

# 博士論文

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氏            名      宮下 治政

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

by

Harumasa Miyashita

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## **Abstract**

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

by

Harumasa Miyashita

*The University of Tokyo*

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

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

- (1) a. PPRN OBJECT LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2  
CLAUSE IN OE

[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 / Kemenade (1987: 114))

- b. PPRN OBJECT RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2  
CLAUSE IN OE

[Ne] geseah **hine** nan man nates-hwon yrre  
NEG saw him no man so little angry

‘None ever saw him so little angry.’ (ÆLS, XXXI.306 / *ibid.*)

- c. PPRN OBJECT RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE  
CLAUSE IN OE

þæt **him** his fiend wæren æfterfylgende  
that him his enemies were following

‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’ (Oros, 48.12 / *ibid.*: 113)

- d. PPRN OBJECT IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION IN OE

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))

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

- (2) SHAKESPEAREAN ENGLISH: I know **him** not. (*King Henry V*, III.vi.19)

Thus, diachronic change is attested in the history of English with respect to the occurrence position of PPrn objects. Cross-linguistic variation is also attested when human language is considered from a synchronic perspective. For instance, Cardinaletti &

Starke (1999) point out that PPrns are classified into three different classes (i.e. strong PPrns, weak PPrns, and clitic PPrns (henceforth, SPPrns, WPPrns, and CPPrns, respectively)) on the basis of their distributional properties, and that their realization differs cross-linguistically. In light of the tripartite classification of PPrns, the diachronic change in the occurrence position of PPrns in the history of English can also be captured as an issue of which class of PPrns and how many of them are realized in each period of English. This dissertation presents the empirical facts of the occurrence of PPrn objects in the history of English, capturing the overall picture of the historical change in the formal licensing conditions (henceforth, FLCs) on them, and attempts to provide such historical change with a principled explanation. The following are the outlines of the investigation and consideration made in the six chapters that constitute this dissertation.

Chapter 1 establishes theoretical foundations for the analyses presented in this dissertation by introducing the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change advanced by Lightfoot (1999) and the Inertial Theory constructed on the basis of the Minimalist Program (henceforth, MP), a recent development from the P&P approach to UG. Under the P&P approach, general properties of human language are ascribed to universal principles of UG, and cross-linguistic diversities to different values of parameters. Moreover, the MP restricts the locus of the parametric variations to the formal features that constitute lexical items. Parametric values for grammar of an individual language are determined in the course of children's language acquisition. Thus, the synchronic cross-linguistic variations are considered to be consequences of different parametric vales chosen in language acquisition. The diachronic change in a language is also considered to be the consequence of the parametric values determined differently from the ones for previous generation's grammars. The cue-based model of language acquisition and language change views language change as a result of the case that when a cue for acquiring a certain linguistic phenomenon is lost due to another historical change, children choose parametric values that are different from the ones for previous generation's grammars. The Inertial Theory advocated by Keenan (1994) and subsequently developed

by Longobardi (2001) maintains that language change in a strict sense (i.e. syntactic change) results from the changes at the interfaces between the faculty of language and other cognitive systems, and that the syntactic component, by itself, is diachronically completely inert. Within this theory, parametric change is induced by extra-linguistic factors such as language contact or extra-syntactic factors such as phonological/semantic changes, or other syntactic factors caused by the loss of cues. When extra-linguistically or extra-syntactically induced parameter changes create a new system which tends to undergo further parametric change, recursive syntactic change occurs. This is called cascades of parametric change, which instantiate intra-syntactically driven language change.

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

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

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

- (4) SYNTACTICALLY ANNOTATED ELECTRONIC CORPORA
  - a. OE: *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*  
(Taylor et al. (2003))
  - b. EME & LME: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition  
(Kroch & Taylor (2000))

- c. EModE: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*  
(Kroch et al. (2004))
- d. LModE: *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*  
(Kroch et al. (2010))

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

(5) CLASSIFICATION OF PPRNS

- a. SPPrn:  $DP = D^{Min} <i\phi(/uCase)> + \text{phonologically null } N^{Min} <Foc>$
- b. WPPrn:  $D^{Min/Max} <i\phi/uCase>$
- c. CPPrn:  $D^{Min/Max} <i\phi>$

(6) CLAUSE STRUCTURE:  $[_{CP} C [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP} T [_{v^*P} v^* [_{VP} \dots V \dots ] ] ] ] ] ]$

When an FN (i.e. DP) enters into an Agree relation with a functional head  $T/v^*$  and  $uCase$  of the FN and  $u\phi$  of  $T/v^*$  are valued, the FN in question is formally licensed by  $T/v^*$ . Since the SPPrn in (5a) is no different from the FN in the syntactic structure and formal features, the FLC on the FN applies to the SPPrn. The WPPrn in (5b) is similar to the SPPrn in that both bear  $uCase$ , but it syntactically behaves as a head (i.e.  $D^{Min}$ ) as well as a phrase (i.e.  $D^{Max}$ ); the FLC on the WPPrn differs from the one on the SPPrn. The CPPrn in (5c) is different from the WPPrn in that it lacks  $uCase$ , and it is also different from the SPPrn in that like the WPPrn it syntactically behaves as a head as well as a phrase; the FLC on the CPPrn differs from the one on the SPPrn and the one on the WPPrn. The CPPrn is formally licensed by cliticizing to a functional head with which it enters into an Agree

relation. It is proposed based on the classification in (5) and the clause structure in (6) that when children acquire CPPrns lacking *u*Case, they use subject position asymmetry (henceforth, SPA) in the main topic-initial context (i.e. coexistence of V2 order with an FN subject and verb-third (henceforth, V3) order with a PPrn subject) as a cue. In the absence of the SPA, children acquire WPPrns bearing *u*Case. When the SPA is lost, consequently, CPPrns disappear while WPPrns appear. It is pointed out that the modes and causes of this change differ among dialects. They are described and explained as follows. The loss of SPA in the Midland/Southern dialects is attributable to the rise of uniform V3 order via loss of V-to-Fin movement (i.e. loss of part of the cue [<sub>CP</sub> Topic [<sub>FinP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> Subj<sub>FN</sub> ... ]]) while the loss of SPA in the Northern dialect is attributable to rise of the uniform V2 order via borrowing of third person plural forms of non-clitic PPrns (e.g. nominative *þei/pai*, accusative/dative *þem* and genitive *þeir/pair*) from Old Norse. It is also revealed that a series of such changes induced a grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms involving WPPrns and SPPrns (but lacking CPPrns) to emerge in the mid-14th century. It is argued based on these findings that in addition to SPPrns, two classes of deficient PPrns exist in earlier English: the deficient PPrns in OE to EME are CPPrns that require cliticization to its host (i.e. a functional head C/T/*v*\*/K) and they are lost in the transitional period from EME to LME; the ones that emerged and replaced CPPrns in LME are WPPrns that do not require cliticization.

