

Cliticization in the History of English: Loss of the Subject Position Asymmetry and the Wackernagel Pronominal Object*

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Abstract

Old English exhibits asymmetry in the subject position in the matrix topic-initial context: a full nominal subject typically follows the finite verb, resulting in the verb-second order, whereas a pronominal subject typically precedes it, resulting in the verb-third order. Old English also allows the pronominal object to appear in the so-called Wackernagel position in the subordinate context. These facts have led Kemenade (1987) to conclude that Old English pronouns are clitics requiring a host. According to the previous studies and the survey conducted in this paper, the clitic nature of pronouns carried over to Early Middle English and eventually got lost in Late Middle English. Under the recent minimalist conceptions advocated by Chomsky (2000, 2001a, 2001b) and the idea that language change is a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, it is claimed that obviation of the subject position asymmetry caused the loss of the clitic nature of pronouns, hence the loss of the Wackernagel pronominal object. It is also shown that the subject position asymmetry was obviated by the rise of either the systematic verb-third order or the systematic verb-second order in the matrix topic-initial context.

Keywords: cliticization, verb-second, subject position asymmetry, Wackernagel pronominal object, Minimalist Program, Early and Late Middle English

1. Introduction

It is well known now that earlier English exhibited the so-called verb-second (henceforth, V2) phenomenon (cf. Stockwell (1984)), but that unlike the contemporary Germanic languages earlier English did not exhibit this phenomenon uniformly in certain contexts.¹

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¹ The following are the historical periods of English standardly assumed: Old English (OE: 700-1100), Early Middle English (EME: 1100-1350), Late Middle English (LME: 1350-1500), Early Modern English (EModE: 1500-1700), Late Modern English (LModE: 1700-1900), and Present-day English (PE: 1900-). Throughout this paper, the example sentences are represented with the matrix-clause-initial elements bracketed, subjects outlined, objects boldfaced, (infinitival/participial) lexical verbs italicized, and finite verbs underlined. The term 'auxiliary' should be understood to be covering both the modal auxiliary and the aspectual auxiliary here.

For instance, Kemenade (1987: 110ff) observes that in the OE matrix clause, clause-initial placement of an operator(-like) element such as a *wh*-phrase, a negated phrase, and the adverb *þa/þonne* ‘then’ uniformly induces V2, whereas clause-initial placement of a topic does not (also see Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002: 139f), Eythórsson (1996: 114ff), Fischer et al. (2000: 104ff), Fuss (2003: 206ff), Fuss & Trips (2002: 190f), Haeberli (1999a: 334ff, 2000: 110, 2001: 201f, 2002a: 89), Hulk & Kemenade (1995: 247, 1997: 185ff), Kemenade (1997: 332ff, 1998: 154ff), Kiparsky (1995: 145f), Koopman (1992: 46, 51f, 1996: 224, 1997: 77f), Kroch & Taylor (1997: 300ff), Kroch et al. (2000: 360ff), Pintzuk (1996: 379ff, 1999: 125ff, 171ff), Trips (2002: 233f)):

(1) *WH*-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{FN}

[Hwi] wolde God swa lytles þinges him *forwyrnan*
 why would God such small things him deny
 ‘Why would God deny him such a small thing?’

(ÆCHom, I.14 / Kemenade (1987: 43))

b. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[Hwæt] sægest þu yrþlincg? [Hu] begæst þu 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) *NEG*-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{FN}

[Ne] sende se deofol ða fyr of heofenum, þeah þe hit ufan come
 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 þu na leas-breda oþþe swicol
 NEG be you no liar or treacherous
 ‘May you be neither a liar nor treacherous.’

(ÆLS, XII.129 / Kemenade (1987: 112))

(3) *ÞA/ÞONNE*-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* *hiē* mid þrim scipum ut
then sailed they with three ships out

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

(Parker, 897 / *ibid.*: 112)

(4) TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{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 / *ibid.*: 42)

b. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[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 / *ibid.*: 110)

Note the contrast between the sentences in (1)-(3) and those in (4). Kemenade attributes the non-uniformity of the V2 effect in the matrix topic-initial context to the difference in sentential subjects, noting further that the one with a full nominal subject (henceforth, Subj_{FN}) exhibits V2 order while the one with a personal pronoun subject (henceforth, Subj_{PPRN}) exhibits verb-third (henceforth, V3) order.² Thus, the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context (i.e. (4)) led her to conclude that the Subj_{PPRN} is an instance of the clitic pronoun that requires a host. According to Kemenade (1987: 112ff), moreover, the personal pronoun object (henceforth, Obj_{PPRN}) also exhibits the clitic nature: it can appear to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, to the immediate left of the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial V2 clause, and to the immediate right of the finite verb in the matrix *wh*-/*neg*-/*þa*-initial (henceforth, operator-initial) V2 clause, where the full nominal object (henceforth, Obj_{FN}) rarely appears (also see Koopman (1992: 47, 51ff, 1997: 78ff)):

² 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 forðsiðe] *wurðodon* þa hæðenan 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 be referring to the subject-verb inversion and the non-subject-verb inversion, respectively.

- (5) a. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMP IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
 þæt **him** his fiend *wæren æfterfylgende*
 that him his enemies were following
 ‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’ (Oros, 48.12 / Kemenade (1987: 113))
- b. OBJ_{PPRN} LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE
 [Fela spella] **him sædon** þa Beormas, ægþer 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 / *ibid.*: 114)
- c. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE
- i. [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.*)
- ii. [þa] *sticode* **him** mon þa eagan ut
 then struck him someone the eyes out
 ‘... then his eyes were gouged out.’ (Oros, 90.14 / *ibid.*)

The Obj_{PPm} in OE can also appear in the post-subject/pre-auxiliary position (i.e. Wackernagel position; cf. Wackernagel (1892)) in the subordinate clause (Pintzuk (1999: 139f); also see Pintzuk (2002: 293f), Roberts (1997: 405), Traugott (1972: 109)):

- (6) OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION
 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_{PPm}, and the Obj_{FN} can also appear in this position. However, placement of the Obj_{FN} in the Wackernagel position is not frequent, 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 that the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} can be a diagnosis for the clitic status of the Obj_{PPm}.

The clitic status of the Subj_{PPm} and the Obj_{PPm} (reflected in the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context and the placement of the Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate Wackernagel position, respectively) carried over to ME, but this property gradually declined and was eventually lost during the 14th century (Kemenade (1987: 174ff)). The exact date of the loss is a matter still open to debate, nevertheless. Besides this matter, how the subject position asymmetry and the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} were lost is also an issue

still controversial. Thus, the aim of this paper is to give a proper explanation on this process. Specifically, it is claimed that the demise of the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context caused the loss of the subordinate Wackernagel Obj_{PPm}. This claim is based on the assumption that language change is a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, that is, how children converge on a grammatical system (cf. Andersen (1973), Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1999), Hróarsdóttir (2003); also see Battye & Roberts (1995: 7ff), Fischer et al. (2000: 2ff), Lightfoot (2002: 1ff, 2003: 7f), Pintzuk et al. (2000: 2ff), Roberts (2001: 82ff), Roberts & Roussou (2003: 11ff), Yang (2000a: 111ff, 2000b: 231ff, 2002: 367f)). In this claim, therefore, the process of language acquisition plays an important role. Also central to the claim in this paper is a minimalist assumption that the locus of the parametric variation is the formal features on functional heads (Chomsky (1993: 3, 1995a: 6)). Under this conception, language variation is attributed to the variation in the way the requirement of the formal features on functional heads is satisfied. Hence, what has changed in the history of the language in question can ultimately be conceived as the properties of lexical items. Combined with the first assumption, this minimalist assumption entails that the change in the properties of lexical items has taken place in the course of language acquisition. As a ground for the claim of this paper, it is shown that despite the LME dialectal variation in V2/V3, the grammar of the dialects under consideration nevertheless converge on the same parameter setting with respect to the property of pronominals.

This paper is organized as follows: §2 gives the basic facts of the Midlands/Southern dialect in EME and LME with respect to the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context and the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate context; §3 sets up the basis for the claim of this paper by presenting analyses on the derivations of the topic-initial V2/V3 and the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in minimalist terms; §4 demonstrates that the obviation of the subject position asymmetry in the LME Midlands/Southern dialect which led to the uniform V3 order in the matrix topic-initial contexts caused the loss of the clitic nature of pronominals; as support for the claim in this paper, §5 provides the basic facts of the LME Northern dialect, and shows that the obviation of the subject position asymmetry which led to the systematic V2 order in the topic-initial contexts also caused the loss of the clitic nature of pronominals in this dialect; §6 concludes this paper.

2. Basic Facts

2.1. Subject Position Asymmetry in the EME Midlands/Southern Dialects

According to Fischer et al. (2000: 130), the subject position asymmetry in the matrix 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 matrix

topic-initial context with a Subj_{FN} exhibits V2:

(7) SUBJ_{FN}

- a. [zewiss] hafð godd *forworpen* ðan ilche mann...
certainly has God rejected that same man
'... certainly, God has rejected that same man.'

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

- b. [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 / *ibid.*)

On the other hand, the matrix topic-initial context with a Subj_{PPm} exhibits V3. Compare the following sentences with the ones in (7):³

(8) SUBJ_{PPRN}

- a. [alle ðese bedodes] ic habbe *ihealde* fram childhade
all these commandments I have held from childhood
'... all these commandments, I have kept from childhood.'

(V&V, 67.32 / Fischer et al. (2000: 130))

- b. [Ðas þing] we habbað be him *gewritene*
these things we have about him written
'These things, we have written about him.'

(ChronE (Plummer), 1086.139 / *ibid.*)

³ Note here that the sentences in (7a) and (8a) constitute a minimal pair in that they are cited from the same text. This holds true of the sentences in (7b) and (8b) as well. Also note that in ME, the matrix operator-initial context also systematically exhibits V2, irrespective of the subject type. The following are the examples of operator-initial V2 with a Subj_{PPm}:

(i) WH-INITIAL CONTEXT

[Whi] fare ye thus, fader and moder both?
why behave you thus father and mother both
'Why do you behave like that, father and mother?' (TNoah, 415 / Kemenade (1987: 185))

(ii) NEG-INITIAL CONTEXT

[neauer] qð he ear nu nes ich ful pinet
never said he before now NEG+was I foully tortured
'... he said: never before now was I foully tortured.' (AW, 206.17 / *ibid.* 186)

(iii) PA/PONNE-INITIAL CONTEXT

[Thenne] sawð they to the x men of armes
then said they to the ten men of arms
'Then they said to the ten men of arms.'

