Historical Change in the Formal Licensing Conditions of Personal Pronominal Objects in English: A View from Intra-syntactically Driven Language Change

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HISTORICAL CHANGE IN THE FORMAL LICENSING CONDITIONS OF PERSONAL PRONOMINAL OBJECTS IN ENGLISH: A VIEW FROM INTRA-SYNTACTICALLY DRIVEN LANGUAGE CHANGE

by

Harumasa Miyashita

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology at the University of Tokyo in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

HISTORICAL CHANGE IN THE FORMAL LICENSING CONDITIONS OF PERSONAL PRONOMINAL OBJECTS IN ENGLISH: A VIEW FROM INTRA-SYNTACTICALLY DRIVEN LANGUAGE CHANGE

by

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The University of Tokyo

This dissertation empirically investigates the historical change in the occurrence position(s) of personal pronouns (henceforth, PProns) functioning as objects in English, with the aid of syntactically annotated electronic corpora, and theoretically considers the historical change in question under the basic tenets of the Principles and Parameters (henceforth, P&P) approach to Universal Grammar (henceforth, UG).

In Present-day English (henceforth, PDE), the occurrence position of PPron objects in a clause is restricted to the post-verbal position following a negative marker (e.g. I do not know him.). It is well known, however, that the PPron objects occur relatively freely in widespread positions in earlier English (i.e. Old English, Early Middle English, Late Middle English, Early Modern English, and Late Modern English (henceforth, OE, EME, LME, EModE, and LModE, respectively)), where finite verb (henceforth, V) movement is possible. In OE, for instance, a PPron object can appear where a full nominal (henceforth, FN) object cannot; it can appear to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial verb-second (henceforth, V2) clause, to the immediate right of the finite V in the main wh-/neg-/pa-initial (henceforth, operator-initial) V2 clause, to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, and in the post-subject/pre-auxiliary position at the left margin of the middle field (a.k.a. Wackernagel position) in the subordinate clause:
(1) a. **PPrrn Object Left-Adjacent to the Finite V in the Topic-Initial V2 Clause in OE**

[Fela spella] **him sædon þa Beormas, ægþær ge of hiera agnum lande...**

many stories him told the Permians both of their own country

‘The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country...’

(Oros, 14.27 / Kemenade (1987: 114))

b. **PPrrn Object Right-Adjacent to the Finite V in the Operator-Initial V2 Clause in OE**

[Ne] **geseah hine nan man nates-hwon yrre**

NEG saw him no man so little angry

‘None ever saw him so little angry.’

(ÆLS, XXXI.306 / ibid.)

c. **PPrrn Object Right-Adjacent to the Complementizer in the Subordinate Clause in OE**

**hæt** him his fiend **wæren æfterfyldende**

that him his enemies were following

‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’

(Oros, 48.12 / ibid.: 113)

d. **PPrrn Object in the Wackernagel Position in OE**

**hæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripest forwiernan**

so that the Danes them NEG could the harvest refuse

‘... so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest.’

(ChronA, 89.10 (896) / Pintzuk (1999: 140))

In EModE such as Shakespearean English, moreover, the occurrence of PPrn objects becomes restricted to the position immediately following the finite V, but they can still precede a negative marker:

(2) **Shakespearean English:** I know **him** not.          (King Henry V, III.vi.19)

Thus, diachronic change is attested in the history of English with respect to the occurrence position of PPrn objects. Cross-linguistic variation is also attested when human language is considered from a synchronic perspective. For instance, Cardinaletti &
Starke (1999) point out that PPrns are classified into three different classes (i.e. strong PPrns, weak PPrns, and clitic PPrns (henceforth, SPPrns, WPPrns, and CPPrns, respectively)) on the basis of their distributional properties, and that their realization differs cross-linguistically. In light of the tripartite classification of PPrns, the diachronic change in the occurrence position of PPrns in the history of English can also be captured as an issue of which class of PPrns and how many of them are realized in each period of English.

This dissertation presents the empirical facts of the occurrence of PPrn objects in the history of English, capturing the overall picture of the historical change in the formal licensing conditions (henceforth, FLCs) on them, and attempts to provide such historical change with a principled explanation. The following are the outlines of the investigation and consideration made in the six chapters that constitute this dissertation.

Chapter 1 establishes theoretical foundations for the analyses presented in this dissertation by introducing the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change advanced by Lightfoot (1999) and the Inertial Theory constructed on the basis of the Minimalist Program (henceforth, MP), a recent development from the P&P approach to UG. Under the P&P approach, general properties of human language are ascribed to universal principles of UG, and cross-linguistic diversities to different values of parameters. Moreover, the MP restricts the locus of the parametric variations to the formal features that constitute lexical items. Parametric values for grammar of an individual language are determined in the course of children’s language acquisition. Thus, the synchronic cross-linguistic variations are considered to be consequences of different parametric values chosen in language acquisition. The diachronic change in a language is also considered to be the consequence of the parametric values determined differently from the ones for previous generation’s grammars. The cue-based model of language acquisition and language change views language change as a result of the case that when a cue for acquiring a certain linguistic phenomenon is lost due to another historical change, children choose parametric values that are different from the ones for previous generation’s grammars. The Inertial Theory advocated by Keenan (1994) and subsequently developed
by Longobardi (2001) maintains that language change in a strict sense (i.e. syntactic change) results from the changes at the interfaces between the faculty of language and other cognitive systems, and that the syntactic component, by itself, is diachronically completely inert. Within this theory, parametric change is induced by extra-linguistic factors such as language contact or extra-syntactic factors such as phonological/semantic changes, or other syntactic factors caused by the loss of cues. When extra-linguistically or extra-syntactically induced parameter changes create a new system which tends to undergo further parametric change, recursive syntactic change occurs. This is called cascades of parametric change, which instantiate intra-syntactically driven language change.

Since the aim of this dissertation is to provide a detailed description and a principled explanation of the changes in the occurrence positions of PPrl objects in the history of English, particular attention is paid to the following two linguistic phenomena related to (1) and (2) above, which are shown to be instances of intra-syntactically driven language change:

(3) a. loss of cliticization in the history of English
b. rise and loss of pronominal object shift (henceforth, OS) in the history of English

Concerning (3a), previous qualitative research was restricted to specific periods of the history of English and little quantitative research is found. To my knowledge, moreover, research on (3b) has scarcely been conducted so far. Thus, this dissertation has conducted independent empirical surveys with the aid of the following syntactically annotated electronic corpora and collected diachronic linguistic data on OE to LModE systematically, obtaining a bird’s-eye view of them:

(4) **Syntactically Annotated Electronic Corpora**

a. OE: *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*  
   (Taylor et al. (2003))

b. EME & LME: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition*  
   (Kroch & Taylor (2000))
c. EModE: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*  
(Kroch et al. (2004))

d. LModE: *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*  
(Kroch et al. (2010))

Chapters 2 and 3 investigate the linguistic phenomenon in (3a), searching the electronic corpus in (4b), and present analyses of the findings. It is revealed based on the collected data that cliticization phenomena attested in OE such as PPrn objects in the Wackernagel position and displaced PPrn complements to prepositions (i.e. CPPrns) are lost in the mid-14th century in all the dialects of LME (i.e. Midland/Southern and Northern dialects). These chapters attempt to provide the language change in question with an account by developing the trichotomy of PPrns mentioned above into the classification in (5) in terms of syntactic-structural and formal-featural differences and adopting the clause structure in (6) assumed in the MP:

(5) **CLASSIFICATION OF PPRNS**

a. SPPrn: \( DP = D^{\text{Min}} <i\phi/(u\text{Case})> + \text{phonologically null } N^{\text{Min}} <\text{Foc}> \)

b. WPPrn: \( D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u\text{Case}> \)

c. CPPrn: \( D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi> \)

(6) **CLAUSE STRUCTURE:** \([CP \left[ \text{FinP} \left[ TP \left[ TP \left[ v^* \left[ VP \ldots V \ldots \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \]

When an FN (i.e. DP) enters into an Agree relation with a functional head \( T/v^* \) and \( u\text{Case} \) of the FN and \( u\phi \) of \( T/v^* \) are valued, the FN in question is formally licensed by \( T/v^* \). Since the SPPrn in (5a) is no different from the FN in the syntactic structure and formal features, the FLC on the FN applies to the SPPrn. The WPPrn in (5b) is similar to the SPPrn in that both bear \( u\text{Case} \), but it syntactically behaves as a head (i.e. \( D^{\text{Min}} \)) as well as a phrase (i.e. \( D^{\text{Max}} \)); the FLC on the WPPrn differs from the one on the SPPrn. The CPPrn in (5c) is different from the WPPrn in that it lacks \( u\text{Case} \), and it is also different from the SPPrn in that like the WPPrn it syntactically behaves as a head as well as a phrase; the FLC on the CPPrn differs from the one on the SPPrn and the one on the WPPrn. The CPPrn is formally licensed by cliticizing to a functional head with which it enters into an Agree
relation. It is proposed based on the classification in (5) and the clause structure in (6) that when children acquire CPPrns lacking uCase, they use subject position asymmetry (henceforth, SPA) in the main topic-initial context (i.e. coexistence of V2 order with an FN subject and verb-third (henceforth, V3) order with a PPrn subject) as a cue. In the absence of the SPA, children acquire WPPrns bearing uCase. When the SPA is lost, consequently, CPPrns disappear while WPPrns appear. It is pointed out that the modes and causes of this change differ among dialects. They are described and explained as follows. The loss of SPA in the Midland/Southern dialects is attributable to the rise of uniform V3 order via loss of V-to-Fin movement (i.e. loss of part of the cue [CP Topic [Fin V [TP Sub]FN ... ]]) while the loss of SPA in the Northern dialect is attributable to rise of the uniform V2 order via borrowing of third person plural forms of non-clitic PPrns (e.g. nominative þei/þai, accusative/dative þem and genitive þeir/þair) from Old Norse. It is also revealed that a series of such changes induced a grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms involving WPPrns and SPPrns (but lacking CPPrns) to emerge in the mid-14th century. It is argued based on these findings that in addition to SPPrns, two classes of deficient PPrns exist in earlier English: the deficient PPrns in OE to EME are CPPrns that require cliticization to its host (i.e. a functional head C/T/v*/K) and they are lost in the transitional period from EME to LME; the ones that emerged and replaced CPPrns in LME are WPPrns that do not require cliticization.

Chapter 4 investigates the linguistic phenomenon in (3b) searching the electronic corpora in (4a)-(4d), pointing out that in the course of the history of English, pronominal OS appeared in the mid-14th century (i.e. LME) and disappeared in the end of the 19th century (i.e. LModE). Then, this chapter provides the findings with an explanation that the emergent grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms mentioned above, incorporating the emergence of a definite article in OE/EME and rise of V-to-T movement in EME, enabled pronominal OS. It is empirically demonstrated that the pronominal OS in LME is made possible by a new grammatical system where three universal principles of UG and three parametric factors (i.e. presence of WPPrns, a definite article and V-to-T
movement) interact. The three descriptive factors are reconsidered in terms of formal features that constitute lexical items, and then formulated as three de facto parameters. It is also shown that loss of pronominal OS is induced by loss of V-to-T movement which is one of the three factors that enable pronominal OS.

Chapter 5 discusses two theoretical issues surrounding the analyses provided to the historical change in the FLC on PPrns in English inquired in Chapters 2 to 4. One issue is concerned with the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Westergaard (2009). It is concluded that the micro-cue model can be incorporated into the accounts advanced in this dissertation. The other issue is concerned with the way the default/unmarked value of parameters is formulated. It is shown based on the notion of markedness reversal proposed by Roberts (2007) that the characterization of the default/unmarked value of parameters advanced in this dissertation is valid.

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings obtained from the empirical investigation and theoretical consideration made in this dissertation. It is concluded that the FLC on PPrns in English changed in the following way. CPPrns in OE to EME were formally licensed by cliticizing to its host (i.e. a functional head C/T/ν*/K). Due to the interaction between three universal principles of UG and three parameters, WPPrns in LME to LModE were formally licensed in the shifted position (i.e. Spec v*P) in the presence of V-to-T movement. Because of the decline of V-to-T movement in EModE to LModE, WPPrns in PDE are formally licensed in the externally-merged position (in the base order).

Biberauer & Roberts (2008) exemplify the intra-syntactically driven language change with various linguistic phenomena. This dissertation has paid particular attention to the otherwise unnoticed linguistic phenomena such as (3a) and (3b), and has demonstrated that change in the FLC on PPrns in English is also an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change.
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List of Abbreviations and Notations

Abbreviations for Terminology of Grammatical Functions

DO  direct object
IO  indirect object
P-Compl_{LPrn}  locative pronominal complement to a preposition
P-Compl_{PPrn}  personal pronominal complement to a preposition
Subj_{FN}  full nominal subject
Subj_{PPrn}  personal pronominal subject
Obj_{CPPrn}  clitic personal pronominal object
Obj_{FJN}  full nominal object
Obj_{PPn}  personal pronominal object
Obj_{SPPrn}  strong personal pronominal object
Obj_{WPPrn}  weak personal pronominal object

Abbreviations for Terminology of Functional and Lexical Categories

D  determiner
Adj  adjective
Adv  adverb
Aux  auxiliary
K  Kase
N  noun
Neg  negative marker
P  preposition
Prt  particle
Q  quantifier
T  tense
V  verb
\( \nu^* \) light verb
\( \mu \) intermediate functional projection between \( \nu^* \) and V

**Abbreviations for Terminology of Nominal Classes**
- CPPrn clitic personal pronoun
- Dem demonstrative pronoun
- Expl expletive
- FN full nominal
- LPrn locative pronoun
- Poss possessive pronoun
- PPrn personal pronoun
- SPPrn strong personal pronoun
- WPPrn weak personal pronoun

**Notations for Formal Features**
- EPP EPP feature
- Foc Focus feature
- iDef interpretable definiteness feature
- iT interpretable T-feature
- iV interpretable V-feature
- i\( \phi \) interpretable \( \phi \)-feature
- uCase unvalued/uninterpretable Case feature
- uDef unvalued/uninterpretable definiteness feature
- uT unvalued/uninterpretable T-feature
- uV unvalued/uninterpretable V-feature
- u\( \phi \) unvalued/uninterpretable \( \phi \)-feature
Abbreviations for Terminology of Linguistic Phenomena and Operations

CS          Case Shift
Disl  Dislocation Rule
DOC       double object construction
OPA      object position asymmetry
OS        object shift
OSC      object shift configuration/construction
PC       particle construction
SF          stylistic fronting
SPA     subject position asymmetry
TEC     transitive expletive construction
V2         verb second
V3         verb third

Abbreviations for Theoretical Terminology

EM          External Merge
FL       faculty of language
HG     Holmberg’s Generalization
HM     head movement
IM        Internal Merge
MP      Minimalist Program
NS        narrow syntax
P&P    Principles and Parameters
PIC    Phase Impenetrability Condition
PLD   primary linguistic data
SMT     strong minimalist thesis
UG      universal grammar
Φ       phonological component
Abbreviations for Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAE</td>
<td>Colonial American English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAE</td>
<td>Early American English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EME</td>
<td>Early Middle English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EModE</td>
<td>Early Modern English</td>
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<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td>Late Middle English</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Middle English</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Modern English</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSc</td>
<td>Mainland Scandinavian</td>
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<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>Old English</td>
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<td>ON</td>
<td>Old Norse</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDE</td>
<td>Present-day English</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td>PPCEME</td>
<td><em>Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPCMBE</td>
<td><em>Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>PPCME2</td>
<td><em>Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition</em></td>
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Chapter 1
Introduction:

Modi Operandi in Formal Licensing of Personal Pronominal Objects

1.1. Object Position Asymmetry: Personal Pronouns vs. Full Nominals

Personal pronouns (henceforth, PPrns) in (Present-day) English are traditionally (or descriptively) classified by grammarians (e.g. Quirk et al. (1985: 76), Biber et al. (1999: 70), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 328)) as the subclass of the nominal group or treated as pro-forms of noun phrases, as the following quotes indicate:

(1-1)  

a. [A] pronoun tends to be a surrogate for a whole noun phrase...  
   (Quirk et al. (1985: 76))

b. Pronouns are used instead of full noun phrases... Pronouns can be viewed as economy devices.  
   (Biber et al. (1999: 70))

c. Nouns can be divided... into three major classes: common nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns.  
   (Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 328); italic emphasis mine)

The syntactic properties of PPrns, however, differ from those of full nominals (henceforth, FNs). It is well known, for instance, that even in languages where word order is relatively rigid, asymmetry is observed between the distribution of the PPrn object (henceforth, ObjPPrn) and that of the FN object (henceforth, ObjFN). The so-called particle construction (henceforth, PC) in English is an example of the object position asymmetry (henceforth, OPA):¹

(1-2)  

PC IN ENGLISH

a. ObjFN

i. John looked  
   up the information.

¹ Throughout this thesis, the example sentences are represented with the main-clause-initial elements such as a topic bracketed, subjects outlined, objects boldfaced, and verbal elements underlined when necessary.
ii. John looked the information up.

b. Obj

i. *John looked up it.
ii. John looked it up.

(Martin C. Connolly, Kevin J. Miller & Robert F. Oliver (p.c.))

The Obj can appear both before and after a particle (henceforth, Prt) while the Obj is confined to the pre-Prt position: when the Obj appears in the post-Prt position, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Thus, English, the word order of which is relatively rigid, allows OPA between PPrns and FNs in PCs, which suggests that the syntactic properties of PPrns are distinguished from those of FNs, pace the grammarians of English.

1.1.1. Synchronic Cross-linguistic Variation

Besides English, Northern Germanic languages (a.k.a. Scandinavian languages) also exhibit the distributional difference between the Obj and the Obj. For instance, PCs in Icelandic exemplify the OPA:

(1-3) PC IN ICELANDIC

a. Obj

i. Jón tók upp bókina.
ii. Jón tók bókina upp.

‘John picked the-book up the-book

b. Obj

i. *Jón tók upp hana.
ii. Jón tók hana upp.

‘John picked it up.’ (Thorinsson (2001: 165))

In Icelandic as well, the Obj can appear both before and after a Prt while the Obj is confined to the pre-Prt position: when the Obj appears in the post-Prt position, the
sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in English. Interestingly, OPA is attested in another syntactic environment in Icelandic: the so-called Object Shift (henceforth, OS) phenomenon in Icelandic also exhibits OPA.²

(1-4) OSC in Icelandic

a. OBJFN
   i. Nemandinn las ekkl bókina.
   ii. Nemandinn las bókina ekkl
       the-student read the-book not the-book
       ‘The student didn’t read the book.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 148))

b. OBJPPRN
   i. *Nemandinn las ekkl hana.
   ii. Nemandinn las hana ekkl
       the-student read it not it
       ‘The student didn’t read it.’ (ibid.: 150)

Again, the OBJFN can appear both before and after a negative marker (henceforth, Neg) while the OBJPPRN is confined to the pre-Neg position: when the OBJPPRN appears in the post-Neg position, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.³

Besides English and Icelandic, other Western Germanic languages also exhibit similar distributional difference between the OBJFN and the OBJPPRN. According to Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 32) and Haider (2010: 134f), for instance, German allows an OBJFN to appear

² In the literature on OS, the term “object shift” is sometimes used ambiguously: (i) it may refer to the operation displacing a grammatical object (see below for details of the properties of this displacement); or (ii) it may refer to the phenomenon or construction that results from OS. In what follows, “OS” is restricted to the sense in (i). When the sense in (ii) is referred to, the term “OS construction” or “OS configuration” (henceforth, OSC) is used. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 in detail, OS in Scandinavian languages can be categorized into two types: (i) the Icelandic type of OS moves a definite WPPrn obligatorily and a definite FN optionally out of VP; (ii) the MSc type allows only the obligatory OS of a definite WPPrn.

³ As will be shown below, OS is also attested in earlier English, but it allows only OS of PPrns: OS of FNs is impossible.
both before and after a Prt in subordinate clauses while the weak PPn (henceforth, WPPn) object (henceforth, ObjWPn) cannot appear in the post-Prt position:  

(1-5) **Subordinate Clause in German**

a. **ObjFN**
   i. daß **doch** irgendwer **die Frau** **gesehen** hat
   ii. daß **die Frau** **doch** irgendwer **gesehen** hat

   ‘that someone has seen the woman after all’

b. **ObjWPn**
   i. *daß **doch** irgendwer **sie** **gesehen** hat

---

4 According to Haider (2010: 139), double object constructions (henceforth, DOCS) in German allow word order of the direct and indirect objects (henceforth, DO and IO, respectively) to be interchangeable: the IO can either precede or follow the DO:

(i) **ObjFN**
   a. daß endlich einer **der Gastgeberin** **den seltsamen Gast** …
   b. daß endlich einer **den seltsamen Gast** **der Gastgeberin**

   that finally someone the strange guest the host the strange guest
   introduce should

   ‘that someone should finally introduce the strange guest to the host’                (Haider (2010: 139))

When both of the objects are WPPns, however, the DO must precede the IO:

(ii) **ObjWPn**
   a. *daß endlich wer **uns** **sie** **vorsellen** sollte
   b. daß endlich wer **sie** **uns** **vorsellen** sollte

   that finally someone them-WK-ACC us-WK-DAT them-WK-ACC introduce should

   ‘that someone should finally introduce them to us’                  (Haider (2010: 139))
ii. daß sie doch irgendwer gesehen hat
that her-WK after all someone her-WK seen has
‘that someone has seen her after all’ (Haider (2010: 135))

Zwart (1996: 592) shows that Dutch also exhibits syntactic properties similar to German with respect to the distribution of the clitic PPrn (henceforth, CPPrn) object (henceforth, ObjCPPrn) in subordinate clauses: the Obj_JFN can appear both before and after an adverb (henceforth, Adv) while the ObjCPPrn cannot appear in the post-Adv position.5

5 According to Zwart (1996: 595), Dutch has an ordering constraint on the DO and IO in DOCs, unlike German: the IO must precede the DO and reversed permutation is unnatural:

(i) Obj_JFN
   a. dat ik Marie het boek gegeven heb
   b. dat ik het boek Marie gegeven heb
      ‘that I gave Mary the book’
      (Zwart (1996: 595))

When the DO is a CPPrn, however, the word order is reversed: the DO precedes the IO; otherwise the sentence sounds unnatural:

(ii) DIRECT ObjCPPrn
   a. dat ik Marie ‘t gegeven heb
   b. dat ik ‘t Marie gegeven heb
      ‘that I gave it to Mary’
      (Zwart (1996: 597))

According to Zwart (1997: 36, 2011: 20), moreover, the reversed word order is retained when both the DO and the IO are WPPRns or CPPRns. The following are instances in the main clause:

(iii) a. ObjWPPRN
    Tasman heeft het ze gegeven.
    Tasman has it-WK them-WK given
    ‘Tasman gave it to them.’
    (Zwart (2011: 20))

    b. ObjCPPRN
    Jan heeft ‘t i gegeven.
    John has it-CL her-CL given
    ‘John gave it to her.’
    (Zwart (1997: 36))
According to Haegeman (1996: 141f), West Flemish also exhibits syntactic properties similar to German and Dutch with respect to the distribution of the ObjPPn; the ObjFN and the strong PPrn (henceforth, SPPrn) object (henceforth, ObjSPPrn) can appear both before and after an Adv while the ObjWPPrn and the ObjCPPrn cannot appear in the post-Adv position.6

6 According to Haegeman (1996: 142), West Flemish also has a strong ordering constraint on arguments in the middle field, like Dutch: the subject must precede the IO which must precede the DO and any other permutation is ungrammatical:

(i) **ObjFN**

a. da Valère Marie die apetekers nie angeroan eet
   b.*da Valère die apetekers Marie nie angeroan eet
   that Valère those chemists Marie those chemists not recommended has
   ‘that Valère has not recommended those chemists to Marie’ (Haegeman (1996: 142))

The ordering constraint is also observed even if the ObjFN is replaced by an ObjSPPrn or an ObjWPPrn, but interestingly, it is eased when the ObjFN is replaced by an ObjCPPrn:

(ii) **ObjSPPRN/ObjWPPRN/ObjCPPRN**

a. da Valère Marie jun/jen/ze nie angeroan eet
   b. da Valère *jun/*jen/*ze Marie nie angeroan eet
   that Valère you-STR/you-WK/her-CL Marie you/you/her not recommended has
   ‘that Valère has not recommended you/you/her to Marie’ (Haegeman (1996: 142))
(1-7) Subordinate Clause in West Flemish

a. Obj\textsubscript{FN}
   i. da Valère \underline{verzekerst} Marie nie goa vroagen
   ii. da Valère Marie \underline{verzekerst} nie goa vroagen
   ‘that Valère Marie probably Marie not goes ask
   ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask you’

b. Obj\textsubscript{SPPRN}
   i. da Valère \underline{verzekerst} jun nie goa vroagen
   ii. da Valère jun \underline{verzekerst} nie goa vroagen
   ‘that Valère you-STR probably you-STR not goes ask
   ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask you’

c. Obj\textsubscript{WPPRN}
   i. *da Valère \underline{verzekerst} jen nie goa vroagen
   ii. da Valère jen \underline{verzekerst} nie goa vroagen
   ‘that Valère you-wk probably you-wk not goes ask
   ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask you’

d. Obj\textsubscript{CPPRN}
   i. *da Valère \underline{verzekerst} ze nie goa vroagen
   ii. da Valère ze \underline{verzekerst} nie goa vroagen
   ‘that Valère her-cl probably her-cl not goes ask
   ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask her’

(Haegeman (1996: 141f))

Not only Germanic languages but also Romance languages exhibit OPA. According to Kayne (1975: 66ff) and Rowlett (2007: 123), for instance, the Obj\textsubscript{FN} in French must (directly or indirectly) follow a finite main verb (henceforth, V) in declarative clauses while the Obj\textsubscript{CPPRN} must procliticize to the main V:\textsuperscript{7} when the Obj\textsubscript{CPPRN} appears in the post-V

\textsuperscript{7} One may wonder how cliticization differs from affixation. Zwicky & Pullum (1983: 503f) suggest the
position, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. 8

following criteria to distinguish clitics from affixes:
A. Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
C. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
D. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
E. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups.
F. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.
These criteria show that instances of the ObjPrn in (1-8) have a clitic status; hence cliticized to their host. 8

The other tests for clitichood proposed by Kayne (1975: 67, 79, 80, 82, 85) are the following: the ne que construction, intervention between a clitic and a V, truncation, modification, contrastive stress, and coordination:

(i) **NE QUE CONSTRUCTION**
*Marie **ne** connaît **que** les.
Mary **NEG** knows that them
‘Mary knows only them.’ (Kayne (1975: 67))

(ii) **INTERVENTION BETWEEN A CLITIC AND A V**
*Elle va **les** beaucoup **appréci**er.
she goes them much appreciate
‘She is going to appreciate them a lot.’ (ibid.: 79)

(iii) **TRUNCATION**
*Il va **les** acheter.
he goes them buy
‘He is going to buy them.’ (ibid.: 80)

(iv) **MODIFICATION**
*Cette fille **nous** deux **connaît** très bien.
that girl us two knows very well
‘That girl knows the two of us very well.’ (ibid.)

(v) **CONTRASTIVE STRESS**
*Jean **LA** **préfère**.
John **HER** prefers
‘John prefers HER.’ (ibid.: 82)
(1-8) **Declarative Clause in French**

a. $\text{Obj}_{\text{FN}}$

Marie connaît mes amis.

Mary knows my friends.

‘Mary knows my friends.’

(Kayne (1975: 74))

b. $\text{Obj}_{\text{CPPRN}}$

i. Marie les connaît.

Mary them knows

‘Mary knows them.’

(Kayne (1975: 66))

ii. A. Je le vois.

B. *Je vois le.

I him see him

‘I see him.’

(Rowlett (2007: 123))

When the finite verb $V$ moves past the subject, as in interrogative clauses, the $\text{Obj}_{\text{CPPRN}}$ accompanies the finite main $V$:

(1-9) **ObjCPPRN in French**

a. **Declarative Clause**

Vous la lui envoyez.

you it to-him send

‘You are sending it to him.’

(vi) **Coordination**

*Je le et la vois.

I him and her see

‘I see him and her.’

(Rowlett (2007: 123))

Clitics cannot appear in the *ne que* construction, as in (i); they cannot be separated by elements such an Adv from a V to which they procliticize, as in (ii); they cannot be truncated, as in (iii); they cannot be modified by elements such as a quantifier and adjective (henceforth, Q and Adj, respectively), as in (iv); they cannot be contrastively stressed, as in (v); they cannot be coordinated with another clitic nor an FN, as in (vi).
b. **INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE**

La lui envoyez-vous

it to-him send you

‘Are you sending it to him?’ (Rowlett (2007: 124))

This is because the Obj\textsubscript{CPPrn} are procliticized to the finite main V. According to Cardinaletti (1999: 35) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 166), moreover, distribution of the Obj\textsubscript{WPPm} and the Obj\textsubscript{CPPrn} also differs from that of the Obj\textsubscript{FN} and the Obj\textsubscript{PPm} in Italian:

(1-10) **DECLARATIVE CLAUSE IN ITALIAN**

a. **OBJ\textsubscript{FN}**

i. Maria conosce Gianni.

ii. *Maria Gianni conosce.

Mary John knows John

‘Mary knows John.’

b. **OBJ\textsubscript{SPPRm}**

i. Maria conosce noi.

ii. *Maria noi conosce.

Mary us-STR knows us-STR

‘Mary knows us.’

d. **OBJ\textsubscript{CPPm}**

i. *Maria conosce ci.

ii. Maria ci conosce.

Mary us-CL knows us-CL

‘Mary knows us.’ (Cardinaletti (1999: 35))
In all the languages mentioned above, namely, English, Icelandic, German, Dutch, West Flemish, French and Italian, the syntactic properties of PPrns differ from those of FNs: these languages exemplify OPA, irrespective of the branch difference. Moreover, the example sentences given so far suggest that PPrns should also be distinguished, since the Obj\textsubscript{SPPRN}, Obj\textsubscript{WPPRN} and Obj\textsubscript{CPPRN} differ from one another in syntactic behavior (i.e. distribution). This is indeed what Cardinaletti (1994: 209ff, 1999: 62ff), Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 26f, 1999: 165ff) and Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 409ff) demonstrate independently. Technical details aside, they make tripartite classification of PPrns: SPPrns, WPPrns and CPPrns. One should note here that not all the classes of PPrns are

---

9 The PPrns *lui* ‘him’, *loro* ‘them’ and *gli* ‘him’ in (1-11) are instances of SPPrns, WPPrns and CPPrns, respectively.
attested in the languages mentioned above. Only Dutch, West Flemish and Italian realize all the three classes. English, Icelandic and German on the one hand and French on the other only exemplify SPPRns/WPPRns and SPPRns/CPPrns, respectively. The following are the instances of SPPRns in English, Icelandic, German and French, whose syntactic behavior is contrasted with WPPRns or CPPrns:

(1-12)  a. English
i. \textbf{OBJ}_{SPPRn}
\begin{align*}
\text{Betsy} & \text{ threw put THE{M}!} \\
\text{ii. OBJ}_{WPPRn} & \* \text{Betsy threw put them.} \\
\end{align*}
(Johnson (1991: 594))

b. Icelandic
i. \textbf{OBJ}_{SPPRn}
\begin{align*}
\text{Af hverju las} & \text{ Pétur \text{aldrei} HANA?} \\
\text{ii. OBJ}_{WPPRn} & \* \text{Af hverju las} \text{ Pétur \text{aldrei} hana?} \\
\end{align*}
why \text{ read Peter never it-STR/it-WK} \‘Why did Peter never read it?’ (Vikner (2006: 394, 417))

c. German
i. \textbf{OBJ}_{SPPRn}
\begin{align*}
\text{daß} & \text{ Maria \text{gestern IHN} gesehen hat} \\
\end{align*}

10 The following is an instance of SPPRns in verb-second (henceforth, V2) clause in Dutch, whose syntactic behavior is contrasted with WPPRns:

(i) \textbf{OBJ}_{SPPRn}/\textbf{OBJ}_{WPPRn}
\begin{align*}
\text{Mij/*Me} & \text{ zag hij.} \\
\text{me-STR/ me-WK} & \text{ saw he} \\
\end{align*}
‘He saw me.’ (Cardinaletti (1999: 50))
ii. OBJ\textsubscript{WPPRN}

*daß Maria gestern ihn gesehen hat
that Mary yesterday him-STR/him-WK seen has
‘that Mary saw HIM/him yesterday’ (Cardinaletti (1999: 49))

d. French

i. OBJ\textsubscript{SPPRN}

Marie ne parle qu’à eux.

ii. OBJ\textsubscript{CPPRN}

*Marie ne parle qu’à leur.

Mary NEG speaks that+to them-STR/them-CL

‘Mary speaks only to them.’ (Kayne (1975: 69))

Note that the PPrn classes are morphologically or orthographically distinguished in Dutch, West Flemish, Italian and French, whereas they are not in English, Icelandic and German: SPPrns are differentiated from WPPrns in these languages in that the former are a focused form of the latter.

It is apparent now that OPA between PPrns and FNs is attested in various languages, irrespective of the branch difference. There is also a (synchronic) cross-linguistic variation vis-à-vis realization of PPrn paradigms: among the languages mentioned above, Dutch, West Flemish and Italian possess all the three classes of PPrns, whereas English, Icelandic and German possess only SPPrns and WPPrns, and French only SPPrns and CPPrns.
1.1.2. Diachronic Change

OPA is observed not only in PDE but also in earlier English.\footnote{Since Sweet (1891: 211), the timespan of the history of the English language has conventionally been divided into the following three periods (cf. Lass (2000: 15f)), two of which are further divided into two or three subperiods here:}

According to Kemenade (1987: 112ff), for instance, an Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} in OE can appear where an Obj\textsubscript{FN} cannot: it can appear to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2 clause, to the immediate right of the finite V in the main wh-/neg-/pa-initial (henceforth, operator-initial) V2 clause, and to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause:

(1-13) a. Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} Left-Adjacent to the Finite V in the Topic-initial V2 Clause in OE

[Fela spella] him sædon þa Beormas, ægþere ge of hiera agnum many stories him told the Permians both of their own lande...

country

‘The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country...’

(Oros, 14.27 / Kemenade (1987: 114))
b. OBJ_{PPRn} \textbf{RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE F\textsc{I}NITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE IN OE}

i. \begin{verbatim}
[Ne] gesæah hine nan man nates-hwon yrre
\end{verbatim}
\text{NEG saw him no man so little angry}

\text{‘None ever saw him so little angry.’} \quad (ÆLS, XXXI.306 / ibid.)

ii. \begin{verbatim}
[þa] sticode him mon þa eagan ut
\end{verbatim}
\text{then struck him someone the eyes out}

\text{‘... then his eyes were gouged out.’} \quad (Oros, 90.14 / ibid.)

c. OBJ_{PPRn} \textbf{RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN OE}

\begin{verbatim}
þæt him his fiend wæren æfterylgende
\end{verbatim}
\text{that him his enemies were following}

\text{‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’} \quad (Oros, 48.12 / ibid.: 113)

The Obj_{PPRn} in OE can also appear in the post-subject/pre-auxiliary position at the left margin of the middle field (a.k.a. Wackernagel position; cf. Wackernagel (1892)) in the subordinate clause (Pintzuk (1999: 139f); see also Pintzuk (2002: 293f), Roberts (1997: 405), Traugott (1972: 109)):

\begin{verbatim}
(1-14) OBJ_{PPRn} IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION IN OE
þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripest forwiernan
\end{verbatim}
\text{so that the Danes them NEG could the harvest refuse}

\text{‘... so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest.’}

(ChronA, 89.10 (896) / Pintzuk (1999: 140))

This position is not exclusive to the Obj_{PPRn}: the Obj_{FN} can also appear here. However, placement of the Obj_{FN} in the Wackernagel position is not frequent. In contrast, “intervention of a pronoun object or pronoun objects, direct and/or indirect, between [the subject and the (finite) auxiliary/lexical verb...] is regular (Mitchell (1985: §3907)).” It is apparent now that although OPA is attested in both PDE and earlier English, the Obj_{PPRn} in the latter has more distributional freedom than that in the former. Note in this connection
that the Obj_{ppn} in earlier English also appears where the Obj_{fn} appears: it can appear to the
immediate left of the main V and in the medial position and the left periphery of a verbal
projection (Kemenade (1987: 112f), Pintzuk (1999: 140f)):

\begin{enumerate}
\item[a.] \textbf{Obj_{ppn} Left-Adjacent to the Main V}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{æt we us sylfe clæne and ungewemmede} \textit{him gegearcian} \\
that \textit{us self clean and undefiled him prepare} \\
\textit{‘... that we prepare ourselves for him clean and undefiled’}
\end{tabular}
\begin{flushright}
(ÆCHom, I.36 / Kemenade (1987: 113))
\end{flushright}

\item[b.] \textbf{Obj_{ppn} in the Medial Position of a Verbal Projection}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{þu scealt mid earfoðnyssum þe metes tilian} \\
you \textit{shall with difficulties you food procure} \\
\textit{‘... you should procure food for yourself with difficulty’}
\end{tabular}
\begin{flushright}
(ÆCHom, I.18.15 / Pintzuk (1999: 141))
\end{flushright}

\item[c.] \textbf{Obj_{ppn} in the Left Periphery of a Verbal Projection}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{swa we sceolan hine mid wordum weorpian} \\
so \textit{we must him with words worship} \\
\textit{‘... so we must worship him with words’}
\end{tabular}
\begin{flushright}
(BIHom, 31.11 / ibid.)
\end{flushright}
\end{enumerate}

The PPrns can be classified into two classes in earlier English as well in terms of their
distributional difference: although their forms are the same (e.g. \textit{him} in (1-13c) and \textit{him} in
(1-15a)) as in PDE, the Obj_{ppn} that can appear where the Obj_{fn} cannot can be differentiated
from the Obj_{ppn} that appears where the Obj_{fn} does. The former is presumably an instance
of the Obj_{jppn} or the Obj_{cppn}, and the latter an instance of the Obj_{jppn}, whose characteristics
are elaborated upon in Chapters 2 and 3.

Earlier English even exhibits asymmetry between the distribution of the PPrn subject
(henceforth, Subj_{ppn}) and that of the FN subject (henceforth, Subj_{fn}) (Kemenade (1987:
110ff), Pintzuk (1999: 125ff, 171ff) among many others). The topic-initial clause in OE is...
an example of the subject position asymmetry (henceforth, SPA).\footnote{SPA does not obtain in the operator-initial clause in earlier English.}

(1-16) **Topic-initial clause in OE**

a. **Subj\textsc{fn}**

[On twam þingum] hæfde **God** þæs mannes sawle gegodod

in two things had God the man’s soul endowed

‘With two things, God had endowed man’s soul.’

(ÆCHom, I.20 / Kemenade (1987: 42))

b. **Subj\textsc{pprn}**

[Æfter his gebede] **he** ahof þæt childup...

after his prayer he lifted the child up...

‘After his prayer, he lifted the child up...’ (ÆCHom, II.28 / ibid.: 110)

The Subj\textsc{fn} follows the finite V in the second position while the Subj\textsc{pprn} precedes it (i.e. verb-third (henceforth, V3) order). The reversed word order is hardly attested in OE. Although not so many instances are attested, however, the Subj\textsc{pprn} can also follow the finite V in the second position (Haeberli (1999a: 335, footnote 8, 2002b: 257ff), Kemenade & Westergaard (2012: 100f), Westergaard (2009a: 91f)):

(1-17) **Topic-initial clause with a Subj\textsc{pprn} in OE**

[laðlice eardunge] hæfde **ic** on **he**

loathsome dwelling had I in you

‘I had a loathsome dwelling in you’

(Ver.S.IV.315 / Haeberli (1999a: 335, footnote 8))

On a par with the distinction of Obj\textsc{pprn} suggested above, the Subj\textsc{pprn} preceding the finite V in the second position can be differentiated from the Subj\textsc{pprn} following the finite V in question.

OPA and SPA attested in earlier English indicate that syntactic properties of PPrns differ from those of FNs in earlier English as well. Although PPrns in earlier English and
PDE that exhibit OPA are not morphologically/orthographically distinguished from those that do not exhibit OPA, PPrns exhibiting OPA in earlier English have more distributional freedom than those in PDE: PDE exemplifies OPA only in PCs while earlier English exemplifies OPA in various syntactic environments. In other words, PPrns exhibiting OPA in earlier English syntactically differ from those in PDE, which may be attributable to difference between earlier English and PDE in PPrn classes. Thus, there also seems to be a diachronic change between earlier English and PDE vis-à-vis realization of PPrn classes.

1.1.3. Typology of PPrns

OPA in various languages indicates that syntactic properties of (certain classes of) PPrns are different from those of FNs. Moreover, PPrns that exemplify OPA are syntactically differentiated from those that do not exemplify OPA, that is, SPPrns. Furthermore, PPrns that exemplify OPA are classified into two classes: CPPrns and WPPrns (cf. (1-11) and footnote 5). Thus, the tripartite classification of PPrns obtains, which is ascribed to structural differences by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 195) and Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 410). Under Cardinaletti & Starke’s (1999: 168) terminology, WPPrns and CPPrns are structurally deficient: the former are “mildly deficient” and the latter “severely deficient” compared with SPPrns. The following are hierarchical structures for PPrns suggested by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 438).\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{13}\) The hierarchical structures for PPrns proposed by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 195) are more complex:

(i) a. SPPRN: \([_{\text{CP}} C^0]_{_{\text{IP}}} \Sigma^0_{\text{IP}} \Sigma^0_{\text{LP}}\]

   b. WPPRN: \([_{\text{IP}} \Sigma^0]_{\text{IP}} \Sigma^0_{\text{LP}}\]

   c. CPPRN: \([_{\text{IP}} \Sigma^0]_{\text{LP}}\]

As suggested in the text, internal structures of PPrns are to be elaborated into simpler structure with feature differences. Hence, the structures in (i) are not discussed further here.
In (1-18), $\phi^0$ is a functional head that encodes $\phi$-features (including number and gender, and in some cases person). SPPRs are $\phi$Ps with a NP constituent; WPPRs are $\phi$Ps with no internal structure; CPPRs are $\phi^0$ heads without further projection. The structures for PPrns in (1-18) are to be elaborated (into simpler structures with feature differences) in §2.3 of Chapter 2 and §4.3 of Chapter 4.

There is a (synchronic) cross-linguistic variation vis-à-vis realization of the three classes of PPrns. As shown above, Dutch, West Flemish and Italian realize all the three classes, which are morphologically or orthographically distinguished, as can be seen from the following PPrn paradigms in Italian (the three PPrn classes exemplified in (1-11) are boldfaced):
Table 1-1: PPrn Paradigms in Italian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th></th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1ST PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOMINATIVE</strong></td>
<td>io</td>
<td></td>
<td>noi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STRESSED</strong></td>
<td>me</td>
<td></td>
<td>noi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACCUSATIVE</strong></td>
<td>mi</td>
<td></td>
<td>ci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATIVE</strong></td>
<td>mi (a me)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ci (a noi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSSESSIVE</strong></td>
<td>mio/mia/miei/mie</td>
<td></td>
<td>nostro/nostra/nostri/nostre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2ND PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FAMILIAR</strong></td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>voi</td>
<td>loro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>voi</td>
<td>loro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POLITE</strong></td>
<td>ti (a te)</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>vi (a voi)</td>
<td>loro (a loro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FAMILIAR</strong></td>
<td>tuo/tua/tuoi/tue</td>
<td></td>
<td>vostro/vostra/vostri/vostre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POLITE</strong></td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>li/le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **3RD PERSON**|  |   |        |   |
| **MASCLINE**  | lui/egli/esso |   | loro/essi | loro/esse |
| **FEMININE**  | lei/ella/essa |   | loro    | loro |
| **MASCLINE**  | lo       | la| li     | le  |
| **FEMININE**  | gli (a lui)| le| gli/oro (a loro) |   |
| **POSSESSIVE**| lor (Proudfoot & Cardo (2013 [1997]: 57ff, 68f)) |

On the other hand, German, Icelandic and PDE realize only SPPRns and WPRns, and French only SPPRns and CPPRns. The two realized classes are morphologically distinguished in French, while they are not in German, Icelandic or PDE. In the latter languages, the two classes are differentiated by whether they are stressed or not.
There is also a diachronic change vis-à-vis realization of the three classes of PPrns. Earlier English also realizes two classes of PPrns, but like PDE, they are not morphologically/orthographically distinguished. They are differentiated by whether they exhibit OPA (and SPA) or not. The PPrns that exhibit OPA are presumably CPPrns or WPPrns (whose characterization is to be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3), and those that do not exhibit OPA are presumably SPPrns. Although third person PPrns in OE decline for number, gender and case (with a few orthographical variants), for instance, SPPrns do not have forms distinct from CPPrns/WPPrns, as the following table shows:

**Table 1-2: PPrn Paradigms in OE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nomina</strong></td>
<td>1c</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>weð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>me/meæc</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>ãs/äsic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td>mîn</td>
<td>uncer</td>
<td>ãre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>me</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>ãs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nomina</strong></td>
<td>þû</td>
<td>ǧit</td>
<td>ǧê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>þæ/þæc</td>
<td>inc</td>
<td>ǝow/ǝowic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td>þîn</td>
<td>incer</td>
<td>ǝower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>þê</td>
<td>inc</td>
<td>ǝow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td>hê</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hêo/hîo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neuter</strong></td>
<td>hine</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hê/hî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M/N/F</strong></td>
<td>hê/hî</td>
<td></td>
<td>hê/hî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 18ff))
Third person PPrns in ME also decline for number, gender and case (with more orthographical variants), but the two classes of PPrns are not morphologically nor orthographically distinguished in ME either, as the following table shows:

**Table 1-3: PPrn Paradigms in ME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1ST PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ich/ic/ik/l/y</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>us/ous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>min/mi</td>
<td>ur(e)/our(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>us/ous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2ND PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>þu/thou/tou</td>
<td>þe/ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>þe/thee/te</td>
<td>eu/ou/30w/30w/you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>þin/pi/thy</td>
<td>eower/3ur(e)/your(e)/oure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>þe/thee/te</td>
<td>eu/ou/30w/30w/you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3RD PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MASCULINE</strong></td>
<td><strong>NEUTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>FEMININE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>he/he/ha/a</td>
<td>hit/it/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>hine/hin</td>
<td>hit/it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>his/hise/hies/hys</td>
<td>his/hise/hies/hys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Moore (1951: 92ff), Mossé (1952: §64-§66))

Note that third person plural PPrn forms have a dialectal variation: the Northern dialect borrowed forms from Old Norse (henceforth, ON), the Southern dialect retained the forms of OE origin, and the Midland dialect borrowed the forms of ON origin for nominative and retained the forms of OE origin for accusative, dative and genitive.\(^\text{14}\) Morphological or

\(^{14}\) Note that PPrn paradigms in Chaucer’s works fall under the Midland-type PPrn paradigms, which is
orthographical non-distinctness of the two classes of PPrns continues to EModE and PDE, as the following tables show:

**Table 1-4: PPrn Paradigms in EModE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1ST PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>my/mine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>2ND PERSON</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>thee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>thy/thine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>3RD PERSON</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>he/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


indicated by third person plural forms:

**PPrn Paradigms in Chaucer’s Works**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>hem</td>
<td>hir(e)/her(e)</td>
<td>hem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Moore (1951: 53), Horobin (2007: 100))
Thus, the two classes of PPrns are morphologically/orthographically undistinguished throughout the history of the English language. Then, an obvious question to ask is whether PPrns that exhibit OPA in earlier English (i.e. CPPrns/WPPrns) are the same as those in PDE (i.e. WPPrns). The answer is negative: since the former have more distributional freedom than the latter, as shown above, they should be distinguished, whereby a diachronic change results.

To sum up, PPrns are classified into SPPrns, WPPrns and CPPrns. Realization of the three classes of PPrns varies synchronically (i.e. cross-linguistically) and diachronically: some (historical stages of) languages realize all the three classes while the others realize two of them (or possibly one of them). In languages like Dutch, West Flemish, Italian and French, the realized classes of PPrns are morphosyntactically distinguished; in languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1-5: PPrn Paradigms in PDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/N/F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 426))
like German, Icelandic, PDE and earlier English, they are only syntactically (i.e. by OPA (and SPA)) distinguished.

1.2. Issues

Since the PPrns that exhibit OPA (i.e. deficient PPrns) in PDE and earlier English are syntactically differentiated from SPPrns, but they show distinct distributional behavior in different periods, they are of particular interest here. Then, it is natural to assume that they underwent some change in the history of the English language, which raises the following questions:

(1-19) Questions

a. What kind of morphosyntactic properties did deficient PPrns have at each stage of earlier English?
b. How did the morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns change at each stage of earlier English?
c. What caused the change in the morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns at each stage of earlier English?
d. How did the licensing condition on deficient PPrns change at each stage of earlier English in accordance with the change in their morphosyntactic properties?

The aim of this thesis is to provide answers to the questions in (1-19) within the framework of the recent generative approach to language change. By answering these questions concerning the diachronic change in realization of the three classes of PPrns, a principled explanation can also be provided to synchronic (cross-linguistic) variation as well, especially in those languages that distinguish SPPrns and CPPrns/WPPrns only syntactically. Before overviewing the proposals to be made here, let us turn now to briefly review previous accounts on the diachronic change of PPrns in the history of English.
1.3. A Brief Review of Previous Accounts of the Diachronic Change of PPrns

Most of the literature on the diachronic change of PPrns in the history of English discuss their morphosyntactic properties in connection with how PPrns syntactically behave and where they appear in a clause.\textsuperscript{15} It is shown in §1.1.2 that peculiar syntactic properties of PPrns in earlier English are exemplified by OPA data such as (1-13) and (1-14) and SPA data such as (1-16), both of which are usually analyzed as being brought about by cliticization of PPrns.\textsuperscript{16} As is noted in footnote 3, peculiar syntactic properties of PPrns in earlier English are exemplified by OS.\textsuperscript{17} In this section, previous studies on cliticization


\textsuperscript{16} As shown at the beginning of this chapter, OPA in PDE is diagnosed by PCs. The same diagnosis for OPA is not readily available for PCs in earlier English. This is because Prts and prefixes in earlier English, especially in OE, have a common origin (Elenbaas (2007: 131)), and the former dominantly appear in the preverbal position (Koopman (2005: 57f), Pintzuk (2005: 129), Los et al. (2012: 140)). Moreover, finite main V moves to the clause-initial domain in main clauses, which separates the V in question from the preverbal Prt, and eventually blurs the exact position of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn}. For this reason, previous studies such as Elenbaas (2007), Fischer et al. (2000) and Los et al. (2012) do not make use of PCs to diagnose the morphosyntactic properties of PPrns in OE. Hence, no answer to the questions in (1-19) can be obtained. Prts start to appear in the postverbal position in EME (Elenbaas (2007: 232), Los et al. (2012: 143)), but PCs are set aside here for the diagnosis for the morphosyntactic properties of PPrns in PDE.

\textsuperscript{17} Studies on the historical development of English reflexive PPrns (e.g. Bergeton & Pancheva (2012), Gelderen (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2010b), Keenan (1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2009), König & Siemund (2000), Peitsara (1997), and Vezzosi (2005)) may at first sight seem to contribute toward answering the questions in (1-19). It is certain that they closely consider how reflexive PPrns changed from simplex PPrn+\textit{self} forms to complex PPrn+\textit{self} forms, but none of them considers this phenomenon in terms of the tripartite classification of PPrns. This line of investigation leads to incomplete identification of the morphosyntactic properties of PPrns, especially deficient ones. Thus, investigations into the development of reflexive PPrns in the history of English can provide only unsatisfactory answers to the questions in (1-19). It is pointed out in Chapter 2, however, that reflexive PPrns constitute a subset of SPPrns and can be used as a diagnosis to identify them in
and OS in earlier English are briefly reviewed. It is also shown that none of them provides satisfactory answers to the questions in (1-19).

1.3.1. Cliticization

Almost all the literature that deals with the SPA in the main topic-initial clause in OE and EME ascribes this phenomenon to the positional difference between the SubjPPrn and the SubjFN: the SubjPPrn is located in a position structurally higher than the SubjFN. At this point, the previous accounts diverge. Details aside, one type of analyses treats the SubjPPrn as an instance of CPPRns that are cliticized to a functional head located structurally higher than a (raised) finite V and the SubjFN. The other treats the SubjPPrn as an instance of WPPRns that reside in the specifier position of a functional projection located structurally higher than a (raised) finite V and the SubjFN. The two types of previous analyses are schematized as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
(1-20) & \quad \text{TWO PREVIOUS ANALYSES ON SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 CLAUSE} \\
& \quad \text{a. } \text{SUBJPPRN AS A CPPRN} \\
& \quad \left[ \text{CP Topic } [_{C} \text{C } [_{FP} \text{V-F } [_{TP} \text{SUBJFN } [_{T} \text{T } ... ] ] ] ] \right] \\
& \quad \text{b. } \text{SUBJPPRN AS A WPPRN} \\
& \quad \left[ \text{CP Topic } [_{C} \text{C } [_{FP} \text{SUBJFN } [_{F} \text{V-F } [_{TP} \text{SUBJFN } [_{T} \text{T } ... ] ] ] ] \right]
\end{align*}
\]

Most of the previous accounts that propose (1-20a) or (1-20b) extend their analysis to the case of OPA.

Both types of analyses focus on the historical developments of SPA (and OPA) from OE up until EME. They give partial answers to the questions (1-19a), (1-19b) and (1-19d).
Later developments from EME onward are hardly investigated or explained. Besides, whether the two positions are valid or not is still a matter of debate. Among the previous analyses that attempt to answer the questions (1-19a), (1-19b) and (1-19d), only a few provide a partial answer to the question (1-19c). In order to provide satisfactory answers to the questions in (1-19), it is necessary to carry out empirical investigation into later developments (especially, from LME to EModE) leading to the appearance of WPPrns in PDE with particular attention to dialectal differences in SPA or V2/V3 and OPA in ME.

1.3.2. Object Shift

In the history of English, OS like the following is frequently observed in William Shakespeare’s works and characteristic of 16th century English:

(1-21) **OS in Shakespearean English**

\[ \text{I know him [not].} \]  \hfill (King Henry V, III.vi.19)

However, little research has been conducted so far concerning OS in the history of English. To my knowledge, this phenomenon is taken up and considered only by Wurff (1997) and Roberts (1995, 2007). Wurff (1997) mainly investigates into the LME facts and Roberts (1995, 2007) into the EModE facts. They note that OS in LME and EModE is the Mainland Scandinavian (henceforth, MSc) type that allows only the displacement of an Obj\(\_\)PPn, resulting in giving a partial answer to (1-19a). Neither linguistic facts of OS earlier than LME nor ones later than EModE are investigated. Since both Wurff and Roberts consider only synchronic facts (i.e. LME and EModE, respectively), their accounts do not provide answers to the questions in (1-19b-d).