Chapter 4 investigates the linguistic phenomenon in (3b) searching the electronic corpora in (4a)-(4d), pointing out that in the course of the history of English, pronominal OS appeared in the mid-14th century (i.e. LME) and disappeared in the end of the 19th century (i.e. LModE). Then, this chapter provides the findings with an explanation that the emergent grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms mentioned above, incorporating the emergence of a definite article in OE/EME and rise of V-to-T movement in EME, enabled pronominal OS. It is empirically demonstrated that the pronominal OS in LME is made possible by a new grammatical system where three universal principles of UG and three parametric factors (i.e. presence of WPPrns, a definite article and V-to-T

movement) interact. The three descriptive factors are reconsidered in terms of formal features that constitute lexical items, and then formulated as three *de facto* parameters. It is also shown that loss of pronominal OS is induced by loss of V-to-T movement which is one of the three factors that enable pronominal OS.

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

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

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

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## **List of Abbreviations and Notations**

### **Abbreviations for Terminology of Grammatical Functions**

DO	direct object
IO	indirect object
P-Compl <sub>LPm</sub>	locative pronominal complement to a preposition
P-Compl <sub>PPm</sub>	personal pronominal complement to a preposition
Subj <sub>FN</sub>	full nominal subject
Subj <sub>PPm</sub>	personal pronominal subject
Obj <sub>CPPm</sub>	clitic personal pronominal object
Obj <sub>FN</sub>	full nominal object
Obj <sub>PPm</sub>	personal pronominal object
Obj <sub>SPPm</sub>	strong personal pronominal object
Obj <sub>WPPm</sub>	weak personal pronominal object

### **Abbreviations for Terminology of Functional and Lexical Categories**

D	determiner
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
Aux	auxiliary
K	Kase
N	noun
Neg	negative marker
P	preposition
Prt	particle
Q	quantifier
T	tense
V	verb

$v^*$	light verb
$\mu$	intermediate functional projection between $v^*$ and V

### **Abbreviations for Terminology of Nominal Classes**

CPPrn	clitic personal pronoun
Dem	demonstrative pronoun
Expl	expletive
FN	full nominal
LPrn	locative pronoun
Poss	possessive pronoun
PPrn	personal pronoun
SPPrn	strong personal pronoun
WPPrn	weak personal pronoun

### **Notations for Formal Features**

EPP	EPP feature
Foc	Focus feature
$i\text{Def}$	interpretable definiteness feature
$i\text{T}$	interpretable T-feature
$i\text{V}$	interpretable V-feature
$i\phi$	interpretable $\phi$ -feature
$u\text{Case}$	unvalued/uninterpretable Case feature
$u\text{Def}$	unvalued/uninterpretable definiteness feature
$u\text{T}$	unvalued/uninterpretable T-feature
$u\text{V}$	unvalued/uninterpretable V-feature
$u\phi$	unvalued/uninterpretable $\phi$ -feature

### **Abbreviations for Terminology of Linguistic Phenomena and Operations**

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

### **Abbreviations for Theoretical Terminology**

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

Σ semantic component

### **Abbreviations for Languages**

CAE	Colonial American English
EAE	Early American English
EME	Early Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
LME	Late Middle English
LModE	Late Modern English
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
MSc	Mainland Scandinavian
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse
PDE	Present-day English

### **Abbreviations for Syntactically Annotated Corpora**

PPCEME	<i>Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English</i>
PPCMBE	<i>Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English</i>
PPCME2	<i>Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English</i> , 2nd edition
YCOE	<i>York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry</i>

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction:

### Modi Operandi in Formal Licensing of Personal Pronominal Objects

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

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

- (1-1) a. [A] pronoun tends to be a surrogate for a whole noun phrase...  
(Quirk et al. (1985: 76))
- b. Pronouns are used instead of full noun phrases... Pronouns can be viewed as economy devices.  
(Biber et al. (1999: 70))
- c. Nouns can be divided... into three major classes: common nouns, proper nouns, and *pronouns*.  
(Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 328); italic emphasis mine)

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

- (1-2) PC IN ENGLISH
- a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>
- i. John looked up **the information.**

---

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis, the example sentences are represented with the main-clause-initial elements such as a topic bracketed, subjects outlined, objects boldfaced, and verbal elements underlined when necessary.

- ii. John looked **the information** up.
- b. OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>
  - i. \*John looked up **it**.
  - ii. John looked **it** up.

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

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

#### *1.1.1. Synchronic Cross-linguistic Variation*

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

(1-3) PC IN ICELANDIC

- a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>
  - i. Jón tók upp **bókina**.
  - ii. Jón tók **bókina** upp.

John picked the-book up the-book  
'John picked up the book.'
- b. OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>
  - i. \*Jón tók upp **hana**.
  - ii. Jón tók **hana** upp.

John picked it up it  
'John picked it up.'

(Thráinsson (2001: 165))

In Icelandic as well, the Obj<sub>FN</sub> can appear both before and after a Prt while the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> is confined to the pre-Prt position: when the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> appears in the post-Prt position, the

sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in English. Interestingly, OPA is attested in another syntactic environment in Icelandic: the so-called Object Shift (henceforth, OS) phenomenon in Icelandic also exhibits OPA:<sup>2</sup>

(1-4) OSC IN ICELANDIC

a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

i. Nemandinn las ekki **bókina**.

ii. Nemandinn las **bókina** ekki.

the-student read the-book not the-book

‘The student didn’t read the book.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 148))

b. OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

i. \*Nemandinn las ekki **hana**.

ii. Nemandinn las **hana** ekki.

the-student read it not it

‘The student didn’t read it.’ (ibid.: 150)

Again, the Obj<sub>FN</sub> can appear both before and after a negative marker (henceforth, Neg) while the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> is confined to the pre-Neg position: when the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> appears in the post-Neg position, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

<sup>3</sup> As will be shown below, OS is also attested in earlier English, but it allows only OS of PPnrs: OS of FNrs is impossible.

both before and after a Prt in subordinate clauses while the weak PPrn (henceforth, WPPrn) object (henceforth, Obj<sub>WPPrn</sub>) cannot appear in the post-Prt position:<sup>4</sup>

(1-5) SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN GERMAN

a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

- i. daß doch irgendwer **die Frau** gesehen hat  
 ii. daß **die Frau** doch irgendwer gesehen hat  
 that the woman after all someone the woman seen has  
 ‘that someone has seen the woman after all’

b. OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

- i. \*daß doch irgendwer **sie** gesehen hat

---

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

(i) OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

- a. daß endlich einer der Gastgeberin **den seltsamen Gast** ...  
 b. daß endlich einer **den seltsamen Gast** der Gastgeberin  
 that finally someone the strange guest the host the strange guest  
vorstellen sollte  
 introduce should  
 ‘that someone should finally introduce the strange guest to the host’ (Haider (2010: 139))

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

(ii) OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

- a. \*daß endlich wer uns **sie** vorstellen sollte  
 b. daß endlich wer **sie** uns vorstellen sollte  
 that finally someone them-WK-ACC us-WK-DAT them-WK-ACC introduce should  
 ‘that someone should finally introduce them to us’ (Haider (2010: 139))

- ii. daß **sie** doch iemandwer gesehen hat  
 that her-WK after all someone her-WK seen has  
 ‘that someone has seen her after all’ (Haider (2010: 135))

