

Island Pied Piping in Early Modern English?*

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1 Introduction

- (1) This is actually two contradictory talks. The points of this talk should have been:
 - There are some locality domains you just can't get out of, regardless of their edge properties.
 - (At least one type of) piedpiping happens because ungrammaticality would result without it.

I'll still argue for these claims. But, as of two weeks ago, I'm not sure that the evidence shows what I thought it did, so treat this with caution.
- (2) These are conservative claims (see Ross 1967, Huang 1982 for the former and Chomsky 1995 for the latter), but there have been numerous conceptually-driven assaults on the former, and numerous empirical challenges to the latter, so they're worth defending.
- (3) Putting the two claims together makes a prediction:
 - a. We can't get out of some locality domains. . .
 - b. . . but we might be able to carry them along with us.

This is exactly what we see, across a wide variety of islands, in Early Modern English.
- (4) The plan:
 - a. First, some background on locality theory.
 - b. Then, the data and what I thought they showed us.
 - c. Finally, the reasons why I maybe don't believe that any more.

2 Two Approaches to Locality

- (5) Three basic facts in locality theory:

*The really neat new data were first pointed out to me by Jack Hoeksema (at Tabudag 2006), and Liliane Haegeman also gave me some examples, while Karlos Arregi clarified some Basque data. The pretty sloppy, unfinished analysis is entirely my own work. So they get the credit, I get the blame.

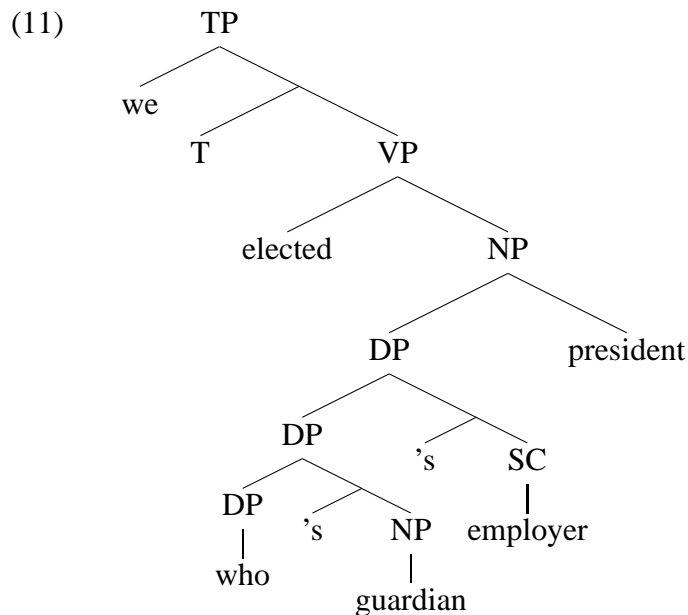
- a. Syntactic dependencies can span an arbitrary amount of material.
 (i) What do you think that John thinks that ... that Sue thinks that I should do __ ?
- b. Syntactic dependencies are impossible in certain configurations.
 (i) *Who did you meet [John and __]?
 (ii) *Who did you meet [someone who likes __]?
 (iii) *Who did [talking to __] inspire you?
 (iv) *Who did Mary cry [after John kissed __]?
 (v) *How did you wonder [whether you should speak to Bill __]?
- c. Even dependencies that look like they consist of very long leaps (like (5ai)) may well consist of multiple smaller leaps.
 (i) Cén fear a^L thiteann go talamh?
 which man C falls to earth
 (ii) Níl a fhios agam cén fear a thiteann go talamh.
 I don't know which man C falls to earth
 (iii) Deir sé go dtuigeann sé an scéal.
 says he that understands he the story
 He says that he understands the story.
 (iv) [Cé a^L mheas tú [C_{Pt} a^L chonaic tú t]]?
 who C thought you C saw you
 Who did you think that you saw?
- (6) Initially, the accounts of island phenomena and of successive cyclicity looked nothing much like each other.
- a. A typical early formulation of an island constraint: The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967:161):
 'In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct'.
- b. An early account of successive-cyclic movement (NB, this is very technical, but the intuition behind it is simple): The Specified Subject Condition (Chomsky 1973:239):
 'No rule can involve X, Y in the structure
 ...X...[α...Z... – WYV ...]...
 where Z is the specified subject of WYV in α' [α is a *cyclic node*, S or NP]
- (7) a. A hallmark of the (6a) type of constraint (call it an *absolute-islands* constraint): if you're within a certain type of constituent, you can't get out, no matter how hard you try.
 b. A hallmark of the (6b) type of constraint (call it a *domains-with-edges* constraint): if you're within a certain type of constituent, you can get out, but only if you move to the edge of that constituent first.
- (8) a. If successive cyclicity really exists, then the need for some kind of domains-with-edges constraint seems secure: movement opens up further possibilities for more movement. Absolute-islands constraints have no way of mimicking that: no matter how close you are to the edge of an island, you can't get off.
 b. But domains-with-edges constraints *can* mimic the effects of absolute-islands con-

straints under certain circumstances.

