Chapter 3

Structuring the narrative with preposed adverbial clauses: A study of the German and Dutch Ponthus adaptations

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This study investigates the use of preposed adverbial clauses in the Early New High German and Dutch adaptations of *Ponthus et la belle Sidoine*. The focus lies on so-called resumptive constructions, that is, on adverbial clauses followed by *so/soo* or by a temporal adverb (e.g., *da* 'then'). The study shows that the choice between these resumptive constructions correlates with a distinction between mimesis and diegesis and that they are associated with different narrative speed.

For German, adverbial clauses that are followed by *so* tend to occur in scenes and are associated with isochrony, whereas those followed by the temporal adverb *da* 'then' occur in summaries and are used to continue the story. This is correlated with the type of adverbial clauses that occur in the constructions: The prototypical protasis-apodosis construction – V1 clause + *so* – is more dominant in dialogues, whereas a temporal adverbial clause with *da* tends to occur in summary.

The same tendency is visible for Dutch, albeit weaker. This is explained, as the temporal resumptive construction, which was dominant in German, is primarily replaced by non-resumed adverbial clauses. These constructions are similarly preferred in diegetic parts of the discourse that progress the story.

1 Introduction

This study investigates the use of adverbial V3 patterns in the Early New High German (GE) and Dutch (DU) adaptations of the Ponthus. The primary focus lies on preposed adverbial clauses (henceforth PAC) followed by *so/soo* (1a) or

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by a temporal adverb (e.g., *da* 'then') (1b), known as resumptive or correlative constructions (e.g., Pittner 1999, Meklenborg 2020, Axel-Tober 2023).

(1) a. *ob sie noch kein man haitt* ***so*** *wil ich einen man mittbringen*
if she not.yet no man has.SBJV SO want I a man with.bring
'If she does not yet have a man, I will bring a man with me.'
[GE, 119va]

b. *Da ir glenen waren zu Brochen* ***da*** *zugen sie die swert*
then.CNJ their lances were to broken TEMP drew they the swords
'When their lances had broken, they drew the swords.' [GE, 66va]

A terminological note: With *so* and *da* I will refer to their preverbal use as illustrated above, namely following adverbial clauses and preceding the finite verb of the host sentence, unless otherwise specified. With TEMP, I refer to the use of temporal adverbs in the prefield following PACs, including *da*.

In Present-Day German, *so* and *da* are associated with different registers: *so* after adverbial clauses is found in formal, written register, whereas *da* is found after adverbial clauses in spoken, colloquial language (Condoyannis 1944, Weinert 2007, Catasso 2021). If this distribution was a continuation of a historical situation, one would expect to find *da* primarily in parts of the text that imitate spoken language in earlier stages of German, whereas *so* would be the more prevalent construction in more formal segments. What we find is that the constructions, in fact, statistically correlate with a distinction between mimesis (*μίμησις* from *μιμεῖσθαι* 'to imitate'), where characters' speech is imitated, and diegesis (*διήγησις* from *διηγεῖσθαι* 'to narrate'), narrated segments. However, the results point in the opposite direction: PACs that are followed by *so* tend to occur in mimetic segments, whereas constructions with *da* occur primarily in diegetic parts of the text. To understand this and to explain the distribution of the patterns in the text, the study evaluates the role of narrative speed (e.g., Genette 1983[1980], Packard 2008). Specifically, it is argued that, although constructions statistically correlate with a distinction between mimesis and diegesis, this is better accounted for in terms of narrative speed (e.g., Genette 1983[1980], Packard 2008).

Mimesis in narrative prose is found in segments of direct speech. These sections are associated with isochrony, namely the simultaneous progression of story time (i.e., the events that are reported) and narration time (i.e., the reporting of the events). Differently, in diegetic segments, the events of the story are often presented by the narrator as narrative summaries. The events of the story unravel more rapidly than the narration event in these sections. As such, narrative summaries continue the story at a higher pace.

The results show that *da* is associated with narrative summary, whereas *so* occurs in segments in which the story progresses more slowly. This is correlated with the type of PACs that occur in the constructions: The V1-conditional clause, introducing alternative events, is more dominant in dialogues and strongly associated with *so*, whereas temporal clauses – normally combined with *da* – tend to occur in narrative summary.

A comparison with the Dutch adaptation of the Ponthus finds a similar tendency in Dutch, although the effect is weaker: *Soo* occurs with sentences that introduce alternative events and is associated with isochrony, whereas temporal adverbs are found in narrative summaries. This is illustrated in (2a) and (2b).

(2) a. *kinderen is dat sake dat ghi niet steruen en wilt* ***soo*** *blijft hier binnen*
children is that sake that you not die NEG want SO stay here inside
'Children, if you do not want to die, stay here inside.' [DU, A3ra]

b. *Als hi dat hoorde* ***terstont*** *dede hy hem brenghen eten ende drincken.*
when he that heard TEMP did he them bring food and drink
'When he heard that, he immediately let food and drink be brought for them.' [DU, A3vb]

The weaker effect in Dutch is primarily due to a decreased use of the correlative structure with a temporal adverb that is highly frequent in German, however. This becomes apparent once other configurations with PACs are taken into consideration. Particularly relevant are PACs that are followed by a subject (viz. the juxtaposition of the PAC) and those that are directly adjacent to finite verb of the host (typically the integration of the PAC into the host). These patterns are illustrated for Dutch in (3a) and (3b) respectively.

(3) a. *ist dattet pontus verneemt* ***hi salt*** *wel beletten*
is.it that.it Ponthus perceived he will.it DISC prevent
'If Ponthus learns from it, he will prevent it.' [DU, j2ra]

b. *Als landri dat vernam* ***hief*** *hy op sijn swaert*
when Landry that perceived heaved he up his sword
'When Landry learned of this, he raised his sword.' [DU, f1vb]

What we will see is that the dominant realizations of PACs in the German Ponthus are not the same as in the Dutch text, where juxtaposition and integration are more prevalent. In particular, where German uses *da* in narrative summaries, integration is the dominant strategy to realize PACs in narrative summaries in Dutch.

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 broadly discusses the role of diegesis and mimesis in narrative prose and the connection to narrative speed. In Section 3, I introduce the texts from which the data is extracted, the data collection process, the annotation, and the statistical methods used in this paper. Section 4 presents the analysis of the two correlative constructions in German and in Dutch, discussing first the relation to diegesis and mimesis and subsequently the relation to narrative speed. Section 5 elaborates on other constructions with PACs. Section 6 concludes this contribution.

2 Style, voice, and speed in narrative prose

This section first introduces mimesis, diegesis, and extradiegesis as different narrative styles in Section 2.1 and relates this to the concept of voice. Thereafter, narrative style is related to narrative speed in Section 2.2.

2.1 Mimesis, diegesis, and extradiegesis

The distinction between mimesis and diegesis, originally introduced by Plato, has been subject to a long tradition in which the concepts themselves and the relation between them have been interpreted and analyzed in many ways. In essence, the idea is that there is a difference between imitation (mimesis) and narration (diegesis). This distinction in style holds beyond prose text across other media, as can, for example, be seen in film (Chatman 1978). I will focus on narrative prose, focusing on and adopting de Jong's (2004) interpretation of Plato's classification.

First, I deem it useful to define what is meant with *story*, *narration* and *text* and to introduce these layers, as these terms have been used with (partially) overlapping definitions. I here follow Bal (2009[1985]) and de Jong (2004) in much of the narratological definitions and methodologies. The *story* denotes the events that are being told. These events do not necessarily have to be temporally ordered, but they have been organized and interpreted in some way.[1] The *narration* is the telling of the events, and the *text* is the result of this telling event.

[1]The story is the result of the focalization of the *fabula*, which is the logically or chronologically connected sequence of events (Bal 2009[1985], de Jong 2004). The layer of the *fabula* will not be central in the later analysis and will therefore not be introduced here.

Stories told by literary means are always mediated by a narrator (Fludernik 1993: 28) and thus literary texts are entirely achieved by diegesis, i.e., they are the product of narration, of telling (de Jong 2004: 2–3). When talking about mimesis as a component of literary narrative texts, this additional layer of the narrator – which may be absent in other media – consequently complicates its definition. Plato and Aristotle analyzed speeches in a different way than the rest of the text. Plato views this as a distinction between mimesis and non-mimesis. He identifies *diegesis haple* (single narration), in which the poet speaks as himself, and *mimesis*, in which the poet impersonates a character. Aristotle, in contrast, seems to make a distinction between the poet speaking in first person as the poet (in for example the preface of a text) and the poet speaking as a narrator. The latter is considered to be mimetic by Aristotle, only the former is non-mimetic according to him. In Plato's division, both would fall under *diegesis haple* (de Jong 2004: 6–8, 38).

Plato has the more restricted application of the concept of mimesis, which I will follow here. However, since he did not distinguish between narrator and poet, a slight modification is in order. Therefore, I here assume that the narrator speaking as the narrator, i.e., as itself, is diegetic, whereas the narrator speaking as a character is mimetic.

Both mimesis and diegesis can be illustrated by means of the example in (4). The first sentence of the example presents a diegetic segment. The external narrator, who is not a character in the story, recounts an event. In contrast, character text – as presented in quotation marks in (4) – is considered to be mimetic.

