

# The Parameter 'Agreeing-D' and Unification of Three Changes in the D-system in the History of English\*

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## Abstract

*In this paper, I will concentrate my attention on three changes in the D-system in the history of English: (i) the loss of clitic pronouns, (ii) the birth of definite articles (or the demise of inflected demonstrative pronouns as a definite article) and (iii) the emergence of a new pronominal system. The basic assumption in this paper is that UG has the (null) agreeing D as a parametric option (cf. Watanabe (2004a)). I also follow Watanabe in assuming that the system of Japanese-type indeterminates and that of (overt) definite articles can be used as a diagnosis for the agreeing nature of D. In addition to these two diagnoses, however, I count on one more linguistic phenomenon for this purpose: namely, the system of clitic pronouns. On these assumptions, it becomes clear from the observations in this paper that OE and EME belong to the same class as Japanese and Latin in the typology proposed by Watanabe, while LME is classified as a member of the category to which Modern English and Lakhota also belong. Based on this classification, then, I conclude that the value of the parameter 'Agreeing-D' had been switched in the transition from EME to LME, and that this single parametric change had caused the three changes in the D-system in the history of English.*

*Keywords: D(eterminer)-system, Old English (OE), Early Middle English (EME), Late Middle English (LME), agreeing-D, binding-D, parametric change, clitic pronouns, definite articles, pronominal system.*

## 1. Introduction

In Watanabe (2004a), he claims that there is an intimate relation between the determinate system and the indeterminate system. One type of the indeterminate system is represented by Japanese, where a *wh*-phrase (call it an indeterminate) is used as a non-*wh* quantificational expression when a particle is added to it. On the other hand, Chinese exemplifies another type, where no particle is directly attached to the indeterminate part. These two types of indeterminate systems, he argues, interact with the determinate system in different ways. And he proposes the following generalization on these two types of indeterminate systems:

- (1) Languages with the Japanese-type indeterminate system have a (null) D that makes use

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of feature checking, whereas the Chinese-type indeterminate system can be, but does not have to be, combined with determiners that act as binders.

(Watanabe (2004a: 406))

Furthermore, assuming the (null) agreeing D as a parametric option in UG, he suggests that languages without overt articles will be divided into two classes, one with a null agreeing D and the other which truly lacks D:<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. OVERT, BINDING D : Modern English, Lakhota, etc.
- b. COVERT, AGREEING D : Japanese, Latin, Slavic, Hungarian, etc.
- c. NO D : Chinese, etc.

(Watanabe (2004a: 409))

According to this typology of D, Japanese, Latin and Slavic etc. belong to the same class, because they all have covert articles (i.e. do not have the system of overt articles) and have the agreeing D. On the other hand, Modern English and Lakhota belong to the same class, due to the fact that they have the system of overt articles and have the binding D.

In this paper, then, I follow Watanabe in assuming the (null) agreeing D as a parametric option in UG, and investigate (i) when the English language had undergone a change in the D-system and (ii) how that change can be captured in the Minimalist framework, on the basis of the parameter 'Agreeing-D'.

## 2. Basic Facts

### 2.1. The Data in OE

In OE, as the following paradigm shows, there does exist indeterminate system of the Japanese type:

<sup>1</sup> The indeterminate system in Japanese is shown below:

#### (i) INDETERMINATE SYSTEM IN JAPANESE

	INTERROGATIVE	EXISTENTIAL	NEG-CONCORD	UNIVERSAL
PERSON	<i>dare</i>	<i>dare-ka</i>	<i>dare-mo</i>	<i>dare-mo</i>
THING	<i>nani</i>	<i>nani-ka</i>	<i>nani-mo</i>	<i>(nani-mo-kamo)</i>
PLACE	<i>doko</i>	<i>doko-ka</i>	<i>doko-mo</i>	<i>doko-mo</i>
TIME	<i>itsu</i>	<i>itsu-ka</i>	<i>itsu-mo</i>	*

(Watanabe (2004a: 410))

As shown in (i), in Japanese-type indeterminate system, a *wh*-phrase is used as a non-*wh* quantificational expression when a particle is added to it.

(3) OE INDETERMINATE SYSTEM

WH	SOME/ANY	SOME	EVERY	EVERY/ANY
<i>hwa</i>	<i>(a)hwa</i>	<i>nathwa</i>	<i>æghwa</i>	<i>gehwa</i>
<i>hwæt</i>	<i>(a)hwæt</i>	<i>nathwæt</i>	<i>æghwæt</i>	<i>gehwæt</i>

(Campbell (1959), Mitchell (1985))

Moreover, as discussed in Kemenade (1987), it is well known in the literature that in OE there also exists a clitic pronoun. For instance, OE exhibits the asymmetry in the subject position in matrix topic-initial contexts: a full nominal subject typically follows the finite verb, resulting in the verb-second order (cf. (4) below), whereas a pronominal subject typically precedes it, resulting in the verb-third order (cf. (5) below):<sup>2, 3</sup>

- (4) [On twam pingum] hæfde **God** þas mannes sawle gegodod.  
 On two things had God the man's soul endowed  
 'With two things, God had endowed man's soul.'

(ÆCHom, I.20)

- (5) [Æfter his gebede] **he** ahof þæt child up...  
 after his prayer he lifted the child up  
 'After his prayer, he lifted the child up...'

(ÆCHom, II.28)

OE also allows the pronominal object to appear in the so-called Wackernagel position in the subordinate context (with the Wackernagel object italicized):<sup>4</sup>

- (6) þæt [þa Deniscan] *him* ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan  
 so-that the Danes them NEG could the harvest refuse

(ChronA, 89.10 (896))

These facts have led Kemenade to conclude that OE pronouns are clitics requiring a host.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The example sentences in (4)-(5) are indicated with the matrix-clause-initial elements bracketed, finite verbs underlined and subjects boldfaced.

<sup>3</sup> Kemenade proposes that the verb '*ahof*' in (5) is raised to INFL, and further that the pronoun subject '*he*' in this sentence is cliticized on the left of the verb in INFL, whereby the verb-third order in (5) is derived. In this way, she suggests that there exists a clitic pronoun in OE and further that the subject position asymmetry in matrix topic-initial contexts in OE is derived by the cliticization of the pronominal subject.

<sup>4</sup> In (6), the topicalized subject '*þa Deniscan*' is bracketed and the finite verb '*mehton*' is underlined.

