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Resumptive pronouns and asymmetric coordination in Old English

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1. Introduction

Asymmetric coordination is a type of coordination in which there is a linear or structural difference between the conjuncts. This concept is often contrasted with symmetric coordination, which is governed by one of the most robust principles in the syntax of coordination, Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). The principle makes sure that in a typical coordinate structure extraction must apply across-the-board (ATB), affecting all the conjuncts. This observation formalized by Ross (1967: 161) in (1) is illustrated in (2) below:

- (1) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC)
In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.
- (2) Which book_i does Peter love to read t_i and (does) Andrew love to illustrate t_i?

CSC, however, can be violated in a number of asymmetrical coordinate structures found in many languages (see an excellent overview of unbalanced coordination in Johannessen 1998: 7–51). For instance, extraction applies from one conjunct in the examples in (3):

- (3) a. That's the stuff_i the guys in Caucasus drink t_i and live to be a hundred.
b. Who_i did he pick up the phone and call t_i?
c. How much_i can you drink t_i and still stay sober?

(Weisser 2014: 1)

Note, however, that the examples above differ in a number of ways from the one in (2). First, the conjuncts cannot be swapped around without changing

the meaning because they express different semantic relations between the conjuncts. Thus in (3a) the clauses are related in a causative way (cause-result); the semantic relation in (3b) can be paraphrased by means of *in order to/so that*; in (3c) the non-initial conjunct conveys adversative/argumentative information. Second, all the conjuncts must have the same subject and tense. Third, asymmetric coordination structures have an obligatory “one-event” interpretation (cf. Weisser 2014).

Another type of asymmetric coordination frequently found in various studies is the one in which one of the conjuncts contains a resumptive pronoun. This is exemplified by an Early Modern English example in (4) below. Its Modern English equivalent would normally have a gap instead of a resumptive pronoun:

- (4) The two great Streets which run cross and divide it into four Quarters, are five Foot wide. The Lanes and Alleys which [I could not enter, but only viewed **them** as I passed], are from Twelve to Eighteen Inches.
(*Gulliver's Travels*, Book 1, Chapter 4: 32; Roberts 1999: 324)

This type of asymmetric coordination is found in many languages which make free use of resumption. A small sample of such languages is given below¹:

- (5) *haiš še Rina roca ve ohevet **oto** yoter mikulam*
the-man that Rina wants and loves him more-than anyone
'the man that Rina wants and loves more than anyone.'
(Sells 1984: 78, Hebrew)
- (6) *de Lehrer, wo de Hans verehrt und d Susi über **en** fluecht*
the teacher that the John adores and the Susi about him swears
'the teacher that John adores and Susi swears about (him).'
- (7) *de Lehrer, wo de Hans von **em** schwärmt und d Susi hasst*
the teacher that the John of him is-excited and the Susi hates
'the teacher that John is excited about (him) and Susi hates.'
(Salzmann 2012: 355, Zurich German)

In the case of resumptive coordinate structures swapping around the conjuncts is limited because resumptive elements have to appear in the second conjunct, as evidenced by (5). However, as shown in (6)–(7), this is not true in Zurich German, as the resumptive pronouns *em* and *en* can be used in both conjuncts. The causative, argumentative, and temporal relations in asymmetric coordinate structures and the constraint on the same subject in both conjuncts do not seem to be relevant in (5)–(7).

¹ In the article only in non-English examples we provide glosses for easier analysis.

In this paper we would like to examine asymmetric coordination with resumption in Old English. Since Old English is a language in which resumption is present, we would expect that resumptive pronouns can also appear in coordination just like in other languages. Before we carry out a corpus analysis (Section 3), let us see what other sources reveal about resumptive pronouns and coordination in Old English.