(4) Loki went to their underground forge. "Hello, sons of Ivaldi. I have asked around, and people here tell me that Brokk and Eitri, his brother, are the greatest dwarf craftsmen there are or have been," said Loki.
(Gaiman 2017: 54)

Technically, the quoted sentence is uttered by the same narrator as in the previous sentence. He imitates the voice of one of the characters, i.e., of Loki, and the events are told as if was the narrator. As such, the answer to the question "who speaks?" is dual: Both the narrator and the character can be heard. Without going into much detail, this is possible due to the different layers a narration is build of (Bal 2009[1985]) and the character's voice is embedded within that of the narrator. For simplicity's sake, I will speak of a character's voice in such cases.

Cases of indirect speech are, following de Jong (2004) but contrary to Genette (1980[1972]), taken to be diegetic, because it is the narrator speaking as narrator. The crucial distinction between indirect speech and other segments of diegesis

lies in a difference in the embedded focalization (de Jong 2004: 255), namely a difference in who sees, orders and interprets. In those cases, it is the perspective of one of the characters being filtered and voiced by the narrator without imitating a character.

I recognize that prefaces are different in some way. In the prose, they do not typically present the events of the story but comment on it and give context to the creation of the manuscript. Such instances in which the narrator speaks but does not narrate the story may also be found in parts other than the preface. An example is given in (5).

(5) There. That is the story of the mead of poetry and how it was given to the world. It is a story filled with dishonor and deceit, with murder and trickery. But it is not quite the whole story. There is one more thing to tell you. The delicate among you should stop your ears, or read no further.
(Gaiman 2017: 151)

Here, the events of the story do not come into play. Instead, the narrator evaluates the developments in the story that were just presented and comments on the structure of the narration. As such the "narrative level (...) is external to that of the world represented in the primary narrative" (Pier 1986: 211). In such cases, we speak of an extradiegetic segment.

In sum, the distinguishing factor between mimesis and diegesis haple – in the rest of the paper referred to as diegesis – is who speaks: Technically, if there is embedded character narration within the external narrator that we find in the Ponthus, we speak of mimesis. In the other cases, the narrator speaks in his own voice. These are mostly segments of diegesis but may also be cases of extradiegesis, in which not the story itself but something else is presented.

2.2 Narrative speed

The different styles of narration are associated with differences in narrative speed (e.g Genette 1980[1972], 1983[1980], Packard 2008). I will here first discuss the definition of narrative speed adopted in this paper and relate it to the notions of mimesis, diegesis, and extradiegesis.

The speed at which the story progresses in relation to the narration can vary, resulting in different velocities. This is what is presently understood by narrative speed. Genette (1980[1972]: 95) distinguishes primarily between four relations between story time (ST) and narration time (NT):

(i) Pause, in which NT continues, but ST halts (NT $\infty >$ ST);

(ii) Scene, in which NT and ST coincide (NT = ST);
(iii) Summary, in which NT passes more quickly than ST (NT < ST); and
(iv) Ellipsis, in which ST is not represented in NT (NT < ∞ ST).

The theoretically possible stretch (NT > ST) is not canonically used, as slowing down of the narration is typically done by means of pauses (Genette 1980[1972]: 93–112).

Of course, this is a rather simplified representation of narrative speed (Packard 2008, Kukkonen 2020), but assuming that the base-line of isochrony is the dialogue, this categorical division suffices for the purposes of this paper. In fact, ellipsis will not be relevant, as this results in an absence of linguistic structure. Thus, we are left with a three-part division: pause, scene, and summary.

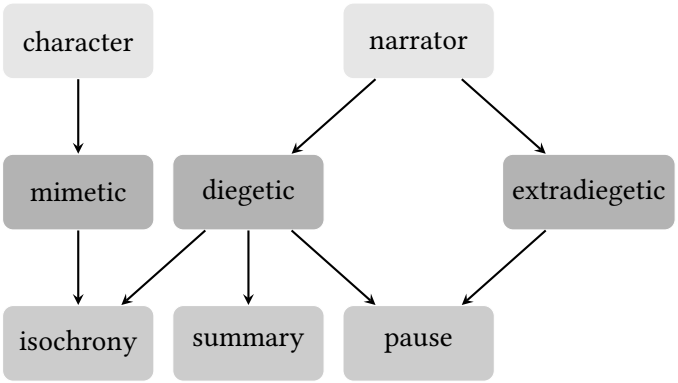

Figure 1: Narrative style and narrative speed in the Ponthus adaptations

The connection between the different narrative styles and the narrative speed is visualized in Figure 1. In the Ponthus adaptations that will be discussed, a text segment is either the product of a narration by an external but present narrator (i.e., homodiegetic), or by a character (and narrator). If the character is speaking, i.e., in case of mimesis, narration and story time coincide, and we speak of isochrony. This is illustrated by the direct speech in (4).

Whenever the narrator is speaking, the situation becomes more complex, as what is being narrated can either be the story or something outside of the story; the style can then be either diegetic or extradiegetic. Segments of extradiegesis pause the story, as was illustrated in (5), but segments of diegesis may constitute a pause or a summary. Example (6) illustrates this alternation nicely. The segment starts with a description, as a state of affairs, which does not temporally progress the story but still concerns it – a diegetic pause. With the introduction of the

explicit temporal adverbial *over time*, the story temporally progresses, and a part of the story that must have taken centuries, if not millennia, is narrated in one sentence – a summary.

(6) Between Muspell and Niflheim was a void, an empty place of nothingness, without form. The rivers of the mist world flowed into the void, which was called Ginnungagap, the "yawning gap". **Over time** beyond measure, these posed rivers, in the region between fire and mist, slowly solidified into huge glaciers. (Gaiman 2017: 10)

Finally, diegetic segments may be isochronous, or very close to the temporal progression of the story in mimesis. Segments of indirect speech and free indirect speech may very closely mimic the words of a character, while the deictic origo and the voice do not lie with the character but the narrator. This is illustrated in (7), where the question closely imitates the presumed words of the man in the audience, yet the personal pronouns signal that this discourse segment is here spoken by the narrator.

(7) A man in the audience with a misshapen leg stood up and challenged her: was she seriously suggesting that the restoration of her legs was comparable to the loss of his wife? (Chiang 2002: 130)

In sum, mimesis is isochronous, diegesis is found with a variety of velocities, and extradiegesis pauses the story. The particular application of these categories to the current data will be discussed in Section 3.3.

3 Methodology

Prior to the analysis, this section concerns the methodology used in the present study. The texts under investigation are presented in Section 3.1. The collection of the data is explained in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 discusses the annotation of the data, and Section 3.4 mentions the statistical methods used.

3.1 The texts

The data used in the current study originate from a German and a Dutch reworking of the originally French prose text *Ponthus et la belle Sidonie*. The German rendering, specifically the Rhine Franconian Fassung B manuscript, originates in the second half of the 15th century, before 1474 (Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2019: 25). Schneider (1961: 28) suggests that the translation dates from somewhere between

1455 and 1470. The author is unknown. The edition that is used here is a diplomatic transcription of *Pontus und Sidonia Tandareis und Flordibel* – BSB Cgm 577 made within the DFG project "Wortstellung und Diskursstruktur in der Frühen Neuzeit" (Bloom et al. 2024). This is the same handwriting that underlies the modernized transcription by Schneider (1961). The Dutch version dates from 1564 and was printed in Antwerp by Niclaes vanden Wouwere and is signed by Philips de Lens. The used edition is the diplomatic transcription by Kuiper & Brüggeman (2010[1564]). Sporadically, I will also refer to the first printed edition of the French version, which dates from 1479 in Geneva (Besamusca & Willaert 2019: 75) and has been made available online by Gallica, the online library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Very briefly, the tale is about Ponthus, a very virtuous son of a king. We follow his adventures and the war of the Christians against the heathen kingdoms. He falls in love with Sidoine, but he faces many obstacles before he can finally be with her. The story is highly moralistic and focuses on the virtues a good Christian should have, which are embodied by Ponthus and Sidoine. For a full summary of the plot see Classen (2016: 549–551). Note that his paper concerns a different adaptation of the text than the ones discussed in the current paper. Although the names of the protagonists are quite different, it concerns the same main events.

Importantly, the narrative focuses on Ponthus but includes different, smaller strands focusing on others. These strands do not serve immediately to progress the main story, i.e., the adventures of Ponthus, but happen parallel to it and aid the development of other characters. As such, the story is multi-stranded and shifts perspectives with explicit transitions like *Nv laten wy te spreken vanden .xiiij. kinderen ende comen tot den ridder diese versonden hadde metten schepe ter zee waert* [DU, A4ra] and *NV lassen wir die xiiij kynder vff dem mere farn vnd sprechen vorbaß von dem Ritter der sie ernert vnd dar gefertiget hette* [GE, 5ra].[2] This can be seen in a diachronic perspective, as the shift from a single to multiple plot-lines is likely related to the development from the oral narrative tradition to written prose (Fludernik 2003, Zeman 2023).

Though the German and Dutch Ponthus both portray the same story, they are of different lengths and vary in the speed in which the story progresses. In particular, the present German adaptation has a drastically increased amount of

[2] A similar pattern to 'now we leave X and come to Y' is often found in transitions and is attested in the French print as well, e.g., *Si laisseray icy a parler des quatorze enfans / et retourneray au cheualier qui les auoit mis dedansla nef.* [FR, 11l].

direct discourse in comparison to other versions (Phinney 1962: 959).[3] Additionally, narrative sequences are embellished as well but to a lesser degree than the dialogues (Schneider 1961: 19–26). Therefore, the text is quite long and the story progresses rather slowly at times. In the Dutch adaptation, the extradiegetic comments of the narrator are manifold. They halt the progression of the story, often in order to explicitly address issues of morality.

