

Ekwall (1943) calls the construction in (2) ‘Split Genitive’, and it is regarded as the ancestor of NAPA. In this paper, then, I examine the relation between Split Genitive and NAPA and address the question of when and why NAPA arose in the history of English.³ This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the work by Lightfoot (1999). Section 3 gives an overview of the analysis by Allen (2002). Section 4 makes an analysis of the advent of NAPA. Section 5 concludes the discussion in this paper.

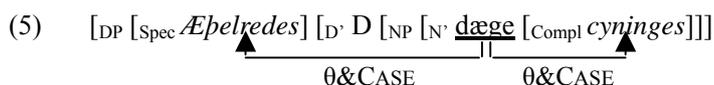
2. Previous Analysis; Lightfoot (1999)

The main proposals on Split Genitive and NAPA presented in Lightfoot (1999) consist of the following two points:

- (3) The second part of the appositive in Split Genitive is in the position of the complement to a head noun.
- (4) The system of morphological case disappeared during EME. After that, morphological genitive case was reanalyzed as a clitic into D, which caused NAPA to come into being.

Below, I review these two points one by one.

First, consider the claim in (3). Lightfoot assumes that the first part of the appositive in Split Genitive occupies [Spec, DP], and that its second part is situated in the complement to a head noun. On this assumption, then, he proposes that the DP complement to the preposition *on* ‘in’ in (2a) has the following structure:



As shown in (5), the second part of the appositive (i.e. *cyninges*) gets its θ -role and case from the head noun. Similarly, the first part of the appositive (i.e. *Æþelredes*) receives its θ -role and case from the head.

This proposal is based on the fact that the genitive case assignment and the θ -marking within DP were possible on either side in OE even in non-appositive contexts too, as illustrated below.

- (6) *Iuþyttan feder*
 Judith-GEN father
 ‘the father of Judith’ (ASC(A), 885.28; Allen (2002))

- (7) *fram frymþe middangeardes*
 from beginning world-GEN
 ‘from the beginning of the world’ (ASC(A), 613.3; Allen (2002))

In (6), the head noun *feder* assigns its θ -role and case to the left, while in (7) the head noun *frymþe* does so to the right.

Next, consider the claim in (4). Lightfoot assumes that the genitive cases in the pre-head and post-head positions in (2) are morphological ones, and that morphological genitive cases were reanalyzed as a clitic in EME. According to this view, the DP complement of the preposition *þurh* in the NAPA example (1) has the following structure:

³ In this article, I focus only on the relation between NAPA and its ancestor Split Genitive, so I do not deal with such examples as (i) below, where two appositional phrases are juxtaposed:
 (i) *Se wæs Elfredes cyninges godsunu.*
 He was Alfred-Gen king-Gen godson
 ‘He was King Alfred’s godson.’ (ASC(A), 890.4; Allen (2002))

- (8) [DP *Julien* [D' -es [NP [N' hest [Compl *be empereur*]]]]]
 CLITIC

As stated in (4), the system of morphological case disappeared in EME, so neither the first nor the second part of the appositive in (8) carries morphological genitive case. Then, the possessive marker *-s* was reanalyzed into D as a clitic in this period. As a result of this change, the construction of NAPA emerged.

In the next section, then, I give an overview of the work by Allen (2002).

3. Previous Analysis; Allen (2002)

Allen's main assertions on Split Genitive and NAPA consist of the following two points:

- (9) The second part of the appositive in Split Genitive and NAPA is adjoined within DP.
- (10) The relaxation of Morphological Blocking is responsible for the loss of agreement in DP, which caused the advent of NAPA.

Below, I review these two points one by one.

First, consider the assertion in (9). Allen refuses the proposal by Lightfoot and suggests that the first part of the appositive is not a complement but an adjunct. This argument is based on the following fact in OE:

- (11) *Between þa wæs Sæðryð Annan wives dohtor*
 Among them was Sæthryth Anna-GEN wife-GEN daughter
Eastengla cyninges.
 East-Angle-GEN king-GEN
 'Among them was Sæthryth, the daughter of the wife of Anna, the king of the East Angles.'
 (Bede, 3. 6.172; Allen (2002))

In this example, the post-head genitive phrase *Eastengla cyninges* is semantically related to *Annan*, not to *wives*. So, *Eastengla cyninges* cannot be considered to be a complement of *dohtor*, since *Sæthryth* is the daughter of the wife, not of the king. Therefore, it is not valid to say that only a complement can occur in the post-head position.