2. Previous studies

Old English sources say very little about resumptive pronouns in coordinate structures. If resumption is discussed, it is normally limited to relative clauses (see, e.g., Traugott 1992; Visser 1963–1973). Coordination, on the other hand, is discussed in the context of split constituents, parataxis, and gapping, to mention but a few. Of the more recent studies, Taylor and Ringe (2014: 471–472) briefly mention the two phenomena jointly. They remark that many resumptives appear in the second (or later conjunct), in a complicated structure (8), sometimes with a change in the role of the pronoun (9):

- (8) *Se þe his synnen adilgað & heo scuneð, & he heo,*
 he who his sins blots-out and them avoids and he them
halewendlice andetteð God se þe hire byð nu gewite, he
 salutarily confesses God who that to-them is now torment he
heora byð eft werigend.
 of-them is afterwards protector
 ‘he who blots out his sins, and shuns them and he salutarily confesses them,
 God, who is now their torment, he is afterwards their protector.’
 (coalcuin,Alc_[Warn_35]:348.253; Taylor et al. 2014: 471–472)
- (9) *Soðlice se ðe ealle þa gebytlu hylt and hine nan ne berð*
 Truly he who all the buildings holds and him none NEG carry
se is hælend Crist þe us ealle gehylt.
 he is saviour Christ who us all holds
 ‘Truly he who holds all the buildings and no one carries him, he is the Saviour
 Christ who holds us all.’
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II, 45:339.129.7609; Taylor et al. 2014: 472)

Of the more traditional studies, the most reliable syntactic study is Mitchell (1985). Mitchell (1985: § 2188) notes that a resumptive² element can appear

² Mitchell (1985) of course does not use the term “resumption.”

in the first conjunct, though his structure actually involves the repetition of the nominal head, as in (10) below, very different from example (7) in Zurich German:

- (10) *þu eart Crist, ðæs lifigendan Godes Sunu, þu þe be ðines Fæder*
 you are Christ the living God's Son you who by your Father
hæse middangeard gehældeð, and us ðone Halgan Gast asendest.
 behest world has-saved and us the Holy Ghost has-sent
 'you are Christ, Son of the living God, who, at your Father's behest, has saved
 the world and has sent us the Holy Ghost.'
 (ÆCHom i. 76.4; Mitchell 1985: § 2183)

Mitchell (1985: § 2189) also adds that a change of case can appear in the first, in the second, or in both (or more) conjuncts. The case change in the second conjunct is shown in (9) above. The other two cases are illustrated below.

- (11) *þæt bið eadig mann, þe þu hine, ece god, on þinre soðre æ sylfa*
 that is blessed man that you him eternal god on your true law self
getyhtest and hine þeodscipe ðinne lærest and him yfele
 shall-instruct and him instruction your shall-teach and him evil
dagas ealle gebeorgest
 days all shall-save
 'Blessed is the man whom you shall instruct, Eternal Lord, in your true law and
 whom shall teach your instruction and whom (you) all shall save from evil days'
 (PPs 93.11; Mitchell 1985: § 2189)
- (12) *Secgað Israhela bearnum, ðæt hi eton þa nytenu ðe heora*
 tell Israel's children that they may-eat the animals that their
clawa todaelede beoð & ceowað.
 hoofs dividing are and chew
 'Tell children of Israel that they may eat the animals whose hoofs are dividing
 and (who) chew.'
 (cootest, Lev:11.1.3771; Mitchell 1985: § 2189)

The picture that emerges from Old English studies is that there are three important factors in the distribution of resumptives in asymmetric coordinate structures in Old English: a syntactic change in the role of resumptive, their presence in one (or more) conjunct(s) and the degree of complexity of a co-ordinate structure. Let us discuss each of those factors, in turn, against the corpus data.

3. Corpus analysis

3.1 Corpus

We have conducted a more systematic examination of resumptive coordination structures in Old English. The data are drawn from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English (YCOE), with the assistance of a search engine to extract possibly the greatest number of constructions. Because the corpus includes 1.5 million words with a wide variety of different texts such as translations (Orosius and *Cura Pastoralis*), native works (*Ælfric's Homilies*, for example), long and short texts of different genres, such as religious treatises, homilies, fiction, historical, legal or philosophical works, it should give us a fairly representative picture of resumptive pronouns in coordination in Old English.

