

Left peripheral *so* in the German, Dutch and English Pontus

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Small languages, big ideas

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The phenomenon

- (1) a. *Ist is sin wille*, **so** *sterben wir*.
'If it is his wish, we will die.' (P:GE, 4rb:11)
- b. *vnd nachdem als der twerg geblasen hait* **so** *sol komen vß
dem pavelin ein alte jungfer*
'And after the dwarf has blown, an old damsel will come out
of the tent.' (P:GE, 39ra:5–6)
- c. *darumb* **so** *muste er sitzen zu siner maiestate*
'Therefore, he had to sit next to his majesty.'
(P:GE, 106rb:21–22)

Objectives

- To reconsider the adverb + *so* pattern
 - How frequent was it?
 - In which ways is it different from the pattern adverbial clause + *so*?
- To compare the left peripheral *so* in ENHG, Dutch, and English

Overview

- Introduction
- Background
- The data
- The ENHG uses of *so*
- *So* in the Pontuses
- Interim summary
- Adverb + *so*
- Conclusion

Background I

- Adverbial resumption: “whenever an initial constituent, in the present case with adjunction function, is picked up by a place holder, i.e., a proform that reduplicates it clause-internally.” (Haegeman et al., nd)

Background II

- Thim-Mabrey (1987) finds that *so* is highly polysemous; it may pick up:
 - introduced adverbial clauses with causal, conditional, concessive, temporal, locative, comparative, and final meaning;
 - free relative clauses and unIntroduced V1-adverbial clauses with conditional and concessive meaning;
 - and non-clausal adverbials.

(2) *darumb so muste er sitzen zu siner maiestate*

'Therefore, he had to sit next to his majesty.'

(P:GE, 106rb:21–22)

- Resumptives facilitate processing (Hawkins, 2004)
- Light, given, adjacent.

Background IV

- Present-Day Dutch *zo*: not a resumptive (Meklenborg, 2020)
- Middle Dutch *so*: left dislocation (Jansen, 1980), and with adverbials (Burrige, 1993)
- Present-Day English: no V2-requirement, no adverbial resumptives (Meklenborg, 2020); forward-oriented *so* (Barske and Golato, 2010)

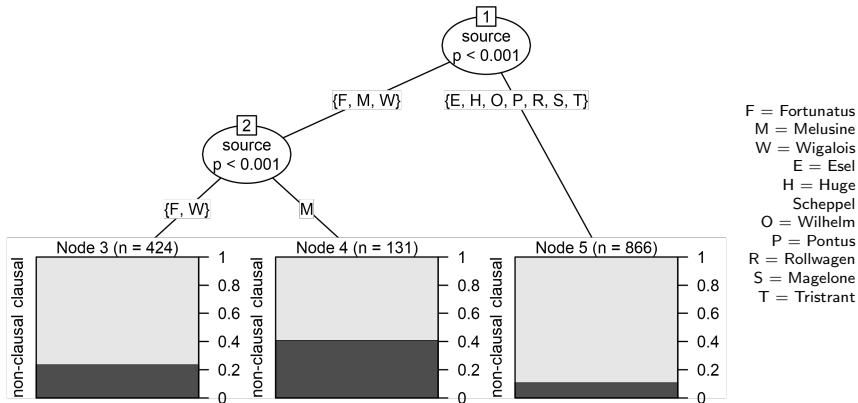
Early New High German narratives

Origin	Short text name (year)
French and Latin	Pontus (1450), Melusine (1456), Hüge Scheppel (1500), die Schöne Magelone (1527), Goldener Esel (1538)
Middle High German	Wigalois (1472), Wilhelm (1481), Tristrant (1484)
No model text	Fortunatus (1509), Rollwagenbüchlein (1555)

The Pontuses

Language	Text name (year)
Early New High German	Pontus und Sidonia (1450)
Late Middle English	King Pontus and the Fair Sidone (ca. 1450)
Early Modern Dutch	Die historie van Pontus ende die schoone Sydonie (1564)