- (i) Let's say that you need to get to a designated edge position within a constituent to be able to leave that constituent. But if (i) that position doesn't exist, or (ii) something prevents you from moving to that position, then you're stuck within the constituent. This gives you essentially the Head Constraint of van Riemsdijk (1978).
- (ii) Alternatively, let's say that you can skip one edge position, but skipping two edge positions is impossible (in other words, you can move from one domain to an adjacent domain, but no further — *subjacency* in the sense of Chomsky 1973, 1986), and it turns out that getting out of some constituent will always involve skipping two edge positions, then, once again, you're stuck within that constituent. That gives you essentially the Barriers theory of Chomsky (1986).
- c. So the reductionist, ontologically parsimonious theory is one in which absolute-islands constraints *à la* Ross are reformulated as domains-with-edges constraints *à la* Chomsky. There are about a dozen such theories out there, spanning 1978–2007.

3 How to Spot an Absolute Island

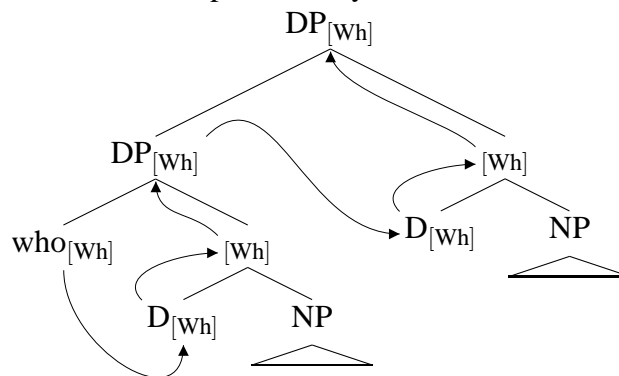
- (9) There is one configuration which distinguishes an absolute island from a domain with an edge mimicking an absolute island:
 - a. If we find something right at the very edge of a domain, and it still can't get off, then the domains-with-edges approach has nothing to say.
 - b. The absolute-islands approach has no problem, though: it doesn't care where you are within the island — you still can't move any further.
- (10) A classic example: possessor piedpiping in English.
 - a. The boy [[whose guardian's employer] we elected __ president] ratted on us. (Ross 1967:208)
 - b. *The boy [[whose guardian] we elected __'s employer president] ratted on us.
 - c. *The boy [[who] we elected __'s guardian's employer president] ratted on us.



(12) The intuition to be pursued here: this type of pied-piping is possible because the larger phrase also comes to count as a *wh*-phrase (i.e. bear a *wh*-feature).

(13) We can get an explanation of how this comes about if we posit two mechanisms of feature transfer:

- a. Projection: Projections of a head bear the same features as the head;
- b. Spec-Head agreement: A head and its specifier may have certain features in common.
- c. Putting them together:



- (14)
- a. This explains why piedpiping is *possible* here.
 - b. But the reason why it is *necessary* is pretty mundane (moving *who* or *whose guardian* alone would leave an affix/clitic *-s* without a host).
 - c. When we turn to the Early Modern English data, we will keep the explanation of how piedpiping is possible, but we will find that it is sometimes necessary for locality-based reasons, rather than morphological concerns like the above.

4 The Early Modern English Data

- (15)
- a. All the data here come from the Unparsed Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (Diachronic Portion).
 - b. Similar examples can be found from Henry V to at least Charles Dickens and Nathaniel Hawthorne, but with a heavy concentration in the 16th-17th centuries.
 - c. I don't know when (or if) it died out, because the Helsinki corpus only covers the period to 1710, and it's still fairly strong then. Apparently a few speakers don't think they sound too bad even today.
 - d. Because of the limitations of working with an unparsed corpus, I only looked for A'-constructions headed by *Wh*-words, in practice always relative clauses (an attempt to look through *that*-relatives as well yielded 15,000 sentences with *that* in, and I couldn't bear to trawl through them).
 - e. There were roughly 7,000 tokens of *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *which*, *where*, in various spellings. Roughly 5,000 of these were relative clauses.
 - f. Of these, 77 unambiguously involved pied-piping of an island, and 125 more were compatible with such a structure.
- (16) **The basic type of example**
- a. In the very heat of these hurliments, the English burnt one of the milles beyond the water, and the daie following the other, [[which, when the French endeavoured to save __], they were so galed by two demie-culveringes from the trenches, that they were constreyned to abandon the enterprise].
 - b. Sweet Harte I haue sent by this bearer fourteen woodcockes and a brace of feasants which came to me by chance very fortunately. If you will, you may send them to my Lady Knyvett, [[which if you doe __], I pray lett this bearer cary them and remember my humble servis to my Lor: and Lady].
- (17) Such examples are found in a good range of structures:
- a. **Coordinate structures:** the very gates of Rome, [which [he entered __ & was received with Triumph, & obtained the Empire, not of 3 Kingdomes onely, but of all the then known World].
 - b. **Past participial absolutes:** a sarmon, somthing better then that in the morninge: [which ended __, with all Ceremones], I returned to my lodginge.
 - c. **Temporal adverbials:** receive then this Draught [with which when thou art refresh'd __], thou mayst more strongly proceed to other Matters which yet remain.
 - d. **Conditional clauses:** I make a square, that is G.H.K.L, [In which square if I drawe crosse lines __ frome one side to the other, according to the diuisions of the line G.H], then will it appear plaine, that the theoreme doth affirme.
 - e. **Present participial absolutes:** A married Gentleman coming through Canterbury, his Horse threw him, [which a young Gentlewoman seeing __] fell a laughing.
 - f. **Comparative correlatives:** For to try Doctrines is to enquire into the grounds and reasons of them; [which the better any man understands __], the more firmly he will be established in the Truth.