Although this is a corpus study, we will not provide exact numbers of resumptives in coordination, as their number is still too small (around one hundred examples, see the Appendix) against the total number of clauses in the corpus.

3.2 Syntactic role and case

In our collection of data we find a great number of coordinate structures in which resumptives do not change their syntactic role. Most of them, however, involve syndetic coordination with a nominative resumptive in the second conjunct. Consider some typical examples:

- (13) *Warniað eow georne wið lease witegan, þa ðe cumað to eow on*
 Beware you carefully with false prophets those that come to you on
sceape gelicnyse, and hi synd wiþinnan reafigende wulfas.
 sheeps' semblance and they are within ravening wolves
 'Beware you carefully of false prophets who come to you in sheeps' semblance
 and within they are ravening wolves.'

(coalive,ÆLS_[Mark]:119.3282)

- (14) *Manige men beoð þe beforan oprum mannum hwæt hugu god*
 Many men are that before other men what little good
begangap, & rape hie hit anforlætap;
 perform and quickly they it abandon

‘Many men there are who, before other men, begin to do a little good and quickly abandon it;’

(coblick,HomS_17_[BIHom_5]:57.31.700)

These structures resemble left dislocated constructions found in Old English, in which a noun phrase modified by a relative or adverbial clause is resumed by a pronoun (see Traugott 2007 on Old English left dislocation). Our examples can be characterized as simple paratactic structures, involving no more than two conjuncts, in which resumptives are not used to change the role. Occasionally, there are non-nominative cases of the same type. Consider:

- (15) *ðæt is seo rihtwisnys, þæt man rihtlice gelyfe on þone soðan*
 that is the righteousness that man rightly believes on the true
Hælend, þone gesawon his folgeras, and on hine gelyfdon, and
 Saviour whom saw his disciples and on him believed and
mid lufe wurðodon.
 with love worshipped

‘This is the righteousness that man rightly believes in the true Saviour whom his disciples saw and in whom believed and worshipped with love.’

(coaelhom,ÆHom_7:164.1138)

- (16) *& ealle þa mynstru, þe he ær gestapelode & geændebyrde*
 and all the monastery that he before established and arranged
& gesette mid þam gegadredum broðrum, and heom gesette
 and filled with the gathered brothers and to-them appointed
gewisse preostas & reccendas.
 knowledgeable priests and rulers

‘all the monastery that he before established and arranged and filled with the gathered brothers and to them appointed knowledgeable priests and rulers.’

(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:8.119.18.1420)

In (15) and (16) the resumptive pronouns in the second conjunct have the same case as the noun phrases they refer to. The same goes for the relative pronoun in (15). Note that the resumptive pronouns appear in the initial position in the second conjunct, performing the role of relative pronouns (see below).

Apart from no role changing resumptives, we have a number of examples in which cases between the conjuncts differ. By way of illustration, let us consider the first set of examples:

- (17) *Se ilca Moyses ðe God self lærde, & hine lædde ðurh ðæt*
 The same Moses that God self taught and him led through the

westen mid ðy fyrenan sweore on nieht
wilderness with the fiery pillar on night

‘the same Moses whom God Himself taught and whom led through the wilderness with the fiery pillar by night.’

(cocura,CP:41.304.6.2020)

- (18) *hu manig esnewyrhtan wæron in mines fæder huse & þam hlaf*
how many hirelings were in my father house and them bread
genihtsumað.
abounds

‘how many hired servants were in my father’s house and they abound with bread.’

(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:3.106.31.1233)

- (19) *ðæm upahæfenum is to cyðanne hwelc nawuht ðes woruldgielp is*
to-the proud is to be-told how of-no value this worldly-glory is
ðe hie clyppað & lufiað, & his nawuht habbað, ðeah hie
that they embrace and love and of-it nothing have though they
wenen ðæt hie hiene hæbben.
think that they it have

‘the proud are to be told how worthless this worldly glory is which they embrace and love, and have nothing of it, although they think they have it.’