(Caxton, Paris&Vienne, 5.1 / Fischer et al. (2000: 83))

Our main concern here is V2/V3 in the topic-initial context (i.e. subject position asymmetry), hence the operator-initial context will not be touched upon any more (but see §3.1).

Although the subject position asymmetry 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. In their survey on the seven texts from the mid-13th century South Midlands dialect (*Trinity Homilies*, *Lambeth Homilies*, *Sawles Warde*, *Hali Meiðhad*, *St. Katherine*, *Vices and Virtues* and *Ancrene Riwe*), they collected the V2/V3 instances with both the Subj_{FN} and the Subj_{PPM} in the context where either of the following elements is placed clause-initially: NP, PP and Adj complements, adverbs *þa/then* and *now*, PP adjuncts and any other adverbs. The result of their survey is shown in the following table:

TABLE 1: V2/V3 IN THE SEVEN MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTH MIDLANDS TEXTS

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	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))

Relevant to our current discussion is the shaded rows in Table 1. They can be considered as what is referred to here as the topic-initial context.⁴ Those shaded rows show that the majority of the tokens with a Subj_{FN} exhibit the V2 pattern (71.4% on average) while the majority of the tokens with a Subj_{PPM} exhibit the V3 pattern (96.5% on average), clearly indicating the subject position asymmetry.

In addition to the seven mid-13th century South Midlands 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 the following table:

⁴ Although the adverb *now* behaves like a topic in Table 1 in that it induces V2 with a Subj_{FN} while it induces V3 with a Subj_{PPM}, it is excluded from our consideration. This is because *nu* ‘now’ in OE behaved like an operator such as *þa/þonne* ‘then’ and it uniformly induced V2 (Koopman (1998: 139f)). Hence, it may be dubious to consider this adverb as a topic.

TABLE 2: V2/V3 IN THE *AYENBITE OF INWIT*

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	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>þa / then</i>	4 (25.0%)	12 (75.0%)	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))

Again, the shaded rows in Table 2 show that most of the tokens with a Subj_{FN} exhibit the V2 pattern (62.5% on average) while most of the tokens with a Subj_{PPRN} exhibit the V3 pattern (93.1% on average). At this point, we can see that the subject position asymmetry is indeed productive in EME, and that the clitic status of the Subj_{PPRN} 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 Subj_{FN} and the Subj_{PPRN} in the *Ormulum* (an early 13th century Northeast Midlands text). The result of her survey is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3: V2/V3 IN THE *ORMULUM*

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	11 (100%)	0 (0%)	12 (70.6%)	5 (29.4%)
PP complement	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Adj complement	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
<i>þa / then</i>	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	33 (97.1%)	1 (2.9%)
<i>now</i>	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	12 (100%)	0 (0%)
PP adjunct	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)	4 (33.3%)	8 (66.7%)
any other adverb	12 (80.0%)	3 (20.0%)	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)

(Trips (2002: 265))

Here, the result is confusing: the shaded rows in Table 3 show that most of the collected tokens exhibit the V2 pattern, irrespective of the subject type. 87.2% of the Subj_{FN} tokens and 57.8% of the Subj_{PPRN} tokens are in the V2 pattern on average, resulting in the obviation of the subject position asymmetry. Thus, the *Ormulum* behaves differently from other Midlands texts (cf. Table 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 reminder of this paper. Bearing in mind the EME facts of the subject position asymmetry, let us turn now to the LME facts.

2.2. Subject Position Asymmetry in the LME Midlands/Southern Dialects

If we refer to the survey conducted by Haerberli (2002b: 252ff), we can see that the subject position asymmetry 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), Haerberli collected only the topic-initial V2/V3 instances in the 27 texts from the late 14th and 15th century Midlands/Southern dialect.⁵ The result of his survey on the late 14th century text is shown in the following table:

TABLE 4: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE LATE 14TH CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
SOUTHERN DIALECTS				
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%)
TOTAL	14 (8.7%)	147 (91.3%)	0 (0%)	176 (100%)
WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS				
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%)
TOTAL	56 (54.4%)	47 (45.6%)	29 (12.4%)	205 (87.6%)
EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS				
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%)
TOTAL	183 (33.6%)	362 (66.4%)	168 (26.7%)	461 (73.3%)
GRAND TOTAL	253 (31.3%)	556 (68.7%)	197 (19.0%)	842 (81.0%)

(Haerberli (2002b: 256, 261))

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 subject position asymmetry is greatly reduced in every text. 31.3% of the Subj_{FN} tokens and 19.0% of the Subj_{PPm} tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. These

⁵ In fact, he surveyed 32 texts from the late 14th and 15th century Midlands/Southern dialects. The five of them were disregarded here, however, since they are not available in the 2nd edition of the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (Kroch & Taylor (2000a); henceforth, PPCME2), a syntactically annotated corpus which is used for the survey on the distribution of the Obj_{PPm} (see §2.3).

figures in turn suggest that in LME, V2 (i.e. subject-verb inversion) was on the decline with both the Subj_{FN} and the Subj_{PPm}. This is a plausible chain reaction: since V2 was on the decline, the subject position asymmetry (i.e. V2 vs. V3) in the matrix topic-initial context became unavailable as a consequence. In this respect, Chaucer's works are worth some comments. His texts show relatively high frequency of V2 with a Subj_{FN} (i.e. 50.0%), but they do not show the subject position asymmetry. This is because they also show relatively high frequency of V2 with a Subj_{PPm}. Hence, the loss of the subject position asymmetry 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 Subj_{PPm} and the obviation of the subject position asymmetry. We will get back to this point in §5.

Reduction of the subject position asymmetry proceeds further in the 15th century. This is obvious from the result of Haerberli's survey on the 15th century texts, which is shown in the following table:

TABLE 5: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE 15TH CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
SOUTHERN DIALECTS				
ME Sermons (c.1450 (a.1425))	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%)
TOTAL	23 (20.0%)	92 (80.0%)	4 (3.3%)	116 (96.7%)
WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS				
Mirk (a.1500 (a.1415))	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%)
TOTAL	28 (15.1%)	157 (84.9%)	35 (9.9%)	317 (90.1%)
EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS				
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 (a.1464)	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%)
TOTAL	114 (29.3%)	275 (70.7%)	130 (20.9%)	491 (79.1%)
GRAND TOTAL	165 (23.9%)	524 (76.1%)	169 (15.5%)	924 (84.5%)

(Haerberli (2002b: 256, 261))

Again, 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 Midlands dialect). Aside from these exceptional

texts, the number of the V2 tokens with both the Subj_{FN} and the Subj_{PPm} is reduced in every text in such a way that the subject position asymmetry declines further. Only 23.9% of the Subj_{FN} tokens and 15.5% of the Subj_{PPm} tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. Thus, V2 (in the sense of subject-verb inversion) was on the decline in LME, thereby the degree of the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context was reduced to the extent that it was almost extinct (compare this result with that of the survey conducted by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000)).

To sum up, we have seen that the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context, which indicates the clitic status of the Subj_{PPm}, carried over from OE to EME and eventually got obviated via the decline of V2 (in the topic-initial context with an Subj_{FN}) in LME. This change is illustrated in the following figure:

FIGURE 1: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE MATRIX SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY

EME (MIDLANDS/KENTISH DIALECT)	
SUBJ _{FN}	SUBJ _{PPRN}
V2	V3

⇒

LME (MIDLANDS/SOUTHERN DIALECT)	
SUBJ _{FN}	SUBJ _{PPRN}
V3	V3

In the next subsection, we turn to the basic facts of the subordinate Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in EME and LME.

2.3. Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the EME and LME Midlands/Southern Dialects

In order to capture the picture of Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} facts in EME and LME, I have conducted a survey on the distribution of the Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate clause that includes an auxiliary verb.⁶ With the aid of the Java script program devised by Randall (2000), more specifically, I have collected subordinate Obj_{PPm} instances in the texts in the PPCME2 that were surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000) for EME and by Haerberli (2002b) for LME (see footnote 5 for the PPCME2 and the Appendix for the texts surveyed).⁷ The subordinate context surveyed here is divided into two types in terms of the position of the auxiliary verb vis-à-vis the lexical verb: one is the context where the auxiliary verb precedes the lexical verb, and the other is the context where the auxiliary verb follows the lexical verb

⁶ As we have seen so far, the matrix clause exhibits V2 in the topic-initial context with a Subj_{FN} and in the operator-initial context with any type of subjects. This V2 effect in the matrix clause may blur the distribution of the Obj_{PPm} (especially in the lower area of the clause). This is why my survey is limited to the subordinate clause. Inclusion of an auxiliary verb to the subordinate context is also intended to avoid the positional ambiguity and ensure the location of the Obj_{PPm} in the clause. When the auxiliary verb is not included in the subordinate clause, the pre-verbal (pronominal) object is ambiguous with respect to its position: under the assumption that displacement of the finite verb is optional in the subordinate clause, it can be either inside or outside of the verbal projection.

⁷ 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.