Since OS is not attested in PDE, its historical development in earlier English (especially, OE, EME, and LModE) also needs empirical investigation. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, OS existed temporarily in earlier English.\(^9\) When OS

\(^9\) So-called Transitive Expletive Constructions also existed temporarily in earlier English: according to Makita (2000: 27) and Tanaka (2000: 478f), they are found between the 14th and 16th centuries.
appeared and disappeared in the history of English must be identified. A valid account must also be given to the mechanism of the historical development of OS in earlier English, which results in providing satisfactory answers to the questions in (1-19).

1.4. General Framework

This section sketches out the theoretical background which forms foundations to build an account for the linguistic phenomena investigated in this thesis and provide satisfactory answers to the questions in (1-19). First, how basic facts of cliticization and OS at each stage of earlier English are collected from syntactically annotated electronic corpora is introduced. Then, the Principles and Parameters approach to Universal Grammar, whose basic tenet is assumed in this thesis, and technical details of derivations and operations, which are required to account for the collected linguistics facts, are presented. Finally, the mechanism of language change under the Minimalist Program, which is also adopted in this thesis, is touched upon.

1.4.1. Data

As pointed just above, to overcome defects of previous studies on the linguistic phenomena or constructions peculiar to PPrns, especially cliticization and OS, requires an exhaustive empirical survey to recover missing data. Investigation into the earlier English facts of cliticization (i.e. SPA/OPA) and OS is conducted in this thesis with the aid of the following syntactically annotated electronic corpora:

(1-22) **SYNTACTICALLY ANNOTATED ELECTRONIC CORPORA**

a. OE: *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*
   
   [YCOE] (Taylor et al. (2003))

b. ME: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition*
   
   [PPCEME2] (Kroch & Taylor (2000))

c. EModE: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*
   
   [PPCEME] (Kroch et al. (2004))
d. LModE: *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*  
\[\text{[PPCMBE]} \quad (\text{Kroch et al. (2010)})\]

The ME texts that are included in the PPCME2 but not surveyed by previous studies are excluded from the survey conducted here.\(^{20}\) Although the range of the ME texts surveyed here is more restricted than the PPCME2 can afford, their dialectal differences are taken into consideration. The ME dialects are roughly divided into the Northern dialect, the (East and West) Midland dialect, and Southern dialect, whose regions are illustrated in the following figure:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{dialect_regions.png}
\caption{ME Dialect Regions (Gramley (2012: 92))}
\end{figure}

With the aid of the Java program devised by Randall (2000, 2005-2010), searches are performed on each corpus in (1-22) to collect tokens of SPA in the topic-initial main clause, OPA and OSCs in the subordinate clause, and permuted word orders.\(^{21}\) Morphosyntactic

\(^{20}\) For detailed information on texts surveyed here and search queries for electronic corpora, see Appendices 1 and 2.

\(^{21}\) As we have seen so far, the topic-initial main clause with a Subj\(_{fn}\) exhibits V2. This V2 effect in the matrix clause may blur the distribution of the Obj\(_{ppn}\) (especially in the lower area of the clause). This is why the survey conducted on Obj\(_{ppn}\) is limited to the subordinate clause. Inclusion of an auxiliary verb to the subordinate context in the case of search for OPA is for avoiding the positional ambiguity and ensuring the
properties of deficient PPrns and changes in them at each stage of the history of English are identified by closely examining the data on cliticization and OS phenomena collected from the corpora.

1.4.2. Theoretical Background
1.4.2.1. Principles and Parameters Approach to Universal Grammar

This thesis adopts the general view of generative grammar to consider the synchronic cross-linguistic variation and diachronic change vis-à-vis realization of PPrn paradigms. This framework maintains that all human beings are genetically (and innately) endowed with Universal Grammar (henceforth, UG), which restricts the range of (synchronic and diachronic) language variation and regulates how children acquire their first language. When exposed to primary linguistic data (henceforth, PLD), children construct grammar of their native language within the limitation imposed by UG or “laws of language” in the sense of Andersen (1973: 777).

With the advent of the Principles and Parameters (henceforth, P&P) approach to UG, the way the range of language variation is restricted is recaptured by parameters. Under this approach, UG consists of a finite set of fundamental principles that are common to all languages and a finite set of parameters that determine syntactic variability amongst languages. Parameters allow UG to have room for variation by providing a choice from multiple (usually, binary) values. What children have to do in the course of language acquisition is to fix the value of parameters. In other words, parametric variation, that is, cross-linguistic variation and language change (or more precisely, grammar change) arise from children’s language acquisition process (e.g. Roberts (1985: 33ff) among others).

Under the P&P approach, one expects that both the synchronic variation observed location of the ObjPPrn in the clause. When the auxiliary verb is not included in the subordinate clause, the pre-verbal (PPrn) Obj is ambiguous with respect to its position: under the assumption that displacement of the finite V is optional in the subordinate clause, it can be either inside or outside of the verbal projection.
among Germanic and Romance languages and the diachronic change in the history of English (mentioned in §1.1.1 and §1.1.2, respectively) are also due to parametric options related to licensing conditions on PPrns governed by UG. Thus, synchronic cross-linguistic variation and diachronic change vis-à-vis realization of PPrn paradigms are both ascribed to the parametric difference in the licensing conditions on PPrns, which, in turn, stems from different choices made in the course of children’s language acquisition.

1.4.2. Minimalist Program


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22 Assuming that the FL has the general properties of other biological systems, Chomsky seeks three factors that enter into the growth of language in the individual:

(i) Genetic endowment, apparently nearly uniform for the species, which interprets part of the environment as linguistic experience, a nontrivial task that the infant carries out reflexively, and which determines the general course of the development of the language faculty. Among the genetic elements, some may impose computational limitations that disappear in a regular way through genetically timed maturation. Kenneth Wexler and his associates have provided compelling evidence of their existence in the growth of language, thus providing empirical evidence for what Wexler (to appear) calls “Lenneberg’s dream.”

2. Experience, which leads to variation, within a fairly narrow range, as in the case of other subsystems of the human capacity and the organism generally.

3. Principles not specific to the faculty of language. (Chomsky (2005: 6))

According to Chomsky, the third factor falls into several subtypes:

(ii) a. principles of data analysis that might be used in language acquisition and other domains

b. principles of structural architecture and developmental constraints that enter into canalization, organic form, and action over a wide range, including principles of efficient computation, which
consists of an operation called Merge and what is necessary to meet the needs from sensorimotor and conceptual-intentional interfaces. Thus, the SMT is restated as follows:

\[
(1-23) \quad \text{SMT: Interfaces + Merge = Language} \quad \text{(Chomsky (2010: 52))}
\]

would be expected to be of particular significance for computational systems such as language (ibid.)

Reanalysis in the course of children’s language acquisition which is one of the sources of language change can be considered to stem from the second subtype of the third factor.

For instance, Chomsky deems the principled explanation of language as follows:

(i) **PRINCIPLED EXPLANATION OF LANGUAGE UNDER THE MP**

   a. Insofar as properties of L [= a possible (I-)language] can be accounted in terms of IC [= an interface condition] and general properties of computational efficiency and the like, they have a principled explanation: we will have validated Galilean intuition of perfection of nature in this domain. (Chomsky (2004: 106); brackets mine)

   b. We can regard an explanation of properties of language as *principled* insofar as it can be reduced to properties of the interface systems and general considerations of computational efficiency and the like. (Chomsky (2005: 10); italic emphasis his)

   c. We can regard an account of some linguistic phenomena as *principled* insofar as it derives them by efficient computation satisfying interface conditions. (Chomsky (2007: 5); italic emphasis his)

   d. We can regard an explanation of some property of language as *principled*... insofar as it can be reduced to the third factor [= principles of structural architecture and developmental constraints that are not specific to the organ under investigation, and may be organism-independent] and to conditions that language must meet to be usable at all — specifically, conditions coded in UG that are imposed by organism-internal systems with which FL [= faculty of language] interacts. (Chomsky (2008: 134); brackets mine; italic emphasis his)

   e. We can regard an account of some linguistic phenomena as *principled* insofar as it drives them by efficient computation satisfying interface conditions. (Chomsky (2010: 51); italic emphasis his)

   f. One major goal of theoretical linguistic research... has been to reduce the postulated complexity of UG in accounting for phenomena of language... [S]tandard rational inquiry, seeking to achieve greater explanatory depth, ... overcoming redundancy, eliminating the stipulated artifacts (“constructions”), and deepening explanation, relying on the third factor principle of minimal computation. (Chomsky (2011: 270); brackets mine)
The MP recaptures the locus of parametric variations: they are restricted to the formal features on functional heads.  

For instance, Chomsky makes the following remarks in his works:

1. **LOCUS OF PARAMETRIC VARIATIONS**
   a. UG is concerned with the invariant principles of \( S_0 \) [= the initial state] and the range of permissible variation... Variation is limited to nonsubstantive parts of the lexicon and general properties of lexical items.  
      (Chomsky (1993: 3); brackets mine)
   b. There are universal principles and finite array of options as to how they apply (parameters). Furthermore, it may be that Jespersen’s intuition about syntax-morphology can be captured, with parameters limited to the lexicon, indeed to a narrow part of it: functional categories.  
      (Chomsky (1995a: 54))
   c. Language differences and typology should be reducible to choice of values of parameters... One proposal is that parameters are restricted to formal features with no interpretation at the interface. A still stronger one is that they are restricted to *formal features* of functional categories…  
      (Chomsky (1995b: 6); italic emphasis his)
   d. Take each item of the lexicon to be some complex of semantic, phonetic, and formal features. Languages may differ not only in choice and association of features, but also in the ways formal features are eliminated by PHON [= the phonological component].  
      (Chomsky (1998: 122f); brackets mine)
   e. Acquiring language involves at least selections of features \( [F] \), constructions of lexical items \( \text{Lex} \), and refinement of \( \text{C}_\text{nl} \) [= the computational procedure for human language] in one of the possible ways — parameter setting.  
      (Chomsky (2000: 100); brackets mine)
   f. \( L \) [= each particular language] assembles \( [L] \) to lexical items \( \text{LI} \) of a lexicon \( \text{Lex} \)... In the simplest case, the entry \( \text{LI} \) is a once-and-for-all collection (perhaps structured) of (A) phonological, (B) semantic, and (C) formal features.  
      (Chomsky (2001: 10); brackets mine)
   g. \( S_0 \) [= a genetically determined initial state] determines the set \( \{F\} \) of properties (“features”) available for languages. Each \( L \) [= possible (I-)language] makes a one-time selection of a subset \( \{F\} \) of \( \{F\} \) as its lexicon \( \text{LEX} \)...  
      (Chomsky (2004: 107); brackets mine)
   h. A particular language is identified at least by valuation of parameters and selection from the store of features made available by UG, and a listing of combinations of these features in LI’s (the lexicon), satisfying further conditions that we put aside here.  
      (Chomsky (2007: 6f))
   i. Adopting the P&P framework, I will assume that one element of parameter-setting is assembly of
phonological and formal) features (Chomsky (1995c: 235ff, 2000: 100f, 2001: 10f, 2004: 107, 2007: 6f, 2008: 135)), and acquisition of language involves formation of a lexicon made up of lexical items, into which these features are selected and assembled. Synchronic cross-linguistic variation and diachronic language change are attributed to the presence/absence of formal features on functional heads or the difference in the way their requirement is satisfied.

1.4.2.3. Operations and Derivations in the Minimalist Program

This subsection outlines the operations and derivations assumed in the MP in order to account for cliticization, OS and V-movement, which involve dislocation of certain elements, as shown in §1.3.1 and §1.3.2. In the pre-MP framework of the P&P approach, structures are built in one fell swoop in a top-down manner, and movement can take place whenever possible (i.e. Move α). Obviously, this framework cannot explain why cliticization, OS and V-movement take place on particular occasions. The MP does not retain this system any more, and adopts a phase-by-phase model of derivations in a bottom-up manner and a probe-goal system, and incorporates a few operations motivated by them. Thus, key notions of operations and derivations in the MP are paid particular attention to below: Merge, Agree, and phases.

Given the SMT, the only operation for structure building that comes free is Merge. This operation is divided into two types: External Merge (henceforth, EM) that concatenates independent syntactic objects and Internal Merge (henceforth, IM) that displaces a syntactic object within another syntactic object. Thus, Move (= Agree +

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j. There is by now substantial evidence that narrow syntax may also allow only limited variety, virtually none if parametric variation is restricted to the lexicon, or even to functional elements of the lexicon. (Chomsky (2012: 12))
Pied-pipe + Merge) is reducible to IM.

The probe-goal system requires an operation called Agree to be integrated into the computational system, as the following quotation from Chomsky (2004) indicates, since inclusion of unvalued/uninterpretable formal features is inevitable when lexical items are constructed in the course of language acquisition.

(1-24) [T]here is a relation Agree holding between probe P and goal G, which deletes [= values] uninterpretable features if P and G are appropriately related.

(Chomsky (2004: 113); brackets mine)

A lexical item bearing unvalued (hence, uninterpretable) formal features, P, probes into another lexical item bearing their interpretable counterparts, G, whereby the former enters into an Agree relation with the latter. This Agree relation results in valuation of the unvalued/uninterpretable formal features of P. When P (usually, a functional head) also bears an EPP feature, G is internally merged with P in order to delete the EPP feature on P, creating its specifier. EPP-feature-driven IM cannot take place unless it has an effect on outcome (Chomsky (1995c: 294, 337, 2000: 109, 2001: 34, 2004: 111, 2005: 14, 2007: 10ff, 2008: 140)). EPP-feature-driven IM results in only phrasal movement (e.g. OS), but not head movement (e.g. cliticization). Head movement (henceforth, HM) is problematic under the probe-goal system.

Chomsky (2001: 37f) conjectures that HM is excluded from the core operations of the narrow syntax (i.e. the computational system that relates the lexicon to the interfaces; henceforth, NS). He maintains that “a substantial core of head-raising processes… may fall within the phonological component (Chomsky (2001: 37)),” on the ground that “the semantic effects of head-raising in the core inflectional system are slight or non-existent, as contrasted with XP-movement (ibid.).” Roberts (2010a), however, attempts to rethink and reformulate HM, pace Chomsky (2001), in terms of the MP. Pointing out that like A-movement, some instances of HM exhibit semantic effects such as polarity-item

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licensing and scope reconstruction effects (Roberts (2010a: 8ff)), he concludes that some cases of HM should be analyzed as part of NS. The movement theory proposed by Roberts (2010a) is also adopted in this thesis, and HM is treated here as an instance of narrow-syntactic IM. He recasts HM as a reflex of an Agree relation between P and “defective” G. When the interpretable formal features of G are a proper subset of valued uninterpretable/unvalued formal features of P, IM of G with P is indistinguishable from Agree between P and G in terms of feature contents. Take cliticization for instance.27 When v* bearing unvalued/uninterpretable φ-features (uφ) enters into an Agree relation with a clitic bearing interpretable φ-features (iφ) but lacking a Case feature, for instance, the iφ set of the clitic becomes a proper subset of the uφ set of v* after valuation. Under this circumstance, IM of the clitic with v* is indistinguishable from Agree between v* and the clitic, which is illustrated as follows, where <Pers:_, Num:_, Gend:_> and <Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3> stand for the uφ set and the iφ set, respectively:

(1-25) a. \[ v^*P <\text{Pers:}_-, \text{Num:}_-, \text{Gend:}_- > \ldots \text{clitic}<\text{Pers:}1, \text{Num:}2, \text{Gend:}3 > \ldots \]

b. OUTCOME OF AGREE
\[ v^*P <\text{Pers:}1, \text{Num:}2, \text{Gend:}3 > \ldots \text{clitic}<\text{Pers:}1, \text{Num:}2, \text{Gend:}3 > \ldots \]
b'. OUTCOME OF IM
\[ v^*P \text{clitic-v}^* <\text{Pers:}1, \text{Num:}2, \text{Gend:}3 > \ldots l_{\text{clitic}}<\text{Pers:}1, \text{Num:}2, \text{Gend:}3 > \ldots \]28

(cf. Barrie & Mathieu (2012: 134))

The same set of features appears on v* after either Agree or IM. In that case, HM (i.e. IM of G) must take place.

Derivations in NS proceeds phase by phase (i.e. cyclically). A phase is a unit of syntactic objects, usually v*P and CP, where operations such as EM, IM and Agree apply.

26 See also Hartman (2012: 377ff) and Lechner (2005: 2ff).
27 V-movement, another instance of HM, is also driven in a similar manner.
28 The iφ set of the clitic is copied into the uφ set of v* after IM, whose process is abstracted away from (1-25b').
Structure building in a phase-by-phase manner reduces computational burden, compared with building a structure all at once. A derivation starts from a one-time selection of lexical items in the lexicon into a lexical array, which is accessed in structure building. Then, the derivation selects some of the lexical items in the lexical array to form a phase. When the phase in question is complete, it is spelled out to the phonological component $\Phi$ and the semantic component $\Sigma$, whose outputs are accessed by the sensorimotor system and conceptual-intentional system, respectively. After spell-out, formation of a new phase starts, and this cycle continues until the lexical items in the lexical array are exhausted and a whole structure is built up.

**Figure 1-2: Cyclic Derivation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexicon</th>
<th>Lexical Array</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\Phi$</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma$</td>
<td>$\Sigma$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$D_{NS}$</td>
<td>Spell-Out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer</td>
<td>Spell-Out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer</td>
<td>Spell-Out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer</td>
<td>Spell-Out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1.4.3. Mechanisms of Language Change

1.4.3.1. A Model of Language Change

Under the P&P approach to UG, language change is conceived as parametric change brought about by the children acquiring their native language,\(^{29}\) as the following quotation from Chomsky (2013) indicates:

\[(1-26)\] The Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach that took shape 30 years ago [...] opened the way to research of unprecedented scope and depth over a very wide typological range, revitalized psycholinguistic inquiry with highly productive exploration of acquisition and use of parametric values, and opened the way to new approaches to historical change.

(Chomsky (2013: 38))

Accounting for language change in a principled manner is one of the most fundamental issues of diachronic syntax. Research methods of diachronic syntax based on generative grammar are no different from those of comparative syntax. Diachronic syntax compares and analyzes two or more synchronic stages of languages along the time dimension. When comparing two or more synchronic stages along the time dimension, one should note that language change is distinct from grammar change. The latter is change in a system in people’s mind/brain (competence in the sense of Chomsky (1965: 4) or I-language in the sense of Chomsky (1986: 21ff)), whereas the former is change in people’s use in their communication (i.e. performance in the sense of Chomsky (1965: 4) or E-language in the

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sense of Chomsky (1986: 19ff)). Various approaches to diachronic change have been made so far, among which Lightfoot (1979: 16ff) is a predecessor that pays attention to the distinction just mentioned and captures the essence of language change within the earlier generative framework: he attempts to account for language change as a product of children’s language acquisition process. According to Lightfoot, language change is a reflex of grammar change which is ultimately ascribed to children’s reanalysis of the output from adults’ grammar (i.e. PLD; see also Andersen (1973: 778) and Anttila (1989 [1972]: 197)). The younger generation does not (directly) inherit grammar from the older generation; instead, the younger generation constructs grammar in an abductive manner on the basis of the language that the older generation produces. This process is schematized in the following figure (where the bold solid arrow indicates the abductive mode of language acquisition), based on Andersen (1973: 767), Lightfoot (1979: 148), Anttila (1989 [1972]: 197), McMahon (1994: 94), Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]: 41), and Roberts (2007: 124, 227, 333):

**Figure 1-3: Model of Language Change**

Under the general view of generative grammar, all human beings (i.e. both the older generation and the younger generation) are genetically (and innately) endowed with UG which restricts the range of (synchronic/diachronic) language variation and regulates how

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30 This is not a brand-new conception originally put forward by generative linguists. As Harris & Campbell (1995: 29, 31) point out, Paul (1995 [1880]: 115), one of the neogrammarian authorities, already considers analogical creation and divergence in use in children’s language as a main cause of language change.
children acquire their native language. When exposed to PLD (i.e. Output 1), children construct their own grammar (i.e. Grammar 2) within the limitation of UG or “laws of language” in the sense of Andersen (1973: 777). In doing so, they may reanalyze the structure of the PLD, and the internal structure of their attained grammar may be different from those of previous generations’ grammars (i.e. Grammar 1), whereby language change (i.e. Output 2) may result. It is not surprising that children analyze the PLD in the way different from the way their parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, etc. did, since language acquisition is abductive (but not deductive nor inductive) in its nature (cf. Andersen (1973: 775ff)), which is indicated by a bold solid arrow in Figure 1-3.31

The three modes of reasoning, namely, deduction, induction and abduction, first identified by Charles S. Peirce, an American philosopher/logician/mathematician, are exemplified by the following three propositions that constitute a syllogism (cf. Andersen (1973: 774ff), Anttila (1989 [1972]: 196f), McMahon (1994: 94), Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]: 42f)):

(i) Law: (e.g. All men are mortal.)
(ii) Case: (e.g. Socrates is a man.)
(iii) Result: (e.g. Socrates is mortal.)

Deduction applies a law to a case and predicts a result (e.g. All men are mortal, Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal.). The conclusion (i.e. (iii)) is just inferred from the premises: it asserts no more than what premises (i.e. (i) and (ii)) give. Induction is inference with the order of the procedure reversed: it proceeds from a case and a result to establish a law (e.g. Socrates is a man, Socrates is mortal, therefore All men are mortal.). Abduction is hypothetical inference, where a law and a result are given to infer that something may be the case. For instance, “given the fact that Socrates is dead, we may relate this fact to the general law that all men are mortal, and guess that Socrates was a man (Andersen (1973: 775)).” Abduction is a reasoned guess that is extremely fallible: even if the premises (i.e. (i) and (iii)) are true, the conclusion (i.e. (ii)) need not be so, whereby one may match the wrong result with the law (which may be an established truth or a tentative generalization). “Perhaps Socrates is not a man but a lizard, a wrong conclusion but nevertheless one that is compatible with other two premises (Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]: 43)).” Thus, abduction is a weak form of reasoning, and it can lead to logical fallacy.

Among the three types of reasoning mentioned above, the mode of children’s language acquisition cannot be deductive nor inductive, but is abductive. “Any learning or understanding must be abduction (Anttila (1989 [1972]: 197)).” Deduction infers Output 2 (= the result) from UG (= the law) and Grammar 2 (= the
abductive model of language acquisition leaves us a question as to what causes grammar change, which is known as “the logical problem of language change” (cf. Clark & Roberts (1993: 299ff, 1994: 12), Niyogi & Berwick (1995: 1), Kroch (2001: 699f), Roberts (2007: 230)). Thus, Clark & Roberts (1993: 299f) ask: “If each generation converges successfully to the adult grammar, how can languages ever change?” With respect to this question, two main views of driving force for grammar change are advocated.

One view points out an economy consideration as driving force for grammar change, which is advocated by Roberts & Roussou (1999: 1020ff, 2003: 30f, 44, 58, 201). Principles of economy always choose simpler structures and more economical operations over complex structures and costly operations, respectively. Thus, when children converge on a grammar different from adults’ in an abductive manner, they tend to construct one equipped with less complex structures and less costly operations. Another view points out opacity as driving force for grammar change, which is originally put forward by Lightfoot (1979: 114, 121ff) and later reformulated in terms of a “trigger” or “cue.” When children find a trigger or a cue (i.e. no opacity) in the PLD from the previous generation’s grammar, they will successfully converge on the same grammar as the previous generation’s. However, when the PLD involves some sort of opacity to the previous generation’s grammars, such as trivial morphological or phonological change, this is a condition in which children are unable to find any triggers/cues, which makes them
reanalyze the structures of PLD to resolve the opacity, resulting in grammar change. Language change due to the cue-based language acquisition is the central idea of grammar change supposed in the previous generative literature. This idea is also adopted in this thesis.

1.4.3.2. Inertial Theory

Given the SMT in (1-23), the MP maintains that nothing can change language, let alone parametric values, unless it is urged from the interface systems or computational efficiency. In other words, the computational system, or syntax, is essentially inert, and parametric change requires particular motivation. A theory of language change which adopts this idea is called Inertia, or the Inertial Theory, originally put forward by Keenan (1998: 9, 2002: 327ff, 2003: 154f, 2009: 18f) and subsequently developed by Longobardi (2001: 277ff). This theory maintains the following:

(1-27) **Inertial Theory**

a. [S]yntax, by itself, is diachronically completely inert.

b. [L]inguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon...

c. [S]yntactic change should not arise, unless it can be shown to be caused—that is, a well-motivated consequence of other types of change

---


(phonological changes and semantic changes, including the appearance/disappearance of whole lexical items) or, recursively of other syntactic changes...

(Longobardi (2001: 277f); brackets mine; italic emphasis his)

The Inertial Theory makes explicit the cause for parametric change in minimalist terms. In the minimalist perspective, parametric change is considered to be caused solely by the opacity caused by phonological/semantic changes or extra-linguistic factors, or syntactic change caused by the opacity. Stated differently, when extra-syntactically induced parameter changes create a new system which tends to undergo further parametric change, recursive syntactic change occurs. This is called cascades of parametric change. The cascades of parametric change instantiate the intra-syntactically driven language change, a notion put forward by Biberauer & Roberts (2008a: 80). Taking up various syntactic changes such as the word order shift, the loss of V2, the development of the auxiliary system, and the loss of V-to-T movement that took place over the course of the history of English, they emphasize that previously induced syntactic (or morphological/phonological) changes can lead to further syntactic change, hence language change is driven within syntax (also see Roberts (2007: 231ff)). Under their proposal, extra-linguistics factors such as language contact cannot have a direct influence on language change (i.e. grammar change) at the syntactic level (contra Kroch & Taylor (1997: 318f)). Rather, its direct influence is restricted to the lexicon and the influence on syntax is possible only in indirect ways: its influence on the lexicon (e.g. borrowings or loan words) may result in side effects on syntax. As will be exemplified in later chapters, the indirect influence of language contact on syntax is demonstrated by the change in the mode of the formal licensing of PPrns during the history of English which is caused by borrowing of third person plural PPrns from ON.

1.5. Organization of the Thesis

Focusing on synchronic facts and diachronic developments of cliticization and OS,
this thesis attempts to provide adequate answers to the questions in (1-19). First, morphosyntactic properties of (deficient) PPrns at each stage of the history of English and their historical developments are described on the basis of syntactically annotated electronic corpora. Then, they are provided with a principled explanation based on the Inertial Theory with the MP as a theoretical background. This thesis is organized as follows.

Chapters 2 and 3 take up cliticization phenomena in the history of English, and consider how their loss in EME contributes to the emergence of a new grammatical system which potentially allows pronominal OS. More specifically, these two chapters explore how obviation of SPA observed in the topic-initial main clause causes loss of CPPrns and creates new PPrn paradigms which possess only WPPns and SPPrns. Chapter 2 focuses on the relation between obviation of SPA and loss of ObjPrn appearing in the so-called Wackernagel positions. Chapter 3 focuses on the relation between SPA obviation and loss of displaced PPrn complements to prepositions (henceforth, P-ComplPrn). Basic facts of the Wackernagel ObjPrn and the displaced P-ComplPrn in OE and ME are collected from the YCOE and the PPCME2, whereby the morphosyntactic properties of PPrns and their development in OE and ME are described (i.e. answers are provided to questions (1-19a) and (1-19b) for OE and ME stages). The derivations of the Wackernagel ObjPrn and the displaced P-ComplPrn are also considered under the MP. Based on the proposed derivations, the causal relationship between SPA obviation on the one hand and loss of the Wackernagel ObjPrn and the displaced P-ComplPrn on the other are carefully considered, with particular attention to their dialectal differences. The close examination of the causal relationships results in identifying the cause for the change in morphosyntactic properties of PPrns and its influence on the licensing condition on them (i.e. providing answers to questions (1-19c) and (1-19d) for OE and ME stages).

Chapter 4 deals with emergence and demise of pronominal OS in the history of English. Coupled with emergence of a definite determiner in OE/EME and rise of finite main V-movement (i.e. V-to-T movement) in EME, the new PPrn paradigms created by the
loss of CPPrns rendered LME a language where pronominal OS is possible. Basic facts of OS in OE, ME and ModE are collected from the YCOE, the PPCME2, the PPCEME and the PPCMBe, whereby the morphosyntactic properties of PPrns and their (non-)development in ModE are identified (i.e. answers are provided to questions (1-19a) and (1-19b) for EModE and LModE stages). This chapter considers how the emergence of pronominal OS in LME is made possible by the new grammatical system where three parametric factors (i.e. presence/absence of CPPrns, presence/absence of a definite determiner, and possibility/impossibility of finite main V-movement) interact. The three parametric factors enabling pronominal OS are also refined and reconsidered in terms of formal features of lexical items. This chapter also considers how change in one of the three parametric factors (i.e. loss of finite main V-movement) caused the demise of pronominal OS in LModE, thereby identifying the cause for the (non-)change in morphosyntactic properties of PPrns and its influence on the licensing condition on them (i.e. providing answers to questions (1-19c) and (1-19d) for EModE and LModE stages). A relic of the PPrn paradigms created in the end of EME prima facie remains in PDE as PCs. Chapter 4 also considers OPA in PDE PCs and examines whether they should be analyzed in accordance with the OS phenomena attested in Scandinavian languages and earlier English, and whether they are the relic of earlier English syntax.

Chapter 5 discusses two theoretical issues surrounding the historical development of deficient PPrns in English. One issue is concerned with the refinement of the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change. The other is concerned with the way the default/unmarked value of parameters is formulated.

Chapter 6 concludes this thesis, indicating that the inertial approach to language change, hence the minimalist approach to human language, is a promising one under which further theoretical and empirical researches on the nature of language change can be developed.
Chapter 2
Cliticization in the History of English, Part 1: Obviation of the Subject Position Asymmetry and Loss of the Wackernagel Personal Pronominal Object in Late Middle English

2.1. Introduction

It is well known that earlier English exhibited the so-called V2 phenomenon (cf. Bean (1983: 79f, 83), Stockwell (1984: 575ff) among others), but that unlike the contemporary Germanic languages earlier English did not exhibit this phenomenon uniformly in certain contexts.¹ For instance, Kemenade (1987: 110ff) observes that in the OE main clause, clause-initial placement of an operator(-like) element such as a *wh*-phrase, a negated phrase, and the adverb *pa/ponne* ‘then’ uniformly induces V2, whereas clause-initial placement of a topic does not:²

(2-1) \textit{WH-initial Context}

a. \textsc{subj}\_fn

\begin{center}
\[ [\text{Hwi}] \text{ wolde God swa lytles pinges him forwyman} \]
\end{center}

\begin{center}
why would God such small things him deny
\end{center}

‘Why would God deny him such a small thing?’

(ÆCHom, I.14 / Kemenade (1987: 43))

---

¹ The term ‘auxiliary’ should be understood to cover both the modal auxiliary and the aspectual auxiliary in what follows.

b. **SUBJ~PPRN**

[Hwæt] sægest ḫu yrþlincg? [Hu] begæst ḫu weorc þin?

what say you ploughman how do you work your

‘What do you say ploughman? How do you go about your work?’

(ÆColl, 22 / ibid.: 111)

(2-2) **NEG-initial Context**

a. **SUBJ~FN**

[Ne] sende se deofol ða fyr of heofenum, þeah þe hit ufan
NEG sent the devil the fire from heaven though that it above
came

‘The devil did not send the fire from heaven, though it came from above.’

(ÆCHom, II.110 / Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 189))

b. **SUBJ~PPRN**

[Ne] beo ḫu na leas-breda ðeþþ swicol
NEG be you no liar or treacherous

‘May you be neither a liar nor treacherous.’

(ÆLS, XII.129 / Kemenade (1987: 112))

(2-3) **Pa/Ponne-initial Context**

a. **SUBJ~FN**

[þonne] beoð eowere eagan geopenode
then are your eyes opened

‘... then your eyes will be opened.’

(ÆCHom, I.18 / ibid.: 42)

b. **SUBJ~PPRN**

[þa] foron hie mid þrim scipum ut
then sailed they with three ships out

‘... then they sailed out with three ships.’

(Parker, 897 / ibid.: 112)
(2-4) **Topic-initial Context**

a. **SubjFN**

[On twam þingum] hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod
in two things had God the man’s soul endowed
‘With two things, God had endowed man’s soul.’

(ÆChom, I.20 / ibid.: 42)

b. **SubjPPRN**

[Æfter his gebede] be ahof þæt childup...
after his prayer he lifted the child up
‘After his prayer, he lifted the child up...’

(ÆChom, II.28 / ibid.: 110)

Note the contrast between the sentences in (2-1)-(2-3) and those in (2-4). Kemenade (1987: 109ff) attributes the non-uniformity of the V2 effect in the main topic-initial context to the difference in clausal subjects, noting further that the one with a SubjFN exhibits V2 order while the one with a SubjPPrn exhibits V3 order. Thus, the SPA in the main topic-initial context (i.e. (2-4)) led her to conclude that the SubjPPrn is an instance of the CPPrn that requires a host. According to Kemenade (1987: 112ff), moreover, the ObjPPrn

---

3 The expression after the slash mark (/) in the primary sources indicates the secondary sources or syntactically annotated electronic corpora where the relevant example is attested.

4 In this respect, use of the term ‘V2’ is somewhat misleading for OE syntax, as Haeberli (2002b: 247f) explicitly notes. This is because the term ‘V2’ is used as a synonym for ‘subject-verb inversion’ in the literature, but the subject-verb inversion does not always lead to the V2 order in OE: multiple topicalization sometimes induces the subject-verb inversion as well, resulting in the V3 order (also see Koopman (1998: 142ff) for the facts of multiple topicalization in OE).

(i) [Dysne yrming] [æfter his forðiðe] wurðodon þa hæðstan eac for healicne god
this poor-wretch after his decease worshiped the heathens also instead of high God
‘After his decease, the heathens also worshiped this poor wretch instead of God.’

(Wulfstan, 223.58 / Haeberli (2002b: 248))

Nevertheless, we will stick to the traditional terminology in what follows, and the terms ‘V2’ and ‘V3’ should be understood to refer to the subject-verb inversion and the non-subject-verb inversion, respectively.
also exhibits a clitic nature. As in (2-5), it can appear (I) to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause (henceforth, Position I), (II) to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2/V3 clause (henceforth, Position II), and to the immediate right of the finite V in the main \(wh-/neg-/pa\)-initial (henceforth, operator-initial) V2 clause (henceforth, Position III), where the Obj\(_{FIN}\) rarely appears (see also Koopman (1992: 47, 51ff, 1997: 78ff)):

(2-5) I. **Obj\(_{PPRN}\) **RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

   a. [\(æt\) him his fiend \(wæren æfterfylgende\)]
   that him his enemies were following
   ‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’
   (Oros, 48.12 / Kemenade (1987: 113))

II. **Obj\(_{PPRN}\) **LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

   b. [Fela spella] **him sædon ḣa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum many stories him told the Permians both of their own lande...
   country
   ‘The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country...’
   (Oros, 14.27 / ibid.: 114)

III. **Obj\(_{PPRN}\) **RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

   c. [Ne] **geseah hine nan man nates-hwon yrre NEG saw him no man so little angry
   ‘None ever saw him so little angry.’
   (ÆLS, XXXI.306 / ibid.)

   d. [\(þa\) **sticode him mon ḣa eagan ut then struck him someone the eyes out
   ‘... then his eyes were gouged out.’
   (Oros, 90.14 / ibid.)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Obj\(_{PPRN}\) in OE can also appear in the so-called Wackernagel...
position (i.e. post-subject/pre-auxiliary position at the left margin of the middle field) in the subordinate clause (Pintzuk (1999: 139f)).

\[(2-6)\] **OBJPRN IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION**

\[
\text{þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan}
\]

so that the Danes them NEG could the harvest refuse

‘... so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest.’

(ChronA, 89.10 (896) / Pintzuk (1999: 140))

This position is not exclusive to the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn}. It also allows the Obj\textsubscript{FN} to appear, but occurrence of the Obj\textsubscript{FN} in the Wackernagel position is not frequent.\footnote{But “intervention of a pronoun object or pronoun objects, direct and/or indirect, between [the subject and the (finite) auxiliary/lexical verb]... is regular (Mitchell (1985: §3907)).”} It follows, then, that the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} can be a diagnosis for the clitic status of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn}.

The clitic status of the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} reflected in the SPA in the main topic-initial context and that of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} reflected in the placement of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the subordinate Wackernagel position in OE carried over to ME. These phenomena gradually declined and were eventually lost during the 14th century (Kemenade (1987: 174ff)). Exactly when the SPA was obviated and the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} was lost and how they disappeared in the history of English are matters still open to debate. Beside these problems, how the linguistic phenomena in question are properly explained is also an issue still considered controversial.

This chapter considers the following three questions:

\[(2-7)\] **QUESTIONS**

a. When did the SPA and the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} disappear in the history of English?

b. How are their basic facts in OE and EME explained within the framework of the MP?

\footnote{See Pintzuk (2002: 293f), Roberts (1997: 405), and Traugott (1972: 109). See also §2.2.3.}
c. Why did they disappear in the history of English?

§2.2 of this chapter attempts to provide an answer to the question (2-7a), utilizing a syntactically annotated electronic corpus. More specifically, §2.2.1 and §2.2.2 present the basic facts of the SPA in the main topic-initial context in the Southern/Midland dialects in EME and LME, respectively, while §2.2.3 presents those of the Wackernagel ObjPPrn in the subordinate context in the EME and LME Southern/Midland dialects. §2.3 attempts to provide an answer to the question (2-7b), presenting analyses on the derivations of the topic-initial V2/V3 and the Wackernagel ObjPPrn in terms of the MP. §2.4 attempts to provide an answer to the question (2-7c), demonstrating that obviation of the SPA in the LME Southern/Midland dialects which led to the uniform V3 order in the main topic-initial contexts caused the loss of the clitic nature of PPrns. In answering the question (2-7c), more specifically, loss of cliticization phenomena is shown to create a grammatical system where further language change can potentially be driven within syntax. This question is answered based on the assumption presented in §1.4.3 of Chapter 1 that language change is a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, that is, how children attain a grammatical system (cf. Andersen (1973), Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1999), Hróarsdóttir (2003)). As support for the analysis presented in §2.4, §2.5 provides the basic facts of the LME Northern dialect, and shows that the obviation of the SPA which led to the uniform V2 order in the topic-initial contexts also caused the loss of the clitic nature of PPrns in this dialect. §2.6 summarizes this chapter.

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7 Note that the term “obviation” is not intended here to refer to the notion of non-coreference in switch reference (cf. Voegelin & Voegelin (1969)). It is simply used to mean “removal” or “elimination” in what follows.

2.2. Basic Facts

2.2.1. SPA in the EME Southern/Midland Dialects

According to Fischer et al. (2000: 130), the SPA in the main topic-initial context observed in OE is still attested in EME (also see Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 193f), Kemenade (1987: 181ff, 196ff)). As the following sentences show, the main topic-initial context with a SubjFN exhibits V2:

(2-8)  

\[ \text{SUBJ}_\text{FN} \]

\( a. \) [sæwiss] hað\text{ godd} forworpen ðan ilche mann...

\begin{quote}
\text{certainly has God rejected that same man}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\text{‘... certainly, God has rejected that same man.’}
\end{quote}

(V&V, 13.31 / Fischer et al. (2000: 130))

\( b. \) [On þis gær] would\text{ be king Stephne tæcen} Rodbert...

\begin{quote}
\text{in this year wanted the king Stephen seize Robert}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\text{‘During this year, King Stephen wanted to seize Robert...’}
\end{quote}

(ChronE (Plummer), 1140.1 / ibid.)

On the other hand, the main topic-initial context with a SubjPPrn exhibits V3. Compare the following sentences with the ones in (2-8):\(^9\)

---

\( ^9 \) Note here that the sentences in (2-8a) and (2-9a) constitute a minimal pair in that they are cited from the same text. This holds true of the sentences in (2-8b) and (2-9b) as well. Also note that in EME, the main operator-initial context also systematically exhibits V2, irrespective of the subject type. The following are the examples of operator-initial V2 with a SubjPPrn:

(i) \textit{Wh}-initial Context

\[ \text{[Whi]} \text{ fare ye thus, fader and moder both?} \]

\begin{quote}
\text{why behave you thus father and mother both}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\text{‘Why do you behave like that, father and mother?’}
\end{quote}

(TNoah, 415 / Kemenade (1987: 185))

(ii) \textit{NEG}-initial Context

\[ \text{[neauer]} \text{ að he ear nu nes ich ful pinet} \]

\begin{quote}
\text{never said he before now NEG+was I foully tortured}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\text{‘... he said: never before now was I foully tortured.’}
\end{quote}

(AW, 206.17 / ibid. 186)
Although the SPA is still attested in EME, one may wonder whether this is a productive option in EME. We can see from the survey conducted by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311f) and Kroch et al. (2000: 369f) that this is indeed the case. They take up seven texts (Trinity Homilies, Lambeth Homilies, Sawles Warde, Hali Meiðhad, St. Katherine, Vices and Virtues and Ancrene Riwle) from the mid-13th century South Midland dialect. From these seven texts, they collected the V2/V3 instances with both the SubjFN and the SubjPPrn in the context where either of the following elements is placed clause-initially: NP, PP and Adj complements, adverbs than and now, PP adjuncts and any other adverbs. The result of their survey is shown in Table 2-1:

---

(iii) **PA/PONNE-INITIAL CONTEXT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Thenne]</th>
<th>said</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>to the x men of armes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>said</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>to the ten men of armes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Then they said to the ten men of armes.’ (Caxton, Paris&Vienne, 5.1 / Fischer et al. (2000: 83))

Our main concern here is V2/V3 in the topic-initial context (i.e. SPA), hence the operator-initial context will not be touched upon any more (but see §2.3.1).
The (lightly) shaded rows in Table 2-1 are relevant to our current discussion. They can be considered as what is referred to here as the topic-initial context. Those shaded rows show that the majority of the tokens with a SubjFN exhibit the V2 pattern (71.4% on average) while the majority of the tokens with a SubjPPrn exhibit the V3 pattern (96.5% on average), clearly indicating the SPA.

In addition to the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts, Kroch & Taylor and Kroch et al. also counted the V2/V3 tokens in the Ayenbite of Inwit (a mid-14th century Kentish text). The result of this supplemental survey is shown in Table 2-2:

---

10 Although the adverb now behaves like a topic in Table 2-1 in that it induces V2 with a SubjFN while it induces V3 with a SubjPPrn, it is excluded from our consideration. This is because nu ‘now’ in OE behaved like an operator such as þaþonne ‘then’ and it uniformly induced V2 (Koopman (1998: 139f)). Hence, it may be dubious to consider this adverb as a topic in OE. Note that this adverb ceased to behave like an operator sometime during ME.
The shaded rows in Table 2-2 show that most of the tokens with a SubjFN exhibit the V2 pattern (62.5% on average) while most of the tokens with a SubjPPrn exhibit the V3 pattern (93.1% on average). From Tables 2-1 and 2-2, we can see that the SPA phenomenon is indeed productive in EME, and that the clitic status of the SubjPPrn is well retained in this period.

Before we move on to the facts in LME, let us introduce another supplemental survey conducted by Trips (2002: 263ff). Following the procedure taken up by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000), she counted the V2/V3 instances with both the SubjFN and the SubjPPrn in the *Ormulum* (an early 13th century Northeast Midland text). The result of her survey is shown in Table 2-3:

---

### Table 2-2: V2/V3 in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence-Initial Element</th>
<th>SubjFN V2</th>
<th>SubjFN V3</th>
<th>SubjPPrn V2</th>
<th>SubjPPrn V3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP complement</td>
<td>14 (82.4%)</td>
<td>3 (17.6%)</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
<td>11 (91.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP complement</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj complement</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pa / then</em></td>
<td>4 (25.0%)</td>
<td>12 (75.0%)</td>
<td>7 (58.3%)</td>
<td>5 (41.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>now</em></td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>7 (50.0%)</td>
<td>7 (50.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP adjunct</td>
<td>5 (35.7%)</td>
<td>9 (64.4%)</td>
<td>1 (3.2%)</td>
<td>30 (96.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any other adverb</td>
<td>19 (55.9%)</td>
<td>15 (44.1%)</td>
<td>5 (8.8%)</td>
<td>52 (91.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>93.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 312), Kroch et al. (2000: 370))
Here, the result is hard to account for: the shaded rows in Table 2-3 show that most of the collected tokens exhibit the V2 pattern, irrespective of the subject type. 87.2% of the Subj\textsubscript{FN} tokens and 57.8% of the Subj\textsubscript{PPR} tokens are in the V2 pattern on average, resulting in the obviation of the SPA. Thus, the *Ormulum* behaves differently from other Midland texts (cf. Table 2-1). This may be because the *Ormulum* is verse “written in strictly regular 15 syllable unrhymed iambic lines with a caesura after the 8th syllable (Trips (2002: 19)).” That is, the peculiarity of this text may stem from its metrical properties. Since it is not clear whether this text really reflects the spoken language of this period, it is disregarded in the remainder of this chapter. Bearing in mind the EME facts of the SPA, let us turn now to the LME facts.

### 2.2.2. SPA in the LME Southern/Midland Dialects

According to the survey conducted by Haeberli (2002b: 252ff), we see that the SPA phenomenon that carried over from OE to EME was no longer a productive option in LME. Unlike Kroch & Taylor (1997), Kroch et al. (2000) and Trips (2002), Haeberli collected only the topic-initial V2/V3 instances in the 27 texts from the late 14th and 15th century.
Southern/Midland dialect. The result of his survey on the late 14th century texts is shown in Table 2-4:

Table 2-4: Topic-initial V2/V3 in the Late 14C Southern/Midland Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SubjFNC</th>
<th>SubjPPRN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>V3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polychronicon (a.1387)</td>
<td>9 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Testament (c.1388)</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvey (c.1388)</td>
<td>1 (3.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14 (8.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund, Vernon (c.1390)</td>
<td>48 (78.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brut (c.1400)</td>
<td>8 (19.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>56 (54.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earliest Psalter (c.1350)</td>
<td>28 (53.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaucer (c.1380-1390)</td>
<td>64 (50.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyclifite Sermons (c.1400)</td>
<td>62 (33.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Testament (a.1382)</td>
<td>1 (0.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud of Unknowing (a.1400)</td>
<td>19 (38.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandeville’s Travels (c.1400)</td>
<td>9 (37.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>183 (33.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>253 (31.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

---

11 In fact, he surveyed 32 texts from the late 14th and 15th century Southern/Midland dialects. The five of them are disregarded here, however, since they are not available in the PPCME2, which is used for the survey on the distribution of the ObjPPn (see §2.2.3).
Although there are some exceptional texts (such as the *Mirror of St. Edmund (Vernon ms.*) in the West Midland dialect and the *Earliest English Prose Psalter* in the East Midland dialect), the degree of the SPA is greatly reduced in every text. 31.3% of the SubjFN tokens and 19.0% of the SubjPPrn tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. These figures in turn suggest that in LME, the degree of the SPA was fairly obviated. This is a plausible chain reaction: since V2 was on the decline, the SPA (i.e. V2 vs. V3) in the main topic-initial context became unavailable as a consequence.\footnote{In this respect, Chaucer’s works are worth some comments. His texts show relatively high frequency of V2 with a SubjFN (i.e. 50.0%), but they do not show the SPA. This is because they also show relatively high frequency of V2 with a SubjPPrn. Hence, the loss of the SPA in Chaucer’s texts cannot be due to the decline of V2. In this regard, they are similar to the Northern texts in both the productivity of V2 with a SubjPPrn and the obviation of the SPA. I will get back to this point in §2.5.}

Obviation of the SPA proceeds further in the 15th century. This is obvious from the result of Haeberli’s survey on the 15th century texts, which is shown in Table 2-5:
Table 2-5: Topic-initial V2/V3 in the 15C Southern/Midland Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ_IN</th>
<th>SUBJ_PRN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>V3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME Sermons (c.1450 (a.1425))</td>
<td>9 (21.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory’s Chronicle (c.1475)</td>
<td>14 (19.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>23 (20.0%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirk (a.1500 (a.1415))</td>
<td>2 (6.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malory (a.1470)</td>
<td>14 (14.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siege of Jerusalem (c.1500)</td>
<td>12 (20.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>28 (15.1%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilton (a.1450 (a.1396))</td>
<td>8 (25.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vices (a.1450 (c.1400))</td>
<td>22 (59.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian (a.1450 (c.1400))</td>
<td>11 (30.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund (c.1450 (c.1400))</td>
<td>1 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margery Kempe (a.1450)</td>
<td>6 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capgrave’s Chronicle (a.1464)</td>
<td>13 (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Reynes (1470-1500)</td>
<td>13 (48.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caxton, Reynard (1481)</td>
<td>15 (65.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitjames (1495)</td>
<td>18 (48.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Die Innocencium (1497)</td>
<td>7 (21.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>114 (29.3%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>165 (23.9%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

We have some exceptional cases (e.g. the Book of Vices and Virtues and Caxton’s History)
of the Reynard the Fox in the East Midland dialect). Aside from these exceptional texts, the number of the V2 tokens with both the Subj\textsubscript{FN} and the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} is reduced in every text in such a way that the SPA declines further. Only 23.9% of the Subj\textsubscript{FN} tokens and 15.5% of the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. Thus, V2 (in the sense of subject-verb inversion) was on the decline in LME, whereby the degree of the SPA in the main topic-initial context was reduced to the extent that it was almost extinct.

To sum up, we have seen that the SPA in the main topic-initial context, which indicates the clitic status of the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn}, carried over from OE to EME and eventually got obviated via the decline of V2 (in the topic-initial context with a Subj\textsubscript{FN}) in LME. This change is illustrated in Figure 2-1:

![Figure 2-1: Historical Change of the SPA in the Main Topic-initial Context](image)

In the next subsection, we turn to the basic facts of the subordinate Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in EME and LME.

2.2.3. Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the EME and LME Southern/Midland Dialects

To my knowledge, previous studies except for Fries (1940) have not conducted any quantitative surveys on the development of word order in the history of English. In order to capture the picture of Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} facts in EME and LME, I have conducted a survey on the distribution of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the subordinate clause that includes an auxiliary verb.\textsuperscript{13} With the aid of the Java program devised by Randall (2000, 2005-2010), more

\textsuperscript{13} As we have seen so far, the main clause exhibits V2 in the topic-initial context with a Subj\textsubscript{FN} and in the operator-initial context with any type of subjects. This V2 effect in the main clause may blur the distribution of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} (especially in the lower area of the clause). This is why my survey is limited to the subordinate clause. Inclusion of an auxiliary to the subordinate context is also intended to avoid the positional ambiguity and ensure the location of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the clause. When the auxiliary is not included in the subordinate
specifically, I have collected subordinate Obj\textsubscript{PPm} instances in the texts in the PPCME2 that were surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000) for EME and by Haeberli (2002b) for LME (see Appendix 1 for text information).\textsuperscript{14} The subordinate context surveyed here is divided into two types in terms of the position of the auxiliary vis-à-vis the lexical V: one is the context where the auxiliary precedes the lexical V, and the other is the context where the auxiliary follows the lexical V (henceforth, Aux-V context and V-Aux context, respectively). In these two contexts, the Obj\textsubscript{PPm} tokens attested are classified by their positions vis-à-vis the auxiliary and the lexical V. Under this classification, six types of word order are logically possible. The Obj\textsubscript{PPm} is located either: (i) in the Subj-Obj\textsubscript{PPm}-Aux-V or SOAV order (i.e. in the post-subject/pre-auxiliary position (viz. Wackernagel position) in the Aux-V context); (ii) in the Subj-Aux-Obj\textsubscript{PPm}-V or SAOV order (i.e. in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context); (iii) in the Subj-Aux-V-Obj\textsubscript{PPm} or SAVO order (i.e. in the post-verbal position in the Aux-V context); (iv) in the Subj-Obj\textsubscript{PPm}-V-Aux or SOVA order (i.e. in the post-subject/pre-verbal position in the V-Aux context); (v) in the Subj-V-Obj\textsubscript{PPm}-Aux or SVOA order (i.e. in the post-verbal/pre-auxiliary position in the V-Aux context); (vi) in the Subj-V-Aux-Obj\textsubscript{PPm} or SVAO order (i.e. in the post-auxiliary position in the V-Aux context). Note, however, that word order type (v) (i.e. intervention of the element between the lexical V and the auxiliary in the V-Aux context) is a typologically rare option (Dryer (1992: 100)), and earlier English is not an exception to this. In fact, this type of word order is not attested in my survey. Hence, I have counted the number of the other five types of word order. The result of my survey on the seven mid-13th century texts is shown in Table 2-6:

\textsuperscript{14} The EME texts that are included in the PPCME2 but not surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) nor Kroch et al. (2000) are excluded from my survey.
### Table 2-6:

**Distribution of the OBJPRN in the Seven Mid-13C South Midland Texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</th>
<th>SOAV</th>
<th>SAOV</th>
<th>SAVO</th>
<th>SOVA</th>
<th>SVAO</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southeast Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)</td>
<td>45 (3)</td>
<td>24 (2)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>83 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14 (6)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60 (3)</td>
<td>38 (8)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>126 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southwest Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14 (2)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmhali.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38 (7)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>148 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>106 (3)</td>
<td>76 (15)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>274 (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Pie Chart

- **Southwest Midland**: 31.08% SOAV, 25.67% SAOV, 41.22% SAVO, 2.03% SOVA, 0% SVAO
- **Southeast Midland**: 47.62% SOAV, 30.16% SAOV, 11.90% SAVO, 0.32% SOVA, 0% SVAO
- **Grand Total**: 38.69% SOAV, 27.74% SAOV, 27.74% SAVO, 5.84% SOVA, 0% SVAO
The number in the parentheses in the table represents the instances of the Obj_{PPm} non-adjacent to the auxiliary/lexical verb. We can see from Table 2-6 that the Obj_{PPm} tends to appear in the Wackernagel position (i.e. post-subject/pre-auxiliary position) in the mid-13th century South Midland texts, which means that the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} also carried over from OE to EME. In total, 106 out of the 274 instances of the subordinate Obj_{PPm} (38.69%) appear in this position while 76 instances (27.74%) appear in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context and other 76 instances (27.74%) appear in the post-verbal position in the Aux-V context. Note, in this connection, that the distribution of the Obj_{PPm} significantly differs from that of the Obj_{FN}, which is shown in Table 2-7:
Table 2-7: Distribution of the Obj$_{EN}$ in the Seven Mid-13C South Midland Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SOAV</th>
<th>SAOV</th>
<th>SAVO</th>
<th>SOVA</th>
<th>SVAO</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southeast Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)</td>
<td>22 (2)</td>
<td>28 (7)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40 (5)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>24 (2)</td>
<td>68 (12)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>177 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southwest Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23 (3)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>88 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16 (1)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmhali.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23 (5)</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>97 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>76 (10)</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>245 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>30 (2)</td>
<td>144 (22)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>10 (1)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>422 (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2-7 shows that the Obj$_{EN}$ rarely appears in the Wackernagel position in the seven
mid-13th century South Midland texts (7.11% on average). Together with the result in Table 2-6, this shows that the clitic status of the Wackernagel ObjPPrm is well retained in EME. The following are representative examples of the Wackernagel ObjPPrm in EME:

(2-10) a. **Comp-SubJEn-ObjPPrn-Aux-V Order**

\[
\text{Œif emi mon hit muste ise an...}
\]

if any one it must see

‘... if anyone must see it...’