(cocura,CP:41.299.5.1965)

As shown above, the underlined noun phrases are typically nominative and the resumptives can be accusative, dative or genitive. The resumptive pronouns are in the initial position, changing the syntactic role of the second conjunct. If the two relative clauses are conjoined, as in (17), and the relativizer is caseless, the pronoun is justified to signal the change of case. Sometimes, however, the noun phrase and the relativizer introducing the first conjunct are not nominative. Consider:

- (20) *he mid weorcum spræc to sumum cnihte, swa swa us kyð seo racu,*
he with works spoke to some youth just as us tells the story
ðone he lufode, & him eac swa gelæste.
whom he loved and him also lost

‘he spoke with works to a certain young man, just as the story tells us, whom he loved and whom also lost.’

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigewardZ]:1015.449)

- (21) *ac his dæda sind awritene on Drihtenes godspelle, þone he gefullode*
but his deeds are written on Lord’s gospel whom he baptized

& *his* *forerynel* *wæs on life ge on deaðe*,
and his forerunner was on life and on death

‘but his deeds are written in the Gospel of our Lord, whom he baptized and whose forerunner he was in life and death,’

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigewardZ]:858.345)

In (20) and (21) the head noun is dative and genitive respectively, and the relativizers introducing the first conjunct are accusatives. Again the resumptive pronouns, which bear a different case from the relativizers, ensure the correct syntactic relation between the conjuncts. Note that in all the examples above, the resumptive pronoun is always a more marked (or at least the same) case-option.³ It seems that it must be marked overtly, since more marked cases are more likely to be marked morphologically. However, when we have the reverse situation, the resumptive pronoun remains empty (marked by Ø in the example below). Consider example (12) repeated here as (22):

- (22) *Secgað Israhela bearnum, ðæt hi eton þa nytenu ðe heora*
tell Isreal’s children that they may-eat the animals that their
clawa todælede beoð & ceowað.
hoofs dividing are and chew

‘Tell children of Israel that they may eat the animals whose hoofs are dividing and who chew.’

(cootest,Lev:11.1.3771; Mitchell 1985: § 2189)

In (22) the first relative clause contains the more marked genitive *heora*, so it is translated as ‘whose.’ In the second conjunct, however, the relativizer should be changed into a less marked option, so it is not overtly marked. This is a rare situation; nevertheless, it shows that the case choice is an important parameter in coordinate structures.

Another thing is that the case of the head noun when two relatives are conjoined does not influence the overt marking of the resumptive. In other words, the resumptive can be overt and less marked (nominative) even if the head is more marked (non-nominative). This is shown in (23):

- (23) *Swylce eac be ðam micelum muntum & dunum, þa þe hyhst*
Such also by those great mountains and hills those that highest
standaþ & goriað ofer ealne middangeard, & þeahhwæðere hi
stand and tower over all earth and nevertheless they

³ We are assuming the Universal Case Markedness Hierarchy: nominative (least marked) < accusative < dative < genitive (most marked).

wite habbað þæs ealdordomes þæt hie bioð geneahhe mid
 punishment have of-that authority that they are often with
hatum fyre geþread & geþræsted, & geslægen mid lige.
 hot fire afflicted and threatened and tormented with flame

‘It is also so with those great mountains and heights, which stand highest and tower over all the earth and, nevertheless, (they) have the penalty of that pre-eminence in that they are often afflicted and threatened with hot fire and tormented with flame.’

(coverhom,HomS_40.3_[ScraggVerc_10]:214.1545)

To sum up this section, we see that case does not have to change the role of a pronoun. With nominative resumptives and a small number of non-nominative resumptives, a change in the role of pronouns does not take place. However, with non-nominative resumptives the syntactic role of the pronoun does change. Case markedness plays an important function in the occurrence of resumptives in coordinate structures. Now let us move on to another factor responsible for the distribution of resumptives in asymmetric coordination – their presence in the conjuncts.