3.2 Data collection

The first data set contains all PACs that are followed by *so(o)* or TEMP in preverbal position in the German and Dutch Ponthus, as for example (1a) and (1b) for German and in (2a) and (2b) for Dutch. They were manually extracted from the text. This data set contains 327 observations, 276 from German and 51 of Dutch. The second data set is an expansion of the former and contains all PACs that are preposed to clauses that are not introduced by a complementizer. That is, I do not consider constructions as in (8a), where the PAC is preposed to the complement clause to *globen* 'promise', because this complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *das*. Such clauses have their finite verb at the end of the clause.

(8) a. *Da must er ir globen wan yme got gehulffe Das er sins*
then must he her promise if/when him God help.SBJV that he his
vatter konigrich gewonne ***das*** *er dan wider zu ir kommen* ***solt***
father's kingdom win.SBJV **that** he then again to her come **should**
'Then he had to promise her that he would come back to her when God would have helped him to win his father's kingdom.' [GE, 85rb]

b. *vnd beschiet sie wan sie qwemen zu der statt so* ***solten***
and instructed them if/when they come.SBJV to the city SO **should**
sie guden kauff geben
they goods sell give
'And instructed them that they should present goods to sell when they would come to the city.' [GE, 2rb]

I include cases in which a dependent clause does not contain a complementizer, such as the complement clause to *beschiet* in (8b), where the verb occurs early in the sentence/clause. In cases where it was unclear whether the initial clause was an adverbial or an independent main clause after consideration of the wider

[3]Though, since it is uncertain which French manuscript the translator has used, it is possible that the additions were made initially by a French scribe.

context, the sentence was not included in the data set. An example is presented in (9).

(9) *hebben wi goet betrouwen op hem hi sal ons wel helpen*
have we good faith on him he will us DISC help
'Let us have good faith in him. He will help us.' *Alternatively,* 'If we have good faith in him, he will help us.' [DU, A3vb]

In total, the texts contained 784 PACs, 427 in the German and 357 in the Dutch Ponthus. The more restricted data set, with only the correlative patterns, contains 327 clauses, 276 German and 51 Dutch ones.

3.3 Annotation

The full data set was annotated for a number of variables, which will be presented here.

The response variable is the element (besides the adverbial clause) in the prefield (LP), which could be empty (–), the element *so* (*so*), a subject (*subj*), a temporal adverb/*da* (*temp*), or another constituent (*other*) in the full data set. Note that an empty prefield does not necessarily mean that the PAC is integrated. This also depends on the structure assumed for the host. For example, the prefield of imperatives is typically empty. Hence, if the PAC combines with one, it is not likely to be syntactically integrated. This is exemplified in (10a). Nevertheless, it is possible to have a preverbal element with imperatives (e.g., Ebert et al. 1993: 432; Müller 2015: 1450); seeing that there is an optional slot, the PAC in (10a) *could* be argued to be integrated. Furthermore, a prefield can also not be generally assumed for Early New High German independent main clauses, since V1 declaratives were widespread (Ebert et al. 1993: 431f. Demske 2018: 145). Thus, one can also not be certain that the PAC in (10b) is syntactically integrated. For this reason, I have simply encoded the adjacency of the PAC and finite verb instead of integration.

(10) a. *Jst das ir sie zornig sehent* ***machent*** *sie zu freden mit gutten*
is that you her spiteful see make her to peace with good
dogenden
deeds
'If you see her spiteful, make her content through good deeds.'
[GE, 127vb]

b. *Da sie zwo is lange wyle angedreben druckten sie ir*
then.CNJ they two it long while continued pressed they their
augen
eyes
'When the two of them had continued it for a long time, they dried their tears.' [GE, 59vb]

The situation is different in 16th century Dutch which did not have V1 main clauses, and the Ponthus only contains one case in which the PAC is directly adjacent to a finite verb in the imperative. This is exemplified in (11a). Note that this is represented with a similar construction in the German text (10a) and in the French print (11b). As such, the adjacency of the PAC and the finite verb may be due to transfer. Therefore, there is no direct evidence in the Dutch Ponthus of potentially unintegrated PACs when PAC and finite verb are adjacent.

(11) a. *Jst dat ghise te onureden siet* ***steltse*** *te vreden met*
is.it that you.her to unhappiness sees make.her to peace with
duechdelike woorden
virtuous words
'In case you see her unhappy, make her content through virtuous words.' [DU, n4ra]

b. *et se vous la voyez courroucee* ***appaisez*** *la par courtoysie*
and so you her see furious appease her through courtesy
'And if you see her furious, appease her through courtesy.' [FR, 119r]

In sum, the direct adjacency of the PAC and the finite verb of the host is thought to be reflective of the integration of the PAC into the host sentence in the Dutch Ponthus but not in the German text.

3.3.1 Who speaks?

The operationalization of mimesis and diegesis is encoded by annotating whether the utterance was spoken by a character (*char*) or by the narrator (*narr*). In the cases where the narrator comments are extradiegetic, there were labelled (*narr_ex*). Since this is infrequent, this falls under the narrator speaking for the statistical analysis.[4] (See Section 2.1.)

[4] In total, only six sentences were extradiegetic, five of which were found in the Dutch text with a subject following. Since they were few, these cases will not be further discussed separately in the paper.

There are a couple of sentences in the data set for which the categorization was not as clear-cut. Especially the boundary between indirect speech, direct speech and extradiegesis is not always easily distinguishable. In ambiguous case, I have chosen the most likely interpretation given the context. In one case, there seems to be a shift from character to narrator. This sentence is presented below (12) and full glosses and a translation are given in the Appendix. The segment starts with indirect speech. This is identifiable by third person pronoun *sie* with the plural verb *wolten*, which indicates that *sie* refers to the speakers. Yet, the verb mood shifts from subjunctive to indicative in the last sentence. This suggests that the independent clause at the end of this segment is direct or free indirect speech (Demske 2019). The present tense of this final sentence (*ist*) is also reflected in the PAC by *kompt*, but the main clause shows a tense shift to preterite (*wart*). This is indicative of at least a shift of the deictic origo from the story-now to the narration-now. This probably coincides with a shift in voice from the characters' to the narrator's.

(12) *Sie sprachen da were vil abe zu sagen Dan siner schonheit weydelicheit vnd sins gutten gelaß were nit me in der werlt als sie wol gleuben wolten williche frauwe oder jungffrauwe yne zu bolen mochte haben da ist kein rede in Sie mocht wol berummen das sie den schonsten den besten den wol kommesten vnd den aller lustigesten frunt hette der da lebt vnd schon ist sin jugent* ***kompt er also inn das alter so wart sin gliche nie me ersehen*** *das ist vngezwiuelt die rechte warheit* [GE, 16rb]

This particular instance is removed from further analysis.

In the vast majority of cases, the context and the verbal morphology indicated clearly whether the narrator's or a character's voice is heard.

3.3.2 Narrative speed

The data was additionally coded for narrative speed (NARR.SP). In dialogues, story time and narration time are taken to coincide, so that one may speak of isochrony (*iso*). Segments of indirect speech where it is likely that the character's speech is presented as elaborate as if it were direct speech are annotated as isochronous as well. When narration time is slower than story time, the sentence is classified as a summary (*sum*), and pauses in story time while the discourse is continued, both diegetically and extradiegetically, are annotated as *pause* (see Section 2.2.).

In some cases, one sentence pertains to more than one level of narration. If the PAC and the host differ in this regard, the sentence is labeled *shift*, as in (13a). The

PAC summarizes the events of the story, but the host sentence is an extradiegetic comment by the narrator, thus pausing the narration of the story.

(13) a. *Als sidonie dit hoorde men derf niet vragen of si ontstelt*
when Sidoine this heard one dares not ask if she distraught
wert van herten
was of heart
'When Sidoine heared this, one dares not ask if she was sick at heart.' [DU, e1va]

b. *Doen pontus den sarazijn versleghen hadde ende dat hooft den*
then.CNJ Ponthus the Saracen defeated had and the head the
Eedelingen gegeuen hadde om dat sijt haren conick presenteren
noblemen given had to that they.it their king present
*souden **als ghy nu ghehoort hebt** sloech hi sijn paert met sporen*
should as you now heard have hit he his horse with spurs
'When Ponthus had defeated the Saracen and had given the head to the noblemen to present it to their king, **as you have now heard**, he spurred his horse on.' [DU, c3rb-c3va]

Whenever another embedded clause reflects a similar shift, this is ignored. For example, the *als*-clause in (13b), pauses the narrative as the narrator addresses his audience directly. The remainder of the utterance is a narrative summary, continuing the telling of the story. As the *als*-clause is a dependent clause within the preposed adverbial, the change is not annotated.

(14) *gebe er yme alle die werlt er neme ir nit vor sin dochter*
gives.SBJV he him al the world he take.SBJV he not for his daughter
'Even if he would give him the entire world, he wouldn't take it over his daughter.' [GE, 114vb]

As mentioned in Section 2.2, segments of indirect speech can be classified as (nearly) isochronous when the indirect speech is a close reflection of the words of a character, as for example in (14). Whenever the narrator summarizes what would have been a more elaborate monologue or dialogue, the segment is considered to be a summary.