<sup>5</sup> Following Kemenade (1987) and Kondo (2005), I assume in this paper that the presence/absence of

And another important aspect in OE is that the system of definite articles is not established in this period. Instead, demonstrative pronouns are used for that purpose. The following table is the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns in OE:

**TABLE 1: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AS A DEFINITE ARTICLE IN OE**

	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	PLURAL
NOM.	<i>sē, se</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>sēo</i>	<i>þā</i>
ACC.	<i>þone</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>þā</i>	<i>þā</i>
GEN.	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þære, þāre</i>	<i>þāra, þæra,</i>
DAT.	<i>þæm, þām</i>	<i>þæm, þām</i>	<i>þære, þāre</i>	<i>þāra, þæra</i>

(Lass (1992: 117))

As this paradigm shows, demonstrative pronouns in OE were inflected according to gender, number and case. And these inflected demonstrative were used as a definite article in this period (e.g. see the examples in (4)-(6)).

Thus, the following (7) summarizes the situation in OE:<sup>6</sup>

- (7) i. Presence of (Japanese-type) indeterminates
- ii. Presence of clitic pronouns<sup>7</sup>
- iii. Absence of overt articles

Wackernagel objects can be regarded as the diagnosis for the clitic status of object pronouns.

<sup>6</sup> In OE, there is also a distinction between a strong and weak adjectival inflection, as shown below:

- (i) STRONG/WEAK ADJECTIVAL DECLENSION: PARADIGM FOR *til* 'good' (Watanabe (2005))

a. WEAK DECLENSION

	SG.			PL.
	MAS.	NEU.	FEM.	
NOM.	<i>tila</i>	<i>tile</i>	<i>tile</i>	<i>tilan</i>
ACC.	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tile</i>	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilan</i>
GEN.	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilra, -ena</i>
DAT.	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilan</i>	<i>tilum</i>

b. STRONG DECLENSION

	SG.			PL.		
	MAS.	NEU.	FEM.	MAS.	NEU.	FEM.
NOM.	<i>til</i>	<i>til</i>	<i>tilu</i>	<i>tile</i>	<i>tilu</i>	<i>tile, -a</i>
ACC.	<i>tilne</i>	<i>til</i>	<i>tile</i>	<i>tile</i>	<i>tilu</i>	<i>tile, -a</i>
GEN.	<i>tiles</i>	<i>tiles</i>	<i>tilre</i>	<i>tilra</i>	<i>tilra</i>	<i>tilra</i>
DAT.	<i>tilum</i>	<i>tilum</i>	<i>tilre</i>	<i>tilum</i>	<i>tilum</i>	<i>tilum</i>

The distinction between the weak/strong forms in (i) is determined by the definiteness of the head noun. Therefore, it would be reasonable to consider that some kind of agreement relation holds between attributive adjectives in OE and the head nouns they modify.

Assuming this much, then, I take that this phenomenon will also reinforce the view that OE has the agreeing D nature.

<sup>7</sup> As we will see later in this paper, if we follow Chomsky (1995b) in assuming that cliticization is driven by an agreement relation between pronouns and a higher functional head, then the existence of clitic pronouns in EME will indicate the agreeing nature of D.

Thus, this situation in OE is similar, for instance, to that of Latin, where the system of overt articles is not established while indeterminate systems are present. Then, in the categorization in (2) proposed by Watanabe, OE will belong to the (b) category to which Latin also belongs:

- (8) a. OVERT, BINDING D : Modern English, Lakhota, etc.  
 b. COVERT, AGREEING D : Japanese, Latin, Slavic, Hungarian, OE, etc.  
 c. NO D : Chinese, etc.

Then, in the following section, we will focus on the situation in EME.

## 2.2. The Data in EME

### 2.2.1. Clitic Pronouns in EME

Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311f) survey the seven texts from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century South Midlands dialect,<sup>8</sup> and count the number of V2/V3 orders with both full nominal subjects (=Subj<sub>FN</sub>) and personal pronoun subjects (=Subj<sub>PPRN</sub>) in the contexts where one of the following seven elements comes first: NP, PP and Adj complements, adverbs '*þa/then*' and '*now*', PP adjuncts and any other adverbs. And the following table shows the result of their survey:<sup>9</sup>

**TABLE 2: V2/V3 IN THE SEVEN MID-13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTH MIDLANDS TEXTS**

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP COMPLEMENT	50 (92.6%)	4 (7.4%)	4 (4.5%)	84 (95.5%)
PP COMPLEMENT	12 (75.0%)	4 (25.0%)	0 (0%)	11 (100%)
ADJ COMPLEMENT	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)	7 (33.3%)	14 (66.7%)
<i>þa / then</i>	37 (94.9%)	2 (5.2%)	26 (72.2%)	10 (27.8%)
<i>now</i>	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	8 (26.7%)	22 (73.3%)
PP ADJUNCT	56 (74.7%)	19 (25.3%)	2 (2.0%)	99 (98.0%)
ANY OTHER ADVERB	79 (57.2%)	59 (42.8%)	1 (0.5%)	181 (99.5%)

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311), Kroch et al. (2000: 370))

Following Miyashita (2004), I only consider the shaded rows in this table, because the adverbs '*þa/then*' and '*now*' can be taken to be an operator. In other words, the contexts which involve these adverbs can be considered as the operator initial-context, which consistently

<sup>8</sup> The seven texts surveyed by Kroch & Taylor are as follows: *Trinity Homilies*, *Lambeth Homilies*, *Sawles Warde*, *Hali Meidhad*, *St. Katherine*, *Vices and Virtues* and *Ancrene Riwe*.

<sup>9</sup> The format of the tables in this section is based on that in Miyashita (2004).

exhibits the V2 order independently of the subject type. In the shaded rows, we can observe the same subject position asymmetry as in OE. That is, if the subject is a full nominal one, the percentage of the V2 order is high (71.4% on average). On the other hand, if the subject is a pronominal one, the percentage of the V3 order increases sharply (96.5% on average).

Aside from the seven mid-13<sup>th</sup> century South Midlands texts, Kroch & Taylor (1997) survey one more text, the '*Ayenbite Inwit*' (a mid-14<sup>th</sup> century Kentish text). The result of this survey is shown in the following table:

**TABLE 3: V2/V3 IN THE '*AYENBITE OF INWIT*' (KENTISH DIALECTS)**

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP COMPLEMENT	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	1 (8.3 %)	11 (91.7%)
PP COMPLEMENT	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
ADJ COMPLEMENT	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
<i>Pa/then</i>	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)
<i>now</i>	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	7 (50.0%)	7 (50.0%)
PP ADJUNCT	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.4%)	1 (3.2%)	30 (96.8%)
ANY OTHER ADVERB	19 (55.9%)	15 (44.1%)	5 (8.8%)	52 (91.2%)

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 312), Kroch et al. (2000: 370))

Here again, the same trend appears as in Table 2 above. If the subject is a full nominal one, the percentage of the V2 order is high (62.5% on average). In contrast, if the subject is a pronominal one, the percentage of the V3 order increases sharply (93.1% on average). From this survey, we can say that in the Kentish dialect the subject position asymmetry had been productively attested until the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. In a nutshell, it can be assumed that the SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> in this dialect had behaved as a clitic until the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.