(CMLAMBX1, 27.315 / PPCME2)

b. **Comp-SubJPPrn-ObjPPrn-Aux-V Order**

\[
\text{Œif ðu me ðin uncuðe name wouldest kyðen}
\]

if you me your unfamiliar name would reveal

‘... if you want to reveal me your unfamiliar name.’

(CMVICES1, 23.241 / ibid.)

The *Peterborough Chronicle* (a 12th century East Midland text) and the *Ormulum*, which are not included in my counting for the reasons already mentioned above (see §2.2.1.), even exhibit ObjPPrm clustering and orthographic concatenation of a SubjPPrm and an ObjPPrm, respectively:

(2-11) a. **ObjPPrn Clustering**

\[
\text{Œat... & he hem hit would tybian...}
\]

that and he them it would teach

‘... that... and he wants to teach it to them...’

(CMPETERB, 43.43 / PPCME2)

b. **Orthographic Concatenation of the SubjPPrn and the ObjPPrn**

\[
\text{Œiff ðut mihht ohht fi nden}
\]

if you+it might any-way find

‘... if you might find it anyway.’

(CMORM, I, 52.509 / ibid.)

While orthographic concatenation is a dubious diagnosis for (syntactic) cliticization, the example of clustering in (2-11a) shows the clitic status of ObjPPrm in EME. While not so many instances are attested, moreover, the ObjPPrm is also observed in the positions
idiosyncratic to the clitic Obj\_Prn: it can appear in Positions I, II and III (i.e. to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2/V3 clause, and to the immediate right of the finite V in the main operator-initial V2 clause (cf. (2-5)). This is exemplified by the following clauses:

(2-12)  I. Obj\_Prn **Right-adjacent to the Complementizer in the Subordinate Clause**

a. \[ \text{bet} \ \text{him} \] mon mote wið speken
   that him one must speak-against
   ‘... that one must speak against him.’
   (CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2)

II. Obj\_Prn **Left-adjacent to the Finite V in the Topic-initial V2 Clause**

b. [\perwið] us wite ure louerd ihesu crist...
   therewith us blame our lord Jesus Christ
   ‘Therewith, our lord Jesus Christ blames us...’
   (CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / ibid.)

III. Obj\_Prn **Right-adjacent to the Finite V in the Operator-initial V2 Clause**

c. [Ne] mihte him naðer befelen
   NEG might him no-other happen-to
   ‘No other might happen to him.’
   (CMVICES1, 43.486 / ibid.)

Preservation of the Wackernagel Obj\_Prn (i.e. the tendency seen in the mid-13th century South Midland dialect) is also observed in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, another text surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000):
In this text, 42 out of the 83 instances of the subordinate Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} (50.6\%) appear in the Wackernagel position while 38 instances (45.8\%) appear in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context. These figures show that the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} is the most dominant pattern in this text as well. Combined with the result in Table 2-6, the result in Table 2-8 leads us to conclude that appearance of the Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} in the Wackernagel position was a productive option in EME (also see Kroch & Taylor (2000b: 134)), and that the clitic status of the Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} was well retained during this period.

Instances of the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPRN} cease to be attested in LME. In fact, they were almost extinct in this period. As is obvious from Table 2-9, only two instances are attested in the 14th century:
### Table 2-9: Distribution of the Obj pron in the Late 14C Southern/Midland Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</th>
<th>SOAV</th>
<th>SAOV</th>
<th>SAVO</th>
<th>SOVA</th>
<th>SVAO</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmpolych.m3 (a.1387)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmntest.m3 (c.1388)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmpurvey.m3 (c.1388)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmedvern.m3 (c.1390)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmbrut.m3 (c.1400)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48 (7)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>82 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54 (7)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>109 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmearlps.m2 (c.1350)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmctpars.m3 (c.1390)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmctmeli.m3 (c.1390)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmboeth.m3 (c.1380)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmastro.m3 (c.1391)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmwycser.m3 (c.1400)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmotest.m3 (a.1382)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmcloud.m3 (a.1400)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmmandev.m3 (c.1400)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>276 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58 (8)</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>530 (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two instances of the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPn} constitute only 0.38\% of the attested Obj\textsubscript{PPn} tokens. Thus, we can consider them exceptional. The following are the two exceptional instances in question:

(2-13) Two Exceptional Instances of the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPn} in the 14th Century

a. \textit{pat} \textit{a kyng liggyng in a liter ham hade bisegede} that a king lying in a litter them had besieged
‘... that a king lying in a litter had besieged them.’

(CMBRUT3, 68.2055 / PPCME2)

b. \textit{pat pe kyng oure fadier, vs hath reprouyed, shemed & dispised...} that the king our father us has reproved shamed and despised
‘... that the king, our father, has blamed, shamed and despised us...’

(CMBRUT3, 3.40 / ibid.)
Note that the exceptional instances in (2-13) are both attested in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* (a late 14th century East Midland text). This text itself is somewhat exceptional in that the Obj

PPrn appears in the Subj-Aux-Obj

PPrn-V order far more frequently than in other texts: in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England*, 48 out of the 83 Obj

PPrn tokens (57.83%) appear in this position; in other texts, only 10 out of the 448 instances (2.23%) appear in this position. Thus, the two exceptional instances of the Wackernagel Obj

PPrn in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* may be due to the archaic style of this text: it is rather closer to earlier texts. Whether or not this text is taken into account, our conclusion is the same: the Wackernagel Obj

PPrn was almost non-existent in the 14th century.

In the 15th century, the Wackernagel Obj

PPrn completely disappears in the texts. This is shown in Table 2-10:

---

15 In the *Brut or the Chronicles of England*, the Obj

PPrn also appears in the positions idiosyncratic to the clitic Obj

PPrn: with respect to the positions right-adjacent to the complementizer in the subordinate clause and left-adjacent to the finite V in the main topic-initial V2 clause, one instance is attested in each position; with respect to the position right-adjacent to the finite V in the main operator-initial V2 clause, two instances are attested. In other texts of the late 14th and 15th century, only a few instances of the Obj

PPrn are attested in these positions, so they are discarded here. In this regard as well, the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* is exceptional.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-10: Distribution of the OBJPRN in the 15C Southern/Midland Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmroyal.m34 (c.1450 (a.1425))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmgregor.m4 (c.1475)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmmirk.m34 (a.1500 (a.1415))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmmalory.m4 (a.1470)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmsiege.m4 (c.1500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmhilton.m34 (a.1450 (a.1396))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmVICES4.m34 (a.1450 (c.1400))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmjulnor.m34 (a.1450 (c.1400))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmedmund.m4 (c.1450 (1438))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmkempe.m4 (a.1450)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmcapchr.m4 (a.1464)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmreynes.m4 (1470-1500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmreynar.m4 (1481)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmfitzja.m4 (1495)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cminnoce.m4 (1497)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not a single instance of the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} is attested in the texts surveyed. It is apparent now that in the 15th century the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} could not appear in the Wackernagel position any more. Since the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} is almost non-existent in the 14th century and extinct in the 15th century, we can conclude now that the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} did not retain its clitic status any more in LME.

To sum up, we have seen that the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the subordinate context, which indicates the clitic status of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} together with the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in other positions idiosyncratic to the clitic, carried over from OE to EME and got lost in LME. This change is illustrated in Figure 2-2:

**Figure 2-2: Historical Change of the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EME (Kentish/Midland Dialects)</th>
<th>LME (Southern/Midland Dialects)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} productive</td>
<td>Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} extinct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bearing in mind the basic facts and the historical change of the SPA in the main topic-initial context and the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the subordinate context, let us turn to
the following section to see how these configurations are derived.

2.3. Analyses

2.3.1. Theoretical Assumptions

Before going into the details of derivations for the SPA in the main topic-initial context and the Wackernagel ObjPrn in the subordinate context, let us briefly introduce the theoretical assumptions adopted here. More specifically, the clause structure, subject positions and V-movement in earlier English are discussed based on previous studies. A proposal is also made for the trichotomy of PPrns in terms of structural and featural differences. Based on the theoretical assumptions and the proposal, an exemplary derivation for the V3 order with a SubjFN in the topic-initial context is illustrated.

2.3.1.1. Clause Structure, Subject Positions, and V-movement

Thus far, nothing is said about the clause structure in OE/EME. Since the publication of Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991) and Rizzi (1997), clause structures are often assumed to be richly layered: due to the first two (especially the latter), the IP layer can be split into a subject agreement phrase (AgrSP), a tense phrase (TP) and an object agreement phrase (AgrOP); due to the last one, the CP layer can be split into a force phrase (ForceP), a focus phrase (FocP), a topic phrase (TopP) and a finiteness phase (FinP). Chomsky (1995c: 349ff), however, casts doubts on the existence of Agr projections. Following the current minimalist assumptions, therefore, let us abandon the split-IP hypothesis and adopt the split-CP hypothesis, although not all of the split CP projections play a crucial role in our analysis presented below. With an additional minimalist assumption that the transitive construction is headed by \( v^* \) (Chomsky (2001: 43)), the clause structure adopted here for OE/EME is the following:

\[
(2-14) \quad [\text{ForceP Force} [\text{FocP Foc} [\text{TopP Top} [\text{FinP Fin} [\text{TP T} [v^*P v^* [\text{VP ... V ... }]]]]]]]
\]

\[16\] See also Cinque (1999) for more fine-grained clause structures in the IP layer.
The CP layer projections other than FinP in (2-14) are abstracted away and simply amalgamated into CP in what follows, since they do not play any role in our analysis. In that case, Fin is located below C.\footnote{In some VSO languages such as Irish and Welsh, Fin is phonologically realized by a complementizer and a particle, respectively (Roberts (2001b: 126ff)). The following is an instance of Fin realized as a particle, \textit{mi}, which introduces an affirmative main clause in Welsh:
\begin{quote}
Bore \textit{\textquotesingle}ma, \textit{\text{mi}} glywes \textit{i \textquotesingle}r newyddion \textit{ar y radio}.
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{morning this PRT heard I the news on the radio}.
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{\textquotesingle}This morning, I heard the news on the radio.\textquotesingle\footnote{Although Fin is not overtly realized in PDE, it functions as a placeholder for V-movement in earlier English.} (Roberts (2001b: 128))
\end{quote}
We have seen in §2.2.1 that the SPA in the main topic-initial context, which was due to the clitic status of Subj_{PPn}, carried over from OE to EME. We have also seen there that V2 was systematically induced in the main operator-initial context in EME. Following the basic tenet of the previous studies (e.g. Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002: 140), Fischer et al. (2000: 126), Fuss (2003: 210ff), Haeberli (1999a: 354, 2000: 115ff, 2001: 205, 2002a: 94), Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 192), Kemenade (1998: 159), Kroch & Taylor (1997: 305ff), Pintzuk (1996: 388, 1999: 156ff), Tanaka (2000: 484), Trips (2002: 246)), let us hypothesize that these properties of EME stem from the following two main assumptions:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{DIFFERENT LANDING SITES FOR V-MOTION}
\begin{quote}
V-movement targets two landing sites in the main clause: C in the operator-initial context and a (head-initial) functional head below C in the topic-initial context.\footnote{Unlike the Universal Base Hypothesis proposed by Kayne (1994), I am not suggesting that all the functional/substantive projections are structured head-initially. The (substantive) verbal projection may be either head-initial or head-final. In this connection, what Kiparsky (1996: 168f), Haider (2000: 47ff) and Fuss & Trips (2002: 186ff) argue seems to be valid: functional categories are universally head-initial and the head parameter is restricted to substantive categories (pace §1.4.2). Whether the strict Universal Base Hypothesis or its looser version is taken, what is discussed below remains intact and nothing hinges on this matter. Hence, I leave it pending here.}
\end{quote}
\end{enumerate}
**b. Different Structural Positions for Subjects**

Different types of subjects reside in two different structural positions in a clause: the SubjPPrn, being a clitic, has to end up in a position structurally higher than the SubjFN.

We will shortly get back to (2-15a) below. For the time being, let us consider (2-15b). Concerning the different structural positions for subjects, various proposals have been made, representatives of which are summarized in the following table:

**Table 2-11: Previous Proposals on Subject Positions in Earlier English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SubjPPrn Position</th>
<th>SubjFN Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kemenade (1987)</td>
<td>procliticization to the finite V (in C⁰)</td>
<td>Spec IP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintzuk (1996, 1999)</td>
<td>encliticization to the topic (in Spec IP)</td>
<td>Spec VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuss (2003)</td>
<td>Spec TP</td>
<td>Spec vP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proposals made thus by the previous studies are classified into two types in terms of the treatment of the SubjPPrn: (i) one considers it to be a head element, placing it in the cliticized position or in the head position (e.g. the shaded rows in Table 2-11); (ii) the other considers it to be a phrasal element, placing it in the specifier position (e.g. the unshaded rows in Table 2-11). Nothing forces us to consider the CPPrn in OE/EME to be phrasal. On the contrary, adopting the second option is problematic in two respects. The first problem is conceptual: on a par with the functional projection for the clitic SubjPPrn, we have to assume an additional functional projection whose specifier hosts a clitic ObjPPrn, which eventually amounts to proliferation of functional heads. The second problem is related to the first one, but it is an empirical one: suppose the functional head for the clitic ObjPPrn is not assumed, the fact of clitic clustering (cf. (2-11a)) cannot be explained unless
the notion of multiple specifiers proposed by Chomsky (1995c: 245) is adopted. Even if the notion of multiple specifiers is adopted, some additional stipulations are called for. Therefore, let us adopt the first option and assume that OE/EME CPPrns are head elements. Treating CPPrns as heads amounts to maintaining that the SubjPrn in OE/EME is located in Spec TP in (2-14), as in PDE, while the SubjPPrn is encliticized to C since finite V-movement targets C in the operator-initial context and the SubjPPrn yet follows the finite V in C (e.g. (2-1b), (2-2b) and (2-3b)). Recall now that Fin is located below C. This is the functional head mentioned in (2-15a): finite V-movement targets Fin in the topic-initial context.\footnote{19} What drives V-to-Fin movement is left pending here (but see Chapter 4 for V-to-T movement).

2.3.1.2. Trichotomy of PPrns

As has already been shown in §1.1.2 and §1.1.3 of Chapter 1, OE/EME PPrns are not exclusively clitics (i.e. ‘deficient’ ones in the sense of Cardinaletti (1994: 195ff, 1999: 62ff) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 23ff, 1999: 150f, 160ff, 173ff)). The OE SubjPPrn...
sometimes inverts with the finite V in the main topic-initial context, thereby V2 order results. This fact has led Koopman (1997: 78, 1998: 137) to conclude that some of the OE PPrns are non-clitics. EME also exhibits the V2 order with a Subj_{PP} in the topic-initial context (cf. Tables 2-1 and 2-2), which means that non-clitic PPrns also existed in EME.\footnote{In fact, Cardinaletti (1994: 209ff, 1999: 62ff) and Cardinaletti \& Starke (1996: 26f, 1999: 165ff) assume a trichotomy (i.e. SPPrs, WPPrs and CPPrs) for PPrns (see also Déchaîne \& Wiltschko (2002: 409ff) for a tripartite distinction of PPrns). Since we have no evidence that indicates the existence of PPrns of the intermediate status (i.e. WPPrs) in OE/EME, let us continue to assume the strong vs. clitic dichotomy for this period. Nevertheless, the trichotomy of PPrns is eventually adopted in what follows, since WPPrs exist in LME and afterward. See the discussion in the text below and Chapter 4.}

Moreover, coordination of a PPrn and an FN is also attested (cf. Kayne (1975: 83, 85, 90f, 342)); this is not frequent in EME, nevertheless (only seven instances in the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts and the \textit{Ayenbite of Inwit}). Note in this connection that even some of the PDE PPrns resist coordination (see Gelderen (2004b: 62ff) for details).

\begin{quote}
\textbf{20} \quad (2-16) \hspace{0.5em} a. \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{COORDINATION OF THE \textit{SUBj}_{PPRN}}
\begin{quote}
\textit{bet} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{by} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{oper} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{obre}: \hspace{0.5em} \textit{byeb} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{ichose} \hspace{0.5em} to \hspace{0.5em} \textit{dyngnetes} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{of} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{holi}
that \hspace{0.5em} \textit{they} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{or} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{others} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{are} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{chosen} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{as} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{dignities} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{of} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{holi}
cherche... \\
\textit{church} \\
‘... that they or others are chosen as the dignity of holy church...’
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{CMAYENBI}, 42.706 / PPCME2
\end{quote}

\textbf{b.} \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{COORDINATION OF THE \textit{OBJ}_{PPRN}}
\begin{quote}
\textit{...} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{al} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{pe} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{lecun} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{pe} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{god} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{hefde} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{ired} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{hire} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{&} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{adam} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{of} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{\pen}
\textit{all} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{the} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{lesson} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{the} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{God} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{had} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{read} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{her} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{and} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{Adam} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{of} \hspace{0.5em} \textit{\pen}
\textit{appel} \\
\textit{apple} \\
‘... all the lesson of the apple that the God had read to her and Adam.’
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{CMANCRIW}, II.54.521 / ibid.
\end{quote}
\end{quote}
Coordinated Subj$_{PPn}$ and Obj$_{PPn}$ in (2-16) cannot be clitics, since the Subj$_{PPn}$ does not appear in the second position in the main topic-initial context and the Obj$_{PPn}$ does not appear in the subordinate Wackernagel position nor in the positions idiosyncratic to the Obj$_{PPn}$ (i.e. Positions I, II and III). Syntactic behaviors of coordinated Subj$_{PPn}$ and Obj$_{PPn}$ indicate that SPPrns as well as CPPrns exist in OE/EME.$^{21}$

Concerning the categorial status of OE/EME CPPrns, let us follow the traditional characterization by Postal (1966: 62ff) in assuming that PPrns are definite articles and they are instances of the functional head D (pace Osawa (1998: 6ff, 2000: 56ff, 2003: 14ff)). Under this assumption, the CPPrn is construed as a maximal zero-level D projection that does not project any further or D$^{\text{Min/Max}}$ under the terminology of Chomsky (1995c: 245). In other words, the CPPrn, being D$^{\text{Min/Max}}$, can be both minimal and maximal (Chomsky (1995c: 249), Raposo (1998: 78)).$^{22}$

Let us turn now to the featural contents of OE/EME CPPrns. Within the recent minimalist theorizing, lexical items are construed as bundles of features, as introduced in §1.4.2.2 of Chapter 1, hence composed of phonological, semantic and formal features. The formal features of, say, DPs consist of $i\phi$ and an uninterpretable or unvalued Case feature (henceforth, $u\phi$) that drives movement or, more precisely, induces the operation called Agree. The $u\phi$ is valued when $i\phi$ enters into an Agree relation with an appropriate probe bearing $u\phi$. Suppose a derivation has reached the stage where a verbal projection is completed. Then, the $u\phi$ of T or $v^*$ becomes a probe upon its introduction into the derivation (from the lexical subarray), searching for a matching goal bearing $i\phi$ and

---

$^{21}$ Existence of both the SPPrns and CPPrns in OE/EME takes us to a somewhat bizarre circumstance: the same lexical forms are used for them. In the contemporary Germanic languages such as Dutch and West Flemish, they are not only syntactically distinct, but also morphologically/orthographically distinct (cf. Haegeman (1990: 335, 338, 1996: 135, 140, 143), Zwart (1996: 580f, 1997: 117f) among others). Besides the non-uniformity of the V2 effect in the topic-initial context, this also makes OE/EME exceptional among Germanic languages.

$^{22}$ See Makita (2000: 45, footnote 12) for similar treatment of clitic there in OE.
Case. At this point, the $u\phi$ enters into an Agree relation with $i\phi$ and gets valued, thereby the $u$Case is also valued. When the agreeing probe bears an EPP feature (henceforth, EPP), the agreeing goal is driven to move to the specifier position of the agreeing probe, satisfying its EPP requirement. On a par with the feature content of DPs, let us assume that CPPrns bear $i\phi$. In the following respect, however, we depart from the conventional minimalist assumption mentioned above: let us follow Roberts (2010a: 56f) and Gelderen (2013: 197f) in assuming that CPPrns lack $u$Case (cf. “structural deficiency” in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 26ff, 36ff, 1999: 179, 202) and Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 428ff)).

Under the theory of movement proposed by Roberts (2010a: 57), where he proposes that “incorporation can take place only where the label of the incorporee is nondistinct from that of the incorporation host,” lack of $u$Case induces head movement (or more precisely, encliticization). More specifically, with an additional assumption that the originally unvalued features, which are valued in the course of derivation, do not delete at the end of the phase but remains undeleted in narrow syntax (contra Chomsky (2000: 124f, 2001: 18f, 2004: 113ff, 2005: 17, 2007: 18f, 2008: 154f)), the label of the CPPrn (i.e. $D^{Min/Max}$) is not distinct from that of an agreeing functional head in that both bear a full set of $\phi$-features, and the feature contents of the $i\phi$ are rendered a proper subset of those of the valued $u\phi$ after an Agree relation between them. When all the conditions (i.e. nondistinctness of labels) are met, head movement is triggered purely by Agree without recourse to an EPP. If we assume that C bears $u\phi$ along the lines of Chomsky (2001: 8f, 2004: 115f, 2005: 18, 2007: 19f, 2008: 143f), Carstens (2003: 394, 397), Tanaka (2002: 80ff, 2004: 180f) and Tanaka (2003: 86f, 94), possible candidates for agreement with a CPPrn will be C, T and $v^*$. When the $u\phi$ of C, T or $v^*$ agrees with the $i\phi$ of the CPPrn, possible candidates for agreement with a

---

23 Since determiners/demonstratives are also considered to be instances of D, one may wonder whether there is any difference between CPPrns and determiners/demonstratives. One may speculate that this is exactly the point they differ in, other things being equal: CPPrns lack $u$Case, whereas determiners/demonstratives bear it. Obviously, this speculation requires empirical verification. Yet, this issue is left aside here, pending further investigations. Note that the case form of CPPrns is the default one since they lack $u$Case.
the label of the former is rendered nondistinct from that of the latter and the CPPrn encliticizes to the agreeing functional head (logically either C, T or v°; but see discussion below).24

SPPrns are derived from CPPrns (or WPPrns). When the CPPrn does not enter into an Agree relation, alternatively, it can merge with an N0, valuing the uninterpretable features of the latter (cf. Chomsky (1995c: 337, 393, footnote 136)). Since the CPPrn (i.e. DMin/Max) projects upon merger with an N0 and it is no longer DMin/Max at this point, the projection of D is not a clitic any more. Recall now that SPPrns as well as CPPrns exist in OE/EME. The properties of SPPrns mentioned above exactly fit the characterization of the [D0 D0+N0] complex. Note that SPPrns are morphologically/orthographically identical to CPPrns. In this regard, let us claim that the N0 that merges with clitic D0 is a phonologically null counterpart of N0.25 Thus, the OE/EME SPPrnn is construed as

24 The assumption that C bears uϕ and N bears iϕ should be justified for the so-called complementizer agreement (cf. Zwart (1997: 25, 136ff, 256ff)) and the determiner agreement, respectively. Although the complementizer agreement is absent from OE/EME, determiners/demonstratives clearly agree with the following noun in gender, number and Case (Ukaji (2000: 177ff)). In this respect, N may also bear uCase and enter into an Agree relation with D in this feature. Precisely how the agreement between D and N is carried out DP-internally goes beyond the scope of this chapter.

25 This idea was suggested to me by Akira Watanabe (p.c.). Note, in passing, that the N0 that merges with clitic D0 is sometimes phonologically realized. One instance is the PPrn+self form. In OE, self was an independent word contrasting the nominal it follows, and it could modify any type of nominals. In the end of the 12th century, the PPrn+self form came to exist as a single word (Keenan (2002: 337); also see Mustanoja (1960: 153)), although its distribution was not strictly governed by the Binding Condition A (cf. Chomsky (1981: 188)). So, there was indeed phonologically realized N0 in the [D0 D0+N0] complex in EME. Since the PPrn+self form is considered as a maximal D projection under our characterization, it is predicted to behave differently from clitic PPrns. This prediction is borne out. Only a few instances of the PPrn+self form are attested in the subordinate Wackernagel position, and not a single instance is attested in the positions idiosyncratic to the clitic. The following is one of the rare instances of the Wackernagel PPrn+self:

(i) dat tu ðe seluen naht ne miht helpen...
    that you yourself not NEG might help
    ‘... that you may not help yourself...’ (CMVICES1, 65.708 / PPCME2)
clitic/weak $D^0$ plus phonologically null $N^0$ bearing a Focus feature (henceforth, Foc) (cf. Cardinaletti (1994: 198ff, 1999: 63), Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 36f, 1999: 165ff, 179, 202)). If CPPrns are minimally different from WPPrns which start to be attested in LME and afterward, WPPrns bear $u$Case in addition to $i\phi$ like full DPs. Let us propose that the CPPrns and WPPrns differ in featural contents and that CPPrns/WPPrns and SPPrns differ in structures. Thus, our characterization of PPrns is summarized as follows:

$$(2-17)\begin{array}{ll}
a. & \text{CPPrn: } D_{\text{Min/Max}}^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi> \\
b. & \text{WPPrn: } D_{\text{Min/Max}}^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u\text{Case}> \\
c. & \text{SPPrn: } \text{DP} = D^0 <i\phi(/u\text{Case})> + \text{phonologically null } N^0 <\text{Foc}> \\
\end{array}$$

The CPPrn is $D_{\text{Min/Max}}^{\text{Min/Max}}$ bearing only $i\phi$. The WPPrn is $D_{\text{Min/Max}}^{\text{Min/Max}}$ bearing both $i\phi$ and $u$Case. The SPPrn consists of $D^0$ bearing only $i\phi$ (i.e. CPPrn) or $D^0$ bearing both $i\phi$ and $u$Case (i.e. WPPrns) and phonologically null $N^0$ bearing Foc.

2.3.1.3. An Exemplary Derivation: V2 Order with a $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ in the Topic-initial Context

Bearing in mind the OE/EME clause structure in (2-14), the V-to-Fin movement in the topic-initial context, the positional difference between the $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ and $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPrn}}$, and the trichotomy of PPrns in (2-17) and adopting the standard minimalist assumption that a subject originates from the position internal to a verbal projection and moves to Spec TP for the EPP requirement of T, let us take a look at a derivation of the standard V2 order with a $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ in the topic-initial context. Suppose $V$, $v^*$, $T$, $\text{Fin}$, $C$, lexical items which constitute a topic, and ones which constitute $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ are selected from the lexicon and put into a lexical array. When the derivation reached the stage where all the lexical items in the lexical array are exhausted, the V2 order in question is derived as follows:

$$(2-18)\begin{array}{l}
a. \text{MERGE OF } T \text{ AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN } T \text{ AND } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} \\
[\text{TP } T<i\phi/EPP> [\text{v}_p \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}<i\phi/u\text{Case}> [\text{v}_* [v^* \text{VP } V ... ] ] ] ] \\
\text{AGREE} \\
\end{array}$$
b. **SUBJ\textsubscript{FN} MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP**

\[
[\text{TP Subj}_{\text{FIN}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle [T, T < \text{EPP} \rangle [v^p t_{\text{Subj}} [v^e \, v^* [v_{\text{P}} \ldots V \ldots ]]]]]
\]

**SATISFACTION OF EPP**

c. **MERGE OF FIN AND V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT**

\[
[\text{FinP} V-v^*\text{-T-Fin} [\text{TP Subj}_{\text{FIN}} [T, t_T [v^p t_{\text{Subj}} [v^e \, t_v [v_{\text{P}} \ldots t_V \ldots ]]]]]]^26
\]

**FINITE V-MOVEMENT**

d. **MERGE OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ\textsubscript{FIN}**

\[
[\text{CP} C \langle u\phi \rangle [\text{FinP} V-v^*\text{-T-Fin} [\text{TP Subj}_{\text{FIN}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle [T, t_T [v^p t_{\text{Subj}} [v^e \, t_v [v_{\text{P}} \ldots t_V \ldots ]]]]]]]
\]

**AGREE**

e. **TOPICALIZATION**

\[
[\text{CP Topic} C [\text{FinP} V-v^*\text{-T-Fin} [\text{TP Subj}_{\text{FIN}} [T, t_T [v^p t_{\text{Subj}} [v^e \, t_v [v_{\text{P}} \ldots t_V \ldots ]]]]]]]
\]

**TOPICALIZATION**

Upon its merger with a verbal projection already completed, T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj\textsubscript{FIN} in \(\phi\)-features, as in (2-18a), whereby the \(u\phi\) of T and the \(u\text{Case}\) of the Subj\textsubscript{FIN} are valued. Then, as in (2-18b), the Subj\textsubscript{FIN} is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T. As in (2-18c), the derivation is carried on to the stage where Fin is merged with the TP and the V-to-Fin movement is carried out (but see footnote19). Upon its merger with the FinP, C enters into an Agree relation with the Subj\textsubscript{FIN} in \(\phi\)-features, as in (2-18d), whereby the \(u\phi\) of C is valued.27 Since C does not bear EPP, the Subj\textsubscript{FIN} stays in

\[26\text{ Note that the V-to-Fin movement does not have to be carried out at this stage of the derivation, because this movement is counter-cyclic (see footnote 19). It can be delayed until merger of C. Simply for an expository reason, the V-to-Fin movement is carried out upon merger of Fin in (2-18).}
\]

\[27\text{ Note that although the } u\text{Case} \text{ of the Subj}_\text{FIN} \text{ is already valued by the Agree relation with T, it is still active and visible for the computational system (cf. Carstens (2003: 399ff)). This is because the valued/deleted}
\]
Spec TP at this stage. Finally, Topicalization is induced presumably for a semantic consequence, as in (2-18e).²⁸ Thereby the V2 order with a SubjFN in the topic-initial context is derived (cf. (2-8)).

2.3.2. Deriving the SPA

The derivation for the topic-initial structure with a SubjPPrn is slightly different, which is illustrated as follows:

(2-19) a. Merger of T and Agreement between T and SubjPPRN

```
[TP T<empt;/EPP> [iφ SubjPPrn<φ>] [v* [VP ... V ... ]]]
```

Agree

```
[TP SubjPPrn<φ> [iT T<empt/> [iφ SubjPPrn<φ>] [v* [SubjPPRN [v* [VP ... V ... ]]]]]
```

Satisfaction of EPP

Uninterpretable features are erased after the completion of the relevant strong phase that contains them (Chomsky (2001: 18f)). Due to this active status of the deleted uCase of the SubjFN, the iφ of the SubjFN is still eligible for Agree with the uφ of C at this point of the derivation.

Note also that clausal functional heads such as the V-v*-T-Fin complex become inactive after Agree and only nominal elements are active after valuation and eligible for further Agree. Thus, the V-v*-T-Fin complex does not induce an intervention effect when C enters into an Agree relation with the SubjFN in (2-18d).

²⁸ One may wonder why Topicalization is possible even though C does not bear EPP. Concerning this matter, I assume that EPP is assigned on the functional head in question, when the outcome has a semantic effect (Chomsky (1995c: 294, 337, 2000: 109, 2001: 34, 2004: 112, 2005: 14, 2007: 10, 2008: 140), or when the relevant phase has exhausted the lexical subarray from which it is derived (Chomsky (2000: 109)), or the assignment of an EPP allows successive-cyclic A’-movement (Chomsky (2001: 34)). The first two conditions suffice to assign EPP on C after the Agree between C and the SubjFN, which eventually induces Topicalization (via Spec v*P).
b'. SUBJ\_PPRN ENCLITICIZATION TO T

\[ *[\text{TP} \text{T} \langle \text{EPP} \rangle + \text{SUBJ}\_\text{PPRN} \langle i \phi \rangle \text{[\text{v}_p \text{T}_{\text{Subj}} \text{[\text{v}_c \text{v}^* \text{[VP ... V ... ]}]}]}] \Rightarrow \text{CRASH} \]

ENCLITICIZATION

c. MERGER OF FIN AND V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT

\[ [\text{FINP} \text{V}^{-v^*}-\text{T}-\text{FIN} [\text{TP} \text{SUBJ}\_\text{PPRN} [\text{T}_T \text{[\text{v}_p \text{T}_{\text{Subj}} \text{[\text{v}_c \text{v}^* \text{[VP ... I_V ... ]}]}]}])] \]

FINITE V-MOVEMENT

d. MERGER OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ\_PPRN

\[ [\text{CP} \text{C} \langle \text{u} \phi \rangle \text{[FINP} \text{V}^{-v^*}-\text{T}-\text{FIN} [\text{TP} \text{SUBJ}\_\text{PPRN} \langle i \phi \rangle [\text{T}_T \text{[\text{v}_p \text{T}_{\text{Subj}} \text{[\text{v}_c \text{v}^* \text{[VP ... I_V ... ]}]}]}])] ] \]

AGREE

e. SUBJ\_PPRN ENCLITICIZATION TO C

\[ [\text{CP} \text{C} \text{+SUBJ}\_\text{PPRN} \langle i \phi \rangle \text{[FINP} \text{V}^{-v^*}-\text{T}-\text{FIN} [\text{TP} \text{I}_{\text{Subj}} [\text{T}_T \text{[\text{v}_p \text{T}_{\text{Subj}} \text{[\text{v}_c \text{v}^* \text{[VP ... I_V ... ]}]}]}])] ] \]

ENCLITICIZATION

f. TOPICALIZATION

\[ [\text{CP TOPIC} [\text{C} \text{+SUBJ}\_\text{PPRN} \text{[FINP} \text{V}^{-v^*}-\text{T}-\text{FIN} [\text{TP} \text{I}_{\text{Subj}} [\text{T}_T \text{[\text{v}_p \text{T}_{\text{Subj}} \text{[\text{v}_c \text{v}^* \text{[VP ... I_V ... ]}]}]}])] ] \]

TOPICALIZATION

The first step is the same as that of the derivation for topic-initial V2 with a Subj\_FIN: T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj\_PPRN in \( \phi \)-features, as in (2-19a), whereby the \( u \phi \) of T are valued. There are two possibilities for the next stage: the Subj\_PPRN is either raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (2-19b), or encliticized to T, as in (2-19b'). If we take the second option, the EPP of T remains unvalued until the end and the derivation will crash eventually. Therefore, the first option must be taken. At first sight, this option may seem to be impossible because it is an instance of head movement into a specifier position, but this is not the case. Recall that the Subj\_PPRN is \( D_{\text{Min/Max}} \). In other
words, it can be minimal and maximal simultaneously. Thus, the \text{Subj}_{PPn} can be and must be raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T at this stage of the derivation. The third step is again the same as that of the derivation for topic-initial V2 with a \text{Subj}_{Fin}: Fin is merged with the TP and the V-to-Fin movement is carried out, as in (2-19c). Upon its merger with the FinP, C enters into an Agree relation with the \text{Subj}_{PPn} in $\phi$-features, as in (2-19d), whereby the $u\phi$ of C is valued. Then, as in (2-19e), the \text{Subj}_{PPn} encliticizes to C since $i\phi$ of the former is a proper subset of the $u\phi$ of the latter. Finally, Topicalization is induced, as in (2-19f). Thus, the topic-initial V3 order results with a \text{Subj}_{PPn}. It should be emphasized here that the derivation reaching the stage in (2-19f) in the end is the only convergent one for the topic-initial structure with a \text{Subj}_{PPn}. Because both C and T bear $u\phi$, the \text{Subj}_{PPn} can be encliticized to either of them at some point in the derivation. Yet, the derivation choosing the encliticization to T leaves its EPP feature unsatisfied (as in (2-19b')), eventually leading to crash. The only remaining choice is the encliticization to C, and the topic-initial structure with a \text{Subj}_{PPn} is forced to be V3 (cf. (2-9)).

Now if \text{Subj}_{PPn} does not enter into an Agree relation with any functional head, an option suggested above, it can no longer behave as a clitic. This is because the \text{Subj}_{PPn} becomes DP bearing $u$Case when it merges with a phonologically null counterpart of N$^0$ and enters into an Agree relation with the N$^0$ in question, which is illustrated as follows:

\begin{equation}
(2-20) \quad \text{MERGER OF } \text{SUBJ}_{PPN} \text{ WITH PHONOLOGICALLY NULL N} \\
\begin{array}{c}
[D \text{Subj}_{PPn}<i\phi>] \\
[MERGE] \\
[N \emptyset<i\phi>/u\text{Case/Foc}>]
\end{array}
\end{equation}

29 Note that $v^*$ could also be a candidate for the host of the \text{Subj}_{PPn} in that it bears $u\phi$. When the \text{Subj}_{PPn} is introduced into the structure, however, it is already outside of the c-command domain of $v^*$ (i.e. Spec $v^*$P). Thus, there is no way for $v^*$ to enter into an Agree relation with the \text{Subj}_{PPn}.

30 In this respect, the analysis presented here coincides with the ones provided by Haegeman (1990: 346f) and subsequently by Shlonsky (1994: 354ff) for West Flemish. That is, both of them treat the clitic \text{Subj}_{PPn} as an element in the CP domain.
b. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SUBJPRN AND PHONologically NULL N

\[
[\text{DP } \text{Subj}_{\text{PRN}} <i\phi> + \emptyset <i\phi/u\text{Case/Foc}> ]
\]

After the Subj\text{PRN} is merged with the phonologically null N\text{0}, as in (2-20a), extending the structure to a DP, the Subj_{\text{PRN}} enters into an Agree relation with the N\text{0}, as in (2-20b).\footnote{One may wonder why the Subj_{\text{PRN}} precedes the phonologically null N\text{0} here when it is externally merged with an agreeing functional head while it has to be encliticized (i.e. internally merged) to the functional head in question. My speculation is that this is related to the way the Subj_{\text{PRN}} is merged. When it merges with an agreeing functional head, it is merged internally (i.e. encliticization). When it is merged with the phonologically null N\text{0}, on the other hand, it is merged externally. In this case, the Subj_{\text{PRN}} is placed head-initially, projecting the structure in question. Thus, it may be the case that the Subj_{\text{PRN}} is merged with an agreeing element at any rate in the course of derivation, but the effect of IM (i.e. encliticization) is superseded by some sort of the head parameter in the case of EM.}

The end product of (2-20) is a DP Subj_{\text{PRN}} (i.e. S\text{PRN}) bearing uCase. Note, in this connection, that other features left in (2-20b) are still eligible for later operations and both the iφ of the Subj_{\text{PRN}} and that of the N\text{0} can still enter into an Agree relation with a single functional head under the notion of multiple Agree (Chomsky (2004: 127, footnote 51)). Since the DP Subj_{\text{PRN}} has the same status as the Subj_{\text{FN}}, it ends up in Spec TP, as in (2-18).

In other words, the topic-initial structure with a DP Subj_{\text{PRN}} must result in the V2 order. This explains the fact that a few instances of the topic-initial V2 with a Subj_{\text{PRN}} are attested in EME (cf. Tables 2-1 and 2-2). Note also that when the phonologically null N\text{0} is included in the numeration or lexical array, the derivational steps in (2-20) must be taken, given the Merge-over-Move principle (Chomsky (1995c: 348)). Since “Merge comes free (Chomsky (2001: 3); also see Chomsky (1995c: 316, 2000: 101, 2001: 6))” while Move (Internal Merge) is a complex operation Agree + Pied-pipe + External Merge (Chomsky (2000: 101, 2001: 10, 2004: 114)), the former, being more economical, always preempts the latter. It follows that when a CP\text{PRN} merges with an agreeing element, merger with
phonologically null N⁰ is less costly than encliticization to an agreeing functional head: external merge is always chosen over internal merge if possible. Thus, the derivation in (2-19) is carried out under the condition that the phonologically null N⁰ is absent from the lexical array. Otherwise, the Subjₚᵣₚn would be externally merged, and the V₃ order would never be possible in the topic-initial context.

Given the assumption in (2-15a), the analysis provided here predicts the operator-initial structure to be systematically V₂, whether the clausal subject is an FN or a PPrn. The finite V always moves to C in the operator-initial context (see footnote 26), ending up with the Subjₚᵣₚₚ encliticized to C, and with the Subjₜₚₜ in Spec TP; thus, the finite V precedes the subject whether it is an FN or a PPrn. This is illustrated as follows:

(2-21)  
   a. **MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ**

   \[ T \text{<} \phi / \text{EPP} \text{<} \text{Subj} \text{<} \phi (\text{Case}) \text{<} [\text{v}^* \text{V} \ldots \text{V} \ldots] ] ] ] ] \]

   AGREE

   b. **SUBJ MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP**

   \[ \text{Subj} \text{<} \phi (\text{Case}) \text{<} [T \text{<} \text{EPP} \text{<} \text{Subj} \text{<} \phi (\text{Case}) \text{<} [\text{v}^* \text{V} \ldots \text{V} \ldots] ] ] ] ] \]

   SATISFACTION OF EPP

   c. **MERGER OF FIN AND V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT**

   \[ \text{FinP} \text{<} \text{V}^* \text{-T-Fin} \text{<} \text{TP} \text{Subj} \text{<} [T \text{<} \text{iP} \text{Subj} \text{<} [\text{v}^* \text{V} \ldots \text{V} \ldots] ] ] ] ] \]

   FINITE V-MOVEMENT

   d. **MERGER OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ**

   \[ C \text{<} \phi / \text{FinP} \text{<} \text{V}^* \text{-T-Fin} \text{<} \text{TP} \text{Subj} \text{<} \phi (\text{Case}) \text{<} [T \text{<} \text{iP} \text{Subj} \text{<} [\text{v}^* \text{V} \ldots \text{V} \ldots] ] ] ] ] \]

   AGREE
Both the operator-initial structure with a Subj_{FN} and the one with a Subj_{PPrn} follow the same steps until C merges with the FinP and it enters into an Agree relation with the subject, as in (2-21a-d). Then, the one with a Subj_{PPrn} has an additional step: the Subj_{PPrn} encliticizes to C, as in (2-21e'). The remaining steps of the derivation are the same again. An operator is fronted to Spec CP, as in (2-21f) and (2-21f'). The finite V moves to C, as in (2-21g) and (2-21g'). Thus, in both of the cases, the finite V ends up by preceding the subject, whether it is an FN or a PPrn.
2.3.3. Structural Positions of the Wackernagel Obj

The analysis provided to the topic-initial structure in the previous subsection can be adopted for an account of the subordinate Wackernagel Obj. Nevertheless, a few additional assumptions are called for on the subordinate clause. As is often discussed in the literature, OE/EME subordinate clauses do not exhibit V2, except for the ones embedded under the so-called bridge verb. Concerning this well-known asymmetry between the main and subordinate clauses, let us follow Rizzi (1997: 288) in assuming that the complementizer (e.g. *Æt and its variants in the finite clause, for and its variants in the non-finite clause, etc.) is a phonologically realized counterpart of Fin (also see Haeberli (2001: 220)). Given that Fin is phonologically realized as a complementizer, the finite V cannot move to this position in the subordinate clause, thereby deriving the asymmetry between the main and subordinate clauses. Let us assume further that the phonologically realized Fin moves to C in the subordinate clause. In other words, the complementizer ends up in C although it is a phonologically realized counterpart of Fin. Bearing these additional assumptions in mind, let us take a close look at the derivations of the OE/EME subordinate clause involving a Wackernagel Obj.

Before going into details, recall the assumption we adopted in (2-15b). Different types of subjects reside in different structural positions in a clause: the Subj, being a

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32 A prerequisite is that the finite V cannot move to the phonologically realized functional head other than the one that is affixal in nature (e.g. * under Chomsky’s (1995c: 321) characterization).

33 This idea was suggested to me by Akira Watanabe (p.c.). The ground for this assumption seems to be unwarranted. However, my speculation is that it is related to the difference in the mode of finiteness and mood encoding between main and subordinate clauses. The main clause is always finite. Hence, the finite V suffices to signal the finiteness of the clause in question. The mood of the main clause, for instance, the declarative vs. interrogative/imperative distinction is signaled by the position of the finite V. On the other hand, the finiteness and mood distinction of the subordinate clause is signaled by different types of the complementizer. In this respect, the complementizer enters into not only the domain of Fin but also that of C (or Force in Rizzi’s (1997) terms). Thus, it may be the case that the phonologically realized Fin must be licensed by moving to C, or together with C, Fin realizes as a complementizer.
clitic, is encliticized to C; the SubjFN is located in Spec TP. Now if we assume that this
distinction is valid for the subordinate clause, we have two possible derivations for the
subordinate clause involving a Wackernagel ObjPPRN: the one with a SubjFN and the other
with a SubjPPRN. Let us consider the latter first, which is illustrated as follows:34

(2-22) a. MERGER OF V* AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN V* AND OBJPPRN

\[ \text{MERGER OF } V^* \text{ AND OBJPPRN} \]

b. MERGER OF SUBJPPRN AND OBJPPRN MOVEMENT TO SPEC V*P

\[ \text{Satisfaction of EPP} \]

34 One may wonder whether the ObjPPRN in Spec V*P induces the so-called intervention effect in (2-22c). The
answer is affirmative: T can enter into an Agree relation with the ObjPPRN in Spec V*P. This is, in fact, a
derivation for the subordinate clause involving a SubjFN and a Wackernagel ObjPPRN. Note in this respect that
when T enters into an Agree relation with the ObjPPRN, it can also enter into an Agree relation with the SubjPPRN
under the notion of multiple Agree. See (2-23) below for details. Nevertheless, the intervention effect is
obviated in (2-22c). Instead, the unvalued feature of the ObjPPRN is deleted in the later operation, as in (2-22f).
A crucial assumption here is that if there are two possible probes (i.e. T and C in this case) in a single phase,
the first probe (i.e. T) can leave the (closest) goal (i.e. ObjPPRN) for the second one (i.e. C), and the goal in
question can await the next probe to satisfy its requirement. Then, no problem arises for the derivational
step in (2-22c). A potentially problematic derivational step is the multiple Agree case mentioned above. If
T agrees with both the ObjPPRN and the SubjPPRN, the former encliticized to T and the latter raised to Spec TP,
then this derivational step leads to a convergent derivation. At the same time, however, the derivational step
with the ObjPPRN raised to Spec TP and the SubjPPRN encliticized to T is equally possible. Nevertheless, this
dervational step must be barred. An obvious question to ask is how. If we invoke the maximize matching
effects principle (Chomsky (2001: 15)), the unwanted derivational step can be avoided. When the SubjPPRN is
raised to Spec TP, its formal features are valued and the EPP of T is deleted. When the ObjPPRN is raised to
Spec TP, on the other hand, only the EPP of T is deleted because its formal features are already valued by the
Agree relation with v*. Under the maximize-matching-effects principle, then, the former case (i.e. SubjPPRN
movement to Spec TP) is obviously preferred to the latter (i.e. ObjPPRN movement to Spec TP). Given this
principle, there is no chance for the ObjPPRN with valued formal features to move to Spec TP.
Upon its merger with a VP already completed, v* enters into an Agree relation with the ObjPPrn, as in (2-22a), whereby the uφ of v* is valued. Assignment of EPP on v* in (2-22a) is justified in accordance with Chomsky’s (2001) characterization of Spec v*P.
"The EPP position of v*P [= Spec v*P] is assigned INT (Chomsky (2001: 33))," and this is an interpretive complex which consists of specificity/definiteness, [old] information, focus, etc. (ibid.: 31). This means that material in Spec v*P is restricted to the element conforming to INT. Accordingly, the interpretation of the ObjPPrn does not contradict INT, and EPP can be assigned on v* in this case. After this stage, the SubjPPrn is merged with the v*P and the ObjPPrn is raised to Spec v*P to satisfy the EPP requirement of v*, as in (2-22b). When Aux and T are merged successively with the structure already made up, as in (2-22c), T enters into an Agree relation with the SubjPPrn in inner Spec v*P, ignoring the ObjPPrn in outer Spec v*P (see footnote 32), whereby the uφ of T is valued. Then, the SubjPPrn is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (2-22d), and the Aux-to-T movement is carried out, as in (2-22e). After the phonologically realized Fin (i.e. þæt) is merged with the TP, C is merged with the FinP, as in (2-22f). At this stage, C enters into multiple Agree relations with the SubjPPrn and the ObjPPrn, whereby the uφ of C is valued. Then, as in (2-22g), both the SubjPPrn and the ObjPPrn encliticize to C since the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter. Finally, as in (2-22h), the Fin-to-C movement is carried out, the outcome of which is the Comp-SubjPPrn-ObjPPrn-Aux-V order (cf. (2-10b)).

Let us turn now to the other conceivable derivation, that is, the derivation for the subordinate clause involving a SubjFN and a Wackernagel ObjPPrn. This is derived in a somewhat different manner, which is illustrated as follows:

(2-23) a. MERGER OF v* AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN v* AND OBJPPRN

\[ [v_p \text{v*} <uφ/EPP> [\text{VP ObjPPrn}<iφ> V ... ]] \]

AGREE

b. MERGER OF SUBJFN AND OBJPPRN MOVEMENT TO SPEC v*P

\[ [v_p \text{ObjPPrn}<iφ> [v_p \text{SubjFN}<iφ/uCase> [v_p v* <EPP> [\text{VP tObj V ... }]]]] \]

SATISFACTION OF EPP

– 93 –
c. **Merger of Aux and T and Agreement between T and Subj<sub>FN</sub> and Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>**

\[ [_{TP} T<\phi>/EPP> [_{AuxP} Aux [_{vP} Obj<_{PPrn}<\phi>] [_{vP} Subj<_{FN}<\phi>/uCase>] [_{vP} v^*] [_{VP} t_{Obj} V ... ] ] ]]]]

**Agree**

d. **Subj<sub>FN</sub> Movement to Spec TP and Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> Encliticization to T**

\[ [_{TP} Subj<_{FN}<\phi>/uCase>] [_{T} T<EPP> + Obj<_{PPrn}<\phi>] [_{AuxP} Aux

\[ [_{vP} t_{Obj} [_{vP} t_{Subj} [_{vP} v^* [_{VP} t_{Obj} V ... ] ] ] ] ]]]

**Satisfaction of EPP & Encliticization**

e. **Merger of Phonologically Realized Fin and C and Agreement between C and Subj<sub>FN</sub>**

\[ [_{CP} C<\phi>/ [_{FinP} haet [_{TP} Subj<_{FN}<\phi>/uCase>] [_{T} T+Obj<_{PPrn}<\phi>] [_{AuxP} Aux

\[ [_{vP} t_{Obj} [_{vP} t_{Subj} [_{vP} v^* [_{VP} t_{Obj} V ... ] ] ] ] ]]]

**Agree**

f. **Fin-to-C Movement**

\[ [_{CP} haet-C [_{FinP} haet [_{TP} Subj<_{FN} [_{T} T+Obj<_{PPrn} [_{AuxP} Aux

\[ [_{vP} t_{Obj} [_{vP} t_{Subj} [_{vP} v^* [_{VP} t_{Obj} V ... ] ] ] ] ]]]

**Complementizer Movement**

The first two steps of (2-23) are the same as those of the derivation for the Comp-Sub<sub>PPrn</sub>-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-Aux-V order (i.e. (2-22)): \( v^* \) enters into an Agree relation with the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>, whereby the \( \phi \) of \( v^* \) is valued, as in (2-23a); the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is merged with the \( v^*P \) and the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> is raised to Spec \( v^*P \) to satisfy the EPP requirement of \( v^* \), as in (2-23b). The third step diverges from that of the derivation for the Comp-Sub<sub>PPrn</sub>-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-Aux-V order: upon its merger with the \( \phi P \), T enters into multiple Agree relations with both the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> in outer Spec \( v^*P \) and the Subj<sub>FN</sub> in inner Spec \( v^*P \), as in (2-23c). Then, as in (2-23d), the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, and the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> is
encliticized to T as the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter.\textsuperscript{35} When C is merged with the TP, as in (2-23e), it enters into an Agree relation with the Subj\textsubscript{FN}, valuing its $u\phi$. At this point, the Subj\textsubscript{FN} cannot encliticize to C, because it bears $u$Case. Finally, as in (2-23f), the Fin-to-C movement is induced, and the derivation in question results in the Comp-Subj\textsubscript{FN}-Obj\textsubscript{Pprn}-Aux-V order (cf. (2-10a)).

A crucial difference between the derivations of the Comp-Subj\textsubscript{Pprn}-Obj\textsubscript{Pprn}-Aux-V order and the Comp-Subj\textsubscript{FN}-Obj\textsubscript{Pprn}-Aux-V order is that the latter derivation does not only lack the encliticization of the subject to C but also lack the Aux-to-T movement. The lack of the subject encliticization receives a principled explanation (see the discussion in the previous paragraph), whereas the lack of the Aux-to-T movement may seem ad hoc. This is not the case, however. The finite V (or auxiliary) sometimes follows the (phrasal) negative marker (henceforth, Neg) in the subordinate clause, which indicates the failure of Aux-to-T movement (under the plausible assumption that the Neg marks the left edge of the verbal projection):

\begin{equation}
\text{NEG-AUX-V ORDER } \xrightarrow{\text{FAIL}} \text{ FAILURE OF V-TO-T MOVEMENT}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
\text{dat tu } & \text{ de seluen } \underline{\text{nahlt ne miht helpen...}} \\
\text{that you yourself not NEG might help}
\end{align*}

‘... that you may not help yourself...’ \textsuperscript{(CMVICES1, 65.708 / PPCME2)}

Thus, the lack of Aux-to-T movement is justified for the derivation of the Comp-Subj\textsubscript{FN}-Obj\textsubscript{Pprn}-Aux-V order. Since the failure of Aux-to-T movement was not so frequent, moreover, it is expected that the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{Pprn} is attested more frequently in the subordinate clause with a Subj\textsubscript{Pprn} than the one with a Subj\textsubscript{FN}. This prediction is borne out: 101 out of the 148 instances of the Subj-Obj\textsubscript{Pprn}-Aux-V order in Tables 2-6 and 2-8 (68.24\%) involve a Subj\textsubscript{Pprn}. This figure also suggests the lack of Aux-to-T movement.