3.3.3 Type of PAC

Finally, the type of PAC was coded. This is approximated by the element that introduces the PAC, conjunction or adverb, or the verb-initial position in the case

of unintroduced PACs. This variable is encoded in order to see whether the above discussed narrative functions are reflected in or can be reduced to more local relations between PAC and host-sentence.

3.4 Statistical methods

The *p*-values and residuals resulting from Pearson's χ^2-test will be reported for simple frequency table. When the amount of data was insufficient, the *p*-values from Fisher's exact test will be reported instead.

To rank the importance of the three annotated variables, "who speaks", narrative speed, and the type of PAC, I use random forests and variable importance measures. For illustrative purposes, I present conditional inference trees. The "party-package" and the functions CFOREST, VARIMP and CTREE are used to model these (Hothorn et al. 2006, Strobl et al. 2007, 2008). All modeling was done in R (R Core Team 2023).

4 Adverbial V3 with *so(o)* and TEMP

Why would *da* and *so* be associated with mimesis vs. diegesis? In Present-Day German, temporal correlatives (*dann, da*) are associated with the spoken domain, and resumption with *so* is restricted to the written, formal register (Catasso 2021, Axel-Tober 2023). Working with the assumption that segments of direct discourse are more reflective of spoken language, since the language of (fictional) persons is imitated, and that segments of diegesis are representative of more formal language (Oksefjell Ebeling & Ebeling 2020), one would expect *so* to be more dominant in diegetic segments of the narration and TEMP in mimetic parts. If this Present-Day German distinction has historical foundation, we would expect this to be the case for earlier stages of German as well.

Table 1: Who speaks and *so* & TEMP in the German Ponthus

	character		narrator		
	raw	(χ^2-residuals)	raw	(χ^2-residuals)	total
so	78	(7.69)	33	(-5.05)	111
TEMP	5	(-6.32)	159	(4.16)	164
total	83		192		275

It turns out that the opposite is true, as can be seen in Table 1. The data indicate that there is a distinction between *so* and *da* in the prefield, which is significant with $p < 0.001$. The residuals in Table 1 show that each cell has an effect, as the residual is outside of the range -1.96 to 1.96, meaning that the specific combination either occurs less or more than expected. Thus, it can be concluded that *so* occurs considerably more often than expected in character direct speech segments and less often when the narrator speaks in the German Ponthus. The results indicate that the opposite is true for TEMP, which occurs more often than expected with the narrator's voice. What should be additionally noted is that all except one of the TEMPs is *da/do*, as exemplified in (15).

(15) *Do* *er* *lange in dem walde geging sich* *zu bedencken in diesen sachen*
then.CNJ he long in the forest went REFL to ponder in these things
die *yme wieder faren* *weren* ***zu lest*** *fant* *er* *einen schonen*
that him again happened were **to latest** found he a beautiful
anslag
placard
'When he had went into the forest for a long time to ponder about these things that happened to him, finally he found a beautiful placard.'
[GE, 38va–38vb]

There is thus not much variation with regard to the types of temporal elements that can occur preverbally after PACs. In other words, it is not a productive schema but a lexically specific construction.

The findings for German thus point in the opposite direction than what was expected: Contrary to the hypothesis, *so* is associated with mimetic segments and *da* with non-mimetic ones in German. Dutch, however, has not recruited one specific adverb as a temporal resumptive. Instead, a variety of temporal adverbs is attested following an PAC in the Dutch Ponthus: *doen* 'then', *nemmermeer* 'nevermore', *rechtevoort* 'forthwidth', and *terstont* 'immediately'. Second, the overall frequency of TEMPs following a PAC is considerably lower in comparison to *so* than in German (3.08% vs. 38.41% of all PACs).

As the frequencies for the Dutch data are low, a Fisher's Exact test verifies that the voice distinction is significant (Dutch: $p = 0.002$). That an overwhelming number of the PACs are followed by *so(o)* and not by TEMP in direct speech is also true for Dutch, as can be seen in Table 2. Dutch diverges from German, however, in that it does not show a strong preference for TEMP in narrator text.

The results point in one of two directions: Either correlatives were not in the same way associated with different registers as in Present-Day German, or the

Table 2: The distribution of *so(o)* and TEMP with respect to voice

	so(o)	TEMP	total
German: character	93.98%	6.02%	83
German: narrator	17.19%	82.81%	192
Dutch: character	93.55%	6.45%	31
Dutch: narrator	55.00%	45.00%	20

dialogues in the Ponthus are not reflective of spoken language (see for a similar point on direct speech in Old English Louviot 2016). Investigating this is left for other studies. In any case, the data suggest that the two segments of discourse are distinctive so that the realization of the prefield shows different preferences. The unexpectedness of the results require an explanation. As mentioned earlier, direct discourse has been traditionally considered to be the temporal baseline, in which narrative and story time are taken to be isochronous. As such, when a character speaks, the story develops steadily but rather slowly. Differently, when the narrator speaks, the progression of the events in the story may be halted, go faster than the discourse, or there may be a shift between the PAC and the following clause. Due to this connection between 'who speaks' and narrative speed, it can be hypothesized that the observed difference in Table 2 is in fact an artifact of narrative speed. *so* would then be associated with isochrony or an overall slower pace of narration, whereas temporal adverbs might be associated with segments in which the evens of the story unfold comparatively rapidly in German, or with no particular narrative speed in Dutch.

If this is the case, the occurrence of *so* in segments of the story spoken by the narrator should be of a slower pace (i.e., pauses) than temporal adverbs, which should be found within narrative summaries. This seems indeed to be the case. (16a) illustrates one of the examples of *so* in the narrator voice and (16b) of *da* in a segment of direct speech.

(16) a. Context: No-one ever hears him vow more than "It is like that" in good faith.
vnd so er dure sweren solt so sprach er (...)
and so he dearly swear should so sprach er (...)
'And whenever he had to vow dearly, he said (...).' [GE, 9va]

b. *Vnd do ich gewar wart das er erslagen was Da det ich*
and then.CNJ I aware became that he defeated was TEMP did I

myner jungffrauwen rock einen an
my lady's tunic one on
'And when I became aware that he had been defeated, I put on one of my lady's tunics.' [GE, 106rb]

The segment in (16a) is a rather straightforward case of description: The narrator describes Ponthus and all his positive traits. In such segments, the temporal progression of the story is halted.

In (16b), the queen is speaking to Ponthus and the sequence PAC + *da* is used. In this segment, which comes relatively late in the narration (106rb), both Ponthus and the reader learn about what has happened to the queen when the city was invaded and she was separated from Ponthus, which happens at the beginning of the text (2vb). The segment has a retrospective function and summarizes the events from a different perspective, thereby progressing the story rapidly.

The question is now whether this observation can be statistically supported. Table 3 presents the proportions of the two patterns with the different velocities.

Table 3: *so* and TEMP and narrative speed in narrator speech

	so(o)	TEMP	total
German: pause	100%	0%	6
German: isochrony	94.74%	5.26%	19
German: summary	5.06%	94.94%	158
German: shift	11.11%	88.89%	9
Dutch: pause	0%	100%	1
Dutch: isochrony	100%	0%	2
Dutch: shift	100%	0%	2
Dutch: summary	46.67%	53.33%	15

For German, the prediction is indeed borne out, albeit with a low frequency of pauses and shifts ($p < 0.001$). *So* occurs more frequently with a slower pace (isochrony & pause) than TEMP. Since the Dutch PACs with *so* or a temporal adverb are only represented by one instance of a pause and two of a shift and isochrony, no conclusion can be drawn.

These results indicate that, at least for the German data, narrative speed is a better explanation for the distinction between *so* and TEMP than voice: Parts of the narrative that are voiced by the narrator occur with *so* when they progress the story slowly (isochrony and pause).

Finally, the type of PAC is correlated with the element that resumes it. That is, certain PACs seem to be associated with *so*, whereas others have a tendency to be followed by *da*. PACs that are introduced by the typically temporal but also possibly causal conjunction *da* are also combined with *da* and not by *so*, see (17a). Differently, V1-clauses, which typically express conditionality, are almost always followed by *so*, as in (17b).

(17) a. *Da messe gesongen was Da ging man in den sale*
then.CNJ mass sung was TEMP went one in the hall
'When mass had been sung, then they went into the hall.' [GE, 51rb]

b. *wolt ir yne sehen so wil ich yne uch bringen*
wanted you him see so want I him you bring
'If you wanted to see him, I will bring him to you.' [GE, 11ra]

For Dutch, there are a few types of PACs that occur more than once in the smaller data set: *als, doen, nadien (dat), indien* or V1. Each of those occurs *so*, that is, there is no clause type that is restricted to a correlative structure with TEMP.[5] *Als*-clauses occur more often than others with a following temporal adverb (39.13%, n = 23), all other PACs have an even higher proportion of *so* as compared to temporal adverbs (88.89% for V1-clauses, and 100% for *nadien (dat), indien* and *doen*).

To evaluate which variable has the most impact on the realization of the correlative in German, a random forest model was fitted to the data. Due to their low frequency, the categories *pause* and *shift* of narrative speed are left out of the quantitative analysis. The random forest calculates 2000 trees (ntree = 2000) and selects two variables for each tree (mtry = 2). The random forest has an accuracy of 98.46%, a C-value of 0.995 and Somers' D 0.990, which means that the model performs outstandingly well.

