

Types of resumption in Middle Low German

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In Middle Low German (MLG), V2 word order is well established, though certain V3-orders are possible (Petrova 2012). Resumption after adverbial clauses with *so* or *do/da* (1), clearly derives from (original) correlates in correlative constructions that were generalised in MLG to adverbial clauses not introduced by the correlating adverb.

- (1) a. Vortmer [were [dat greue Conrad eder syne eruen syk vorbreken wedder vns in deser vrygheyt]] **so** sculde Greue Johan vnde syne eruen Jo by vns mit ganser trûwe bliuen
'Furthermore, if it were (the case) that count Conrad or his heirs break the covenant with us in this freedom, SO should count Johan and his heirs stay with us with all faithfulness'
(StA Oldenburg, Best. 20-Urk., Oldenburg, 1345-01-06)
- b. [Were dat also [dat valsche penynghe vnder eynen borghere vonden worden tho Ruden inder stat]] **da** en mochte en neman vmme an spreken
'If it were thus that false pennies were found among the citizens in the city of Rûthen, THERE may no one charge them for it.'
(Statuarrecht Ms. M, 6r, Rûthen, c. 1350)

In MLG, a further possibility is to use a topical constituent in the prefield of the main clause resuming a constituent of the preposed adverbial clause, like d-pronouns (2a) or NPs (2b).

- (2) a. vnde [were [dat sey ynyghen man dar ane vorsumeden ande queme hey des in schaden]] **den** sint sey sculdich to gheldene
'and if it were (the case) that they neglected any man and thereby caused damage to him, HIM do they have to reimburse the damage' (Soester Schrae, Soest 1367)
- b. [Were dat also [dat eyn den anderen sloghe myt der vûst efte myt clupele efthe myt anderen dyngen [dat dumslach hetet]]] **den broke** mach he dem richtere vor betteren myt veyr scillingen
'If it were thus that one person hit another with the fist or with a club or with other things, which is called a dumb (non-bleeding) blow, this infraction (of law) may he pay for with 4 shillings.'
(Statuarrecht Ms. M, 4v-5r, Rûthen, c. 1350)

Following Walkden (2015a), I conclude based on data from the ReN/CHLG that (i) adverbial clauses (as well as aboutness topics and frame setters) are not integrated within the ForceP of the V2 main clause, (ii) MLG had generalised V-to-Force movement, and (iii) MLG obligatorily fills SpecForceP, either with a correlate, or with a constituent from inside the V2-clause. The topic strategy seems to be an innovation, continuing the function of the correlative of linking the adjunct to the main clause. As Thim-Mabrey (1987) notes for Early New High German, resumptive *so* develops further to become available with adverbial elements connecting a new main clause to a previous chunk of discourse (e.g. *darumb so* V... 'therefore so V...'). I argue that those cases are similar to Present-Day German (PDG) cases of V2 after traditionally subordinating conjunctions like *weil*, *obwohl*, or *wobei* (e.g. Günthner 2005): the adverbial element/clause starts out in a discourse projection above ForceP, and is later reanalysed as SpecForceP in PDG, where resumption is no longer available in these contexts.