From these observations, then, we obtain the following description on the subject position asymmetry in matrix topic-initial contexts in EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects):

- (9) In EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects), the subject position asymmetry in matrix topic-initial contexts is still observed.

If we follow Kemenade (1987) and Kroch & Taylor (1997) etc. in assuming that the asymmetry in subject position in matrix topic-initial contexts indicates the cliticness of subject pronouns, then we can conclude from (9) that the subject pronouns in EME still retain their clitic status.

Next, I will focus on the behavior of object pronouns in EME. I cite the following table from Miyashita (2004), which shows the distribution of Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> in the seven mid-13<sup>th</sup> century South Midlands texts;

**TABLE 4:** DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE SEVEN MID-13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTH MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
<i>SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>						
cmvices1.m1(c.1200)	45(3)	24(2)	6	8	0	83
cmtrinit.mx1(a.1225)	15	14(6)	9	5	0	43
<i>TOTAL</i>	60(3)	38(8)	15	13	0	126
<i>SOUTHWEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>						
cmlambx1.m1(a.1225)	16	14(2)	4	2	0	36
cmlamb1.m1(a.1225)	2	2(1)	0	0	0	4
cmsawles.m1(c.1225)	1	2	5	0	0	8
cmhali.m1(c.1225)	3	2	8	0	0	13
cmkathe.m1(c.1225)	4	4	8	0	0	16
cmanciw.m1(c.1230)	20	14(4)	36	1	0	71
<i>TOTAL</i>	46	38(7)	61	3	0	148
<i>GRAND TOTAL</i>	106(3)	76(15)	76	16	0	274

(Miyashita (2004: 114))

Table 4 shows that personal pronominal objects (=Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>) have an inclination to occur in the Wackernagel position in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century South Midlands texts. Thus, we can say that the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> was also carried over from OE to EME. In total, 106 out of the 274 instances of the subordinate Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> (38.7%) appear in this position, while 76 instances (27.7%) appear in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context and other 76 instances (27.7%) appear in the post-verbal position in the Aux-V context (cf. Miyashita (2004)).

From this observation, then, we reach the following result on the Wackerangel objects in EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects):

(10) In EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects), the Wackernagel objects are still productive.

From (9) and (10), then, we can conclude as follows on the productivity of clitic pronouns in EME (Midlands/Southern dialects):

(11) In EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects), clitic pronouns are still productive.

#### 2.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns in EME

In this section, I refer to Kondo (2005) and show the quantitative data on the demonstrative pronouns found in the eight texts surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997):<sup>10, 11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> In counting the number of the demonstratives in the texts, I have referred to the series of EETS and have counted only those demonstrative pronouns which are used as a definite article:

<sup>11</sup> In these data, I have shown the number of Nominative forms in the category of 'Uninflected

**(A) SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS**

(i) *cmvices1.m1* (CMVICES1, 3.2 – CMVICES1, 13.151)<sup>12, 13</sup>

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 41)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmvices1.m1</i>	<i>ðane</i> (2), <i>ðat</i> (2), <i>ðan</i> (4), <i>ða</i> , <i>þa</i> (3), <i>ðare</i> (3), <i>þas</i> (1)	<i>ðe</i> , <i>þe</i> , <i>te</i> (24) (Nominative(5/24))

(ii) *cmtrinit.mx1* (CMTRINIT, 51.686 – CMTRINITY, 61.843)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 70)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmtrinit.mx1</i>	<i>þen</i> (1), <i>þo</i> (3), <i>þat</i> (11), <i>þene</i> (1)	<i>þe</i> (54) (Nominative(20/54))

**(B) SOUTHWEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS**

(iii) *cmlambx1.mx1* (CMLAMBX1, 3.1 – CMLAMBX1, 15.183)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 102)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmlambx1.mx1</i>	<i>þere</i> (4), <i>þat</i> , <i>þet</i> (10), <i>þane</i> (2), <i>þam</i> (3), <i>þene</i> (4), <i>þes</i> (1), <i>þan</i> (5), <i>þon</i> (2), <i>þa</i> , <i>ða</i> (35)	<i>þe</i> (31) (Nominative(9/31))

(iv) *cmsawles.m1* (CMSAWLES, 165.1 – CMSAWLES, 180.220)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 81)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmsawles.m1</i>	<i>þen</i> (2), <i>þes</i> (1)	<i>þe</i> , <i>te</i> (78) (Nominative(19/78))

(v) *cmhali.m1* (CMHALI, 135.104 – CMHALI, 147.274)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 79)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmhali.m1</i>	<i>þet</i> (1), <i>þer</i> (1), <i>þes</i> (4)	<i>þe</i> , <i>te</i> (73) (Nominative(19/73))

Demonstratives', because there is a possibility that these forms may be a remnant of the masculine nominative form in the OE (inflected) demonstratives '*sē*, *se*'.

<sup>12</sup> I have surveyed approximately ten pages (about 400 lines) in each PPCME2 text, searching for those demonstratives used as a definite article. However, when I have found more than 100 demonstratives in a text before reaching ten pages, I have stopped the search at that page.

<sup>13</sup> Text names in PPCME2 are represented as small letters (e.g. *cmtrinit.mx1*), whereas capital letters (e.g. CMTRINIT) stands for a sentence number in PPCME2 texts (e.g. 'CMTRINIT, ...686' means the sentence number 686 in the text *cmtrini.mx1*).



(vi) *cmkathe.m1* (EETS OS 80, 48.1032 – EETS OS 80, 66.1436)<sup>14</sup>

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 50)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmkathe.m1</i>	<i>þen</i> (1), <i>þene</i> (2)	<i>þe</i> , <i>te</i> (47) (Nominative(6/47))

(vii) *cmancriw.m1* (CMANCRIW, I.42.2 – CMANCRIW, I.54.136)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 93)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmancriw.m1</i>	<i>þet</i> (4), <i>þa</i> (1), <i>þene</i> (1)	<i>þe</i> , <i>ðe</i> (87) (Nominative(15/87))

### (C) KENTISH DIALECTS

(viii) *cmayenbi.m2* (CMAYENBI, 5.4 – CMAYENBI, 11.131)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 82)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmayenbi.m2</i>	<i>þane</i> (6), <i>þet</i> (5)	<i>þe</i> (70), <i>the</i> (1) (Nominative(16/71))

From these quantitative data, then, we can conclude as follows on demonstrative pronouns in EME (the Midlands/Kentish dialects):

(12) In EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects), demonstrative pronouns are still inflected, and they are used as a definite article.

From (12), it follows that the system of overt (definite) articles is still not established in EME. The following (13), then, summarizes the discussion so far on the situation in EME (Midlands/Kentish dialects):

- (13) i. Presence of clitic pronouns  
ii. Absence of overt articles

Now, as mentioned in note 7, if we follow Chomsky (1995b) in assuming that cliticization is driven by an agreement relation between pronouns and a higher functional head, then the existence of clitic pronouns in EME will indicate the agreeing nature of D.