Zwart (1996: 592) shows that Dutch also exhibits syntactic properties similar to German with respect to the distribution of the clitic PP<sub>rn</sub> (henceforth, CPP<sub>rn</sub>) object (henceforth, Obj<sub>CPP<sub>rn</sub></sub>) in subordinate clauses: the Obj<sub>FN</sub> can appear both before and after an adverb (henceforth, Adv) while the Obj<sub>CPP<sub>rn</sub></sub> cannot appear in the post-Adv position:<sup>5</sup>

---

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

- (i) Obj<sub>FN</sub>  
 a. dat ik Marie **het boek** gegeven heb  
 b. ??dat ik **het boek** Marie gegeven heb  
 that I the book Marie the book given have  
 ‘that I gave Mary the book’ (Zwart (1996: 595))

When the DO is a CPP<sub>rn</sub>, however, the word order is reversed: the DO precedes the IO; otherwise the sentence sounds unnatural:

- (ii) DIRECT Obj<sub>CPP<sub>rn</sub></sub>  
 a. ??dat ik Marie **’t** gegeven heb  
 b. dat ik **’t** Marie gegeven heb  
 that I it-WK Marie it-WK given have  
 ‘that I gave it to Mary’ (Zwart (1996: 597))

According to Zwart (1997: 36, 2011: 20), moreover, the reversed word order is retained when both the DO and the IO are WPP<sub>rn</sub>s or CPP<sub>rn</sub>s. The following are instances in the main clause:

- (iii) a. Obj<sub>WPP<sub>rn</sub></sub>  
 Tasman heeft **het** ze gegeven.  
 Tasman has it-WK them-WK given  
 ‘Tasman gave it to them.’ (Zwart (2011: 20))  
 b. Obj<sub>CPP<sub>rn</sub></sub>  
 Jan heeft **’t** ’r gegeven.  
 John has it-CL her-CL given  
 ‘John gave it to her.’ (Zwart (1997: 36))



(1-6) SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN DUTCH

a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

- i. dat Jan gisteren **het boek** gelezen heeft  
 ii. dat Jan **het boek** gisteren gelezen heeft  
 that John the book yesterday the book read has  
 ‘that John read the book yesterday’

b. OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub>

- i. \*dat Jan gisteren ’t gelezen heeft  
 ii. dat Jan ’t gisteren gelezen heeft  
 that John it-WK yesterday it-WK read has  
 ‘that John read it yesterday’ (Zwart (1996: 592))

According to Haegeman (1996: 141f), West Flemish also exhibits syntactic properties similar to German and Dutch with respect to the distribution of the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>: the Obj<sub>FN</sub> and the strong PPrn (henceforth, SPPrn) object (henceforth, Obj<sub>SPPrn</sub>) can appear both before and after an Adv while the Obj<sub>WPPrn</sub> and the Obj<sub>CPPrn</sub> cannot appear in the post-Adv position:<sup>6</sup>

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

(i) OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

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

The ordering constraint is also observed even if the Obj<sub>FN</sub> is replaced by an Obj<sub>SPPrn</sub> or an Obj<sub>WPPrn</sub>, but interestingly, it is eased when the Obj<sub>FN</sub> is replaced by an Obj<sub>CPPrn</sub>:

(ii) OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>/OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>/OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub>

- a. da Valère Marie **jun/jen/ze** nie angeroan eet  
 b. da Valère **\*jun/\*jen/OKze** Marie nie angeroan eet  
 that Valère you-STR/you-WK/her-CL Marie you/you/her not recommended has  
 ‘that Valère has not recommended you/you/her to Marie’ (Haegeman (1996: 142))

(1-7) SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN WEST FLEMISH

a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

- i. da Valère verzekerst **Marie** nie goa vroagen  
 ii. da Valère **Marie** verzekerst nie goa vroagen  
 that Valère Marie probably Marie not goes ask  
 ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask you’

b. OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>

- i. da Valère verzekerst **jun** nie goa vroagen  
 ii. da Valère **jun** verzekerst nie goa vroagen  
 that Valère you-STR probably you-STR not goes ask  
 ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask you’

c. OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

- i. \*da Valère verzekerst **jen** nie goa vroagen  
 ii. da Valère **jen** verzekerst nie goa vroagen  
 that Valère you-WK probably you-WK not goes ask  
 ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask you’

d. OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub>

- i. \*da Valère verzekerst **ze** nie goa vroagen  
 ii. da Valère **ze** verzekerst nie goa vroagen  
 that Valère her-CL probably her-CL not goes ask  
 ‘that Valère probably is not going to ask her’

(Haegeman (1996: 141f))

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

---

<sup>7</sup> One may wonder how cliticization differs from affixation. Zwicky & Pullum (1983: 503f) suggest the

position, the sentence becomes ungrammatical:<sup>8</sup>

---

following criteria to distinguish clitics from affixes:

- A. Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
- B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- C. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- D. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- E. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups.
- F. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

These criteria show that instances of the Obj<sub>ppm</sub> in (1-8) have a clitic status; hence cliticized to their host.

<sup>8</sup> The other tests for clitic-hood proposed by Kayne (1975: 67, 79, 80, 82, 85) are the following: the *ne que* construction, intervention between a clitic and a V, truncation, modification, contrastive stress, and coordination:

(i) *NE QUE* CONSTRUCTION

\*Marie ne connaît que les.

Mary NEG knows that them

'Mary knows only them.'

(Kayne (1975: 67))

(ii) INTERVENTION BETWEEN A CLITIC AND A V

\*Elle va les beaucoup apprécier.

she goes them much appreciate

'She is going to appreciate them a lot.'

(ibid.: 79)

(iii) TRUNCATION

\*Il va les acheter.

he goes them buy

'He is going to buy them.'

(ibid.: 80)

(iv) MODIFICATION

\*Cette fille nous deux connaît très bien.

that girl us two knows very well

'That girl knows the two of us very well.'

(ibid.)

(v) CONTRASTIVE STRESS

\*Jean LA préfère.

John HER prefers

'John prefers HER.'

(ibid.: 82)

(1-8) DECLARATIVE CLAUSE IN FRENCH

a. OBJ<sub>FN</sub>

Marie connaît **mes amis**.  
Mary knows my friends.  
'Mary knows my friends.'

(Kayne (1975: 74))

b. OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub>

i. Marie **les** connaît.  
Mary them knows  
'Mary knows them.'

(Kayne (1975: 66))

ii. A. Je **le** vois.

B. \*Je vois **le**.

I him see him

'I see him.'

(Rowlett (2007: 123))

When the finite verb V moves past the subject, as in interrogative clauses, the Obj<sub>CPPm</sub> accompanies the finite main V:

(1-9) OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub> IN FRENCH

a. DECLARATIVE CLAUSE

Vous **la lui** envoyez.  
you it to-him send  
'You are sending it to him.'

---

(vi) COORDINATION

\*Je **le et la** vois.

I him and her see

'I see him and her.'

(Rowlett (2007: 123))

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

b. INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

**La lui** envoyez -vous  
it to-him send you

‘Are you sending it to him?’