- g. **Concessives:** but not so easie work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britans that stood in arms, [whom though at last he overthrew __], yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own souldiers.
 - h. **Because-clauses:** they would earnestly contend to maintaine the faith; which was once delivered vnto the Saints. [Which faith because wee cannot maintaine __ except wee knowe perfectly, first against whom, secondly in what sort it must be maintained]; therefore in the former three verses of that parcell of Scripture which I haue read, the enimies of the crosse of Christ are plainly described.
 - i. **Purpose clauses:** This seemed to be done in distrust of the privy council, as if they might stifle his evidence; [which to prevent __], he put it in safe hands.
 - j. **Fronted complements:** the Female Palms (which only Bear) will not Bring forth before they are Impregnated at the Roots with the Seed of the Male, first pounded into Meal and sprinkled about them; [which_i ___i how true]_j I dispute not ___j; but certainly Tradition has confirmed the Practice, and they are not to be persuaded to neglect the Custom.
 - k. **Nominal subjects:** by them, [whom whosoever despiseth __], despiseth not them, but me.
 - l. **Clausal subjects:** there remayned a great dell or pitte without botome, [whiche to beholde __] was horrible and lothsome.
 - m. **Complex noun phrases:** It may be said to be right two manner of waies, first, when the Horizon passeth through both the Poles of the world, cutting the Equinoctiall with right angles, [in which Spheare they that dwell __] haue their Zenith in the Equinoctiall, which passeth right ouer their heads, to whom the daies and nights are alwaies equal.
- (18) **A generalisation over these examples:** Examples like (16) are only possible when the domain occurs at the left edge of the clause.
- (19) **What we don't find:** parallel examples involving rightward islands.
- a. (i) A married Gentleman coming through Canterbury, his Horse threw him, [which a young Gentlewoman seeing __] fell a laughing.
 - (ii) (*)his Horse threw him, which a young Gentlewoman fell a laughing [*t* seeing *t*].
 - b. If the domains-with-edges approach were all there is, there would be no obvious place to look concerning (19a_{ii}) for the edges approach: once *which* reaches an edge position, there's nothing to stop it moving further.¹
 - c. But the absolute-islands approach doesn't have a problem: the *wh*-phrase can't move further on its own, because it's within an absolute island, but that doesn't mean it can't drag the island along with it.

¹In fact, there may be one such example:

- (i) For that is it that of all men is most sought, wiche by caus we suppose only good is hit, therefore we confesse that [to get __] is all owre end.

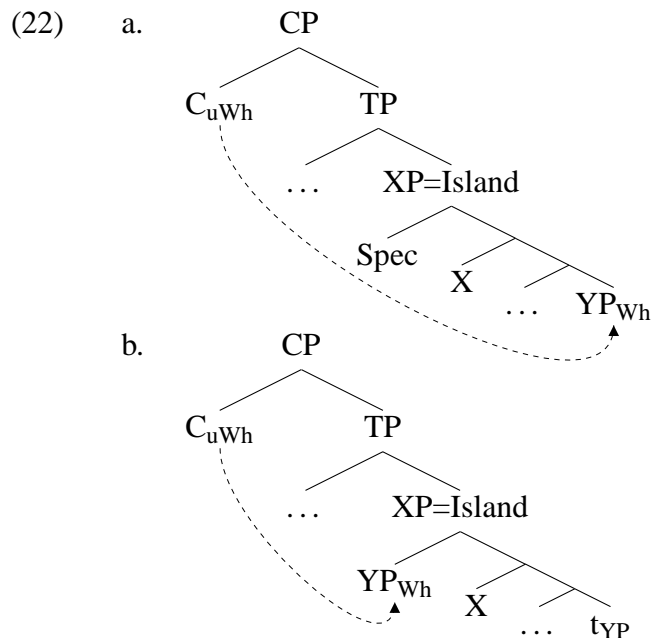
5 What This Would Have Told Us Two Weeks Ago

