

【論文】

# On Resumptive Pronouns in Late Middle English

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後期中英語におけるくり返し代名詞について

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The distribution of the resumptive pronouns in Late Middle English (ME) is investigated and the result is compared with their distribution in presentday English (PE). Both syntactic and non-syntactic resumptives are found in Late ME as well as in PE. The main difference between both periods is that Late ME allows the resumptives in the highest subject position in relatives, while PE apparently does not. The existence of an agreeing C may be responsible for this difference.

## 1. Introduction

This study attempts to describe the distribution of resumptive pronouns in Late Middle English (ME). In the history of the English language the resumptive pronouns had been widely used at least until Late ME. In presentday English (PE) the resumptive pronouns are still used but often regarded as substandard. See (1) and (2) below for their use in PE. Notice that in (2) the gap would cause the violation of a WH island constraint.

- (1) He looks like one of those you got to be careful throwing them

fastballs. (Suner 1998 : 339)

- (2) the settlement that Caroline asked [when] we would get  
\* (it) (Suner 1998 : 335)

Suner (1998 : 348-9) asserts that the feature composition of the head C of a relative clause CP is responsible for the presence of the resumptive pronouns, 'other differences might be the outcome of language-particular idiosyncrasies due to historical (and other) development.' Let us see if her assertion can be justified or not by investigating the ME distribution of the resumptives. In particular I try to indicate what kind of language particular historical properties are involved in influencing the development (or rather the decline) of the resumptive pronouns in English.

## 2. Distribution of resumptives

This section introduces the Late ME data on resumptives classified in terms of the grammatical functions they play in relative clauses. Let me note that the use of resumptive relatives has been optional and marginal through-out the history of English. Conventional relatives containing a gap instead of a resumptive pronoun within them seem to be much preferred, especially in presentday standard English.

### 2.1 as direct objects

In (3), (4) and (5) below the complementizers 'that' and 'as' introduce the resumptive relatives. Example (6) has a relative pronoun 'which'. Notice that in this example the resumptive helps to clarify the meaning by indicating the place of the relativized element whose antecedent is situated far away. Example (7) is cited to show a comparable case of a conventional relative clause, where a relative pronoun

'which' is extracted from an adjunct 'if' clause.

(3) Ther nas to hir no manere lettre y-sent... That she ne shewed hit him er hit was brent. (c 1374 Chaucer, Compl. Anelide 113, Visser I p. 59)

(4) to follow that noble knyght that I be mysfortune hurte hym thus. (1475-80 Malory, M. d'A. Vinaver 535, 27, Visser I p. 59)

(5) souche as haue knowen me and I thaym, (PL 123041)<sup>1,2</sup>

(6) which mater I trust if ye com I shal handill it (PL 108018)

(7) a journey to se my lady of Norffolk ; which if ye will parfourme nowe I wolde be verrey glade to awaite vpon you (PL 108013)

## 2.2 as indirect objects

The complementizer 'that' is used in (8) and (9). Notice that in (3) above in section 2.1 and (8) below a resumptive pronoun is used in an idiomatic expression of the type '... there be no + NP that ... ne a resumptive pronoun'. See (10) for the example with 'whom', though one may wonder if this resumptive is an indirect object.

(8) For in the lond ther was no crafty man ... That Theseus ne yaf him mete and wages. (Chaucer KnT 1897, Miyamae '88)

(9) this was draweyn by a knyght presoner, sir Thomas Malleore, that God sende hym good recover. (Malory 535, 27, Miyamae '88)

(10) I, as he that hath most grettest cause and ys most bownden on -to yowr grete gentylnesse, and also whome nature and kynde most specially byfore eny of alle owre bretheryn bynden me to owe and wilne yow goode wylle and trewe hert, (PL 694011-4)

## 2.3 as genitives

The complementizer 'as' is used in (11), while 'which' is used in (12) and (14). ME optionally uses a relative pronoun (sometimes preceded by 'the') together with a complementizer. See (13).

(11) Hastynge & other that as yet we can nought knowe there names, &c. (PL 584057)

(12) thankynge you of your greet kyndnes and lovyng disposicion towardys myn lord and me at all tymes, which I pray god I may leve to see the acquytell ther-of to your plesure, (PL 802001-4)

(13) Thys ... Lorde ... let to be smete of the heddys of thes men, the whych that hyr namys here folowyn in wrytyng (Gregory's Chron. p.224, Miyamae '88)

(14) Ys there nat a knyght in thys courte which his name ys [Garlon] ? (Mal.Wks.83,22 Hirose '95)

#### 2.4 as subjects

The highest subject position is noteworthy because some languages (e.g. Irish, Welsh, Hebrew and Palestinian) forbid the resumptives from appearing in that position (Suner 1998 : 342). Suner (1998 : 343) also notes that she has found no examples of subject resumptive relatives in English (PE), wondering if this is an accidental or real gap. In Old English and ME, however, the 'that he' type relatives occur fairly often, considering the fact that Visser (I p.59) cites 25 such examples. The examples (15)~(19) below use the complementizer 'that', while in (20)~(22) 'which' is used. Notice that the complementizer 'that' is often adjacent to the resumptive pronoun, while the relative pronoun 'which' binds the resumptive situated far away, sometimes in the embedded subject position. See (20)~(22). Visser (I p.59) notes that 'which' is often used to extract the embedded subject from 'if' or 'when' clauses. See (21). Example (23) shows the comparable case of a conventional relative.