Presented in Figure 2 are the results of the conditional variable importance measures for German. They show that TYPE.PAC, i.e., the type of PAC is the most important factor in the choice between a temporal adverb or *so* in the prefield WHO.SPEAKS which has not been found to be an important predictor. Narrative speed, NARR.SP is important as well. In other words, this confirms what was noted earlier in this section, that narrative speed has more explanatory value than voice. Importantly, the effect of narrative speed does not disappear when accounting for the type of PAC, suggesting that the local discourse function and the wider narrative function of the construction are both contributing factors.

The data for German is further visualized as a conditional inference tree in Figure 3. The first split in the data concerns the variable TYPE.S, with PACs introduced

[5]The conjunction *ten* occurs once with *nimmermeer* 'nevermore' but not with *so(o)*: *ten sy dat*

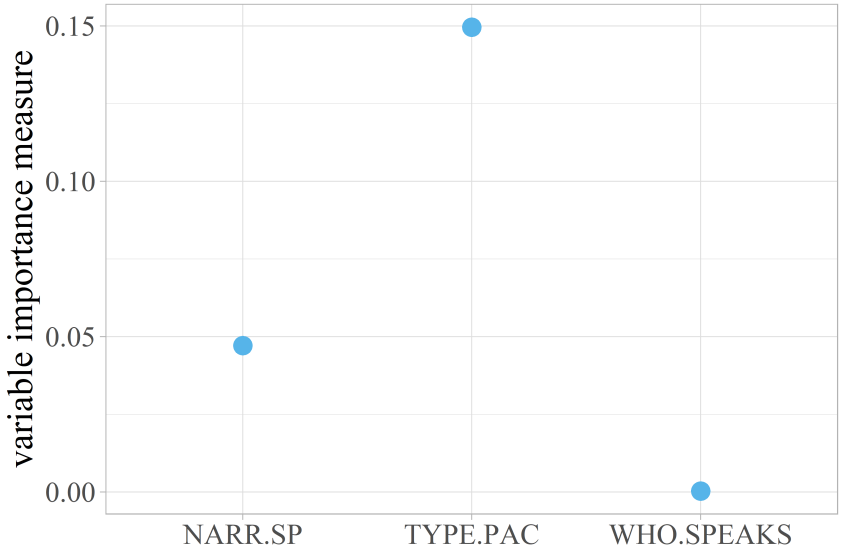

Figure 2: Conditional variable importance measures for German

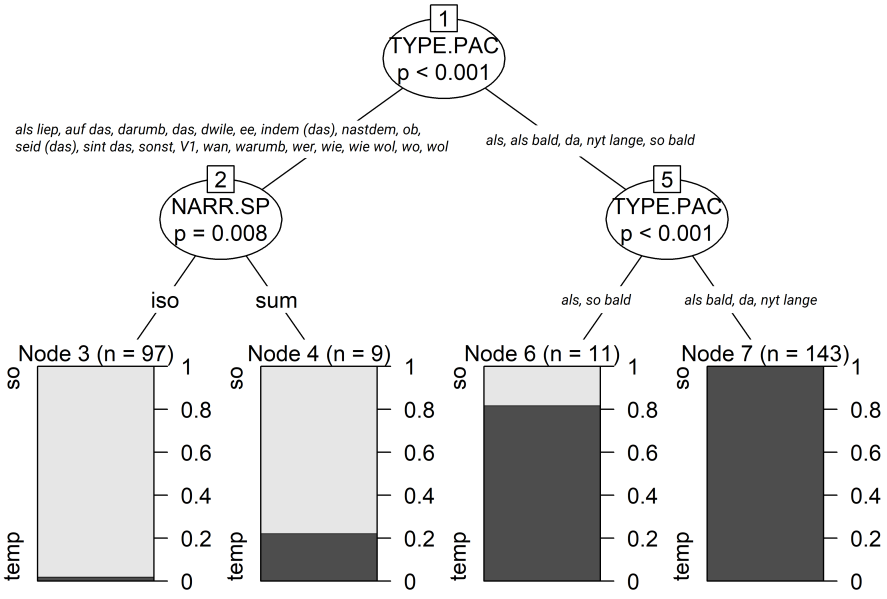

Figure 3: Conditional inference tree: TEMP versus *so* in the German Ponthus

by *als*[6] 'when, while, as', *als bald* 'as soon', *da* 'then', *nyt lange* 'not long' and *so bald* 'as soon as' being more often temporally resumed than the other types of clauses, which occur more frequently with *so*. What each of these clauses have in common is that they prototypically express a temporal relation, in particular one of simultaneity or rapid succession. This is illustrated in (18)

(18) *Vnd so balde das geschach da kanten sie yne von stont wol*
and as soon that happened TEMP knew they him of stand well
'And as soon has that happened, they recognized him immediately.'
[GE, 87va]

Within these temporal adverbial clauses of PACs, there is also a significant difference between those introduced by *als* and *so bald* versus those introduced by *als bald, da* and *nyt lange*. The first two are occasionally followed by *so*, whereas this is not attested in the Ponthus for the latter group. Note that one should be rather careful with generalizing these findings: They are based on one text and thus cannot be taken as evidence that *so* was categorically excluded from this group in other texts as well. Moreover, while the conditional inference tree nicely presents the optimal binning for the current data set, whether this is a robust result that can be extrapolated remains to be seen. Nevertheless, the marginal occurrence with *so* with conjunctions with a temporal meaning falls in line with what is known about these conjunctions in Dutch and in English.

Within the group of conjunctions that are associated with *so*, a significant distinction is made regarding narrative speed: Isochrony, as compared to summary, has a significant higher proportion of *so* and less temporal adverbs. In other words, the types of PACs that are typically followed by *so* can be taken up by a temporal adverb instead when they progress the story rapidly.

A reviewer suggested that verbal tense might play a role in this relation between *da* and narrative speed. I acknowledge that this is very probable, but the relation between the two is not as straightforward as one might suspect. The examples thus far have suggested that a pluperfect in the adverbial clause is typically combined with *da* and occurs in narrative summary. This is not exclusively the case, as the examples in (19) illustrate: In (19a) it combines with *so* and in (19b) as a juxtaposition.

---

ghi op dese tijt uwen sin inden mijnen set nimmermeer en sal ic v lief hebben 'if it is that you now your desires in mine put, I will never love you.' [DU, j1vb].

[6] It should be noted that *als* is, unexpectedly, rather infrequent in the Ponthus for a thus-far unknown reason.

(19) a. *Aber dwile is* ***begonnen were*** ***so*** *wolt er is vß herten was*
but while it started was.SBJV SO wanted he it out harden what
da von qweme bose oder gut
there of came.SBJV evil or good
'But since he had started it, he wanted to tough it out, whatever would have come of it, evil or good.' [GE, 112va]

b. *Da sie nu* ***gescheyden waren Sydonie*** *begunde mit irn*
then.CNJ they now separated were Sidoine started with her
jungffern zu reden wie yne pontus gefiel
lady to talk how her Ponthus pleased
'When they had separated, Sidoine started to talk with her lady about how she liked Ponthus.' [GE, 16rb]

Yet, all adverbial clauses with a pluperfect verb tense that combine with *so* have subjunctive verbal mood, as in (19a). This is also the case for pluperfects with juxtaposition. In the few cases in which the verb is indicative (e.g., 19b), the sentence presents a narrative summary. Thus, the indicative pluperfect indeed appears to be associated with *da* and segments of narrative summary. Due to the inconsistency in spelling, which results in a conflation of the third person singular present and past tense of *haben* 'have' in combination with the interaction of tense and mood, a more systematic analysis of the impact of tense goes beyond the scope of this paper and will be left for further research.

Turning now to Dutch, the conditional inference tree presented in Figure 4 shows, curiously, no identifiable distinction regarding the type of PAC. Like German, the model identifies a significant split in the data by narrative speed, with isochrony showing a higher proportion of *so* than summaries, which have a relatively high amount of TEMP.

This section has illustrated that there is a systematic distinction between PACs that are followed by *so* versus those that are followed by TEMP: The former are associated with narrative segments in the character's voice and the latter with the voice of the narrator. This was argued to be a reflection not of narrative style but of velocity, with PAC + TEMP being indicative of a more rapid story progression. More specifically, while much of the variation between the two constructions in German can be explained by the type of PAC, narrative speed is shown to be an important factor as well. In Dutch, the type of adverbial clause is not significant, and only narrative speed is found to be a significant variable. It should be noted that this may be due to the low overall frequency of the two constructions, in particular of PACs with TEMP as well as the relatively low frequency of narrative

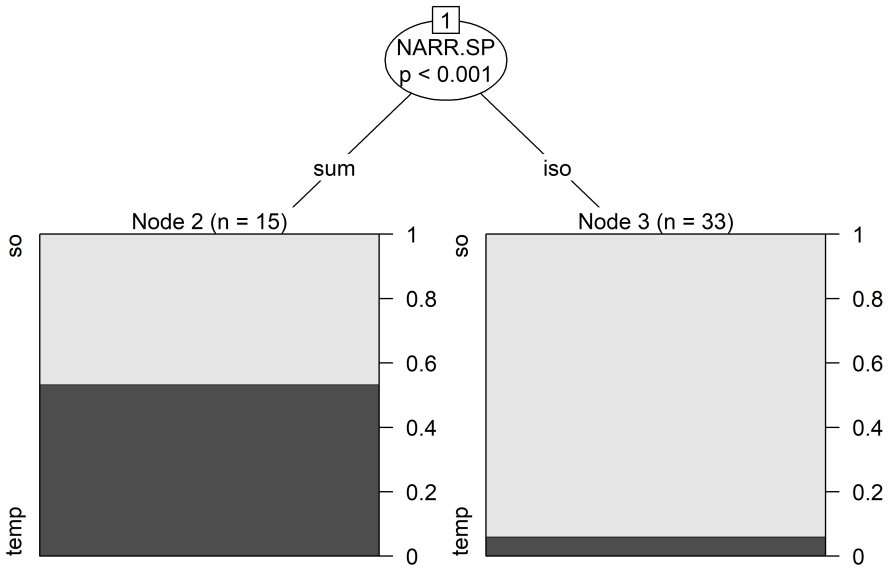

Figure 4: Conditional inference tree: TEMP versus *so* in the Dutch Ponthus

summaries. Two things should now be explained: Seeing that the Dutch Ponthus is not significantly longer than the German one and presents the same story, it is safe to assume that the amount of narrative summary overall should not be lower in the Dutch text than in the German one. This raises the question whether this narrative structuring function is associated with other realizations of PACs, and whether this could simultaneously explain why PACs with TEMP are so rare in Dutch.

