

On the synchrony and diachrony of adverbial manner clauses. The case of *indem*-clauses in German

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In this talk, I examine the synchrony and diachrony of adverbial manner clauses in German headed by the complementizer *indem* (≈ 'by'), cf. [1]:

- [1] Er befreite sie von der Last,
he release.3SG.PST her.ACC of the.DAT load
[_{CP} *indem* er Renato unter die Schultern griff].
indem he Renato under the shoulders grasp.3SG.PST
'He relieved her of the load by taking Renato under the shoulders.'

In [1], *indem* expresses a (causal-)instrumental relation between the matrix clause and the subordinate clause, and specifies the causing subevent of the matrix clause event complex (cf. Behrens & Fabricius-Hansen 2002 and Bücking 2014 for more details). Concretely, taking Renato under the shoulders is an elaboration on how the matrix subject helped someone to be free, and a specification of how he achieved it.

Synchronically, I will provide evidence showing that *indem*-clauses should be considered syntactically integrated clauses, leading to the analysis as central adverbial clauses in the typology developed by Haegeman (2012), Schönenberger & Haegeman (2023), and Frey (2016, 2023a,b). Main evidence for this claim comes from: i) movement of the adverbial clause to the left periphery of the matrix clause, ii) variable binding, iii) (im-)possibility of hosting selected root phenomena, in particular modal expressions, iv) combinational restrictions with other types of subordinate clauses, and v) sensitivity to material occurring in the matrix clause.

Diachronically, I will show that *indem* developed into a (causal-)instrumental complementizer in Early New High German (1350–1650) and that its development goes back to the temporal complementizer *indem* expressing simultaneous events that, in turn, fell in disuse in New High German (1650–1900). This process, as I will argue, involved an accommodation of a causal presupposition into the lexical meaning of *indem*.

As it turns out, a thorough examination of *indem*-clauses in German not only provides new insights into how manner adverbials work, but also contributes to a better understanding of how they come into being.

Selected references

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