(20) **The facts:**

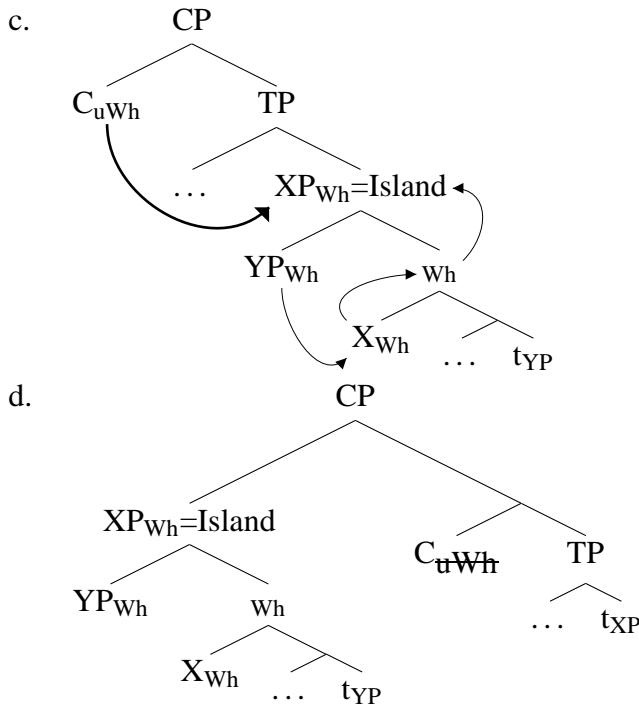
- a. The *wh*-phrase occurs at the left edge of the clause, never elsewhere (I don't know about multiple *wh* or *wh*-in-situ in EModE, but they're not typical concerns for relative clauses in any case);
- b. The *wh*-phrase occurs at the left edge of the domain (by transitivity, the domain is at the left edge of the clause, never elsewhere);
- c. There is no evidence for the *wh*-phrase being outside the domain, and motivating a movement across the domain boundary causes all sorts of technical problems (e.g. how do we guarantee that the domain also ends up on the left of the matrix clause?).

(21) **The explanation:**

- a. Absolute islands really do exist;
- b. Movement to the edge of an absolute island is possible in EModE, but no further;
- c. Pied-piping XP is possible from [Spec,X] but not from lower within a phrase;
- d. Particular complementisers require a [+Wh] phrase in their specifier.



But (a) it's only one example; (b) there are possible confounds involving the resumptive pronoun *hit* in the *because* clause (resumption is *everywhere* in EModE relative clauses, but that's beyond the scope of today's talk).



- (23) But this crucially relies on the assumption that, even when XP has an edge position [Spec,X], and even when C^0 can see XP, it can't see [Spec,X] and anything in [Spec,X] can't move further. I took this as an argument for absolute islands.

6 Towards a Different Theory of What's Going On Here

- (24) **Some questions:**
- How does this movement fit into a piedpiping typology?
 - What happened in the history of English to make this possibility appear and disappear within, essentially, 200 years?
- (25) **Further properties I:** This is piedpiping exclusively of islands. We never find piedpiping of a complement CP. In other words, examples like these are unattested.
- *[β e which to do] he promised __ (attested: β e which he promised [to do __]).
 - *[which to slip __ in and out] I have perceiv'd him __ (attested: which I have perceiv'd him [to slip __ in and out]).
- (26) **Further properties II:** The island that's piedpiped must be capable of appearing at the left edge of the clause even if no movement takes place. Unattested constructions:
- Piedpiping of a second conjunct: *The empire, [which he obtained] he entered the gates of Rome and __.
 - Piedpiping of the second clause in a correlative: *[which truth the more firmly he will be established in], the better any man understands the Doctrines.
 - Piedpiping of the indirect object in a double object construction: *those people [whom whomsoever despiseth] I give __ a reward.

d. Etc.

Any one of these alone is marginal enough to be a potential accidental gap, but all taken together, the lack of evidence for base-generation anywhere but the left edge is persuasive.

(27) **Further properties III:** The *wh*-phrase is not necessarily right at the edge of the island.²

- a. the Duke of Buckingham fyrste made humble peticion vnto him, on the behalfe of them all, that his grace woulde pardon them and lycence them to purpose vnto hys grace the intent of their commyng with oute his displeasure, [withoute whiche pardon obtayned], they dyrst not be bold to moue him of that matter.
- b. [He] toke the sayde Lorde Gray prysoner / and helde hym prysoner tyll contrarye his wyll he hadde Maryed the sayde Howens doughter / [After whiche Matrymony fynysshed] he helde the said Lorde styll in Walys tyll he dyed.

This is important because we have no evidence outside this construction for piedpiping by any specifier except the highest in the relevant domain (to be understood *à la* May (1985) etc., so that Spec of Spec is just as high as Spec).