In addition, it must be checked whether the type of PAC has really no effect on the realization of the prefield in the Dutch Ponthus, whether this was an effect of low overall frequency of PAC + *so* and PAC + TEMP, or whether it plays a role after all but with different constructions. The following section will address these issues.

5 PACs in the German and Dutch Ponthus

The previous section identified considerable differences between the German and Dutch Ponthus. In particular, the Dutch data set contained few cases of narrative summary with TEMP in comparison to the German one and did not present as many correlatives overall. The question rises then whether the narrative summary is expressed by a different construction in Dutch. In addition, the noteworthy absence of the effect of type of PAC on the realization in Dutch requires an explanation. I will therefore address these issues here, making use of the larger data set containing all PACs.

To recap, following the PAC, the options are relatively limited. In German, the majority of the constructions belong to one of the following four types: 1) direct adjacency between PAC and finite verb (20a), 2) PAC + TEMP, predominantly *da* (20b), 3) PAC + *so* (20c), or 4) a subject intervenes between PAC and the finite verb (20d). On occasion, other elements – mainly adverbs and objects – stand in between PAC and the finite verb (20e).

(20) a. *Do is tag wart stont er vff*
then.CNJ it day became stood he on
'When the day came, he stood up.' [GE, 107ra]

b. *Da er das hortt* ***da*** *erschracke ere[sic!] sere*
then.CNJ he that heard TEMP shocked he much
'When he heard that, he was very frightened.' [GE, 111va]

c. *Aber dwile is begonnen were* ***so*** *wolt er is vß herten*
but while it started was.SBJV SO wanted he it out hard
'But because it had been started, he wanted to see it through.' [GE, 112va]

d. *lebet der lange* ***er*** *dott mir alle myn folk*
lives.SBJV he long he kills me all my folk
'If he lives longer, he will kill all my people.' [GE, 72vb]

e. *Ob ir yne dan sehent* ***was*** *wolten ir thun*
if you him then see what would you do
'If you see him then, what would you do?' [GE, 87va]

Table 4 presents the distribution of the types of elements that occur in between the PAC and the finite verb: *so* and TEMP are known from the previous section; the hyphen (-) stands for direct adjacency of the two; *subject* stands, obviously, for the subject; and *other* refers to all other elements that may occupy the position

between the PAC and the finite verb, which predominantly are other adverbs (e.g., *darzu/daer bi* 'therewith') and object pronouns (e.g., *das/dat* 'that').

Table 4: Preverbal elements that co-occur with PACs

	-	other	*so*	subject	TEMP	total
German	31	18	112	102	164	427
Dutch	211	25	40	70	11	357
total	242	43	152	172	175	784

The languages are significantly different ($p < 0.001$). Residuals show that adjacency of PAC and finite verb has a higher than expected frequency in Dutch and is lower than expected in German (9.60 and -8.78 respectively). The opposite is true for *so* in the prefield (-3.51 vs. 3.21) and especially for TEMP (-7.69 and 7.04): These patterns are infrequent following Dutch PACs but frequent in German. It thus seems that where German uses PACs with TEMP or *so*, we find integration of the PAC in Dutch.

In the following section, this frequency difference is related to the two factors that were discussed in the previous section. In Section 5.1, narrative speed is considered and I will also take into account the type of PAC in Section 5.2.

5.1 Narrative speed

Figures 5 and 6 present the distribution of the different prefield fillings in relation to the narrative speed in the German and Dutch Ponthus respectively. What should be kept in mind while reading these figures is that the Dutch data contains less isochrony (29.69%) and more narrative summary (62.75%) in comparison to the German data (43.09% and 50.12%, respectively). This is in line with the expectation, as both texts present the same story although the German Ponthus is ca. 20000 words longer.

Figure 5 shows that adjacency of PAC and finite verb is overall infrequent but occurs most frequently in narrative summaries. Narrative summaries are particularly frequent with TEMP, as isochrony is with *so*. Subjects in the prefield occur mainly with isochrony (62.75%), though narrative summary is also frequent (33.33%). This suggests that PACs that occur with a preverbal subject are not strongly associated with a particular narrative speed. Other elements are overall infrequent and occur most often in isochronous segments (61.11%).

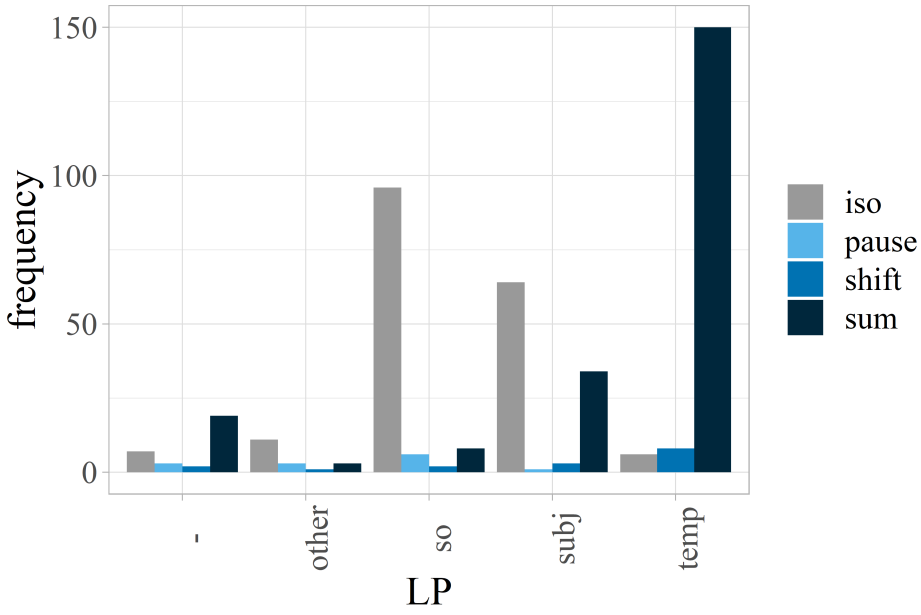

Figure 5: Narrative speed and the prefield in the German Ponthus

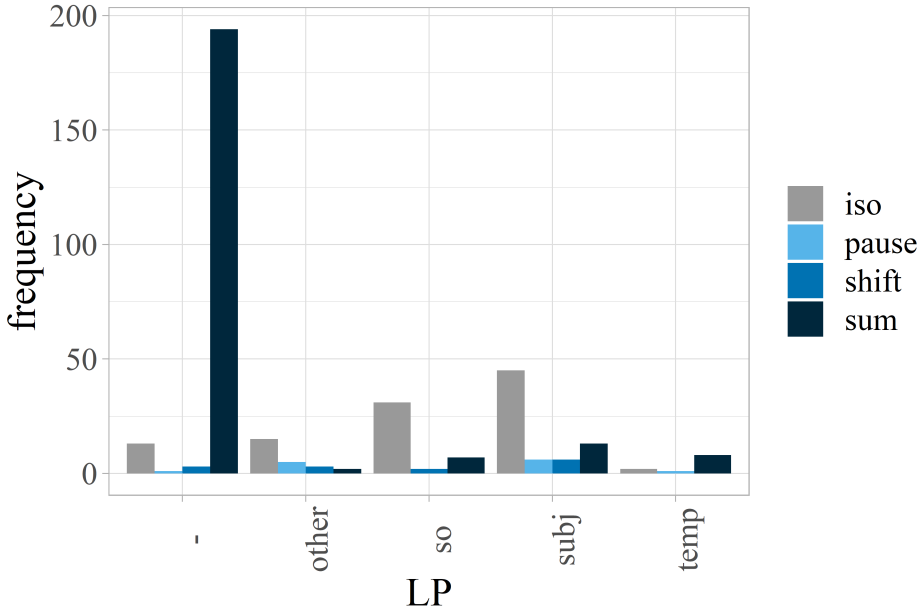

Figure 6: Narrative speed and the prefield in the Dutch Ponthus

In the Dutch Ponthus, the situation is different. Figure 6 makes it clear that the function of narrative summary is dominant with the adjacency of the PAC and the finite verb (91.94%). This explains why so few occurences of TEMP in the prefield in Dutch could be seen: The narrative function is expressed by integrating PAC. Moreover, the frequency of *so* is overall lower than in German; nevertheless, the strong preference for isochrony is similar there (77.50%). A relatively high frequency of isochrony is found with subjects in the prefield (64.29%). In German, this preference could also be seen, but the construction occurred also relatively frequently with narrative summaries. In Dutch, subjects in the prefield are rarer in summaries (18.57% versus 33.33% in German). Other elements occur overall very infrequently, but they are attested with all velocities.