The ENHG uses of so I

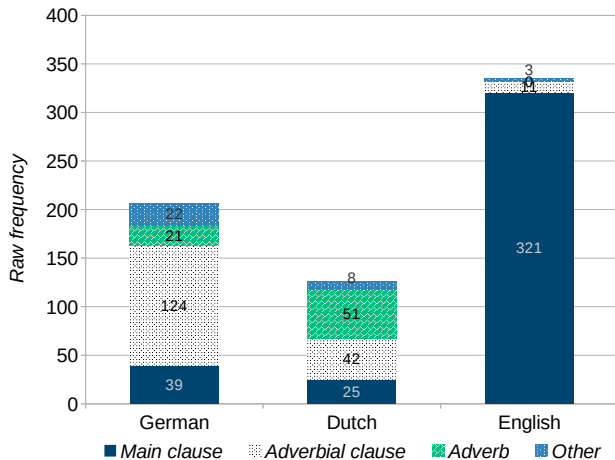


The ENHG uses of *so* II

Table: Non-clausal constituents preceding *so*

Type	Raw frequency	Percentage
Adverb	206	82.61
Prepositional phrase	26	10.28
Complex	15	5.93
Noun phrase	3	1.19
Total	250	100

So in the Pontuses: Preceding element I



$$\chi^2 = 497.99, \\ p < 0.005$$

So in the Pontuses: Preceding main clauses

- (3) a. *'Herre konig, ich han vwer swester zu eyner frauwen, so habent ir die myne auch zu eyner wybe, darvor halt ich vch vor mynen bruder.*
'Lord king, I have your sister as a wife, you have mine also as a wife, therefore I hold you as my brother.'
(P:GE, 76rb:11–12)
- b. *Die vrouwen presen hem seere so deden ooc alle de lieden die grote genoechte daer in hadden.*
'The women praised him a lot, as did all people who enjoyed it.'
(P:DU, N2rb:34–36)
- c. *I haue wedded your sustre and ye haue wedded myn; so ye owe to holde me as your brothre.*
'I have wedded your sister and you have wedded mine; so you ought to hold me as your brother.'
(P:EN, 87:16–18)

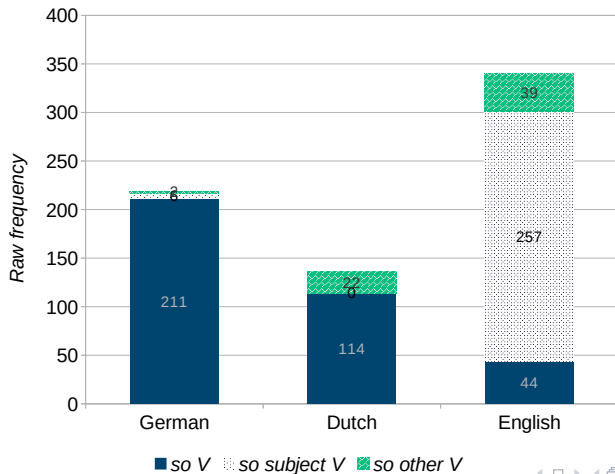
So in the Pontuses: Preceding adverbial clauses

- (4) a. *Ist is sin wille, so sterben wir.*
'If it is his wish, we will die.' (P:GE, 4rb:11)
- b. *ende ist dat ghi met vreden wilt leuen in uwen lande so moet ghi vier punten ouer v houden*
'And if you want to live in peace in your country, you have to keep in mind four things.' (P:DU, N3v:29)
- c. *Whils they wer ther in theyr prayers, so come Ponthus rydyng by the chappell*
'While they were praying, Pontus came riding to the chapel.'
(P:EN, 111:20–21)