Taking these points into account, it will be possible to classify EME in the (b) category in the typology of languages proposed by Watanabe:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For the text ‘*The Life of Saint Katherine*’ (*cmkathe.m1* in PPCME2), I have referred to the EETS version of it, because some pages are lacking in the PPCME 2 version.

<sup>15</sup> In EME the system of Japanese-type indeterminates is no longer attested. So, it might be possible to consider that some kind of change had occurred in the D-system in the transition from OE to EME. As shown in (13), however, the system of definite articles is still not established in EME (i.e. the system

- (14) a. OVERT, BINDING D : Modern English, Lakhota, etc.  
 b. COVERT, AGREEING D : Japanese, Latin, Slavic, Hungarian, OE, EME, etc.  
 c. No D : Chinese, etc.

In the next section, then, we will observe the situation in LME.

### 2.3. *The Data in LME*

#### 2.3.1. Personal Pronouns in LME

In Haeberli (2002b), he surveys the 27 texts from the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century Midlands/Southern dialect, focusing only on the topic-initial V2/V3 instances. The following table is the result of his survey:

**TABLE 5:** TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE LATE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
<i>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</i>				
Polychronicon (a.1387)	9 (11.1%)	72 (88.9%)	0 (0%)	48 (100%)
New Testament (c.1388)	4 (4.0%)	46 (96.0%)	0 (0%)	103 (100%)
Purvey (c.1388)	1 (3.3%)	29 (96.7%)	0 (0%)	25 (100%)
<i>TOTAL</i>	14 (8.7%)	147 (91.3%)	0 (0%)	176 (100%)
<i>WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>				
Edmund, Vernon (c.1390)	48 (78.7%)	13 (21.3%)	23 (15.4%)	126 (84.6%)
Brut (c.1400)	8 (19.0%)	34 (81.0%)	6 (7.1%)	79 (92.9%)
<i>TOTAL</i>	56 (54.4%)	47 (45.6%)	29 (12.4%)	205 (87.6%)
<i>EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>				
Earliest Psalter (c.1350)	28 (53.8%)	24 (46.2%)	16 (25.4%)	47 (74.6%)
Chaucer (c.1380-1390)	64 (50.0%)	64 (50.0%)	95 (50.0%)	95 (50.0%)
Wycliffite Sermons (c.1400)	62 (33.7%)	122 (66.3%)	13 (15.1%)	73 (84.9%)
Old Testament (a.1382)	1 (0.9%)	107 (99.1%)	1 (2.1%)	46 (97.9%)
Cloud of Unknowing (a.1400)	19 (38.8%)	30 (61.2%)	42 (19.9%)	169 (80.1%)
Mandeville's Travels (c.1400)	9 (37.5%)	15 (62.5%)	1 (3.1%)	31 (96.9%)
<i>TOTAL</i>	183 (33.6%)	362 (66.4%)	168 (26.7%)	461 (73.3%)
<i>GRAND TOTAL</i>	253 (31.3%)	556 (68.7%)	197 (19.05)	842 (81.0%)

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

of inflected demonstratives in Table 1 is carried over from OE to EME), and clitic pronouns are still productive in this period. On these two facts, then, I assume that in EME the agreeing nature of D is still retained as in OE and so belongs to the (b) category of the typology proposed by Watanabe.

Except for some exceptional texts (such as *the Mirror of St. Edmund (Veron ms.)* in the West Midlands dialect and *the Earlier English Prose Psalter* in the East Midlands dialect), you can see, from this table, that the subject position asymmetry was greatly reduced in this period; in these texts 31.3% of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> tokens and 19.0% of the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. In addition, the decline of the 'I-to-C' raising during this period is obvious from the Subj<sub>FN</sub> cases in this table, because it will be reasonable to assume that a full nominal subject consistently occupies Spec,TP from EME to LME. In other words, we can assume, from this table, that the 'I-to-C' raising occurs only in 33.1% of all the instances involving Subj<sub>FN</sub>.

However, no conclusion can be drawn from Table 5 on the clitic status of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub>. There are at least three possibilities for deriving the V3 order of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> in Table 5. The first one is that it is derived by the cliticization of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> as in OE and EME. The second one is that it is derived by the absence of the 'I-to-C' raising of finite verbs. And the third one is that it is derived by the combination of the absence of cliticization of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> and the absence of the 'I-to-C' raising of finite verbs.

To make the situation clearer, then, look at the following table presented in Miyashita (2004) which shows the distribution of Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> in these texts:

**TABLE 6:** DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE LATE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
<i>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</i>						
cmpolych.m3 (a.1387)	0	1	110	0	1	112
cmntest.m3 (c.1388)	0	0	16	0	0	16
cmpurvey.m3 (c.1388)	0	0	17	0	0	17
<i>TOTAL</i>	0	1	143	0	1	145
<i>WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>						
cmedvern.m3 (c.1390)	0	6	21	0	0	27
cmbrut.m3 (c.1400)	2	48 (7)	32	0	0	82
<i>TOTAL</i>	2	54 (7)	53	0	0	109
<i>EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>						
cmearlps.m2 (c.1350)	0	0	19	0	0	19
cmctpars.m3 (c.1380-1390)	0	2 (1)	38	0	0	40
cmctmeli.m3 (c.1400)	0	1	55	0	0	56
cmboeth.m3 (a.1382)	0	0	12	0	0	12
cmastro.m3 (a.1400)	0	0	1	0	0	1
cmwycser.m3 (c.1400)	0	0	50	0	0	50
cmotest.m3 (a.1382)	0	0	9	0	0	9
cmcloud.m3 (a.1400)	0	0	27	0	0	27
cmmandev.m3 (c.1400)	0	0	62	0	0	62
<i>TOTAL</i>	0	3 (1)	273	0	0	276
<i>GRAND TOTAL</i>	2	58 (8)	449	0	1	530

(Miyashita (2004: 117))

As this table shows, instances of the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> are almost extinct in this period; only two instances are attested in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century texts. Therefore, we could consider, from this table, that personal pronouns in this period lost their clitic status, whether they are Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> or Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>.

Keeping this point in mind, return to Table 5. If we take, as I have just mentioned, that the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> also lost its clitic status in this period, it will be reasonable to consider that the V3 order in the cases involving Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> (i.e. 81.0%) is derived by the combination of the absence of the cliticization of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> and the absence of the ‘I-to-C’ raising, with the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> remaining in Spec,TP.<sup>16</sup>

Next, consider the situation in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Reduction of the subject position asymmetry proceeds further in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This is obvious from the result of Haeblerli’s survey on the 15<sup>th</sup> century texts, which is shown in the following table:

<sup>16</sup> In the discussion below, I assume, based on the argument here, that in the Southern/Midlands dialects in LME, not only Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> but also Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> lost its clitic status during the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and further that the V3 order in matrix topic-initial contexts involving Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> in this period is structurally different from that found in OE and EME.