(henceforth, Aux-V context and V-Aux context, respectively). In these two contexts, the Obj_{PPm} tokens attested are classified by their positions vis-à-vis the auxiliary verb and the lexical verb. Under this classification, six types of word order are logically conceivable. The Obj_{PPm} is located either: (i) in the post-subject/pre-auxiliary position (i.e. Wackernagel position) in the Aux-V context (resulting in the Subj-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order); (ii) in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context (resulting in the Subj-Aux-Obj_{PPm}-V order); (iii) in the post-verbal position in the Aux-V context (resulting in the Subj-Aux-V-Obj_{PPm} order); (iv) in the post-subject/pre-verbal position in the V-Aux context (resulting in the Subj-Obj_{PPm}-V-Aux order); (v) in the post-verbal/pre-auxiliary position in the V-Aux context (resulting in the Subj-V-Obj_{PPm}-Aux order); (vi) in the post-auxiliary position in the V-Aux context (resulting in the Subj-V-Aux-Obj_{PPm} order). Note, however, that word order type (v) (i.e. intervention of the element between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb 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 was 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 the following table:

TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE SEVEN MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTH MIDLANDS TEXTS

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

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 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 Midlands 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} (38.7%) 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. Note, in this connection, that the distribution of the Obj_{PPm} significantly differs

from that of the Obj_{FN}, which is shown in the following table:

TABLE 7: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{FN} IN THE SEVEN MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTH MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS						
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	22 (2)	28 (7)	44	4	2	100
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	2	40 (5)	31	0	4	77
TOTAL	24 (2)	68 (12)	75	4	6	177
SOUTHWEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS						
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	4	23 (3)	57	4 (1)	0	88
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	0	16 (1)	5	0	0	21
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	0	1 (1)	5	0	0	6
cmhali.m1 (c.1225)	0	1	7	0	0	8
cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)	1	12	10	1	1	25
cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)	1	23 (5)	71	1	1	97
TOTAL	6	76 (10)	155	6 (1)	2	245
GRAND TOTAL	30 (2)	144 (22)	230	10 (1)	8	422

Table 7 shows that the Obj_{FN} rarely appears in the Wackernagel position in the seven mid-13th century South Midlands texts (7.1% on average). Together with the result in Table 6, this confirms that the clitic nature of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is well retained in EME. The following are representative examples of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in EME:

(9) a. COMP-SUBJ_{FN}-OBJ_{PPRN}-AUX-V ORDER

ʒif eni mon **hit** muste *isean*...

if any man it must issue

‘... if anyone must issue it...’

(CMLAMBX1, 27.315 / PPCME2)

b. COMP-SUBJ_{PPRN}-OBJ_{PPRN}-AUX-V ORDER

ʒif 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 §2.1 and footnote 7), even exhibit Obj_{PPm} clustering and orthographic concatenation of a Subj_{PPm} and an Obj_{PPm}, respectively:

(10) a. OBJ_{PPRN} CLUSTERING

þæt... & **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 SUBJ_{PPRN} AND THE OBJ_{PPRN}

ziff þut mihht ohht finden

if you+it might any-way find

‘... if you might find it anyway.’

(CMORM, I, 52.509 / *ibid.*)

While orthographic concatenation may be a dubious diagnosis for (syntactic) cliticization, the example of clustering in (10a) confirms the clitic status of Obj_{PPm} in EME. Although not so many instances are attested, moreover, the Obj_{PPm} is also observed in the positions idiosyncratic to the clitic Obj_{PPm} (cf. Kayne (1975)): to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, to the immediate left of the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial V2 clause, and to the immediate right of the finite verb in the matrix operator-initial V2 clause (cf. (5)). This is exemplified by the following sentences:

(11) a. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMP IN THE SUBORDAINATE CLAUSE

þæt him mon mote wið speken

that him one must speak-against

‘... that one must speak against him.’

(CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2)

b. OBJ_{PPRN} LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

[þerwið] us wite ure louerd ihesu crist...

therewith us blame our lord Jesus Christ

‘Therewith, our lord Jesus Christ blames us...’

(CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / *ibid.*)

c. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

[Ne] mihte him naðer befelen

NEG might him no-other happen-to

‘No other might happen to him.’

(CMVICES1, 43.486 / *ibid.*)

The tendency seen in the mid-13th century South Midlands dialect (i.e. preservation of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm}) is also observed in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, another text surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000):

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} AND OBJ_{FN} IN THE *AYENBITE OF INWIT*

		SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
cmayenbi.m2 (1340)	OBJ _{PPRN}	42	38 (3)	2	1	0	83
	OBJ _{FN}	1	11	79	0	0	91

In this text, 42 out of the 83 instances of the subordinate Obj_{PPm} (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_{PPm} is the most

dominant pattern in this text as well. Combined with the result in Table 6, the result in Table 8 leads us to conclude that appearance of the Obj_{PPm} in the Wackernagel position was a productive option in EME (also see Kroch & Taylor (2000b: 134)), and that the clitic status of the Obj_{PPm} was well retained during this period.

Instances of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} cease to be attested in LME. In fact, they are almost extinct in this period. As is obvious from the following table, only two instances are attested in the 14th century:

TABLE 9: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE LATE 14TH CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHERN DIALECTS						
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
TOTAL	0	1	143	0	1	145
EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS						
cmedvern.m3 (c.1390)	0	6	21	0	0	27
cmbrut.m3 (c.1400)	2	48 (7)	32	0	0	82
TOTAL	2	54 (7)	53	0	0	109
WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS						
cmearlps.m2 (c.1350)	0	0	19	0	0	19
cmctpars.m3 (c.1390)	0	2 (1)	38	0	0	40
cmctmeli.m3 (c.1390)	0	1	55	0	0	56
cmboeth.m3 (c.1380)	0	0	12	0	0	12
cmastro.m3 (c.1391)	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
TOTAL	0	3 (1)	273	0	0	276
GRAND TOTAL	2	58 (8)	469	0	1	530

The two instances of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} constitute only 0.4% of the attested Obj_{PPm} tokens. Hence, we can consider them exceptional. The following are the two exceptional instances in question:

(12) TWO EXCEPTIONAL INSTANCES OF THE WACKERNAGEL OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE 14TH CENTURY

- a. *pat a kyng liggyn in a liter ham hude 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. pat þe kyng oure fadier, vs hath reprovued, shemed & dispised...
 that the king our father us has reprovued shamed and despised
 ‘... that the king, our father, has blamed, shamed and despised us...’

(CMBRUT3, 3.40 / *ibid.*)

Note that the exceptional instances in (12) are both attested in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* (a late 14th century East Midlands text). This text itself is somewhat exceptional in that the Obj_{PPm} appears in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context far more frequently than in other texts:⁸ in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England*, 48 out of the 83 Obj_{PPm} tokens (57.8%) appear in this position; in other texts, only 10 out of the 448 instances (2.2%) appear in this position. Thus, the two exceptional instances of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* may be due to the exceptional syntactic behavior of this text: it is rather closer to earlier texts. Whether this text is taken into account or not, our conclusion is the same: the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is almost non-existent in the 14th century.

In the 15th century, the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} completely disappears in the texts. This is shown in the following table:

⁸ In the *Brut or the Chronicles of England*, the Obj_{PPm} also appears in the positions idiosyncratic to the clitic Obj_{PPm}: with respect to the positions right-adjacent to the complementizer in the subordinate clause and left-adjacent to the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial V2 clause, one instance is attested in each position; with respect to the position right-adjacent to the finite verb in the matrix 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_{PPm} are attested in these positions so that they are negligible here. In this regard as well, the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* is exceptional.

TABLE 10: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE 15TH CENTURY SOUTHERN/MIDLANDS TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHERN DIALECTS						
cmroyal.m34 (c.1450 (a.1425))	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmgregor.m4 (c.1475)	0	0	16	0	0	16
TOTAL	0	0	20	0	0	20
EAST MIDLANDS DIALECTS						
cmmirk.m34 (a.1500 (a.1415))	0	0	121	0	0	121
cmmalory.m4 (a.1470)	0	0	130	0	0	130
cmsiege.m4 (c.1500)	0	6	3	0	0	9
TOTAL	0	6	254	0	0	260
WEST MIDLANDS DIALECTS						
cmhilton.m34 (a.1450 (a.1396))	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmvices4.m34 (a.1450 (c.1400))	0	0	18	0	0	18
cmjulnor.m34 (a.1450 (c.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 (a.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
cminnocce.m4 (1497)	0	0	3	0	0	3
TOTAL	0	4 (1)	407	0	0	411
GRAND TOTAL	0	10 (1)	681	0	0	691

Not a single instance of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is attested in the texts surveyed. It is apparent now that in the 15th century the Obj_{PPm} could not appear in the Wackernagel position any more. Since the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is almost non-existent in the 14th century and extinct in the 15th century, we can conclude now that the Obj_{PPm} did not retain its clitic status any more in LME.

To sum up, we have seen that the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate context, which indicates the clitic status of the Obj_{PPm} together with the Obj_{PPm} in other positions idiosyncratic to the clitic, carried over from OE to EME and got lost in LME. This change is illustrated in the following figure:

FIGURE 2: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE WACKERNAGEL OBJ_{PPRN}

EME (MIDLANDS/KENTISH DIALECT)		LME (MIDLANDS/SOUTHERN DIALECT)
WACKERNAGEL OBJ _{PPRN}	⇒	WACKERNAGEL OBJ _{PPRN}
productive		extinct

Bearing in mind the basic facts and the historical change of the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context and the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate context, let us turn in the following section to see how they are derived.

3. Analyses

3.1. *Deriving the Subject Position Asymmetry*

We saw in §2.1 that the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context, which was due to the clitic status of Subj_{PPM} , carried over from OE to EME. We also saw there that V2 was systematically induced in the matrix operator-initial context in EME (see footnote 3). 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:

(13) a. DIFFERENT LANDING SITES FOR VERB MOVEMENT

Verb movement targets two landing sites in the matrix clause: C in the operator-initial context and a (head-initial) functional head below C in the topic-initial context.⁹

b. DIFFERENT STRUCTURAL POSITIONS FOR SUBJECTS

Different types of subjects reside in two different structural positions in a clause: the Subj_{PPM} , being a clitic, has to appear in a position structurally higher than the Subj_{FN} .

We will shortly get back to (13a) below. For the time being, let us consider (13b). Concerning the different structural positions for subjects, various proposals have been made, representatives of which are summarized in the following table:

⁹ 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 Fuss & Trips (2002), Haider (2000) and Kiparsky (1996) argue seems to be valid: functional categories are universally head-initial and the head parameter is restricted to substantive categories. 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 open here.