\textsuperscript{35} Again, a potentially problematic derivational step is conceivable here: the Obj\textsubscript{Pprn} is raised to Spec TP, satisfying the EPP requirement of T, while the Subj\textsubscript{FN} is left behind in situ (i.e. Spec $v^*P$). Given the maximize-matching-effects principle (see footnote 34), however, this derivational step is definitively ruled out.
in the Comp-Subj$_{FN}$-Obj$_{PPmn}$-Aux-V order. The detailed figures are given in Table 2-12:

**Table 2-12: Subj$_{PPRN}$ vs. Subj$_{FN}$ in the Subj-Obj$_{PPRN}$-Aux-V Order**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</th>
<th>Subj$_{PPRN}$</th>
<th>Subj$_{FN}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid-13C Southeast Midland Texts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid-13C Southwest Midland Texts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmhali.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14C Kentish Text</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmayenbi.m2 (1340)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Given that the failure of Aux-to-T movement is infrequent, one may wonder what happens to the derivation in (2-23) if this movement is induced. One can easily infer that the resultant word order is the Comp-SubjFN-Aux-ObjPprn-V order. This is evident if Aux moves to T in (2-23f):

(2-23)  f.  Aux-to-T MOVEMENT

\[
\text{[CP} \text{pet-C}<\mu\phi\text{]} [\text{FinP} \text{Fin} [\text{TP} \text{SubjFN} [\text{T} \text{Aux-T+ObjPprn} [\text{AuxP} \text{t Aux}]]]]]
\]

FINITE V-MOVEMENT

In fact, this word order is also frequently attested in EME (see Tables 2-6 and 2-8): “in the compound and periphrastic tenses the [pronominal] object... was generally found between the inflected auxiliary and the participle or infinitive (Mossé (1952: §180)).” The following is a representative example of the Comp-SubjFN-Aux-ObjPprn-V order:

(2-25)  COMP-SUBJFN-AUX-OBJPPRN-V ORDER

\[
\text{[pet god ne he hit him v-veve... that god NEG has it him given}]
\]

‘... that God has not given it to him...’ (CMAYENBI, 18.273 / PPCME2)

Under the analysis provided here, the word order pattern in (2-25) is conceived to be merely a subordinate clause involving V-to-T movement and ObjPprn encliticization to T. Note, however, that this is not the only derivation for the Comp-SubjFN-Aux-ObjPprn-V order. Suppose the ObjPprn is merged with a phonologically null N⁰, an option also available to SubjPprn. Then, the DP ObjPprn is no longer eligible for cliticization in later stages of the derivation, and it remains in the verbal projection (i.e. Spec v*P or initially merged position within the VP). With or without Aux-to-T movement, this derivation also ends up in the Comp-SubjFN-Aux-ObjPprn-V order. In other words, the subordinate clause with a strong

[36] Interestingly, 7 out of the 21 instances of the SubjFN-ObjPprn-Aux-V order in the Vices and Virtues and 10 out of the 17 instances in the Ayenbite of Inwit involve the noun God ‘God’ and its orthographical variants as a SubjFN. This fact may be due to N-to-D movement attested in OE with the same noun modified by the adjective ælmihtig ‘Almighty’ (cf. Crisma (1999: 109ff)). I have no interesting explanation at the moment.
Obj always results in the Comp-SubjFN-Aux-ObjPPrn-V order, or with a head-initial VP, it may even result in the Comp-SubjFN-Aux-V-ObjPPrn order.

Turning back to the derivation in (2-23), let us consider some other possible steps. Suppose T in (2-23c) does not enter into multiple Agree relations but only with the SubjFN, ignoring the ObjPPrn in outer Spec v*P, and instead C in (2-23e) enters into multiple Agree relations with the SubjFN in Spec TP and the ObjPPrn in Spec v*P. Then, the remaining steps will be the following:

(2-23') e. MERGER OF PHONOLOGICALLY REALIZED FIN AND C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJFN AND OBJPPRN

The ObjPPrn is encliticized to C in (2-23'), and the resultant word order is the Comp-ObjPPrn-SubjFN-Aux-V order. As one may have noticed, this is a derivation for (2-12a), which illustrates one of the positions idiosyncratic to the ObjPPrn (i.e. Position I). (2-12b) and (2-12c), which illustrate the other positions idiosyncratic to the ObjPPrn (i.e. Positions II and III), are also derived in a similar manner, involving ObjPPrn encliticization to C. The only difference is that the finite V ends up in Fin in (2-12b) while it ends up in C in (2-12c). These are the options unavailable to subordinate clauses.

To sum up, the SubjPPrn and the ObjPPrn have been shown to bear only $i\phi$. Due to
nondistinctness of the label of the Subj$_{PPn}$/Obj$_{PPn}$ on the one hand and that of an agreeing functional head on the other, the Subj$_{PPn}$ and the Obj$_{PPn}$ are encliticized to C and T/C, respectively, unless the Subj$_{PPn}$/Obj$_{PPn}$ externally merges with a phonologically null counterpart of N$^0$. Together with the presence of the V-to-Fin movement, encliticization of the Subj$_{PPn}$ results in SPA in the topic-initial context, and with the absence of V-to-Fin/V-to-T movement, encliticization of the Obj$_{PPn}$ yields the Wackernagel Obj$_{PPn}$ in the subordinate context. Bearing in mind the analyses provided here, let us turn in the following section to see how the obviation of the SPA caused the loss of the Wackernagel Obj$_{PPn}$ in the history of English.

2.4. A Net Result of Changes

Recall the historical change in the SPA in the main topic-initial context and the Wackernagel Obj$_{PPn}$ in the subordinate context. Both of them were frequently attested in EME, whereas the former became obviated by the rise of V3 order with the Subj$_{FN}$ and the latter became extinct in LME (see Figures 2-1 and 2-2). In terms of the analyses provided in the previous section, the obviation of the SPA is construed as the loss of V-to-Fin movement in the main topic-initial context with a Subj$_{FN}$:

(2.26) **LOSS OF V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT**

$$\textit{EME: } [\text{CP Topic } [C \ [\text{FinP V-T-v*-Fin [TP Subj$_{FN}$ [T } l_T^e [v*P t_{Subj} [v* t_v^*] [v ... t_v \ldots ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$\textit{LME: } [\text{CP Topic } [C \ [\text{FinP [TP Subj$_{FN}$ [T V-T-v*- [v*P t_{Subj} [v* t_v^*] [v ... t_v \ldots ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$$

---

37 What caused the loss of the V-to-Fin movement is not an important issue here. It might have been caused by the decline of verbal inflections (e.g. Roberts (1985: 47f, 1993: 245, 256ff, 326ff); see Nawata (2003: 56ff, 2004: 145ff, 2009: 254ff, 272ff) for recent discussion on this matter) or by the rise of auxiliaries (e.g. Ishikawa (2001)). Since our major concern here is the causal relation in the change in question (see the discussion below), I will leave this issue open here.
The loss of the Wackernagel Obj$_{PPn}$ is simply conceived as loss of CPPrns. That is, $u$Case is added to CPPrns, thereby creating WPPrns (cf. (2-17)). Since $u$Case is absent from PPn D in OE/EME while it is present in PPn D in LME, there seems to be a parametric variation in feature contents of PPn D. With respect to this variation, let us propose that something like the following parameter is at work:

(2-27) $u$CASE PARAMETER ON D$^{38}$

- $-u$Case on D: $\text{D}^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi>$ (= CPPrn)
- $+u$Case on D: $\text{D}^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u$Case> (= WPPrn)

In the language where the $u$Case Parameter on D has a negative value, as in (2-27a), the label of PPn D (i.e. CPPrn in this case) can be nondistinct from that of an agreeing functional head. Hence, a cliticization phenomenon is observable in this language. In the language where the parameter in question has a positive value, as in (2-27b), on the other hand, the label of PPn D (i.e. WPPrn in this case) cannot be nondistinct from that of any agreeing functional head. Obviously, cliticization is impossible in this case. In the case at hand, we can consider OE/EME to be an instance of the language with a negative value for (2-27) and LME to be an instance of the one with a positive value.

Now, one may wonder why (2-27) ceased to have a negative value in LME. As we take language change to be a reflex of the change in how children converge on a grammar, as presented in Chapter 1, we have to consider how they decide the setting for (2-27). Since presence of $u$Case on PPn D creates WPPrns while its absence creates CPPrns, the former being less complex than the latter in the sense that the feature contents of the former are on a par with those of FNs, the default/unmarked value of (2-27) can be considered to be positive.$^{39}$ This means that unless there is positive evidence indicating the contrary,

$^{38}$ Postulation of this parameter conforms to the minimalist view of the parametric variation presented in Chapter 1 in that it is stated in terms of the variation imposed on the functional head (i.e. D with or without $u$Case).

$^{39}$ This point is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. See Watanabe (1994: 168, footnote 18) for an economical flavor of the default parameter setting. See also Gelderen (2004b: 60f, 69ff, 89ff) and Roberts & Roussou
(2-27) is set for a positive value. In other words, if children do not encounter a trigger or, more precisely, a cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff, 2002a: 9, 2003: 6f, 2006a: 78ff)) for setting the negative value for (2-27) in the course of language acquisition, the default value, namely, the positive value is chosen. According to Lightfoot (2006a: 78), a cue is expressed as a partial grammatical structure and is an element of I-language derived from the input. Children scan the linguistic environment for these cues and set the parameters accordingly.

Here, a question arises as to what counts as a cue for setting the negative value for (2-27). The Wackernagel ObjPPrn itself cannot be considered as a cue, since it is hardly the case that children acquire language with reference to the subordinate context. Since they learn everything “from structures of ‘degree-0 complexity’ [= main clauses] (Lightfoot (1991: 10)),” instead, we can conjecture that they set the negative value for (2-27) in the following manner. First of all, the SPA in the main topic-initial context can be considered as the cue for setting the negative value for (2-27). More specifically, the cue in question consists of the V2 order involving a SubjFN and the V3 order involving a SubjPPrn in the relevant context (i.e. [CP Topic [Finp V [TP SubjFN ... ]]] and [CP Topic SubjPPrn [Finp V [TP ... ]]]).

When children are confronted with this cue, they will infer that PPrns have properties distinct from FNs. Given that uCase is included in the inventory of formal features that the UG affords and that it can be placed in PPrns (= D) when features are assembled to lexical items, more precisely, they will infer that the uCase is absent from PPrn D, whereby (2-27) is set for the negative value. Once this is done, all the PPrns (without a phonologically null N⁰), whether they are subjects or objects, come to behave as clitics: they come to encliticize to an agreeing functional head, C in the case of the SubjPPrn and T/C in the case of the ObjPPrn. In some subordinate contexts (i.e. the subordinate clause involving a SubjPPrn and the one involving a SubjFN and no V-to-T movement), ObjPPrn

(2003: 30f, 44, 58, 201), where it is argued independently that the notion of economy plays an important role in language change.
encliticization to T/C yields the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn}. Thus, the SPA in the main topic-initial context triggers the Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the subordinate context.

Once the SPA gets obviated, children will no longer infer that the uCase is absent from PPrn D, whereby the negative value for (2-27) ceases to be invoked. This is what happened in LME. Due to the loss of V-to-Fin movement (see footnote 37), the main topic-initial context with a Subj\textsubscript{FN} comes to exhibit V3 order, thereby the SPA is obviated. As one can easily imagine, this loss caused language learners to stop inferring the absence of uCase from PPrn D. This is a sufficient condition for acquisition of the default/unmarked value for (2-27). Thus, the grammar of the LME Southern/Midland dialect lacks V-to-Fin movement, but retains V-to-T movement (as we will see in detail in Chapter 4) and WPPrn and SPPrn paradigms.

We have seen so far that SPA invokes the negative value for (2-27) in EME while its obviation leads to the default/unmarked positive value for (2-27). Crucial to the change in the setting of (2-27) is the obviation of SPA (i.e. rise of uniform V3). The obviation observed above was caused by the loss of V-to-Fin movement in the LME Southern/Midland dialect. It is predicted here that the default value for (2-27) might result from another way of SPA obviation (i.e. rise of uniform V2). This is what happened in the Northern dialect of LME, to which we turn in the following section.

2.5. Northern Dialect of LME

The linguistic facts in the Northern dialect of LME lend support to the scenario for loss of cliticization presented in the previous section. Recall that in §2.2.1 we referred to the survey conducted by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000). They, in fact, cover the Northern dialect of LME. Surveying the Northern Prose Rule of St. Benet, the oldest surviving Northern prose text dated to around 1425, they similarly collected the V2/V3 instances with both the Subj\textsubscript{FN} and the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} in the context where either of the following elements are placed clause-initially: NP, PP and Adj complements, adverbs \textit{pa/then} and \textit{now}, PP adjuncts and any other adverbs. The result of their survey on this
The SPA is obviated in this text, but interestingly, the majority of instances with both the SubjFN and the SubjPPrn exhibit a V2 pattern. The shaded rows in Table 2-13 show that 93.9% of the SubjFN tokens and 92.9% of the SubjPPrn tokens exhibit the V2 order on average. The following are representative examples (cited from Fischer et al. (2000)):

(2-28) a. **SUBJFN**

[Allekin mekeness] sal man muster til þe gestis
all-manner-of meekness shall man muster to the guests
‘All manner of humbleness shall be shown to the guests.’

(Benet 35.11 / Fischer et al. (2000: 131))

b. **SUBJPPRN**

[In þa dais] sal we here sumþing of godes seruise
in the days shall we hear something of God’s service
‘In those days, we will hear something about the service of God.’

(Benet 33.35 / ibid.)
A similar result can be obtained from the survey conducted by Haeberli (2002b). He also collected the topic-initial V2/V3 instances in the two 15th century Northern texts (*English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole* and *Mirror of St. Edmund (Thornton ms.*)). The result of his survey is shown in Table 2-14 (see also Trips (2002: 254) for the former text and Kroch et al. (2000: 375) for the latter):

**Table 2-14: Topic-initial V2/V3 in the 15C Northern Texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \text{SUBJ}_{\text{FN}} )</th>
<th>( \text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rolle (c.1450 (a.1349))</td>
<td>5 (20.0%)</td>
<td>20 (80.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund, Thornton (c.1440)</td>
<td>31 (64.6%)</td>
<td>17 (35.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36 (49.3%)</td>
<td>37 (50.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

Table 2-14 shows that 49.3% of the \( \text{SUBJ}_{\text{FN}} \) tokens and 46.4% of the \( \text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}} \) tokens exhibit the V2 order on average. These figures indicate that the SPA in the topic-initial context is obviated in the Northern dialect of LME. Assuming that the Northern dialect had the properties similar to those of the Southern/Midland dialects of EME, we can illustrate the change under consideration in the following figure:

**Figure 2-3: Historical Change of the SPA in the Main Topic-initial Context**

In terms of the analyses provided in §2.3.1, obviation of SPA in the Northern dialect of LME can be viewed as loss of the \( \text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}} \) encliticization to C accompanied by retainment of the V-to-FIn movement:
Now, a question arises as to why the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} encliticization to C was lost without recourse to the loss of the V-to-Fin movement. It is not the case that the parameter in (2-27) ceased to be invoked for the negative value because the V-to-Fin movement was fairly retained. If the V-to-Fin movement still existed, then there must have been a cue for the negative value for the parameter in (2-27). This should have made the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} encliticization to C possible, which is contrary to historical facts. Thus, the loss of the Subj\textsubscript{PPrn} encliticization to C in the LME Northern dialect cannot have been due to the resetting of (2-27), although its negative setting ultimately ceases to be invoked (see the discussion below). Let us conjecture here that the change in question is due to the change in pronominal paradigms of the Northern dialect. As this dialect was the language spoken/written in the Danelaw illustrated in Figure 2-4, and underwent intense language contact with ON, it may exhibit properties idiosyncratic to ON.

**Figure 2-4: The Danelaw**

(Shepherd (1911: 60))
One instance is the third person plural form of PPrns. While the EME Southern/Midland dialect retained indigenous third person plural forms (e.g. nominative hy/hi (< OE hī/hi), accusative hie/hi (< OE hī/hi), dative him/hem (< OE him/heom) and genitive hir(e)/her(e) (< OE hiera/heora)), the Northern dialect borrowed ON forms (e.g. nominative þei/pai (< ON þeir), accusative/dative þem (< ON þeim) and genitive þeir/pair (< ON þeira)) into its pronominal paradigms (Nakao (1972: 137); see also Dawson (2003: 45)). Now suppose the ON forms bear uCase and behave as FNss or WPPRs. This should be warranted, given the fact that ON is a strictly systematic V2 language in both main and subordinate clauses (Rögnvaldsson (1995: 5, 1996: 57), Hróarsdóttir (2000: 53); see also Christoffersen (1980: 118) and Morse-Gagné (2003: 295ff)). Then, the ON forms need not, hence cannot, encliticize to any functional head. Thus, the historical change shown in Figure 2-3 seems to have resulted from the replacement of indigenous third person plural forms with the new forms of ON origin. Under the pressure of language contact with ON, children learning the Northern dialect acquired the new third person plural forms bearing uCase, and the effect of the new forms was generalized to the other (i.e. first/second person singular/plural and third person singular) nominative forms by analogy (but crucially not to all the other 40 Note that ON also exhibits the so-called V1 declarative (Faarlund (2004: 192), Haugan (1999: 55), Sigurðsson (1990: 46)). In this construction, too, both the SubjN and the SubjPPrn systematically follow the fronted V. The sentences in (i) and (ii) are instances of V1 with a SubjN and a SubjPPrn, respectively. Whether the sentence is V1 or V2, the subject always follows the fronted V (except for the subject topic case). Hence, the discussion in the text remains unaffected.

(i) sóró þa fyir mér með stofuðum bókareiðið Lafranz Raumdœl
swore-3PL then before me-DAT with pronounced book-oath-DAT Lafranz-NOM Raumdœl
ok Groa
and Groa-NOM

‘Then Lafranz Raumdœl and Groa swore an oath on the book before me.’

(DN II.208 / Faarlund (2004: 192))

(ii) Vil og nú gefa þér sverðið
will I now give you the-sword

‘I will give the sword to you.’

(Grett 974 / Haugan (1999: 55))
forms), whereby the Subj$_{ppm}$ encliticization to C became impossible. This caused the rise of uniform V2 effects in the main topic-initial context, thereby obviating the SPA in the Northern dialect of LME. An important point here is that the change under consideration was not caused by the resetting of the parameter in (2-27), but by the rise of $u$Case in nominative PPrns (see the discussion below for justification of this point).

Given that the SPA became obviated by the rise of uniform V2 effects, it can be surmised that the parameter in (2-27) ceased to be invoked for the negative setting, thereby making the encliticization to an agreeing functional head in general impossible, and that the Wackernagel Obj$_{ppm}$ disappeared from these dialects. This prediction is borne out. My survey on the subordinate word order in the Northern texts shows that it was impossible in this dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-15: Distribution of Obj$_{ppm}$ in the 15C Northern Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmbenrul.m3 (a.1425)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmrolltr.m24 (c.1450 (a.1349))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmedthor (c.1440)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is obvious from Table 2-15, not a single instance of the Wackernagel Obj$_{ppm}$ is attested in the Northern texts. This fact indicates that the parameter in (2-27) indeed ceased to be invoked for the negative setting in the Northern dialect of LME.

Note that this change did not result from the rise of $u$Case, which caused the obviation
of the SPA. Under the scenario presented above, the property of the new third person plural forms (i.e. presence of uCase) was generalized to the other nominative forms, but crucially not to the other accusative/dative forms. In this connection, recall the V2/V3 facts in Chaucer’s works (written in the late 14th century East Midland dialect) briefly mentioned in §2.2.2. His texts exhibit relatively high frequency of V2 both with the SubjFN (50.0%) and with the SubjPPn (50.0%), whereby the SPA is obviated (see Table 2-4). Intriguingly, Chaucer’s works coincide with the LME Northern texts in this respect, namely, in that the SPA is obviated by the rise of uniform V2 in the main topic-initial context. Moreover, they are also similar to the LME Northern texts in that the Wackernagel ObjPPn is unattested (see Table 2-9). What is more relevant to the current discussion is the pronominal paradigms in Chaucer’s works. For third person plural PPrns, they borrowed the ON nominative form and retained the indigenous accusative/dative form (Ukaji (2000: 172, 174); see also Nakao (1972: 137)).

In terms of the feature contents, this means that the third person plural nominative form bears uCase while the third person plural accusative/dative form lacks this feature. Now, what happens if the property of the third person plural nominative form and that of the third person plural accusative/dative form are generalized to the other nominative forms and to the other accusative/dative, respectively? A conceivable possibility is that the nominative forms in general bear uCase while the accusative/dative forms in general lack this feature. I speculate that this is what happened in Chaucer’s works. Because of these peculiar pronominal paradigms, the SPA was obviated, thereby giving rise to uniform V2 in Chaucer’s works. This, in turn, reset the parameter in (2-27) for the default/unmarked value, whereby the Wackernagel ObjPPn was made impossible. Since the LME Northern texts are similar to Chaucer’s works to the extent that at least the third person plural nominative form of PPrns is of ON origin, the same change could have taken place in the Northern dialect prior to the composition of the

---

41 Chaucer’s works also retained the indigenous genitive form for the third person plural PPrn. Since this form is irrelevant to the current discussion, it is abstracted away.
oldest surviving texts. Thus, introduction of the ON third person plural nominative form bearing *u*Case into the pronominal paradigms of the Northern dialect and generalization of its property only to the other nominative forms should be justified (cf. Morse-Gagné (1988: 365, 2003: Chapters 4 and 5) and references cited therein).

To sum up, uniform V2 in the main topic-initial context emerged in the Northern dialect, presumably, due to the borrowing of the third person plural nominative PPrn bearing *u*Case, whereby the SPA got obviated. This caused the resetting of the parameter in (2-27) for the default/unmarked value, thereby making the encliticization to an agreeing functional head impossible. Eventually, the Wackernagel ObjPPrn became extinct. Thus, the uniform V2 order ultimately led to the loss of the Wackernagel ObjPPrn in the Northern dialect of LME.\(^{42}\)

\(^{42}\) Like the Northern dialects of LME, contemporary Germanic languages such as German and Dutch systematically exhibit a V2 phenomenon irrespective of subject types (i.e. SPA), but they allow the Wackernagel ObjPPrn. An obvious question to ask, then, is how the parameter in (2-27) is set for negative value without the SPA. My tentative answer for this question is that V-SubjFN non-adjacency and V-SubjPPrn adjacency in the V2 context constitute the cue for the negative value for (2-27). Let us take up German for an instance. Haeberli (2000: 114f) observes that in German, an adjunct can intervene between the fronted finite V and the SubjFN while this is impossible with the SubjPPrn, as the following examples illustrate (cf. Haeberli (1999a, 1999b)):

(i) [Wahrscheinlich] \textbf{wird} (später) \textbf{Hans} dieselbe Uhr kaufen.

‘Probably, John will buy the same watch.’

(Haeberli (2000: 114))

(ii) [Wahrscheinlich] \textbf{wird} (*später) \textbf{er} dieselbe Uhr kaufen.

‘Probably, he will buy the same watch.’

(ibid.: 115))

The contrast between (i) and (ii) suffices to signal the difference between the SubjFN and SubjPPrn in their properties, whereby the parameter in (2-27) is driven to set for the negative value. Note in this connection that the V-SubjFN non-adjacency was possible in EME while it became impossible in the Northern dialect of LME (Haeberli (2000: 122ff)).
2.6. Summary

We have seen in this chapter that obviation of SPA in the topic-initial context led to the loss of the Wackernagel ObjPPrn in the subordinate context in the history of English. Analyzed in recent minimalist terms, the SPA is yielded by SubjPPrn encliticization to C driven by the requirement of the uCase-less SubjPPrn on the one hand and SubjFN movement to Spec TP driven by the EPP requirement of T on the other. Given the degree-0 learnability, this SPA constitutes a cue to invoke the negative setting of the parameter in (2-27), whereby the uCase is rendered absent from PPrn D. The SPA obviation in the LME Southern/Midland dialect resulted from the rise of uniform V3 order caused by the loss of V-to-Fin movement, whereas that in the LME Northern dialect did from the rise of uniform V2 order caused by the borrowing of third person plural forms bearing uCase from ON. As the cue for the negative setting of (2-27) was lost in both of the LME dialects, whereby it was set for the default/unmarked value, the uCase came to be present on PPrn D. This parameter resetting resulted in the loss of the Wackernagel ObjPPrn in the subordinate context in LME.

The grammatical system which emerged in LME via obviation of SPA is the one with WPPrns (and SPPrns) but without CPPrns. It also lacks V-to-Fin movement, but retains V-to-T movement. The emergent grammar is a system which naturally and eventually induces further intra-syntactically driven language change, which is considered in Chapter 4. Before going into concrete instances of the language change in question, let us turn now to another language change induced by SPA obviation in the next chapter.
Chapter 3
Cliticization in the History of English, Part 2:
Loss of the Displaced Personal Pronominal Complement to
Prepositions in Late Middle English

3.1. Introduction

Ono & Nakao (1980: 506f) point out that at earlier stages of English, the surface word order can be inverted when the complement of a preposition (henceforth, P) is a PPrn.\(^1\) The following is an instance of the P-Compl\(_{ppn}\) appearing in the canonical complement position (i.e. after a P) in OE:

\[
(3-1) \quad \text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppn}} \text{in the Canonical Complement Position}
\]

\[
\text{ic hæbbe gehyred } \underline{be} \underline{ðe} \ldots
\]

I have heard about you

‘I have heard about you...’  \(\text{(ÆLS, XXIV.90 / Pintzuk (1999: 142))}\)

In OE, the P-Compl\(_{ppn}\) can also be displaced from its canonical position and inverted with the P in question:

\[
(3-2) \quad \text{Inverted P-Compl}_{\text{ppn}}
\]

\[
a. \quad \ldots \ \underline{ðæt} \ \text{ic on bigspellum } \underline{cow} \underline{to} \ \text{ne spræce}
\]
\[
\quad \text{that I in parables you to NEG speak}
\]

‘... I do not speak to you in parables.’

\(\text{(Alc.P, XIV.35 / Allen (1977: 54))}\)

\[\]

\(^1\) In this chapter, the example sentences are represented with the PP under consideration squared off and the P-Compl\(_{ppn}\) boldfaced.
b. and hi ne dorston **him fore** gebiddan
   and they NEG dared him for pray
   ‘... and they didn’t dare to pray for him.’

   (ÆHom, XIX.226 / Kemenade (1987: 115))

Note the contrast between (3-1) and (3-2). Besides the inverted P-Compl_{Prn}, Kemenade (1987: 115ff) points out that the displaced P-Compl\_{Prn} may be separated from the P (see also Allen (1977: 55f, 1980: 287f) and Pintzuk (1999: 143f)):

(3-3) P-Compl\_{Prn} Separated from the P

a. þa wendon hi **me** heora bæc to
   then turned they me their backs to
   ‘... then they turned their backs to me.’

   (Boeth, II.8.12 / Kemenade (1987: 116))

b. Oð ðis ic spræc **ðe** liðelice to
   until this I spoke thee meekly to
   ‘Until this I spoke to thee meekly.’

   (Alc.Th, I.594.8 / Allen (1980: 288))

c. þat hie mehten **him** þurst of adrincan
   so-that they could it thirst with quench
   ‘... so that they could quench their thirst with it.’

   (Oros, 46.16-17 / Pintzuk (1999: 144))

According to Kemenade, the displaced P-Compl_{Prn} can also move up to the positions where the Obj_{Prn} can typically appear: it is observed in Positions I, II and III (i.e. to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2/V3 clause, and to the immediate right of the finite V in the main operator-initial V2 clause):
(3-4) I. P-Compl_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

   a. \textit{him} eal middangeard \textit{to beah}
      that him all world to bowed
      ‘... that all the world bowed to him.’
      (ÆCHom, I.32 / Kemenade (1987: 116))

II. P-Compl_{PPRN} LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 CLAUSE

   b. \textit{him} hæfde \textit{to asend}
      and seven messengers he them had to sent
      ‘... and he had sent seven messengers to them.’
      (ChronA, 94.6 (905) / Pintzuk (1999: 143))

III. P-Compl_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

   c. \textit{him} Antigones mid firde \textit{on...}
      then came him Antigones with army against
      ‘... then Antigones rose against him with an army...’
      (Oros, 79.23 / Kemenade (1987: 117); cf. (3-3a))

Those peculiar properties of the P-Compl_{PPRn} seen in (3-2)-(3-4) led Kemenade to conclude that it is an instance of the CPPrn that requires a host.

In Chapter 2, the clitic status of the PPPrn is discussed in connection with the SPA observed in the main topic-initial clause and the Wackernagel Obj_{PPPrn}. It is shown that SPA is a prerequisite for CPPrns. Once the SPA is obviated (via the rise of systematic V2 or V3), the PPPrn loses its clitic status, whereby the Wackernagel Obj_{PPPrn} is lost in LME.²

² As mentioned in footnote 7 in Chapter 2, the term “obviation” is not intended here to refer to the notion of non-coreference in switch reference (cf. Voegelin & Voegelin (1969)). It is simply used to mean “removal” or “elimination” in what follows.
Given the claim that the obviation of SPA causes the loss of the clitic status of PPrns, it is predicted that once the SPA is obviated, the displaced (i.e. inverted/separated) P-ComplPPrn will also cease to be attested.

This chapter considers the following three questions:

(3-5) QUESTIONS

a. When did the displaced P-ComplPPrn disappear in the history of English? More specifically, did it disappear in accordance with the obviation of SPA?

b. How are its basic facts in OE and EME explained within the framework of the MP?

c. Why did it disappear in the history of English?

If we can show that the time of the demise of the displaced P-ComplPPrn coincides with that of the SPA obvation (i.e. an affirmative answer to the last question in (3-5a)), we can lend further support to our scenario for the loss of cliticization in the history of English presented in §2.4 of Chapter 2. §3.2 attempts to provide an answer to the question (3-5a), utilizing a syntactically annotated electronic corpus. With the aid of the PPCME2, more specifically, §3.2.1 and §3.2.2 present the basic facts of the displaced P-ComplPPrn in the Southern/Midland dialects in EME and LME, respectively, while §3.2.3 presents those in the LME Northern dialect. The presented basic facts of the displaced P-ComplPPrn are compared with those of SPA observed by Kroch & Taylor (1997), Kroch et al. (2000) and Haeberli (2002b). §3.3 attempts to provide an answer to the question (3-5b), identifying the position(s) where the displaced P-ComplPPrn is located and presenting analyses on its derivations in terms of the MP. §3.4 attempts to provide an answer to the question (3-5c), demonstrating that loss of the clitic status of PPrns induced by SPA obviation in the main topic-initial context caused loss of the displaced P-ComplPPrn. In order to back up the

3 Hence, the PPCME2 texts surveyed here are confined to the ones surveyed by Haeberli (2002b), Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000). For detailed information on the surveyed texts, see Appendix 1.
analysis provided to the loss of the displaced P-ComplPPrn in §3.4, §3.5 provides the basic facts of the locative pronominal (henceforth, LPrn) complement to a P (henceforth, P-ComplLPrn) in EME and LME and considers its historical development. §3.6 summarizes this chapter.

3.2. Basic Facts

3.2.1. Displaced P-ComplPPrn in the EME Southern/Midland Dialects

Concerning the position of the P-ComplPPrn with respect to a P, Nakao (1972: 388) states that the canonical word order (i.e. P followed by a P-ComplPPrn) was already the norm in ME.\(^4\) This may indeed seem to be the case in Sawles Warde (a text written in the 13th century West Midland dialect), as pointed out by Kemenade (1987: 193): according to her, there is no inverted P-ComplPPrn in this text. She notes, however, that the displaced P-ComplPPrn is attested in Ancrene Wisse (another text written in the 13th century West Midland dialect):\(^5\)

\(^4\) However, Nakao (1972: 389) also points out that the inverted P-ComplPPrn was still frequent in ME verse. Mossé (1952: §169) also notes that ‘[i]t was often a problem of rhythm, and is scarcely found except in poetry [i.e. verse].’

\(^5\) Kemenade (1987: 189) also observes that the displaced P-ComplPPrn was possible in the first entries of the Peterborough Chronicle (a text copied between 1070-1122 in the East Midland dialect). From this text, she gives an instance of the displaced P-ComplPPrn appearing to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{P-ComplPPrn} & \text{ Right-adjacent to the Complementizer in the Subordinate Clause} \\
\text{bet heom man cuman ne mihte} & \\
\text{that them people to come NEG could} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘... that people could not get to them.’ (PC, 1095.44 / Kemenade (1987: 200))

This is the sole EME instance that Kemenade cites for the displaced P-ComplPPrn located in the position where an ObjPPrn can typically appear.
(3-6)  

(a) **INVERTED P-COMPL-PPRN**  
3ef swete luue & sahtnesse is eauer ow bitweonen  
if sweet love and softness is ever you between  
‘... if there is always sweet love and tenderness between you.’  
(AW, 128.22 / Kemenade (1987: 194))

(b) **P-COMPL-PPRN SEPARATED FROM THE P**  
we hit habbeð weilawei iherd of inohe  
we it have alas heard of enough  
‘... we have, alas, heard enough of it.’  
(AW, 34.2 / ibid.)

As it is evident now that the displaced P-Compl_pprn was possible in EME, a question to ask is whether it was a productive option in EME. My survey on the distribution of the P-Compl_pprn in the texts of PPCME2 reveals that it was not so frequent but rather sporadic. The result of my survey on the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts (i.e. texts surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000) for SPA) is shown in the following table:
We can see from Table 3-1 that the displaced P-Compl\textsubscript{PPm} is sporadically attested in EME. In total, 34 out of the 1246 instances of the PP involving a P-Compl\textsubscript{PPm} (2.73%) are inverted with a P while 8 instances (0.64%) are displaced and separated from a P. The following is an instance of the inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{PPm} attested in one of the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts (i.e. the *Vices and Virtues*):

(3-7) **Inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{PPm}**

For ďi... ȝit winneð **gung** between...
for this it comes you between

‘For this reason, it manages to get between you...’

(CMVICES1, 97.1167 / PPCME2)
A similar tendency is also observed in the *Ayenbite of Inwit* (a text written in the mid-14th century Kentish dialect), another text surveyed by Kroch & Taylor and Kroch et al.:

**Table 3-2: Distribution of P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub> in the *Ayenbite of Inwit***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Displaced</th>
<th>Canonical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ayenbite of Inwit</em></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (1.04%)</td>
<td>193 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this text, the inverted P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub> is not attested at all, but 2 out of the 193 instances of the PP involving a P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub> (1.04%) are the instances of the separated P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub>. If we sum up the figures in Tables 3-1 and 3-2, the displaced P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub> in EME is attested at the rate of 3.06% (i.e. 44 (= 34 + 8 + 2) out of 1439 instances of the PP involving a P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub>). This ratio suggests that the displaced P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub> may already have been decaying in EME. Note, in this connection, that instances of the Wackernagel Obj<sub>Prn</sub> such as (3-8) below constitute 44.65% of the subordinate Obj<sub>Prn</sub> tokens in the same texts surveyed here (see Tables 2-6 and 2-8 in Chapter 2).

(3-8) **Obj<sub>Prn</sub> in the Subordinate Wackernagel Position**

\[
\text{if } \text{ðú me } \text{ðin uncúðe name wouldest kyðen} \\
\text{if you me your unfamiliar name would reveal} \\
\text{‘... if you want to reveal me your unfamiliar name.’}
\]

(CMVICES1, 23.241 / PPCME2 (= (2-10b)))

The Wackernagel Obj<sub>Prn</sub> is fairly productive, retaining clitic nature, compared with the displaced P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub>. This means that although the P-Compl<sub>Prn</sub> is in the course of losing...
its clitic status in EME, the ObjPPn fully retains it in this period. Based on the data collected from the PPCME2 (i.e. Tables 3-1 and 3-2), however, I consider that the P-ComplPPn retained its clitic status to some extent. This is due to the fact that the ratio of the displaced P-ComplPPn to the canonical P-ComplPPn is one to two in OE (Mitchell (1978: 242)), which indicates that the displaced P-ComplPPn was not so productive an option even in OE. Hence, the difference between the displaced P-ComplPPn and the Wackernagel ObjPPn in EME productivity may be just a relic of OE.

Among the 10 instances (viz. 8 in Table 3-1 and 2 in Table 3-2) of the separated P-ComplPPn, 2 are instances exhibiting the displaced P-ComplPPn located in the positions where an ObjPPn can typically appear (i.e. Positions I, II and III). The case of the displaced P-ComplPPn located to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause is not attested in my survey (but see footnote 5). The following are the instances in question:

(3-9)  II. P-ComplPPn LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE Finite V IN THE Topic-initial V2/V3 Clause
   a. [Al] adam him mihte to clopie
      all Adam them might to cry out
      ‘Adam might cry out all to them.’ (CMLAMB1, 79.122 / PPCME2)

   III. P-ComplPPn RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE Finite V IN THE Operator-initial V2 Clause
   b. for [ne] mei ham na ping YSTEMEINES etstonden
      for NEG may them nothing against stand
      ‘... for nothing may stand against them.’
      (CMSAWLES, 184.266 / ibid.)

Despite the sparse EME tokens of the displaced P-ComplPPn, these instances also suggest

---

6 Notice that (3-9b) shows that the displaced P-ComplPPn was possible in Sawles Warde (pace Kemenade (1987: 193); see the first paragraph of §3.2.1).
that the clitic status of the P-Compl_{PPn} was retained in EME to some extent.

3.2.2. Demise of the Displaced P-Compl_{PPn} in the LME Southern/Midland Dialects

Instances of the displaced P-Compl_{PPn} cease to be attested in LME. In fact, they are almost extinct in this period. The following table shows that only one instance is attested in the late 14th century Southern/Midland texts:

**Table 3-3: Distribution of P-Compl_{PPn} in the Late 14C Southern/Midland Texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Displaced</th>
<th>Canonical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Dialects</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Midland Dialects</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Midland Dialects</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (0.03%)</td>
<td>3831 (99.97%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sole instance of the displaced P-Compl_{PPn} constitutes only 0.03% of the PP tokens involving a P-Compl_{PPn}. This instance is exceptional. The following is the exceptional
instance in question:

(3-10) AN EXCEPTIONAL INSTANCE OF THE DISPLACED P-COMPL_{PPRN} IN THE 14TH CENTURY

and [in be þridde þere after], him come vppon a strong sikenesse, þat nedes he moste dye 

‘... and in the following third year, a strong sickness comes upon him, so that he must inevitably die.’

(CMBRUT3, 92.2769 / PPCME2)

Note, here, that the exceptional instance in (3-10) is attested in the Brut or the Chronicles of England (a text written in the late 14th century East Midland dialect). This text itself is somewhat exceptional among the texts written in the same dialect, in that it also exhibits two instances of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPn} (see §2.2.3 of Chapter 2). This fact suggests that the exceptional instance of the displaced P-Compl_{PPn} in the Brut or the Chronicles of England may be due to the archaic style of this text: it is rather closer to earlier texts. Whether the exceptional instance of the displaced P-Compl_{PPn} in this text is taken into consideration or not, our conclusion is the same: the displaced P-Compl_{PPn} becomes almost non-existent in the late 14th century.

In the 15th century, the displaced P-Compl_{PPn} completely disappears in the texts. This is shown in the following table:
TABLE 3-4: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>PPrn</sub> IN THE 15C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DISPLACED</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td>Canonical</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3306 (100%)</td>
<td>3306 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not a single instance of the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> is attested in the texts surveyed. It is apparent now that in the 15th century the P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> could not be displaced any longer. Since the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> is almost non-existent in the late 14th century and extinct in the 15th century, we can conclude now that the P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> did not retain its clitic status any more in LME.

We have seen thus far that although the attested tokens are sporadic, the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>, which indicates the clitic status of the P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>, carried over from OE to EME and got lost in LME. This change is illustrated in the following figure:
The change under consideration clearly indicates that the P-Compl_PPrn lost its clitic status during the transition from EME to LME.

It should be recalled, at this point, that the SPA, which indicates the clitic status of the Subj_PPrn, underwent a similar change during the transition from EME to LME. Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311f) and Kroch et al. (2000: 369f) observe that the main topic-initial clause with a Subj_FN typically exhibits V2 order while the one with a Subj_PPrn typically exhibits V3 order in the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts and in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*. The following is one of the pairs that exemplify SPA in EME, cited from Fischer et al. (2000: 130):

\[ (3-11) \text{SPA in the Main Topic-initial Context} \]

a. **Subj_FN**

\[ [\text{3ewiss}] \text{hafo} \text{ godd forworpen} \text{dan ilche mann...} \]

‘... certainly, God has rejected that same man.’ (V&V, 13.31)

b. **Subj_PPrn**

\[ [\text{alle dese bedodes}] \text{ic habbe ihealde} \text{fram childhade} \]

‘... all these commandments, I have held from childhood.’ (V&V, 67.32)

Haeberli (2002b: 252ff) observes, however, that irrespective of the subject types, the main topic-initial context systematically exhibits V3 order in the late 14th and 15th century Southern/Midland texts. In Chapter 2, I have taken their findings to show that the SPA was conspicuous in EME and it was obviated in the transition period from EME to LME, as shown in the following figure:
It is apparent now that the demise of the displaced P-ComplPPrn and the obviation of SPA took place in the same period, namely, during the transition from EME to LME. Based on the approach under which language change is conceived to be a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, both the demise of the displaced P-ComplPPrn and the SPA obviation can be explained in terms of children’s language acquisition. Adopting the notions of degree-0 learnability (Lightfoot (1991: 10)) and cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff)), I have suggested in Chapter 2 that the existence of SPA is a prerequisite for the clitic status of PPrns and that its obviation causes the PPrns to lose their clitic status. We can conclude, then, that the SPA obviation caused the P-ComplPPrn to lose its clitic status, thereby resulting in the demise of the displaced P-ComplPPrn. Bearing this conclusion in mind, let us turn now to the P-ComplPPrn facts in the Northern dialect of LME.

### 3.2.3. Demise of the Displaced P-ComplPPrn in the LME Northern Dialects

According to the observations made by Haeberli (2002b: 256ff), Kroch & Taylor (1997: 313) and Kroch et al. (2000: 372), the SPA is also obviated in the Northern dialect of LME via the rise of “systematic V2” as we have seen in Chapter 2. This is illustrated in the following figure:

**Figure 3-3: Historical Change of the SPA in the Main Topic-initial Context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)</th>
<th>LME (NORTHERN DIALECT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBJFN</strong></td>
<td><strong>SUBJPPRN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>V3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(= Figure 2-3)
Given the conclusion that the SPA obviation causes the demise of the displaced P-Compl_ppn, we can predict that the displaced P-Compl_ppn will already be non-existent in the Northern dialect. The data from the PPCME2 indicates that this prediction is borne out: not a single instance is attested in the 15th century Northern texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3-5: Distribution of P-Compl_ppn in the 15C Northern Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dialects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the P-Compl_ppn facts in the Northern dialect of LME lend further support to the conclusion reached just above: whatever the mode of SPA obviation may be, it causes the demise of the displaced P-Compl_ppn.

3.3. Analyses

3.3.1. Structural Positions of the Displaced P-Compl_ppn

Let us turn now to the positions of the displaced P-Compl_ppn in the clause. The mechanism of cliticization presented in §2.3 of Chapter 2 naturally captures how the P-Compl_ppn is displaced, with a few additional assumptions to be introduced in the following subsection. The account given in §2.3 of Chapter 2 on the SPA and the Wackernagel Obj_ppn is briefly reviewed. In a nutshell, it is argued there à la Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) that the clitic status of PPrns is attributed to the absence of uCase. Under the theory of movement proposed by Roberts (2010a: 57), the
lack of $u$Case induces encliticization. Since the originally unvalued features which are valued in the course of derivation do not delete at the end of the phase but remain undeleted in narrow syntax (contra Chomsky (2000: 124f, 2001: 18f, 2004: 113ff, 2005: 17, 2007: 18f, 2008: 154f)), the label of the CPPrn is not distinct from that of an agreeing functional head in that both bear a full set of $\phi$-features, and the feature contents of the former (i.e. $i\phi$) are rendered a proper subset of those of the latter (i.e. valued $u\phi$) after an Agree relation between the former and the latter. When all the conditions (i.e. nondistinctness of labels) are met, encliticization is triggered purely by Agree without recourse to an EPP. At this point, let us follow Chomsky (2001: 8f, 2004: 115f, 2005: 18, 2007: 19f, 2008: 143f), Carstens (2003: 394, 397), Tanaka (2002: 80ff, 2004: 180f) and Tanaka (2003: 86f, 94) in assuming that in addition to $T$ and $v^*$, $C$ also bears $u\phi$. Then, the potential host for CPPrns is limited to $C$, $T$ and $v^*$. When the Subj$_{PPn}$ is encliticized to $C$, the main topic-initial context exhibits V3 order, whereby the SPA results. When the Obj$_{PPn}$ is encliticized to $C$ or $T$, it appears in the position preceding a modal/aspectual auxiliary verb, thereby yielding the Wackernagel Obj$_{PPn}$. Similarly, the displaced P-Compl$_{PPn}$ can also be regarded as being encliticized to $C$ or $T$ or some other functional head, to which we will turn now. The separated P-Compl$_{PPn}$ such as (3-3), the inverted P-Compl$_{PPn}$ such as (3-2b) which is right-adjacent to a head element, and the inverted P-Compl$_{PPn}$ such as (3-2a) which is not right-adjacent to a head element are considered in detail.

3.3.2. Encliticization to $C/T$

The cases of the separated P-Compl$_{PPn}$ fall under the instances of PPrn encliticization to $C/T$. Let us take up (3-9b) for illustration. Suppose the derivation has reached the stage where the formation of a negative phrase projection is completed. Then, the sentence under consideration is derived as follows:
(3-12)  

a. **Completion of NegP**
\[
[\text{NegP ne} [\text{AuxP mei} [\text{vP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi/u\text{Case}\rangle [v, v
\text{VP [pp a}\text{eines ham}\langle i\phi\rangle \text{ etstonden }]]]]]
\]

b. **Merger of T and Agreement between T and SubjFN**
\[
[\text{TP T}\langle u\phi/EPP\rangle [\text{NegP ne} [\text{AuxP mei} [\text{vP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi/u\text{Case}\rangle [v, v
\text{VP [pp a}\text{eines ham}\langle i\phi\rangle \text{ etstonden }]]]]]
\]

c. **Movement to Spec TP**
\[
[\text{TP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi/u\text{Case}\rangle [\text{TP T}\langle u\phi/EPP\rangle [\text{NegP ne} [\text{AuxP mei} [\text{vP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi/u\text{Case}\rangle [v, v
\text{VP [pp a}\text{eines ham}\langle i\phi\rangle \text{ etstonden }]]]]]]]
\]

d. **Aux-to-C Movement**
\[
[\text{CP ne-mei-T-C}\langle u\phi\rangle [\text{TP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi\rangle [\text{TP T}\text{NegP t}\text{mei} [\text{AuxP t}\text{mei
\text{VP [pp a}\text{eines ham}\langle i\phi\rangle \text{ etstonden }]]]]]]]
\]

e. **Agreement between C and P-Compl\text{PPRn}**
\[
[\text{CP ne-mei-T-C}\langle u\phi\rangle [\text{TP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi\rangle [\text{TP T}\text{NegP t}\text{mei} [\text{AuxP t}\text{mei [vP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi/u\text{Case}\rangle [v, v
\text{VP [pp a}\text{eines ham}\langle i\phi\rangle \text{ etstonden }]]]]]]]
\]

f. **P-Compl\text{PPRn} Encliticization to C**
\[
[\text{CP ne-mei-T-C}\langle u\phi\rangle [\text{TP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi\rangle [\text{TP T}\text{NegP t}\text{mei} [\text{AuxP t}\text{mei [vP na} \text{bing}\langle i\phi\rangle [v, v
\text{VP [pp a}\text{eines t}\text{ham}\langle i\phi\rangle \text{ etstonden }]]]]]]]
\]

At the stage of the derivation where the formation of a NegP is completed, \(u\phi\) of the P has already been valued by a P-Compl\text{PPRn},\(^7\) as in (3-12a), but \(i\phi\) of the P-Compl\text{PPRn} is still  

\(^7\) In fact, the \(u\phi\) of a functional head dominating the PP is valued at this stage. See discussion below.
visible to the computational system unless the PP is a phase. Let us tentatively assume that a PP does not constitute a phase, so that the $i\phi$ of the P-Compl$_{PPn}$ continues to be visible to the computational system. Upon its merger with the NegP already completed, T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj$_{FN}$, as in (3-12b), whereby the $u\phi$ of the former and the uCase of the latter are valued. Then, the Subj$_{FN}$ is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (3-12c). After the merger of C with the TP, Aux-to-C movement is carried out, as in (3-12d). At this stage, C enters into an Agree relation with the active P-Compl$_{PPn}$, as in (3-12e), and the latter encliticizes to the former since the label of the former becomes nondistinct from that of the latter, as in (3-12f). Thus, the separated P-Compl$_{PPn}$ cases fall under the instances of PPrn encliticization to C/T.

Most of the inverted P-Compl$_{PPn}$ cases are also explained in terms of encliticization to C/T. Let us take up (3-7) for illustration of the derivation of the sentence involving an inverted P-Compl$_{PPn}$. Suppose the derivation has reached the stage where the formation of a verbal projection is completed. Then, the sentence in question is derived as follows:

(3-13) a. COMPLETION OF vP

\[
[\nu \zeta_i <i\phi/u\text{Case}> [\nu [\text{vp between } 3\text{ung}<i\phi> \text{ wonned }]]]
\]

VALUING $u\phi$ OF P

b. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBj$_{PPRN}$

\[
[\text{tp } T <\phi/EPP> [\nu \zeta_i <i\phi/u\text{Case}> [\nu [\text{vp between } 3\text{ung}<i\phi> \text{ wonned }]]]]
\]

AGREE

---

8 The finite V-movement is conceived here to be carried out in a “successive-cyclic-like” manner (i.e. via T in the case of Aux-to-C movement and via $v$ and T in the case of V-to-C movement), although this is abstracted away from what is discussed in the text. It is also assumed here that the Subj$_{PPn}$ $3\ddot{u}$ in (3-13) is an instance of the SPPRns, hence bearing uCase, and that it originates from Spec vP although the finite V $\text{winned}$ is an unaccusative V. Note that when a transitive or unergative V is involved, the P-Compl$_{PPn}$ is first raised to Spec v$^*P$, and then encliticized to C.
At the stage of the derivation where the formation of a $vP$ is completed, $u\phi$ of the $P$ has already been valued by a P-Compl$_{PPn}$, as in (3-13a), but $i\phi$ of the P-Compl$_{PPn}$ is still visible to the computational system since a PP does not constitute a phase. Upon its merger with the $vP$ already completed, $T$ enters into an Agree relation with the Subj$_{PPn}$, as in (3-13b), whereby the $u\phi$ of the former and the $u$Case of the latter are valued. Then, the Subj$_{PPn}$ is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of $T$, as in (3-13c), and the V-to-T movement is carried out, as in (3-13d). Since the phase including a TP (i.e. CP) is not completed at this stage, the valued $u\phi$ of $T$ is also visible to the computational system. Given this, $T$, then, enters into an Agree relation with the active P-Compl$_{PPn}$, as in (3-13e), and the latter encliticizes to the former since the label of the former is non-distinct from that of the latter, as in (3-13f). Thus, the inverted P-Compl$_{PPn}$ cases also fall under the instances of PPn encliticization to C/T.
3.3.3. Encliticization to K

It should be emphasized here that not all of the inverted P-ComplPPrn instances are derived by PPrn encliticization to C/T. This is because the inverted P-ComplPPrn is not always right-adjacent to a head element (e.g. C, T and V) in the attested instances: a phrasal element (e.g. Adv, SubjFN and ObjFN) may intervene between the inverted P-ComplPPrn and the nearest head element:

(3-14)  

a. **ADV INTERVENING BETWEEN THE P-COMPLPPRN AND THE NEAREST HEAD**

hweer þe cat of helle clachte(-T) [eauer] hire toward...
where the cat of hell clutched ever her toward
‘... where the cat of hell ever clutched at her...’

(CMANCRIW, II.81.965 / PPCME2)

b. **SUBJFN INTERVENING BETWEEN THE P-COMPLPPRN AND THE NEAREST HEAD**

swa rede swa (C) his sceadu heom on glað...
so immediately so his shadow them on gladden
‘... as soon as his shadow make merry on them...’

(CMLAMBX1, 91.786 / ibid.)

c. **OBJFN INTERVENING BETWEEN THE P-COMPLPPRN AND THE NEAREST HEAD**

for-hi we scolden halden his heste us bitwenan
for-this we should hold his commandment us between
‘... for this reason, we should hold his commandment between us.’

(CMLAMBX1, 21.233 / ibid.)

Out of the 34 EME instances of inverted P-ComplPPrn attested in the PPCME2 (cf. Tables 3-1 and 3-2), 11 are cases like (3-14). It follows that the sentences in (3-14) cannot be derived by P-ComplPPrn encliticization to C/T, since the P-ComplPPrn is not right-adjacent to the functional head in question. Then, how can they be derived? To tackle with this problem, let us assume that PPs are dominated by a functional projection, along the lines of Kayne (2002: 72ff, 2004: 202ff). Name it Kase (henceforth, K), following Kayne’s (2002: 73) elaboration of Bayer et al. (2001: 474ff). Under this assumption, K plays a role
of the locus of Case/agreement for the P-Compl<sub>PPrN</sub>, instead of a P. This prepositional system is just like the system of the verbal projection: the locus of Case/agreement for the internal argument of a transitive V is $v^*$, but not the V. Thus, it is after the introduction of K into the prepositional structure that an Agree relation is established for the complement of a P. This is implemented as follows:

(3-15) a. **MERGER OF P AND DP**

```
  P        DP<ɨφ/ɨCase>
      Merge
```

b. **MERGER OF K AND PP**

```
K<ɨφ>        [PP P DP<ɨφ/ɨCase> ]
      Merge
```

c. **AGREEMENT BETWEEN K AND DP**

```
[K<ɨφ> K<ɨφ> ] [PP P DP<ɨφ/ɨCase> ] ]
  Agree
```

Similarly, the P-Compl<sub>PPrN</sub> also enters into an Agree relation with K after the introduction of the latter into the derivation. In this case, however, the derivation includes an additional step (i.e. encliticization). Let us take up (3-14c) for illustration:

(3-16) a. **MERGER OF P AND P-COMPL<sub>PPrN</sub>**

```
bitwenan    us<ɨφ>
  Merge
```

b. **MERGER OF K AND PP**

```
K<ɨφ>        [PP bitwenan us<ɨφ> ]
  Merge
```
c. AGREEMENT BETWEEN K AND P-COMPL-PPRN

\[ [K, K <u\phi>] [pp \ bitwenan \ us<i\phi>] ] \]

AGREE

d. ENCLITICIZATION TO K

\[ [K, K <u\phi>+us<i\phi>] [pp \ bitwenan \ t_{ar}] ] \]

ENCLITICIZATION

First, the P merges with a P-Compl_{PPn}, forming a PP, as in (3-16a). At this stage, nothing happens to the P-Compl_{PPn}. Then, K merges with the PP already made up, forming a KP, as in (3-16b), and it enters into an Agree relation with the P-Compl_{PPn}, as in (3-16c), whereby the $u\phi$ of the former is valued. Finally, the P-Compl_{PPn} encliticizes to K since the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter, as in (3-16d). Thus, the sentence involving an inverted P-Compl_{PPn} is also derived by encliticization to K.