In sum, the major difference between the two languages lies in narrative summaries and the construction that is associated with it: In the German Ponthus, this function is expressed by PACs with TEMP – specifically *da* – in the prefield; in the Dutch text, the PAC is directly adjacent to the finite verb in these contexts, viz. integrated in the host sentence.

5.2 Type of PAC

To consider the types of PACs. In this section, I will first discuss the situation in the German Ponthus and subsequently that in the Dutch text. Thereafter, I will compare the two and discuss some implications.

Not all types of PACs show variation regarding the type of construction they occur in. Of course, those that only occur once in the data set exhibit no variation. These are *als liep* 'as dear', *sint das* 'since', *sonst* 'otherwise if', *warumb* 'why', and *wol* 'although', which occur once with *so*; *nyt lange* 'not long', which is followed TEMP; and *wie stark* 'how strong', which has a following subject. *Auf das* 'so that' (2) and *wie wol* 'although' (5) are furthermore only attested with *so* in the German Ponthus. The other types of PACs are attested in more than one of the constructions.

The most frequent types of PACs that occur ten times or more in the German Ponthus are *da* 'then', V1, *wan* 'if, when', *so bald* 'as soon as', *ob* 'if', *wo* 'where, when, if' and *ee* 'before'. *Da, so bald* and *ee* typically introduce temporal adverbial clauses, whereas *ob-, wo-* and V1-clauses mainly express conditionality. *Wan*-clauses are often ambiguous between the two readings. They all occur in more than one construction. Considering both the type of PAC and narrative speed, I will first illustrate by means of conditional inference trees the trends that are shown in the data. Then I will use random forests to predict the realization of

the prefield. For this model, the input data only contains the most frequent types of PACs, which are *da,* V1, *wan, so bald, ob, ee,* and *wo* for German.

Figure 7 presents a conditional inference tree for the German Ponthus. The model's first split is between *da* and *so bald* on the one hand, and *ee, ob,* V1, *wan,* and *wo* on the other (node 1). In the latter group (node 7), *wo*-clauses are separated from the other, because they occur less often followed by SUBJ and more often by TEMP than the others. The group with *da* and *so bald* has a comparatively high proportion of TEMP and –. Within this group, the model identifies a separation in the data regarding narrative speed (node 2): Clauses that are introduced by *da* or *so bald* that encode isochronous narrative progression are found with *so*; when they encode pauses, shifts and summaries, they occur more often with TEMP and –. Specifically, *da*- and *so bald*-clauses that encode summaries may occur with a following subject and more often occur directly adjacent to the finite verb than the pauses and shifts (node 4). Still, TEMP is the preferred pattern for both.

In Dutch, the included types of PACs in the model were only *als,* V1, *doen* and *nadien (dat),* because they were the only ones that occurred with a frequency of ten or more (and showed variation). The conditional inference tree can be found in Figure 8. The first split (node 1) in the data that the model identifies is between V1-clauses and those that are introduced by *als, doen* and *nadien (dat).* The V1-clauses show a relatively low proportion of integration, a high amount of SUBJ, and a slightly higher proportion of *so* following than the other clauses. Different from what we have seen in Figure 4, narrative speed is relevant here for the relation of the prefield: In isochrony, *so* is more frequent than in pauses and shifts (node 2). Finally, summaries are realized differently than pauses and shifts as they have a higher proportion of integration and fewer occurrences of *so*, SUBJ and TEMP.

The findings from these models show that narrative speed affects the realization of the prefield in both languages within the subset of temporal adverbial clauses. Where narrative summaries are encoded by PAC + TEMP in German, PACs occur directly adjacent to the finite verb in Dutch. To evaluate whether these findings are stable, I ran two random forest models; one for each language. 2000 trees are calculated (ntree = 2000), each selecting one variable (mtry = 1).

Table 5 presents the accuracy matrices resulting of the models. They present the observed distribution and the distribution as predicted by the model.

Overall, the German model erroneously predicts that there are no cases in which the PAC and the finite verb are directly adjacent (–), nor any cases of subjects in the prefield. However, it accurately predicts all instances of *so*, and it only erroneously classifies two cases of TEMP as *so*. The model thus overestimates

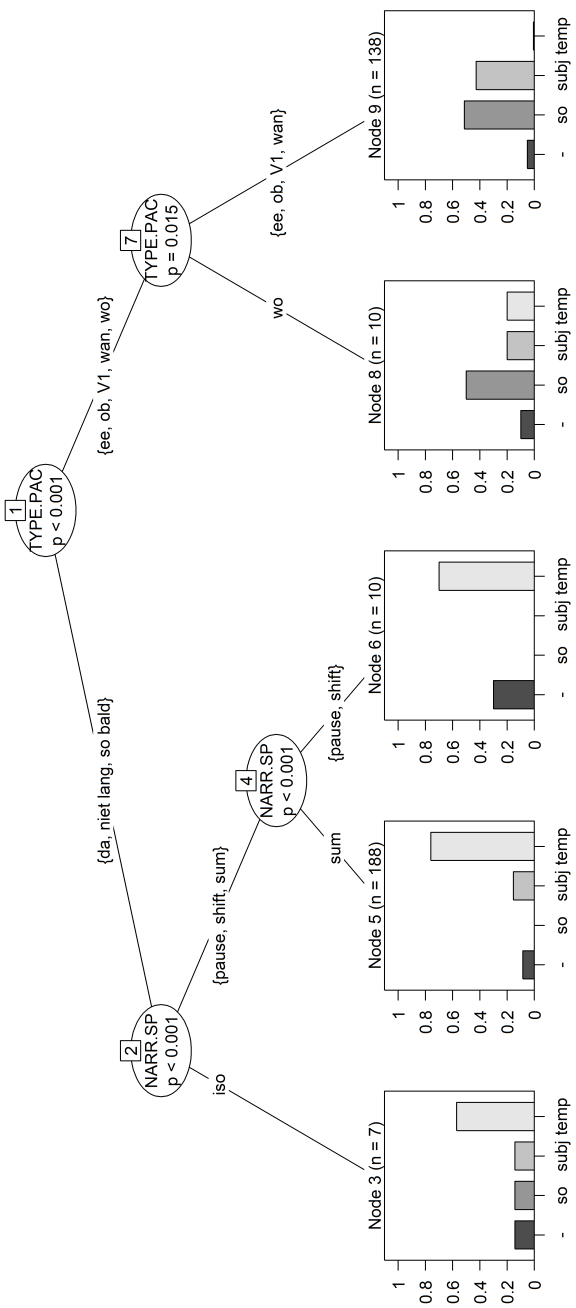

Figure 7: Conditional inference tree: Prefield filling in the German Ponthus

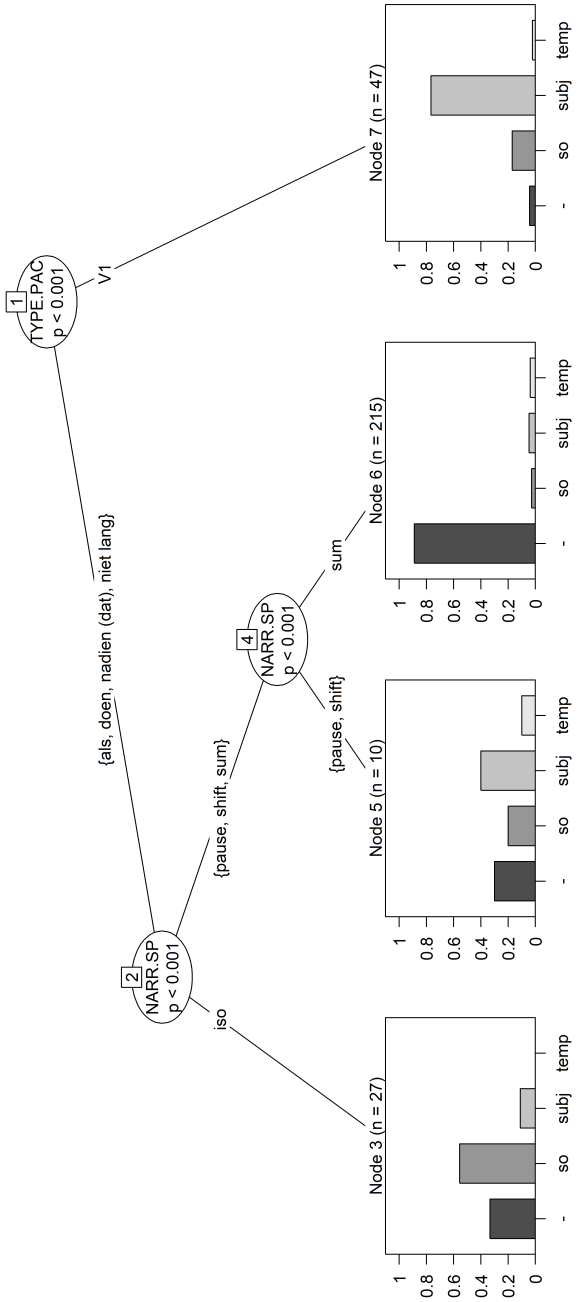

Figure 8: Conditional inference tree: Prefield filling in the Dutch Pon-thus

Table 5: Random forest accuracy matrices

(a) German

	–	*so*	subject	TEMP	observed
–	**0**	10	0	18	28
SO	0	**77**	0	0	77
subject	0	60	**0**	31	91
TEMP	0	2	0	**154**	156
predicted	0	150	0	202	

(b) Dutch

	–	*so*	subject	TEMP	observed
–	**193**	8	3	0	204
SO	7	**15**	9	0	31
subject	12	3	**38**	0	53
TEMP	9	0	1	**0**	10
predicted	221	26	51	0	

the use of the correlative patterns. Interestingly, 64.29% of the PACs adjacent to the finite verb are classified as TEMP, whereas 65.93% of SUBJ are classified as *so*.