TABLE 11: PREVIOUS PROPOSALS ON SUBJECT POSITIONS IN EARLIER ENGLISH

	SUBJ _{PPRN} POSITION	SUBJ _{FN} POSITION
Kemenade (1987)	procliticization to the finite verb (in C ⁰)	Spec IP
Pintzuk (1996, 1999)	encliticization to the topic (in Spec IP)	Spec VP
Kroch & Taylor (1997) Trips (2002)	CP-IP boundary	Spec VP
Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002)	AgrI ⁰	Spec Agr2P
Fuss (2003)	Spec TP	Spec vP
Fischer et al. (2000) Hulk & Kemenade (1997)	Spec FP	Spec TP
Haeberli (1999a, 2001) Tanaka (2000)	Spec AgrSP	Spec TP

The proposals made thus by the previous studies are classified into two types in terms of the treatment of the Subj_{PPRN}: (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 11); (ii) the other considers it to be a phrasal element, placing it in the specifier position (e.g. the unshaded rows in Table 11). Nothing forces us to consider the clitic personal pronoun in OE/EME to be phrasal. On the contrary, assuming the second option is problematic in two respects. The first problem is conceptual: on a par with the functional projection for the clitic Subj_{PPRN}, we have to assume an additional functional projection whose specifier hosts a clitic Obj_{PPRN}, 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 Obj_{PPRN} is not assumed, the fact of clitic clustering (cf. (10a)) cannot be explained unless the notion of multiple specifiers proposed by Chomsky (1995b: 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 clitic pronouns are head elements.

Note that I am not claiming that OE/EME personal pronouns are exclusively clitics. The OE Subj_{PPRN} sometimes inverts with the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial context, thereby V2 order results. This fact has led Koopman (1997: 78, 1998: 137) to conclude that some of the OE personal pronouns are non-clitics. EME also exhibits the V2 order with a Subj_{PPRN} in the topic-initial context (cf. Tables 1 and 2), which means that non-clitic (i.e. ‘strong’ in the sense of Cardinaletti (1994, 1999) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1996, 1999)) personal pronouns also existed in EME.¹⁰ Moreover, coordination of a personal pronoun and

¹⁰ In fact, Cardinaletti (1994, 1999) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1996, 1999) are assuming a trichotomy (i.e. strong, weak and clitic pronouns) for personal pronouns (also see Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) for a tripartite distinction of personal pronouns). Since we have no evidence that

a full nominal is also attested (cf. Kayne (1975)); this is not frequent in EME, nevertheless (only seven instances in the seven mid-13th century South Midlands texts and the *Ayenbite of Inwit*). Note in this connection that even some of the PE personal pronouns resist coordination (see Gelderen (2004: 62ff) for details).

(14) a. COORDINATION OF THE SUBJ_{PPRN}

þet hy oþer oþre: byeþ *ichose* to dyngnetes of holi cherche...

that they or others are chosen as dignities of holy church

‘... that they or others are chosen as the dignity of holy church...’

(CMAYENBI, 42.706 / PPCME2)

b. COORDINATION OF THE OBJ_{PPRN}

... al þe lecun þe god hefde *ired hire & adam* of þen appel

all the lesson the God had read her and Adam of the apple

‘... all the lesson of the apple that the God had read to her and Adam.’

(CMANCRIW, II.54.521 / *ibid.*)

Coordinated Subj_{PPRN} and Obj_{PPRN} in (14) cannot be clitics, since the former never appears in the second position in the matrix topic-initial context and the latter never appears in the subordinate Wackernagel position nor in the positions idiosyncratic to the Obj_{PPRN} (i.e. right-adjacent to the complementizer in the subordinate clause, left-adjacent to the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial V2 clause, and right-adjacent to the finite verb in the matrix operator-initial V2 clause). It seems that strong pronouns as well as clitic pronouns have to be postulated in OE/EME.¹¹

Turning back to the status of OE/EME clitic pronouns, let us follow the traditional characterization by Postal (1966: 62ff) in assuming that pronouns are definite articles and they are instances of the functional head D (pace Osawa (1998: 6ff, 2000: 56ff, 2003: 14ff)). Under this assumption, the clitic pronoun is construed as a maximal zero-level D projection that does not project any further or D^{0max} under the terminology of Chomsky (1995b: 245). In other words, the clitic pronoun, being D^{0max}, can be both minimal and maximal (Chomsky (1995b: 249), Raposo (1998: 78); see Makita (2000: 45 footnote 12) for similar treatment of clitic *there* in OE).

indicates the existence of pronouns of the intermediate status (i.e. weak pronouns) in OE/EME, let us continue to assume the strong vs. clitic dichotomy.

¹¹ Postulation of both the strong and clitic pronouns in OE/EME takes us to a somewhat bizarre circumstance: 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, 1996), Zwart (1996, 1997) among others). Besides the non-uniformity of the V2 effect in the topic-initial context, this also makes OE/EME exceptional among Germanic languages.

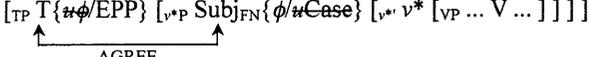
Within the recent minimalist theorizing, lexical items are construed as bundles of features (Chomsky (1995b: 235ff, 2000: 100f, 2001a: 10f, 2001b: 4)), hence composed of phonological, semantic and formal features. The formal features of, say, DPs consist of interpretable ϕ -features (ϕ) and an uninterpretable/unvalued Case feature ($u\text{Case}$) that drives movement or, more precisely, induces the operation called Agree. The $u\text{Case}$ is valued when ϕ enters into an Agree relation with an appropriate probe bearing uninterpretable/unvalued ϕ -features ($u\phi$). 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 ϕ and $u\text{Case}$. At this point, the $u\phi$ enters into an Agree relation with ϕ and gets valued, thereby the $u\text{Case}$ is also valued. When the agreeing probe bears an EPP feature (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 in addition to ϕ and $u\text{Case}$, clitic pronouns bear an uninterpretable/unvalued clitic feature ($u\text{Cl}$).¹² In the following two respects, however, we depart from the conventional minimalist conception mentioned above. First, the $u\text{Cl}$ requires the element bearing this feature (i.e. $D^{0\text{max}}$) to encliticize to another element it agrees with: the host of a clitic pronoun will be the element that agrees with this clitic pronoun. Second, this feature is a hybrid between $u\phi$ and $u\text{Case}$ in the sense that it can be valued either directly or indirectly: like the $u\phi$, it can be valued directly by ϕ ; like the $u\text{Case}$, it can be valued as a side effect of agreement between $u\phi$ and ϕ . In the former case, the probe is $u\text{Cl}$ of clitic pronouns; in the latter case, it is $u\phi$ of some functional heads. If we assume that C bears $u\phi$ (cf. Carstens (2003), Chomsky (2001a, 2001b), Tanaka (2003)) and N bears ϕ , possible candidates for agreement with a clitic pronoun will be C, T, v^* and N.¹³ When the $u\phi$ of C, T or v^* agrees with the ϕ of the clitic pronoun, its $u\text{Cl}$ is valued as a side effect and the clitic pronoun encliticizes to the agreeing functional head (logically either C, T or v^* ; but see discussion below). Alternatively, the $u\text{Cl}$ of the clitic pronoun is directly valued by the ϕ of N when the former is merged with the latter (cf. Chomsky (1995b: 337, 393 footnote 136)). Since the clitic pronoun (i.e. D) projects upon merger with N and it is no longer $D^{0\text{max}}$ at this point, the projection of D is not a clitic any more. Recall now that strong pronouns as well

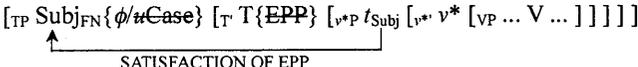
¹² Since determiners/demonstratives are also considered to be instances of D, one may wonder whether there is any difference between clitic pronouns and determiners/demonstratives. My speculation is that this is exactly the point they differ in, other things being equal: clitic pronouns bear $u\text{Cl}$, whereas determiners/demonstratives lack it. Obviously, this speculation requires empirical verification. Yet, I will leave this issue aside, pending further investigations.

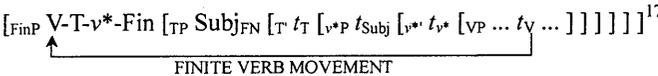
¹³ The assumption that C bears $u\phi$ and N bears ϕ should be justified for the so-called complementizer agreement (cf. Zwart (1997)) and the determiner agreement, respectively. Although the complementizer agreement is absent from OE/EME, determiners/demonstratives clearly agree with the following noun in gender, number and Case (Ukaji (2000: 177ff)). In this respect, N may also bear $u\text{Case}$ 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 paper.

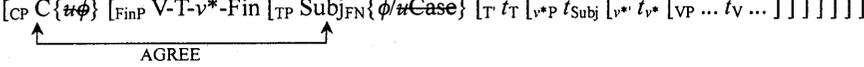
In (16), the CP layer projections other than FinP are abstracted away and simply amalgamated into CP for the reason mentioned just above. Fin is located below C. This is the functional head mentioned in (13a): finite verb movement targets Fin in the topic-initial context.¹⁶ If we follow the standard minimalist assumption that the subject originates verbal-projection-internally and moves to Spec TP for the EPP requirement of T, the V2 order with a Subj_{FN} in the topic-initial context is derived as follows:

- (17) a. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ_{FN}

$$[\text{TP } T\{\#\phi/\text{EPP}\} [\text{v}^*\text{P } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}\{\phi/\#\text{Case}\} [\text{v}^* \text{v}^* [\text{VP} \dots \text{V} \dots]]]]$$

- b. SUBJ_{FN} MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

$$[\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}\{\phi/\#\text{Case}\} [\text{T } T\{\text{EPP}\} [\text{v}^*\text{P } t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* \text{v}^* [\text{VP} \dots \text{V} \dots]]]]]]$$

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

$$[\text{FinP } \text{V-T-v}^*\text{-Fin} [\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} [\text{T } t_{\text{T}} [\text{v}^*\text{P } t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* t_{\text{V}} [\text{VP} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots]]]]]]]]$$
¹⁷

- d. MERGER OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ_{FN}

$$[\text{CP } C\{\#\phi\} [\text{FinP } \text{V-T-v}^*\text{-Fin} [\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}\{\phi/\#\text{Case}\} [\text{T } t_{\text{T}} [\text{v}^*\text{P } t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* t_{\text{V}} [\text{VP} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots]]]]]]]]]]$$