(28) **Further properties IV:** These constructions are only found in relative clauses. This is plausibly in part a consequence of the search technique used (searching for *wh*-words in an unparsed corpus), but the absence of *any* such examples in *Wh*-questions is surprising (we would naïvely expect a couple of dozen).

(29) **Further properties V:** Moreover, these examples are overwhelmingly nonrestrictive (72/75 cases). The three exceptions (from two texts) are the following — I have nothing more to say about them here.

- a. the ston [vpon the whiche ower Savyor stonding] ascendid in to hevyn
- b. By them [whose words, if men or Angels from heauen gairesaie], they are accursed; by them, [whom whomsoever despiseth], despiseth not them, but me

(30) **Further properties VI:** More specifically, two types of interpretation count for the overwhelming majority of these examples:

- a. The antecedent of the relative clause denotes some object, event, or proposition, which causes, enables, leads to, or otherwise acts as a catalyst for the event described within the island, which itself leads on to the event described in the rest of the relative clause (50/75 cases).
 - (i) [_{e1}A married Gentleman coming through Canterbury, his Horse threw him], [_{e2} which a young Gentlewoman seeing], [_{e3} fell a laughing]].
 - (ii) [_nthe Acte of the Succession, which was deliuered me in a printed roll.] [[_{e1}After which redde secretly by my self,.. .] [_{e2}I shewed vnto them, that my purpose was not to put any faulte eyther in the acte or any man that made it]]
- b. The relative clause stands in apposition to its antecedent; the relation of the island to the rest of the relative clause is either: (A) the island describes some event involving the antecedent of the relative clause, the rest of the relative clause describes a consequence of that event; (B) the two parts of the relative clause stand in some correlation or equative relation (19/75 cases).

²The counterexamples are all within past participial phrases — no idea why.

- (i) lyke as in the Election off the Pope [_pa certain forme is to be kept] [[_{e1}which not observed] [_{e2}makith the Election to be voyd]]
- (ii) [_{e1}mony many times was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not]. [[_{e1}'In which doing], [_{e1}'this worthy Nicolaus folowed the steppes of good olde S. Nicolaus]]

(31) **Further properties VII:** A substantial subset of the island piedpiping examples (16/75) involve a pattern where the subject of the predicate described in the island is also understood as the matrix subject, despite that subject apparently being embedded within the island.

- a. A married Gentleman coming through Canterbury, his Horse threw him, [which a young Gentlewoman seeing __] fell a laughing.
- b. And Mellitus by preaching converted the East-Saxons, over whom Sebert the son of Sleda, by permission of Ethelbert, being born of his sister Rricula, then reign'd. [Whose conversion Ethelbert to gratulate], built them the great Church of St. Paul in London to be their Bishops Cathedral.

This is the sort of analysis which can lead to grumbling among syntacticians, but Ackema & Neeleman (2007) show, on the basis of V2 concerns, that a similar construction in Early Modern Dutch must be analysed in this way, with the matrix subject being a tightly constrained *pro*.

- c. [het welck de priesters, en wichelaers en insonderheyd Calches, ghewaer which the priests and fortune.tellers and in.particular Calches aware wordende], sochten dien onlust by Agamemnon te voeden becoming sought that displeasure at Agamemnon to feed
When the priests and fortune-tellers, in particular Calches, became aware of this, they sought to fuel Agamemnon's displeasure. (Joost van den Vondel, contents to *Palamedes*; 1625, in Ackema & Neeleman 2007:87)

(32) **Further properties VIII:** A more minor pattern involves the use of several different kinds of *complementiser pairs*.

- a. *If ... then ...*
- b. *The X, the Y*
- c. *Though ... yet ...*
- d. *Because ... therefore ...*

(33) **Further properties IX:** A third minor pattern is that 8 of these relative clauses are separated from their antecedents by a full stop and a capital letter, and a further 5 are separated by some other “heavy” punctuation and a capital letter. This is not unattested in other relative clauses, but it is much rarer.

(34) The island piedpiping story doesn't give us a clue how to deal with *any* of this. . .

6.1 Some Types of Piedpiping This Isn't I: Complement Piedpiping

(35) a. Who did you speak [to __]?