(Rowlett (2007: 124))

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

(1-10) DECLARATIVE CLAUSE IN ITALIAN

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

i. Maria conosce **Gianni**.

ii. \*Maria **Gianni** conosce.

Mary John knows John

‘Mary knows John.’

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

i. Maria conosce **noi**.

ii. \*Maria **noi** conosce.

Mary us-STR knows us-STR

‘Mary knows us.’

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

i. \*Maria conosce **ci**.

ii. Maria **ci** conosce.

Mary us-CL knows us-CL

‘Mary knows us.’

(Cardinaletti (1999: 35))

(1-11) DECLARATIVE CLAUSE IN ITALIAN<sup>9</sup>

b. OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>

- |      |      |              |             |              |               |
|------|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| i.   | Non  | <u>diró</u>  | <u>mai</u>  | tutto        | <b>a lui.</b> |
| ii.  | *Non | <u>diró</u>  | <u>mai</u>  | <b>a lui</b> | tutto.        |
| iii. | *Non | <b>a lui</b> | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u>   | tutto.        |

c. OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

- |      |      |             |             |             |              |
|------|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| i.   | *Non | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u>  | tutto       | <b>loro.</b> |
| ii.  | Non  | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u>  | <b>loro</b> | tutto.       |
| iii. | *Non | <b>loro</b> | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u>  | tutto.       |

d. OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub>

- |      |      |             |             |            |             |
|------|------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| i.   | *Non | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u>  | tutto      | <b>gli.</b> |
| ii.  | *Non | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u>  | <b>gli</b> | tutto.      |
| iii. | Non  | <b>gli</b>  | <u>diró</u> | <u>mai</u> | tutto.      |

no him/them (I)will-say never him/them everything him/them  
 ‘I will never tell him/them anything.’

(Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 166))

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

<sup>9</sup> The PPrns *lui* ‘him’, *loro* ‘them’ and *gli* ‘him’ in (1-11) are instances of SPPrns, WPPrns and CPPrns, respectively.

attested in the languages mentioned above. Only Dutch, West Flemish and Italian realize all the three classes.<sup>10</sup> English, Icelandic and German on the one hand and French on the other only exemplify SPPrns/WPPrns and SPPrns/CPPrns, respectively. The following are the instances of SPPrns in English, Icelandic, German and French, whose syntactic behavior is contrasted with WPPrns or CPPrns:

(1-12) a. *English*

i. OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>

Betsy threw out **THEM**!

ii. OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

\*Betsy threw out **them**. (Johnson (1991: 594))

b. *Icelandic*

i. OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>

Af hverju las Pétur aldrei **HANA**?

ii. OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

\*Af hverju las Pétur aldrei **hana**?

why read Peter never it-STR/it-WK

‘Why did Peter never read it?’ (Vikner (2006: 394, 417))

c. *German*

i. OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>

daß Maria gestern **IHN** gesehen hat

---

<sup>10</sup> The following is an instance of SPPrns in verb-second (henceforth, V2) clause in Dutch, whose syntactic behavior is contrasted with WPPrns:

( i ) OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>/OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

**Mij/\*Me** zag hij.

me-STR/ me-WK saw he

‘He saw me.’

(Cardinaletti (1999: 50))

ii. OBJ<sub>WPPRN</sub>

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

d. *French*

i. OBJ<sub>SPPRN</sub>

Marie ne parle qu’à **eux**.

ii. OBJ<sub>CPPRN</sub>

\*Marie ne parle qu’à **leur**.

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

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

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

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



### 1.1.2. Diachronic Change

OPA is observed not only in PDE but also in earlier English.<sup>11</sup> According to Kemenade (1987: 112ff), for instance, an  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPM}}$  in OE can appear where an  $\text{Obj}_{\text{FN}}$  cannot: it can appear to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2 clause, to the immediate right of the finite V in the main *wh*-/neg-/*þa*-initial (henceforth, operator-initial) V2 clause, and to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause:

- (1-13) a.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPM}}$  LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE IN OE

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

country

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

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

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<sup>11</sup> Since Sweet (1891: 211), the timespan of the history of the English language has conventionally been divided into the following three periods (cf. Lass (2000: 15f)), two of which are further divided into two or three subperiods here:

THREE PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

700—1100	Old English (OE)	
1100—1350	Middle English (ME)	Early Middle English (EME)
1350—1500		Late Middle English (LME)
1500—1700	Modern English (ModE)	Early Modern English (EModE)
1700—1900		Late Modern English (LModE)
1900—PRESENT		Present-day English (PDE)

The OE period has occasionally been divided into two subperiods: Early Old English (700-900) and Late Old English (900-1100) (cf. Sweet (1891: 211)). Since the linguistic facts in OE do not play an important role in the present study, the subdivision is not made in this table.

b. OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2  
CLAUSE IN OE

- 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.*)

c. OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE  
CLAUSE IN OE

- þæt    **him**    his    fiend       wæren    æfterfylgende  
              that    him    his    enemies    were       following  
              ‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’                    (Oros, 48.12 / *ibid.*: 113)

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

(1-14) OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION IN OE

- 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<sub>PPm</sub>: the Obj<sub>FN</sub> can also appear here. However, placement of the Obj<sub>FN</sub> in the Wackernagel position is not frequent. In contrast, “intervention of a pronoun object or pronoun objects, direct and/or indirect, between [the subject and the (finite) auxiliary/lexical verb...] is regular (Mitchell (1985: §3907)).” It is apparent now that although OPA is attested in both PDE and earlier English, the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> in the latter has more distributional freedom than that in the former. Note in this connection

that the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  in earlier English also appears where the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{FN}}$  appears: it can appear to the immediate left of the main V and in the medial position and the left periphery of a verbal projection (Kemenade (1987: 112f), Pintzuk (1999: 140f)):

(1-15) a.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE MAIN V

þæt we us sylfe clæne and ungewemmede **him** gegearcian

that we us self clean and undefiled him prepare

‘... that we prepare ourselves for him clean and undefiled’

(ÆCHom, I.36 / Kemenade (1987: 113))

b.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  IN THE MEDIAL POSITION OF A VERBAL PROJECTION

þu scealt mid earfoðnyssum **þe** metes tilian

you shall with difficulties you food procure

‘... you should procure food for yourself with difficulty’

(ÆCHom, I.18.15 / Pintzuk (1999: 141))

c.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  IN THE LEFT PERIPHERY OF A VERBAL PROJECTION

swa we sceolan **hine** mid wordum weorþian

so we must him with words worship

‘... so we must worship him with words’ (BlHom, 31.11 / *ibid.*)

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

Earlier English even exhibits asymmetry between the distribution of the PPrn subject (henceforth,  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$ ) and that of the FN subject (henceforth,  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ ) (Kemenade (1987: 110ff), Pintzuk (1999: 125ff, 171ff) among many others). The topic-initial clause in OE is

an example of the subject position asymmetry (henceforth, SPA):<sup>12</sup>

(1-16) TOPIC-INITIAL CLAUSE IN OE

a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

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

(ÆCHom, I.20 / Kemenade (1987: 42))

b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

[Æfter his gebede] ~~he~~ ahof þæt childup...  
after his prayer he lifted the childup

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

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

(1-17) TOPIC-INITIAL CLAUSE WITH A SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN OE

[laðlice eardunge] hæfde **ic** on þe  
loathsome dwelling had I in you  
'I had a loathsome dwelling in you'

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

On a par with the distinction of Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> suggested above, the Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> preceding the finite V in the second position can be differentiated from the Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> following the finite V in question.