So in the Pontuses: Preceding adverbs

- (5) a. *daerom so wil ich dat ouerslaen*
'Therefore, I want to skip that.' (P:DU, B2rb:20–21)
- b. *darumb so muste er sitten zu siner maiestate*
'Therefore, he had to sit next to his majesty.'
(P:GE, 106rb:21–22)
- c. *voort so was hy dye schoonste*
'In addition, he was the most beautiful.' (P:DU, B3va:20–21)
- d. *Vort so nam er XL schyff*
'In addition, he took 40 ships.' (P:GE, 85va:9)

So in the Pontuses: Its position I



$$\chi^2 = 481.20, \\ p < 0.005$$

So in the Pontuses: Its position II

- (6) a. *so moet ghi*
SO must you (P:DU, N3v:29)
- b. *so en woude hi*
SO NEG wanted he (P:DU, G2rb:27)
- c. *So he song*
SO he sang (P:EN, 17:19–20)
- d. *so ther was myche talkyngs*
SO there was much talking (P:EN, 142:28)

Interim summary

- Dutch and German *so* is adjacent to the finite verb;
 - For Dutch, the negation marker *en* may intervene.
- English *so* is typically non-adjacent: Typically, pronominal subjects and *there* intervene.
- German *so* most frequently follows clausal adverbials, Dutch *so* adverbs, and English *so* main clauses.
- Both in German and Dutch, *so* occurs following adverbs, but not in English.

Adverb + so I

- Adverb + so only occurs in Dutch and German.
- While the use of so following adverbial clauses is lower in the Dutch than in the German Pontus, the use of so following adverbs is more frequent.
- The Dutch text is ca. 100 years later than the German one.
- The adverbs in both languages have similar functions:
 - reason (e.g., *daerom*, *darumb*), addition (e.g., *voort*, *darzu*), and time (e.g., *terstont*, *vnlangs*);
 - concession (e.g., *nochtans*) and comparison (e.g., *anders*)

They occur in a different position than adverbial clauses.

- (7) a. *Frauwe, wolt ir yne sehen, so wil ich yne vch bringen.*
'My lady, if you want to see him, I will bring him to you.'
(P:GE, 11ra:10–11)
- b. *Lieue vrient na dien dat wt v herte de soete woorden
ghevloeyt sijn, so salt also geschien*
'Dear friend, after the sweet words have flooded out of your
heart, it will happen like that.'
(P:DU, H2vb:44–46)

- (8) a. *Ende voort Heer Coninck so suldy (...).*
'And in addition, lord king, you should (...)'
(P:DU, C4ra:32–33)
- b. *Darumb, myn allerschonste vnd gebitterynne myns herten, so bit ich (...).*
'Therefore, my dearest and commander of my heart, I ask (...).'
(P:GE, 32vb:7–8)

These adverbs themselves connect to the previous discourse.

- (9) a. *Konig Pontus was des dags gekront worden, darumb so muste er sitzen zu siner maiestate*

'King Pontus had been crowned that day. Therefore, he had to sit next to his majesty.' (P:GE, 106rb:21–22)

- b. *wat sal ick v meer segghen hy was dye beste van ghoeden manieren voort so was hy dye schoonste*

'What else can I tell you? He was the best when it comes to good manners. In addition, he was the most beautiful.' (P:DU, B3va:20–21)

Conclusion I

- German *so* primarily takes up adverbial clauses in the previous discourse.
- Dutch *so* also takes up adverbial clauses; less frequent than adverbs.
- English *so* primarily follows main clauses and does not take up a linguistic constituent in the previous discourse.
- Different canonical position of *so*:
 - German and Dutch: [*so* V_{fin}]
 - English: [*so* subject V_{fin}]

Conclusion II

- Dutch & German [adverb + *so*] is not [adverbial clause + *so*].
- Adverbs have a looser sequential association with *so* than adverbial clauses:
 - [adverb] [vocative] [*so*]
 - [vocative] [adverbial clause] [*so*]
- Adverb itself is connective.
- *So* is extremely polysemous.
- Adverb signals more specifically the relation of the *so*-clause to the previous discourse.

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