- b. [To whom] did you speak?
- (36) a. *Qui avez-vous parlé [à __]?
- b. [À qui] avez-vous parlé __ ?
- (37) a. Reports [which] the government prescribes the height of the lettering on the covers of __ are invariably boring.
- b. Reports [the covers of which] the government prescribes the height of the lettering on __ almost always put me to sleep.
- c. Reports [the lettering on the covers of which] the government prescribes the height of __ are a shocking waste of public funds.
- d. Reports [the height of the lettering on the covers of which] the government prescribes __ should be abolished. (Ross 1967:197–8)
- (38) a. That woman, [compared to whom] Attila the Hun was an angel, is unfortunately my husband’s favourite aunt.
- b. The tree, [seated next to which] they found themselves, had been planted on the highest point in the park.
- c. The elegant parties, [to be admitted to one of which] was a privilege, had usually been held at Delmonico’s. (Nanni & Stillings 1978:311)
- (39) a. The PP piedpiping pattern is common in a lot of languages as a way to avoid P-stranding.
- b. Any more substantial piedpiping from complement position (i.e. anything involving other lexical heads) is idiosyncratic, construction-specific (only appositive relatives allow it freely in English), subject to heavy crosslinguistic variation, optional, etc. Opinions are divided about whether it’s the same thing as piedpiping from a specifier (see Heck 2004 and Horvath 2006 for opposing positions).
- c. In a few of the above examples, though, an acceptable Modern English equivalent can be formed by leaving the *wh*-word *in situ* and piedpiping from complement position.
- (i) This seemed to be done in distrust of the privy council, as if they might stifle his evidence; [to prevent which], he put it in safe hands.
- (ii) There remained a great bottomless pit, [to behold which] was horrible and loathsome.
- d. This is a more limited option than in EModE, but there is some degree of overlap, due to the overwhelmingly nonrestrictive character of the EModE construction.

6.2 Some Types of Piedpiping This Isn’t II: Imbabura Quechua

- (40) Cole (1982) documented the widespread availability of an optional strategy of clausal piedpiping from Spec in Imbabura Quechua (in the following, read the interrogative marker *-taj* as a matrix complementiser).
- a. [pi Utavalu -man ri- chun] -taj muna -ngui?
 who Otavalo -to go -SUBJ -Q want -2
 Who do you want to go to Otavalo? (Cole 1982:19)
- If that clause happens to be an island, it can also be piedpiped.

- b. [may -pi Marya ka -jpi] -taj Juan ruwana -ta randi -rka?
 where -in María be -ADV] -Q Juan poncho -ACC buy -PAST -3
 Juan bought a poncho when María was where? (Cole 1982:22)

But islands can also be freely extracted from.

- c. [may -pi] -taj [__ Marya ka -jpi] Juan ruwana -ta randi -rka?
 where -in -Q María be -ADV Juan poncho -ACC buy -PAST -3
 Juan bought a poncho when María was where? (Cole 1982:22)

To be fair, piedpiping can rescue some examples which are ungrammatical under strand-ing (questioning of possessors or embedded subjects, for example), but given the general island-insensitivity of *wh*-dependencies in Imbabura Quechua, it seems that islands have no special status in this system.

- (41) So the big difference is that Imbabura Quechua can only piedpipe clauses, while EModE can only piedpipe islands.

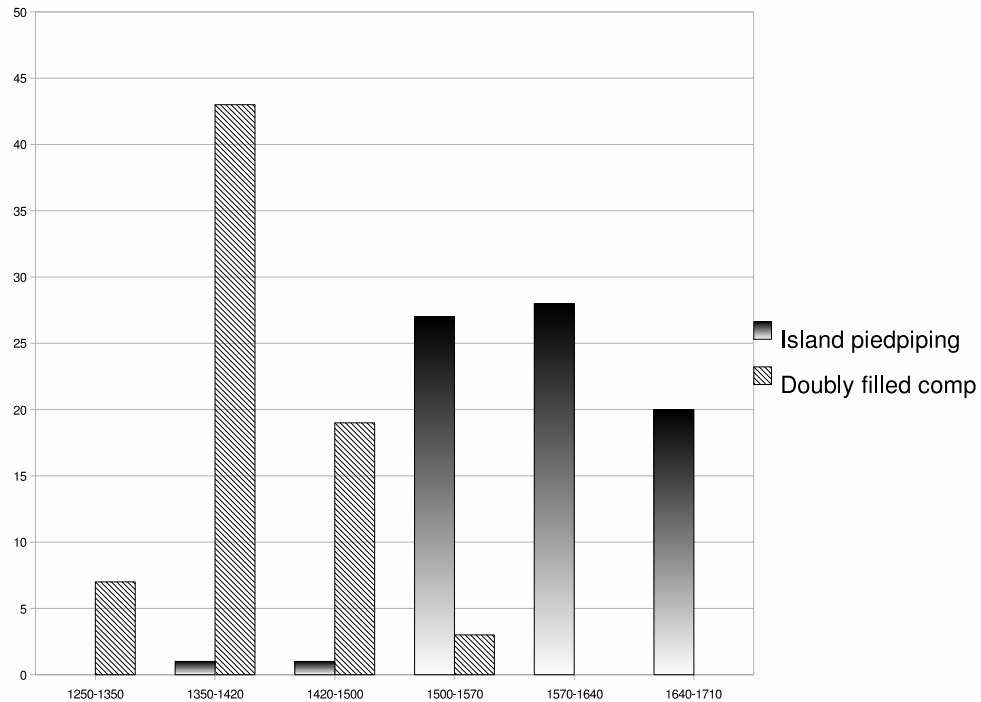
6.3 Some Types of Piedpiping This Isn't III: Basque

- (42) Basque is like Imbabura Quechua in that it allows clausal piedpiping, including piedpiping of adjunct clauses, but unlike Imbabura Quechua in that adjuncts cannot be extracted from.