TABLE 7: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
<i>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</i>				
ME Sermons (c.1450)	9 (21.4%)	33 (78.6%)	4 (6.6%)	57 (93.4%)
Gregory's Chronicle (c.1475)	14 (19.2 %)	59 (80.8%)	0 (0%)	59 (100%)
<i>TOTAL</i>	23 (20.0%)	92 (80.0%)	4 (3.3%)	116 (96.7%)
<i>WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>				
Mirk (a.1500 (a.1396))	2 (6.7%)	28 (93.3%)	1 (3.6%)	27 (96.4%)
Malory (a.1470)	14 (14.6%)	82 (85.4%)	30 (12.9%)	203 (87.1%)
Siege of Jerusalem (c.1500)	12 (20.3%)	47 (79.7%)	4 (4.4%)	87 (95.6%)
<i>TOTAL</i>	28 (15.1%)	157 (84.9%)	35 (9.9%)	317 (90.1%)
<i>EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>				
Hilton (a.1450 (a.1396))	8 (25.8%)	23 (74.2%)	8 (17.8%)	37 (82.2%)
Vices (a.1450 (c.1400))	22 (59.5%)	15 (40.5%)	19 (27.9%)	49 (72.1%)
Julian (a.1450 (c.1400))	11 (30.6%)	25 (69.4%)	14 (21.2%)	52 (78.8%)
Edmund (c.1450 (c.1400))	1 (1.8%)	56 (98.2%)	0 (0%)	72 (100%)
Margery Kempe (a.1450)	6 (16.7 %)	35 (83.3%)	16 (12.7%)	110 (87.3%)
Capgrave's Chronicle	13 (19.4%)	54 (80.6%)	31 (51.7%)	29 (48.3%)
Robert Reynes (1470-1500)	13 (48.1%)	14 (51.9%)	0 (0%)	31 (100%)
Caxton, Reynard (1481)	15 (65.2%)	8 (34.8%)	28 (36.8%)	48 (63.2%)
Fitjames (1495)	18 (48.6%)	19 (51.4%)	12 (27.9%)	31 (72.1%)
In Die Innocencium (1497)	7 (21.2%)	26 (78.8%)	2 (5.9%)	32 (94.1%)
<i>TOTAL</i>	114 (29.3%)	275 (70.7%)	130 (20.9%)	491 (79.1%)
<i>GRAND TOTAL</i>	165 (23.9%)	524 (76.1%)	169 (15.5%)	924 (84.5%)

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

Again, there are some exceptional cases (e.g. *the Book of Vices and Virtues* and *Caxton's History of the Reynard the Fox* in the East Midlands dialect). Except for these exceptional texts, the number of the V2 tokens with the Subj<sub>FN</sub> and the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is reduced in every text to the extent that the subject position asymmetry declines further.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> completely disappears in the texts, as shown below:

**TABLE 8:** DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
<i>SOUTHERN DIALECTS</i>						
cmroyal.m3 (a.1425)	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmgregor.m3 (c.1475)	0	0	16	0	0	16
<i>TOTAL</i>	0	0	20	0	0	20
<i>WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>						
cmmirk.m34 (c.1415)	0	0	121	0	0	121
cmmalory.m4 (c.1470)	0	0	130	0	0	130
cmsiege.m4 (c.1500)	0	6	3	0	0	9
<i>TOTAL</i>	0	6	254	0	0	260
<i>EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS</i>						
cmhilton.m34(a.1450)	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmvices4.m34 (a.1450)	0	0	18	0	0	18
cmjulnor.m34 (a.1450 (1400))	0	0	20	0	0	20
cmedmund.m4 (c.1450 (1438))	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmkempe.m4 (a.1450)	0	1	267	0	0	268
cmcapchr.m4 (c.1464)	0	0	56	0	0	56
cmreynes.m4 (1470-1500)	0	1(1)	2	0	0	3
cmreynar.m4 (1481)	0	2	29	0	0	31
cmfitzja.m4 (1495)	0	0	4	0	0	4
cminnoce.m4 (1497)	0	0	3	0	0	3
<i>TOTAL</i>	0	4(1)	407	0	0	411
<i>GRAND TOTAL</i>	0	10(1)	681	0	0	691

(Miyashita (2004: 119))

Summarizing the discussion so far in this section, we obtain the following two descriptions on the subject position asymmetry in matrix topic-initial contexts and Wackernagel objects:

(15) In LME (Midlands/Southern dialects), the subject position asymmetry in matrix topic-initial contexts is no longer attested, due to the combination of the absence of the cliticization of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> and the decline of the 'I-to-C' raising.

(16) In LME (Midlands/Southern dialects), the Wackernagel objects are no longer attested.

From (15) and (16), then, we can conclude as follows on the clitic status of Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> and Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> in LME (Midlands/Southern dialects).

(17) In LME (Midlands/Southern dialects), Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> and Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> lost their clitic status.

### 2.3.2. Demonstrative Pronouns in LME

In this section, I show the quantitative data on the demonstrative pronouns found in the fourteen texts surveyed by Haeberli (2002b). And in these data, I count only those demonstrative pronouns which are used as a definite article:

#### (A) SOUTHERN DIALECTS

##### (i) *cmpolych.m3* (CMPOLYCH, VI, 3.3 – CMPOLYCH, VI, 29.196)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 134)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmpolych.m3</i>	*	<i>þe</i> (127), <i>the</i> (7) (Nominative(27/134))

##### (ii) *cmntest.m3* (CMNTEST, I, 1.4 – CMNTEST, III, 20.224)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 100)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmntest.m3</i>	*	<i>the</i> (100) (Nominative(19/100))

##### (iii) *cmpurvey.m3* (CMPURVEY, I, 1.3 – CMPURVEY, I, 2.91)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 105)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmpurvey.m3</i>	*	<i>the</i> (105) (Nominative(31/105))

#### (B) WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS

##### (iv) *cmedvern.m3* (CMEDVERN, 240.3 – CMEDVERN, 243.191)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 74)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmedvern.m3</i>	*	<i>þe</i> (74) (Nominative(12/74))

##### (v) *cmb Brut.m3* (CMBRUT3, 1.3 – CMBRUT3, 8.193)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 95)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmb Brut.m3</i>	*	<i>þe</i> (86), <i>the</i> (9) (Nominative(19/95))

#### (C) EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS

##### (vi) *cmearlps.m2* (CMEARLPS, 1.5 – CMERRLPS, 8.314)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 79)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
<i>cmearlps.m2</i>	*	<i>þe</i> (79) (Nominative(14/79))