(15) In al the route nas ther yong ne oold That he ne seyde it was a noble storie. (Chaucer KnT 3110-11, Miyamae '88)

(16) It ne was non so litel knaue, ... that he ne wolde with him pleye  
(Havelok 953, Miyame '88)

(17) sir Lucan de Butler that by fortune he came rydyng (1470-85  
Malory M.d'A. (Vinaver) 538,27 Visser I p.59)

(18) he supposith that he coud not opteyne his bargeyn by me  
bicause of the trobill that it standyth in, (PL 075031)

(19) and whan I haue brokyn my conseyte to sume that in happe he  
demytheyt too, they haue put me in cownforth more than I knowde haue  
be any jmajynasyon in my owyn conseythe. (PL 212016-9)

(20) xx li. of lafull money, which xx li. I wull it be putt in the rule  
and disposicion of the chercch reves of the same chercch for the tyme  
being, (PL 230108)

(21) a thyng ... which if it had comyn to myn remembraunce at  
your departere I wuld haue spoke to you of it (PL 214004)

(22) his dewte, wheche as myn receyvoure seyth hit wole drawe to  
the summe of xlv li., (PL 589008, Visser I,59)

(23) the seid ij s. vj d., wheche if y payid shuld be to me right gret  
and inportable hurt. (PL 726016)

(24) a jantyll-woman that semeth she hathe grete nede of you.  
(1470-85 Malory M.d'A. (Vinaver) 982.29, Visser I p.59)

## 2.5 as the objects of prepositions

The complementizers 'that' and 'as' introduce resumptives relatives in (25) and (26) below, while 'which' binds 'there (= it)' + prep. in (27) and (28). Let me add that a stranded preposition often occurs in Late ME. See (29).

(25) swyche other as he is wyth hym, (PL 161018)

(26) I herd nevyr the seyde Ser John Fastolf sey yt, nother none  
oथyr man ne none seruaunt of hys housholde that I was ofte tymes

wyth hem ; (PL 895 A 012-4)

(27) which hous the owener hath caryed part therof to o ;  
(PL 623003)

(28) he tellythe me off hyre delyng and answerys, whyche iff they were acording to hys seyng a feynter loveere than ye wolde, and weell aghte to, take ther-in greet comffort, (PL 287004, Visser I.p.60)

(29) except souche stuffe as canne not be kept from mowghtes, which I will she haue the rule and gouernaunce of (PL 123154)

### 3 . Theoretical problems

#### 3.1 Syntactic resumptives vs. PF resumptives

The use of resumptive pronouns is inevitable in the cases where gaps would cause the violations of islands. This use is classified as syntactic resumptives. See (30) and (31) below. In (30) the gap would cause the violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, and in (31) the violation of a WH island constraint.

(30) Now let us returne to sir Boyes Spayne, who when he was at the porte of Guerand ... he and his company sayled forth (1523 Ld. Berners, Froiss. I.LXXXIV, 43,b/I,OED, Visser I,60)

(31) the boxe wheron ys wreten 'Falce carte Sproute' that I shulde enquere of William Wurcestre wher it were, (PL 156021)

There are other uses of resumptives where no violation of islands occur, and the resumptives are introduced mainly for the ease of interpretation. The examples cited in section 2 are all nonsyntactic resumptives. Suner (1998) focuses on these latter cases of nonsyntactic resumptives which she regards as inserted at PF after spell-out because these resumptives are void of semantic features. (Suner 1998 : 355) .

### 3.2 Resumptive pronouns in the highest subject position

The main difference between ME and PE resumptives is that the former allows the resumptives in the highest subject position in relatives, while the latter does not. Suner (1998: 350-352) attributes the cause of this difference to the presence of an agreeing C. She speculates that an agreeing C turns the spec-CP into an A-position which licenses the subject trace. In her theory a null operator in spec-CP as an A'-position is required in the resumptive relatives. It is well known that ME does not show 'that't effects, while PE clearly does. Compare (32) and (33). This fact supports the hypothesis that an Agreeing C is responsible for the gap in the highest subject position.

(32) He told Dorlet that he had suche a deed as he supposyd that wold don ease in prevyng of the tytyll that the Duk of Suffolk cleymythe in Drayton, (PL 178003-5)

(33) John is the man that I think (\*that) is honest.

#### NOTES

1. Spellings are modernized.
2. The first three numbers denote the letter number, and the rest the line number of the Davis' edition of the Paston Letters.

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