To sum up, we have seen that the sentence involving a separated P-Compl_{PPn} is derived by P-Compl_{PPn} encliticization to C/T while the one involving an inverted P-Compl_{PPn} is derived either by encliticization to C/T or by encliticization to K. As we have seen in §3.2.2. and §3.2.3., both the separated P-Compl_{PPn} and the inverted P-Compl_{PPn} eventually disappeared during the transition from EME to LME, which was induced by the obviation of SPA. In other words, the SPA obviation made the derivations like (3-12), (3-13) and (3-16) impossible. Then, a question arises as to how they were made impossible by the SPA obviation. The answer to this question is provided in the following section. At the moment, it suffices to note that the separated P-Compl_{PPn} is located at either C or T and the inverted P-Compl_{PPn} is located at either T or K.

3.4. A Net Result of Changes

This section demonstrates that the scenario for the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPn}, or more precisely, the loss of cliticization, presented in §2.4 of Chapter 2 holds true in the loss
of the displaced P-Compl.ppین. As we have seen in §3.2, the displaced P-Compl.ppین ceases to be attested in LME. This fact can be taken to be an indication that the derivations for the displaced P-Compl.ppین illustrated in §3.3 became impossible in LME. In other words, P-Compl.ppین encliticization to C/T/K was impossible in this period. Then, a question to ask is how encliticization of the P-Compl.ppین was made impossible in LME. Recall here that it is the absence of uCase that triggers encliticization of the P-Compl.ppین. From this assumption, it follows that the uCase was absent from the P-Compl.ppین in EME while it was present in LME. Now, we have a diachronic change between EME and LME with respect to the presence/absence of uCase on P-Compl.ppین. In this respect, recall also the parameter proposed in §2.4 of Chapter 2, which is repeated here as (3-17):

\[
\text{(3-17) } \text{uCase Parameter on D}
\]

\[a. \quad \text{–}u\text{Case on D: } D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle \iota \varphi \rangle \quad (= \text{CPPrn})
\]

\[b. \quad +u\text{Case on D: } D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle \iota \varphi /u\text{Case} \rangle \quad (= \text{WPPrn}) \quad (= (2-27))
\]

In the language where the uCase Parameter on D has a negative value, as in (3-17a), the label of the P-Compl.ppین can be nondistinct from that of an agreeing functional head. Hence, the displaced P-Compl.ppین phenomenon is observable in this language. In the language where the uCase Parameter on D has a positive value, on the other hand, the label of the P-Compl.ppین cannot be nondistinct from that of any agreeing functional head. In this case, cliticization is impossible. In the case at hand, we can consider EME to be an instance of the language with a negative value for (3-17) and LME to be an instance of the language with a positive value.

Now, one may wonder why (3-17) ceased to have a negative value in LME. As we take language change to be a reflex of the change in how children attain a grammar, we will consider how they decide the setting for the value of (3-17). As suggested in §2.4 of Chapter 2, the default/unmarked value of (3-17) is positive. This means that unless there is positive evidence indicating the contrary, (3-17) is set for the positive value. In other words, if children do not encounter a cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff)) for setting the negative value for (3-17) in the course of language acquisition, the default
value, namely, the positive value is chosen. It is proposed in §2.4 of Chapter 2 that the relevant cue is the presence of SPA. More specifically, the cue in question consists of the V2 order involving a Subj$_{FN}$ and the V3 order involving a Subj$_{PPrn}$ in the main topic-initial context. When children are confronted with this cue, they infer that PPrns have properties distinct from FNs. Given that $u$Case is included in the inventory of formal features that the UG affords and it can be placed in PPrns when features are assembled to lexical items, more precisely, they infer that the $u$Case is absent from PPrns, whereby (3-17) is set for the negative value. Once this is done, the PPrns without a phonologically null N$^0$, whether they are subjects or objects or P-Compl$_{PPrn}$, come to behave as clitics: they come to encliticize to an agreeing functional head, C/T/K in the case of the displaced P-Compl$_{PPrn}$.

Once the SPA gets obviated, children will no longer infer that the $u$Case is absent from PPrns, whereby the negative value for (3-17) ceases to be invoked. This is what happened in the Southern/Midland dialects of LME: the main topic-initial context with a Subj$_{FN}$ comes to exhibit systematic V3 order (see the second last paragraph in §3.2), whereby SPA is obviated. As one can easily imagine, this loss caused language learners to stop inducing the absence of $u$Case on PPrns. This is sufficient for the default/unmarked value for (3-17).

We have seen so far that presence of SPA invokes the negative value for (3-17) in EME while its obviation leads to the default/unmarked value for (3-17) in LME. Crucial to the change in the setting of (3-17) is the obviation of SPA (i.e. rise of systematic V3 in the LME Southern/Midland dialect). It is predicted then that the default value for (3-17) might also be caused by another way of SPA obviation (i.e. rise of systematic V2). The prediction is borne out: this is what happened in the Northern dialects of LME, where SPA is obviated via the rise of systematic V2 (Kroch & Taylor (1997: 312ff)). According to the quantitative survey presented in §3.2.2 and §3.2.3, the displaced P-Compl$_{PPrn}$ is not attested at all in the three 15th century texts, which supports the diachronic explanation presented in this section.

To sum up, the loss of the displaced P-Compl$_{PPrn}$ is induced by the obviation of SPA,
which caused the loss of Wackernagel $Obj_{PPm}$. The presence of SPA in the main topic-initial context plays a pivotal role in various cliticization phenomena in the history of English.

3.5. Historical Development of the Inverted P-Compl$_{LPrn}$

According to Allen (1977: 60ff, 1980: 292ff), OE also allowed the P-Compl$_{LPrn}$ such as $þær$ ‘there’ to be displaced from its canonical position (i.e. inverted with P or dislocated and separated from P), like P-Compl$_{PPm}$:

\[(3-18)\]

a. **Inverted P-Compl$_{LPrn}$**

i. **Two-word Orthography**

... $þæt$ he ne astah of $ðære$ rode for heora that he NEG ascended of that cross for their hospum, ac $þær$ on deðes gebad, mockery but there on deaths abode

‘... that he ascend not from the cross, for their mockery, but thereon awaited death.’ (cocathom1, ÆCHom I, 15:305.152.2879 / YCOE)

ii. **One-word Orthography**

He com to $ðam$ trewe, sohte $wæstm$ $ðæron$, and nænne he came to the tree sought fruit thereon and none ne gemette

NEG found

‘He came to the tree, sought fruit thereon, and found none’

(Alc.Th, II.408.1 / Allen (1977: 61))

b. **P-Compl$_{LPrn}$ Separated from the P**

... $ðæt$ Ercol se ent $ðær$ was $t$ gefaren

that Hercules the giant there was to gone

‘... that Hercules the giant had gone there’

(Oros, 132.10 / Allen (1980: 293))
Note that the inverted $P{\text{-Compl}_{LPrn}}$ and the $P$ head can be spelled separately as two words, as in (3-18ai), or connectedly as a single word, as in (3-18aii); they are orthographically different. As will be discussed below, an orthographic difference of inverted $P{\text{-Compl}_{LPrn}}$ becomes a diagnosis for its clitic status.

My survey on distribution of $P{\text{-Compl}_{LPrn}}$ in the texts of PPCME2 reveals its intriguing properties. The result of my survey on the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts is shown in the following table:

**Table 3-6:**

**Distribution of $P{\text{-Compl}_{LPrn}}$ in the Seven Mid-13C South Midland Texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Displaced</th>
<th>Canonical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two words</td>
<td>one word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Midland Dialects</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest Midland Dialects</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>288 (40.50%)</td>
<td>412 (57.95%)</td>
<td>711 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-6 shows that like $P{\text{-Compl}_{PPrn}}$, $P{\text{-Compl}_{LPrn}}$ separated from a $P$ is attested sporadically at the rate of 1.41% (cf. Table 3-1). Unlike $P{\text{-Compl}_{PPrn}}$, however, inverted
P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} is attested at the rate of 98.45%, a much higher rate than inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{pP}\textsubscript{rn}. Moreover, P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} in the canonical complement position is attested only at the rate of 0.14%; in other words, the canonical complement position of P is prima facie a non-canonical position for P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m}. These peculiar properties of P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} are attributable to the clitic status of LPrn which was well retained in the mid-13th century.

A similar tendency is also observed in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*:

**TABLE 3-7: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} P:\textsubscript{ER IN THE AYENBITE OF INWIT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DISPLACED</th>
<th>CANONICAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one word</td>
<td>one word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this text too, canonical P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} is attested only at the rate of 0.74%. Separated P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} is not attested at all, but inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} is attested at the rate of 99.26%, a very high rate. The figures in Tables 3-6 and 3-7 show that the inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} is a

\(^9\) In the following tables, the numbers in square brackets represent instances of P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} modified by a relative clause or coordinated with other locative phrases (i.e. instances of ‘heavy’ or ‘strong’ LPrns). The following is an LME instance of the P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} modified by a relative clause:

(i) P-COMPL\textsubscript{PPR}\textsubscript{N MODIFIED BY A RELATIVE CLAUSE IN THE CANONICAL COMPLEMENT POSITION

... and arryuede feste \textit{by here} pat Kyng Arthure was wip his hoste} and arrived securely by there that King Arthur was with his army.’ (CMBRUT3, 76.2313 / PPCME2)

Note that 6 out of 10 ME instances of P-Compl\textsubscript{LP}\textsubscript{m} in the canonical complement position (60.00%) are the ‘heavy/strong’ type.
productive option in EME.

Instances of inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{LPrn} continues to be attested in LME. As is obvious from the following table, it is still a productive option in the late 14th century Southern/Midland texts:

**Table 3-8:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Displaced</th>
<th></th>
<th>Canonical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two words</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern Dialects</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>143 [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>599 [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1087 (94.11%)</td>
<td>3 (0.26%)</td>
<td>1155 [2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>61 (5.28%)</td>
<td>1087 (94.11%)</td>
<td>3 (0.26%)</td>
<td>1155 [2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing distribution of P-Compl\textsubscript{LPrn} in Southern, East Midland, West Midland, and Total dialects.](image)
Inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{Lprn} is attested at the rate of 99.39% in this period, again a very high rate. The 15th century Southern/Midland texts also witness the productivity of inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{Lprn}, which is shown in the following table:

**Table 3-9: Distribution of P-Compl\textsubscript{Lprn} Ær in the 15C Southern/Midland Texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Displaced</th>
<th>Canonical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted (two words)</td>
<td>inverted (one word)</td>
<td>separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern Dialects</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>44 (5.31%)</td>
<td>781 (94.21%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inverted P-Compl\textsubscript{Lprn} is attested at the rate of 99.52% in this period. The 15th century Northern texts exhibit an even more extreme result. As the following table shows, all the instances of P-Compl\textsubscript{Lprn} are inverted ones.
Table 3-10: Distribution of P-Compl₁₈Prn |₉ER in the 15C Northern Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DISPLACED</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two words</td>
<td>one word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dialects</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>149 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>149 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To sum up the basic facts presented so far, canonical (and separated) P-Compl₁₈Prn is sparse while inverted P-Compl₁₈Prn is frequent throughout the ME period.¹⁰

¹⁰ In fact, inverted P-Compl₁₈Prn continues to prevail in EModE, which is demonstrated by the survey on distribution of P-Compl₁₈Prn in the texts of PPCEME.

(i) Distribution of P-Compl₁₈Prn THERE in EModE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EModE</th>
<th>DISPLACED</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inverted</td>
<td>separated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two words</td>
<td>one word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1569</td>
<td>8 (0.63%)</td>
<td>1264 (99.37%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1271 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570-1639</td>
<td>1 (0.08%)</td>
<td>1312 (99.77%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1315 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-1710</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>589 (99.49%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>592 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart for EModE]
Now, we are in a muddle: the basic facts of $P$-Compl$_{PPrn}$ presented in §3.2 are at odds with those of $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$ presented in this section. That is, inverted (and separated) $P$-Compl$_{PPrn}$ is sporadic in EME and almost non-existent in LME on the one hand, and inverted $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$ is frequent throughout the ME period on the other. If the inverted $P$-Compl$_{PPrn}$/P-Compl$_{LPrn}$ is an epiphenomenon of the clitic status of PPrns/LPrns, it is expected that the inverted $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$ is not attested in LME, which is contrary to the facts. The current state of affairs must be amended.

To this end, let us closely examine the historical development of inverted $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$. Recall again that inverted $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$ is classified into two types: the one with two-word orthography and the other with one-word orthography. The orthographical variation of inverted $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$ is possible with the same P in a single text. Thus, the following are the instances of the two-word and one-word $P$-Compl$_{LPrn}$ inverted with mid ‘with’ found in the Trinity Homilies (a text written in the 13th century East Midland dialect) and the one inverted with efter ‘after’ found in the Lambeth Homilies (a text written in the 13th century West Midland dialect):

(3-19)  

a. **TWO-WORD $P$-COMPL$_{LPRN}$ INVERTED WITH MID**

... and *bare mide* he him bicherð.

... and therewith he him misleads

‘... and therewith he misleads himself.’ (CMTRINIT, 11.122 / PPCME2)

b. **ONE-WORD $P$-COMPL$_{LPRN}$ INVERTED WITH MID**

... for elch man þe hes doð weredð him seluen *parmide*

for each man that them does protects himself therewith

with mankind’s enemy

‘... for each man that performs actions protects himself therewith from the enemy of mankind.’ (CMTRINIT, 15.157 / ibid.)
(3-20)  a. **TWO-WORD P-COMPL\_LPRN INVERTED WITH EFTER**

   Ah ure erde is in houene; if we **ber efter** erneð.
   but our home is in heaven if we thereafter seek
   ‘But our home is in heaven, if we pursue it.’ (CMLAMB1, 157.498 / ibid.)

   b. **ONE-WORD P-COMPL\_LPRN INVERTED WITH EFTER**

   ... **ber-efter** he him sceawede he\_e treon eisliche beorninde
   thereafter he them showed high trees terribly burned
   et-foren helle ȝete.
   before hell’s gate
   ‘... thereafter he showed them tall trees terribly burned in front of hell’s
gate.’ (CMLAMBX1, 41.532 / ibid.)

Both the two-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn and the one-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn are productive in the mid-13th century South Midland texts: the former is attested at the rate of 40.50% and the latter at the rate of 57.95% (cf. Table 3-6). After the 14th century onwards, however, the frequency of two-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn significantly drops and that of one-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn significantly rises, the former being inversely proportional to the latter (cf. Tables 3-7, 3-8, 3-9 and 3-10). What happened to the LPrns in the 14th century? Since the decline of two-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn coincides with loss of displaced P-Compl\_PPrn in timing, the following scenario is conceivable. From OE up until EME, the two-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn was induced by the clitic status of LPrns (or, more precisely, absence of \textit{u}Case on LPrns) similarly in modus operandi to inverted P-Compl\_PPrn (cf. (3-16)). On the other hand, the one-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn was a grammaticalized form (or, more precisely, a form which had undergone phrasal conversion/zero-derivation, or lexicalization (cf. Shimamura (1986), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) and Morita (1995, 1997))) of the two-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn. In other words, the one-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn was not a clitic, but its existence was indirectly contingent upon the clitic status of LPrns. The argument that the one-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn is a grammaticalized form of the two-word inverted P-Compl\_LPrn enables the
existence of both types in a single text. As the SPA in the topic-initial main clause was obviated after LME onwards, the clitic status of LPrns was lost via addition of uCase to LPrns and the two-word inverted P-Compl_{LPrn} was rendered impossible. Since the formation of the one-word inverted P-Compl_{LPrn} was not directly contingent upon the clitic status of LPrns, it was able to survive even after SPA obviation and loss of displaced P-Compl_{PPrn}. The only difference between the inverted P-Compl_{LPrn} and the inverted P-Compl_{PPrn} is that the former had a grammaticalized form while the latter did not, which rendered possible the survival of the former after the loss of the latter. Thus, historical development of the inverted P-Compl_{LPrn} is consistent with the analysis of displaced P-Compl_{PPrn} presented above.

3.6. Summary

We have seen in this chapter that although attested instances are sporadic, the displaced P-Compl_{PPrn} carried over from OE to EME, and got lost during the transition from EME to LME. The time of this change coincides with that of the SPA obviation. This observation lends further support to the claim made in the previous chapter that the SPA obviation induces the loss of the clitic status of PPrns. Since the loss of the clitic status leads to the disappearance of any encliticization process, the SPA obviation and the loss of the displaced P-Compl_{PPrn} must take place at the same time, and it is shown that this is indeed the case.

Analyzed in recent minimalist terms, the displaced P-Compl_{PPrn} is yielded by its encliticization to C/T/K, driven by the uCase-less P-Compl_{PPrn}. Once the SPA, which invokes the negative setting of (3-17), is obviated, the uCase starts to be added to PPrns. As a result, the displaced P-Compl_{PPrn} ceases to be attested in accordance with the SPA obviation. The central claim of this chapter is supported by the following facts: different ways of SPA obviation (i.e. rise of systematic V3 and that of systematic V2) uniformly led to the loss of displaced P-Compl_{PPrn}; one-word orthography of inverted P-Compl_{LPrn} started to be productive when displaced P-Compl_{PPrn} disappeared.
As hinted in the end of Chapter 2, the grammatical system which emerged in LME via obviation of SPA is the one with WPPrns (and SPPrns) but without CPPrns. It also lacks V-to-Fin movement, but retains V-to-T movement. The emergent grammar is a system which naturally and eventually induces further intra-syntactically driven language change, to which we will turn in the next chapter.
Chapter 4
Pronominal Object Shift in the History of English:
Its Emergence in Late Middle English and
Its Demise in Late Modern English

4.1 Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 have shown that obviation of the SPA (via rise of uniform V2 or V3) in the topic-initial main clause led to the loss of clitic nature of PPrn (hence, the loss of various cliticization phenomena) in the transitional period from EME to LME. More specifically, §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3 have demonstrated that obviation of SPA led to the loss of the cue for setting the negative value for the uCase Parameter on D and created a new grammatical system where CPPrns are substituted by WPPrns (and only V-to-T movement exists). The emergent grammatical system has potential for further parametric/syntactic change, or intra-syntactically driven language change, whereby 14th century English was rendered ready to possess a phenomenon unattested previously, namely OS like the following:

(4-1) I know him not.  \textit{(King Henry V, III.vi.19 (= (1-21)))}

As already pointed out in §1.3.2 of Chapter 1, little research has been conducted so far concerning OS in the history of English. To my knowledge, this phenomenon is taken up and considered only by Wurff (1997: 488f) and Roberts (1995: 269, 2007: 57f). Wurff mainly looks into the LME facts and Roberts into the EModE facts, but both of them merely give the following statement independently:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(4-2)] a. [I]t is well-established that the order of... V-OBJ-not occurs in [L]ate Middle English... only with pronominal objects. \textit{(Wurff (1997: 488f))}
  \item[(b)] Early Modern English... of the 16th century had object shift of a type very similar to that found in MSc [i.e. pronominal OS]... \textit{(Roberts (1995: 269))}
\end{itemize}

They do not conduct any quantitative surveys. Moreover, they do not investigate linguistic facts of OS earlier than LME nor ones later than EModE. Since OS is not
attested in PDE, its historical development in earlier English (especially, OE, EME, and LModE) also needs empirical investigation.

This chapter considers the following four questions:

(4-3) QUESTIONS

a. Is OS attested in earlier English of the MSc type, as the previous studies point out?

b. When did it emerge and disappear in the history of English?

c. How are the basic facts of OS in LME and EModE explained within the framework of the MP?

d. Why did they emerge and disappear in the history of English?

§4.2 attempts to provide an answer to the questions (4-3a) and (4-3b), utilizing syntactically annotated electronic corpora. More specifically, §4.2.1 presents syntactic and semantic characteristics of OS, comparing them with those of scrambling, and §4.2.2 shows differences between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS. §4.2.3 presents the basic facts on OS throughout the history of English. §4.3 attempts to provide an answer to the question (4-3c), presenting analyses on the derivations of OSCs in terms of the MP. §4.4 attempts to provide an answer to the question (4-3d), demonstrating that an emergent grammatical system where three factors interact renders pronominal OS possible at the beginning of the 14th century and impossible at the end of the 19th century in the history of English. In answering the question (4-3d), it is demonstrated that the emergence and demise of pronominal OS is an epiphenomenon of previous syntactic/parametric changes, hence an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change. More specifically, emergence of WPPrsns, the obligatory presence of a definite article within definite DPs and application of V-to-T movement are shown to cause the emergence of pronominal OS in the beginning of LME, whereas decrease in the application of V-to-T movement is shown to cause its decline in the end of EModE. Thus, the change in question is a by-product of syntactic/parametric changes that have previously taken place in the course of the cue-based language acquisition adopted in §1.4.3 of Chapter 1. In order to elaborate upon
intra-syntactically driven language change exemplified in §4.4. §4.5 reformulates the three
pre-theoretical/descriptive factors enabling pronominal OS in the history of English into
parameters in terms of formal features on functional heads. As support for the analysis
presented in §4.4, §4.6 shows that loss of finite V-movement induces demise of pronominal
OS in LModE. §4.7 demonstrates that one of the word order patterns of PCs in PDE is
derived in a manner similar to the derivation of OSCs, but that “apparent ” OS attested in
PDE is not a relic of earlier English syntax. §4.8 summarizes this chapter.

4.2. Basic Facts

4.2.1. What is OS?

Displacement of objects observed in Germanic languages is roughly classified into
two categories: one is the so-called scrambling characteristic of West Germanic languages
such as German, Dutch, Afrikaans, Frisian and Yiddish; the other is the OS characteristic of
North Germanic languages (a.k.a. Scandinavian languages). The differences between
them are pointed out by previous studies (e.g. Vikner (1994, 2006), Thráinsson (2001)),¹

¹ For instance, OS displaces only an object NP/DP while scrambling displaces not only an object NP/DP but
also a PP (Vikner (1994: 491f, 2006: 403), Thráinsson (2001: 155f)), as in (i):

(i) **Displacement of PP: Scrambling**

b. **German**

\[
\text{ich habe} \quad \text{für das Buch} \quad \text{nicht} \quad \text{besucht} \\
I \quad \text{have} \quad \text{for the book} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{paid}
\]

‘I have not paid for the book.’ (Vikner (2006: 403))

On the other hand, OS of a PP is impossible. Moreover, OS does not license a parasitic gap while
scrambling does, as in (ii), which indicates that OS is an instance of A'-movement while scrambling is an
instance of A'‐movement:

(ii) **Licensing of a Parasitic Gap: OS vs. Scrambling**

b. **German**

\[
\text{daß Peter sie [ohne } \quad pg_{sie} \quad \text{kennengelernt zu haben}] \quad t_{sie einladen} \quad \text{wolle.}
\text{that Peter them without met to have invite wanted}
\]

‘... that Peter wanted to invite them without having met them.’ (Vikner (1994: 491))
but they crucially differ from each other in the possibility of displacement in the presence of an element c-commanding an object (e.g. a main V, a P, a Prt, and an IO) within VP. When an element c-commands an object within VP, OS is impossible while scrambling does not have such a restriction:

(4-4) Presence/Absence of Main V-movement: OS vs. Scrambling

a. Icelandic

i. Af hverju las Pétur þessa bók aldrei [VP tlas tþessa bók ]?
   for what read Peter this book never
   ‘Why did Peter never read this book?’

ii. *Af hverju hefur Pétur þessa bók aldrei [VP lesið tþessa bók ]?
   for what has Peter this book never read
   ‘Why has Peter never read this book?’ (Vikner (2006: 394f))

b. German

i. Warum liest Peter dieses Buch oft [VP tliest tdieses Buch ]?
   why reads Peter this book often
   ‘Why does Peter often read this book?’

c. Danish

*Peter inviterede dem ikke tinviterede tdem [uden at kende pgdem på forhånd].
   Peter invited them not without to know beforehand
   ‘Peter did not invite them without knowing them beforehand.’ (ibid.)

2 The notion of “c-command” is usually given a formal definition as in (i), but for an expository reason, an intuitive definition as in (ii) is adopted here.

(i) Node A c-commands node B iff the branching node α₁ most immediately dominating A either dominates B or is immediately dominated by a node α₂ which dominates B, and α₂ is of the same category type as α₁.
   (Reinhart (1983: 23))

(ii) A node c-commands its sisters and all the daughters (and granddaughters and great-granddaughters, etc.) of its sisters.
   (Carnie (2013 [2002]: 127))
ii. Warum hat Peter *dieses Buch* oft [VP gelesen t_{dieses Buch} ]?

‘Why has Peter often read this book?’ (ibid.: 396)

In Icelandic, OS is licit when the main V is moved out of VP, as in (4-4ai); it is illicit when the main V c-commanding an object remains within VP due to the presence of an auxiliary, as in (4-4aii). In German, on the other hand, scrambling is always licit whether the main V is moved out of VP or left behind there, as in (4-4b). In other words, scrambling of an object is possible even though it is c-commanded by an element within VP. When a P exists within VP, c-commanding an object, moreover, OS from the post-P position is illicit in Icelandic, as in (4-5), but there is no problem in German.

(4-5) Presence of a P: OS

a. Icelandic

*Af hverju las Pétur *pessari bók aldrei [VP t_{las} f t_{pessari bók}]?

‘Why did Peter never read in this book?’ (Vikner (2006: 397))

In the case of DOCs, an IO asymmetrically c-commands a DO, which complicates the applicability of OS. In Icelandic, OS of an IO is possible even if the DO is left behind within VP, as in (4-6ai). OS of a DO is impossible, however, when an IO remains in VP, as in (4-6aii), since the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO. OS of a DO becomes possible when the IO is relocated out of VP (via independent OS), as in (4-6aiii).

In German, on the other hand, completely independent scrambling of an IO and a DO is

\[ \text{Hvâða bókasafinni skilar hann bókunum aldrei [VP t_{skilar} t_{Hvâða bókasafinni bókunum} ]?} \]

‘Which library doesn’t he ever return the books to?’ (Holmberg (1999: 32))

---

3 OS of a DO is possible when the IO is relocated out of VP not only via independent OS but also via independent *wh*-movement.
possible in DOCs, as in (4-6bi) and (4-6bii), respectively.

(4-6) Presence/Absence of an IO in DOCs: OS vs. Scrambling

a. Icelandic

i. Ég lána Mariú [VP t_lána t_Mariú bækurnar ].

ii. *Ég lána bækurnar [VP t_lána Mariú t_bækurnar ].

iii. Ég lána Mariú bækurnar [VP t_lána t_Mariú t_bækurnar ].

I lend Maria-DAT-the-books-ACC not Maria the-books

‘I do not lend Maria the books.’

(Collins & Thráinsson (1996: 404, 406, 420))

b. German

i. ... daß die Firma meinem Onkel [VP t_meinem Onkel die Möbel zugestellt ] hat.

that the company my uncle-DAT not the furniture-ACC delivered has

‘... that the company did not deliver the furniture to my uncle.’

(Thráinsson (2001: 167))

To sum up the observation so far, the syntactic differences between Scandinavian OS and West Germanic scrambling are shown below:

Table 4-1: Scandinavian OS vs. West Germanic Scrambling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scandinavian OS</th>
<th>West Germanic Scrambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presence of V-Movement</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of A P</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of an IO in DOCs</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now it is apparent that OS is an operation that displaces an object out of VP, but that this operation has a restriction on its application. It is well known that this restriction is called Holmberg’s Generalization (henceforth, HG):

(4-7) Holmberg’s Generalization

Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except for adjuncts.

(Holmberg (1999: 15))

As HG in (4-7) states, phonological material asymmetrically c-commanding the object position such as a main V, a P, a Prt and an IO blocks OS. Therefore, relocation of the phonological material, especially a main V, out of VP is a prerequisite for application of OS. Thus, OS is defined here as an operation displacing an object out of VP whose application is contingent on the main V-movement out of VP. The configuration or structure resulting from OS is referred to in what follows as “OS construction” or “OS configuration” (i.e. OSC; cf. footnote 2 in Chapter 1), which is schematically shown in (4-8), where the solid arrow indicates OS:

(4-8) OSC: ... V ... Obj ... [vp t_v Θ_{PP/IO} t_{Obj}] 

4.2.2. Typology of OS

The OSC has been drawing attention in the Scandinavian languages since the seminal work by Holmberg (1986). According to previous studies such as Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Thráinsson (2001, 2007) and Vikner (1994, 2006), Scandinavian OS can be categorized into two types: (i) the Icelandic type of OS which moves a definite WPPrn obligatorily and a definite FN optionally out of VP; (ii) the MSc type which allows only the obligatory OS of a definite WPPrn.\(^4\)

\(^4\) In addition to Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, Faroese, which is spoken in Faroe Islands, an integral part of the Kingdom of Denmark (cf. Barnes (2006: 432), Mackenzie (2007: 264)), is classified into MSc in what
(4-9) **Definite FN OS vs. Definite WPPrn OS**

a. **Icelandic**
   i. Nemandinn las bókina/hana ekki.
   ii. Nemandinn las ekki bókina/*hana.

b. **Danish**
   i. Studenten læste *bogen/den ikke.
   ii. Studenten læste ikke bogen/*den.

c. **Norwegian**
   i. Studenten leste *boken/den ikke.
   ii. Studenten leste ikke boken/*den.

d. **Swedish**
   i. Studenten läste *boken/den inte.
   ii. Studenten läste inte boken/*den.\(^6\)

e. **Faroese**
   i. Næmingurin las *bókina/hana íkki.
   ii. Næmingurin las íkki bókina/*hana.

   ‘The student didn’t read the book/it.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 148, 150))

With respect to the so-called definite SPPrn such as a focused PPrn, a coordinated PPrn and a PPrn modified by a PP or a relative clause, the Icelandic type of OS is possible while the MSc type is impossible. Interestingly, the SPPrn exhibits syntactic properties similar to those of the FN vis-à-vis OS:

---

5 As will be shown in §4.3.3 in detail, definiteness of (bare) FNs is commonly marked by a suffix in Scandinavian languages.

6 The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (4-9dii) is indicated with the notation “%” since, according to Holmberg (1986: 228ff), OS of a WPPrn is optional in some dialects of Swedish.
(4-10) **Definite SPPRN OS**

a. *Icelandic*


b. *Norwegian*

*Hun så MEG/ [meg og deg] / [ham på sykkelen] ikke.

She saw ME me and you him on the-bike not

‘She didn’t see ME/me and you/him on the bike.’

(Thrálsson (2001: 150))

OS cannot be applied to an indefinite FN in Icelandic although its application to a definite FN is licit, as mentioned above.⁷ (Obviously, OS of an indefinite FN is impossible in MSc.)

---

⁷ However, the OS facts in Icelandic at first glance appear to be complicated by the following sentences with an indefinite FN object. When the finite main V or the sentential adverb is heavily stressed, hence focused, OS of an indefinite FN is licit:

(i) **Icelandic**

a. Ég les bækur aldrei.

I READ books never

‘I never READ books (I only buy them).’

b. Ég les bækur ALDREI.

I read books NEVER

‘I NEVER read books (not only rarely so).’

(Thrálsson (2007: 32))

According to Thrálsson (2007: 33), putting a heavy stress on the finite main V or the sentential adverb defocuses the indefinite FN object, which, in turn, makes the shifted indefinite FN interpreted as given information (or more precisely, generic plural). As nominal elements bearing given information are compatible with the Icelandic type of OS, the sentences in (i) do not actually complicate the matter. See also the summary of the properties of OS in the text.
(4-11) INDEFINITE FN OS

a. Icelandic
   i. *Hann las bækur ekki.
   ii. Hann las ekki bækur.
   he read books not books
   ‘He didn’t read books.’ (Diesing (1996: 67))

Furthermore, applying OS to an indefinite PPrn is impossible both with the Icelandic type and with the MSc type:

(4-12) INDEFINITE PPRN OS

a. Icelandic
   i. *Ég á ekki regnhlíf, [áttu eina ekki ]?
   ii. Ég á ekki regnhlíf, [áttu ekki eina ]?
   I have not umbrella have-you one not one

b. Danish
   i. *Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, [har du en ikke ]?
   ii. Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, [har du ikke en ]?
   I have not any umbrella have you one not one
   ‘I don’t have any umbrella, don’t you have one?’ (Vikner (2006: 424))

To sum up the observation on Scandinavian OS so far, the syntactic differences between the Icelandic type and the MSc type are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4-2: ICELANDIC TYPE OF OS VS. MSc TYPE OF OS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEFINITE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPPRN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPPRN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEFINITE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPRN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS can be applied only to (a subset of) nominals that bear given/specific information: in Icelandic, definite FN and SPPrn objects optionally undergo OS while definite WPPrn objects obligatorily undergo OS; in MSc, definite WPPrn objects obligatorily undergo OS. Bearing in mind the OS typology in the Scandinavian languages, let us turn now to the OS observed in the history of English.

4.2.3. OS in the History of English

As pointed out in §4.1, previous studies on OS in the history of English are extremely scarce, and not a single quantitative survey is conducted so far. The historical development of OS in English is yet to be brought into light. In order to capture the picture of OS facts in the history of English, I have conducted a survey on the distribution of the ObjPPrn in subordinate clauses that include a Neg and exclude an Aux. With the aid of the Java program devised by Randall (2000, 2005-2010), more specifically, I have collected subordinate ObjPPrn instances in the texts in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME (see Appendix 1 for text information). The subordinate context surveyed here is divided into two types in terms of the position of the finite lexical V vis-à-vis the phrasal Neg (i.e. na in OE and not in ME and ModE including their orthographic variants): one is the context where the finite lexical V precedes the phrasal Neg, and the other is the context where the finite lexical V follows the phrasal Neg (henceforth, V-movement context and non-V-movement context, respectively). In these two contexts, the ObjPPrn tokens attested are classified by their positions vis-à-vis the finite lexical V and the phrasal Neg. Under this classification, six types of word order are logically possible. The ObjPPrn is located either: (i) in the V-ObjPPrn-Neg order (i.e. in the post-V/pre-Neg position in the V-movement context (viz. an OSC)); (ii) in the V-Neg-ObjPPrn order (i.e. in the post-Neg

---

8 The reason why my survey is restricted to subordinate clauses is that main clauses may induce the V2 effect and blur the exact position of the shifted object, as pointed out in Chapter 2. Exclusion of an Aux from the subordinate context is intended to ensure that finite lexical V-movement is potentially possible in the relevant context.
position in the V-movement context); (iii) in the ObjPPrn-V-Neg order (i.e. in the pre-V position in the V-movement context); (iv) in the Neg-V-ObjPPrn order (i.e. in the post-V position in the non-V-movement context): (v) in the ObjPPrn-Neg-V order (i.e. in the pre-Neg position in the non-V-movement context); (vi) in the Neg-ObjPPrn-V order (i.e. in the post-Neg/pre-V position in the non-V-movement context). Taking dialectal differences in ME into consideration, I have counted the number of these six types of word order. My survey confirms that observations made by Wurff (1997: 488f) and Roberts (1995: 269, 2007: 57f) indeed hold: the OSC is found only with definite PPrn objects.

OE instances exhibit only the OSC with a definite PPrn object:

(4-13) OSC with a DEFINITE PPRn OBJECT

OE

... ˙onne ne funde he hit ˙no.
then NEG found 3-M-SG-NOM 3-N-SG-ACC not
‘... then he did not find it.’

coboeth, Bo:40.140.13.2797 / YCOE)

A survey with the YCOE, however, reveals that the OSC with a definite PPrn object was not productive at all in this period:

Table 4-3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V OBJ NEG</th>
<th>V NEG OBJ</th>
<th>NEG V OBJ</th>
<th>OBJ V NEG</th>
<th>OBJ NEG V</th>
<th>NEG OBJ V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBJPPRN</td>
<td>2 (4.35%)</td>
<td>3 (6.52%)</td>
<td>1 (2.17%)</td>
<td>5 (10.87%)</td>
<td>31 (67.39%)</td>
<td>4 (8.70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJEN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shaded cell in the table indicates the word order whose ratio among the logically
possible word orders is more than 15%. In OE, the V-Obj-Neg order (i.e. the OSC) with a
definite WPPrn object is attested at the rate of only 4.35%.

EME instances and, as Wurff (1997: 488f) describes, LME instances also exhibit only
the OSC with a definite WPPrn object:

(4-14) **OSC with a definite WPPrn object**
a. **EME (Mid-13C)**
   
   ... ₛat we ne  understonden ne  bisechen him  hoht...
   
   that we NEG understand nor beseech him not
   ‘... that we do not understand nor beseech him...’
   (CMTRINIT, 121.1638 / PPCME2)

b. **EME (Ayenbite of Inwit)**
   
   ... ₛet me ne  scorne  be  naȝt.
   
   that one NEG scorn you not
   ‘... that one does not scorn you.’
   (CMAYENBI, 54.977 / ibid.)

c. **LME (Posterior Half of the 14C)**
   
   ... that they ne  requeren ne  preyen me  nat of pees,
   
   that they NEG require nor pray me not of money
   ‘... that they do not require nor pray me of money,’
   (CMCTMELI, 235.C2.710 / ibid.)

d. **LME (15C)**
   
   ... ₛat he  forȝeue  hym  not.
   
   that he forgive him not
   ‘... that he does not forgive himself,’
   (CMVICES4, 112.299 / ibid.)

Definite FN objects and SPPrn objects such as PPrn+self forms (i.e. reflexive/intensified
forms) do not appear in the OSC: they always appear in the position following the Neg in
the collected examples.⁹

⁹ Haeberli & Ingham (2007: 14ff) also point out that positional asymmetry vis-à-vis the (phrasal) Neg exists
(4-15) *LME (15C)*

a. **NON-OSC WITH A DEFINITE FN OBJECT**

... þat hir confessowr vndirstod þat her langage...

... that her confessor understood not her language

‘... that her confessor did not understand her language...’

(CMKEMPE, 97.2219 / PPCME2)

b. **NON-OSC WITH A DEFINITE SPPRN (= PP + -SELF) OBJECT**

... þat þou lese þat yow self.

... that you lose not yourself

‘... that you do not lose yourself.’

(CMMIRK, 55.1556 / ibid.)

Indefinite FN/PPrn objects are not found in the OSC at all in ME: they too appear in the position following the Neg. A survey with the PPCME2 indicates that the OSC with a definite WPPrn object was productive in this period:

---

between the FN and WPPrn objects in the mid-13th century:

(i) ac it ne openede hem neolt þe blisse of heuene

but it NEG opened them not the bliss of heaven

‘but it did not open the bliss of heaven to them’

(CMTRINIT, 87.1165 / PPCME2 / Haeberli & Ingham (2007: 17))

The EME OSCs like (i) cannot be “true” OSCs, since they can be derived by pronominal scrambling or cliticization still productive in EME, accompanied by finite main V-movement, which falls under the pattern illustrated in Figure 4-1. See the discussion in the text below.
**Table 4-4:**

**Distribution of ObjPrn vis-à-vis V and Neg in the Subordinate Clause in ME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ObjPrn</th>
<th>V Obj Neg</th>
<th>V Neg Obj</th>
<th>Neg V Obj</th>
<th>Obj V Neg</th>
<th>Obj Neg V</th>
<th>Neg Obj V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern/Midland Dialects</strong></td>
<td>5 (20.00%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (12.00%)</td>
<td>2 (8.00%)</td>
<td>11 (44.00%)</td>
<td>4 (16.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EME</td>
<td>7 (36.84%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (5.26%)</td>
<td>3 (15.79%)</td>
<td>3 (15.79%)</td>
<td>5 (26.32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ayenbite</em></td>
<td>39 (39.80%)</td>
<td>9 (9.18%)</td>
<td>44 (44.90%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (2.04%)</td>
<td>4 (4.08%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td>15 (15.46%)</td>
<td>4 (4.12%)</td>
<td>78 (80.42%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern Dialects</strong></td>
<td>9 (36.00%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>16 (64.00%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ObjPrn</th>
<th>no OSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBFN</strong></td>
<td>15C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td>15C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The V-Obj-Neg order (i.e. the OSC) with a definite WPPrn object is attested at the rate of
20.00% in the seven mid-13th century texts written in the Southern/Midland dialects, and its ratio rises to 36.84% in the *Ayenbite of Inwit* (a mid-14th century Kentish text) and 39.80% in the fourteen posterior half of the 14th century Southern/Midland texts. The ratio of this word order drops to 15.46% in the fifteen 15th century Southern/Midland texts, but it is retained at the rate of 36.00% in the three 15th century Northern texts.

As Roberts (1995: 269) describes, EModE instances also exhibit only the OSC with a definite WPPrn object:

(4-16) **OSC with a definite WPPrn object**

a. *EModE (Anterior Half of the 16C)*

... bycause he sawe **hym** not... (MERRYTAL-E1-H, 148.442 / PPCEME)

b. *EModE (Posterior Half of the 16C & Anterior Half of the 17C)*

If you **grant me** not this Favour, (RALEIGH-E2-H, I, 215.C1.533 / ibid.)

In EModE as well, definite FN objects and SPPrn objects always appear in the position following the Neg:

(4-17) **EModE (Anterior Half of the 16C)**

a. *Non-OSC with a definite FN object*

... if they **slewe** hat the kynge of Atheniensis...

(ELYOT-E1-H, 153.141 / PPCEME)

b. *Non-OSC with a definite SPPrn (= PPRn + -self) object*

... yf he purifie **not himselfe** the thyrde daye,

(TYNDOLD-E1-P1, XIX, 1N.1191 / ibid.)

Again, Indefinite FN/PPrn objects are not found in the OSC at all. A survey with the PPCEME shows that the OSC with a definite WPPrn object became less productive in this period:
The V-Obj-Neg order (i.e. the OSC) with a definite WPPrn object is attested at the rate of 26.04% in the anterior half of the 16th century and 25.22% in the posterior half of the 16th century and the anterior half of the 17th century. The ratio of this word order, however, drops to 6.67% in the posterior half of the 17th century.

To sum up the findings thus far, (i) OSCs with an FN/SPPrn object are not attested at all throughout the history of English, and (ii) OSCs with a (definite) WPPrn object starts to be productively attested in the mid-13th century and becomes infrequent in the posterior half of the 17th century. It must be noted, however, that instances of OSCs do not always imply the presence of OS (as a syntactic operation). Earlier English allowed Obj-Aux-V
and Aux-Obj-V orders with a PPrn in subordinate clauses (see also §2.2.3 of Chapter 2), and the syntactic operations deriving these word orders had the potential of yielding OSCs:

(4-18)  

\[ \text{EME (Mid-13C)} \]

a. **Obj-Aux-V Order with a Definite WPPRN Object in the Subordinate Clause**

\[ ... \ \text{ac 3if min lauerd godd me wolde swingen mid ani swinge...} \]

\[ \text{but if my Lord God me would scourge with any scourge} \]

\[ \ldots \text{but if my Lord God would scourge me with any scourge...} \]

(CMVICES1, 13.145 / PPCME2 / Kroch & Taylor (2000: 134))

b. **Aux-Obj-V Order with a Definite WPPRN Object in the Subordinate Clause**

\[ \text{Ac 3if } \overset{\text{if}}{\text{u ne miht } \delta e \overset{\text{ne}}{\text{hahlt well ber3en}.}} \]

\[ \text{but if you NEG can you not well defend} \]

\[ \text{‘But if you cannot defend yourself well,’} \]

(CMVICES1, 73.824 / PPCME2)

According to Kroch & Taylor (2000: 148), cliticization or scrambling of PPrns, which does not conform to HG, was frequent in EME; hence, the Obj-Aux-V order as in (4-18a) and the Aux-Obj-V order as in (4-18b) can be derived via cliticization/scrambling of Obj\textsubscript{PPrn}.

The derivation in question is illustrated as follows:

**Figure 4-1**

**Derivation of Obj-Aux-V/ Aux-Obj-V Orders via Cliticization/Scrambling**

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Presence of Aux} \\
\begin{array}{c}
[_{T \text{Aux}} \text{Obj}_{PPrn} \text{ (Neg/Adv)}] \ [_{VP \ V} t_{[9]}]
\end{array}
\end{array} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{Absence of Aux} \\
\begin{array}{c}
[_{T \ V} \text{Obj}_{PPrn} \text{ (Neg/Adv)}] \ [_{VP \ V} t_{[9]}]
\end{array}
\end{array} \]

\[ \overset{\text{CLITICIZATION/SCRAMBLING OF OBJ}_{PPrn}}{\Rightarrow} \overset{\text{OSC}}{\text{OSC}} \]

\[ \overset{\text{CLITICIZATION/SCRAMBLING OF OBJ}_{PPrn}}{\Rightarrow} \overset{\text{OSC}}{\text{OSC}} \]
In the presence of an auxiliary (as in the left column of Figure 4-1), the auxiliary is located in T, and cliticization/scrambling raises the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in VP to the position preceding or following the auxiliary in T, whereby Obj-Aux-V/Aux-Obj-V orders result. In the absence of an auxiliary (as in the right column of Figure 4-1), cliticization/scrambling again raises the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} in VP to the position preceding or following T (i.e. procliticization or encliticization), but the finite main V moves to T (which requires an overt element); as a result, the same derivation results in an OSC. Obviously, this is an “apparent” OSC. Thus, while cliticization/scrambling is still existent, that is, while Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are still productive, instances of OSCs cannot be conceived as the configuration to which OS has applied. In other words, it is after the loss of the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders that OSCs are considered as “true” ones. This state of affairs requires a survey on the frequency of the Aux-V-Obj order, which is the norm in PDE, in addition to the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders, that is, a survey on the distribution of the Obj\textsubscript{PPrn} with respect to an auxiliary and a main V. This is done with the PPCME2 for ME facts. The result is shown below:
**Table 4-6:**

**Distribution of ObjPRN vis-à-vis Aux and V in the Subordinate Clause in ME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;PPCME2&gt;</th>
<th>OBJ AUX V</th>
<th>AUX OBJ V</th>
<th>AUX V OBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EME</td>
<td>mid-13C</td>
<td>106 (41.09%)</td>
<td>76 (29.46%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ayenbite</em></td>
<td>42 (51.22%)</td>
<td>38 (46.34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td>latter 14C</td>
<td>2 (0.38%)</td>
<td>58 (10.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15C</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>10 (1.45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTHERN DIALECTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td>15C</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>6 (5.04%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the seven mid-13th century Southern/Midland texts, the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are attested at the rate of 41.09% and 29.46%, respectively. In the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are attested at the rate of 51.22% and 46.34%,

---

- 164 –
respectively. This means that cliticization/scrambling of ObjPrn was still a productive option in EME, as we have seen in Chapter 2. However, these orders become infrequent in LME. In the fourteen posterior half of the 14th century Southern/Midland texts, the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are attested at the rate of 0.38% and 10.96%, respectively. In the fifteen 15th century Southern/Midland texts, the Obj-Aux-V order was not attested at all and the Aux-Obj-V order was attested at the rate of only 1.45%. In the three 15th century Northern texts, the Obj-Aux-V order was not attested either and the Aux-Obj-V order was attested at the rate of 5.04%. This indicates that cliticization/scrambling of ObjPrn was almost lost in LME. A similar result is obtained from a survey with the PPCEME for EModE facts:

**Table 4-7:**

**Distribution of ObjPrn vis-à-vis Aux and V in the Subordinate Clause in EModE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;PPCEME&gt;</th>
<th>Obj Aux V</th>
<th>Aux Obj V</th>
<th>Aux V Obj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EModE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1569</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>21 (2.03%)</td>
<td>1,034 (97.97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570-1639</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1,265 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-1710</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1,101 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this period as well, the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are almost inexistent;
cliticization/scrambling of Obj_{PPn} was almost lost in EModE.

Based on the discussion thus far, it can be concluded that OSCs start to be attested productively in the mid-13th century, but that they are derived via cliticization/scrambling of Obj_{PPn} accompanied by finite main V-movement. While cliticization/scrambling of Obj_{PPn} is still a productive operation, that is, while the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are still attested, apparent OSCs cannot be considered as “true” OSCs derived via OS. Therefore, emergence of OS in the history of English is at least after the loss of the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders. Since these word orders cease to be attested in the posterior half of the 14th century, emergence of OS is dated to this time. As already mentioned above, its decline is dated to the posterior half of the 17th century. Thus, the historical development of OS in English can be schematized as follows:

**Figure 4-2: Emergence and Decline of OS in the History of English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>EME</th>
<th>LME 14C</th>
<th>EModE 16C</th>
<th>EModE 17C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEFINITE</strong></td>
<td>FN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPPn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WPPn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EMERGENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEFINITE</strong></td>
<td>FN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DECLINE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PPrn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OSCs with an FN/SPPn object are not found at all throughout the history of English, and “true” OSCs with a WPPn object start to be attested in the posterior half of the 14th century and declined in the posterior half of the 17th century. Now the question (4.3a) can be provided with an answer: OS observed in the history of English is indeed of the MSc type, as the previous studies point out.

Other syntactic properties of earlier English OS support our conclusion. They are no different from the properties of OS found in Scandinavian languages. First, as shown in §4.2.1, OS from the post-P position is illicit when a P exists within VP, and this is indeed
the case in LME and EModE as well: no instances of OSCs with this structure are attested in the PPCME2 nor the PPCEME. Second, DOCs allow independent OS of an IO and OS of a DO accompanied by relocation of the IO out of VP (i.e. OS of an IO and a DO retaining the base order), but disallow independent OS of a DO (cf. (4-6a)). In LME and EModE, only the cases of independent OS of an IO is attested:

(4-19) V-IO-NEG-DO ORDER in DOCs (= INDEPENDENT OS of an IO)

a. LME (Posterior Half of the 14C)

... Moyses ʒaf ʒou ʰɒt brede ɹo hewn,  
(CMNTEST, VI, 20.507 / PPCME2)

b. EModE (Posterior Half of the 16C & Anterior Half of the 17C)

... Moses ɡaue you ʰɒt that brede from hewn,  
(AUTHNEW-E2-H, VI, 20J.722 / PPCEME)

‘... Moses did not give you that bread from heaven.’

The number of the OS instances in DOCs attested in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-8: OS in DOCs</th>
<th>V IO DO NEG</th>
<th>V DO IO NEG</th>
<th>V IO NEG DO</th>
<th>V DO NEG IO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EModE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 and 6 instances of independent OS of an IO (i.e. V-IO-Neg-DO order) are found in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME, respectively. Independent OS of a DO (i.e. V-DO-Neg-IO order) and OS of an IO and a DO with reversed order (i.e. V-DO-IO-Neg order) are not observed, as expected. However, OS of an IO and a DO retaining the base order (i.e. V-IO-DO-Neg order) is not attested at all in any syntactically annotated electronic corpora either, which is unexpected. Since earlier English OS is of the MSc type on the one hand, since the population of DOCs is small, the survey on OS in DOCs included instances in main clauses as well as those in subordinate clauses.
and DOCs involving both a PPrn IO and a PPrn DO are very rare even in earlier English and they tend to exhibit V-DO-IO order rather than V-IO-DO order when they are attested on the other, absence of OS of both an IO and a DO retaining the base order (i.e. V-IO-DO-Neg order and V-DO-IO-Neg order) may be attributable to an “accidental gap” or a “hole in the pattern.”

To sum up, earlier English allows only WPPrn OS, which is classified as the MSc type. According to observations shown above, the WPPrn OS was possible from the posterior half of the 14th century up until the posterior half of the 17th century: it emerged in LME and started to decline in EModE. But why was the MSc type of OS frequently attested for only three centuries? Before answering this question, let us turn now to the syntax of OS. We will get back to the whys and the wherefores of the ephemeral OS in the history of English in §4.4.

4.3. Analyses

4.3.1. Morphosyntactic Properties of the PPrn Undergoing OS

First of all, we must explicate morphosyntactic properties of the PPrn in LME/EModE to which OS is applied. Some of the previous studies on Scandinavian OS (e.g. Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 207), Déprez (1994: 122), Diesing (1996: 77, 1997: 415), Hiraïwa (2001: 303ff)) analyze the PPrn undergoing OS as a CPPrn. Moreover, Kemenade (1987: 110ff) and Pintzuk (1999: 125ff, 171ff) among others point out that the CPPrn exists in OE and EME. Thus, the analyses and observations in the previous studies might lead us to suppose that the LME/EModE PPrn is also an instance of a CPPrn. This possibility, however, should be rejected on the following two grounds. First, as we have seen in Chapter 2, the CPPrn object observed in OE and EME occurs in various positions where the definite FN object cannot appear (i.e. the Wackernagel position, and Positions I, II and III):
(4-20) **EME (Mid-13th Century)**

a. **CPPrn Obj Left-adjacent to an Auxiliary in the Subordinate Clause**

... ac ʒif min lauerd godd me wolde swingen mid ani swinge...
  but if my Lord God me would scourge with any scourge
  ‘... but if my Lord God would scourge me with any scourge...’
  (CMVICES1, 13.145 / PPCME2 / Kroch & Taylor (2000: 134)
  (= 4-18a))

b. **CPPrn Obj Right-adjacent to an Auxiliary in the Subordinate Clause**

An ʒif думал ne miht de նահ ու բերգեն.
  but if you NEG can you not well defend
  ‘But if you cannot defend yourself well,’
  (CMVICES1, 73.824 / PPCME2 (= 4-18b))

c. **CPPrn Obj Right-adjacent to the Complementizer in the Subordinate Clause**

... þet him mon mote վիդ spēken
  that him one must speak-against
  ‘... that one must speak against him.’
  (CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2 (= (2-12a))

d. **CPPrn Obj Left-adjacent to the Finite V in the Topic-initial V2 Clause**

þerwið us wite վեր ewerd ihesu christ...
  therewith us blame our lord Jesus Christ
  ‘Therewith, our lord Jesus Christ blames us...’
  (CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / ibid. (= (2-12b))
e. **CPPrn OBJ Right-adjacent to the Finite V in the Operator-initial V2 Clause**

\[
\text{Ne mihte him naðer befelan}
\]

NEG might him no-other happen-to

‘No other might happen to him.’  (CMVICES1, 43.486 / ibid. (= (2-12c))

This is not the case in LME/EModE: the PPrn undergoing OS in LME/EModE appears only before or after the Neg, always following a finite main V (i.e. in the V-Obj-*not* order or in the *not*-V-Obj order). Second, when a finite V undergoes T-to-C movement in interrogatives, a CPPrn like the one in French also moves from T to C obligatorily, accompanying the finite V in question:

(4-21) *French*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Où [c l’ avait] -il [T t’avait] [VP t’avait acheté t_\text{i}]}? \\
& \text{where it-had he bought}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{*Où [c avait] -il [γ le t’avait] [VP t’avait acheté t_\text{i}]}? \\
& \text{where had he it bought}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Where had he bought it?’  (Vikner (2006: 419))

On the other hand, the LME/EModE PPrn never moves to C in interrogatives. From the syntactic behavior of the CPPrn in (4-20) and (4-21), we can conclude that the PPrn undergoing OS in LME/EModE is not an instance of a CPPrn.