- a. [Nor etorriko d- ela bihar] esan dizu Mireni?
 who come AUX -that tomorrow said AUX Mary-D
 That who will come tomorrow have you told Mary? (Ortiz de Urbina 1990:197)
- b. [Mikeli zer esan ondoren] joan zen etxetik?
 Mikel-D what say after go AUX home-from
 After saying what to Michael did he leave home? (Ortiz de Urbina 1990:198)
- c. *Zer joan ziren hemendik [__ ikusi ondoren]?
 What.A go AUX here-from see after
 What did they leave here after they saw (Ortiz de Urbina 1989:252)

This makes it look a little more like EModE, because constituent questions within non-finite clausal islands can be rescued by this strategy, when they would otherwise be ungrammatical. But as with Imbabura Quechua, we're still dealing with clauses, not islands.

- (43) Ortiz de Urbina (1990) also suggests that maybe the acceptability of clausal piedpiping correlated with the acceptability of doubly filled COMPs (note that these are hallmarks of both Imbabura Quechua and Basque above. EModE goes exactly, 100%, against this.
- a. Middle English had doubly filled COMPs. . .
 (i) He which that hath the shortest shall begin. (Keyser 1975:9)
 (ii) He which that hath no wyf, I holde hym shent. (One of 73 examples in the Helsinki corpus).
- b. . . but EModE lost them, apparently just before it gained island piedpiping.



- c. So just as English was starting to look a teensy bit like Basque in terms of piedpiping, it was starting to look exactly unlike Basque in terms of doubly filled COMPs. Conclusion: if Ortiz de Urbina's conjecture is tenable (and, going out on a limb, I think there might be something in the idea that piedpiping tends to have both head and spec of the highest projection filled), EModE is not the same type of piedpiping as Basque.

6.4 Some Types of Piedpiping This Isn't IV: Japanese

- (44) Nishigauchi (1990) proposed an analysis like the one in the first half of this paper to explain some apparent island violations in Japanese covert movement.
- a. Example here
 Gloss here
 Translation here (Nishigauchi 1990:XXX)

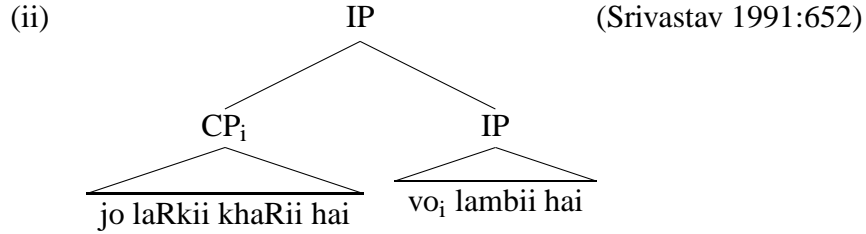
The major difference is that you can't hear any of the movements in Japanese. This gives you more freedom in postulating the eventual landing site of different constituents, while in EModE we have more freedom in our analysis of the base position of different constituents. We'll be using this freedom in the revised analysis below...

6.5 So What Type of Piedpiping Is This??

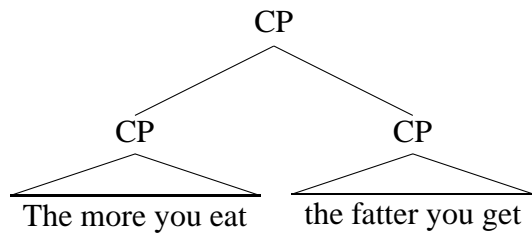
- (45) I don't know, but... Maybe it's not actually piedpiping.
- (46) Let's start by taking property VIII (the complementiser pairs) seriously. These seem to

me to be structurally parallel to correlative constructions, which can be analysed following Srivastav (1991), den Dikken (2005) as base-generated clausal adjunction structures.

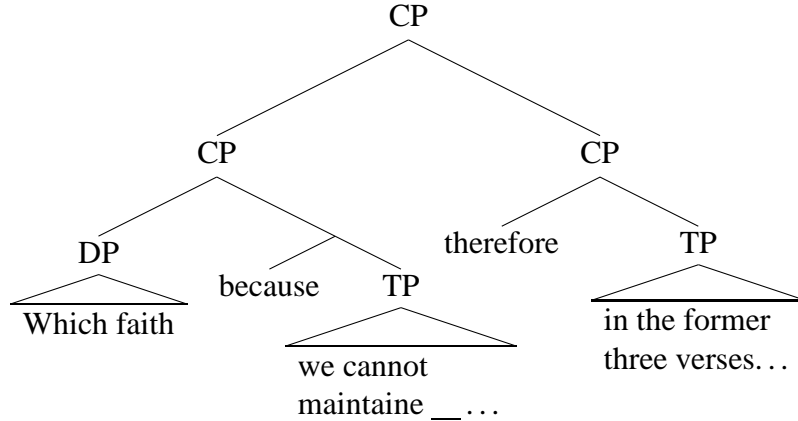
- a. (i) jo laRkii khaRii hai vo lambii hai.
 REL girl standing is DEM tall is
 The girl who is standing is tall. (Srivastav 1991:639–40)