- e. TOPICALIZATION

$$[\text{CP } \text{Topic} [\text{C } C [\text{FinP } \text{V-T-v}^*\text{-Fin} [\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} [\text{T } t_{\text{T}} [\text{v}^*\text{P } t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* t_{\text{V}} [\text{VP} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots]]]]]]]]]]]]$$


Upon its merger with a verbal projection already completed, T enters into an Agree relation

¹⁶ The V-to-Fin movement is conceived here to be carried out in a ‘successive-cyclic-like’ manner (i.e. via v^* and T), although this is abstracted away from what is discussed in the text. However, head movement in general is counter-cyclic in that it does not conform to the condition on structure building (i.e. Extension Condition), whereby Chomsky (1995b: 368, 2000: 146 footnote 68, 2001a: 37f) has put forward the idea that head movement is viewed as a PF phenomenon (also see Boeckx & Stjepanović (2001: 351ff)). While the V-to-Fin movement may indeed be an instance of phonological movement, the V-to-C movement may not. This is because the movement in question is driven to meet some sort of the operator criterion (e.g. the *Wh*-criterion proposed by Rizzi (1990, 1996) and the Neg-criterion proposed by Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991, 1996) and Haegeman (1995) among others), a syntactic requirement imposed by the presence of an operator in Spec CP. Assuming that the operator criterion is a tenable theorematic principle of the UG, I conjecture that the V-to-C movement is syntactically (or morphologically) driven, hence an instance of syntactic movement (cf. Nawata (2003, 2004); but see Zwart (2001) for syntactically driven PF movement). Note, nevertheless, that the operator criterion has to be restated in minimalist terms (see Watanabe (2001, 2002a, 2002b) for recent restatement of the Neg-criterion in minimalist terms).

¹⁷ 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 16). 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 (17).

with the Subj_{FN} in ϕ -features, as in (17a), whereby the $u\phi$ of T and the $u\text{Case}$ of the Subj_{FN} are valued. Then, as in (17b), the Subj_{FN} is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T. As in (17c), 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 footnote 17). Upon its merger with the TP, C enters into an Agree relation with the Subj_{FN} in ϕ -features, as in (17d), whereby the $u\phi$ of C is valued.¹⁸ Since C does not bear EPP, the Subj_{FN} is left behind in Spec TP at this stage. Finally, Topicalization is induced presumably for a semantic consequence, as in (17e).¹⁹ Thereby the V2 order with a Subj_{FN} in the topic-initial context is derived (cf. (7)).

The derivation for the topic-initial structure with a $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ is slightly different, which is illustrated as follows:

(18) a. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND $\text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}}$

$[\text{TP } T\{u\phi/\text{EPP}\} [\text{v}^*P \text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}\{\phi/u\text{Case}/u\text{Cl}\} [\text{v}^* \text{v}^* [\text{VP} \dots \text{V} \dots]]]]$
 ↑
 AGREE

b. $\text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}}$ MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

$[\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}\{\phi/u\text{Case}/u\text{Cl}\} [\text{T } T\{\text{EPP}\} [\text{v}^*P t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* \text{v}^* [\text{VP} \dots \text{V} \dots]]]]]]$
 ↑
 SATISFACTION OF EPP

b'. $\text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}}$ ENCLITICIZATION TO T

* $[\text{TP } T\{\text{EPP}\} + \text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}\{\phi/u\text{Case}/u\text{Cl}\} [\text{v}^*P t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* \text{v}^* [\text{VP} \dots \text{V} \dots]]]]] \Rightarrow \text{CRASH}$
 ↑
 ENCLITICIZATION

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

$[\text{FinP } \text{V-T-v}^* \text{-Fin} [\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}} [\text{T } t_{\text{T}} [\text{v}^*P t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* t_{\text{v}}^* [\text{VP} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots]]]]]]]]$
 ↑
 FINITE VERB MOVEMENT

d. MERGER OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND $\text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}}$

$[\text{CP } C\{u\phi\} [\text{FinP } \text{V-T-v}^* \text{-Fin} [\text{TP } \text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}\{\phi/u\text{Case}/u\text{Cl}\} [\text{T } t_{\text{T}} [\text{v}^*P t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* t_{\text{v}}^* [\text{VP} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots]]]]]]]]$
 ↑
 AGREE

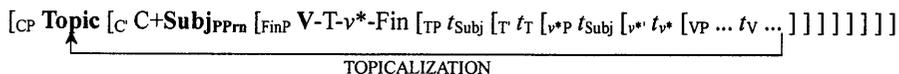
e. $\text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}}$ ENCLITICIZATION TO C

$[\text{CP } C + \text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}\{\phi/u\text{Case}/u\text{Cl}\} [\text{FinP } \text{V-T-v}^* \text{-Fin} [\text{TP } t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{T } t_{\text{T}} [\text{v}^*P t_{\text{Subj}} [\text{v}^* t_{\text{v}}^* [\text{VP} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots]]]]]]]]]]$
 ↑
 ENCLITICIZATION

¹⁸ Note that although the $u\text{Case}$ of the Subj_{FN} is already valued by the Agree relation with T, it is still active and visible for the computational system (cf. Carstens (2003)). This is because the valued/deleted uninterpretable features are erased after the completion of the relevant strong phase that contains them (Chomsky (2001a: 18f)). Due to this active status of the deleted $u\text{Case}$ of the Subj_{FN} , the ϕ of the Subj_{FN} is still eligible for Agree with the $u\phi$ of C at this point of the derivation.

¹⁹ 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 (1995b: 294, 337, 2000: 109, 2001a: 34, 2001b: 11), 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 (2001a: 34)). The first two conditions suffice to assign EPP on C after the Agree between C and the Subj_{FN} , which eventually induces Topicalization (via Spec v^*P).

f. TOPICALIZATION



The first step is the same as that of the derivation for topic-initial V2 with a Subj_{FN} : T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj_{PPm} in ϕ -features, as in (18a), whereby the $u\phi$ of T and the $u\text{Case}$ of the Subj_{PPm} are valued. There are two possibilities for the next stage: the Subj_{PPm} is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (18b); it is encliticized to T to satisfy its own encliticization requirement (i.e. $u\text{Cl}$), as in (18b').²⁰ If we take the second option, the $u\text{Cl}$ is successfully deleted, but 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_{PPm} is D^{omax} . In other words, it can be minimal and maximal simultaneously. Thus, the Subj_{PPm} 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 Subj_{FN} : Fin is merged with the TP and the V-to-Fin movement is carried out, as in (18c). Upon its merger with the TP, C enters into an Agree relation with the Subj_{PPm} in ϕ -features, as in (18d), whereby the $u\phi$ of C is valued. Then, as in (18e), the Subj_{PPm} encliticizes to C in order to satisfy its $u\text{Cl}$ requirement and delete this feature. Finally, Topicalization is induced, as in (18f). Thus, the topic-initial V3 order results with a Subj_{PPm} . It should be emphasized here that the derivation reaching the stage in (18f) in the end is the only convergent one for the topic-initial structure with a Subj_{PPm} . Because both C and T bear $u\phi$, the $u\text{Cl}$ requirement of the Subj_{PPm} can be satisfied by encliticizing to either of them at some point in the derivation.²¹ Yet, the derivation choosing the encliticization to T leaves its EPP feature unsatisfied (as in (18b')), eventually leading to crash. The only remaining choice is the encliticization to C, and the topic-initial structure with a Subj_{PPm} is forced to be V3 (cf. (8)).²²

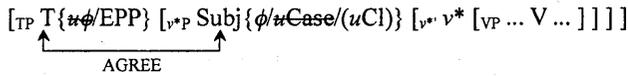
Now if the $u\text{Cl}$ requirement of Subj_{PPm} is satisfied nominal-phrase-internally, an option suggested above, it can no longer behave as a clitic. This is because the $u\text{Cl}$ is deleted when Subj_{PPm} merges with a phonologically null counterpart of N and enters into an Agree relation with it, which is illustrated as follows:

²⁰ Recall that valuation of the $u\text{Cl}$ is not a sufficient condition for its deletion. It is merely a necessary condition. In order to be deleted, the element bearing $u\text{Cl}$ (i.e. Subj_{PPm} in this case) has to encliticize to an agreeing functional head.

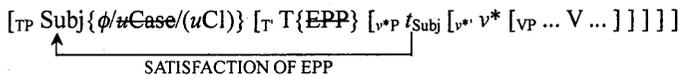
²¹ Note that ν^* could also be a candidate for the host of the Subj_{PPm} in that it bears $u\phi$. When the Subj_{PPm} is introduced into the structure, however, it is already outside of the c-command domain of ν^* (i.e. Spec $\nu^*\text{P}$). Thus, there is no way for ν^* to enter into an Agree relation with the Subj_{PPm} .

²² In this respect, the analysis presented here coincides with the ones provided by Haegeman (1990) and subsequently by Shlonsky (1994) for West Flemish. That is, both of them treat the clitic Subj_{PPm} as an element in the CP domain.