Based on this type of examples, then, Allen argues that the post-head genitive in Split Genitive occupies an adjunct position within DP.⁴ In this analysis, the DP complement to the preposition *on* 'in' in (2a) has the following structure:⁵

- (12) [DP [Spec *Æþelredes*] [D' D [NP [N' dæge]][Adjunct *cyninges*]]] (OE)

As illustrated in (12), Allen assumes that the head noun *dæge* assigns its θ -role directly to the first part of the appositive in [Spec, DP] (i.e. *Æþelredes*), and that agreement holds between the first and the second parts of the appositive, since Morphological Blocking is strong in the OE period.⁶ Thus, Allen deduces the obligatoriness of the agreement in Split Genitive from a principle of Morphological Blocking.

This situation, however, changed in the transition from OE to ME. According to Allen, Morphological Blocking

⁴ She does not refer to the exact position of the adjunct: she only says that it is adjoined somewhere in DP.

⁵ Allen follows Lightfoot in assuming that the prenominal genitive *Æþelredes* occupies [Spec, DP].

⁶ Namely, a less specified form is blocked by a more highly specified form. Thus, in the construction of Split Genitive, where the syntax demands genitive case for both the first and the second parts of the appositive, uninflected forms are not allowed, since more highly specified forms (e.g. *Æþelredes* and *cyninges* in (2a)) are available.

was beginning to be relaxed by the Late OE stage (LOE). As a result, agreement in DP became optional and uninflected forms started to show up. In *Vices & Virtues* (V&V), for instance, we find both (13a) and (13b):

(13) (a) and befasteð here pane3es ðe haðene menn
 and entrust their money the heathen-PL men
 ‘and entrust their money to the heathen men’ (V&V, 79.11; Allen (2002))

(b) godes sune hine sceawede alle mannen
 God’s son him-ACC showed all-PL men-DAT.PL
 ‘God’s son revealed himself to all men.’ (V&V, 31.6; Allen (2002))

In (13a) the indirect object *ðe haðene menn* is not case-marked, although it is required to carry dative case syntactically.⁷ In (13b), however, the noun *mannen* carries clear dative marking.

From this perspective, Allen also gives an explanation for the appearance of NAPA in EME. For instance, she assumes that the NAPA example (1) has the following structure:^{8,9}

(14) [DP [Spec *Iulienes*] [D’ D [NP [N’ hest]][Adjunct *be emperour*]]] (*AGREE) (EME)

As a result of the relaxation of Morphological Blocking, the postnominal appositive *be emperour* came out uninflected, and agreement no longer obtains between the first and the second parts of the appositive.

Then, I summarize her arguments about the relation between a principle of Morphological Blocking and the agreement within DP:

(15) **OE:** (i) strong Morphological Blocking, (ii) full agreement in DP
 ⇒ the existence of Split Genitive in OE

(16) **LOE~EME:** (i) relaxation of Morphological Blocking, (ii) loss of agreement in DP
 ⇒ the emergence of NAPA in EME

In this way, Allen deduces the properties of Split Genitive and NAPA from a principle of Morphological Blocking.¹⁰ In the next section, then, I propose an alternative analysis for the emergence of NAPA in terms of a parametric shift in the D-system, which took place in the transition from OE to ME.

4. Proposal

In this section, I give an exposition of the advent of NAPA, basing my argument mainly on the suggestion made by Watanabe (forthcoming). Thus, I first give an overview of the analysis by Watanabe. He takes up the following changes in the history of English:

(17) (a) Loss of the indeterminate system
 (b) Loss of the first *swa* in free relatives

⁷ In (13a) the determiner *ðe* shows no inflection, and both the adjective and the noun are inflected only for plural.

⁸ As in the construction of Split Genitive, she assumes that the first part of the appositive occupies [Spec,DP], and that its second part is adjoined within DP.

⁹ The notation “*AGREE” indicates that the relation AGREE does not hold.

¹⁰ As will be mentioned in the following section, an important point here is that both Lightfoot’s and Allen’s analyses cannot capture the other diachronic changes discussed in Watanabe (forthcoming).

- (c) Loss of demonstrative relative pronouns
- (d) Loss of strong/weak adjectival inflection
- (e) Birth of definite articles

Watanabe gives a unified account for these changes in terms of parametrization of feature classification. For instance, consider the change described in (c), namely, the loss of demonstrative relative pronouns. Look at the following OE examples in which demonstratives are used as relative pronouns:

- (18) (a) ond het getimbrian medomlic hus, on þæt nænig wer næfde ingang
 and ordered to-build small house in which no man not-had admittance
 ‘and ordered a small house built, in which no man had admittance’
 (*OE Martyrology*, 106.5; Allen (1980b))

- (b) ac gif we asmeagaþ þa eadmodlican dæda þa þe he worhte, þonne ne
 but if we consider those humble deeds which that he wrought then not
 þincþ us þæt nan wundor
 seems us that no wonder
 ‘But if we consider the humble deeds which he wrought, that will seem no wonder to us.’
 (*Blickling Homilies*, 33; Allen (1980a))

The demonstrative pronouns *þæt* in (18a) and *þa* in (18b) are used as a relative pronoun. According to Watanabe, there is an agreement relation involved in these examples, as illustrated in (19):

- (19) [_{DP} D NP [_{CP} dem C TP]]
 AGREE

(19) illustrates the agreement relation between the demonstrative relative pronoun and the D head. The features involved in this relation, Watanabe claims, are formal definiteness features.¹¹ As a result of this operation, the uninterpretable features on the demonstrative are sent to the PF branch of computation.