OPA and SPA attested in earlier English indicate that syntactic properties of PPrns differ from those of FNs in earlier English as well. Although PPrns in earlier English and

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<sup>12</sup> SPA does not obtain in the operator-initial clause in earlier English.

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

### *1.1.3. Typology of PPrns*

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

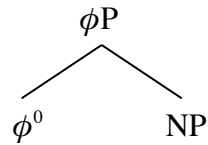
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<sup>13</sup> The hierarchical structures for PPrns proposed by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 195) are more complex:

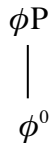
- (i) a. SPPRN: [<sub>CP</sub> C<sup>0</sup> [<sub>ΣP</sub> Σ<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> I<sup>0</sup> LP ] ] ]
- b. WPPRN: [<sub>ΣP</sub> Σ<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> I<sup>0</sup> LP ] ]
- c. CPPRN: [<sub>IP</sub> I<sup>0</sup> LP ]

As suggested in the text, internal structures of PPrns are to be elaborated into simpler structure with feature differences. Hence, the structures in (i) are not discussed further here.

(1-18) a. SPP<sub>RN</sub>



b. WPP<sub>RN</sub>



c. CPP<sub>RN</sub>



In (1-18),  $\phi^0$  is a functional head that encodes  $\phi$ -features (including number and gender, and in some cases person). SPP<sub>RN</sub>s are  $\phi P$ s with a NP constituent; WPP<sub>RN</sub>s are  $\phi P$ s with no internal structure; CPP<sub>RN</sub>s are  $\phi^0$  heads without further projection. The structures for PPrns in (1-18) are to be elaborated (into simpler structures with feature differences) in §2.3 of Chapter 2 and §4.3 of Chapter 4.

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

TABLE 1-1: PPRN PARADIGMS IN ITALIAN

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	1ST PERSON			
NOMINATIVE	<i>io</i>		<i>noi</i>	
STRESSED	<i>me</i>		<i>noi</i>	
ACCUSATIVE	<i>mi</i>		<i>ci</i>	
DATIVE	<i>mi (a me)</i>		<i>ci (a noi)</i>	
POSSESSIVE	<i>mio/mia/miei/mie</i>		<i>nostro/nostra/nostri/nostre</i>	
	2ND PERSON			
	FAMILIAR	POLITE	FAMILIAR	POLITE
NOMINATIVE	<i>tu</i>	<i>lei</i>	<i>voi</i>	<i>loro</i>
STRESSED	<i>te</i>	<i>lei</i>	<i>voi</i>	<i>loro</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>ti</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>li/le</i>
DATIVE	<i>ti (a te)</i>	<i>le (a lei)</i>	<i>vi (a voi)</i>	<i>loro (a loro)</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>tuo/tua/tuoi/tue</i>		<i>vostro/vostra/vostri/vostre</i>	
	3RD PERSON			
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
NOMINATIVE	<i>lui/egli/esso</i>	<i>lei/ella/essa</i>	<i>loro/essi</i>	<i>loro/esse</i>
STRESSED	<i>lui</i>	<i>lei</i>	<i>loro</i>	
ACCUSATIVE	<i>lo</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>le</i>
DATIVE	<i>gli (a lui)</i>	<i>le (a lei)</i>	<i>gli/loro (a loro)</i>	
POSSESSIVE	<i>loro</i>			

(Proudfoot &amp; Cardo (2013 [1997]: 57ff, 68f))

On the other hand, German, Icelandic and PDE realize only SPPrns and WPPrns, and French only SPPrns and CPPrns. The two realized classes are morphologically distinguished in French, while they are not in German, Icelandic or PDE. In the latter languages, the two classes are differentiated by whether they are stressed or not.

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

TABLE 1-2: PPRN PARADIGMS IN OE

	SINGULAR			DUAL	PLURAL
	1ST PERSON				
NOMINATIVE	<i>iċ</i>			<i>wit</i>	<i>wē</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>mē/meċ</i>			<i>unc</i>	<i>ūs/ūsic</i>
GENITIVE	<i>mīn</i>			<i>uncer</i>	<i>ūre</i>
DATIVE	<i>mē</i>			<i>unc</i>	<i>ūs</i>
	2ND PERSON				
NOMINATIVE	<i>þū</i>			<i>ġit</i>	<i>ġē</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>þē/peċ</i>			<i>inc</i>	<i>ēow/ēowic</i>
GENITIVE	<i>þīn</i>			<i>incer</i>	<i>ēower</i>
DATIVE	<i>þē</i>			<i>inc</i>	<i>ēow</i>
	3RD PERSON				
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE		M/N/F
NOMINATIVE	<i>hē</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hēo/hīo</i>		<i>hīe/hī</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>hine</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hīe/hī</i>		<i>hīe/hī</i>
GENITIVE	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>hire</i>		<i>hira/hiera/ heora/hiora</i>
DATIVE	<i>him</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>hire</i>		<i>him/heom</i>

(Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 18ff))



Third person PPnrs in ME also decline for number, gender and case (with more orthographical variants), but the two classes of PPnrs are not morphologically nor orthographically distinguished in ME either, as the following table shows:

TABLE 1-3: PPRN PARADIGMS IN ME

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	1ST PERSON					
NOM	<i>ich/ic/ik/I/y</i>			<i>we</i>		
ACC	<i>me</i>			<i>us/ous</i>		
GEN	<i>min/mi</i>			<i>ur(e)/our(e)</i>		
DAT	<i>me</i>			<i>us/ous</i>		
	2ND PERSON					
NOM	<i>þu/thou/tou</i>			<i>ȝe/ye</i>		
ACC	<i>þe/thee/te</i>			<i>eu/ou/ȝow/ȝou/you</i>		
GEN	<i>þin/þi/thy</i>			<i>eower/ȝur(e)/your(e)/oure</i>		
DAT	<i>þe/thee/te</i>			<i>eu/ou/ȝow/ȝou/you</i>		
	3RD PERSON					
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	NORTH	MIDLANDS	SOUTH
NOM	<i>he/hee/ha/a</i>	<i>hit/it/a</i>	<i>heo/ȝho/ scho/sche</i>	<i>þai/þay/thai</i>	<i>þei/þeȝ</i>	<i>hy/heo/ho/ he/ha/a</i>
ACC	<i>hine/hin</i>	<i>hit/it</i>	<i>heo/he/ho/ hi/hȝe</i>	<i>þaim/thaim/ thame</i>	<i>heom/hem</i>	<i>hi/hise/his/ hes/hies/es</i>
GEN	<i>his/hise/ hies/hys</i>	<i>his/hise/ hies/hys</i>	<i>hire/here/ hir/her</i>	<i>þeȝre/þayr/ thair/thar</i>	<i>here/hare/ heore/hire</i>	<i>here/hare/ heore/hire</i>
DAT	<i>him</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>hire/hir/ hure</i>	<i>þaim/thaim/ thame</i>	<i>heom/hem</i>	<i>heom/hem/ hom/ham</i>