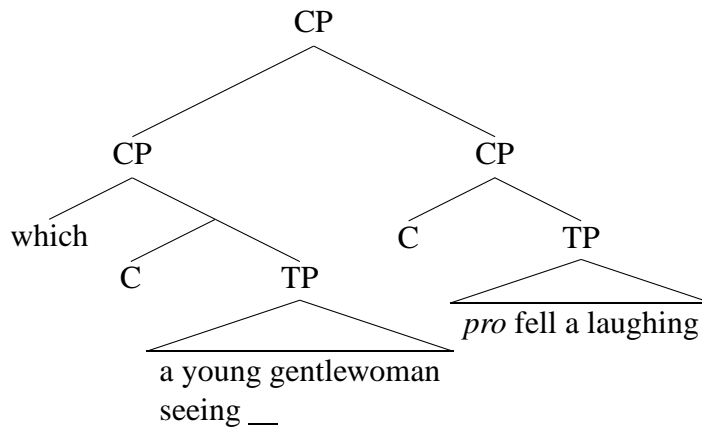
- b. (cf. den Dikken 2005:497, 510)



- c.



- d.



If we make this leap, we never have to move the island from anywhere, and so piedpiping no longer has a place in our theory — all we have is more-or-less regular embedded *wh*-movement within the island. This instantly captures property II: the island must be independently capable of being base-generated at the left edge, because that's exactly

how it got where it is. It also gives us property III (the *wh*-phrase doesn't have to be at the left edge of the island. Before we need this because that's where it would be piedpiped from. Now... Who cares?

- (47) When we have complementiser pairs, the similarity is pretty obvious, but less so in the other cases. I hypothesise that these are instances of null complementiser pairs, interpreted in either of the two ways described in property VI (e_1 leading to e_2 , or correlation between two properties). Possibly the restriction that this construction always includes an island (property I) is a consequence of these semantic considerations, but I don't have that worked out.
- (48) The lack of interrogative examples (property IV) then follows if we assume that question formation still relies on an interrogative C^0 , attracting a *wh*-phrase to its specifier. We now have no reason to believe that the island counts as a *wh*-phrase, and even if we do, the structural and movement relations between the island and the matrix are now quite distinct from typical questions.
- (49) One consequence of the lack of restrictive examples (property V) is that there is actually no good evidence for subordination of the relative clause within DP in most of these cases. There is no semantic subordination here, for sure. This suggests that the tendency to punctuate these examples as separate sentences (property IX) is due to the fact that, in some cases, they *are* separate sentences. The tendency to use these relative clauses for narrative progression or elaboration rather than modification is therefore due to the fact that these, unlike modification, are typical intersentential relations.
- (50) The *pro* pattern (property VII) would have to be an independent fact about EModE. I don't think that's a bad thing — V2 facts show that it's not restricted to relative clauses in Dutch, and although evidence is harder to come by in EModE, certainly hundreds of non-relative examples are *compatible* with a *pro* analysis. Note that, if this new hypothesis is correct, some major changes between EModE and Modern English concern anaphoricity and the demonstrative system: many *wh*-phrases are essentially demonstratives. The terminal written as *pro* in 2 is perhaps just a null demonstrative, while Italian-style *pro* is a null pronoun.

7 Conclusions and Future Prospects

- (51) The provisional conclusions are the following:
- a. Early Modern English has a construction which involves piedpiping of an island by a *wh*-phrase at its left edge.
 - b. This shows that absolute islands exist, and are not simply degenerate forms of domains with edges.
 - c. It also shows that piedpiping is, following Chomsky (1995), in some cases at least a process of moving more material when moving less material would cause the derivation to fail to converge.
- (52) But note that the speculations in the last section, if tenable, would do drastic things to

these conclusions.

- a. The islands are base-generated in the left periphery, above C^0 .
- b. This means that there is no piedpiping, and so no evidence for (51c).
- c. It's also not clear that there would be anywhere higher in the tree for a *wh*-phrase to move to, and so this evidence for (51b) is also tenuous.

(53) So the conclusion is we don't know much, but the data are great.

(54) And we know how to find out now.

- a. More thorough examination of the potential evidence in favour of the correlative hypothesis should help us to evaluate the relative merits of the two analyses.
- b. Further diachronic analysis, building a coherent story of how we move from doubly filled COMPs in MidE to island piedpiping and/or correlatives in EModE to none of the above in ModE, should constrain the hypothesis space further.

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