3.3 The position of resumptives in the conjuncts

With respect to the placement of resumptives in asymmetric coordination, there are two issues that must be dealt with. The first question concerns which conjunct or conjuncts can contain resumptives. The other problem lies in their exact position within the conjunct(s). As for the former issue, the evidence is equivocal. Taylor and Ringe (2014) remark that resumptives appear in the second (or later) conjunct. Mitchell (1985), on the other hand, points out that they can occur in the first conjunct, but his examples are not convincing. Apparently, resumptives can surface in the first conjunct or in at least two conjuncts. Consider:

- (24) *þa beoð eadge þe heora wonnesse forlætne beoð & þara*
 those are happy that their wickedness forsaken is and of-those
þe synna bewrigene beoð.
 that sins concealed are

‘those are happy whose wickedness is relinquished and whose sins are concealed.’

(cobede,Bede_5:14.442.5.4438)

- (25) *On ðone ðreo ond twentegðan dæg þæs monðes bið Sancte*
 On the three and twenty day of-the month is Saint

Georgius tid ðæs æþelan weres, ðone Datianus se casere seofan
 George time of-the holy man whom Datianus the caesar seven
gear mid unasecgendlicum witum hine preade þæt he Criste wiðsoce
 years with unspeakable tortures him impelled that he Christ repudiate
ond he nohwæpre hine oferswiðan mihte.
 and he no-however him overpower could

‘On the twenty-third day of the month is the feast of the noble man St George who(m) emperor Datianus forced (him) for seven years with unspeakable tortures to renounce Christ, but he could never overpower him.’

(comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]:Ap23,A.1.582)

- (26) *eadig is se wer þe on his forðsiðe halgena getel healice sang,*
 blessed is the man that on his departure saints group highly sang
and engla werod blissode, and ealle heofonware him
 and angels group rejoiced and all heavenly-inhabitants him
togeanes ferdon,
 towards went

‘Blessed is the man on whose departure a number of saints sang beautifully and a host of angles rejoiced and to whom all inhabitants of heaven went,’

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:1430.6915)

In example (24) the resumptive appears in the first conjunct. Note that the genitive is marked overtly in the second conjunct by means of a relativizer. In examples (25) and (26) the resumptives are used in two conjuncts and they have the same or different cases. Unfortunately, we found very few examples of that sort so it is difficult to evaluate how common they were, especially in the face of many examples with resumptives in the second conjunct. Thus we should be cautious in saying that Old English was like Zurich German, which allows resumptives in both conjuncts. What is certain, though, is that this option was available, especially in the face of the fact that the examples can be found in native texts.

The other problem that we are faced with is the exact position of resumptives in the conjunct. In examples (13)–(14) and (17)–(19) we saw that they can be first in the second conjunct. Yet, the initial position is not the only one available for resumptives. Consider:

- (27) *buton hig se ælmyhtyga God fram me ateo, se ðe Lazarum*
 except them the almighty God from me should-take he that Lazarus
of me genam þone þe ic heold deadne feower nyht fæste gebunden
 from me took who that I held dead four nights fast bound
and ic hyne eft cwycne ageaf þurh hys bebodu.
 and I him again alive gave through his commands

‘[...] unless omnipotent God take them from me, who took Lazarus from me, whom I held dead bound fast for four days; and I gave him up again alive because of his commands.’

(conicodA,Nic_[A]:20.3.3.463)

- (28) *swa swa Aaron wæs, se arwurða bisceop, þone þe God sylf geceas,*
just like Aaron was the venerable bishop whom that God self chose
and gesette him to bisceope on þa ealdan wisan. æfter Moyses æ
and appointed him to bishop on the old way after Moses law
‘just like Aaron, the venerable bishop, whom God Himself chose, and appointed him as a bishop in the old way according to Moses’ law’

(coaelhom,ÆHom_21:237.3197)