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

Note that third person plural PPn forms have a dialectal variation: the Northern dialect borrowed forms from Old Norse (henceforth, ON), the Southern dialect retained the forms of OE origin, and the Midland dialect borrowed the forms of ON origin for nominative and retained the forms of OE origin for accusative, dative and genitive.<sup>14</sup> Morphological or

<sup>14</sup> Note that PPn paradigms in Chaucer's works fall under the Midland-type PPn paradigms, which is

orthographical non-distinctness of the two classes of PPrns continues to EModE and PDE, as the following tables show:

TABLE 1-4: PPRN PARADIGMS IN EModE

	SINGULAR			PLURAL
	1ST PERSON			
NOMINATIVE	<i>I</i>			<i>we</i>
OBJECTIVE	<i>me</i>			<i>us</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>my/mine</i>			<i>our</i>
	2ND PERSON			
NOMINATIVE	<i>thou</i>			<i>ye/you</i>
OBJECTIVE	<i>thee</i>			<i>you/ye</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>thy/thine</i>			<i>your</i>
	3RD PERSON			
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	M/N/F
NOMINATIVE	<i>he/a</i>	<i>(h)it</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>they</i>
OBJECTIVE	<i>him</i>	<i>him/(h)it</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>them/(h)em</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>his</i>	<i>his/it/its</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>their</i>

(Nevalainen (2006: 77), Algeo (2009 [1964]: 165))

indicated by third person plural forms:

PPRN PARADIGMS IN CHAUCER'S WORKS	3RD PERSON PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	<i>they</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>hem</i>
GENITIVE	<i>hir(e)/her(e)</i>
DATIVE	<i>hem</i>

(Moore (1951: 53), Horobin (2007: 100))

TABLE 1-5: PPRN PARADIGMS IN PDE

	SINGULAR			PLURAL
	1ST PERSON			
NOMINATIVE	<i>I</i>			<i>we</i>
OBJECTIVE	<i>me</i>			<i>us</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>my</i>			<i>our</i>
	2ND PERSON			
NOMINATIVE	<i>you</i>			
OBJECTIVE	<i>you</i>			
POSSESSIVE	<i>your</i>			
	3RD PERSON			
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	M/N/F
NOMINATIVE	<i>he</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>they</i>
OBJECTIVE	<i>him</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>them</i>
POSSESSIVE	<i>his</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>their</i>

(Huddleston &amp; Pullum (2002: 426))

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

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

like German, Icelandic, PDE and earlier English, they are only syntactically (i.e. by OPA (and SPA)) distinguished.

## **1.2. Issues**

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

### **(1-19) QUESTIONS**

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

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

### 1.3. A Brief Review of Previous Accounts of the Diachronic Change of PPrns

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

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<sup>15</sup> For instance, Biberauer & Kemenade (2011), Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002), Eythórsson (1996), Fischer et al. (2000), Fuss (2003), Fuss & Trips (2002), Haeberli (1999a, 2000, 2001, 2002a), Hulk & Kemenade (1995, 1997), Kemenade (1987, 1997, 1998), Kemenade & Westergaard (2012), Kiparsky (1995), Koopman (1992, 1996, 1997), Kroch & Taylor (1997), Kroch et al. (2000), Pintzuk (1996, 1999), Roberts (1995, 2007), Trips (2002), Westergaard (2009a) and Wurff (1997).

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

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

### 1.3.1. Cliticization

(1-20) TWO PREVIOUS ANALYSES ON SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 CLAUSE

- $$[_{CP} \text{Topic } [_C C [_{FP} \boxed{\text{Subj}}_{PP} -V-F [_{TP} \text{Subj}_{EN} [_T T \dots ] ] ] ] ] ]$$

- $$[_{CP} \text{Topic } [_{C'} C [_{FP} \text{Subj}_{PPm} [_{F'} \underline{V-F} [_{TP} \text{Subj}_{FN} [_{T'} T \dots ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$$

Both types of analyses focus on the historical developments of SPA (and OPA) from OE up until EME. They give partial answers to the questions (1-19a), (1-19b) and (1-19d).

<sup>18</sup> For instance, Biberauer & Kemenade (2011), Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002), Eythórsson (1996), Fischer et al. (2000), Fuss (2003), Fuss & Trips (2002), Haeberli (1999a, 2000, 2001, 2002a), Hulk & Kemenade (1995, 1997), Kemenade (1987, 1997, 1998), Kemenade & Westergaard (2012), Kiparsky (1995), Koopman (1992, 1996, 1997), Kroch & Taylor (1997), Kroch et al. (2000), Pintzuk (1996, 1999), Trips (2002), and Westergaard (2009a).

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

### 1.3.2. Object Shift

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

(1-21) OS IN SHAKESPEAREAN ENGLISH

I know **him** not. (*King Henry V*, III.vi.19)

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

Since OS is not attested in PDE, its historical development in earlier English (especially, OE, EME, and LModE) also needs empirical investigation. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, OS existed temporarily in earlier English.<sup>19</sup> When OS

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<sup>19</sup> So-called Transitive Expletive Constructions also existed temporarily in earlier English: according to Makita (2000: 27) and Tanaka (2000: 478f), they are found between the 14th and 16th centuries.

appeared and disappeared in the history of English must be identified. A valid account must also be given to the mechanism of the historical development of OS in earlier English, which results in providing satisfactory answers to the questions in (1-19).

#### 1.4. General Framework

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

##### 1.4.1. Data

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

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

- a. OE: *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*  
[YCOE] (Taylor et al. (2003))
- b. ME: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition  
[PPCME2] (Kroch & Taylor (2000))
- c. EModE: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*  
[PPCEME] (Kroch et al. (2004))



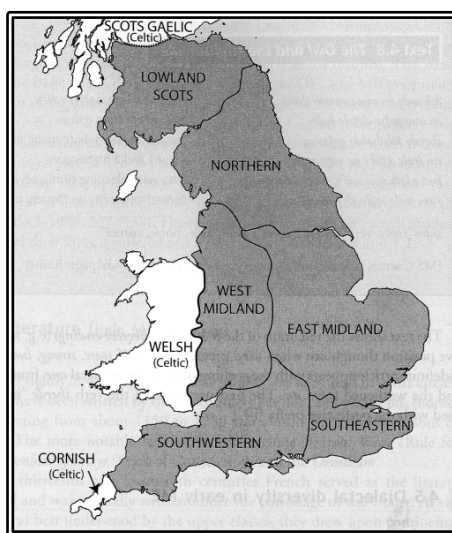
d. LModE: *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*

[PPCMBE]

(Kroch et al. (2010))

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

FIGURE 1-1: ME DIALECT REGIONS



(Gramley (2012: 92))

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

<sup>20</sup> For detailed information on texts surveyed here and search queries for electronic corpora, see Appendices 1 and 2.

