Pragmatically induced movement – discourse subordination in Old Spanish and Old Norwegian

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It is a well-known fact that the Germanic and Romance languages in previous stages pattern very similarly in areas of syntax (see Wolfe and Meklenborg (2021)). Indeed, in the case of Old Norwegian and Old Spanish, they share similarities not shared by the more closely related languages (Hagemann & Laake, 2021). In our talk, we continue probing the differences and similarities comparing a subset of subordinate adverbial clauses in Old Norwegian and Old Spanish and aim to present a unified pragmatic analysis of certain fronting phenomena. When studying such infrequent phenomena, large syntactically annotated corpora are valuable. As our source of data we use the Proiel corpus (Jøhndal & Haug, 2008) which is manually annotated both for morphology and syntactic structure.

In the Old Spanish example (1) below, the adverbial complement *a bien* (in bold) appears in a conditional clause wedged between the subject (*el consejo*) and the negation (*non*), followed by the finite verb, which indicates that the complement has moved upwards. In the Old Norwegian example (2) the adverbial phrase *sua illa* (so bad) appears between the subject *hon* (she) and the finite verb *vill* (will/wishes). Corresponding to the Old Spanish example the construction is found in a conditional clause.

- 1. ca si el consejo que da recude *a bien*, non ha otras gracias sinon que dizen que for if the advice that gives pays to good not has other graces but that say3PL that fizo su debdo en dar buen consejo; et si el consejo **a bien** non recude (...) did his debt in give good advice, and if the advice to good not pays 'For, if the advice he gives pays off, it has no other vantages than people saying he did his dues in giving good advice, and if the advice does not pay off...' (CdeLuc, 120805/120806)
- 2. hon ma frialsa hon ma bœta honum ef hon vill hon ma vera *dauði hans*. ef hon **sua illa** vill. she can free she can cure him is she will. she can be death his if she so bad will "She can free him she can cure him if she will. She can be his death if she has such evil desires" (Strengleikar, 222824, 222825)

In both examples we can see that the adverbial expression is an anaphor referring to previous expressions (in italics). In Old Spanish the expression is identical (*a bien*), while in Old Norwegian the reference is to his death (*dauði hans*). We argue that the fronted element is discourse subordinated as in Asher and Vieu (2005), and moves to satisfy an anaphoric feature in the sense of López (2009).

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