- (29) *embe þa forewyrð þe ægelric worhte wið Eadsige arcebisceop æt*
about the agreement that ægelric wrought with Eadsige archbishop at
þam lande æt Cert þe Ceolnoð arcebisceop gebohte æt Hæleþan þam
the land at Chart that Ceolnoth archbishop bought at Hæletha he
þegene mid his agenan sceatte & Aþelulf cing hit gebocode Ceolnoþe
thane with his own money and Aþelulf king it chartered Ceolnoth
arcebisceope on ece yrfæ.

archbishop on eternal inheritance

‘[...] concerning the compacts which Ægelric made with archbishop Eadsige respecting the land at Chart, which archbishop Ceolnoth bought of Hæletha the thane with his own money and king Aþelulf chartered it to archbishop Ceolnoth in perpetual heritage.’

(codocu3,Ch_1471_[Rob_101]:1.199)

- (30) *Be þam sind awritene witodlice feower bec, þa sind gehatenne*
By those are written indeed four books which are called
Liber Regum on Leden, þæt ys cininga boc gecweden swa on an,
Liber Regum on Latin, that is kings’ book called so on one
& Verba Dierum lið þærto geiced; seo ys seo fife boc.
and Verba Dierum lies thereto placed it is the fifth book

‘[Kings] of whom are written four distinct books, which are called Liber Regum in Latin, that is the book of Kings, so-called all in one, and Verba dierum is placed next to it – this is the fifth book.’

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigewardZ]:450.159)

As we can see in (27)–(30), the resumptives can sit in the middle of the conjunct, irrespective of whether or not they agree in case with the relativizer in the first conjunct (examples (27) and (28), respectively), or whether they are used with the caseless relativizer (example 29). Resumptives can also complement prepositions, as shown in (30). As a matter of fact, the examples above

are genuine violations of the CSC principle presented in the introduction and found in many languages making free use of resumption. They prove that Old English and probably later periods as well (see example (4)) are among languages in which resumption was not only limited to relative clauses and played an important role in other grammatical areas. Resumptives in non-initial position have also far-reaching consequences for the syntactic status of the two conjuncts. For instance, Roberts (1999) assumes a binary branching structure, with conjuncts merged differently (see also Johannessen (1998) for a more detailed description of this issue).

In the next section we will discuss the last factor responsible for the distribution of resumptives in coordination, that is, structural complexity.

3.4 Structural complexity

One of the reasons why we use resumptives is the fact that they facilitate processing and improve the acceptability of complex structures with gaps, especially in speech (Ross 1967; McKee and McDaniel 2001 and many others). Therefore, it should not be surprising that in coordinate structures with resumptives the problem of structural complexity appears as well. By complex structures we mean constructions that contain more than two conjuncts. Let us illustrate them with appropriate examples:

- (31) *Manige men beoð heardre heortan þe þa godcundan lare gehyraþ,*
 Many men are hard hearts that the divine instruction hear
& him mon þa oft bodað & sægþ, & hi hi þonne
 and them one then often preaches and says and they that then
agimeleasiað
 neglect

‘Many men there are whose hearts are hard, who hear the divine instruction and to whom one often preaches and speaks they then neglect that’

(coblick,HomS_17_[BIHom_5]:57.48.709)

- (32) *Soðlice se ðe ealle þa gebytlu hylt and hine nan ne berð se is*
 Truly he who all the buildings holds and him none neg carry he is
hælend Crist þe us ealle gehylt.
 saviour Christ who us all holds

‘Truly he who holds all the buildings and no one carries him, he is the Saviour Christ who holds us all.’