Given the conclusion above, it is reasonable to claim that the syntactic/morphological status of the LME/EModE PPrn is defined in the following way along the lines of proposal presented in §2.3.1.2 of Chapter 2. To begin with, the PPrn is considered here as a definite article along the lines of Postal (1966: 62ff), and it constitutes the functional head $D^0$, bearing $i\phi$ and $u\text{Case}$ on a par with the feature content of a DP. Secondly, the PPrn is categorized into three types, which is based on the trichotomy of PPrns suggested by Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 36f, 1999: 165ff, 179, 202), Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 428ff), Roberts (2010a: 56f) and Gelderen (2013: 197f):
The CPPrn in (4-22a) is structurally defective in the sense that it lacks uCase, which makes cliticization (i.e. incorporation or head movement) possible, hence necessary. The CPPrn amounts to a D⁰ lacking uCase (cf. Chomsky (1995c: 249), Raposo (1998: 78)). In contrast, the WPPrn in (4-22b) is a D⁰ with uCase: this PPrn does not cliticize to the functional head it agrees with. This is the PPrn that undergoes OS in LME/EModE (and MSc/Icelandic). The SPPrn in (4-22c) is a DP which is projected from a D⁰ with or without uCase taking a phonologically null N⁰ with a Foc as its complement.¹¹

4.3.2. A Semantic Effect of OS

Now, let us move on to consider the second properties of OS. This section briefly reviews previous studies on (Scandinavian) OS and adopts proposals made therein, making slight modifications to them. If we follow Svenonius (2001: 272), OS can be decomposed into two independent operations: Case Shift and Dislocation Rule (henceforth, CS and Disl, respectively):¹²

(4-23) OS = CS + Disl  

(pace Hiraiwa (2001: 296ff))

¹¹ The phonologically null N⁰ that merges with a D⁰ is sometimes realized. One instance is self in the PPPrn + self form (i.e. SPPrn). In OE, self was an independent word contrasting or intensifying the nominal it follows, and it could modify any type of nominal. In the end of the 12th century, the PPPrn + self form came to exist as a single word (Keenan (2002: 337)), although its distribution was not strictly governed by the Binding Condition A (cf. Chomsky (1981)). See also footnote 25 in Chapter 2.

¹² Chomsky (2001: 30) also states that “Icelandic, for example, also excludes OS without further raising of the object, either A’-movement or Disl.” Note that decomposition of OS into two operations is not a brand-new idea. The quotation from Chomsky (2001) cited just above indicates that he already recognizes that OS must be accompanied by further movement. His term “OS” corresponds to Sevenonius’s (2001) term “CS” here.
CS, which is associated with another operation called “Agree,” is a syntactic operation that moves an object from the externally merged position to Spec v*P; this operation applies only when it has a semantic effect on the resultant derivation (cf. Diesing (1996: 67, 1997: 412), Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 150), Holmberg (1999: 22f)). Disl is a phonological operation that moves an element in Spec v*P to a higher head/specifier position. Agree, which may be accompanied by CS, or more precisely, internal merge (i.e. move), establishes the following relation (see also Chomsky (2000: 101, 122ff, 2001: 2ff, 2005: 13f, 16, 18f, 2007: 9, 2008: 141)):

\[(4\text{-}24) \quad [T]here \ is \ a \ relation \ Agree \ holding \ between \ probe \ P \ and \ goal \ G, \ which \ deletes \ \{= \ \text{values}\} \ \text{uninterpretable} \ \text{features} \ \text{if} \ P \ \text{and} \ G \ \text{are} \ \text{appropriately} \ \text{related.} \]

(Chomsky (2004: 113))

When an unvalued/uninterpretable formal feature exists in the phase constructed in narrow syntax, the unvalued feature in question becomes P, seeking for G bearing a corresponding interpretable formal feature and entering into an Agree relation with it, whereby the unvalued feature in question is valued and deleted. On this occasion, G needs to be active, carrying an unvalued formal feature different from the one that P bears. For instance, the functional head v* carries uφ, and this element becomes P seeking for appropriate G bearing iφ and uCase (i.e. the object DP in this case), as in (4-25):
After $v^*$ enters into an Agree relation with the object DP, $\phi$ and $u$Case are valued and deleted. When the $v^*$ carries an EPP feature in addition to $\phi$, the object DP moves to the outer Spec $v^*$P in order to satisfy the EPP requirement.

Recall here that OS (restated here as CS) has a semantic restriction on its application: CS can be applied only to (a subset of) nominals that bear given information (cf. Table 4-2). Concerning this aspect of CS, let us follow Chomsky (2001) in assuming the following UG principles:

The intuition behind Chomsky (2001) is the Mapping Hypothesis proposed by a series of works by Molly Diesing (see Chomsky (2001: 48, footnote 59)). This hypothesis can correctly explain the semantic restriction imposed on CS. The following is a version stated in Diesing & Jelinek (1995):

(i) MAPPING HYPOTHESIS
   a. VP maps into the nuclear scope (i.e. the domain of existential closure).
(4-26) a. \(v^*\) is assigned an EPP feature only if that has an effect on outcome.

b. The EPP position [i.e. phonological edge / outer Spec \(v^*P\)] of \(v^*\) is assigned \(\text{Int}^\prime\).

c. At the phonological border of \(v^*P\), XP is assigned \(\text{Int}\).

(Chomsky (2001: 35))

Chomsky counts (4-26a) and (4-26b) as invariant UG principles and (4-26c) as a parameter, but we also take (4-26c) to be an invariant UG principle.\(^{14}\) In a nutshell, (4-26a) states that assignment of an EPP feature to \(v^*\) and subsequent movement to outer Spec \(v^*P\) are made possible only when they have a semantic consequence (cf. Chomsky (1995c: 294, 337, 2000: 109, 2001: 34, 2004: 111, 2005: 14, 2007: 10ff, 2008: 140)). “\(\text{Int}^\prime\) in (4-26b) is an interpretive complex which consists of specificity/definiteness, [old] information, focus, etc. (Chomsky (2001: 31)).” This is the semantic interpretation that the shifted object receives. (4-26b) states that elements which can appear in the phonological edge, or outer Spec \(v^*P\) (i.e. landing site of CS), are limited to material bearing \(\text{Int}^\prime\). (4-26c) captures HG in (4-7). When there is no phonological material c-commanding the object position within the \(v^*P\), the object position in question becomes a phonological border (Chomsky (2001: 34)), where material bearing \(\text{Int}^\prime\) (which consists of the interpretations opposite to \(\text{Int}\)) appears:

\[
(4-27) \quad \{\text{TP} \ldots \{\text{T} \ldots \{\text{v} \cdot \text{V} \cdot \text{v}^* \cdot \text{T} \ldots \{\text{v}_r \cdot \text{Obj} \ldots \{\text{v}_o \cdot \text{Subj} \ldots \{\text{v}_r \cdot \text{t}_v \cdot \text{VP} \ldots \{\text{t}_v \cdot \text{Obj} \} \} \} \} \} \} \]

Under this hypothesis, the material inside of VP is existentially bound; hence it receives an existential interpretation. On the other hand, the material outside of VP (i.e. in the restriction) receives a presuppositional or quantificational interpretation because it is not existentially bound. When the definite DP is shifted out of VP, it can be correctly interpreted as presuppositional. Shifting an indefinite DP out of VP never renders it existential, hence OS is impossible. Thus, OS of a definite DP is licit while OS of an indefinite DP is illicit (see Diesing (1996: 74ff, 1997: 410ff) for details). Note, however, that the Mapping Hypothesis is problematic in that it cannot capture the fact that OS is a movement operation contingent on main V-movement out of VP (cf. HG in (4-7)).

\(^{14}\) If (4-26c) is a parameter, it is predicted that OS is observed more limitedly than the actual facts.
Under the UG principles in (4-26), INT' is assigned to the position where the object is externally merged, and INT to outer Spec v*P. It follows that movement from the object position to outer Spec v*P yields a semantic effect, thereby assigning an EPP feature to v* and rendering CS possible.

4.3.3. Deriving the Difference between the Icelandic Type and the MSc Type of OS

4.3.3.1. Previous Studies

Recall again that the CS yielding a semantic effect is applied to different elements in Icelandic and MSc (cf. §4.2.2). A substantial number of previous studies have tried to account for the difference between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of CS in a principled manner. For instance, Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 208ff) associate the capability of the CS of an FN and an SPPrn with the existence of Transitive Expletive Constructions (henceforth, TECs) like (4-28):

(4-28) TEC

Icelandic
Paða hafa margir jólasveinar borðad búding.
EXPL have many Christmas trolls eaten pudding

‘Many Christmas trolls have eaten puddings.’ (Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 209))

Both the FN/SPPrn CS and the TEC are allowed in Icelandic while neither is allowed in MSc. It may seem that this fact demonstrates the correlation between FN/SPPrn CS and TECs. Bošković (2004: 48ff) and Hiraiwa (2001: 298f), on the other hand, correlate the capability of FN/SPPrn CS with the phenomenon called Stylistic Fronting (henceforth, SF) like (4-29):

(4-29) SF

Icelandic
Þeir sem þessa erfíðu ákvörðun verða að taka lþessa erfíðu ákvörðun
those that this difficult decision have to take
‘those that have to take this difficult decision’ (Holmberg (2000: 449))
Again, Icelandic allows both the FN/SPPrn CS and SF while MSc allow neither: the
correlation between them may seem to be justified.

Given the earlier English facts, however, the claims for the two correlations mentioned
just above cannot be maintained. First, although CS is restricted to the WPPrn in LME
and EModE, TECs are found between the 14th and 16th centuries, according to Makita

(4-30) TEC

\[ LME \text{ (15C)} \]
the \textit{schall no man bete ne bynde} a messyng
EXPL shall no man beat nor bind a messenger
‘No one will beat or bind a messenger.’


Second, SF is found in the \textit{Ormulum} written in the 13th century Northeast Midland dialect,

(4-31) SF

\[ EME \text{ (13C)} \]
\[ \ldots \text{ al pat ifell iss t} \text{ifell} \ldots \]
all that evil is
‘... all that is evil...’ (CMORM, I 58.538 / PPCME2 / Trips (2003: 461))

Moreover, what Wurff (1999: 242) deems the 15th century residual OV order in the
subordinate clause without an overt subject can be considered here as an instance of SF:

(4-32) SF

\[ LME \text{ (15C)} \]
\[ \ldots \text{ al them that this litel w} \text{erke shal see, here or rede t} \text{his litel werke} \ldots \]
all them that this little work shall see here or read
‘... all those that will see, hear or read this little work...’

(Caxton 46a.29 / Wurff (1999: 242))

Thus, the view that correlates the FN/SPPrn CS on the one hand with the TEC/SF on the
other suggested by the previous studies is untenable.

4.3.3.2. Proposal

In light of the discussion above, let us follow Watanabe (2003) in associating the capability of FN CS (and SPPrn CS) with the determiner system (D-system) in the relevant language. Julien (2002: 264f, 2003: 230, 2005: 26ff) observes that the D-system in MSc exhibits the so-called “double definiteness” phenomenon: the definiteness of a nominal is commonly marked by a suffix in MSc; when the nominal in question is modified by an adjective (henceforth, Adj), it is marked by both a suffix and a definite article:¹⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Icelandic</th>
<th>Danish</th>
<th>Norwegian</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Faroese</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definite Nominal</strong></td>
<td>hús-ið</td>
<td>hus-et</td>
<td>hus-et</td>
<td>hus-et</td>
<td>hús-ið</td>
<td>house-DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adj + Definite Nominal</strong></td>
<td>nýja hús-ið</td>
<td>det ny e hus</td>
<td>det ny e hus-et</td>
<td>det nya hus-et</td>
<td>tað nýa hús-ið</td>
<td>DEF new house-DEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The D-system in Icelandic does not show such a property: the definiteness of a nominal is always marked by a suffix in Icelandic. Watanabe (2003: 51) points out that presence of the double definiteness phenomenon and absence of the FN CS (and the SPPrn CS) may be correlated with each other. A similar correlation is attested in the history of English.¹⁶

¹⁵ Note that the definiteness of a nominal is marked only by a definite article in Danish when the nominal in question is modified by an Adj. Strictly speaking, this is not an instance of the double definiteness phenomenon. Nevertheless, let us follow Katzir (2011: 46, footnote 2) in assuming that the D-system in Danish always encodes definiteness as a suffix, but that it is just not morphologically realized when a nominal is modified by an Adj.

¹⁶ According to Julien (2005: 27, 44ff), MSc Adjs show weak declension in the syntactic environment where
We have seen in §4.2.3 that application of CS is limited to WPPrn in LME/EModE. According to Osawa (2000: 57, 75ff) and Philippi (1997: 63, 89f), moreover, the PDE D-system is already established at least in the 15th century: the definite nominal has come to be marked by a definite article (in addition to demonstratives and possessive/genitive pronouns (henceforth, Dems and Posses, respectively)):

\[(4-33)\quad 15th\text{ Century English (LME)}\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP/NP [be/the N]} \\
\hline
\text{definite nominal}
\end{array}
\]

Based on the common traits of MSc and LME/EModE reviewed above, we see that CS is limited to WPPrn and that the definite nominal is marked by a definite determiner (always in LME/EModE and when the definite nominal is modified by an Adj in MSc). These striking similarities lead us to formulate the following descriptive generalization:

\[(4-34)\quad \text{Additional presence of an overt definite determiner within a DP (i.e. a nominal projection) prevents the object at the phonological border from being assigned Int'.}\]

The descriptive generalization in (4-34) captures the fact that application of CS is limited to WPPrn. In Icelandic, absence of a definite determiner in the definite DP makes possible the assignment of INT and INT' to outer Spec v*P and the phonological border, respectively, thereby allowing a potential semantic effect of movement from the externally merged object position to outer Spec v*P. This potential semantic effect allows the v* to be

the double definiteness phenomenon appears. Earlier English also exhibits the properties “similar” to the double definiteness phenomenon. Hogg (1992: 138) points out that a Dem or a Poss can be either present or absent in OE and EME when definite DPs involve an Adj: the Adj is marked with a weak (a.k.a. definite) inflection when a Dem/Poss is present, as in (ia), while it is marked with a strong (a.k.a. indefinite) inflection when a Dem/Poss is absent, as in (ib):

\[(i)\quad a. \quad [\text{DP/NP Dem/Poss Adj}\text{WEAK } N] \\
   b. \quad [\text{DP/NP Adj}\text{STRONG } N] \]

Under the analysis put forward by Watnabe (2009: 360), weak/definite declension of Adjs in the presence of a Dem/Poss results from an Agree relation with D⁰. According to Lass (1992: 115), however, the distinction between weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension of Adjs within a DP is lost in the 14th century.
assigned an EPP feature, whereby CS of an FN and an SPPrn in Icelandic is made possible as well as the WPPrn CS. In MSc and LME/EModE, on the other hand, presence of a definite determiner in the definite DP blocks the assignment of Int′ to the phonological border (cf. generalization in (4-34)), thereby allowing no semantic effect of movement from the externally merged object position to outer Spec v*P. The absence of a semantic effect does not allow EPP assignment to v*, which, in turn, makes CS of an FN and an SPPrn impossible. Even though the Int′ assignment to the phonological border, hence the EPP assignment to v*, is blocked in the case of a definite FN, it is possible with a definite WPPrn since the definite WPPrn is not a DP accompanied by a definite determiner (cf. footnote 17). Thus, application of CS, hence OS, is limited to WPPrn in MSc and LME/EModE.

It is predicted that under the UG principles in (4-26), languages with the VO base order and WPPrns in its pronominal paradigms can allow OS of an FN, a SPPrn, and a WPPrn. In light of the descriptive generalization in (4-34) and presence/absence of the finite V-movement out of v*P, however, the typological variation of OS is limited, as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VO grammar (with WPPrn)</th>
<th>DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-MOVEMENT OUT OF v*P</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A language that allows finite V-movement out of v*P but lacks a definite article within a definite DP becomes an FN OS language (e.g. Icelandic) and allows the Icelandic type of OS. When the language in question accepts obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP, it becomes a WPPrn OS language (e.g. MSc and LME/EModE) and

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17 Under the trichotomy of PPrns in (4-22), the WPPrn is considered as a definite article (i.e. D⁰). This categorial status may seem to pose a problem, but the WPPrn is not a nominal projection (i.e. DP), hence the generalization in (4-34) is not applicable: it is not considered to be a DP accompanied by a definite article.
allows the MSc type of OS.

4.3.4. Derivation of the OSC

Given the detailed mechanism driving WPPrn OS, the OSC in LME/EModE such as (4-14d) can be derived as follows:

(4-35)  a. MERGER of v*, V-to-v* MOVEMENT & MERGER of a SUBJECT

\[ [v_p \text{ he} [\_\_ \text{forz} eue-v^*<\text{uP}/\text{EPP}> [v_p \text{ t}_{\text{forz}eue} [d \text{ hym}<\text{uP}/\text{uCase}> ] ] ] ] \]

V-to-v* MOVEMENT

a'. AGREEMENT BETWEEN v* AND THE WPPrn OBJECT

\[ [v_p \text{ he} [\_\_ \text{forz} eue-v^*<\text{uP}/\text{EPP}> [v_p \text{ t}_{\text{forz}eue} [d \text{ hym}<\text{uP}/\text{uCase}> ] ] ] ] \]

AGREE

a". CS OF THE WPPrn OBJECT

\[ [v_p [d \text{ hym}<\text{uP}/\text{uCase}> ] [v_p \text{ he} [\_\_ \text{forz} eue-v^*<\text{uP}/\text{EPP}> [v_p \text{ t}_{\text{forz}eue} [d \text{ hym}<\text{uP}/\text{uCase}> ] ] ] ] ] ] \]

CS

b. MERGER OF a NEG AND T & V*-TO-T MOVEMENT

\[ [t_p \text{ forz} eue-v^*<\text{uP}/\text{EPP}> [T [\text{neg} p \text{ not} [v_p [d \text{ hym}<\text{uP}/\text{uCase}> ] [v_p \text{ t}_{\text{forz}eue} [v_p \text{ ... } ] ] ] ] ] ] \]

V*-TO-T MOVEMENT

b'. SUBJECT MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

\[ [t_p \text{ he} [\_\_ \text{forz} eue-v^*<\text{uP}/\text{EPP}> [T [\text{neg} p \text{ not} [v_p [d \text{ hym}<\text{uP}/\text{uCase}> ] [v_p \text{ t}_{\text{forz}eue} [v_p \text{ ... } ] ] ] ] ] ] \]

SUBJECT MOVEMENT
Let us suppose that the derivation under consideration has reached the stage where \( v^* \) and the subject is merged with the VP already constructed and the main V has moved to \( v^* \): this is (4-35a). At this point of the derivation, the WPPrn object does not contain any definite determiner (cf. footnote 16), hence \( \text{Intr}' \) is assigned to the object position within the VP, allowing a potential semantic effect of movement, whereby an EPP feature is assigned to \( v^* \). Then, the \( v^* \) enters into an Agree relation with the WPPrn object, and the \( u_\phi \) of \( v^* \) and \( u_{\text{Case}} \) of the WPPrn object are valued and deleted, as in (4-35a'). As a consequence of Agree, CS of the WPPrn object takes place in order to satisfy the EPP requirement of \( v^* \), the \( v^*P \) phase being completed and the VP being spelled out to \( \Phi \) and \( \Sigma \), as in (4-35a'').

At the next phase level, the Neg and T are merged to the \( v^*P \) in sequence, and the \( v^* \) moves to T, as in (4-35b). Then, the subject located in the inner Spec \( v^*P \) moves to Spec TP (in order to satisfy the EPP requirement of T), as in (4-35b'). When C is merged to the TP, the CP phase is completed and the TP is spelled out to \( \Phi \) and \( \Sigma \), as in (4-35c). At the \( \Phi \) side, Disl raises the WPPrn object in outer Spec \( v^*P \) to T, as in (4-35d). This is the end of the derivation under consideration: it converges.

In the case of the FN object or the SPPrn object, the derivation diverges from the stage corresponding to (4-35a), where \( \text{Intr}' \) is not assigned to the object position within the VP since the object DP such as \( [\text{DP} [\text{D} \text{THE}] [\text{NP} \text{Kynge of Atheniensis}]] \) in (4-17a) and \( [\text{DP} [\text{D} \text{Him}]]_N \)
in (4-17b) contains a definite determiner. This makes the EPP assignment to $v^*$ impossible, whereby CS and subsequent Disl at $\Phi$ never take place. Thus, the convergent derivation with an FN object or a SPPrn object does not result in an OSC.

Based on the UG principles in (4-26) proposed by Chomsky (2001) and the descriptive generalization in (4-34), we have presented the derivation of an OSC with a WPPrn and have accounted for the fact that the OS attested in LME/EModE is the MSc type. Bearing in mind the discussion in this section, let us turn now to how and why the derivation in (4-35) was made possible in LME and impossible in LModE in the history of English.

### 4.4. Emergence and Decline of OS as Intra-syntactically Driven Language Change

#### 4.4.1. Three Factors Which Enable Pronominal OS in LME/EModE

Recall now that the prerequisites for CS, hence OS, in a language are the presence of WPPrns in the pronominal paradigm and the relocation of phonological material, especially a main V, out of $v^*P$. When the language in question allows a definite determiner in the definite DP, the attested OS will be the MSc type. Since pronominal OS is possible in LME and EModE, it follows that they have the following three factors related to CS/OS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-11: Factors Enabling Pronominal CS/OS (LME/EModE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. WPPrn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. V-Movement out of $v^*P$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Definite article within a definite DP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility of OS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One might think that the factors presented in Table 4-11 and in the remainder of this section are not the de facto parameters that consist of UG. They merely capture the generalization of the characteristics potentially enabling CS/OS yet to be formalized. This task is set aside here, pending further discussion and refinement in the following section. This section focuses on how the presence/absence of the three factors enabling CS/OS interact to
make pronominal OS possible in LME and impossible in LModE.

Concerning the first factor, the previous studies such as Kemenade (1987: 189ff, 200) point out that CPPrns were lost sometime during EME, which is ascribed in §2.4 of Chapter 2 to the direct consequence of the addition of uCase to CPPrns. Note, in connection with the trichotomy of the PPrn, that addition of uCase to the feature content of CPPrns in (4-22a) amounts to the characterization of the WPPrn in (4-22b). This line of reasoning leads us to propose that the periods after EME (i.e. LME and EModE) have only weak (and strong) PPrns. Thus, the first factor enabling CS/OS is present in LME/EModE, as in Table 4-11a.

Concerning the second factor, finite V-movement out of v*P has been attested in the main clause since OE and in the subordinate clause presumably since EME. The topic-initial main clause with an FN subject exhibits the well-known V2 phenomenon in OE (Kemenade (1987: 110ff) among others) and EME (Fischer et al. (2000: 130) among others), which is taken here to be an instance of finite V-movement out of v*P:

(4-36) V2 in the Topic-initial Main Clause with an FN Subject

a. OE

[On twam þingum] hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod
in two things had God the man’s soul endowed
‘With two things, God had endowed man’s soul.’

(ÆCHom, I.20 / Kemenade (1987: 42))

b. EME

[On þis gær] would þe king Stephne tæcen Rodbert...
in this year wanted the king Stephen seize Robert
‘During this year, King Stephen wanted to seize Robert...’

(ChronE (Plummer), 1140.1 / Fischer et al. (2000: 130))

Although the frequency of the V2 order in the topic-initial context drops, it continues to be

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found in LME (Haeberli (2002b: 252ff)) and sporadically in EModE (Bækken (1998: 59)).

The subordinate clause in EME starts to exhibit VO order, which is rarely attested in OE. When a phrasal Neg or an Adv is included in the clause under consideration, V-Neg/Adv-Obj and V-Obj-Neg/Adv orders are taken to be instances of V-to-T movement:

(4-37) **V-Neg-Obj Order in the Subordinate Clause**

**EME (Ayenbite of Inwit)**

... of huam me ne kan na3t his name...

of whom one NEG knows not his name

‘... of whom one does not know his name...’

(CMAYENBI, 103.2015 / PPCME2)

It is also evident from the sentences presented in §4.2.3 (i.e. (4-14)-(4-17)) that the V-to-T movement continues to be possible in LME and EModE. Thus, the second factor enabling CS/OS is present in LME/EModE, as in Table 4-11b.

Concerning the third factor, the definiteness/specificity of nominals in OE and EME is marked by a Dem or Poss and weak Adjs if present (Traugott (1992: 171), Fischer (1992: 217)), as briefly mentioned in §4.3.3.2:

(4-38) **OE/EME**

\[[\text{DP/NP Dem/Poss (Adj}_{\text{WEAK}}) \text{N }] \uparrow \text{definite nominal}\]

However, the definite nominal comes to be marked by a definite article (in addition to Dems and Posses) at least in the 15th century, as in the PDE D-system (cf. (4-33)). Wood (2003: 69, 2007: 170f) and Crisma (2011: 178) on the one hand and Watanabe (2009: 367) on the other date the establishment of the PDE D-system to even earlier periods: late OE and EME, respectively. Thus, the PDE D-system can be considered to be already established in LME, and the third factor enabling CS/OS is present in LME/EModE, as in Table 4-11c.

It should be noted here that the first and second factors in Table 4-11 (i.e. (a) and (b)) differ from the third one (i.e. (c)) in its role. The first two factors enable OS in general making no distinction between the Icelandic and MSc types, whereas the last one restricts
OS into the MSc type.

4.4.2. Three Factors Which Enable Pronominal OS in OE/EME

As is clear from the diachronic characterization of the WPPrn, the finite V-movement out of *vP and the definite determiner within a definite DP just mentioned above, the parametric factors related to CS/OS are exercised as follows in OE and EME:

**Table 4-12: Factors Enabling Pronominal CS/OS (OE/EME)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. WPPRN</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. V-movement out of *vP</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Definite article within a definite DP</td>
<td>✓ (✓)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the second factor enabling CS/OS in Table 4-12b is already set for the presence of finite V-movement out of *vP in OE/EME, the OE/EME grammar with the parametric factors in Table 4-12 is what Biberauer & Roberts (2008a: 80) call “a system which has a propensity to further parametric change”: it has a potential to evolve into an OS grammar. Then, what causes the emergence of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 14th century is the shift in the presence/absence of the three factors from Table 4-12 to Table 4-11. First, by the end of EME, CPPrn obtaining uCase becomes WPPrn, shifting the first factor from Table 4-12a to Table 4-11a. This shift induces an OS grammar. Second, the PDE D-system emerges presumably in the end of EME or in the beginning of LME and starts to mark the definite DP with a definite determiner. This change shifts the third factor from Table 4-12c to Table 4-11c. This shift restricts the attained OS grammar to a WPPrn OS grammar: presence of a definite determiner within the definite DP prevents the

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19 The addition of uCase to the CPPrn renders cliticization impossible. Note, however, that pronominal scrambling can also move the WPPrn to the position in front of the phrasal Neg (cf. footnote 9). An implicit premise here is that pronominal scrambling is also impossible from LME onwards.
Int’ assignment to the phonological border, hence the EPP assignment to $v^*$, rendering only the MSc type of OS possible. In the manner just described, the MSc type of OS emerges in the posterior half of the 14th century, and this change is a consequence of other syntactic changes previously induced (i.e. emergence of WPPNs and the PDE D-system), hence an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change.

### 4.4.3. Three Factors Which Enable Pronominal OS in LModE/PDE

The MSc type of OS disappears in the posterior half of the 17th century, which results from the following parametric choices in LModE/PDE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-13: Factors Enabling Pronominal CS/OS (LModE/PDE)</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. WPPRN</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. V-movement out of $v^*P$</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔️</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Definite article within a definite DP</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility of OS</td>
<td></td>
<td>impossible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact timing of the loss of V-to-T movement is still controversial: for instance, Roberts (1985: 47) insists that it is lost in the mid-16th century while Han (2000: 291ff) claims that its loss takes place in the early 17th century (cf. Kroch (1989, 1994) and Ellegård (1953)); Warner (1997: 381) even dates it to sometime in the 18th century. Nevertheless, a survey with the PPCEME suggests a middle course: the frequency of V-to-T movement significantly drops in the latter half of the 17th century:
Moreover, Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261) observes that the frequency of V2 starts to drop in the late 14th century, and Bækken (1998: 59) notes that it dramatically drops in the late 17th century. These changes shift the second factor from Table 4-11b to Table 4-13b. Absence of the finite V-movement out of v*P creates no phonological border, hence no semantic effect of CS, thereby rendering the EPP assignment to v* impossible. Thus, the MSc type of OS becomes impossible and fades away in the posterior half of the 17th century. Note, in this respect, that the LME/EModE grammar with the factors in Table 4-11 is also a system which has a propensity to further parametric change: it has a potential to evolve into a non-OS grammar. In other words, the LME/EModE grammar is apt to be a non-OS grammar only with the loss of the finite V-movement out of v*P. The decline of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 17th century is also a consequence of...
another syntactic change previously induced: it is inevitably induced by the loss of the finite V-movement out of v*P, hence an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change.

4.4.4. Convergence on a Pronominal OS Grammar

The emergence and decline of the MSc type of OS in the history of English and their interaction with other syntactic changes are summarized as follows:

| Figure 4-3: Emergence and Decline of Pronominal OS in the History of English |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| **Emergence of Pronominal OS** |
| OE/EME (latter 14C) | | |
| WPPrn | absent |
| V-movement | present |
| definite article | (absent) |
| **Decline of Pronominal OS** |
| LModE/PDE (latter 17C –) | | |
| IMPOVERISHED WPPrn OS / NON-OS GRAMMAR |
| WPPrn | present |
| V-movement | sporadic/absent |
| definite article | present |

In light of the minimalist analysis of the OSC presented in §4.3, both the emergence and the decline of OS in the history of English are shown to be caused by a grammatical system which has a propensity to further parametric change. It should be emphasized here that acquisition of the MSc type of OS does not require a cue: it is acquired as a consequence of interaction of other parametric factors. In other words, the MSc type of OS attested in the
history of English is an epiphenomenon of other syntactic changes.

The grammatical system in question is, of course, brought about by the children of the succeeding generation. Children acquiring, say, EME encounter the finite V-movement in PLD, which is not a sufficient condition for OS by itself. Hence, they acquire a non-OS grammar. Due to the establishment of the modern pronominal paradigm and D-system, however, children acquiring LME/EModE encounter the WPPrn, finite V-movement and the DP accompanied by a definite determiner in PLD. These factors lead the children acquiring LME/EModE to construct a WPPrn OS grammar. Due to the loss of the finite V-movement, children acquiring LModE encounter only the WPPrn and the DP accompanied by a definite article in PLD. Again, these are not conditions sufficient for children to construct a WPPrn OS grammar. Therefore, they attain another non-OS grammar. Thus, the emergence of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 14th century is induced by the grammatical system where the WPPrn and the V-movement out of \( v^*P \) are present and the PDE D-system is established; its decline in the posterior half of the 17th century is induced by the grammatical system where the finite V-movement out of \( v^*P \) is infrequent. Consequently, the historical development of OS results in following the trail of the intra-syntactically driven language change. Since the three factors enabling pronominal OS presented above are not really parameters that consist of UG, as already mentioned, let us turn now to refine and formulate them as de facto parameters.

4.5. The Three Factors Fine-tuned

As shown in §1.4.2.2 of Chapter 1, the locus of the parametric variations under the minimalist research strategy is restricted to the formal features on functional heads. Thus, the three pre-theoretical/descriptive factors enabling pronominal OS in the history of English should be attributed to the presence/absence of formal features on functional heads or the variation in their nature. This section attempts to formulate the three factors into parameters in terms of formal features on functional heads.
4.5.1. uCase Parameter

As shown in §2.3.1.2 of Chapter 2, presence/absence of WPPrns is straightforwardly accommodated by the minimalist conception of parametric variations, which is already done in §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3: the presence/absence of WPPrns is ascribed to presence/absence of uCase on $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$. Recall now the trichotomy of PPrns presented in (4-22) above. Presence of uCase as well as $i\phi$ on $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ results in constituting WPPrns while its absence results in constituting CPPrns. Thus, the first factor enabling pronominal OS is restated as the following parameter:

\[(4-39) \quad \text{uCase Parameter on D}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ } \text{ } -\text{uCase on D: } D^{\text{Min/Max}} < i\phi > \quad (\text{= CPPrn}) \\
\text{b. } & \text{ } \text{ } +\text{uCase on D: } D^{\text{Min/Max}} < i\phi/u\text{Case} > \quad (\text{= WPPrn}) \quad (\text{= (2-27)})
\end{align*}
\]

Acquisition of language involves formation of a lexicon made up of lexical items, into which semantic, phonological, and formal features are selected and assembled. When uCase is selected and put into $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ during the formation of a lexicon, the language in question possesses WPPrns in its pronominal paradigms, as in (4-39b). When uCase is not selected during this process, on the other hand, the language in question possesses CPPrns in its pronominal paradigms, as in (4-39a). Thus, the absence/presence of WPPrns follows from the uCase Parameter in (4-39).\(^{20}\)

\[\text{\footnotesize {\textsuperscript{20} Note that the uCase Parameter on D in (4-39) does not always have binary variation: the variation can be trinary. It may seem at first sight that some languages have only WPPrns (as well as SPPrns) while the others have only CPPrns (as well as SPPrns). Nevertheless, there is a third possibility: uCase can be selected and put into D and not selected simultaneously, forming two kinds of $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ (i.e. WPPrns and CPPrns) in one language. In this case, the language in question possesses both WPPrns and CPPrns as well as SPPrns. The third possibility is exemplified by languages such as Italian, French, Dutch, West Flemish, Olang Tirolese, and Slovak (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 38ff, 43, 51ff, 1999: 165ff)).}}\]
4.5.2. Tense Morphology Parameter

Before moving on to discuss the second factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of finite main V-movement out of v*P, its driving force must be considered in detail. This is because the parametric variation in the applicability of finite main V-movement out of v*P is directly ascribed to presence/absence of its driving force. In other words, a parameter resides in the driving force for finite main V-movement.

Many researchers attribute the driving force of V-to-T movement to the richness of verbal inflections, especially, rich “agreement” morphology: details aside, when verbal agreement morphology is rich enough in a language, finite main V-movement to T is possible in the language in question. Based mainly on the Faroese facts and theory-internal reasons, however, later studies refute the correlation between the rich agreement morphology and the presence of V-to-T movement. Therefore, let us adopt the notion of (partial) “reprojective” V-to-T movement. Biberauer & Roberts (2008b: 27f, 2010: 267f) and Roberts (2010a: 163f) argue that V-movement to T is related to the rich “tense” morphology rather than rich agreement morphology (cf. Roberts (2011: 212ff, 219)). According to their proposal, the difference between Germanic and Romance languages regarding V-to-T movement is correlated with the richness of the inflectional (i.e. synthetic) marking of tense distinctions. They observe that the Germanic and Romance languages differ noticeably in the number of synthetic tense paradigms that are typically found. In this respect, the Romance languages are considerably richer than the Germanic

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23 The notion of reprojective movement introduced here is “partial” in the sense that the movement in question is applied only to the case of V-to-T movement. Unlike the theories of movement proposed by Bury (2003: 9ff, 2007: 79), Donati (2006: 31), and Surányi (2007: 124ff, 2008: 290, 298f), the target of movement does not always project.
languages, as the following contrasts of (1st person singular conjugations of) the verb *speak* illustrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROMANCE</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>parle</em> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <em>parlerai</em> (future) / <em>parlerais</em> (conditional) / <em>parlais</em> (imperfect) / <em>parlai</em> (preterit) / <em>parlasse</em> (past subjunctive)</td>
<td><em>parlo</em> (present) / <em>parlerò</em> (future) / <em>parlerei</em> (conditional) / <em>parlavò</em> (imperfect) / <em>parlai</em> (preterit) / <em>parli</em> (present subjunctive) / <em>parlassi</em> (past subjunctive)</td>
<td><em>hablo</em> (present) / <em>hablaré</em> (future) / <em>hablaría</em> (conditional) / <em>hablabo</em> (imperfect) / <em>hablé</em> (preterit) / <em>hable</em> (present subjunctive) / <em>hablase</em> (past subjunctive I) / <em>hablara</em> (past subjunctive II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMANIC</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>spreche</em> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <em>sprach</em> (past) / <em>spräche</em> (past subjunctive)</td>
<td><em>speak</em> (present) / <em>spoke</em> (past)</td>
<td><em>snakker</em> (present) / <em>snakket</em> (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Icelandic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tala</em> (present indicative) / <em>talaði</em> (past indicative/subjunctive) / <em>tali</em> (present subjunctive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Based on the difference between the Germanic and Romance languages in the number of synthetic tense paradigms shown in Table 4-15, Biberauer & Roberts and Roberts relate the rich synthetic tense paradigms in Romance languages to the presence of V-to-T movement in these languages. Specifically, they propose that finite V's in these languages are not

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categorically simple Vs, but are instead compound elements consisting of a V and a fully specified T. This V+T compound is formed in the Numeration, which is considered to be part of the process of pre-syntactic word formation. Thus, the rich synthetic tense paradigms trigger the formation of compounds of V and T before they are independently put into the computational system. In virtue of the thematic roles associated with V, the V+T compound bearing an unvalued V-feature and an interpretable T-feature (henceforth, $uV$ and $iT$, respectively) in addition to $u\phi$ and an EPP must first externally merge with any $\theta$-marked complement of V, forming a VP. Then, it must also internally merge with $v^*$ bearing an interpretable V-feature and an unvalued T-feature (henceforth, $iV$ and $uT$) in addition to $u\phi$, forming a $v^*P$. Finally, it must also internally merge with the complement of T, projecting and forming a TP. The derivation of the reprojective V-to-T movement just explained is illustrated as follows:

(4-40) a. **EXTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND AND ITS COMPLEMENT**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(FORMATION OF VP)} \\
\text{V+T} & \quad \text{Compl} \\
\langle uV/iT/(u\phi/EPP) \rangle & \quad \Rightarrow \\
\text{EXTERNAL MERGE} & \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{Compl} & \quad \langle uV/iT/(u\phi/EPP) \rangle \\
\end{align*}
\]
b. Formation of $v^*P$ (External Merger of $v^*$ and VP & External Merger of Subj and $v^*$) & Internal Merger of the V+T Compound and $v^*$

\[ \begin{align*}
&v^*P \\
&\text{Subj} \\
&\quad v^* \\
&\quad \text{VP} \\
&\quad \text{Compl}
\end{align*} \]

Internal Merge

c. Internal Merge of the V+T Compound (+ $v^*$) and its Complement (Formation of TP)

\[ \begin{align*}
&TP \\
&\text{Subj} \\
&\quad v^* \\
&\quad \text{V+T} \\
&\quad \text{Compl}
\end{align*} \]

*The V+T compound projects TP.*

In order to satisfy the thematic requirement of V, the V+T compound bearing an unvalued
\( uV \) and \( iT \) (in addition to \( u\phi \) and an EPP) externally merge with a \( \theta \)-marked complement of \( V \), forming a VP, as in (4-40a). Nothing happens to the formal features of the \( V+T \) compound here. When \( v^* \) bearing \( iV \) and \( uT \) (in addition to \( u\phi \)) is introduced into the derivation, it projects \( v^*P \) via external merger with the VP already formed, as in (4-40b). At this stage, \( v^* \) enters into an Agree relation with the \( V+T \) compound, whereby the \( uT \) of the former and the \( uV \) of the latter are valued.\(^{25}\) This Agree relation induces internal merger of \( v^* \) and the \( V+T \) compound. The lexical requirement of \( T \) is yet to be satisfied; hence, the \( V+T \) compound internally merges with the \( v^*P \) already formed and projects (i.e. reprojects) TP, as in (4-40c). V-to-T movement is thus triggered by the inherent features of the lexically formed \( V+T \) compound. Richness of tense morphology is what underlies the lexical requirement for the formation of the \( V+T \) compound in the Numeration in the first place.

Given the notion of reprojective V+T movement which is eventually triggered by rich synthetic tense paradigms, the second factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of finite main V-movement out of \( v^*P \) is formulated as follows:

(4-41) **Tense Morphology Parameter**

a. rich tense morphology: formation of \( V+T \) compounds required
   
   \( V \text{-to-} T \) movement required

b. poor tense morphology: formation of \( V+T \) compounds impossible
   
   \( V \text{-to-} T \) movement impossible

In languages like Romance languages where synthetic tense paradigms are rich, formation of the \( V+T \) compound in the Numeration is required, as in (4-41a); hence V-to-T movement takes place in modus operandi illustrated in (4-40). In languages like Germanic languages (except for Icelandic) where synthetic tense paradigms are relatively

---

impoverished, on the other hand, formation of the V+T compound is impossible, as in (4-41b); hence V-to-T movement cannot take place. Thus, the presence/absence of finite main V-movement to T out of v*P is also captured in terms of lexical properties, and attributed to the Tense Morphology Parameter in (4-41).

Now one may wonder how rich/poor the synthetic tense paradigms are in earlier English. Although the verbal conjugation is relatively rich in OE, its synthetic tense paradigms are already impoverished, as Table 4-16 illustrates, which is based on Campbell (1959: 296ff), Strang (1970: 306ff), Ono & Nakao (1980: 256), Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 36ff), the entry speak in Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition, and the entry sprecan ‘speak’ in Anglo-Saxon Dictionary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-16: Tense Morphology Paradigms: OE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the verbal conjugation is fairly leveled in ME, its synthetic tense paradigms also become poorer accordingly, as Table 4-17 illustrates, which is based on Mossé (1952: §86), Pinsker (1959: 183), Strang (1970: 276ff), Nakao (1972: 171), O’Neil (1980: 265), Davis (1985: 497f), Sisam & Tolkien (2005: 291f, the entry speke(n) in the glossary), the entry speak in Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition, and the entry spēken ‘speak’ in Middle English Dictionary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-17: Tense Morphology Paradigms: ME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal conjugation of EModE is almost that of PDE; hence the synthetic tense paradigms of the former are the same as those of the latter, as Table 4-18 illustrates, which is based on Araki & Ukaji (1984: 196ff, 208ff), Nakao (1989: 158f), Görlach (1991: 88ff), Barber (1997: 164ff), Algeo (2009 [1964]: 170ff), and the entry speak in Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition:
Table 4-18: Tense Morphology Paradigms: EModE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EModE</th>
<th>speak (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / spoke (past indicative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

As can be seen from Tables 4-16, 4-17 and 4-18, the synthetic tense paradigms are relatively impoverished throughout the history of English, which predicts that V-to-T movement should be impossible in earlier English. This prediction is obviously inconsistent with the fact, and this state of affairs must be ameliorated. To this end, Biberauer & Roberts (2008b: 36, 2010: 279) argue that OE lacked V-to-T movement but ME gained it due to the reanalysis of subject-initial V2 orders (contra Biberauer & Roberts (2005: 16, 2006: 280f)). If we assume that successive cyclic V-movement did not exist in OE (contra footnote 19 in Chapter 2), the reanalysis in question is schematized as follows, based on the (topic-initial) V2 structure presented in §2.4 of Chapter 2:

(4-42) REANALYSIS OF SUBJECT-INITIAL V2 AS V-TO-T MOVEMENT

OE: \[
[\text{CP} \textbf{Subj} [_{\text{C}} \text{C} [_{\text{FinP}} \textbf{V-T-v^*}-\text{Fin} [_{\text{TP}} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{\text{T}} t_{T} [_{v^*P} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{v^*} t_{v^*} \]
[_{\text{VP} \text{... } t_{V} \text{... } ] } ] ] ] ] ] ] \]
\]
\[
\downarrow
\]
\[
\text{ME: } [\text{CP} \varnothing [_{\text{C}} \text{C} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Fin} [_{\text{TP}} \textbf{Subj} [_{\text{T}} \textbf{V-T-v^*} [_{v^*P} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{v^*} t_{v^*} \]
\]
\]
\[
\text{cf. (2-26)}
\]

The result of this reanalysis is an unstable grammatical system with V-to-T movement and impoverished synthetic tense paradigms. Hence, existence of V-to-T movement cannot last long in the history of English: the movement in question is already on the verge of demise since its emergence.

The scenario of the emergence of V-to-T movement proposed by Biberauer & Roberts (2008b) predicts that the V-Neg order (i.e. V-to-T movement configuration) in subordinate clauses is infrequent or rare in OE and the word order in question starts to be attested productively in ME. Surveys with the aid of the YCOE and the PPCME2 reveal that the prediction is borne out:
### Table 4-19:

**V-to-T Movement: Distribution of V<sub>FIN</sub> vis-à-vis Neg in the Subordinate Clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;YCOE&amp;PPCME2&gt;</th>
<th>V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg</th>
<th>Neg V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Do&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>51 (22.97%)</td>
<td>171 (77.03%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Southern/Midland Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg</th>
<th>Neg V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Do&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-13C</td>
<td>35 (61.40%)</td>
<td>22 (38.60%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayenbite</td>
<td>29 (80.56%)</td>
<td>7 (19.44%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latter 14C</td>
<td>321 (98.77%)</td>
<td>3 (0.92%)</td>
<td>1 (0.31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15C</td>
<td>119 (99.17%)</td>
<td>1 (0.83%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Northern Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg</th>
<th>Neg V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Do&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15C</td>
<td>39 (92.86%)</td>
<td>3 (7.14%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Graphical Representation

![Graph showing the distribution of V<sub>FIN</sub> vis-à-vis Neg in the subordinate clause](image)
As Table 4-19 shows, the V-Neg order is attested at the rate of 22.97% in OE.\textsuperscript{26} The ratio of this word order sharply rises in EME (up to 61.40% in the seven mid-13th century Southern/Midland texts and 80.56% in the \textit{Ayenbite of Inwit}). In LME, the ratio reaches to almost 100% in the Southern/Midland dialects and exceeds 90% in the Northern dialects. The data shown in Table 4-19 indicates that V-to-T movement is sporadic and optional in OE while it becomes productive and almost obligatory in ME (or more precisely LME), supporting the scenario of the emergence of V-to-T movement proposed by Biberauer & Roberts.\textsuperscript{27}

Under the scenario they propose, the value of the Tense Morphology Parameter is set to (4-41a) in ME via the reanalysis of subject-initial V2 orders in spite of impoverished synthetic tense paradigms, which results in an unstable grammatical system, as mentioned above. This unstable grammatical system cannot be maintained without tangible evidence (i.e. rich synthetic tense paradigms). Thus, although it may take some time, V-to-T movement in the history of English is destined to disappear just after its appearance without any further morpho-phonological change, which is discussed in detail in §4.6 in connection with the demise of OS in LModE.

\textbf{4.5.3. iDef Parameter}

We have seen so far that interaction between the \textit{u}Case Parameter on D and the Tense Morphology Parameter results in enabling OS in general (without making distinction

\textsuperscript{26} The V-Neg order in OE is searched by investigating into the relative order of a finite V and \textit{na}/\textit{no} (i.e. ADV+NEG) and that in ME by investigating into the relative order of a finite V and \textit{not}/\textit{nought} (i.e. NEG).

\textsuperscript{27} Although the ratio falls short of 50\%, the relatively high frequency of the V-Aux order (45.9\%) vis-à-vis the Aux-V order surveyed by Haeberli (2005: 270) and the V\textsubscript{Non-finite}V\textsubscript{Finite} order (39.9\%) vis-à-vis the V\textsubscript{Finite}V\textsubscript{Non-finite} order surveyed by Haeberli & Pintzuk (2006: 79ff, 2012: 224) and the productivity of the V\textsubscript{Finite}-final order vis-à-vis the V\textsubscript{Finite}-medial order pointed out by Haeberli (2001: 207) and Pintzuk & Haeberli (2008: 369) also support the infrequency and optionality of V-to-T movement in OE. They analyze the facts in terms of the double base hypothesis (i.e. head-initial and head-final TP structures) with obligatory V-to-T movement.
between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS). These parameters do not suffice to restrict OS into pronominal OS. The third factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence or absence of a definite determiner within definite DPs is yet to be formulated. Since obligatoriness of the presence of a definite determiner within definite DPs differs between the earlier periods and the later periods in the history of English, it can be conjectured that the variation in question is related to how the definiteness/specificity is realized. Let us start with the situation in OE and EME. As already mentioned in §4.4.2, the definite article does not exist in OE/EME and the definiteness/specificity of nominals in these periods is marked by a Dem or a Poss and weak Adj{s} if present (Traugott (1992: 171), Fischer (1992: 217)), which was schematized in (4-38) and is repeated here as (4-43a) and exemplified by (4-43'a):

28 Adjs in OE have two types of declension for case, number, and gender: weak/definite declension and strong/indefinite declension. Adj paradigms of weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension, say, for göð ‘good’ are given in the following table:

(i) Adj Paradigms for Göð in OE

| Singular | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Masculine | Neuter | Feminine | Masculine | Neuter | Feminine |
| Nom | göða | göð | göde | göðan | | |
| Acc | göðan | göde | göðan | göðan | | |
| Gen | göðan | göðan | göðan | göðena | | |
| Dat | göðan | göðan | göðan | göðum | | |
| Instr | göðan | göðan | göðan | göðum | | |

Weak/Definite Declension

| Strong/Indefinite Declension |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | göðne | göð | göde | göð | göde, -a |
| Acc | göðne | göð | göde | göð | göde, -a |
| Gen | göðe | göðe | göðre | gödra | gödra |
| Dat | göðum | göðum | göðre | göðum | göðum |
| Instr | göðe | göðe | göðre | göðum | göðum |

(4-43) \( \text{OE/EME} \)

a. \([\text{DP/NP} \quad \text{Dem/Poss Adj}_{\text{WEAK}} \quad \text{N}] \leftarrow \text{definite nominal} \)

b. \([\text{DP/NP} \quad \text{Adj}_{\text{STRONG}} \quad \text{N}] \)

(4-43') a. his sio **gode** modor

   his that good\(_{\text{WEAK}}\)-NOM-SG-FEM mother

   ‘his good mother’ \((\text{Orosius}, 270.26 / \text{Mitchell (1985: §104)})\)

b. fela **godra** monna

   many good\(_{\text{STRONG}}\)-GEN-PL men

   ‘many good men’ \((\text{Chr. 871. Erl. 74.34 / Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: 482})\)

According to Mitchell (1985: §102), Hogg (1992: 138), Fischer & Wurff (2006: 117) and Fischer (2000: 159ff, 2001: 250, 2012: 252) among others, when a Dem/Poss encoding definiteness/specificity is present, the Adj is marked with weak/denite declension; when the Dem/Poss is absent, on the other hand, the Adj is marked with strong/indirective declension, as in (4-43b) and (4-43'b). In other words, the definiteness/specificity of nominals is realized not only by a Dem/Poss but also by weak Adj. As briefly mentioned

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The distal demonstrative *se* ‘that’ in OE also declines for case, number, and gender, whose paradigms are given in the following table:

(ii) **DEMONSTRATION PARADIGMS FOR \( \text{SE} \) IN OE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>MASCULINE</strong></td>
<td><strong>NEUTER</strong></td>
<td><strong>FEMININE</strong></td>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINATIVE</td>
<td><em>se</em></td>
<td><em>þet</em></td>
<td><em>sēo/sīo</em></td>
<td><em>þā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCUSATIVE</td>
<td><em>þone</em></td>
<td><em>þet</em></td>
<td><em>þā</em></td>
<td><em>þā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td><em>þæs</em></td>
<td><em>þæs</em></td>
<td><em>þēre</em></td>
<td><em>þāra/þēra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td><em>þēm/þām</em></td>
<td><em>þēm/þām</em></td>
<td><em>þēre</em></td>
<td><em>þēm/þēra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td><em>þēþon</em></td>
<td><em>þēþon</em></td>
<td><em>þēþon</em></td>
<td><em>þēþon</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 18))

The singular masculine nominative form *se* eventually develops into the definite article *þe*, which is not discussed further here. For detailed observation of the historical development of *se*, see Sommerer (2011) and references cited therein.
in footnote 16, Watanabe (2009: 360) proposes that weak/definiteness declension of an Adj in the presence of a Dem/Poss results from an Agree relation with (phonologically null) D₀ with respect to the definiteness feature, which is illustrated as follows:

(4-44) **AGREEMENT BETWEEN A D₀ AND A WEAK ADJ (AND DEM/Poss)**

When D₀ enters into an Agree relation with an Adj, the uninterpretable definiteness feature (henceforth, uDef) of the Adj is valued by the interpretable definiteness feature (henceforth, iDef) of the D₀, whereby weak/definite declension of an Adj results.

According to Lass (1992: 115), however, the distinction between weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension of Adj within a DP is lost in the 14th century. According to Osawa (2000: 57, 75ff) and Philippi (1997: 63, 89f), moreover, the PDE D-system is already established at least in the 15th century: the definite nominal has come to be marked by a definite article, which was schematized in (4-33) and is repeated here as (4-45) with slight modification:

(4-45) **15th Century English (LME)**

\[
[D_P [D₀ \textit{be/the} ] (\textit{Adj}) N ] \rightarrow \textit{definite nominal}
\]

---

29 For arguments for earlier dating of the emergence of the definite article, see discussion below (4-38) in the text and references cited there.
The DP-internal syntax of 15th century English (i.e. obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP and absence of the distinction between weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension of Adjs) amounts to demonstration that there is no Agree relation between $D^0$ and an Adj in this period. A straightforward question to ask is whether the $iDef$ really exists in the 15th century and afterward. If we follow the claim advocated by Watanabe (2009: 368), the answer is readily provided. Since this feature does not induce an Agree relation but only contributes to definiteness/specificity interpretation, it does exist after the 14th century not as a formal feature but as a semantic one.\(^{30}\) The $iDef$ establishes an Agree relation between $D^0$ and an Adj and induces definiteness/specificity interpretation of a DP when it exists as a formal feature, whereas it only contributes to the definiteness/specificity interpretation when it exists as a semantic feature. Thus, third factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of a definite article within a definite DP, is formulated as follows:

\[(4-46)\quad iDef\text{ Parameter}\]

\[\begin{align*}
a. & \quad iDef = \text{semantic feature:} \quad \text{presence of a definite article} \\
b. & \quad iDef = \text{interpretable formal feature:} \quad \text{absence of a definite article}
\end{align*}\]

As mentioned above, acquisition of language involves formation of a lexicon made up of lexical items, into which semantic, phonological, and formal features are selected and assembled. When $iDef$ is selected as a semantic feature during the formation of a lexicon, the feature in question only contributes to definiteness/specificity interpretation, requiring obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP in the language in question, as in (4-46a). When $iDef$ is selected as a formal feature, on the other hand, the feature in question not only induces definiteness/specificity interpretation, but also establishes an Agree relation between $D^0$ and an Adj, not requiring obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP in the language in question.\(^{31}\) The presence/absence of a

\[^{30}\text{See also Watanabe (2010: 72).}\]

\[^{31}\text{Note that like the }\nu\text{Case Parameter on }D\text{ in (4-39), the }iDef\text{ Parameter in (4-46) may have trinary variation.}\]
definite article within a definite DP is thus attributed to the $i$Def Parameter in (4-46).