The Dutch model does not predict any TEMP and slightly over-predicts integration. It accurately predicts 94.61% of integration, which drops to 71.70% for juxtaposition with a subject in the prefield, and to a meager 48.39% for *so*. TEMP is mainly predicted to be integrated (90.00%). This is the case for the wrongly classified SUBJ as well (22.64% in total, 80.00% of wrong predictions). *so* is more often wrongly predicted to be SUBJ rather than integrated, but this difference is small (16 vs. 15 wrong predictions).

These matrices provide insight as to how accurately the random forests predict the element following the PAC based on two factors: narrative speed and the type of PAC. For German, the model reliably identifies *so* and TEMP, but it does not identify – and SUBJ. In contrast, in Dutch TEMP is not predicted at all. This suggests that the factors that motivated the use of TEMP in German do not do the same in Dutch. Instead, integration is predicted with a high accuracy, which is fully in line with the hypothesis that where the German Ponthus uses PAC + TEMP, Dutch prefers integrated PACs. Moreover, juxtaposition seems to be associated with particular settings in Dutch (the tree in Figure 8 suggests V1 and

pauses/shifts if not V1) but not in German. This can reflect that juxtaposition has developed its own niche now that integration has become the default in Dutch but that German has not (yet) fully undergone this process.

5.3 Returning to Dutch: Integration versus *so*

In the previous section, it was argued that where the German Ponthus uses *da*-resumption, Dutch tends to use the integration of PACs. This means that the findings for Dutch in Section 4 need to be revised for a complete picture, as it is not TEMP that contrasts with *so* but integration. For this reason, I present one final conditional inference tree, which parallels the German one presented in Figure 3. Here, all types of PACs are included.

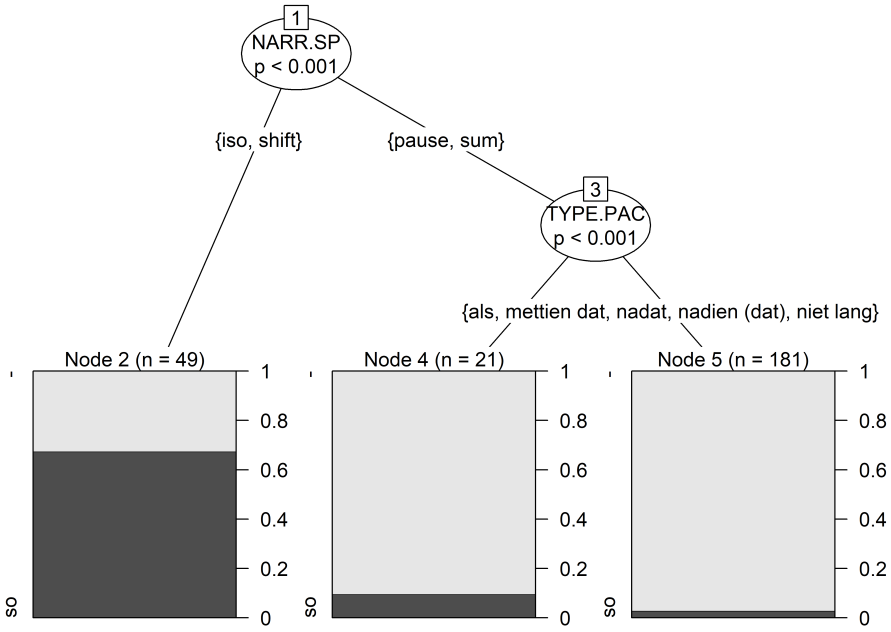

Figure 9: Conditional inference tree: *so* versus integration in the Dutch Ponthus

Figure 9 illustrates that the two constructions contrast regarding narrative speed, with *so* being considerably more frequent with isochrony. With summaries, the preference for integration is strong.[7] This motivates the first

[7]Since this data only contains one pause and five shifts, I do not consider this strong evidence.

split in the tree. Second, within the group of clauses that encode pauses or summaries, most of the types of adverbial clauses do not, or only rarely, occur with *so*. This preference for integration is significantly stronger with *als, mettien dat, nadat, nadien (dat)* and *niet lang* than with V1 and *doen*. This split reflects partly what we saw for German in Section 4: Both the type of PAC and the narrative speed are important factors. Yet, different constructions are associated with narrative summaries and isochrony. Moreover, the variation in the types of PACs was greater in German than in Dutch and PAC + *so* was overall more frequent.

6 Conclusion

This paper investigated how preposed adverbial clauses (PACs) are used to structure the narrative in the Early New High German Ponthus and compares the results to what is found in the Dutch adaptation.

The first part of the paper focuses the two correlative constructions, as PACs were very often followed by *da* or *so* in Early New High German. Their contrasting uses regarding narrative structure were evaluated. Although *so* is predominantly found in mimesis, viz. dialogic segments, and TEMP in diegetic segments, which are voiced by the narrator, it is argued that this is an artifact of a difference in narrative speed. Specifically, *so* is associated with isochrony, which slowly progresses the story, and TEMP with narrative summaries, which progress it rapidly. This effect is observed even when including the type of PAC as a predictor variable. The Dutch Ponthus had, differently than German, a remarkably low amount of TEMP. The results were consequently not very convincing. The second part of the paper therefore considers PACs in all constructions in the two Ponthus-texts. That is, it includes subjects following the PAC, direct adjacency of the PAC and the finite verb, and "other" elements that stand between the PAC and the finite verb of the host. The main result is that where German uses temporal resumption in narrative summaries, Dutch uses integration. Moreover, the sequence PAC + SUBJ is more easily predictable in Dutch than in German on the basis of the type of PAC and narrative speed, which suggests that it has developed its own niche in Dutch. Seeing that the Dutch Ponthus was published about a century later than the German manuscript, the differences between the languages may be a reflection of a larger diachronic development, but to draw any reliable conclusions other types of data will need to be considered.

It should be noted, however, that the current study investigates the use of the PACs in two adaptations of one and the same text. As such, the findings may be an artifact of different translation strategies or idiosyncrasies of the individual

translators rather than a reflection of conventionalized patterns. Further research based on a broader base is needed to verify whether the relation between narrative speed and the realization of the prefield as well as the contrast between German and Dutch is represented in narrative prose or the languages more generally. In addition, the verbal tense and mood seemingly interact with both narrative speed and the type of adverbial clause. Further research in this interplay would likely be fruitful and provide deeper insight into the issue at hand. In any case, the paper forms a first basis to the interaction between the realization of the prefield following preposed adverbial clauses and narrative structure. It illustrates how the different constructions in which preposed adverbial clauses may occur can be used to temporally progress the story, and how the Dutch and German Ponthus use similar strategies but different realizations to do so.

Abbreviations

Glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing rules.

CNJ	conjunction	PAC	preposed adverbial clause
DISC	discourse marker	SBJV	subjunctive
DU	Dutch	SUBJ	subject
FR	French	sum	summary
GE	German	TEMP	temporal adverb
iso	isochrony	V1	verb-first
NEG	negation	V3	verb-third

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Appendix

(21) *Sie sprachen da were vil abe zu sagen Dan siner*
they said there was.SBJV much about to say because his
schonheit weydelicheit ~~were~~ vnd sins gutten gelaß were nit
beauty proficiency ~~*was.*SBJV~~ and his good behavior was.SBJV not
me in der werlt als sie wol gleuben wolten williche frauwe oder
more in the world as they DISC believe wanted which woman or
jungffrauwe yne zu bolen mochte haben da ist kein rede in Sie mocht
lady him to court might have there is no reason in she might
wol berummen das sie den schonsten den besten den
DISC state that she the most.beautiful the best the
wolkommesten vnd den aller lustigesten frunt hette der da
most.considerate and the of.all amusing friend have.SBJV who there
lebt vnd schon ist sin jugent ***kompt*** *er also inn das alter so wart*
lives and beautiful is his youth comes he thus in the age so became
sin gliche nie me ersehen das ist vngezwiuelt die rechte warheit
his equal never more seen that is undoubtedly the right truth
'They said that there was much to say about that, because his beauty, proficiency, and good manners were unequaled in this world. As they would believe whichever woman or lady might court him – there is no reason in that – she might proudly profess that she would have the most beautiful, the best, the most considerate, and the uttermost amusing friend in the world. And beautiful is his youth. **Comes** he of age, his equal was never to be seen again. That is undoubtedly the truthful truth.'
[GE, 16rb][8]

[8]The crossed-out *were* is written in the handwriting. This is an accidental doubling.