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II, 45:339.129.7609)

- (33) *þætte seo æfeste Cristes þeowe Hild abbudisse þæs mynstres þe*
 when the pious Christ's servant Hild abbess of-the monastery that
is cweden Streoneshealh, swa swa we beforan sægdon, æfter monegum
 is called Whitby just like we before said after many
heofonlecum dædum, þe heo on eorðan dyde to onfonne þæs
 heavenly deeds that she on earth did to receive the
heofonlecan lifes mede ond heo of eorðan alæded eorde þy
 heavenly life's meed and she from earth carried-off went the
fiftegeþan dæge Kalendarum Decembrium, mid þy heo hæfde syx
 fiftieth day Kalendarum Decembrium when she had six
& syxti wintra.
 and sixty years
 'when the pious servant of Christ, Hild, abbess of the monastery which is called Whitby, as already mentioned, after many heavenly deeds performed on earth, in order to receive the meed of heavenly life, (and) she was carried up from earth and departed on the seventeenth of November in her sixty sixth year.'
 (cobede,Bede_4:24.330.26.3325)
- (34) *Wa þam þe witegað be heora agenre heortan, and farað æfter*
 Woe to-those that prophesy by their own heart and go after
heora gaste, and cwæðað þæt hit God sæde þæt þæt hi secgað and
 their spirit and say that it God said that that they say and
God hi ne sende.
 God them not sent
 'Woe to those who prophesy out of their own heart and go after their own spirit and say that God spoke what they say and God did not send them.'
 (coalive,ÆLS_[Mark]:111.3281)
- (35) *hwæt mana is þes, þam etendum ic æt stande & him candelle healde*
 what man is this whom eating I at stand and him candle hold
& him þus swiðe þeowie?
 and him thus very serve
 'What is the man whom I thus wait upon at supper, and hold him the candle and do him thus any such service?'
 (cogregdH,GD_2_[H]:20.144.3.1404)

In examples (31)–(32) the complex structures are combined with case-switching: the first conjunct starts with the nominative phrase and comes back to the nominative case in the last conjunct. In (33) and (34) complexity is understood as a long distance between the (non)-nominative phrase and the resumptive linked to it in the last conjunct. In such cases resumptive pronouns seem to be justified. However, we also find cases, exemplified by (35), in which the use

of resumptives approached from the perspective of structural complexity is not justified, as the distance between the relevant elements is short and the same cases in the conjuncts are repeated.

Another striking finding is that complex structures with resumptives are not the most common option. In fact, simple structures with resumptives are more common. Of course this might be accounted for by a general rarity of complex structures in Old English, which had a clear preference for simple structures. On the other hand, multi-conjunct coordinate constructions look like paratactic structures that are so common in Old English. One way or another, if complexity was a factor in the choice of resumptives in coordinate structures, it was not the most important one.

3.5 Conclusions

In this paper, we have looked at one type of asymmetric coordination, namely, coordination with resumptive pronouns. We have identified three factors responsible for the distribution of resumptives in coordination, that is, the syntactic role of case, the placement of resumptives, and structural complexity, and tested them against the corpus data. An examination of extensive body of the data allowed us to draw a few conclusions. First, although all the factors have some justification in the distribution of resumptives in coordination, they do not seem to be of equal value. Structural complexity seems to be less important in this respect. Second, case changes the syntactic role of pronouns but only in the initial position with non-nominative resumptives; nominative resumptives do not perform this function. Third, resumptives in the middle of the conjunct are also adequately represented. They do not change the role but represent a violation of the CSC constraint found in many other languages with resumption. This allows us to subsume Old English under the same group as Hebrew and, perhaps, Zurich German. This fact in turn supports the view that resumption was an important syntactic phenomenon in the history of English. Finally, all the three factors contribute to the distribution of resumptives in coordination but in each case the role of resumptives differs. For example, not all resumptives change the syntactic role of pronouns, they do not have to appear only in the initial position in the second conjunct, they can appear in simple structures. This means that the factors should be considered jointly rather than separately.

Appendix

List of resumptive pronouns in asymmetric coordination in the corpus

Type	No changing role		Changing role		
	Simple	Complex	Simple	Complex	
Nominative resumptives	25	5	6	10	
Non-nominative resumptives	2	3	26* (initial)	6	
			18*(middle)		
Other cases	7				
Total	108				

Notes:

- Complex structures** – the case of the last resumptives is taken into account;
Other cases – structures in which the first or both conjuncts are resumptivized;
* – indicates the number of resumptives in the initial and non-initial position.

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