

# DEGREES OF INTEGRATION

Resumption after left-peripheral conditional clauses in Middle Low German

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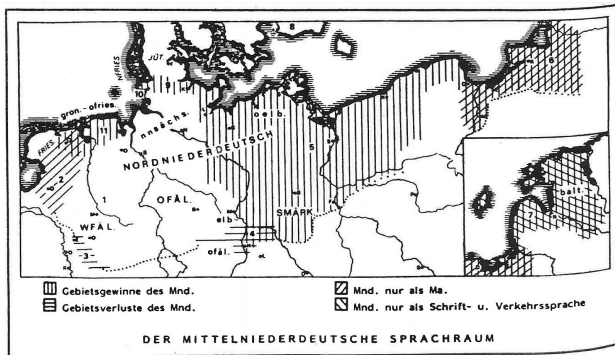
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### Today: Degrees of integration

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

LPCC — (XP\*) — V<sub>fin</sub>

(\*XP = Resumptive / XP / ∅)

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## Middle / Early New High German

- Axel (2002): initial adverbial clauses (“AS<sub>links</sub>”) are **not integrated** in High German until late 15<sup>th</sup> c., esp. MHG (1050-1350) 14-53% **V3** (1) and up to 37-78% **resumption** (2)

- (1) a. [Da sie alle zusammen 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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*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

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- ② show that *so* is only used with a certain type of conditionals, and is not the most common strategy in MLG
- ③ argue that **d-pronouns** are an early and wide-spread resumption strategy
- ④ claim that they are rather part of a type of **Left Dislocation** structure

# CORPUS STUDY





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- NN Oldenburger illustrated ms. of the *Sachsenspiegel* (code of law), Kloster Rastede 1336

- NN Oldenburg, 25 charters, 1331-1375

- WF Rüthen, *Statutarrecht*, Ms. M, ca. 1350

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- NN *Bordesholmer Marienklage*, 1475

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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 tugēs 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 eyne 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 <sup>e</sup>solde wedden deme Rayde dey hoyghesten <sup>u</sup>böte  
'Whosoever did that (he) should pay the council the highest fine.' (Soester Schrae)  
(= if anyone did that ...)

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■ XP between LPCC and matrix clause can be a:

- 1 d-pronoun
- 2 personal pronoun
- 3 NP, PP
- 4 *so, da*
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## ■ most frequent elements: retained 344/375 clauses

	d-pron		<i>so</i>		pers.pron		NP		PP		$\Sigma$
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 (II):
  - syndetic protases become more frequent, prefer *so*
  - V1 conditionals seem less integrated throughout (more NPs, PPs, pers. pronouns)
- observation (III): even without irrelevance conditionals, resumption by d-pronouns is a prominent strategy in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. (39% d-pronouns, vs. 37% *so*-resumption)

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'If however an heir becomes sisters or brothers with all that may later belong to the extended family, **(s)he** takes the same part of it (the heritage), whether it be a man or a woman.'  
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- b. [vindet hey dan dat vorlorne **ghuyt**] **dat** mût hey wol weder nemen sunder iemans wedersprake  
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'If he then finds the lost good, he must take **that** back without anyone's objection' (Soest, *Schrae*)
- 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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## Summary of observations:

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- 4 V1-protases: higher frequency of personal pronouns, NPs, PPs etc. between LPCC and matrix Vfin

# ANALYSIS

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→ left periphery in MLG:

[ (Hanging Topic) [FrameP (frame-setter) [CP<sub>2</sub> (LD-topic) [CP<sub>1</sub> (d-pron.) [TP ... ]]]]]



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- (46) a. LD: Seine<sub>i</sub> Tochter, die liebt jeder<sub>i</sub>. 'His<sub>i</sub> daughter, everyone<sub>i</sub> is very fond of.'
- b. HT: \*Seine<sub>i</sub> Tochter, jeder<sub>i</sub> liebt sie. 'His<sub>i</sub> daughter, everyone<sub>i</sub> is very fond of.'
- (47) a. Wenn man sie<sub>i</sub> gut pflegt, dann blüht [jede Orchidee]<sub>i</sub> mehrmals im Jahr.  
'Every orchid blossoms several times a year if you groom it well.'
- b. \*Wenn du etwas über sie<sub>i</sub> wissen willst, [jede Orchidee]<sub>i</sub> blüht mehrmals im Jahr.  
'If you want to know something about it, every orchid blossoms several times a year.'

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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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- (53) a. [Wirt dan en man uan **sinen wiu**e 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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- (58) a. [ Whose<sub>[+wh]</sub> book ]<sub>i</sub> did you borrow t<sub>i</sub>?
- b. [ Vortmer wanner de Stath **pale eder strûke**<sub>+top</sub> to den Damme behöuet ]<sub>i</sub> **de** moghen se an den hagen hōwen <sub>i</sub> [...]  
'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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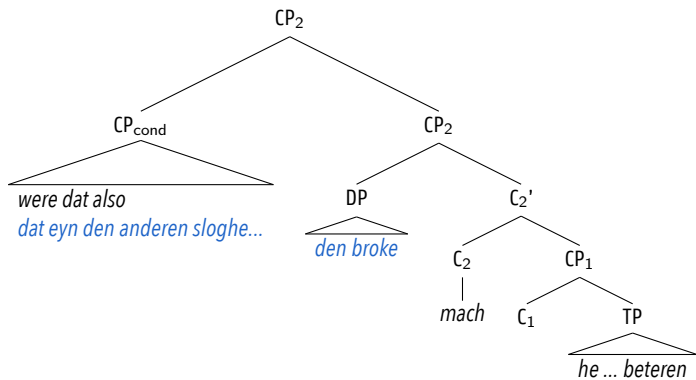
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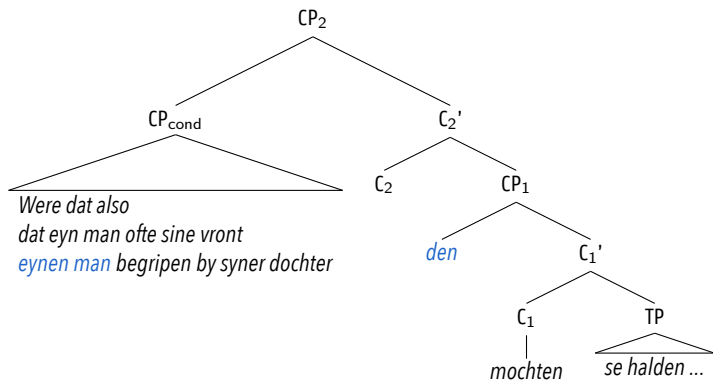
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- early establishment of d-resumption with *weret*-protases indicates an earlier grammaticalisation of this structure as conditional connector than usually assumed (Tophinke 2009, Wallmeier 2012, Merten 2015)





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## CONCLUSION

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- topichood of conditional protases invites reanalysis of at least some types of conditional protases
- **intermediate stage** on the way to full syntactic integration; analogy to non-sentential multiple XP-fronting?


	d-resumption		
juxtaposition	→ so-resumption		→ so-resumption
	juxtaposition		(integration)
- more data needed: non-legal texts from around 1350, more legal texts from around 1500

THANK YOU!



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