(vii) *cmastro.m3* (CMASTRO, 662.C1.3 – CMASTRO, 664.C2.65)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 100)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmastro.m3	*	<i>the</i> (100) (Nominative(16/100))

(viii) *cmboeth.m3* (CMBOETH, 429.C1.5 – CMBOETH, 436.C1.299)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 90)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmboeth.m3	*	<i>the</i> (90) (Nominative(20/90))

(ix) *cmctmeli.m3* (CMCTMELI, 217.C1b.3 – CMCTMELI, 221.C2.161)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 67)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmctmeli.m3	*	<i>the</i> (67) (Nominative(21/67))

(x) *cmctpars.m3* (CMCTPARS, 288.C1b.3 – CMCTPARS, 291.C2.129)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 100)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmctpars.m3	*	<i>the</i> (100) (Nominative(16/100))

(xi) *cmwycser.m3* (CMWYCSE, 223.3 – CMWYCSE, 234.182)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 82)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmwycser.m3	<i>pere</i> (2), <i>per</i> (2)	<i>be</i> (63), <i>the</i> (15) (Nominative(78/24))

(xii) *cmotest.m3* (CMOTEST, I, 1G.5 – CMOTEST, III, 1G.134)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 103)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmotest.m3	*	<i>the</i> (103) (Nominative(30/103))

(xiii) *cmcloud.m3* (CMCLOUD, 13.4 – CMCLOUD, 24.171)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 117)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmcloud.m3	*	<i>be</i> (117) (Nominative(14/117))

(xiv) *cmmandev.m3* (CMMANDEV, 1.1 – CMMANDEV, 5.71)

(The total number of demonstratives as a definite article = 100)

	INFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES	UNINFLECTED DEMONSTRATIVES
cmmandev.m3	*	<i>the</i> (100) (Nominative(6/100))



As you can see from these quantitative data, inflected demonstratives are hardly used in those texts surveyed by Haeberli (2002b) (except for one text, *cmwycser.m3*). Instead, the uninflected form ‘*the*’ or ‘*pe*’ is used as a definite article throughout these texts.

On the basis of these data presented in Kondo (2005), then, we reach the following conclusion on demonstrative pronouns in LME (Midlands/Southern dialects):

- (18) In LME (Midlands/Southern dialects), the leveling had occurred to demonstrative pronouns, and then the system of overt (definite) articles was established.

Now, the following (19) summarizes the discussion so far on the situation in LME (Midlands/Southern dialects):

- (19) i. Disappearance of clitic pronouns  
ii. Appearance of overt articles

As suggested above, assuming that cliticization is driven by an agreement relation, then the disappearance of clitic pronouns in LME will indicate the loss of the agreeing nature of D.

Taking these points into account, it will be possible to classify LME in the (a) category in the typology of languages proposed by Watanabe:

- (20) a. OVERT, BINDING D : Modern English, Lakhota, **LME**, etc.  
b. COVERT, AGREEING D : Japanese, Latin, Slavic, Hungarian, **OE**, **EME**, etc.  
c. NO D : Chinese, etc.

From (20), then, we get to the following (21):

- (21) The English language had been changed from an agreeing-D language to a binding-D language in the transition from EME to LME.

In the next section, then, I will propose an analysis for the change described in (21), in terms of the parameter ‘Agreeing-D’.

### 3. Analysis

Now, to capture the change described in (21), I propose the following hypothesis on the basis of the parameter ‘Agreeing-D’:

- (22) The value of the parameter ‘Agreeing-D’ had been switched in the transition from EME to LME.

According to this hypothesis, the change in the value of the parameter ‘Agreeing D’ had occurred in the transitional period, and as a result of this change, I propose, the following two changes had occurred in the D-system of English in the transitional period, (i) Disappearance of clitic pronouns and (ii) Appearance of overt articles. And the following figure summarizes this point:

**FIGURE 1: CHANGES IN THE D-SYSTEM CAUSED BY THE RESETTING OF THE ‘AGREEING-D’ PARAMETER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH (later, to be completed as FIGURE 3):**

<b>EME: THE ‘AGREEING-D’ BEING SET ON</b>	→	<b>LME: THE ‘AGREEING-D’ BEING SET OFF</b>
(i) Presence of clitic pronouns		(i) Absence of clitic pronouns
(ii) Absence of overt articles		(ii) Presence of overt articles

In this way, I propose that two changes in the D-system observed in section 2 had been caused by the resetting of the parameter ‘Agreeing-D’.

Now, as a supporting evidence for this view, let us turn to another D-related phenomenon in the history of English, namely, a change in pronominal system in the transitional period from EME to LME.

The personal pronoun is the only word class that consistently, throughout the history of the language, maintains inflection not only for number and genitive/non-genitive, but also for other cases and gender as well. And the following table illustrates the pronominal paradigm in OE:

**TABLE 9: PRONOMINAL SYSTEM IN OE**

	<b>FIRST PERSON</b>			<b>SECOND PERSON</b>		
	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
NOM.	<i>ic</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>wē</i>	<i>þū</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>gē</i>
GEN.	<i>mīn</i>	<i>uncer</i>	<i>ūre</i>	<i>þīn</i>	<i>incer</i>	<i>ēower</i>
DAT.	<i>mē</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>ūs</i>	<i>þē</i>	<i>inc</i>	<i>ēow</i>
ACC.	<i>mē</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>ūs</i>	<i>þē</i>	<i>inc</i>	<i>ēow</i>

	<b>THIRD PERSON SINGULAR</b>			<b>THIRD PERSON PLURAL</b>
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	(ALL GENDERS)
NOM.	<i>hē</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hēo</i>	<i>hī(e)</i>
GEN.	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>hire</i>	<i>hira/heora</i>
DAT.	<i>him</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>hire</i>	<i>him/heom</i>
ACC.	<i>hine</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hīe</i>	<i>hī(e)</i>

(Lass (1992: 117))

As this table shows, the first and second person in OE were inflected for three numbers (singular/ dual/ plural), and four cases, but not for gender; this was a category only of the third-person singular. Plural was the same for all genders.

Now, note that this pronominal paradigm of OE is still observed in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century Midlands/Kentish dialects, as shown in the following table:<sup>17</sup>

**TABLE 10: PRONOMINAL FORMS IN THE MID-13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MIDLANDS/KENTISH DIALECTS:**

	3RD. SG. FEM. NOM.	3RD. PL. NOM.	1ST. 2ND. DUAL
SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS			
cmvices1.m1	<i>hie</i>	<i>hie, he</i>	<i>unc</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> . dat. acc.)
cmtrinit.mx1	<i>hie</i>	<i>hie</i>	*
SOUTHWEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS			
cmlambx1.mx1	<i>heo</i>	<i>heo</i>	<i>wit</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> . nom.)
cmsawles.m1	<i>ha</i>	<i>ha</i>	*
cmhali.m1	<i>ha, heo</i>	<i>ha</i>	*
cmkathe.m1	<i>ha, heo</i>	<i>ha, heo</i>	<i>wit, unc</i>
cmancriw.m1	<i>heo</i>	<i>ha</i>	*
KENTISH DIALECTS			
cmayenbi.m2	<i>hi, hy</i>	<i>hi</i>	*

As this table shows, the paradigm of the OE pronominal system was still preserved in the eight texts dealt with by Kroch & Taylor.