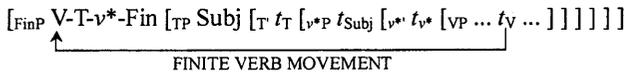
(20) a. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ



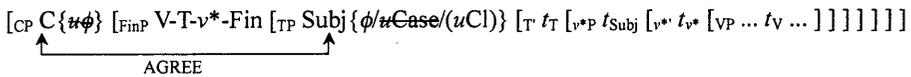
b. SUBJ MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP



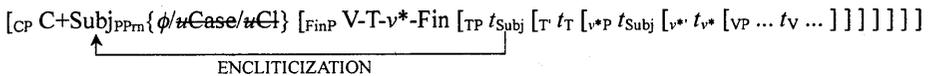
c. MERGER OF FIN AND V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT



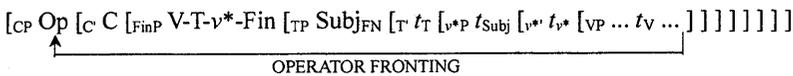
d. MERGER OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ



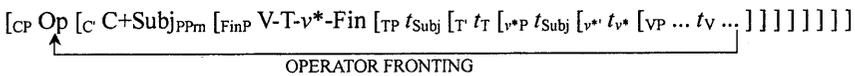
e'. SUBJ_{PPRN} ENCLITICIZATION TO C



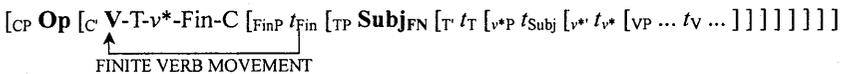
f. OPERATOR FRONTING



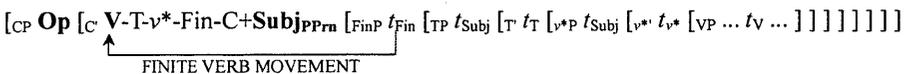
f. OPERATOR FRONTING



g. V-TO-C MOVEMENT



g'. V-TO-C MOVEMENT



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 TP and it enters into an Agree relation with the subject, as in (20a-d). Then, the one with a Subj_{PPRN} has an additional step: the Subj_{PPRN} encliticizes to C, as in (20e'). The remaining steps of the derivation are the same again. An operator is fronted to Spec CP, as in (20f) and (20f'). The finite verb moves to C, as in (20g) and (20g'). Thus, in both of the cases, the finite verb ends up by preceding the subject, whether it is full nominal or pronominal.

3.2. Deriving the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm}

The analysis provided to the topic-initial structure in the previous subsection extends to the subordinate Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} . 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 matrix and subordinate clauses, let us follow Rizzi (1997: 288) in assuming that the complementizer (e.g. *þæt* 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 Haerberli (2001: 220)). Given that Fin is phonologically realized as a complementizer, the finite verb cannot move to this position in the subordinate clause,²⁴ thereby deriving the asymmetry between the matrix and subordinate clauses. Let us assume further that the phonologically realized Fin moves to C in the subordinate clause.²⁵ 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 EME/OE subordinate clause involving a Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} .

Before going into details, recall the assumption we made in (13b). Different types of subjects reside in different structural positions in a clause: the $Subj_{PPm}$, being a clitic, is encliticized to C; the $Subj_{FN}$ 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 Obj_{PPm} : the one with a $Subj_{FN}$ and the other with a $Subj_{PPm}$. Let us consider the latter first, which is illustrated as follows:²⁶

²⁴ A prerequisite is that the finite verb cannot move to the phonologically realized functional head other than the one that is affixal in nature (e.g. v^* under Chomsky's (1995b) characterization).

²⁵ 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 matrix and subordinate clauses. The matrix clause is always finite. Hence, the finite verb suffices to signal the finiteness of the clause in question. The mood of the matrix clause, for instance, the declarative vs. interrogative/imperative distinction is signaled by the position of the finite verb. 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.

²⁶ One may wonder whether the Obj_{PPm} in Spec v^*P induces the so-called intervention effect in (21c). The answer is affirmative: T can enter into an Agree relation with the Obj_{PPm} in Spec v^*P , the uCl of the latter being deleted by encliticizing to the former. This is, in fact, a derivation for the subordinate clause involving a $Subj_{FN}$ and a Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} . Note in this respect that when T enters into an Agree relation with the Obj_{PPm} , it can also enter into an Agree relation with the $Subj_{PPm}$ under the notion of multiple Agree. See (22) below for details. Nevertheless, the intervention effect is obviated in (21c). Instead, the unvalued feature of the Obj_{PPm} is deleted in the later operation, as in (21f). 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. Obj_{PPm}) for the second one (i.e. C), and the goal in question can await for the next probe to satisfy its requirement. Then, no problem

The first two steps of (22) are the same as those of the derivation for the Comp-Subj_{PPm}-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order (i.e. (21)): v^* enters into an Agree relation with the Obj_{PPm}, whereby the $u\phi$ of v^* and the $uCase$ of the Obj_{PPm} are valued, as in (22a); the Subj_{FN} is merged with the v^*P and the Obj_{PPm} is raised to Spec v^*P to satisfy the EPP requirement of v^* , as in (22b). The third step diverges from that of the derivation for the Comp-Subj_{PPm}-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order: upon its merger with the v^*P , T enters into multiple Agree relations with both the Obj_{PPm} in outer Spec v^*P and the Subj_{FN} in inner Spec v^*P , as in (22c). Then, as in (22d), the Subj_{FN} is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, and the Obj_{PPm} is encliticized to T to satisfy its uCl requirement.²⁷ When C is merged with the TP, as in (22e), it enters into an Agree relation with the Subj_{FN}, valuing its $u\phi$. At this point, the Subj_{FN} cannot encliticize to C, because it does not bear uCl . Finally, as in (22f), the Fin-to-C movement is induced, and the derivation in question results in the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order (cf. (9a)).

A crucial difference between the derivations of the Comp-Subj_{PPm}-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order and the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order is that the latter derivation does not only lack the Subj_{PPm} encliticization to C but also lack the Aux-to-T movement. The lack of the Subj_{PPm} 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 verb (or auxiliary) sometimes follows the (phrasal) negative marker in the subordinate clause, which indicates the failure of Aux-to-T movement (under the plausible assumption that the negative marker marks the left edge of the verbal projection):

(23) NEG-AUX-V ORDER \Rightarrow FAILURE OF V-TO-T MOVEMENT

ðat tu ðe seluen naht ne miht *helpen*...

that you yourself not NEG might help

'... that you may not help yourself...'

(CMVICES1, 65.708 / PPCME2)

Thus, the lack of Aux-to-T movement should be justified for the derivation of the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order. Since the failure of Aux-to-T movement was not so frequent, moreover, it is expected that the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is attested more frequently in the subordinate clause with a Subj_{PPm} than the one with a Subj_{FN}. This prediction is born out: 101 out of the 148 instances of the Subj-Obj_{PPm}-Aux-V order in Tables 6 and 8 (68.2%) involve a Subj_{PPm}. This figure also suggests the lack of Aux-to-T movement in the Comp-

²⁷ Again, a potentially problematic derivational step is conceivable here: the Obj_{PPm} is raised to Spec TP, satisfying the EPP requirement of T, while the Subj_{FN} is left behind in situ (i.e. Spec v^*P). Given the maximize-matching-effects principle (see footnote 26), however, this derivational step is correctly ruled out.

Subj_{FN}-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order. The detailed figures are given in the following table.²⁸

TABLE 12: SUBJ_{PPRN} VS. SUBJ_{FN} IN THE SUBJ-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V ORDER

	SUBJ _{PPRN}	SUBJ _{FN}	TOTAL
MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTHEAST MIDLANDS TEXTS			
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	24	21	45
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	13	2	15
MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTHWEST MIDLANDS TEXTS			
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	12	4	16
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	1	1	2
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	1	0	1
cmhali.m1 (c.1225)	2	1	3
cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)	4	0	4
cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)	19	1	20
14TH CENTURY KENTISH TEXT			
cmayenbi.m2 (1340)	25	17	42
GRAND TOTAL	101	47	148

Given that the failure of Aux-to-T movement is infrequent, one may wonder what happens to the derivation in (22) if this movement is induced. One can easily deduce that the resultant word order is the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Aux-Obj_{PPRN}-V order. This is evident if Aux moves to T in (22f):

(22) f. AUX-TO-T MOVEMENT



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

(24) COMP-SUBJ_{FN}-AUX-Obj_{PPRN}-V ORDER

þet god ne heþ hit him y-yeve...

that god NEG has it him given

‘... that God has not given it to him...’

(CMAYENBI, 18.273 / PPCME2)

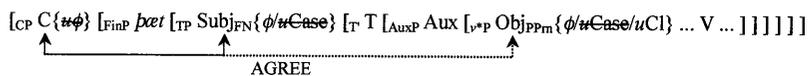
Under the analysis provided here, the word order pattern in (24) is conceived to be merely a

²⁸ Interestingly, 7 out of the 21 instances of the Subj_{FN}-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order in the *Vices and Virtues* and 10 out of the 17 instances in the *Ayenbite of Inwit* involve *God* and its orthographical variants as a Subj_{FN}. I have no interesting explanation for this phenomenon at the moment, though.

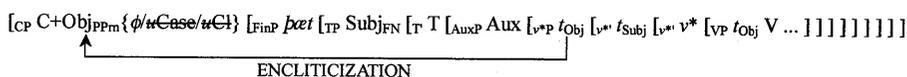
subordinate clause involving V-to-T movement and Obj_{PP_{TM}} encliticization to T. Note, however, that this is not the only derivation for the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Aux-Obj_{PP_{TM}}-V order. Suppose the *uCl* of the Obj_{PP_{TM}} is satisfied nominal-projection-internally by merging with phonologically null N, an option also available to Subj_{PP_{TM}}. Then, the DP Obj_{PP_{TM}} 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-Subj_{FN}-Aux-Obj_{PP_{TM}}-V order. In other words, the subordinate clause with a strong Obj_{PP_{TM}} always results in the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Aux-Obj_{PP_{TM}}-V order, or with a head-initial VP, it may even result in the Comp-Subj_{FN}-Aux-V-Obj_{PP_{TM}} order.

Turning back to the derivation in (22), let us consider some other possible steps. Suppose T in (22c) does not enter into multiple Agree relations but only with the Subj_{FN}, ignoring the Obj_{PP_{TM}} in outer Spec *v**P, and instead C in (22e) enters into multiple Agree relations with the Subj_{FN} in Spec TP and the Obj_{PP_{TM}} in Spec *v**P. Then, the remaining steps will be the following:

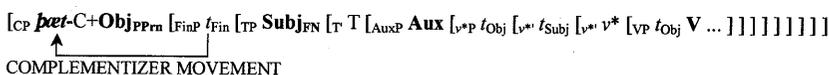
(22') e. MEGER OF REALIZED FIN/C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ_{FN}/OBJ_{PP_{TM}}



e'. OBJ_{PP_{TM}} ENCLITICIZATION TO C



f. FIN-TO-C MOVEMENT



The Obj_{PP_{TM}} is encliticized to C in (22'), and the resultant word order is the Comp-Obj_{PP_{TM}}-Subj_{FN}-Aux-V order. As one may have noticed, this is a derivation for (11a), which illustrates one of the positions idiosyncratic to the Obj_{PP_{TM}} (i.e. to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause). (11b) and (11c), which illustrate the other positions idiosyncratic to the Obj_{PP_{TM}} (i.e. to the immediate left of the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial V2 clause and to the immediate right of the finite verb in the matrix operator-initial V2 clause), are also derived in a similar manner, involving Obj_{PP_{TM}} encliticization to C. The only difference is that the finite verb ends up in Fin in (11b) while it ends up in C in (11c). These are the options unavailable to subordinate clauses.