This OE property (i.e. the use of demonstratives as relative pronouns), however, underwent rapid changes in EME.¹² Paying his attention to the very fact that all the changes in (17) took place almost simultaneously, Watanabe proposes as follows:

- (20) There is a parameter that changed its value in EME. That parameter has to do with classification of the definiteness and the quantificational features. They were formal features in OE, but became semantic features in EME. (Watanabe (forthcoming))

According to (20), the demise of demonstratives as relative pronouns can be explained as due to the loss of agreement, or the shift in the status of features. The type used in OE must agree with respect to the definiteness feature, which is formal in the parametric option, whereas that used in EME no longer enters into agreement since

¹¹ Following Watanabe, I assume in this paper that the definiteness feature in D is interpretable, whereas that of the demonstrative pronoun is uninterpretable.

¹² Note that *wh*-expressions started to be used as relative pronouns during EME. I give an example of *wh*-relative pronouns below:

(i) muchel wes þa sunne for hwam alle þolieð deð þe comen of hore cunne
 great was the sin for which all suffer death who come of their kin
 (*Poema Morale* (Lambeth) 201-2; MED: (Watanabe (forthcoming)))

The use of *wh*-expressions as relative pronouns, however, is rare in EME.

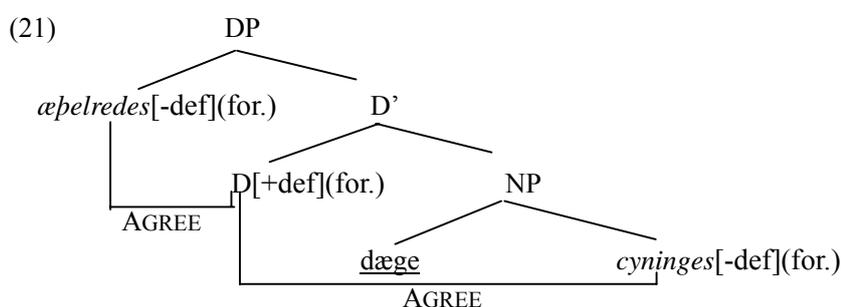
the relevant features became semantic in this period.

In the same vein, Watanabe accounts for the other changes in (17) in terms of (20).

Adopting this idea, then, I analyze the appositive constructions in OE and EME. First consider the split genitive construction observed in OE. I repeat (2a) below:

- (2) (a) *on æþelredes dæge cyninges*
 in Ethelred-GEN day-DAT king-GEN
 ‘In King Ethelred’s day’

If we assume that uninterpretable formal features are responsible for inflectional morphology, we can say that the prenominal and postnominal genitives in (2a) carry uninterpretable formal features because they are inflected in form. On these assumptions, then, I suggest that the DP complement of the preposition *on* ‘in’ in (2a) has the following structure:^{13, 14}



As indicated in (21), I consider that both the first and the second parts of the appositive in (2a) carry uninterpretable definiteness features, which are formal, and enter into agreement with the D head that has interpretable counterparts. As a result of this agreement operation, the uninterpretable formal features are transferred to the PF branch of computation. This is the analysis I propose for Split Genitive observed in OE.

Next, I turn my attention to the situation in EME. Consider the NAPA example in (1), which is repeated below:

- (1) *þurh Iulienes hest þe emperour*
 through Julian-GEN command the emperor-U
 ‘through the command of the Emperor, Julian’

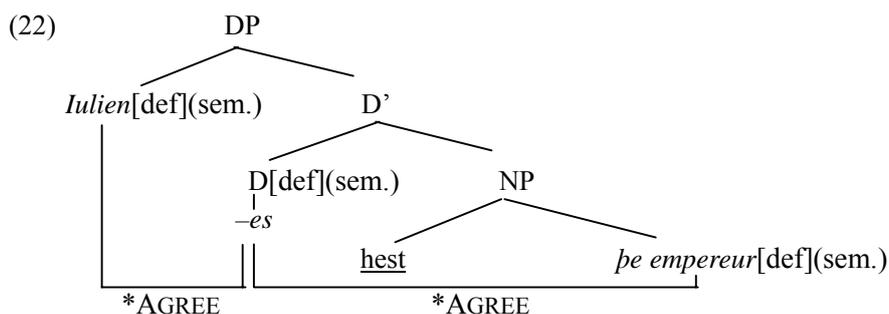
As this example shows, the postnominal appositive in NAPA is not inflected any more. So, if we assume that differentiation in form is a way of expressing the difference in featural content, it is possible to say that the features involved in Split Genitive are different from those involved in NAPA. In terms of (20), then, I assume that the definiteness and the quantificational features turned into semantic features in EME, and suggest that the DP complement of the preposition *þurh* ‘through’ in (1) has the following structure:^{15, 16}

