→ left periphery in MLG:

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INGREDIENTS

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(46) a. LD: Seine$_i$ Tochter, die liebt jeder$_i$.   'His$_i$ daughter, everyone$_i$ is very fond of.'

    b. HT: *Seine$_i$ Tochter, jeder$_i$ liebt sie.   'His$_i$ daughter, everyone$_i$ is very fond of.'

(47) a. Wenn man sie$_i$ gut pflegt, dann blüht [jede Orchidee]$_i$ mehrmals im Jahr.
     'Every orchid blossoms several times a year if you groom it well.'

    b. *Wenn du etwas über sie$_i$ wissen willst, [jede Orchidee]$_i$ blüht mehrmals im Jahr.
     'If you want to know something about it, every orchid blossoms several times a year.'

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ANALYSIS

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- without irrelevance conditionals, d-resumption occurs in 38.7% of conditionals around 1350; with them, it's 50.5%

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ANALYSIS

- both strategies track referents in discourse:

(53) a. [Wirt dan en man uan sinen wiue mit rechte scheden] se behalt doch ere liftucht de he er geuen heuet […]

'If a man is legally divorced from his wife, she shall still keep her annuity that he has given to her.'   (Oldenburg, *Sachsenspiegel*)

b. [vindet hey dan dat vorlorne ghuyt] dat mût hey wol weder nemen sunder iemans wedersprake

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aboutness topic, with pied piping of the whole clause.

(58) a. [Whose$_{[+wh]}$ book]$_i$ did you borrow t$_i$?

b. [Vortmer wanner de Stath pale eder strûke$_{+top}$ to den Damme behôuet]$_i$ de moghen se an
den haghen hôwen $_i$ […]
'Furthermore, if/when the city needs poles or bushes for the dam, they may cut them from the
forest …'   (UB Oldenburg 1345)

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- early establishment of d-resumption with *weret*-protases indicates an earlier grammaticalisation of this structure as conditional connector than usually assumed (Tophinke 2009, Wallmeier 2012, Merten 2015)

ANALYSIS
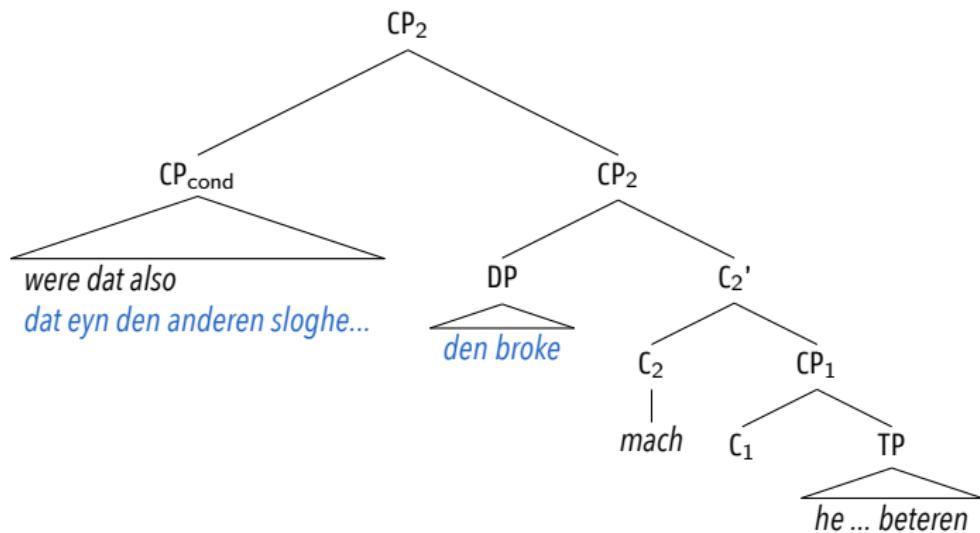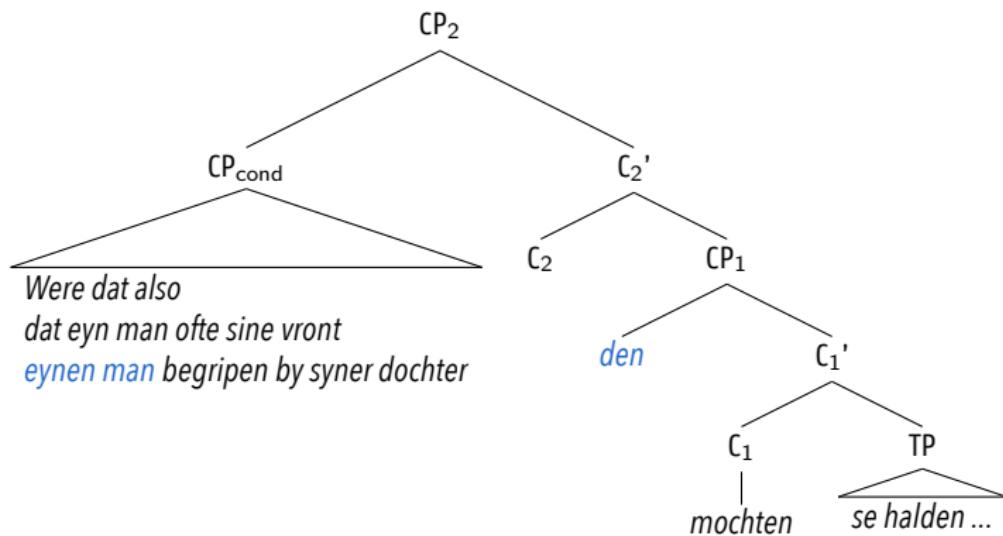
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- more data needed: non-legal texts from around 1350, more legal texts from aorund 1500

THANK YOU!

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