

Left peripheral *so* in Early New High German narratives.

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This study investigates the status of the left peripheral *so* as a resumptive element in Early New High German narratives and evaluates an analysis of *so* as a marker of a shift in frame-setting.

- (1a) *Ist is sin wille so sterben wir*
Is it his will so die we
'If it is his wish, we will die.'
(Pontus)
- (1b) *vnd nachdem als der twerg geblasen hait, so sol komen*
and after when the dwarf blown has so will come
vß dem pavelin ein alte jungfer
out the tent an old damsel
'and after the dwarf has blown, a damsel will come out of the tent.'
(Pontus)
- (1c) *darumb so hab ich Thüring von Ringgeltingen (...) ein zemal*
therefore so have I Thüring of Ringoltingen (...) a particularly
selczame vnd auch gar wunderliche fremde hystoryen funden
unusual and also quite wondrous strange story found
'therefore, I, Thüring von Ringoltingen (...), have found a particularly unusual and
quite wondrously strange story.'
(Melusine)

Left peripheral *so* was more productive in Early New High German (henceforth: *ENHG*) than it is in Present-Day German (Thim-Mabrey 1987). Not only did *so* occur with conditional clauses (1a) and concessives – contexts in which it can be used nowadays (Catasso 2021, 31–32) – it also followed adverbial clauses with other functions, e.g., following temporal adverbial clauses (1b), and is, remarkably, even attested following short adverbs (1c).

The most thorough account of *ENHG so* is Thim-Mabrey (1987), who discusses in-depth the various uses of *so*. Building on data presented in this work, Meklenborg (2020) analyzes *so* as a generalized resumptive particle, which does not require semantic unity with its antecedent. However, while resumptives are often thought of as facilitating processing (e.g., Links, Van Kemenade & Grondelaers 2017), it is not immediately clear why light adverbs, like in (1c) would combine with such an element: *darumb* is short and is seemingly resumed immediately, cf. resumption in e.g., simplifying left dislocation constructions (Prince 1997). Moreover, the potential semantic mismatch between *so* and its antecedent

raises further questions concerning its interpretation as a resumptive. Therefore, other explanations for its use are worth investigating.

In the modern Scandinavian languages, a relative of *so* – *så* – is likewise found following short adverbs, e.g., *Efter så åkte vi hem och hyrde en film* (Bloggmix 2008) ‘After, we went home and rented a movie’. Here, it has been analyzed as an element indicating topic-shift or ‘new point of departure’ (Nordström 2010; Eide 2011). While such an analysis is not directly transferable to Early New High German, left-peripheral *so* does regularly occur with frame-setting adverbials, comparable to Middle High German (Catasso 2021, 25). This is illustrated with (1c), which is preceded by a section about Aristotle who is quoted to have said that every human wishes to know a lot about nature. The message of this quote is put forward as the purpose for finding a story, by the frame-setting adverb *darumb* combined with *so* in the prefield of the clause.

Based on data from ten narrative texts – Pontus und Sidonia (1450), Melusine (1456), Wigalois (1472), Wilhelm (1481), Tristrant und Isalde (1484), Huce Scheppel (1500), Fortunatus (1509), Magelone (1527), Goldener Esel (1538), and Rollwagenbüchlein (1555) – this study presents on the one hand a quantitative picture of the different uses of *so* in ENHG based on a larger data set than has before. With this, the productivity of ENHG *so* can also be quantified. On the other hand, the study provides a qualitative evaluation of the status of *so* in the ENHG left periphery as a sign of a shift in frame-setting.

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