

Early New High German preposed adverbial clauses: integration and discourse functions

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The study investigates the use of preposed adverbial clauses in Early New High German (henceforth: ENHG) narratives and evaluates whether the choice between integration, resumption and juxtaposition is determined by local and global discourse factors.

In ENHG, preposed adverbial clauses are positioned either i) before an argument, as in (1), ii) adjacent to a resumptive element, like in (2) and (3); or iii) directly adjacent to the finite verb of their host sentence, exemplified in (4) (König and van der Auwera, 1988).

- (1) Da der swartz ritter das gewar wart, **er** greiff yne mit dem helm
lit. 'And when the black knight noticed that, HE GRABBED him by the helmet.' (Pontus)
- (2) ob es in die warheit nit gesaht het, **so** muß es sterben
lit. 'If it hadn't told him the truth, SO MUST IT die.' (Tristrant)
- (3) vnd da alle ding bereyt waren **da** gieng sie zû dem Peter
lit. 'And when all things were ready, THEN WENT SHE to Peter.' (Magelone)
- (4) Do der künig das verstûnde sprach er zum graffen
lit. 'When the king understood that, SPOKE HE to the count.' (Fortunatus)

The four constructions illustrated above represent different degrees of integration, reaching from simple juxtaposition (1) to resumption (2) and (3) to full integration (4). This continuum is thought to be reflective of the diachronic development of the position of adverbial clauses (König and van der Auwera, 1988; Axel, 2004; Lötscher, 2006), i.e., from juxtaposed via resumption to complete integration.

This diachronic scenario predicts that at least one of the resumptive constructions was paradigmatically related to the integrating construction (Zehentner, 2019) at the time the use of the integrating construction was taking over, i.e., in ENHG (Axel, 2004). Moreover, it is expected that the juxtaposition construction has been ousted by resumption at this time, and found its own niche.

To test these predictions, a data set of 1500 preposed adverbial clauses from seven ENHG narratives – Pontus, Melusine, Wigalois, Wilhelm, Tristrant, Fortunatus, and Magelone – is investigated. The data indicate that the two resumptive constructions are associated with distinct discourse functions, and that resumption with *so* does not show systematic similarity to the integration construction.

First, the constructions are found to differ with regard to local discourse functions. For example, concessives and conditionals are normally resumed by *so*, whereas the temporal adverbials occur primarily in the integrating construction or with *da*. Juxtaposition has not developed its own niche here.

Second, the constructions' global discourse functions are compared. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the resumptives are associated with different narrative speed (Genette, 1983; Packard, 2008). The *so*-construction is relatively frequent in direct speech segments compared to the other three patterns. As such, it is associated with scenes, which are characterized by isochrony. In contrast, *da*-resumption likely condenses more story time into less narration, since the adverbial clauses that occur in this construction often summarize earlier events.

How this relates to the use of integration and juxtaposition presents the final part of the puzzle. In order to support the diachronic development, the juxtaposition construction should have a specialized function, while the integrating construction is expected to show a tight similarity to one of the resumptive constructions.

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