4.5.4. Interaction of the Three Parameters

To sum up, the three factors enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of WPPrns, presence/absence of finite main V-movement out of $v^*P$, and presence/absence of a definite article within a definite DP, can be reduced to the $u$Case Parameter in (4-39), the possibility of reanalysis of subject-initial V2 orders (or the Tense Morphology Parameter (4-41) in languages like Romance), and the $i$Def Parameter in (4-46), respectively. The parameters proposed in this section are all formulated in terms of the properties (i.e. features) of lexical items in the spirit of the minimalist view of parametric variations.

The $u$Case Parameter on D set for presence of $u$Case in PPrns and the Tense Morphology Parameter set for formation of V+T compounds interact to result in enabling OS in general (without making distinction between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS). When either one of the parameters is set for a different value (viz. absence of $u$Case in PPrns or non-formation of V+T compounds), OS becomes impossible. The $i$Def Parameter set for a semantic feature restricts OS into pronominal OS (i.e. the MSc type of OS). When this parameter is set for an interpretable formal feature, FN OS as well as pronominal OS (i.e. the Icelandic type of OS) becomes possible.

4.6. Correlation between Loss of Finite V-movement and Demise of OS

§4.4 and §4.5 demonstrated that in the history of the English language, pronominal OS was enabled by the following three parameters:

---

A single language may manifest $i$Def in both a semantic feature and an interpretable formal feature. If such a case exists, the language in question is expected to allow optional presence of a definite article within definite DPs. The double definiteness phenomenon observed in MSc languages may be attributable to the third possibility. However, this possibility is nothing more than a speculation and needs empirical verification, which is left open here, pending further studies.
THREE PARAMETERS ENABLING PRONOMINAL OS

a. Case Parameter
   ☞ presence/absence of WPPrn

b. Tense Morphology Parameter
   ☞ presence/absence of main V-movement out of v*P

c. iDef Parameter
   ☞ presence/absence of a definite article within DP
   (cf. (4-39), (4-41) & (4-46))

The positive value for (4-47b), that is, the presence of main V-movement out of v*P is a prerequisite for the possibility of OS in general. As argued in §4.4 and §4.5, decline of pronominal OS in LModE is attributable to the decline of main V-movement. Thus, the aim of this section is to reconfirm this causal relationship by considering the OS facts in LModE. It is predicted that as the frequency of V-movement declines, pronominal OS (or OS in general) dies out in LModE. It is shown here that this prediction is borne out.

Investigation into word order patterns in subordinate clauses in the PPCMBE reveals that pronominal OS is sporadically attested in LModE. The results of my survey is shown in the following table:

32 The correlation between main V-movement and OS predicts that insofar as main Vs undergo movement out of v*P, (pronominal) OS should be possible in any (periods and regional dialects of) English. This prediction is borne out: even in Early American English or Colonial American English (henceforth, EAE/CAE; cf. Kytö (1991: 6ff), Algeo (2001: 18ff), Bailey (2004: 4ff), Finegan (2006: 387ff), Amberg & Vause (2009: 23f) among others), pronominal OS was possible when main V-movement took place (see Rissanen (2003: 108)). The following is an instance from the records of Salem witch trials conducted in colonial Massachusetts in the late 17th century (i.e. between February 1692 and May 1693):

(i) OSC WITH A DEFINITE WPPrn OBJECT IN EAE/CAE
   Charge him [bold] unless it be he.
   (Examination of Nehemiah Abbott Jr. / Rosenthal et al. (2009: 205))

33 Bracketed numbers in the table indicate the occurrences of reflexive pronouns (i.e. SPPrns).
Table 4-20:
DISTRIBUTION OF OBJPRN vis-à-vis V and NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJPRN</th>
<th>V OBJ NEG</th>
<th>V NEG OBJ</th>
<th>NEG V OBJ</th>
<th>OBJ V NEG</th>
<th>OBJ NEG V</th>
<th>NEG OBJ V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700-1769</td>
<td>5 (4.7%)</td>
<td>1 [1] (0.9%)</td>
<td>100 (94.3%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LModE 1770-1839</td>
<td>3 (3.4%)</td>
<td>1 (1.1%)</td>
<td>84 (95.5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-1914</td>
<td>3 (3.8%)</td>
<td>2 [1] (2.5%)</td>
<td>74 (93.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJFN</td>
<td>no OSC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Representative examples of the OSC in LModE are given below:

(4-48) OSC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT

a. 1700-1769
but all my Hopes are, that he sees me not.
(STEVENS-1745, 20.65 / PPCMBE)

b. 1770-1839
or if one has it not, go to another,
(CARLYLE-1835, 2, 260.93 / ibid.)
c. 1840-1914

and if I should say, I know him not, I shall be like unto you, a liar:

(ERV-NEW-1881, 8, 40J.758 / ibid.)

Note that all of the instances of potential OSCs (i.e non-OSC s where main V-movement takes place but OS does not) involve a reflexive pronoun (i.e. SPPrn), as in (4-49a) and (4-49c), or a focused pronoun (i.e. SPPrn), as in (4-49b).

(4-49) V-NEG-OBJ_{PRN} ORDER

a. 1700-1769

when thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?  

(BURTON-1762, 2, 8.144 / PPCMBE)

b. 1770-1839

but if I do them, though ye believe not Me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him;

(NEWCOME-NEW-1796, 10, 20J.943 / ibid.)

c. 1840-1914

The soul, which knows not itself, and has not, by the grace of God, purified itself, will not see clearly the image of God, which it has deformed in itself.  

(PUSEY-186X, 295.221 / ibid.)

Thus, OS is applicable to only WPPrns in LModE as well, but compared to the situation in EModE, attested instances are sporadic (cf. Table 4-5). In order to demonstrate that the sporadic instances of pronominal OS are due to low frequency of main V-movement in LModE, let us turn now to the basic facts of the latter.

The result of my survey on main V-movement in subordinate clauses in the PPCMBE shows that its frequency in LModE declined compared with that in EModE (cf. Table 4-14).
Table 4-21:

**V-to-T Movement: Distribution of V<sub>FIN</sub> vis-à-vis Neg in the Subordinate Clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;PPCMBE&gt;</th>
<th>V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg</th>
<th>Neg V&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Do&lt;sub&gt;FIN&lt;/sub&gt; Neg V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700-1769</td>
<td>45 (14.6%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>264 (85.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770-1839</td>
<td>48 (21.6%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>174 (78.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-1914</td>
<td>37 (20.8%)</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
<td>140 (78.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the absence of periphrastic *do*, finite main Vs are moved across the Neg, but the frequency is only 18.3% in total. It follows that the demise of pronominal OS in LModE is attributable to the decline of main V-movement, since the timing of the former coincides with that of the latter.

To sum up, the emergence and demise of pronominal OS in the history of English illustrated in Figure 4-3 should be modified into the following:
### Figure 4-4: Emergence and Demise of Pronominal OS in the History of English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-OS Grammar</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OE/EME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(– latter 14C)</td>
<td>WPPrn: absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-movement: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite article: (absent)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Emergence of Pronominal OS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WPPRN OS Grammar</th>
<th>Prn OS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LME/EModE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(latter 14C – latter 17C)</td>
<td>WPPrn: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-movement: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite article: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Decline of Pronominal OS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Impoverished WPPRN OS Grammar</th>
<th>Prn OS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LModE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(latter 17C – 20C)</td>
<td>WPPrn: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-movement: sporadic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite article: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Demise of Pronominal OS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-OS Grammar</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PDE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20C –)</td>
<td>WPPrn: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V-movement: absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite article: present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.7. OS in PCs in PDE: A Relic of Earlier English Syntax?

#### 4.7.1. Similarities between English PCs and Icelandic OSCs

Thus far, this chapter has demonstrated that the MSc type of OS (i.e., pronominal OS) was possible from LME to LModE in the history of English, and it is no longer attested nowadays. Recent studies have shown, however, that the syntactic behavior of PCs in PDE is analogous to that of OSCs in Icelandic in many respects (e.g., Diesing & Jelinek...
(1995: 152ff), Johnson (1991: 604ff), Svenonius (1996a: 63), Thráinsson (2001: 163ff), Vikner (1994: 508)). A question naturally arises as to whether the PC in PDE is to be analyzed on a par with the OSC in Icelandic. This section investigates this possibility in light of the syntax of OS proposed in this chapter.

Close comparison of PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs reveals that they share the following syntactic properties. First, only a nominal object can precede the Prt in PDE PCs (Kayne (1984: 104ff)): only a nominal object can precede the Neg (i.e. undergo OS) in Icelandic OSCs (Johnson (1991: 605f), Thráinsson (2001: 150f), Vikner (1994: 492)). Other material such as a PP or AdvP cannot appear in these positions. Thus, the second examples of (4-50b), (4-50c), (4-51b) and (4-51c) are ill-formed.

(4-50) PC IN PDE

a. i. John looked up the information.
   ii. John looked the information up.

   (Robert F. Oliver, Martin C. Connolly & Kevin J. Miller (p.c.))

b. i. John teamed up with Bill.
   ii. *John teamed with Bill up. (Kayne (1984: 104))

c. i. John gave up immediately.
   ii. *John gave immediately up. (ibid.: 105)

(4-51) OSC IN ICELANDIC

a. i. Nemandinn las ekkj bókina.
   ii. Nemandinn las bókina ekkj.
      the-student read not the-book not
      ‘The student didn’t read the book.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 148))

b. i. Jón talaði ekkj við Maríu.
   ii. *Jón talaði við Maríu ekkj.
      John spoke not to Mary not
      ‘John didn’t speak to Mary.’ (ibid.: 151)
Second, $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$ must precede the Prt in PDE PCs and it must also precede the Neg by undergoing OS in Icelandic OSCs:\(^{34}\)

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \text{PDE PC}
  \begin{enumerate}
    \item \text{*Mikey looked up it.}
    \item Mikey looked it up.
  \end{enumerate}
  \item \text{Icelandic OSC}
  \begin{enumerate}
    \item \text{*Nemandinn las ekki hana.}
    \item Nemandinn las hana ekki.
  \end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

Thus, PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs are syntactically similar in that both allow only the nominal object to appear in front of the Prt/Neg and both prohibit a $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$ from appearing after the Prt/Neg.

Another similarity is found between PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs. As shown in §4.2.2, the type of objects that can undergo OS in Icelandic is semantically restricted. As Diesing (1996: 67, 1997: 412), Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 150) and Thráinsson (2001: 188-194) demonstrate, only material that bears specific/given information may shift while material that bears non-specific/new information cannot. The specific/given information is typically conveyed by definite FN and PPrn DPs, whereas the non-specific/new information is typically conveyed by indefinite DPs. Thus, definite FN/PPrn DPs may

\(^{34}\) Moreover, this restriction is relaxed in the same syntactic contexts: when the $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$ is stressed or focused, or when it is coordinated with another $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$, it may follow the Prt in English PCs (see Bolinger (1971: 39-41), Dikken (1995: 100), Fraser (1974: 17)) and it does not have to shift in Icelandic OSCs (see Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 154), Johnson (1991: 606), Thráinsson (2001: 165)).
undergo OS while indefinite DPs cannot.\textsuperscript{35} Compare (4-54a) with (4-54b):

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(4-54)]
\begin{enumerate}
\item Hann las \textit{ekki bækunar}.
\item Hann las \textit{bækunar ekkki}
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item He read not the-books not
\item ‘He didn’t read the books.’
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[i.] Hann las \textit{ekki bækur}.
\item[ii.] *Hann las \textit{bækur ekkki}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item He read not books not
\item ‘He didn’t read books.’
\end{enumerate}

(Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 150))

In PDE PCs, the material bearing specific/given information tends to appear in the pre-Prt position while the material bearing non-specific/new information tends to appear in the post-Prt position (Dehé (2002: 128ff), Erades (1961: 58)).\textsuperscript{36} This contrast is clearly seen in the following example:\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(4-55)] We’ll make \underline{up} \textit{a parcel} for them... On the morning of Christmas Eve together we made \underline{the parcel} \underline{up}.
\item (Punch, 25.12, 1915 / Erades (1961: 58))
\end{enumerate}

The contrast between (4-54) and (4-55) shows that the semantic restriction imposed on the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs and the shifted object in Icelandic OSCs is also the same.

These intriguing similarities lead us to conclude that the pre-Prt object in PDE should be analyzed on a par with the shifted object in Icelandic. This means that the pre-Prt object in PDE should be derived by OS. Accordingly, this conclusion raises a question as

\textsuperscript{35} Note that the indefinite DP may undergo OS in Icelandic when it receives a generic or partitive interpretation (see Diesing (1996: 68, 1997: 412), Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 151)).

\textsuperscript{36} Thus, the indefinite DP may appear in the pre-Prt position when it receives a specific interpretation implied in the discourse (see Dehé (2002: 130f)). Besides, if the V implies the content of the object, it appears in the pre-Prt position irrespective of the type of the object. See Erades (1961: 58) and Bolinger (1971: 56).

\textsuperscript{37} Citing the following example, Mahajan (1990: 277, footnote 18) also demonstrates that the pre-Prt object is sensitive to specificity:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[i.] a. He let \underline{out} \textit{a yell}.
\item[ii.] *He let \underline{a yell} \underline{out}.
\item (Mahajan (1990: 277, footnote 18))
\end{enumerate}
to how Icelandic OSC facts should be ascertained. They can naturally be accounted for by mechanisms proposed in §4.3.

4.7.2. OS within the Verbal Projection

There is one crucial difference between the pre-Prt object in PDE and the shifted object in Icelandic: the latter precedes the Neg while the former never does. Concerning this difference, let us hypothesize that the pre-Prt object in PDE is derived by OS to the specifier position of a verbal functional head located higher than V but lower than v*. Following the terminology of Pesetsky (1989: 14), let us call this intermediate functional projection μ. Under this hypothesis, the (full) verbal projection has the following structure:

(4-56) \[ [vP \text{Subj}, v^* [\text{Spec}[\mu, \mu [VP V \text{Obj}]]]] ] \]

With this verbal structure, the pre-Prt object in PDE is conceived to be derived by OS to Spec μP.

At this point, one may think that the object movement deriving the pre-Prt object in PDE is not an instance of OS because it does not observe HG. However, this is only apparent under Chomsky’s (1995c) proposal. Since v* is affixal in nature, the V must move out of VP to adjoin to it (Chomsky (1995c: 321)). Accordingly, the V, in fact, moves to v* in (4-56). In that case, the verbal-projection-internal object movement in PDE is, indeed, an instance of OS. Thus, the PDE pre-Prt object is derived in the same

---

38 Note that not all PCs have the verbal structure in (4-56). Ishikawa (1999: 331f) and Wurmbrand (2000: 2) independently argue that PCs are classified into (at least) two types: (a) simple combination or transparent PCs and (b) idiomatic PCs. The transparent PC retains the inherent meaning of the V and the Prt. Thus, the meaning of a transparent PC is compositional. The idiomatic PC, on the other hand, expresses a meaning different from that of the V and the Prt: the V-Prt compound expresses an idiomatic meaning. On the plausible assumption that the idiomatic meaning of V-Prt compounds is determined in the lexicon, the verbal structure in (4-56) is applicable to the idiomatic PC. Whether or not the transparent PC has the structure in (4-56) still remains controversial. We are uncommitted to this issue here.
way as the Icelandic shifted object.

In order to precisely explain the facts of PDE PCs, a few more assumptions are called for. First, let us follow Johnson (1991: 591), Keyser & Roeper (1992: 92), Koizumi (1993: 121) and Selkirk (1982: 28) in assuming that the V and the Prt constitute a compound, which is stored in the lexicon as a single V, [v V-Prt]. This is not implausible: as Fraser (1974: 3) originally notes, the Prt gaps with the (rest of the) V as in (4-57a) and cannot be stranded as in (4-57b) and (4-57c).39

(4-57)  a. Gary looked up Sam’s number, and Mittie, my number.
   b. *Gary looked up Sam’s number, and Mittie, up my number.
   c. *Gary looked Sam’s number up, and Mittie, my number up.

(Johnson (1991: 591))

It follows that the V and the Prt must be making up a constituent when they are deleted. Second, \( \mu \) bears \( u\phi \) since, as reviewed above, satisfaction of the EPP (hence OS) is contingent on Agree. Third, the V-Prt compound \([v V\text{-}Prt]\) moves out of VP to \( \mu \), and the V excorporates from \([v V\text{-}Prt]\) at this point, adjoining to \( v^* \). A piece of evidence for the first movement comes from the distribution of manner adverbs. Consider the following sentence:

(4-58) Colleen looked the reference (*carefully) up (carefully).

(Koizumi (1993: 121))

In (4-58) the Prt cannot follow the adverb. On the plausible assumption that manner adverbs are left-adjoined to VP, the Prt must also move out of VP together with the V. The second movement is supported by the assumption made above: only the V (but not the \([v V\text{-}Prt]\) compound) can adjoin to \( v^* \) (cf. Johnson (1991: 602)).40

39 Along the lines of Lasnik (1999: 155ff) among others, the gapping fact in (4-57a) is analyzable as VP (but not \( v^*P \)) deletion in the second conjunct, with the object raised to Spec \( \mu P \) and the V-Prt compound left behind in VP.

40 Note that this movement is compatible with the excorporation theory advanced by Roberts (1991: 215f, 2010a: 206f) which allows successive-cyclic head movement, since the V-Prt complex has an adjunction
Under these assumptions, the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs will be derived as follows:

\[(4-59)\]

\[\_{v^*P} \text{Subj} [_{v^*}V \muP [_{V^*}V \text{Prt} \text{Obj}<_{\text{Case}u}>_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{VP}} [\mu<_{\text{EPP}}_t [_{\text{VP}} [\text{Case}u] \text{Obj}] \text{Agree} \text{Satisfaction of EPP}] \text{Subj}_v \text{Spec}_\muP \text{Obj}_0 \text{Prt}] \text{Prt}] \text{Subj} \text{Spec}_\muP \text{Obj}_0 \text{EPP}] \]

Even though \(\mu\) agrees with the object, the latter does not move because the former does not structure.

41 The derivation of sentences like (i) below (i.e. a non-OS counterpart of (4-58)) may involve adjunction of the object to VP, since adverbs may induce an intervention effect (Takano (1998: 845)) and block the Agree relation between \(\mu\) and the object.

(i) Colleen looked \textit{up} the reference \textit{carefully}.

This is evidenced by the fact that adverbs can agree with functional heads such as T, as the following sentence illustrates:

(ii) \textit{Slowly} is exactly how he speaks. (Quirk et al. (1985: 746) cited in Takano (1998: 845))

If that is the case, the object, when left behind in VP, must move via non-feature driven movement (such as adjunction) to the position where \(\mu\) can agree with it (cf. Takano (1998: 845)). Under this conception, the derivation of (i) is schematically represented as follows:

\[(4-60)\]

\[\_{v^*P} \text{Subj} [_{v^*}V \muP [_{V^*}V \text{Prt} \text{Obj}<_{\text{Case}u}>_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{VP}} [\mu<_{\text{EPP}}_t [_{\text{VP}} [\text{Case}u] \text{Obj}] \text{Agree} \text{Satisfaction of EPP}] \text{Subj}_v \text{Spec}_\muP \text{Obj}_0 \text{EPP}] \]

In (iii), the \(u\phi\) of \(\mu\) can agree with the \(i\phi\) of the object because the latter is located in outer Spec VP, hence closer to the former than the adverb is. Then, it is not implausible to assume that when manner adverbs appear in Spec VP, the object moves via non-feature driven movement (such as adjunction) to the position where it can be closer than any other material to the functional head it agrees with.
bear an EPP feature.

Since the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is derived by OS, this movement must be governed by UG principles similar to (4-26). Slightly modifying and generalizing them to include \( \mu \), then, let us propose that OS (to either Spec \( v^*P \) or Spec \( \mu P \)) is governed by the following UG principles:

\[
(4-61) \quad \begin{align*}
&\text{a. } F \text{ is assigned an EPP feature only if that has an effect on outcome.} \\
&\text{b. } \text{The EPP position (i.e. phonological edge) of } F \text{ is assigned } \text{Int}. \\
&\text{c. } \text{At the phonological border of } FP, \text{ XP is assigned } \text{Int}'.
\end{align*}
\]

(where \( F \) is either \( v^* \) or \( \mu \))

In (4-61), “\( v^* \)” in (4-26) is replaced by “\( F \)”, but its basic functions are comparable to those of (4-26): (4-61a) states that movement to the specifier position of a certain functional head is possible only when it yields an effect; (4-61b) states that the target position of OS is limited to the specific/definite material; (4-61c) captures HG. The only difference is that the functional head under consideration can be either \( v^* \) or \( \mu \).

As far as \( v^* \) and \( \mu \) are concerned, there are four logical combinations of possibility or impossibility of OS: (i) OS is possible with respect to both \( v^* \) and \( \mu \); (ii) it is possible with respect to \( v^* \) but impossible with respect to \( \mu \); (iii) it is impossible with respect to \( v^* \) but possible with respect to \( \mu \); (iv) it is impossible with respect to both \( v^* \) and \( \mu \). Note that possibility/impossibility of OS is captured in terms of finite V-movement out of \( \mu P \) and/or \( v^*P \) along the lines of the parametric options enabling OS proposed in this chapter. Since Icelandic allows the pre-Prt object in PCs, it is an instance of type (i) languages (see §4.7.3 for details). PDE falls under type (iii) languages. Swedish may be conceived as an instance of type (ii) languages: it allows the OS of Obj\(_{PPn}\) to the left edge of \( v^*P \), as in (4-62a), but the pre-Prt object is impossible in PCs, as in (4-62b) (Holmberg (1999: 2), Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 203), Thráinsson (2001: 166)).

\[42\] Unfortunately, the story is not so straightforward. Swedish does not allow the OS of Obj\(_{PPn}\) to the left edge of \( v^*P \) in PCs (Holmberg (1999: 2)). In other words, presence of a Prt blocks OS in Swedish (compare
(4-62)  a. i. *(Jag kysste inte) **henne.43
       ii. Jag kysste **henne inte.

       I kissed not her not

       ‘I didn’t kiss her.’ (**Holmberg (1999: 1))

       b. i. Hon kastade **honum.
       ii. *Hon kastade honum **.

       she threw out him out

       ‘She threw him out. (**Thráinsson (2001: 166))

The UG principles in (4-61) have empirical coverage broader than the ones proposed by Chomsky (2001). When the functional head under consideration is $v^*$, the effect of (4-61) is the same as that of (4-26), and thereby the Icelandic OSC facts are captured. When it is $\mu$, the PDE PC facts are captured. In this case, more specifically, the

with the Icelandic facts in (4-66) below):

   (i)  a. Dom kastade inte **mej.
       b. *Dom kastade mej inte **.

       they threw not out me not out

       ‘They didn’t throw me out.’ (**Holmberg (1999: 2))

Rather than the principle (4-61c) being inactive with respect to $\mu$, the Prt may be functioning as c-commanding phonological material in Swedish. Concerning the type (iv) languages, I do not know of any instance of such a language at the moment. I leave this issue aside here, pending further empirical research.

Given that presence of V-movement is one of the parametric factors which enable OS (cf. §4.4), the four types of languages are distinguished by possibility of V-movement with respect to both $v^*$ and $\mu$. Type (i) and type (ii) languages allow V-movement out of $v^*P$, hence (potentially) enabling OS to both Spec $v^*P$ and Spec $\mu P$. The type (ii) languages are distinguished from the type (i) languages in that the Prt functions as c-commanding phonological material in the former: only OS to Spec $v^*P$ is possible in the type (ii) languages. Type (iii) languages allow V-movement out of $\mu P$ but do not allow the one out of $v^*P$, hence enabling only OS to Spec $\mu P$. Type (iv) languages do not allow V-movement out VP at all, hence disallowing any type of OS. The characterization of the parametric factors distinguishing the four types of languages just presented is not sufficient, but its elaboration must be made elsewhere.

43 According to Holmberg (1999: 2), (4-62ai) is grammatical in some varieties of Swedish even when the object is a weak PPrn. This is why the asterisk is put in the parentheses in (4-62a).
phonological edge of $\mu$ crucially differs from that of $v^*$: it is Spec $\mu$P. This is illustrated as follows together with the phonological border:

$$(4{-}63) \quad [_{\gamma{-}p} \text{Subj}_{_{\delta{-}p}} V{-}v^* [_{\mu{-}p} \text{Obj}_{_{\nu{-}Prt}}]_{_{\mu{-}P}}]_{_{V^*{-}Prt}} [_{\mu{-}P} t_{_{V^*{-}Prt}} \text{Obj}]]]$$

Since the V always moves out of $\mu$P, as mentioned above, the interpretation of Spec $\mu$P always differs from that of the first-merged position of the object.\footnote{A crucial assumption here is that the Prt does not count as c-commanding phonological material in (4-63).} When $\mu$ is assigned an EPP feature, the definite DP bearing specific information moves to Spec $\mu$P and is interpreted in this position, ending up preceding the Prt in PCs. When $\mu$ is not assigned an EPP, on the other hand, the indefinite DP bearing non-specific information is interpreted in situ, hence it follows the Prt.

### 4.7.3 PCs in Icelandic and $\phi$-defectiveness of $\mu$

We have seen so far that the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is derived by OS. A natural question to ask is whether there is any difference between the PDE OS and the Icelandic OS. The most salient difference that emerges from the present discussion is attributed to their landing sites: the Icelandic OS targets Spec $v^*$P while the PDE OS targets Spec $\mu$P. This is not the whole story, however. This section shows that Agree with $v^*$ deactivates the $\mu$Case of the object while Agree with $\mu$ does not.

To begin with, let us consider the properties of Icelandic PCs. As noted by Holmberg (1999: 32) and Thráinsson (2001: 165), the syntactic behavior of Icelandic PCs is analogous to that of their PDE counterparts and to that of Icelandic OSCs:
(4-64) PC IN ICELANDIC

a. i. Jón tók upp bókina.
   ii. Jón tók bókina upp.

   John picked up the-book up

   ‘John picked up the book.’

b. i. Jón hélt til hjá systrunum.
   ii. *Jón hélt hjá systrunum til.

   John held to with the-sisters to

   ‘John stayed with the sisters.’

c. i. Jón kastaði upp allan daginn.
   ii. *Jón kastaði allan daginn upp.

   John threw up all the-day up

   ‘John threw up all the day.’

d. i. *Jón tók upp hana.
   ii. Jón tók hana upp.

   John picked up it up

   ‘John picked it up.’

   (Thráinsson (2001: 165); cf. (4-50)-(4-53))

Furthermore, the semantic restriction seen in PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs is also imposed on Icelandic PCs (Svenonius (1996a: 60-62, 1996b: 11)):

(4-65) a. PC WITH AN INDEFINITE FN OBJECT

i. Ég tók upp kartöflur.
   ii. *Ég tók kartöflur upp.

   I took up potatoes up

   ‘I picked up potatoes.’
b. PC with a definite FNa object
   i. *Þeir fæðu [i] bílana.
   ii. Þeir fæðu [i] bílana [ii]
      they moved to the-cars to
      ‘They moved the cars around.’

(Svenonius (1996a: 60-62); cf. (4-54)-(4-55))

A natural conclusion drawn from these facts is that Icelandic exhibits two types of OS: one is to the left edge of the highest verbal projection (i.e. Spec v*P); the other is internal to the verbal projection in question (i.e. Spec μP). At this point, the crucial difference between them is obvious: v* driving the OS to the left edge renders the uCase of the object inactive while μ driving the verbal-projection-internal OS does not. If μ were to deactivate the uCase of the object, it would be “frozen” in Spec μP and never be able to move to Spec v*P. This consideration suggests that μ should be defective in φ-features (cf. Chomsky (2000: 124f)), being unable to value and deactivate the uCase of the object. Thus, even after the object has agreed with μ, its uCase still remains unvalued, and its valuation is left to v*.

Under this conception, it is predicted that Icelandic PCs allow OS to Spec v*P. This prediction is borne out. Collins & Thráinsson (1996: 434f) observe that OS to the left edge of v*P (marked by the Neg) is possible in Icelandic PCs:

(4-66) OSC + PC in Icelandic

   ‘They didn’t send the money up.’ (Collins & Thráinsson (1996: 434))

Concerning the OS to Spec v*P in (4-66), two possibilities are conceivable: (i) the object directly moves to this position, skipping Spec μP, as in (4-67a); or (ii) the object moves there in a successive cyclic manner (i.e. via Spec μP), as in (4-67b).

(4-67) a. [TP ... V-v*-T [v-P Obj [v-v Subj [v-tv-tv-Prt]-μ [vP [tv-Prt] [tv-Obj] ] ] ] ]

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In case (i), the choice between OS to Spec $v^*P$ and OS to Spec $\mu P$ is a free option, since both Spec $v^*P$ and Spec $\mu P$ bear INT when the V leaves $v^*P$. Movement to either of the specifiers under consideration yields a semantic effect. Hence OS to Spec $v^*P$ in PCs is unproblematic. In case (ii), OS to Spec $v^*P$ in PCs is problematic. Movement from Spec $\mu P$ to Spec $v^*P$ is illicit, since, as mentioned, they both bear INT when the V leaves $v^*P$ and this movement yields no semantic effect. If we suppose the semantic effect in question is evaluated between Spec $v^*P$ and the first-merged position of the object at the $v^*P$-phase level, then OS to Spec $v^*P$ in PCs is licit in this case, too. As a consequence, however, how $\mu$ is assigned an EPP is left obscure. It is not the case that OS to Spec $\mu P$ yields a semantic effect, because this makes OS to Spec $v^*P$ illicit. Assignment of an EPP feature to $\mu$ is not motivated by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (henceforth, PIC) in (4-68), either.

(4-68) **Phase Impenetrability Condition**

The domain of H is not accessible to operations, but only the edge of HP.

(Chomsky (2004: 108))

The PIC roughly states that C can only have access to the specifier and head of $v^*P$, but not its complement (cf. Chomsky (2000: 108, 2001: 14, 2005: 17, 2007: 16, 2008: 143)). When the object is moved to Spec CP by wh-movement, for example, it must move to Spec $v^*P$ on its way because C does not have direct access to the complement of $v^*P$. Turning back to the assignment of an EPP feature to $\mu$, it is not motivated by a PIC consideration, since Spec $\mu P$ is contained in the complement of $v^*P$ and is still inaccessible to C. In other words, it is of no use to assign an EPP feature to $\mu$ for a PIC consideration. In order to accommodate this case, one needs something like the following principle:

(4-69) An EPP feature is assigned on F if subsequent movement yields a semantic
effect.\textsuperscript{45}

Under the principle in (4-69), assignment of an EPP to $\mu$ is licit because subsequent movement of the object to $\text{Spec v}^*\text{P}$ yields a semantic effect at the $\text{v}^*\text{P}$-phase level. A principle like (4-69) is needed at any rate if non-phase-constituting functional heads are to proliferate and successive cyclic movement via the specifier position of these functional heads is allowed. Whether this principle has desirable consequences or not is an open question at the moment. The issue of how OS to $\text{Spec v}^*\text{P}$ in PCs is carried out should be left pending here.

Let us turn back to the $\phi$-defectiveness of $\mu$. By assumption, the transitive construction is headed by $\text{v}^*$ (Chomsky (2001: 43)). Then, it is not implausible to suppose that $\text{v}^*$ is responsible for deactivation of the $\mu\text{-Case}$ of the object in PDE as well, and that $\mu$ is defective in $\phi$-features. However, PDE does not allow OS to the left edge of $\text{v}^*\text{P}$\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{45} This principle may be considered as a broad interpretation of “an effect on outcome” in (4-61a). If the semantic effect induced by later movement counts as “an effect on outcome” at the phase level, then the principle in (4-69) is a theorem derived from the axiomatic principle in (4-61a).

\textsuperscript{46} As shown in this chapter, OS of PPrns to the left edge of $\text{v}^*\text{P}$ is possible in earlier English. Wurff (1997: 496ff) and Roberts (1995: 273ff) note that this is attested in LME and EModE, respectively. The following are LME and EModE instances of OSCs involving a Prt attested in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME, respectively:

(i) \hspace{1cm} \text{OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN LME}

\hspace{1cm} ... but he putte hem houerde putt...

\hspace{1cm} ... but he put them not out

\hspace{1cm} ‘... but he did not put them out.’

(CMPOLYCH, VI, 369.2703 / PPCME2)

(ii) \hspace{1cm} \text{OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN EModE}

\hspace{1cm} ... that they take the not in rashly and unaduisedly...

(TURNER-E1-P2, G1R.186 / PPCEME)

This fact (indirectly) lends further support to the claim that $\mu$ in PDE is also defective in $\phi$-features. Note also that, as shown in this chapter, the Obj$_{IN}$ never precedes a Neg while it can either precede or follow a Prt in LME and EModE, depending on its interpretation.

(iii) \hspace{1cm} \text{OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE FN OBJECT IN EModE}

\hspace{1cm} ... if a man enter peaceably, and put not his aduersary out forcibly...

(ROPER-E1-H, 90.107 / PPCEME)
This means that the difference between PDE and Icelandic can be attributed to the difference in the possibility of finite V-movement: the finite V moves out of v*P in Icelandic while it moves out of only μP and remains within v*P in PDE.

To sum up, the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs should be analyzed on a par with the shifted object in Icelandic OSCs. That is, both are derived by OS. Reformulation of the UG principles proposed by Chomsky (2001) into (4-61) allows the PDE PC and Icelandic OSC facts to be captured in a similar manner. However, the PDE verbal-projection-internal OS differs from the one leading to Icelandic OSCs in that the functional head driving the latter OS (i.e. v*) deactivates the uCase of the object while the functional head driving the former OS (i.e. μ) is defective in φ-features, being unable to deactivate it. In this respect, the analysis provided in this section crucially differs from previous studies such as Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1993) and a series of Lasnik’s seminal works (e.g. Lasnik (2001)). Not wishing to go into the fine details, it is argued in these studies that the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is derived by movement targeting the functional head that deactivates the object. They wrongly predict that OS targeting Spec v*P is impossible in PCs. But this is not the case in Icelandic. Therefore, μ must be defective in φ-features. Although PDE PCs are analyzed on a par with Icelandic OSCs here, the OS involved in PCs are distinct from the one attested in earlier English in that the landing sites of these operations are different. In that sense, the OS giving rise to a pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is not a relic of earlier English

(iv) OSC + PC with a DEFINITE FN OBJECT

a. LME

... therfore God brought this yuel in his daies...

therefore God brought not in this evil in his days

‘... therefore God did not bring in this evil in his days...’ (CMPURVEY, I, 14.605 / PPCME2)

b. EModE

Whoso brought corn to the market as he was appointed...

(EDWARD-E1-P2, 293.52 / PPCEME)

These facts show that the Icelandic type of OS targeting Spec μP already existed at least in EModE, the details of which must be investigated elsewhere (but see Los et al. (2012)).
syntax.

4.8. Summary

This chapter has shown that both the emergence and the demise of OS in the history of English illustrate the syntactic change caused when an initial extra-syntactically induced parameter change creates a system which has a propensity for further parametric change. In terms of the minimalist analysis of OS, the emergence of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 14th century is shown to be induced by the system where new pronominal paradigms including the WPPrn and the PDE D-system are established and V-movement out of v*P is possible. Its decline in the posterior half of the 17th century is shown to be induced by the system where the finite V-movement out of v*P declined. Thus, the historical development of OS follows the trail of the intra-syntactically driven language change. It is also shown that although pronominal OS of the MSc type is extinct in PDE, close examination of word order patterns of PCs reveals that its relic prima facie exists in PDE (in fact, as the Icelandic type).
Chapter 5
Discussion of Some Issues in
the Historical Development of
Deficient Personal Pronouns in English

5.1. Introduction

Chapters 2 to 4 have seen the historical development of deficient PPrns from OE to PDE. This chapter aims to discuss the remaining issues surrounding the accounts this thesis has provided to the historical development in question. In §1.2 of Chapter 1, we have raised the following four questions about the historical change in morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns in English:

(5-1) QUESTIONS

a. What kind of morphosyntactic properties did deficient PPrns have at each stage of earlier English?
b. How did the morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns change at each stage of earlier English?
c. What caused the change in the morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns at each stage of earlier English?
d. How did the licensing condition on deficient PPrns change at each stage of earlier English in accordance with the change in their morphosyntactic properties?

Since we have seen the development of cliticization and pronominal OS in the history of English where peculiar morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns are observed, we can now provide an answer to each question in (5-1). The answers to the questions in (5-1) are the following:

(5-2) ANSWERS

a. The deficient PPrns in OE to EME were CPPrns (i.e. $D^\text{Min/Max}$ bearing only $i\phi$) which require a host while the ones in LME to PDE were/are WPPrns
(i.e. $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ bearing $i\phi$ and $u\text{Case}$) which do not require a host.

b. During the transition period from EME to LME, CPPrns were replaced with WPPrns via addition of $u\text{Case}$ to $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ bearing only $i\phi$.

c. In the Southern/Midland dialects of the transition period from EME to LME, loss of V-to-Fin movement caused loss of part of the cue for acquisition of CPPrns. In the Northern dialect, borrowing of third person plural forms of PPrns from ON caused replacement of CPPrns with WPPrns.

d. In OE to EME, the deficient PPrns (i.e. CPPrns) were licensed by their host (i.e. in the cliticized position), whereby cliticization was required. In LME to LModE, the deficient PPrns (i.e. WPPrns) were licensed in the shifted position when the finite main V moves out of the verbal projection, due to the interaction of three UG principles in (4-26) (or (4-61)) and three parameters in (2-27), (4-41) and (4-46), whereby pronominal OS was required whenever the finite main V-movement was possible. In PDE, the deficient PPrns (i.e. WPPrns) are licensed in the externally-merged position, due to loss of V-to-T movement in EModE.

The close observations made in §2.2 of Chapter 2 and §3.2 of Chapter 3 reveal that there were two types of deficient PPrns in the history of English. The deficient PPrns in OE and EME had more distributional freedom than the ones in LME to LModE. Moreover, the ones in PDE have no distributional freedom.\footnote{But see §1.1 of Chapter 1 and §4.7 of Chapter 4. PCs in PDE allow OPA, exhibiting distributional freedom of (deficient) PPrns to some extent.} These observations indicate that the deficient PPrns in OE and EME are instances of CPPrns which need to be cliticized to their host, whereas the ones in LME to PDE are instances of WPPrns which do not require cliticization, as (5-2a) answers.

The $u\text{Case}$ Parameter on D proposed in Chapter 2, repeated here as (5-3), maintains
that deficient PPrns can either lack or bear $u$Case.

\begin{equation}
(5-3) \quad \text{uCase Parameter on D}
\end{equation}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[a.] $-u$Case on D: $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi>$ \quad (= \text{CPPrn})
  \item[b.] $+u$Case on D: $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u$Case $>$ \quad (= \text{WPPrn})
\end{itemize}

When the $u$Case Parameter on D has a negative value and the deficient PPrns lack $u$Case, bearing only $i\phi$, they become CPPrns. When the parameter in question has a positive value and the deficient PPrns bear $u$Case as well as $i\phi$, on the other hand, they become WPPrns. In the transition period from EME to LME, the $u$Case Parameter on D came to choose a positive value and $u$Case was added to CPPrns, whereby WPPrns were created, as (5-2b) answers.

Under the Inertial Theory adopted in Chapter 1, parametric change is caused solely by the opacity caused by phonological/semantic changes or extra-linguistic factors, or syntactic change caused by the opacity.\textsuperscript{2} Thus, resetting of the $u$Case Parameter on D requires an extra-syntactic or extra-linguistic motivation, or a syntactic motivation brought about by extra-syntactic or extra-linguistic factors. Under the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change, the extra-syntactic/extra-linguistic factor or the previously induced syntactic change has an influence on what kind of cues children use during their native language acquisition. Acquisition of a negative value for the $u$Case Parameter on D requires a cue which consists of $[\text{CP Topic } [\text{FinP V [TP SubjFN ... ]] }$ and $[\text{CP}$

\textsuperscript{2} A tacit assumption behind the Inertial Theory is the Subset Principle proposed by Berwick (1985: 23). “[G]iven two languages, one of which is a subset of the other, if both are compatible with the input data, … the learning function must pick the smaller one (Manzini & Wexler (1987: 414)).” “The learner must guess the smallest possible language compatible with the input at each stage of the learning procedure (Clark & Roberts (1993: 304f)).” “[A]cquirers run the risk of falling into ‘superset traps’: if a grammar which generates a language which is a superset of the target language is posited, no positive evidence can disconfirm this hypothesized system (Biberauer & Roberts (2007: 34, 2009: 58f)).” “Hence acquirers must always posit the grammar which generates the ‘smallest language’ consistent with the trigger experience; in this way positive evidence can be maximized in the process of convergence towards the target grammar in the sense that evidence of this type may be sufficient to cause the acquirer to revise hypotheses (op.cit.: 34, 59).”
Topic \[\text{Subj}_{\text{PPrn}} [\text{FinP} V [\text{TP} ...]]\] (i.e. SPA). In the Southern/Midland dialects of LME, part of the cue in question (i.e. \[\text{CP} \text{Topic} [\text{FinP} V [\text{TP} \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} ...]]\]) was lost due to the loss of V-to-Fin movement, which is an instance of change caused by other syntactic change. In the Northern dialect of LME, third person plural forms of PPrns (which bore $u$Case) were borrowed from ON, which is an instance of change caused by an extra-linguistic motivation. The loss of V-movement and the borrowing of new PPrns from ON are independent causes of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns in each dialect, as (5-2c) answers. It is still a matter of debate whether the explanation of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns advanced in this thesis can be recaptured in terms of the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change such as the one proposed by Westergaard (2009a). Moreover, our claim that acquisition of a negative value for the $u$Case Parameter on D requires a cue means that absence of $u$Case from deficient PPrns is a marked parametric option and its presence is an unmarked one. Whether this is a proper characterization of parameters and whether addition of $u$Case is a natural course of language change are also still controversial. There still remain some issues surrounding the answer (5-2c).

Resetting of the $u$Case Parameter on D creates a new system which tends to undergo cascades of parametric change or intra-syntactically driven language change. This is what the Inertial Theory accommodates and (5-2d) illustrates. Since CPPrns need to be cliticized to their host in order to be licensed, cliticization was possible in OE to EME. With the emergence of WPPrns, however, the licensing condition on deficient PPrns changed. Since WPPrns bear $u$Case, they cannot undergo cliticization, but end up in a position where the formal feature in question is licensed (i.e. valued). As LME also allowed V-to-T movement and a definite article within a definite DP, pronominal OS became possible in the beginning of this period. Thus, WPPrns were formally licensed in an OSC whenever V-to-T movement was possible. Pronominal OS eventually disappeared in LModE due to the loss of V-to-T movement, which is a change independent of the licensing condition of WPPrns. They are now licensed in a post-verbal position.
within VP (i.e. non-OSC).

Note that the questions (5-1c) and (5-1d) can only be provided a proper answer (viz. answers (5-2c) and (5-2d)) under the Inertial Theory. First, the cause for resetting of the uCase Parameter on D (i.e. addition of uCase) has a difference between the Southern/Midland dialects and the Northern dialect. In the Southern/Midland dialect, parameter resetting is caused by syntactic change (i.e. loss of V-to-Fin movement), whereas in the Northern dialect, it is caused by extra-syntactic change (i.e. borrowing of third person plural forms from ON). Variation in the cause for parametric change and convergence on single parametric change is what the Inertial Theory predicts, which is well illustrated in the answer (5-2c). Second, addition of uCase to deficient PPrns causes the loss of cliticization in the history of English, but at the same time, it creates a grammatical system which tends to undergo further parametric change. When two other parametric conditions (i.e. presence of V-to-T movement and presence of a definite article within a definite DP) are met in this system, pronominal OS becomes possible. This is what happened in the beginning of LME. When V-to-T movement becomes impossible, pronominal OS becomes impossible too. This is what happened in LModE. The answer (5-2d) exemplifies cascades of parametric change which the Inertial Theory accommodates.

As mentioned above, there are two issues surrounding the answer (5-2c) yet to be discussed. One issue is concerned with whether the explanation of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns advanced in this thesis can be reconciled with the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change. Since our analysis is based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b), who defines cues in general terms, the answer (5-2c) is worth reconsideration in terms of the micro-cue model proposed by Westergaard (2009a), who defines cues in more detail. The other issue is concerned with whether it is proper to characterize absence of uCase on deficient PPrns (i.e. a negative value) as a marked

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3 For speculation about the cause for the loss of V-to-Fin movement, see footnote 37 in Chapter 2.
parametric option and its presence (i.e. a positive value) as an unmarked one; that is to say, whether addition of $u$Case is a natural course of language change. The remainder of this chapter attempts to solve these two issues. §5.2 reconsiders the answer (5-2c) in terms of Westergaard (2009a). §5.3 discuss the markedness of (5-3a) in terms of Gelderen (2011a) and Roberts (2007). §5.4 summarizes this chapter.

§5.2. Our Analysis Reconsidered in Terms of the Micro-cue Model

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change is the foundation for explaining the historical development of deficient PPrns in English. Loss of part of a cue for a negative value for the $u$Case Parameter on D plays an important role in our account of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPRns. Crucial to our account is that unlike what Lightfoot (1999: 149ff, 2006a: 77ff, 2006b: 32ff) proposes, the cue in question consists of two structures: \([\text{CP Topic} [\text{FinP} V [\text{TP Subj✈N} \ldots ]]]\) and \([\text{CP Topic SubjPPrn} [\text{FinP} V [\text{TP} \ldots ]]]\). These two structures constitute SPA. In other words, SPA is the cue for a negative value for the $u$Case Parameter on D. Once one of the structures (e.g. \([\text{CP Topic} [\text{FinP} V [\text{TP Subj✈N} \ldots ]]]\) in the case of Southern/Midland dialects) disappears, the cue in question no longer exists and the $u$Case Parameter on D starts to be set for a positive value. In our account, SPA is merely a cue for acquisition of CPPrns, but not a phenomenon to be acquired: it results as a consequence of intricate interaction between existence of CPPrns and possibility of V-to-Fin movement.

Westergaard (2009a), however, considers SPA as a set of structures to be acquired by children under the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change. This section briefly reviews her proposals and discusses whether they can be incorporated into our account. Since her analysis of SPA is provided from a perspective different from ours, let us first turn to it before going into the details of the micro-cue model.

5.2.1. Information Structure Analysis of SPA

Instead of regarding the SubjPPrn in earlier English as an instance of CPPrns,
Westergaard (2009a: 87ff) advances an information structure analysis of SPA. She rejects such an analysis to SPA as the one advocated in Chapter 2, which she refers to as a clitic analysis (cf. Bech (2001: 79ff)). The information structure analysis of SPA maintains that discourse-given subjects including PPrns appear in a higher subject position while discourse-new subjects (with a focus) appear in a lower subject position. In other words, SPA results from the informational difference of subjects. Westergaard (2009a) makes her proposal based on the data taken from Bech (2001) and sentences drawn from Haeberli (2002a). The following are the examples which Westergaard (2009a: 66, 73) cites from Haeberli (2002a: 88, 90) to validate her proposal:

(5-4) **DISCOURSE-NEW SUBJECT**

in his days sent Gregory us baptism

“In his time, Gregory sent us Christianity.”

*(ChronA2, 18.565.1 / Haeberli (2002a: 88))*

(5-5) **DISCOURSE-GIVEN SUBJECT**

a. **SUBJFN**

& [fela ðinga] *swa gerad man* sceal *don*.
and many things so wise man must do

“And such a wise man must do many things.” *(Law4, 448.5.4 / ibid.: 90)*

b. **SUBJPPRN**

[Hiora untrymnesse] *he* sceal ðrowian on his heortan.
their weakness he shall atone in his heart

“He shall atone in his heart for their weakness.” *(CP, 60.17 / ibid.)*

Adopting a full split-CP hypothesis (cf. Westergaard (2008: 1856)) and assuming that an

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4 See also Kemenade (2009), Biberauer & Kemenade (2011), Kemenade & Milicev (2012) and Kemenade & Westergaard (2012).

5 Haeberli (2002a) investigates ten text samples from the *Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki Parsed Corpus* (Pintzuk et al. (2000)).
informationally light element (i.e. a subject or a verb) is attracted to the low TopP (L-TopP) domain (cf. Westergaard (2009b: 53f)) and the topic appears in the specifier position of the high TopP (H-TopP), Westergaard (2009a: 88) claims that the higher subject position is Spec L-TopP. Thus, SPA in the information structure analysis is schematized as follows:

(5-6) SPA IN THE INFORMATION STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

a. \([_{H-\text{TopP}} \text{XP} \, \text{[[H-Top}^0 \text{L-Top}^0 \text{V-L-Top}^0 \ldots \text{TP subj}_\text{NEW} \ldots \text{]]]}\) ]

b. \([_{H-\text{TopP}} \text{XP} \, \text{[[H-Top}^0 \text{L-Top}^0 \text{subj}_\text{GIVEN} \text{L-Top}^0 \ldots \text{TP V-T}^0 \ldots \text{]]]}\) ]

(cf. Westergaard (2009a: 89))

Note that the information structure analysis of SPA does not consider the subj_PPrn as an instance of CPPrns: it is no different from FNs since it appears in Spec L-TopP (cf. Table 2-11 in Chapter 2).

Westergaard (2009a: 74) rejects the clitic analysis of SPA for three reasons. First, by referring to the data presented by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311), she points out that there is a considerable number of exceptions to the generalization that the subj_PPrn does not invert while the subj_FN always does in ME: 25.3% (90/356) of the subj_FN are uninverted, which cannot be explained in terms of the clitic analysis. Second, by referring to the observation made by Kemenade (2000: 69), she shows that SPA is still attested in negative questions in LME and EModE: the subj_FN appears after the negative marker (i.e. not/nat) while the subj_PPrn appears before it:

(5-7) NEGATIVE QUESTIONS IN LME

a. subj_FN
   also ne accordeth nat the poeple to that
   (Chaucer, Melibee 2132 / Kemenade (2000: 69))

b. subj_PPrn
   yet ne wolde he nat answer sodeynly  (Chaucer, Melibee 2222 / ibid.)

\footnote{Although Westergaard (2009a) does not explicitly mention the exact location of the lower subject position, we can infer from the structure in her (39) that it is Spec TP.}
This fact cannot be explained in terms of the clitic analysis either, since it would predict that SPA is impossible in any contexts after the loss of CPPrn. Third, she indicates that the adverbs *pa/ponne*, when in the clause-initial position, always require V2 with a SubjPPrn: this syntactic environment does not show SPA, as we have seen in previous chapters.

The last reason for rejecting the clitic analysis of SPA is unproblematic to our account. The adverbs *pa/ponne* are considered as instances of operators in previous chapters. On a par with other operator-initial clauses, *pa/ponne*-initial clauses cannot be the syntactic environment where SPA is observed. The first reason cannot be sufficiently rebutted or falsified at the moment, which has to be left pending here. Let us turn to the second reason. Haeberli (1999a: 340ff) observes that XP-adjuncts can intervene between the fronted finite V and the subject (in the operator-initial V2 clause) in OE (cf. footnote 42 in Chapter 2):

\[
(5-8) \text{ V-SUBJ NON-ADJACENCY IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \& \quad \text{[done]} \quad \text{wyrd} \quad \text{burh} \quad \text{Godes mihte} \quad \text{sona} \quad \text{deofol} \\
& \quad \text{and then gets through God’s power soon devil} \\
& \quad \text{swyde} \quad \text{geyrged} \\
& \quad \text{very-much terrified} \\
& \quad \text{‘Then, soon, the devil is very much terrified through God’s power.’} \\
& \quad \text{(WHom, 176.28 / Haeberli (1999a: 341))}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \& \quad \text{gearwige} \quad \text{eac} \quad \text{to huslgange} \quad \text{oft} \quad \text{gelome} \quad \text{gehwa} \\
& \quad \text{and prepare also to going-to-Eucharist often and frequently each} \\
& \quad \text{hine sylfne} \\
& \quad \text{himself} \\
& \quad \text{‘And everyone should prepare himself often to go to the Eucharist.’} \\
& \quad \text{(Low3, 242.22.1 / ibid.)}
\end{align*}
\]
According to Haeberli (1999a: 342), however, there is a clear restriction on the V-XP-Subj order: the subject can never be a PPrn; when the subject is a PPrn, it has to precede the XP-adjunct, giving rise to the V-Sub-XP order, and V-Subj non-adjacency never results. In other words, SPA also obtains with respect to the V-Subj non-adjacency. The V-Subj non-adjacency continues to be attested in the Southern dialect of EME (ibid.: 384ff), but it becomes infrequent in LME (ibid.: 409f). The historical development of V-Subj non-adjacency shows that SPA vis-à-vis this linguistic phenomenon is also obviated in LME. It seems that the SPA in negative questions attested in LME and EModE are a relic of earlier English syntax.