To sum up, the Subj_{PP_{TM}} and the Obj_{PP_{TM}} have been shown to be bearing *uCl* together with ϕ and *uCase*. Due to the requirement imposed by *uCl*, the Subj_{PP_{TM}} and the Obj_{PP_{TM}} are encliticized to C and T/C, respectively unless the *uCl* is satisfied by merging with a

phonologically null counterpart of N. Together with the presence of the V-to-Fin movement, the former encliticization results in subject position asymmetry in the topic-initial context, and with the absence of V-to-Fin/V-to-T movement, the latter encliticization yields the Wackernagel Obj_{PPM} in the subordinate context. Bearing in mind the analyses provided here, let us turn in the following section to see how the demise of the subject position asymmetry caused the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPM} in the history of English.

4. A Net Result of Changes

Recall the historical change in the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context and the Wackernagel Obj_{PPM} 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 1 and 2). In terms of the analyses provided in the previous section, the demise of the subject position asymmetry is construed as the loss of V-to-Fin movement in the matrix topic-initial context with a Subj_{FN}.²⁹

- (25) [_{CP} **Topic** [_C C [_{FinP} V-T-v*-Fin [_{TP} **Subj_{FN}** [_T t_T [_{v*P} t_{Subj} [_{v*} t_{v*} [_{VP} ... t_V ...]]]]]]]]]] (EME)
 ↓
 [_{CP} **Topic** [_C C [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP} **Subj_{FN}** [_T V-T-v* [_{v*P} t_{Subj} [_{v*} t_{v*} [_{VP} ... t_V ...]]]]]]]]]] (LME)

The loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPM} is simply conceived as the restriction imposed on the way the μ Cl requirement is satisfied.³⁰ That is, it came to be satisfied only nominal-projection-internally by merger with a phonologically null counterpart of N. Since it is satisfied globally (i.e. by encliticization to an agreeing functional head) or locally (i.e. by merger with a phonologically null counterpart of N) in EME while it is satisfied only locally in LME, there seems to be a parametric variation in the way the μ Cl requirement is satisfied. With respect to this variation, let us assume that something like the following parameter is at work:

²⁹ 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, 1993); see Nawata (2003, 2004) for recent discussion on this matter) or by the rise of auxiliary verbs (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.

³⁰ One of the most naïve explanations on the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPM} in terms of the analyses provided in the previous section is to attribute it to the loss of μ Cl on pronouns. Without this feature, the Obj_{PPM} cannot encliticize to C nor T, hence it cannot appear in the Wackernagel position. This explanation conforms to Chomsky's (1993, 1995a) suggestion that the locus of the parametric variation is restricted to the formal features of functional heads. Nevertheless, I will continue to pursue the idea presented in the text (but see the discussion in §5).

(26) The μ Cl requirement can be satisfied globally.³¹

In the language where (26) has a positive value, μ Cl is deleted by either encliticizing to an agreeing functional head or merging with a phonologically null counterpart of N. Hence, a cliticization phenomenon is observable in this language. In the language where (26) has a negative value, on the other hand, μ Cl is deleted only by the merger with phonologically null N. Obviously, cliticization is impossible in this case. In the case at hand, we can consider EME to be an instance of the language with a positive value for (26) and LME to be an instance of the one with a negative value.

Now, one may wonder why (26) ceased to have a positive value in LME. As we are taking language change to be a reflex of the change in how children converge on a grammar (cf. Anderson (1973), Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1999) among others), we have to consider how they decide the setting for (26). Since local satisfaction of μ Cl involves only Merge while its global satisfaction involves Move (= Agree+Pied-pipe+Merge), the former being less costly than the latter under the Merge-over-Move principle (see §3.1), the default/unmarked value of (26) must be negative.³² This means that unless there is positive evidence indicating the contrary, (26) is set for the negative value. In other words, if children do not encounter a trigger or, more precisely, a cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff, 2002: 9, 2003: 6f)) for setting the positive value for (26) in the course of language acquisition, the default value, namely, the negative value is chosen. Then, an obvious question to ask is what counts as a cue for setting the positive value for (26). The Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} itself cannot be a cue, since it is hardly the case that children acquire language with reference to the subordinate context. Instead, they learn everything “from structures of ‘degree-0 complexity’ [= matrix clauses] (Lightfoot (1991: 10)).” Thus, I claim that the cue for setting the positive value for (26) is the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context. More specifically, the cue in question consists of the V2 order involving a Subj_{FN} and the V3 order involving a Subj_{PPm} in the relevant context (i.e. [CP Topic [FinP V [TP Subj_{FN} ...]] and [CP Topic Subj_{PPm} [FinP V [TP ...]]). When children are confronted with this cue, they deduce that personal pronouns have properties distinct from full nouns. Given that μ Cl is included in the inventory of formal features that the UG affords and it is placed in personal pronouns (= D) when features are assembled to lexical items, more precisely, they deduce that the requirement imposed by

³¹ Postulation of this parameter conforms to the minimalist view of the parametric variation in that it is stated in terms of the variation imposed on the functional head (i.e. D bearing μ Cl). A crucial departure from the (earlier) minimalist view is that it is not stated in terms of the presence/absence of formal features. This departure should be warranted, as Chomsky (2001a) seems to be postulating the parameters stated in a somewhat different manner (see his discussion on Object Shift).

³² See Watanabe (1994: 168 footnote 18) for an economical flavor of the default parameter setting. Also see Gelderen (2004) and Roberts & Roussou (2003), where it is argued independently that the notion of economy plays an important role in language change.

μ Cl can be satisfied in a global manner, whereby (26) is set for the positive value. Once this is done, all the personal pronouns, 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 Subj_{PP_{TM}} and T/C in the case of the Obj_{PP_{TM}}. In some subordinate contexts (i.e. the subordinate clause involving a Subj_{PP_{TM}} and the one involving a Subj_{FN} and no V-to-T movement), Obj_{PP_{TM}} encliticization to T/C yields the Wackernagel Obj_{PP_{TM}}. Thus, the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context triggers the Wackernagel Obj_{PP_{TM}} in the subordinate context.

Once the subject position asymmetry gets obviated, children will no longer deduce that the μ Cl requirement can be satisfied in a global manner, whereby the positive value for (26) ceases to be invoked. This is what happened in LME. Due to the loss of V-to-Fin movement (see footnote 29), the matrix topic-initial context with a Subj_{FN} comes to exhibit V3 order, thereby the subject position asymmetry is obviated. As one can easily imagine, this loss caused language learners to stop deducing the global satisfaction of the μ Cl requirement. This is sufficient for the default/unmarked value for (26).

We have seen so far that subject position asymmetry invokes the positive value for (26) in EME while its obviation leads to the default/unmarked value for (26). Crucial to the change in the setting of (26) is the obviation of subject position asymmetry (i.e. uniform V3). This was caused by the loss of V-to-Fin movement in the LME Midlands/Southern dialect. It is predicted then that a different way of subject position asymmetry obviation (i.e. uniform V2) also results in the default value for (26). This is what happened in the Northern dialects of LME, to which we turn in the following section.

5. Northern Dialects of LME

Recall that in §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_{FN} and the Subj_{PP_{TM}} in the context where either of the following elements are placed clause-initially: NP, PP and Adj complements, adverbs *þa/then* and *now*, PP adjuncts and any other adverbs. The result of their survey on this text is shown in the following table:

TABLE 13: V2/V3 IN THE *NORTHERN PROSE RULE OF ST. BENET*

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	58 (95.1%)	3 (4.8%)
PP complement	18 (100%)	0 (0%)	10 (100%)	0 (0%)
Adj complement	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)
<i>þa / then</i>	15 (100%)	0 (0%)	28 (96.6%)	1 (3.4%)
<i>now</i>	no data		2 (100%)	0 (0%)
PP adjunct	42 (89.4%)	5 (10.6%)	73 (91.3%)	7 (8.7%)
any other adverb	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	51 (91.1%)	5 (8.9%)

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 313), Kroch et al. (2000: 372))

The subject position asymmetry is obviated in this text, but interestingly, the majority of instances with both the Subj_{FN} and the Subj_{PPRN} exhibit the V2 pattern. The shaded rows in Table 13 show that 93.9% of the Subj_{FN} tokens and 92.0% of the Subj_{PPRN} tokens are exhibiting the V2 order on average. The following are representative examples (cited from Fischer et al. (2000)):

(27) a. SUBJ_{FN}

[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. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[In þa dais] sal we here sumping 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 Haerberli (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 the following table (also see Trips (2002: 254) for the former text and Kroch et al. (2000: 375) for the latter):

TABLE 14: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE 15TH CENTURY NORTHERN TEXTS

	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
Rolle (c.1450 (a.1349))	5 (20.0%)	20 (80.0%)	6 (15.4%)	33 (84.6%)
Edmund, Thornton (c.1440)	31 (64.6%)	17 (35.4%)	105 (52.5%)	95 (47.5%)
TOTAL	36 (49.3%)	37 (50.7%)	111 (46.4%)	128 (53.6%)

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

Table 14 shows that 49.3% of the Subj_{FN} tokens and 46.4% of the Subj_{PPRN} tokens exhibit the V2 order on average. These figures indicate that the subject position asymmetry in the topic-initial context is obviated in the Northern dialect of LME. Assuming that earlier Northern dialects had the properties similar to those of the Midlands/Southern dialect of EME, we can illustrate the change under consideration in the following figure:

FIGURE 3: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE MATRIX SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY

EME (MIDLANDS/KENTISH DIALECT)		⇒	LME (NORTHERN DIALECT)	
SUBJ _{FN}	SUBJ _{PPRN}		SUBJ _{FN}	SUBJ _{PPRN}
V2	V3		V2	V2

In terms of the analyses provided in §3.1, obviation of subject position asymmetry in the Northern dialect of LME can be viewed as loss of the Subj_{PPRN} encliticization to C accompanied by retainment of the V-to-Fin movement:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (28) \text{ [}_{CP} \text{Topic [}_{C} \text{C+Subj}_{PPRN} \text{ [}_{FinP} \text{V-T-v*}-\text{Fin [}_{TP} \text{t}_{Subj} \text{ [}_{T} \text{t}_T \text{ [}_{v*P} \text{t}_{Subj} \text{t}_{v*} \dots \text{t}_V \dots \text{]]]]]]]] \quad (\text{EME}) \\
 \downarrow \\
 \text{ [}_{CP} \text{Topic [}_{C} \text{C [}_{FinP} \text{V-T-v*}-\text{Fin [}_{TP} \text{Subj}_{PPRN} \text{ [}_{T} \text{t}_T \text{ [}_{v*P} \text{t}_{Subj} \text{t}_{v*} \dots \text{t}_V \dots \text{]]]]]] \quad (\text{LME})
 \end{array}$$

Now, a question arises as to why the Subj_{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 (26) ceased to be invoked for the positive value because the V-to-Fin movement was fairly retained. If the V-to-Fin movement still exists, then there is a cue for the positive value for the parameter in (26). This should make the Subj_{PPRN} encliticization to C possible, which is contrary to the fact. Thus, the loss of the Subj_{PPRN} encliticization to C in the LME Northern dialect cannot be due to the resetting of (26), although its positive setting ultimately ceases to be invoked (see the discussion below). Here, I conjecture that the change in question is due to the change in the pronominal paradigm of Northern dialect. As the Northern dialect is the language spoken/written in the Danelaw and underwent intense language contact with Old Norse (henceforth, ON), it may exhibit the properties idiosyncratic to ON. One instance is the third person plural form of personal pronouns. While the EME Midlands/Southern dialect

retained indigenous third person plural forms (e.g. nominative *hy/hi* (< OE *hē/hī*), accusative *hie/hi* (< OE *hīe/hī*), 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/þai* (< ON *þeir*), accusative/dative *þem* (< ON *þeim*) and genitive *þeir/þair* (< ON *þeira*)) into its pronominal paradigm (Nakao (1972: 137); also see Dawson (2003: 45)). Now suppose the ON forms lack *uCl* and behave as full nouns, an option suggested in footnote 30. This should be warranted, given the fact that ON is a strictly systematic V2 language in both matrix and subordinate clauses (Hróarsdóttir (2000: 53), Rögnvaldsson (1995: 5, 1996: 57); also see Christoffersen (1980: 118)).³³ Then, the ON forms need not hence cannot encliticize to any functional head. Thus, the historical change shown in Figure 3 seems to be 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 lacking *uCl*, 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 forms), whereby the *Subj_{PPm}* encliticization to C became impossible. This caused the rise of systematic V2 effects in the matrix topic-initial context, thereby obviating the subject position asymmetry 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 (26), but by the loss of *uCl* in nominative personal pronouns (see the discussion below for justification of this point).

Since the subject position asymmetry got obviated by the rise of systematic V2 effects, it is expected that the parameter in (26) ceased to be invoked for the positive 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 born out. My survey on the subordinate word order in the Northern texts show that it was impossible in this dialect:

³³ Note that ON also exhibits the so-called V1 declarative (Haugan (1999: 55), Sigurðsson (1990: 46)). In this construction, too, both the *Subj_{FN}* and the *Subj_{PPm}* systematically follow the fronted verb. The following is an instance with a *Subj_{PPm}*. Whether the sentence is V1 or V2, the subject always follows the fronted verb (except for the subject topic case). Hence, the discussion in the text remains unaffected.

(i) *Vil* *eg* nú gefa þér sverðið
 will I now give you the-sword
 ‘I will give the sword to you.’

(Grett 974 / Haugan (1999: 55))

TABLE 15: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE 15TH CENTURY NORTHERN TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
cmbenrul.m3 (a.1425)	0	3	36	0	0	39
cmrolltr.m24 (c.1450 (a.1349))	0	0	50	0	0	50
cmedthor (c.1440)	0	3 (1)	27	0	0	30
TOTAL	0	6 (1)	113	0	0	119

As is obvious from Table 15, not a single instance of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is attested in the Northern texts. This fact indicates that the parameter in (26) indeed ceased to be invoked for the positive setting in the Northern dialect of LME.

Note that this change did not result from the loss of *uCl*, which caused the obviation of the subject position asymmetry. Under the scenario presented above, the property of the new third person plural forms (i.e. absence of *uCl*) 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 Midlands dialect) briefly mentioned in §2.2. His texts exhibit relatively high frequency of V2 both with the Subj_{FN} (50.0%) and with the Subj_{PPm} (50.0%), whereby the subject positions asymmetry is obviated (see Table 4). Intriguingly, Chaucer's works coincide with the LME Northern texts in this respect, namely, in that the subject position asymmetry is obviated by the rise of systematic V2 in the matrix topic-initial context. Moreover, they are also similar to the LME Northern texts in that the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} is unattested (see Table 9). What is more relevant to the current discussion is the pronominal paradigm in Chaucer's works. For third person plural pronouns, they borrowed the ON nominative form and retained the indigenous accusative/dative form (Ukaji (2000: 172, 174); also see Nakao (1972: 137)).³⁴ In terms of the feature content, this means that the third person plural nominative form lacks *uCl* while the third person plural accusative/dative form retains 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 lack *uCl* while the accusative/dative forms in general retain this feature. I speculate that this is what happened in Chaucer's works. Because of this peculiar pronominal paradigm, the subject position asymmetry was obviated, thereby giving rise to systematic V2 in Chaucer's works. This, in turn, reset the parameter in (26) for the default/unmarked value, whereby the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} 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 personal pronouns is of ON origin, the same change could have taken place in the Northern

³⁴ Chaucer's works also retained the indigenous genitive form for the third person plural pronoun. Since this form is irrelevant to the current discussion, it is abstracted away.

dialect prior to the composition of the oldest surviving texts. Thus, introduction of the μ Cl-less ON third person plural nominative form into the pronominal paradigm of the Northern dialect and generalization of its property only to the other nominative forms should be justified (cf. Morse-Gagné (1988: 365)).

To sum up, systematic V2 in the matrix topic-initial context emerged in the Northern dialect, presumably, due to the borrowing of the μ Cl-less third person plural nominative pronoun, whereby the subject position asymmetry got obviated. This caused the resetting of the parameter in (26) for the default/unmarked value, thereby making the encliticization to an agreeing functional head impossible. In the end, the Wackernagel Obj_{PP_{TM}} became extinct. Thus, the systematic V2 order ultimately led to the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PP_{TM}} in the Northern dialect of LME.³⁵

6. Conclusion

We have seen in this paper that obviation of subject position asymmetry in the topic-initial context led to the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PP_{TM}} in the subordinate context in the history of English. Analyzed in recent minimalist terms, the subject position asymmetry is yielded by Subj_{PP_{TM}} encliticization to C driven by the μ Cl requirement of the Subj_{PP_{TM}} on the one hand and Subj_{FN} movement to Spec TP driven by the EPP requirement of T on the other. Given the degree-0 learnability, this constitutes a cue to invoke the positive setting of the parameter in (26), whereby the μ Cl requirement can be satisfied in a global manner (i.e. encliticization to an agreeing functional head). The subject position asymmetry obviation resulted in the LME Midlands/Southern dialect from the rise of systematic V3 order caused by the loss of V-to-Fin movement and in the LME Northern dialects from the rise of

³⁵ 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. subject position symmetry), but they allow the Wackernagel Obj_{PP_{TM}}. An obvious question to ask, then, is how the parameter in (26) is set for positive value without the subject position asymmetry. My tentative answer for this question is that V-Subj_{FN} non-adjacency and V-Subj_{PP_{TM}} adjacency in the V2 context constitute the cue for the positive value for (26). Let us take up German for an instance. Haerberli (2000: 114f) observes that in German, an adjunct can intervene between the fronted finite verb and the Subj_{FN} while this is impossible with the Subj_{PP_{TM}}, as the following examples illustrate (cf. Haerberli (1999a, 1999b)):

- (i) [Wahrscheinlich] *wird* (später) Hans dieselbe Uhr kaufen.
 probably will later John the-same watch buy
 'Probably, John will buy the same watch.' (Haerberli (2000: 114))
- (ii) [Wahrscheinlich] *wird* (*später) er dieselbe Uhr kaufen.
 probably will later he the-same watch buy
 'Probably, he will buy the same watch.' (ibid.: 115))

The contrast between (i) and (ii) suffices to signal the difference between the Subj_{FN} and Subj_{PP_{TM}} in their properties, whereby the parameter in (26) is driven to set for the positive value. Note in this connection that the V-Subj_{FN} non-adjacency was possible in EME while it became impossible in the Northern dialects of LME (Haerberli (2000: 122ff)).

systematic V2 order caused by the borrowing of *u*Cl-less third person plural forms from ON. As the cue for the positive setting of (26) was lost in both of the LME dialects, whereby it was set for the default/unmarked value, the *u*Cl requirement came to be satisfied in a local manner (i.e. merger with a phonologically null counterpart of N). This parameter resetting resulted in the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate context in LME.

In the course of discussion, some unwarranted assumptions were made. Thus, the remaining issue is empirical justification for these assumptions. Another issue yet to be empirically justified is whether the mode of the explanation provided here extends to other synchronic and diachronic cases. More specifically, it must be verified to be covering both the facts of contemporary Germanic languages and their historical development. These issues await further studies.

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.

M1 (1150-1250)

COMPETERB Cecily Clark (1970) *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 Riwle: 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)

CMAYENBI Richard Morris (1979) *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt* (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.

M24 (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 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 Apocryphal 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 (1869) *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 Kemp: Vol. I* (EETS OS 212). Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMCAPCHR Peter J. Lucas (1983) *John Capgrave's Abbreuiacion 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 NS XVII), Camden Society, Westminster.
- CMREYNAR Norman F. Blake (1970) *Caxton's 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 NS 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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