<sup>21</sup> As we have seen so far, the topic-initial main clause with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> exhibits V2. This V2 effect in the matrix clause may blur the distribution of the Obj<sub>ppm</sub> (especially in the lower area of the clause). This is why the survey conducted on Obj<sub>ppm</sub> is limited to the subordinate clause. Inclusion of an auxiliary verb to the subordinate context in the case of search for OPA is for avoiding the positional ambiguity and ensuring the

properties of deficient PPrns and changes in them at each stage of the history of English are identified by closely examining the data on cliticization and OS phenomena collected from the corpora.

#### *1.4.2. Theoretical Background*

##### *1.4.2.1. Principles and Parameters Approach to Universal Grammar*

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

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

Under the P&P approach, one expects that both the synchronic variation observed

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location of the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> in the clause. When the auxiliary verb is not included in the subordinate clause, the pre-verbal (PPrn) Obj is ambiguous with respect to its position: under the assumption that displacement of the finite V is optional in the subordinate clause, it can be either inside or outside of the verbal projection.

among Germanic and Romance languages and the diachronic change in the history of English (mentioned in §1.1.1 and §1.1.2, respectively) are also due to parametric options related to licensing conditions on PPrns governed by UG. Thus, synchronic cross-linguistic variation and diachronic change vis-à-vis realization of PPrn paradigms are both ascribed to the parametric difference in the licensing conditions on PPrns, which, in turn, stems from different choices made in the course of children's language acquisition.

#### *1.4.2.2. Minimalist Program*

Chomsky (1995c, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) advocates a more recent version of the P&P approach, the Minimalist Program (henceforth, MP). The MP holds the strong minimalist thesis (henceforth, SMT): the faculty of language (henceforth, FL) specific to human language constitutes a perfect design in the sense that it contains only the computational system that allows recursion and what is motivated by the general properties of organic systems.<sup>22</sup> More specifically, the FL

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

- (i) 1. Genetic endowment, apparently nearly uniform for the species, which interprets part of the environment as linguistic experience, a nontrivial task that the infant carries out reflexively, and which determines the general course of the development of the language faculty. Among the genetic elements, some may impose computational limitations that disappear in a regular way through genetically timed maturation. Kenneth Wexler and his associates have provided compelling evidence of their existence in the growth of language, thus providing empirical evidence for what Wexler (to appear) calls "Lenneberg's dream."
- 2. Experience, which leads to variation, within a fairly narrow range, as in the case of other subsystems of the human capacity and the organism generally.
- 3. Principles not specific to the faculty of language. (Chomsky (2005: 6))

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

- (ii) a. principles of data analysis that might be used in language acquisition and other domains
- b. principles of structural architecture and developmental constraints that enter into canalization, organic form, and action over a wide range, including principles of efficient computation, which

consists of an operation called Merge and what is necessary to meet the needs from sensorimotor and conceptual-intentional interfaces.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the SMT is restated as follows:

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

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

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

<sup>23</sup> For instance, Chomsky deems the principled explanation of language as follows:

( i ) PRINCIPLED EXPLANATION OF LANGUAGE UNDER THE MP

- a. Insofar as properties of L [= a possible (I-)language] can be accounted in terms of IC [= an interface condition] and general properties of computational efficiency and the like, they have a principled explanation: we will have validated Galilean intuition of perfection of nature in this domain. (Chomsky (2004: 106); brackets mine)
- b. We can regard an explanation of properties of language as *principled* insofar as it can be reduced to properties of the interface systems and general considerations of computational efficiency and the like. (Chomsky (2005: 10); italic emphasis his)
- c. We can regard an account of some linguistic phenomena as *principled* insofar as it derives them by efficient computation satisfying interface conditions. (Chomsky (2007: 5); italic emphasis his)
- d. We can regard an explanation of some property of language as *principled*... insofar as it can be reduced to the third factor [= principles of structural architecture and developmental constraints that are not specific to the organ under investigation, and may be organism-independent] and to conditions that language must meet to be usable at all — specifically, conditions coded in UG that are imposed by organism-internal systems with which FL [= faculty of language] interacts. (Chomsky (2008: 134); brackets mine; italic emphasis his)
- e. We can regard an account of some linguistic phenomena as *principled* insofar as it drives them by efficient computation satisfying interface conditions. (Chomsky (2010: 51); italic emphasis his)
- f. One major goal of theoretical linguistic research... has been to reduce the postulated complexity of UG in accounting for phenomena of language... [S]tandard rational inquiry, seeking to achieve greater explanatory depth, ... overcoming redundancy, eliminating the stipulated artifacts ("constructions"), and deepening explanation, relying on the third factor principle of minimal computation. (Chomsky (2011: 270); brackets mine)

The MP recaptures the locus of parametric variations: they are restricted to the formal features on functional heads.<sup>24</sup> Lexical items are construed as bundles of (semantic,

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<sup>24</sup> For instance, Chomsky makes the following remarks in his works:

( i ) LOCUS OF PARAMETRIC VARIATIONS

- a. UG is concerned with the invariant principles of  $S_0$  [= the initial state] and the range of permissible variation... [V]ariation is limited to nonsubstantive parts of the lexicon and general properties of lexical items. (Chomsky (1993: 3); brackets mine)
- b. There are universal principles and finite array of options as to how they apply (parameters). Furthermore, it may be that Jespersen's intuition about syntax-morphology can be captured, with parameters limited to the lexicon, indeed to a narrow part of it: functional categories. (Chomsky (1995a: 54))
- c. Language differences and typology should be reducible to choice of values of parameters... One proposal is that parameters are restricted to formal features with no interpretation at the interface. A still stronger one is that they are restricted to *formal features* of functional categories... (Chomsky (1995b: 6); italic emphasis his)
- d. Take each item of the lexicon to be some complex of semantic, phonetic, and formal features. Languages may differ not only in choice and association of features, but also in the ways formal features are eliminated by PHON [= the phonological component]. (Chomsky (1998: 122f); brackets mine)
- e. [A]cquiring language involves at least selections of features [F], constructions of lexical items Lex, and refinement of  $C_{HL}$  [= the computational procedure for human language] in one of the possible ways — parameter setting. (Chomsky (2000: 100); brackets mine)
- f. L [= each particular language] assembles [FL] to lexical items LI of a lexicon Lex... In the simplest case, the entry LI is a once-and-for-all collection (perhaps structured) of (A) phonological, (B) semantic, and (C) formal features. (Chomsky (2001: 10); brackets mine)
- g.  $S_0$  [= a genetically determined initial state] determines the set {F} of properties ("features") available for languages. Each L [= possible (I-)language] makes a one-time selection of a subset [F] of {F} and a one-time assembly of elements of [F] as its lexicon LEX... (Chomsky (2004: 107); brackets mine)
- h. A particular language is identified at least by valuation of parameters and selection from the store of features made available by UG, and a listing of combinations of these features in LIs (the lexicon), satisfying further conditions that we put aside here. (Chomsky (2007: 6f))
- i. Adopting the P&P framework, I will assume that one element of parameter-setting is assembly of

phonological and formal) features (Chomsky (1995c: 235ff, 2000: 100f, 2001: 10f, 2004: 107, 2007: 6f, 2008: 135)), and acquisition of language involves formation of a lexicon made up of lexical items, into which these features are selected and assembled. Synchronic cross-linguistic variation and diachronic language change are attributed to the presence/absence of formal features on functional heads or the difference in the way their requirement is satisfied.