In LME, however, a number of major transformations had occurred. For instance, the following pronominal paradigm is observed in the Southeast Midlands of LME:<sup>18, 19, 20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Here, I have surveyed those eight texts dealt with in Kroch & Taylor (1997).

<sup>18</sup> As Table 11 shows, I have surveyed those fourteen texts treated by Haeberli (2002b).

<sup>19</sup> Similar observations are made by Lass (1992), as shown below:

(i) PRONOMINAL SYSTEM IN SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS OF LME

		FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON		
				MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
SINGULAR	NOM.	<i>I</i>	<i>pū</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>shē</i>	<i>(h)it</i>
	GEN.	<i>mī(n)</i>	<i>pī(n)</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>her(e)</i>	<i>his</i>
	OBL.	<i>mē</i>	<i>pē</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>her(e)</i>	<i>(h)it</i>

		FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON
PLURAL	NOM.	<i>wē</i>	<i>3ē</i>
	GEN.	<i>our(es)</i>	<i>3our(es)</i>
	OBL.	<i>us</i>	<i>3ou</i>

(Lass (1992: 120-121))

Here, you can see that (a) the dual forms in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person are lost, and (b) the old fem. nom. sg. ‘*hēo*’ had been replaced by *shē*.

<sup>20</sup> In this table, I leave blank the space for the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. fem. nom. forms in the texts *cmntest.m3*, *cmcdvern.m3* and *cmmandev.m3*, because I could find no instances of them in these texts.

TABLE 11: PRONOMINAL FORMS IN THE LATE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MIDLANDS/SOUTHERN DIALECTS:

	3RD. SG. FEM. NOM.	3RD. PL. NOM.	1ST. 2ND. DUAL
SOUTHERN DIALECTS			
cmpolych.m3	<i>sche</i>	<i>bei, bey</i>	*
cmntest.m3		<i>thei</i>	*
cmpurvey.m3	<i>sche</i>	<i>thei</i>	*
WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS			
cmedvern.m3		<i>bei</i>	*
cmbrut.m3	<i>sche</i>	<i>they, bei, bey</i>	*
EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS			
cmearlps.m2		<i>bey</i>	*
cmastro.m3	<i>she</i>	<i>thei, they</i>	*
cmboeth.m3	<i>sche</i>	<i>thei, they</i>	*
cmctmeli.m3	<i>she</i>	<i>they</i>	*
cmctpars.m3	<i>she</i>	<i>they</i>	*
cmwycser.m3	<i>sche</i>	<i>they, bei</i>	*
cmotest.m3	<i>she, sche</i>	<i>thei</i>	*
cmcloud.m3	<i>sche, schō, scheo</i>	<i>bei</i>	*
cmmandev.m3	<i>sche</i>	<i>bei</i>	*

From these data in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century Midlands/Southern dialects, we can see that (i) the dual forms in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person were lost, (ii) the old fem. nom. sg. ‘*hēo*’ had been replaced in these dialects by a new form in *sh-* or *sch-*, and that (iii) the old third-person plural forms in *h-* had begun to yield to a new (Scandinavian) type in *p-/th-*, the originals of ‘*they/their/them*’.<sup>21</sup>

Summarizing the discussion so far in this section: if the analysis in this paper is on the right track, and if we follow Kondo (2005) in considering that after the parameter resetting, personal pronouns in LME no longer held an agreement relation with the functional categories and then lost their ability to agree (i.e. lost their status as a clitic pronoun), then the following possibility emerges, on the basis of the hypothesis in (22):

- (23) The change in the form of personal pronouns in LME had been caused by the resetting of the parameter ‘Agreeing-D’.

<sup>21</sup> According to Lass, the third-person plural forms in Southeast Midlands dialects has a gradual three-phase development through the fifteenth century:

(i) THIRD-PERSON PRONOUN SYSTEM IN SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS OF LME

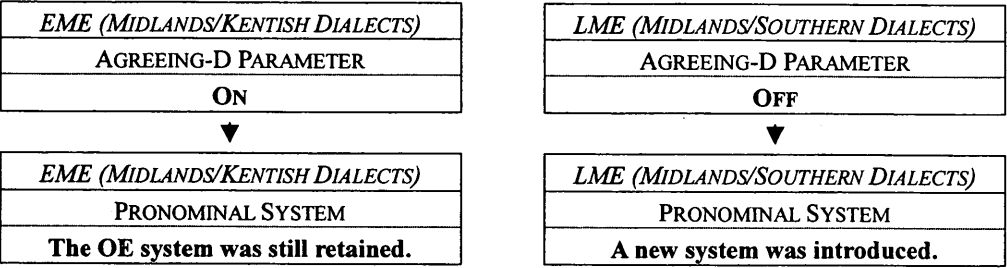
	I	II	III
NOM.	<i>bei</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>bei</i>
GEN.	<i>her(e)</i>	<i>her(e)~peir</i>	<i>peir</i>
OBL.	<i>hem</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>hem~bem</i>

(Lass (1992: 121))

Here too, the old third-person plural forms in *h-* had begun to yield to a new (Scandinavian) type in *p-/th-*, the originals of ‘*they/their/them*’.

And the following figure illustrates the purport in (23) schematically:

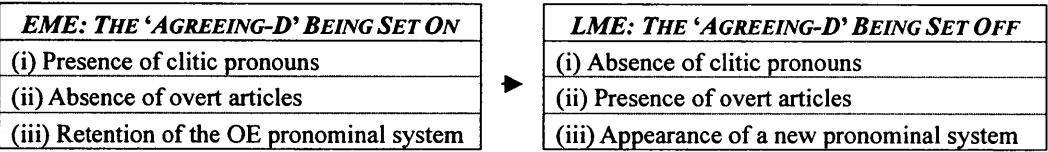
**FIGURE 2:** A CHANGE IN PRONOMINAL SYSTEM CAUSED BY THE RESETTING OF THE PARAMETER ‘AGREEING-D’ IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH:



As illustrated in this figure, in the framework of this paper, the change in the pronominal forms is taken to be caused by the resetting of the parameter ‘Agreeing-D’.

