Integration, resumption and adjunction: The relation between Early New High German preposed adverbial clauses and their host

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This study investigates the use of preposed adverbial clauses in Early New High German, and sheds new light on the relation between adverbial clauses and the sentences that host them.

In Early New High German, preposed adverbial clauses were found in three different constructions: i) with an argument in-between the clause and the finite verb of the host (1), ii) with a resumptive element that follows the adverbial clause (2), or iii) in a position directly adjacent to the finite verb (3).

(1) *Da   der swartz ritter das gewar   wart, er   greiff   yne mit dem helm*

     then the   black   knight that noticed was he   grabbed him with the   helmet

     'And when the black knight noticed that, he grabbed him by the helmet.'   (Pontus)

(2) *vnd da   alle ding   bereyt waren da   gieng sie zů   dem Peter*

     and then all   things ready were   then went   they to   the Peter

     'And when all things were ready, she went to Peter.'   (Magelone)

(3) *und als   er   geessen het růfft   er   Lüpoldo*

     and when he   eaten   had called he   Lüpoldo

     'And when he had eaten, he called Lüpoldo.'   (Fortunatus)

In previous literature, each of the patterns above have been taken as signals of their degree of integration (e.g., Axel 2004, Lötscher 2006): The adverbial clause in (1) is simply juxtaposed, while (3) is fully integrated as a constituent within the host sentence. Adverbial clauses that are taken up by a resumptive like *da* 'then' or *so* 'so' illustrate an intermediate step (2) (e.g., König and van der Auwera 1988).

Seeing that these three constructions seem to form such a continuum, this study asks the question whether and how these constructions are paradigmatically related (e.g., Neels and Hartmann 2022). By doing so, this study aims to shed more light on the connection between adverbial clause and their host sentence.

It is hypothesized that the function associated with the integration of adverbial clauses is partially determined by its relation to the resumptive and non-integrated constructions and partially by the adverbial clauses that occur within the constructions. This is tested on a data set of 1500 clauses from seven Early New High German narratives: Pontus (ca. 1450), Melusine (1474), Wigalois (1519), Wilhelm (1481), Tristrant (1484), Fortunatus (1509), Magelone (1535).

The study shows how adverbial clauses differ in their connection to their host: E.g., specific conjunctions are primarily associated with one of the constructions. For example, adverbial clauses that are introduced by *als* 'if, when, like' prefer integration (3), while *ob*-clauses –which primarily have a conditional or concessive function– are typically resumed.

Moreover, the different constructions are hypothesized to serve different narrative structuring functions. So are resumptive structures with da associated with temporal progression of the main story, while those with so are more prevalent in dialogues, which are characterized by isochrony (Packard, 2008), and they differ in the narrative mood they are associated with (Genette, 1983). It is expected that the other two constructions are contrastive in a similar way.

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