¹³ I follow Lightfoot in assuming that the prenominal genitive *æþelredes* occupies [Spec,DP], and that the postnominal genitive *cyninges* occupies the complement of N.

¹⁴ The notation “[+def](for.)” in (21) means “the definiteness feature is formal and interpretable”, whereas the notation “[−def](for.)” signifies “the definiteness feature is formal and uninterpretable”.

¹⁵ I follow Lightfoot in assuming that the system of morphological case disappeared in EME, and that the morphological genitive case was reanalyzed into D as a clitic.

¹⁶ The notation “[def](sem.)” in (22) means “the definiteness feature is semantic”.



As shown in (22), an agreement relation no longer obtains within the DP structure. This is because the relevant definiteness features turned into semantic features, and became inert during narrow syntax. And this change, I claim, was caused by a parametric shift in the classification of the definiteness and quantificational features.

Then, the following table summarizes the proposal in this section:

(23)

	The Feature Classification Parameter	Agreement within DP	The existence of NAPA
OE	<i>ON (Formal Features)</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
ME	<i>OFF (Semantic Features)</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>

The central point of my argument is that it can unify the advent of NAPA with the other changes in (17) in terms of a single parametric shift. And it is in this respect that my proposal is superior to Lightfoot's (1999) and Allen's (2002), and that the parametric syntax is more attractive than any other approach to diachronic changes.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have focused on two appositive constructions observed in the history of English, namely, Split Genitive and Non-Agreeing Possessive Appositive (NAPA), and have made an analysis of the appearance of NAPA. In Split Genitive, both parts of the appositive carry clear genitive marking, whereas in NAPA only the first part of the appositive does so, its second part having no case marking. An important point is that the construction of NAPA arose in EME. Lightfoot (1999), for instance, accounts for this fact in terms of the loss of morphological case and the reanalysis of genitive case as a clitic. He argues that the system of morphological case existed in OE, but disappeared in EME. Then, morphological genitive case was reanalyzed into D as a clitic, which caused NAPA to come out. This analysis is indeed valid, but it is valid only for accounting for this phenomenon. It cannot capture other diachronic changes which took place at about the same time in EME. Allen (2002), on the other hand, explains it by associating a principle of Morphological Blocking with an agreement within DP. She claims that in OE, an agreement holds within DP since Morphological Blocking is strong in this period, which is why Split Genitive is found in OE. In the transition of OE to ME, she argues, Morphological Blocking starts to be relaxed, and an agreement no longer holds within DP, which caused NAPA to come into being in EME. Certainly, this analysis is plausible for explaining this case, but, like Lightfoot's analysis, it cannot unify it with the other changes discussed in Watanabe (forthcoming). Taking account of these drawbacks of the two previous analyses, I have made an attempt in this paper to provide an alternative analysis for the fact. For this purpose, I have first reviewed the work by Watanabe (forthcoming), in which he takes up five diachronic changes (cf. (17)) and gives a unified account for them. Paying his attention to the very fact that all these changes came about almost simultaneously during EME, Watanabe proposes that there is a parameter that changed its value at this stage, and that it has to do with classification of the definiteness and the quantificational features. In addition, he claims that they were formal features in OE, but became semantic features in EME. On these claims, he unifies the diachronic changes summarized in (17) in terms of a single parametric shift in the D-system. Adopting this idea, then, I have

suggested that both the prenominal and the postnominal genitives in Split Genitive carry uninterpretable definiteness features, which are formal, whereas the head noun bears interpretable counterparts. Thus, both the first and the second parts of the appositive in Split Genitive enter into agreement with the head noun. In the transition from OE to ME, however, there occurred a shift in the feature classification parameter. As a result, the uninterpretable definiteness features in both the pre-head and the post-head genitives turned into semantic features, and then an agreement relation no longer obtained within DP, which brought about the advent of NAPA in EME. In this manner, I have shown in this article that a series of changes related to the properties of nominals in EME are to be accounted for by positing the parametric shift in the classification of the definiteness and quantificational features. Thus, a crucial advantage of this proposal over Lightfoot's (1999) and Allen's (2002) is that it can unify the emergence of NAPA with the other diachronic changes in (17) in terms of a single parametric shift.

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