Summarizing the overall discussion in this paper, I present the following figure:<sup>22</sup>

**FIGURE 3:** THREE CHANGES IN THE D-SYSTEM CAUSED BY THE RESETTING OF THE PARAMETER ‘AGREEING-D’ IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH:



As shown in this figure, the main point in this paper is that, on the basis of the hypothesis in (22), it makes a unified analysis for three changes in the D-system in the history of English, namely, (i) Disappearance of clitic pronouns, (ii) Appearance of overt (definite) articles and (iii) Introduction of a new pronominal system.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have paid close attention to three changes in the D-system in the history of English: (i) the loss of clitic pronouns, (ii) the birth of definite articles (or the demise of inflected demonstrative pronouns as a definite article) and (iii) the emergence of a new pronominal system. In analyzing these three changes, I have first referred to Watanabe (2004a), who claims that UG has the (null) agreeing-D as a parametric option and that there are three types of D typologically. He further argues that the presence of Japanese-type indeterminates and that of (overt) definite articles are determined by the value of the

<sup>22</sup> Needless to say, further research will be required on the claims in (iii). Thus, I leave this point for future work.

parameter 'Agreeing-D'. Following and slightly extending these claims, I have assumed that the parameter 'Agreeing-D' is involved in UG, and that the following three phenomena can be used as a diagnosis for the agreeing nature of D: (a) the presence/absence of Japanese-type indeterminates, (b) the presence/absence of clitic pronouns, and (c) the presence/absence of (overt) definite articles. Assuming this much, in section 2 we have observed the grammatical options in OE, EME and LME, and have realized that OE and EME are an agreeing-D language, whereas LME is a binding-D one. To capture this shift in the types of D in the English language, I have hypothesized that the value of the parameter 'Agreeing-D' had been switched in the transitional period from EME to LME. Based on this hypothesis, then, I have concluded that this single parametric shift had caused the three changes in the D-system in the history of English.

## **Appendix: PPCME2 Texts Surveyed**

### MX1 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1150-1250)

CMLAMBX1 Richard Morris (1868) *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises. Part I* (EETS OS 29 & 34), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMTRINIT Richard Morris (1873) *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century: Second Series* (EETS OS 53), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

### MI (1150-1250)

CMPETERB Cecily Clark (1970) *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154* (2nd ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMORM Robert Holt (1878) *The Ormulum, with the notes and glossary of Dr. R.M. White: Vols. I & II*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMLAMB1 Richard Morris (1868) *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises. Part I* (EETS OS 29 & 34), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMVICES1 Ferdinand Holthausen (1888) *Vices and Virtues: Part I* (EETS OS 89), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMHALI, CMKATHE & CMSAWLES S. R. T. O. D' Ardenne (1977) *The Katherine Group Edited from MS. Bodley 34* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège Fasc. 215), Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, Paris.

CMANCRIW Robert W Ackerman & Roger Dahood (1984) *Ancrene Riwe: Introduction and Part I* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 31) Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton NY.

M2 (1250-1350)

CMAYENB1 Richard Morris (1979) *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (EETS OS 278), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

CMEARLPS Karl D. Bülbring (1891) *The earliest complete English prose psalter* (EETS OS 97), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

MX24 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1420-1500)

CMROLLTR George G. Perry (1921) *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole* (EETS OS 20), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

M3 (1350-1420)

CMPOLYCH Joseph R. Lumby (1876, 1882) *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis; Vols. VI & VIII, English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century* (Rolls Series 41), [publisher unknown], London.

CMNTEST Josiah Forshall & Frederic Madden (1879) *The New Testament in English According to the Version of John Wycliffe about A.D. 1380 and Revised by John Purvey about A.D. 1388*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMOTEST & CMPURVEY Josiah Forshall & Frederic Madden (1850) *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocraphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers: Vol. 1*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

CMEDVERN C. Horstman (1895-1896) *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.

CMASTRO, CMBOETH, CMCTMELI & CMCTPARS Larry D. Benson (1987) *The Riverside Chaucer* (3rd ed.), Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

CMBRUT3 F. W. D. Brie (1906) *The Brut or the Chronicles of England: Part I* (EETS OS 131), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMWYCSEr Anne Hudson (1983) *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMCLOUD Phyllis Hodgson (1944) *The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling* (EETS OS 218), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

CMMANDEV Paul Hamelius (1919-1923) *Mandeville's Travels, Translated from the French of Jean D'Outremeuse* (EETS OS 153 & 154), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMBENRUL Ernst A. Kock (1902) *The Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet, Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet and Two Contemporary Rituals for the Ordination of Nuns* (EETS OS 120), Ernst A. Kock (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

M34 (comp. date 1350-1420; ms. date 1420-1500)

- CMEDTHOR George G. Perry (1969) *The Mirror of St. Edmund, Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (EETS OS 26), George G. Perry (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
- CMHILTON Fumio Kuriyagawa (1967) *Walter Hilton's Eight chapters on perfection*, Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Tokyo.
- CMVICES4 Winthrop N. Francis (1942) *The book of vices and virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens D'Orléans* (EETS OS 217), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMJULNOR Frances Beer (1978) *Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love: The Shorter Version Edited from B.L. Add. Ms 37790* (Middle English Texts 8), Winter, Heidelberg.
- CMROYAL Woodburn O. Ross (1940) *Middle English Sermons, Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. xxiii* (EETS OS 209), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMMIRK Theodore Erbe (1905) *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies, by Johannes Mirkus: Part I* (EETS ES 96), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

M4 (1420-1500)

- CMAELR4 John Ayto & Alexandra Barratt (1984) *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions* (EETS OS 287), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMEDMUND Norman F. Blake (1972) *The Life of St. Edmund, Middle English Religious Prose* (York Medieval Texts), Norman F. Blake (ed.), Arnold, London.
- CMKEMPE Sanford B. Meech & Hope E. Allen (1940) *The Book of Margery Kempe: Vol. 1* (EETS OS 212), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMCAPCHR Peter J. Lucas (1983) *John Capgrave's Abbreviacion of Cronicles* (EETS OS 285), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMMALORY Eugène Vinaver (1954) *The Works of Thomas Malory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMREYNES Cameron Louis (1980) *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner Ms. 407* (Garland Medieval Texts 1), Garland, New York.
- CMGREGOR James Gairdner (1876) *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society, N.S. XVII), Camden Society, Westminster.
- CMREYNAR Norman F. Blake (1970) *The History of Reynard the Fox: Translated from the Dutch Original by William Caxton* (EETS OS 263), Oxford University Press, Oxford.



- CMFITZJA Francis J.H. Jenkinson (1907) *Sermo die Lune in Ebdomada Pasche*, by Richard Fitz-James: Printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about the Year 1495, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- CMINNOCE J.G. Nichols (1875) *Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop, at St. Paul's Temp. Henry VII, and at Gloucester Temp. Mary* (Camden Society N.S. XIV), [publisher unknown], London.
- CMSIEGE Auvo Kurvinen (1969) *The Siege of Jerusalem in Prose* (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 34), Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, Helsinki.

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