The information structure analysis of SPA is not without drawbacks. First, since it only deals with SPA, it could not explain the Wackernagel ObjPPrn (or OPA) and the displaced P-ComplPPrn as well as SPA. It is unlikely that the ObjPPrn appears in the Wackernagel position and P-ComplPPrn is displaced for the reason of information structure. On the other hand, the clitic analysis of SPA adopted here can capture a wider range of linguistic phenomena including the Wackernagel ObjPPrn and the displaced P-ComplPPrn all together and account for their syntactic properties in terms of cliticization. Second, if the uninverted SubjPPrn in the topic-initial clause is not an instance of CPPrns, it cannot be distinguished from the SubjFN morphasytactically. Suppose it is an instance of WPPrns, the data of the inverted SubjPPrn (10.2% (48 out of 469 instances)) presented by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311) still cannot be accounted for. Besides, Westergaard (2009a) does not assume the tripartite classification of PPrns adopted in Chapter 1. If the ObjPPrn is also an instance of WPPrns in OE and EME, its later development (viz. emergence of pronominal
OS in LME) cannot be accounted for either: the information structure analysis would have to claim that it is just a coincidence. On the other hand, the clitic analysis can attribute it to the demise of CPPrns and the emergence of WPPrns. It is not the case, however, that the information structure analysis is not totally rejected here. Westergaard’s (2009a) first reason for rejecting the clitic analysis mentioned above still requires justification. More specifically, the uninverted SubjPPrn in the topic-initial clause may be best analyzed in terms of information structure, yet the information structure analysis can still be incorporated into the clitic analysis. The former can adopt the trichotomy of PPrns like the latter. Suppose OE and EME realized two types of PPrns, CPPrns and SPPrns, as proposed in this thesis. The uninverted SubjPPrn can be analyzed as a CPPrn since it is always informationally light. The inverted SubjPPrn can be analyzed as an SPPrn since it bears a focus. This line of explanation can straightforwardly capture the emergence of pronominal OS, details of which have to be elaborated upon elsewhere.

5.2. Micro-cue Model of Language Acquisition and Language Change

Our analyses provided to loss of cliticization phenomena in §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3 are based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b). Under our analyses, the cue for absence of $\mu$Case from deficient PPrns is SPA which consists of \[[\text{CP Topic } [\text{FinP V } [\text{TP Subj$_{PPrn}$ ... }]]]\] and \[[\text{CP Topic Subj$_{PPrn}$ } [\text{FinP V } [\text{TP ... }]]]\]. Since the operator-initial context does not show SPA but exhibits uniform V2, as we have seen in §2.1 of Chapter 2, a natural question arises as to how the topic-initial structures are acquired independently of the operator-initial structures. This question cannot be answered under the cue-based model. Thus, this subsection considers the possibility of adopting the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Westergaard (2009a).

Revising the cue for V2 syntax formulated by Lightfoot (2006a: 86), Westergaard

---

7 The following is the cue for V2 which Lightfoot (2006a) formulates:
(2009a: 71, 88, 95) argues for subdivision of the cue for various V2 contexts, and proposes the following micro-cue for V2 in topic-initial clauses with a discourse-new SubjFN in terms of the information structure analysis:

\[
(5-9) \quad \text{MICRO-CUE FOR V2 IN DECLARATIVES WITH A DISCOURSE-NEW SUBJECT} \\
[\text{H-Top}^\text{P} \text{XP} [\text{H-Top} \text{H-Top}^0 \text{L-Top}^\text{P} \text{V-L-Top}^0 \ldots [\text{TP Subj}[\text{Foc}] \ldots ]]] \\
\text{(Westergaard (2009a: 88))}
\]

For V2 in operator-initial structures, she proposes the following micro-cues:\^8

\[
(5-10) \quad \text{a. MICRO-CUE FOR V2 IN WH-QUESTIONS} \\
[\text{IntP wh [Int}^\text{V} \text{-Int}^0 \ldots ]] \quad \text{(Westergaard (2009a: 71))}
\]

\[
\text{b. MICRO-CUE FOR V2 WITH } \text{PA/PONNE} \\
[\text{TopP } \text{palponne [Top}^\text{V} \text{-Top}^0 \ldots ]] \quad \text{(ibid.: 95)}
\]

Postulation of separate micro-cues for various V2 contexts is supported by the residual V2: V2 in the topic-initial context (with a Subj\text{FN}) and the \text{pa/pon}ne-initial context is lost in the history of English while V2 in the \text{wh}-initial context and Neg-initial context is still possible with an Aux in PDE. The micro-cue model can properly capture the V2 facts in the history of English.

The notion of micro-cues actually plays an important role in our account in the following two respects. First, the cue for the acquisition of a negative value for the uCase Parameter on D necessitates acquisition of SPA, a set of structures, \( [\text{CP Topic [FinP V [TP Subj\text{PN} ... ]]}] \) and \( [\text{CP Topic Subj\text{PPn} [FinP V [TP ... ]]}] \). An independent micro-cue is required for acquisition of V2 in the topic-initial clause (i.e. V-to-Fin movement), so that SPA is made attested.\^9 Second, the micro-cue for the acquisition of \( [\text{CP Topic [FinP V [TP ... ]]}] \)
must be distinguished from the cue for the acquisition of V2 in the
operator-initial clause (cf. footnote 5). Acquisition of V2 in various operator-initial
contexts (i.e. V-to-C movement) requires separate micro-cues which are different from the
one for the acquisition of V2 in the topic-initial context. In order for the V2 in various
contexts to be distinguished in terms of acquisition, the micro-cue model must thus be
incorporated into the mechanism of language change proposed in this thesis. Only under
this model are our analyses provided to the historical development of deficient PPrns in
English in §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3 validated.

5.3. Is Absence of a Formal Feature a Marked Parametric Value?

As mentioned in §5.1, acquisition of a negative value for the uCase Parameter on D
requires a cue, which means that absence of uCase on D in (5-3a) is a marked parametric
option. Put differently, absence of the cue in question results in acquisition of a “positive”
value, which instead means that presence of uCase on D in (5-3b) is an unmarked default
parametric option. A natural question arises as to whether this is valid characterization of
parameters, that is, whether the absence of formal features is a marked parameter value.
The final section of this chapter attempts to provide this question with an answer.

5.3.1. Feature Economy

To begin with, let us consider how the diachronic change of (formal) features is dealt
with in the literature. Concerning the development of features, for instance, Gelderen
(2011a: 16f) proposes that they change in accordance with the following economy

one of which results from V2 in the topic-initial clause. In other words, acquisition of V2 in the topic-initial
clause requires an independent cue, which can be formulated as follows:

(i) \( \text{Cue for V2 in the Topic-initial Clause: } \left[ \text{CP Topic } \left[ \text{FinP V } \left[ \text{TP Subj} \ldots \right] \right] \right] \)
Since the cue in (i) is different from the cue for V2 in the operator-initial clause, it can also be considered as
an instance of micro-cues.
principle:¹⁰

\[(5-11) \text{ FEATURE ECONOMY} \]

Minimize the semantic and interpretable features in the derivation, for example:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Adjunct} & \text{Specifier} & \text{Head} & \text{Affix} \\
[\text{semantic}] & [iF] & [uF] & [uF] \\
\end{array}
\]

(Gelderen (2011a: 17))

Feature Economy in (5-11) maintains that (initially) semantic features are reanalyzed as \(iF\) and then as \(uF\).¹¹ The change which takes place in accordance with Feature Economy is exemplified in the type of change which Gelderen (2011a: 8) refers to as the subject agreement cycle:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{emphatic pronoun} & \text{full pronoun} & \text{head pronoun} & \text{agreement} \\
[i\phi] & [i\phi] & [u1] [u2] [i3] & [u\phi] \\
\end{array}
\]

(ibid.)

When emphatic/demonstrative pronouns are reanalyzed as full (personal) pronouns, their feature contents do not change. When the full (personal) pronouns are reanalyzed as head/clitic pronouns, however, the \(i\phi\) become unvalued/uninterpretable counterparts for first and second persons. When the head/clitic pronouns are reanalyzed as agreement markers, the \(i3\) become unvalued/uninterpretable counterparts, giving rise to \(u\phi\). Finally, the \(u\phi\) disappear along with loss of agreement markers. Gelderen (2011a: 38) exemplifies the subject agreement cycle with the historical development of French \(il\). The Latin demonstrative pronoun \(ille\) ‘that’ bearing \(i\phi\) is reanalyzed as the article \(le\) ‘the’, the third person subject pronouns \(il\) ‘he’, and the third person object pronoun \(le\) ‘him’ in French.


¹¹ Gelderen (2011a) also maintains that “parametric variation is due to different features connected to lexical items (p.16)” and “[a]ll parameters are lexical (p.350).”
The French third person subject pronoun *il* bearing *iφ* (or *i3*) is on its way to becoming an agreement marker bearing *uφ*.

Case cycles (or dependent marking cycles) also exemplify Feature Economy, as in (5-13) and (5-14):

(5-13) **SEMANTIC/INHERENT CASE CYCLE**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Adv/N/V} & \rightarrow & \text{P} \\
\text{[semantic]} & \rightarrow & \text{[iTime/iLoc]} \\
\text{[iφ]} & \rightarrow & \text{[uφ]} \end{array}
\]

\text{[uTime] on V  \\
\text{[iLoc] on P}}

(5-14) **GRAMMATICAL/STRUCTURAL CASE CYCLE**

a. Nominal

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
demonstrative & \rightarrow & \text{article} \\
\text{[iLoc]} & \rightarrow & \text{[uLoc]} = [uT] \\
\text{[iφ]} & \rightarrow & \text{[uφ]} \end{array}
\]

b. Verbal

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Adv/D} & \rightarrow & \text{aspect/tense} \\
\text{[semantic]} & \rightarrow & \text{[iAsp]/[iT]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{[uAsp]/[uT]}

(Gelderren (2011a: 156))

Change in the *u*Case Parameter on D from the negative value to the positive value (viz. addition of *u*Case) obviously goes against Feature Economy, under which a semantic feature changes into *i*F, the *i*F then changes into *u*F, and the *u*F eventually disappears. It may seem that the answer to the question addressed in the beginning of this subsection is a negative one: our characterization of parameters **MAY NOT** be valid, and the absence of formal features **MAY NOT** be a marked parameter value. Gelderen (2011a: 161ff) finds out, however, that in 12th century English genitive Case (i.e. semantic Case) was lost and use of a definiteness marker such as *þe/ðe* (which she calls (grammatical) Case (ibid.: 196)) increased. In other words, semantic Case was replaced by grammatical Case in OE. This is only a speculation at the moment, but rise of grammatical Case in OE is comparable to addition of *u*Case to deficient PPrns in LME. The latter change does not observe
Feature Economy. Under the Grammaticalization Theory such as the one advocated by Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]), feature change in accordance with Feature Economy is comparable to the course of change called “grammaticalization” while feature change such as addition of $u$Case to deficient PPrns is comparable to “lexicalization” (i.e. change in order inverse to grammaticalization). The latter change is the one from an unmarked option to a marked option. Under Feature Economy, therefore, (5-3a) is prima facie an unmarked parametric value.

5.3.2. Markedness Reversal

Roberts (2007: 269ff) also maintains that the general simplicity metric such as the following dictates that a parameter change from a marked to a default value:

(5-15) **General Simplicity Metric**

Given two structural representations $R$ and $R'$ for a substring of input text $S$, $R$ is simpler than $R'$ if $R$ contains fewer formal features than $R'$.


Under this metric, for instance, absence of an EPP feature from a functional head is an unmarked default value while its presence is a marked one. He claims, however, that a markedness convention allows markedness reversal of parametric values (ibid.: 272f). Adopting Hawkins’ (1983) generalization of cross-categorial harmony, he proposes the following markedness convention (ibid.: 274), where $u$EPP stands for presence of an EPP feature as an unmarked value:

(5-16) **Markedness Convention for an EPP Feature**

For a class of heads $H$, $u$EPP for $H_{af} \neq v$ \[\left\{ \begin{array}{l}
{[+EPP]}/_{[+EPP]} \\
{[-EPP]}
\end{array} \right\} \]

(Roberts (2007: 274))

What (5-16) says is that the unmarked value for the EPP feature for some head of a particular type with $u$F is $[+EPP]$ (i.e. presence of an EPP feature) just like $v$, or $[-EPP]$ (i.e. entire absence of an EPP feature). In other words, presence of an EPP feature becomes an
unmarked value when it is present on all the functional heads with \( uF \), whereas absence of an EPP feature becomes a marked value when it is entirely absent from the functional heads with \( uF \). Under the markedness reversal, presence of a formal feature becomes an unmarked value of a parameter when it is present on all the functional heads it is associated with. Otherwise, the entire absence of the feature in question becomes an unmarked value.

If we adopt the notion of markedness reversal, presence of \( u \text{Case} \) on D (i.e. deficient PPrns) can be an unmarked value while its absence can be a marked value when the \( u \text{Case} \) is present on other heads it is associated with. This is indeed the case. Ns bear \( u \text{Case} \) and Adj{s} may also bear \( u \text{Case} \) since the latter declined for case as well as number and gender. Thus, marked reversal dictates that absence of \( u \text{Case} \) on D can be a marked value and its acquisition requires a cue. Addition of \( u \text{Case} \), which indicates change from a marked value to an unmarked value, can be a natural course of language change. It is the case that the answer to the question addressed in the beginning of this subsection can be an affirmative one: our characterization of parameters CAN be valid, and the absence of formal features CAN be a marked parameter value.

5.4. Summary

This chapter has provided an answer to the four questions posed in §1.2 of Chapter 1 about the historical change in morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns in English. This chapter has also discussed the two remaining issues surrounding the accounts this thesis has provided to the historical development in question. One issue is concerned with whether the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change can be incorporated into the explanation of the demise of CPPrns and the emergence of WPPrns advanced in this thesis. The other is concerned with whether it is proper to characterize the absence of \( u \text{Case} \) on deficient PPrns as a marked parametric option of a parameter and its presence as an unmarked one and whether addition of \( u \text{Case} \) is a natural course of language change. This chapter has reached the conclusions that the micro-cue model CAN
be incorporated into our account and that absence of \textit{u}Case on deficient PPrns \textit{CAN} be a marked parameter value and addition of \textit{u}Case \textit{CAN} be a natural course of language change under markedness reversal.
Chapter 6
Concluding Remarks

This thesis is a minimalist study of the historical change in the formal licensing conditions of PPrn objects in English. Focusing on the diachronic phenomena of cliticization and pronominal OS, it has investigated morphosyntactic properties of (deficient) PPrn objects in the history of English. With no quantitative survey on the linguistic phenomena taken up in this thesis available, detailed investigations of the diachronic data have been conducted with the aid of syntactically annotated electronic corpora such as YCOE, PPCME2, PPCEME, and PPCMBE.

The thesis has considered in minimalist terms how and why the loss of cliticization in EME contributed to forming a new grammatical system in LME which potentially allows pronominal OS. Principled explanations have been provided for the loss of cliticization in EME, and the emergence of pronominal OS in LME and its demise in LModE based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change advanced by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b) and the Inertial Theory originally put forward by Keenan (1994, 2002, 2003, 2009) and subsequently developed by Longobardi (2001).

The cue-based model claims that language change arises when a cue which children use to acquire a certain linguistic phenomenon is lost. Children scan the linguistic input for a cue which is expressed as a partial grammatical structure derived from the I-Language in order to set the values of parameters. When the cue in question is lost, a parametric change arises and thus a new grammatical system is acquired. The Inertial Theory maintains that linguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon and the syntactic component, by itself, is diachronically completely inert. Parametric changes can only result from extra-linguistic factors such as language contact or extra-syntactic factors such as morphophonological and semantic changes, including the appearance or disappearance of lexical items, or other syntactic factors induced by the loss of cues. When extra-syntactically induced parametric changes create a grammatical system which
has a potential for further parametric change, syntactic change occurs recursively. This is called by Biberauer & Roberts (2008a) the intra-syntactically driven language change. By demonstrating that loss of cliticization and emergence and demise of the MSc type of OS in the history of English stem from the changes in positions of occurrence of PPrn objects which are governed by the formal licensing conditions on them, this thesis has confirmed that the historical change in the formal licensing conditions of PPrn objects in English is a syntax-internally driven language change.

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction and Chapter 6 is a conclusion. The following are the main points of Chapters 2 through 5.

Based on my survey of diachronic data, Chapters 2 and 3 have shown that cliticization phenomena (or more precisely, structurally defective CPPrns) attested in OE such as Wackernagel Obj\_PPrn and displaced P-Compl\_PPrn were lost at the end of EME. It has been claimed that the loss of cliticization is induced by obviation of SPA in the topic-initial main clause. It has been argued that in Southern/Midland dialects, the obviation of SPA is ascribable to the rise of uniform V3 order via loss of V-to-Fin movement (vis. loss of part of a cue, [CP Topic [\_FinP V [TP Subj\_FN ...]]]), while in Northern dialects, it is ascribable to the rise of uniform V2 order via borrowing of third person plural forms of non-clitic PPrns (i.e. nominative pei/pai, accusative/dative pem, and genitive peir/pair) from ON. It has also been claimed that the set of changes just mentioned eventually leads to loss of CPPrns (i.e. D\_Min/Max\_<i\phi>) and gives rise to a grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms including WPPrns (i.e. D\_Min/Max\_<i\phi/uCase>) as well as SPPrns (i.e. DP = D\_Min\_<i\phi/uCase> + phonologically null N\_Min\_<Foc>) in mid-14th century English.

Chapter 4 has considered how and why the MSc type of OS emerged in a grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms which include WPPrns and SPPrns in LME, accompanied by the emergence of a definite determiner in OE/EME and the rise of finite main V-movement (i.e. V-to-T movement) in EME, and how and why it was lost in LModE. It has been claimed that the emergence of pronominal OS in LME is made possible by the emergent grammatical system where three factors (i.e. presence/absence of
CPPrs, presence/absence of a definite determiner within a DP, and possibility/impossibility of V-to-T movement) interact, and has argued that this is a syntax-internally driven language change. It has been proposed that these three pre-theoretical/descriptive factors are formulated in terms of formal features as parameters: the uCase Parameter, the iDef Parameter, and the Tense Morphology Parameter. Furthermore, it has been claimed that change in one of the three factors (i.e. loss of finite main V-movement) caused the demise of pronominal OS in LModE, which is also a syntax-externally driven language change. Finally, it is argued in this chapter that seeming OS in PDE PCs is analyzable as an instance of the Icelandic type of OS targeting a landing site lower than Spec v*P, rather than as a relic of earlier English syntax.

Chapter 5 has discussed two theoretical issues concerning the historical development of deficient PPrns in English. One issue is concerned with the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change advocated by Westergaard (2009a). The analysis provided with respect to the loss of cliticization in Chapters 2 and 3 is based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change advanced by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b). Westergaard (2009a) proposes more fine-grained cues. Reconsidering the explanation of demise of CPPrs and emergence of WPPrs advanced in this thesis under the micro-cue model, it has been concluded that the explanation should be restated based on the micro-cue model. The other issue is concerned with the way the default/unmarked value of parameters is formulated. Chapter 2 has claimed that absence of uCase on deficient PPrns is a marked parameter value while presence of uCase on them is a default/unmarked parameter value. Considering whether this can be a proper characterization of the parametric option and whether addition of formal features can be a case of the natural course of language change, it has been suggested that absence of uCase on deficient PPrns can be a marked parameter value and, therefore, addition of uCase can be a natural course of language change under the concept of markedness reversal proposed by Roberts (2007).

The synchronic and diachronic facts and their analyses presented in this thesis indicate
that the inertial approach for language change is a promising one under which further theoretical and empirical researches on the nature of language change can be developed. They also indicate that the minimalist approach to the principled explanation of the nature of human language proves to be the right direction to head for, advancing a step toward substantiation of the strong minimalist thesis (i.e. Interfaces + Merge = Language) presented by Chomsky (2010).
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University Press, Oxford.


Dictionaries


Appendix 1
Electronic Corpora

Syntactically Annotated Corpora
[http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-3/index.html]
[http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCEME-RELEASE-2/index.html]
[http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCMBE-RELEASE-1/index.html]
[http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~sp20/corpus.html]
[http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm]

Java Programs
1. Texts in the YCOE

<O1 (850)>

codocu1

<O2 (850-950)>

cocura, cocuraC & coprefcura

<lawaf & colawafint

coorosiu

coboeth

colaece


Schröer, Arnold (1885-1888) *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel* (Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, II), Kassel. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1964]

**coherbar & coquadru**


**conicodD**


**comart1**

Herzfeld, George (1973 (1900)) *An Old English Martyrology* (EETS 116), Trübner, London.

**cowsgosp**


**cootest & cogenesisC**


**cochronC**

Rositzke, H. A. (1967 (1940)) *The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles*, Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 34, Bochum-Langendreer.

**coaelive, coeuphr, coeust, comary & copreflives**


cowulf

colwsigeT, colwsigeXa, colwstan1 & colwstan2
Fehr, B. (1914) *Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung* (Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa, IX), Verlag von Henri Grand, Hamburg. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1966]

cochronD

cocanedgX

cochdrul

coinspolX

covinsal & conicodA

comart2
Herzfeld, George (1973 (1900)) *An Old English Martyrology* (EETS 116), Trübner, London.


The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts (EETS 300), Oxford University Press, London.

Angelsaechsische Homilien und Heiligenleben (Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa, III), Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Kassel. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1964]

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Philology 1, 579-614.

coprefsolilo & cosolilo

cosolsat1

conicodE
Torkar, Roland [ed.] From Ms. for Dictionary of Old English Project.

corood

covinceB

coleofri

cogregdC

cochad

2. Texts in the PPCME2

<M1 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1150-1250)>

**CMLAMBX1**

**CMTRINIT**

<M1 (1150-1250)>

**CMPETERB**

**CMORM**

**CMLAMB1**

**CMVICES1**
CMHALI, CMKATHE & CMSAWLES

CMANCRIW

<M2 (1250-1350)>

CMAYENBI

CMEARLPS

<M24 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1420-1500)>

CMROLLTR

<M3 (1350-1420)>

CMPOLYCH

CMNTEST
Forshall, Josiah & Frederic Madden (1879) *The New Testament in English According to the

CMOTEST & CMPURVEY

CMEDVERN

CMASTRO, CMBOETH, CMCTMELI & CMCTPARS

CMBRUT3

CMWYCSER

CMCLOUD

CMMANDEV

CMBRENUL
<M34 (comp. date 1350-1420; ms. date 1420-1500)>

CMEDTHOR

CMHILTON

CMVICES4

CMJULNOR

CMROYAL

CMMIRK

<M4 (1420-1500)>

CMAELR4

CMEDMUND
CMKEMPE

CMCAPCHR

CMMALORY

CMREYNES

CMGREGOR

CMREYNAR

CMFITZJA

CMINNOCE

CMSIEGE
3. Texts in the PPCEME

< E1 (1500-1569)>


Asch-E1-H, Asch-E1-P1 & Asch-E1-P2


Boethco-E1-H, Boethco-E1-P1 & Boethco-E1-P2

Bax, Ernest Belfort [ed.] (1897) *Boethius’ Consolation of Philosophy, translated from the
Latin by George Colville, 1556 (The Tudor Library, V), David Nutt, London.

CHAPLAIN-E1-P2

EBEAUM-E1-H

ECUMBERL-E1-H & KSCROPE-1530-E1-H

EDWARD-E1-H, EDWARD-E1-P1 & EDWARD-E1-P2

ELIZ-1560-E1-P2


ELYOT-E1-H, ELYOT-E1-P1 & ELYOT-E1-P2

FABYAN-E1-H, FABYAN-E1-P1 & FABYAN-E1-P2
[Reprinted F.C. & J. Rivington, London 1811]

FISHER-E1-H, FISHER-E1-P1 & FISHER-E1-P2

FITZH-E1-H, FITZH-E1-P1 & FITZH-E1-P2

HARMAN-E1-H, HARMAN-E1-P1 & HARMAN-E1-P2

LATIMER-E1-H, LATIMER-E1-P1 & LATIMER-E1-P2
Arber, Edward [ed.] (1895) *Seven sermons before Edward VI, on each Friday in Lent, 1549*, English reprints [no number], Constable, Westminster.

LELAND-E1-H, LELAND-E1-P1 & LELAND-E1-P2
Smith, Lucy Toulmin [ed.] (1964) *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, Parts I to III, With a foreword by Thomas Kendrick. Volume 1*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL.
MACHYN-E1-H, MACHYN-E1-P1 & MACHYN-E1-P2

MARCHES-E1-P1

MERRYTAL-E1-H, MERRYTAL-E1-P1 & MERRYTAL-E1-P2

MORELET1-E1-H, MORELET2-E1-H, MORELET2-E1-P1, MROPER-E1-H, MROPER-E1-P1 & MROPER-E1-P2

MORERIC-E1-H, MORERIC-E1-P1 & MORERIC-E1-P2

MOWNTAYNE-E1-H, MOWNTAYNE-E1-P1 & MOWNTAYNE-E1-P2
Nichols, John Gough [ed.] (1859) *The autobiography of Thomas Mowntayne, Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer* (Camden Society, 77), [no publisher], London.

RECORD-E1-H, RECORD-E1-P1 & RECORD-E1-P2
Record, Robert (1974 (facsimile)) *The path-way to knowledge, containing the first principles of geometrie, 1551* (The English experience, 687), Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm, Amsterdam.

ROPER-E1-H, ROPER-E1-P1 & ROPER-E1-P2
Hitchcock, Elsie Vaughan [ed.] (1935 (for 1934)) *The lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte,*
written by William Roper, esquire, whiche maried Margreat, daughter of the sayed Thomas Moore; and now edited from thirteen manuscripts, with collations, etc. (EETS OS 197), Oxford University Press, London.

The statutes of the realm, Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. III and IV, 1817, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London.

STEVENSO-E1-H, STEVENSO-E1-P1 & STEVENSO-E1-P2

THOWARD-E1-H & THOWARD-E1-P1

THROCKM-E1-H
Hargrave, Francis [ed.] (1776-1781 (4th ed.)) A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave, Vol. 1, T. Wright, London.

TORKINGT-E1-H, TORKINGT-E1-P1 & TORKINGT-E1-P2
Loftie, William John [ed.] (1884) Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travell, being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517 (The Vellum-Parchment Shilling Series of Miscellaneous Literature, VI), Field & Tuer, London.
TURNER-E1-H, TURNER-E1-P1 & TURNER-E1-P2

TURNERHERB-E1-P2

TYNDNEW-E1-H, TYNDNEW-E1-P1 & TYNDNEW-E1-P2

TYNDOLD-E1-H, TYNDOLD-E1-P1 & TYNDOLD-E1-P2
Mombert, Jacob I. [ed.] (1967) William Tyndale’s five books of Moses called the Pentateuch, being a verbatim reprint of the edition of M.CCCCC.XXX, compared with Tyndale’s Genesis of 1534, and the Pentateuch in the Vulgate, Luther, and Matthew’s Bible, with various collations and prolegomena, Newly introduced by F. F. Bruce, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL.

UDALL-E1-H, UDALL-E1-P1 & UDALL-E1-P2
Udall, Nicholas (1934 (for 1935)) Roister Doister (Malone Society reprints) Oxford University Press, London.

UNDERHILL-E1-P2
Nichols, John Gough [ed.] (1859) Autobiographical anecdotes of Edward Underhill, one of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer (Camden Society, 77), [no publisher], London.
VICARY-E1-H, VICARY-E1-P1 & VICARY-E1-P2

<E2 (1570-1639)>
ARMIN-E2-H, ARMIN-E2-P1 & ARMIN-E2-P2

AUTHNEW-E2-H, AUTHNEW-E2-P1, AUTHNEW-E2-P2, AUTHOLD-E2-H, AUTHOLD-E2-P1 & AUTHOLD-E2-P2

BACON-E2-H, BACON-E2-P1 & BACON-E2-P2

BLUNDEV-E2-H, BLUNDEV-E2-P1 & BLUNDEV-E2-P2
Blundeville, Thomas (1597) *M. Blundeuile his exercises, Pt. 1; A briefe description of the tables of the three speciall right lines belonging to a circle, called signes, [sic] lines tangent, and lines secant; A plaine Treatise of the first principles of Cosmographie, and specially of the Spheare, representing the shape of the whole world*, John Windet, London.

BOETHEL-E2-H, BOETHEL-E2-P1 & BOETHEL-E2-P2
Pemberton, Caroline [ed.] (1899) *Queen Elizabeth’s Englishings of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, A.D. 1593, Plutarch, De Curiositate, Horace, De Arte...*
Poetica (Part), A.D. 1598 (EETS OS 113), Trübner, London.

BRINSLEY-E2-H, BRINSLEY-E2-P1 & BRINSLEY-E2-P2

CLOWES-E2-H, CLOWES-E2-P1 & CLOWES-E2-P2

CLOWEOSBS-E2-P2

CONWAY-E2-H, HATCHER-E2-P1, RICH-E2-P1, TALBOT-E2-P2, TRINCOLL-E2-H, WCECIL-1580-E2-H & WCECIL-1580-E2-P2

COVERTE-E2-H, COVERTE-E2-P1 & COVERTE-E2-P2

DELONEY-E2-H, DELONEY-E2-P1 & DELONEY-E2-P2

EDMONDES-E2-H, EDMONDES-E2-P1, EDMONDES-E2-P2, RCECIL-E2-H, RCECIL-E2-P1 & RCECIL-E2-P2
ELIZ-1570-E2-P2, ELIZ-1580-E2-P1, ELIZ-1590-E2-H & ELIZ-1590-E2-P2
ESSEX-E2-H & ESSEX-E2-P1
ESSEXSTATE-E2-P1, ESSEXSTATE-E2-P2, JUDALL-E2-P2, RALEIGH-E2-H, RALEIGH-E2-P1, RALEIGH-E2-P2, THOWARD2-E2-P1 & THOWARD2-E2-P2
Hargrave, Francis [ed.] (1776-1781 (4th ed.)) A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave, Vol. 1, T. Wright, London.
Vol. 28), Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London, London.

**FORMAN-E2-H, FORMAN-DIARY-E2-P1 & FORMAN-DIARY-E2-P2**

Halliwell, James Orchard [ed.] (1849) *The autobiography and personal diary of Dr. Simon Forman, the celebrated astrologer, from A.D. 1552, to A.D. 1602*, privately printed, London.

**GAWDY-E2-H, GAWDY-E2-P1 & GAWDY-E2-P2**


**GIFFORD-E2-H, GIFFORD-E2-P1 & GIFFORD-E2-P2**


**HARLEY-E2-H, HARLEY-E2-P1, HARLEYEDW-E2-P1 & HARLEYEDW-E2-P2**


**HAYWARD-E2-H, HAYWARD-E2-P1 & HAYWARD-E2-P2**

Bruce, John [ed.] (1840) *Sir John Hayward, Annals of the first four years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Camden Society, 7), Nichols, London.

**HOBY-E2-H, HOBY-E2-P1 & HOBY-E2-P2**


JOTAYLOR-E2-H, JOTAYLOR-E2-P1 & JOTAYLOR-E2-P2
Taylor, John (1977 (facsimile)) *All the workes of John Taylor, the Water Poet, 1630, With an introductory note by V. E. Neuburg*, Scolar Press, London.


KNYVETT-1620-E2-H, KNYVETT-1620-E2-P1, KNYVETT-1620-E2-P2 & KNYVETT-1630-E2-P2

KPASTON-E2-H, KPASTON-E2-P1, KPASTON-E2-P2 & WPASTON2-E2-H
Hughey, Ruth [ed.] (1941) *The correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627* (Norfolk Record Society, 14) Norfolk Record Society, Norwich.

KSCROPE-1580-E2-P1

MADOX-E2-H, MADOX-E2-P1 & MADOX-E2-P2

MARKHAM-E2-H, MARKHAM-E2-P1 & MARKHAM-E2-P2
Markham, Gervase (1973 (facsimile)) *Countrey Contentments, 1615, In two bookes: The first, containing the whole art of riding ... The second intituled, The English Huswife ...* (The English Experience, 613), Theatrum Orbis Terrarum & Da Capo Press, Amsterdam & New York.
MIDDLET-E2-H, MIDDLET-E2-P1 & MIDDLET-E2-P2

NFERRAR-E2-H, NFERRAR-E2-P1, NFERRAR-E2-P2 & RFERRAR-E2-H

PERROTT-E2-H, PERROTT-E2-P1 & PERROTT-E2-P2
Rawlinson, Richard (1728) *The history of that most eminent statesman, Sir John Perrott, Knight of the Bath, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, [no publisher], London.

SHAKESP-E2-H, SHAKESP-E2-P1 & SHAKESP-E2-P2

SMITH-E2-H, SMITH-E2-P1 & SMITH-E2-P2
Smith, Henry (1975 (facsimile)) *A preparative to mariage; Of the Lords supper; Of usurie, 1591* (The English Experience, 762) Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm & W. J. Johnson, Amsterdam & Norwood, NJ.

*The statutes of the realm, Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. IV and V, 1819*, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London.

STOW-E2-H, STOW-E2-P1 & STOW-E2-P2
Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 2 (Camden Society, NS vol. 23), Nichols, Westminster.


BOYLECOL-E3-P1 & BOYLECOL-E3-P2
Hall, Marie Boas [ed.] (1964 (facsimile)) Experiments and considerations touching colours, First occasionally Written, among some other Essays, to a Friend; and now suffer’d to come abroad as the Beginning of an Experimental History of Colours, By Robert Boyle (A facsimile of the 1664 edition, The sources of science), Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York & London.

BURNETCHA-E3-H, BURNETCHA-E3-P1 & BURNETCHA-E3-P2

BURNETROC-E3-H, BURNETROC-E3-P1 & BURNETROC-E3-P2

CAPEL-E3-H, CAPEL-E3-P1, CAPEL-E3-P2, CONWAY2-E3-P2, OSBORNE-E3-H & OSBORNE-E3-P1

COMMISS-E3-H, MEMO-E3-P1, MEMO-E3-P2 & PROPOSALS-E3-P2

COUNC-E3-H, DELL-E3-P1, DRUMMOND-E3-P1, SOMERS-E3-H, SPENCER-1680-E3-H, SPENCER-1700-E3-P1 & SPENCER-1700-E3-P2

DERING-E3-P2, EOXINDEN-1650-E3-P1, EOXINDEN-1660-E3-H, EOXINDEN-1660-E3-P1, EOXINDEN-1680-E3-P1, HOXINDEN-1640-E3-P1,
HOXINDEN-1650-E3-P2, HOXINDEN-1660-E3-H, JACKSON-E3-P1 & ZOUCH-E3-P2


EVELYN-E3-H, EVELYN-E3-P1 & EVELYN-E3-P2


FARQUHAR-E3-H, FARQUHAR-E3-P1 & FARQUHAR-E3-P2

Farquhar, George (1972 (facsimile)) *The beaux stratagem, 1707*, Scolar Press, Menston.

FIENNES-E3-H, FIENNES-E3-P1 & FIENNES-E3-P2


FOX-E3-H, FOX-E3-P1 & FOX-E3-P2


FRYER-E3-H, FRYER-E3-P1 & FRYER-E3-P2


HOOKE-E3-H, HOOKE-E3-P1 & HOOKE-E3-P2


HOOLE-E3-H, HOOLE-E3-P1 & HOOLE-E3-P2


JETAYLOR-E3-H & JETAYLOR-E3-P1

JETAYLORMEAS-E3-P1 & JETAYLORMEAS-E3-P2

JOPINNEY-E3-H, JOPINNEY-E3-P1, JOPINNEY-E3-P2, JPINNEY-E3-H, JPINNEY-E3-P1 & SOUTHARD-E3-P1

LANGF-E3-H, LANGF-E3-P1 & LANGF-E3-P2

LISLE-E3-H, LISLE-E3-P1, LISLE-E3-P2, OATES-E3-H, OATES-E3-P1 & OATES-E3-P2
Hargrave, Francis [ed.] (1776-1781 (4th ed.)) *A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave*, Vol. 1, T. Wright, London.

LOCKE-E3-H, LOCKE-E3-P1 & LOCKE-E3-P2
Kenyon, Frederic George [ed.] (1933) *Directions concerning education* (Being the first draft of [Locke’s] *Thoughts concerning education* now printed from Additional Ms. 38771 in the British Museum), Roxburghe Club, Oxford.

MILTON-E3-H, MILTON-E3-P1 & MILTON-E3-P2

– 310 –
Thompson, Edward Maunde [ed.] (1883 (reprinted 1965)) *The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Eighth: Containing correspondence of the family of Haddock, 1657-1719* (Camden Society, NS 31), [no publisher], London.

**PENNY-E3-H, PENNY-E3-P1 & PENNY-E3-P2**


**PEPYS-E3-H, PEPYS-E3-P1 & PEPYS-E3-P2**


**PHENRY-E3-H, PHENRY-E3-P1 & PHENRY-E3-P2**


**STAT-1660-E3-P2, STAT-1670-E3-P2, STAT-1690-E3-H & STAT-1690-E3-P1**

*The statutes of the realm, Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. V and VII, 1820*, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London.

**STRYPE-E3-H & STRYPE-E3-P1**


**TILLOTS-A-E3-H, TILLOTS-A-E3-P1, TILLOTS-B-E3-H, TILLOTS-B-E3-P1 & TILLOTS-C-E3-P2**


**VANBR-E3-H, VANBR-E3-P1 & VANBR-E3-P2**

WALTON-E3-H, WALTON-E3-P1 & WALTON-E3-P2

4. Texts in the PPCMBE
<1700-1769>

albin-1736
Albin, Eleazar (1736) A natural history of spiders, and other curious insects, by Eleazar Albin: Illustrated with fifty three copper plates, engraven by the best hands, London.

anon-1711
Anonymous (1711) An essay upon education, shewing how Latin, Greek, and other languages may be learn’d more easily, London.

barclay-1743
Barclay, James (1743) A treatise on education: or, an easy method of acquiring language, and introducing children to the knowledge of history, geography, mythology, antiquities, &c.: With reflections on taste, Edinburgh.

brightland-1711
Brightland, John (1711) Reasons for an English education, by teaching the youth of both sexes the arts of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and logic: In their own mother-tongue, London.

burton-1762
Burton, John (1762) Two sermons preached at St. Mary’s before the university of Oxford, Feb. 11. 1757, and Mar. 12. 1762, being the days appointed for general fasting and humiliation, &c., Oxford.

butler-1726
Butler, Joseph (1726) Fifteen sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel upon the following subjects: Upon humane nature, London.

cibber-1740
Cibber, Colley (1740) An apology for the life of Colley Cibber, comedian, and late patentee
of the Treare-Royal: With an historical view of the stage during his own time, London.

cooke-1712
Cooke, Edward (1712) A voyage to the South Sea, and round the world, perform’d in the years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711, London.

davys-1716
Davys, Mary (1716) The northern heiress: or, the humours of York: A comedy: As it was acted at the New-Theatre in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, London.

defoe-1719
Defoe, Daniel (1719) The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe, being the second and last part of his life, and strange surprizing accounts of his travels round three parts of the globe, 2nd ed., London.

doddridge-1747
Doddridge, Philip (1747) Some remarkable passages in the life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner, who was slain at the Battle of Prestonpans, September 21, 1745: With an appendix, relating to the ancient family of the Munro’s of Fowlis.

drummond-1718
Drummond, John (1718) The accomptant’s pocket-companion: a manual, instructing merchants, gentlemen of estates and others to begin their books, To which is added, the method of catching and curing cod-fish, ling, tusk, seath and white herrings, Edinburgh.

fielding-1749
Fielding, Henry (1749) The history of Tom Jones, a foundling, 4 volumes, London.

george-1763

hind-1707
Hind, Thomas (1707) The history of Greece, Vol. 1, containing the space of about 1660

holmes-letters-1749 & holmes-trial-1749

Minutes of the proceedings at the trial of Captain Holmes, of His Majesty’s ship the Lenox, by a court-martial, held on board His Majesty’s yacht the Charlotte, at Deptford: For his conduct and behaviour in an engagement with a Spanish squadron on the first of October, 1748, London (1751).

kimber-1742

Kimber, Isaac (1742) The history of England, from the earliest accounts to the accession of his present Majesty King George II, London.

lind-1753

Lind, James (1753) A treatise of the scurvy, 3 parts, Containing an inquiry into the nature, causes, and cure, of that disease: Together with a critical and chronological view of what has been published on the subject, Edinburgh.

maxwell-1747

Maxwell, Robert (1747) The practical bee-master: or, a treatise, wherein the management of bees, both in common hives, and in the colony way, without killing them for their honey, is, step by step and on all probable occurrences, better and more particularly directed, than in any book hitherto published, Edinburgh.

montagu-1718

Montagu, Mary Wortley (1718) Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, Dublin.

officer-1744

Anonymous officer of the fleet (1744) A voyage to the South-Seas, and to many other parts of the world, performed from the month of September in the year 1740, to June 1744, by Commodore Anson: By an officer of the squadron, London.
**priestley-1769**
Joseph (1769) The history and present state of electricity, with original experiments, by Joseph Priestley, 2nd ed., corrected and enlarged, London.

**purver-new-1764 & purver-old-1764**

**ryder-1716**

**statutes-171x & statutes-1745**
The statutes at large, from the first year of the reign of King George the First, to the ninth year of the reign of King George the Second, To which is prefixed, a table of the titles of all the publick and private statutes during that time, Vol. 5, printed by Charles Eyre and Andrew Strahan; and by William Woodfall and Andrew Strahan, London (1786).

**stevens-1745**
John (1745) The modern wife; or, the virgin her own rival: A comedy: As it was to have been acted at the New Theatre in the Haymarket: By a citizen of London, 2nd ed., corrected, London.

**townley-1746**
The genuine trial of Francis Townley, late of Manchester, gentleman; who was appointed colonel of the Manchester regiment by the young Pretender, and was convicted of high treason, on Tuesday July 15th, 1746.

**walpole-174x**

**webster-1718**
William (1718) An attempt towards rendering the education of youth more easy
and effectual, especially with regard to their studies at the writing-school, London.

wesley-174x
Wesley, John (1744-1745) An extract of the Reverend Mr. John Wesley's journal, from October 27, 1743, to November 17, 1746, London.

<austen-180x>

bardsley-1807
Bardsley, Samuel Argent (1807) Medical reports of cases and experiments, with observations, chiefly derived from hospital practice, W. Stratford for R. Bickerstaff, London.

boethri-1785
Ridpath, Philip (1785) Boethius's Consolation of philosophy, Translated from the Latin, with notes and illustrations, printed for C. Dilly, London.

boswell-1776

carlyle-1835

carlyle-1837

chapman-1774
collier-1835

colman-1805
Colman, George, the younger (1805) *John Bull; or, the Englishman’s fireside*: A comedy, 5 acts.

cook-1776
Cook, James (1776) *A second voyage round the world, in the years MDCCCLXXII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV*, London.

dickens-1837

froude-1830

gibbon-1776

godwin-1805

goldsmith-1773
Goldsmith, Oliver (1773) *She stoops to conquer: or, the mistakes of a night*: A comedy: As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden: Written by Doctor Goldsmith, 3rd ed., London.

grafting-1780
A new treatise on the art of grafting and inoculation: Wherein the different methods are copiously considered; And many curious experiments lately made by the author, Salisbury.
haydon-1808

herschel-1797

johnson-1775

lancaster-1806
Lancaster, Joseph (1806) *Improvements in education, as it respects the industrious classes of the community*, 4th edition.

lyell-1830

montefiore-1836
Montefiore, Lady Judith, née Cohen (1836) *Private journal of a visit to Egypt and Palestine by way of Italy and the Mediterranean*. Rickerby, London. [Reprinted 1975, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.]

newcome-new-1796
Newcome, William (1796) *An attempt toward revising our English translation of the Greek Scriptures, and toward illustrating the sense by philological and explanatory notes*, 2 volumes.

okeeffe-1826
reeve-1777

ruskin-1835

southey-1813

statutes-1775
*The statutes at large, from the seventh year of the reign of King George the Third, to the eighteenth year of the reign of King George the Third*, To which is prefixed, a table of the titles of all the publick and private statutes during that time, Vol. 8, printed by Charles Eyre and Andrew Strahan; and by William Woodfall and Andrew Strahan, London, 1786.

statutes-1805

statutes-1835

tindall-1814
Tindall, John (1814) *Tindall’s Yorkshire farriery: being a treatise on the diseases of horses, with a statement of cases, and applicable recipes, never before published*, J. Lancashire, Huddersfield.

turner1-1799
Turner, Sharon (1799) *The history of the Anglo-Saxons, from their first appearance above the Elbe, to the death of Egbert, with a map of their ancient territory*, London.
turner-1800
Turner, Samuel (1800) An account of an embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan, and part of Tibet, London.

watson-1817
The trial of James Watson for High Treason at the Bar of the Court of King’s Bench: Taken in shorthand by William Brodie Gurney, Vol. 1, London (1817).

wellesley-1815

whewell-1837

wollaston-1793
Wollaston, Francis (1793) Two sermons preached in the parish church of Chislehurst in Kent, London.

<1840-1914>

bain-1878

benson-1908

benson-190x

boethja-1897
James, Henry Rosher (trans.) (1897) The consolation of philosophy of Boethius, Routledge,
London.

**bradley-1905**

**brougham-1861**

**erv-new-1881**

**erv-old-1885**
The *Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: translated out of the original tongues, being the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1885).

**faraday-1859**
Faraday, Michael (1859) *A course of six lectures on the various forces of matter and their relations to each other: Delivered before a juvenile auditory at the Royal Institution of Great Britain during the Christmas holidays of 1859-60*, 3rd edition, Griffin, London and Glasgow.

**fayrer-1900**

**fleming-1886**

**gladstone-1873**
long-1866

meredith-1895

nightingale-188x & nightingale-189x

oman-1895

poore-1876

pusey-186x

reade-1863

skeavington-184x

statutes-1865
statutes-1895
The public general statutes, passed in the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth Years and in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, with a list of the local acts, tables showing the effect of the session's legislation, and a copious index, Vol. 32, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London (1895).

strutt-1890

talbot-1901

thring-187x

trollope-1882

victoria-186x

weathers-1913

wilde-1895
yonge-1865

Appendix 2
Search Queries for CorpusSearch 2

<Wackernagel Obj_PPrn (PPCEME2/PPCEME)>

**Subj-Obj_PPrn-Aux-V Order**

node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-OBJ* Precedes MD*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO*)
AND
(MD*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO* Precedes V*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO*)
AND
(NP-OBJ* Dominates PRO*)

**Subj-Aux-Obj_PPrn-V Order**

node: IP-SUB*
query: (MD*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO* Precedes NP-OBJ*)
AND
(NP-OBJ* Precedes V*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO*)
AND
(NP-OBJ* Dominates PRO*)

**Subj-Aux-V-Obj_PPrn Order**

node: IP-SUB*
query: (MD*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO* Precedes V*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO*)
AND
(V*HV*HA*BE*BAG*DA*DO* Precedes NP-OBJ*)
AND
(NP-OBJ* Dominates PRO*)

- 325 -
**Subj-Obj**\textsubscript{PPrn-V-Aux Order}  
node: IP-SUB*  
query:  
(V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
AND  
(V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
AND  
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

**Subj-V-Obj**\textsubscript{PPrn-Aux Order}  
node: IP-SUB*  
query:  
(V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
Precedes NP-OB*  
AND  
(NP-OB* Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
AND  
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

**Subj-V-Aux-Obj**\textsubscript{PPrn Order}  
node: IP-SUB*  
query:  
(V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
AND  
(MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*  
Precedes NP-OB*  
AND  
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)
<Wackernagel Obj\textsubscript{FN} (PPCME2)>

**Subj-Obj\textsubscript{FN}-Aux-V Order**

node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-OB* Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO*)

AND

(MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO* Precedes V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

**Subj-Aux-Obj\textsubscript{FN}-V Order**

node: IP-SUB*
query: (MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* Precedes V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

**Subj-Aux-V-Obj\textsubscript{FN} Order**

node: IP-SUB*
query: (MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO* Precedes V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO*)

AND

(V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG\textsubscript{DA}*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)
**Subj-Obj$_{FN}$-V-Aux Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (NP-OB* Precedes V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

AND

(V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

**Subj-V-Obj$_{FN}$-Aux Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

**Subj-V-Aux-Obj$_{FN}$ Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (V*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

AND

(MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)
<Obj\_PPrn Right-adjacent to the Complementizer in the Subordinate Clause (PPCME2)>
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-OB* Precedes NP-SBJ*)
AND
(NP-SBJ* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO*)
AND
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

<Obj\_PPrn Left-adjacent to the Finite Verb in the Topic-initial V2 Clause (PPCME2)>
node: IP-MAT*
query: (NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO*)
AND
(V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-SBJ*)
AND
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

<Obj\_PPrn Right-adjacent to the Finite Verb in the Operator-initial V2 Clause (PPCME2)>
node: IP-MAT*
query: (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)
AND
(NP-OB* Precedes NP-SBJ*)
AND
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

<Coordinated PPrn (PPCME2)>
node: NP-SBJ*|NP-OB*
query: (PRO* Precedes PRO*)
<Dislocated P-Compl_{Prn} (PPCME2)>

**P-Compl_{Prn} in the Canonical Complement Position**
query: \((P \text{ iPrecedes } NP^*) \text{ AND } (NP^* \text{ iDominates } PRO^*)\)

**Inverted P-Compl_{Prn} & Separated P-Compl_{Prn}**
query: \((NP^* \text{ Precedes } P) \text{ AND } (NP^* \text{ iDominates } PRO^*)\)

<Dislocated P-Compl_{LPrn} (PPCME2/PPCEME)>

**P-Compl_{LPrn} in the Canonical Complement Position**
query: \((PP^* \text{ iDominates ADVP^*}) \text{ AND } (P \text{ iPrecedes } ADV^*)\)

**Separated P-Compl_{LPrn}**
query: \((P^* \text{ iDominates ADVP^*}) \text{ AND } (ADV^* \text{ iDominates } *ICH^*)\)

**Two-word Inverted P-Compl_{LPrn}**
query: \((PP^* \text{ iDominates ADVP^*}) \text{ AND } (ADV^* \text{ iPrecedes } P)\)

**One-word Inverted P-Compl_{LPrn}**
query: \(PP^* \text{ Dominates } ADV+P\)

<OS (YCOE)>

**V-Obj-Neg Order**
node: IP-SUB*
query: \((V^*|MD^*|HV^*|HA^*|BE^*|BAGlAX^* \text{ Precedes } NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)\)
AND
\((NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN \text{ Precedes } ADVP)\)
AND
\((ADVP \text{ iDominates } NEG+ADV^*)\)
V-Neg-Obj Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|AX* Precedes ADVP)
   AND
   (ADVP Precedes NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)
   AND
   (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)

Neg-V-Obj Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (ADVP Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|AX*)
   AND
   (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|AX* Precedes NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)
   AND
   (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)

Obj-V-Neg Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|AX*)
   AND
   (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|AX* Precedes ADVP)
   AND
   (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)
Obj-Neg-V Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-ACC\|NP-DAT\|NP-GEN Precedes ADVP)
        AND
        (ADVP Precedes V*\|MD*\|HV*\|HA*\|BE*\|BAG\|AX*)
        AND
        (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)

Neg-Obj-V Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (ADVP Precedes NP-ACC\|NP-DAT\|NP-GEN)
        AND
        (NP-ACC\|NP-DAT\|NP-GEN Precedes V*\|MD*\|HV*\|HA*\|BE*\|BAG\|AX*)
        AND
        (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)

<PPrn OS (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

V-Obj_{PPrn}-Neg Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (V*\|MD*\|HV*\|HA*\|BE*\|BAG\|DA*\|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)
        AND
        (NP-OB* Precedes NEG)
        AND
        (NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)
V-Neg-Obj_{prn} Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGiDA*|DO* Precedes NEG)
AND
(NEG Precedes NP-OB*)
AND
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

Neg-V-Obj_{prn} Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NEG Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGiDA*|DO*)
AND
(V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGiDA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)
AND
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

Obj_{prn}-V-Neg Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGiDA*|DO*)
AND
(V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGiDA*|DO* Precedes NEG)
AND
(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)
**Obj_{IPn}-Neg-V Order**

node: IP-SUB

query: (NP-OB* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NEG Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|IDO*)

AND

(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

**Neg-Obj_{IPn}-V Order**

node: IP-SUB

query: (NEG Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|IDO*)

AND

(NP-OB* Dominates PRO*)

<FN OS (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

**V-Obj_{FN}-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB

query: (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|IDO* Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)
V-Neg-Obj$_{FN}$ Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|DO* Precedes NEG)
AND
(NEG Precedes NP-OB*)
AND
(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

Neg-V-Obj$_{FN}$ Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NEG Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|DO*)
AND
(V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)
AND
(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

Obj$_{FN}$-V-Neg Order
node: IP-SUB*
query: (NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|DO*)
AND
(V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAGlDA*|DO* Precedes NEG)
AND
(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)
**Obj\textsubscript{NP}-Neg-V Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (NP-OB* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NEG Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

**Neg-Obj\textsubscript{FN}-V Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (NEG Precedes NP-OB*)

AND

(NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

AND

(NP-OB* iDominates !PRO*)

<OS in Double Object Constructions (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

**V-IO-DO-Neg Order**

query: (NP-OB1 Precedes NP-OB2) AND (NP-OB2 Precedes NEG)

**V-DO-IO-Neg Order**

query: (NP-OB2 Precedes NP-OB1) AND (NP-OB1 Precedes NEG)

**V-IO-Neg-DO Order**

query: (NP-OB1 Precedes NEG) AND (NEG Precedes NP-OB2)

**V-DO-Neg-IO Order**

query: (NP-OB2 Precedes NEG) AND (NEG Precedes NP-OB1)
<Finite V-movement (YCOE)>

**V\text{Fin}^-\text{Neg Order}**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (V* Precedes ADVP) AND (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)

**Neg-V\text{Fin} Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (ADVP Precedes V*) AND (V* iDominates NEG+ADV*)

**Do\text{Fin}^-\text{Neg-V}\text{Inf} Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (DA*|DO*|AX* Precedes ADVP)

\hspace{1em} \text{AND}

\hspace{1em} (ADVP Precedes V*)

\hspace{1em} \text{AND}

\hspace{1em} (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV*)

<Finite V-movement (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

**V\text{Fin}^-\text{Neg Order}**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (VBP*|VBD*|VBI Precedes NEG) AND (NEG iPrecedes !FP)

**Neg-V\text{Fin} Order**

node: IP-SUB*

query: (NEG Precedes VBP*|VBD*|VBI) AND (NEG iPrecedes !FP)
\textbf{Do_{Fin}^-\text{Neg-V}_{Inf} Order}

node: IP-SUB*

query: (DA*|DO* iPrecedes NEG) AND (NEG Precedes V*)

\textless OSC + PC (PPCEME2/PPCEME)\textgreater 

\textbf{V-Obj-Neg-Prt Order}

query: (V*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*)
\hspace{1cm} AND
\hspace{1cm} (NP-OB* Precedes NEG*)
\hspace{1cm} AND
\hspace{1cm} (NEG* Precedes RP*)

\textbf{V-Neg-Obj-Prt Order}

query: (V*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO* Precedes NEG*)
\hspace{1cm} AND
\hspace{1cm} (NEG* Precedes NP-OB*)
\hspace{1cm} AND
\hspace{1cm} (NP-OB* Precedes RP*)

\textbf{V-Neg-Prt-Obj Order}

query: (V*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO* Precedes NEG*)
\hspace{1cm} AND
\hspace{1cm} (NEG* Precedes RP*)
\hspace{1cm} AND
\hspace{1cm} (RP* Precedes NP-OB*)