#### *1.4.2.3. Operations and Derivations in the Minimalist Program*

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

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

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features into lexical items (LIs), which we can take to be atoms for further computation and the locus of parameters, sweeping many complicated and important questions under the rug.

(Chomsky (2008: 135))

- j. There is by now substantial evidence that narrow syntax may also allow only limited variety, virtually none if parametric variation is restricted to the lexicon, or even to functional elements of the lexicon.

(Chomsky (2012: 12))

Pied-pipe + Merge) is reducible to IM.

The probe-goal system requires an operation called Agree to be integrated into the computational system, as the following quotation from Chomsky (2004) indicates,<sup>25</sup> since inclusion of unvalued/uninterpretable formal features is inevitable when lexical items are constructed in the course of language acquisition.

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

(Chomsky (2004: 113); brackets mine)

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

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

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<sup>25</sup> See also Chomsky (2000: 101, 122ff, 2001: 2ff, 2005: 13f, 16, 18f, 2007: 9, 2008: 141).

licensing and scope reconstruction effects (Roberts (2010a: 8ff)),<sup>26</sup> he concludes that some cases of HM should be analyzed as part of NS. The movement theory proposed by Roberts (2010a) is also adopted in this thesis, and HM is treated here as an instance of narrow-syntactic IM. He recasts HM as a reflex of an Agree relation between P and “defective” G. When the interpretable formal features of G are a proper subset of valued uninterpretable/unvalued formal features of P, IM of G with P is indistinguishable from Agree between P and G in terms of feature contents. Take cliticization for instance.<sup>27</sup> When  $v^*$  bearing unvalued/uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features ( $u\phi$ ) enters into an Agree relation with a clitic bearing interpretable  $\phi$ -features ( $i\phi$ ) but lacking a Case feature, for instance, the  $i\phi$  set of the clitic becomes a proper subset of the  $u\phi$  set of  $v^*$  after valuation. Under this circumstance, IM of the clitic with  $v^*$  is indistinguishable from Agree between  $v^*$  and the clitic, which is illustrated as follows, where  $\langle \text{Pers:}_-, \text{Num:}_-, \text{Gend:}_- \rangle$  and  $\langle \text{Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3} \rangle$  stand for the  $u\phi$  set and the  $i\phi$  set, respectively:

(1-25) a.  $[_{v^*P} v^* \langle \text{Pers:}_-, \text{Num:}_-, \text{Gend:}_- \rangle \dots \text{clitic} \langle \text{Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3} \rangle \dots]$

AGREE

b. OUTCOME OF AGREE

$[_{v^*P} v^* \langle \textbf{Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3} \rangle \dots \text{clitic} \langle \text{Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3} \rangle \dots]$

b'. OUTCOME OF IM

$[_{v^*P} \text{clitic-} v^* \langle \textbf{Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3} \rangle \dots t_{\text{clitic} \langle \text{Pers:1, Num:2, Gend:3} \rangle} \dots]$ <sup>28</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>26</sup> See also Hartman (2012: 377ff) and Lechner (2005: 2ff).

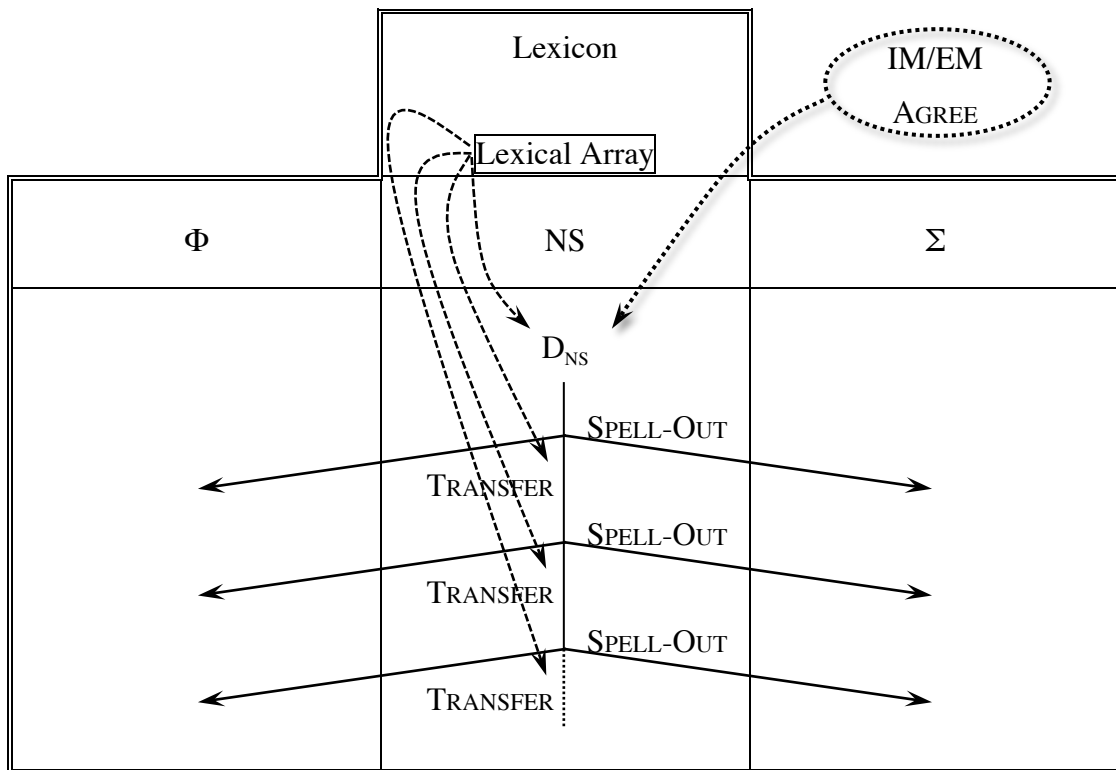
<sup>27</sup> V-movement, another instance of HM, is also driven in a similar manner.

<sup>28</sup> The  $i\phi$  set of the clitic is copied into the  $u\phi$  set of  $v^*$  after IM, whose process is abstracted away from (1-25b').



Structure building in a phase-by-phase manner reduces computational burden, compared with building a structure all at once. A derivation starts from a one-time selection of lexical items in the lexicon into a lexical array, which is accessed in structure building. Then, the derivation selects some of the lexical items in the lexical array to form a phase. When the phase in question is complete, it is spelled out to the phonological component  $\Phi$  and the semantic component  $\Sigma$ , whose outputs are accessed by the sensorimotor system and conceptual-intentional system, respectively. After spell-out, formation of a new phase starts, and this cycle continues until the lexical items in the lexical array are exhausted and a whole structure is built up.

FIGURE 1-2: CYCLIC DERIVATION



### *1.4.3. Mechanisms of Language Change*

#### *1.4.3.1. A Model of Language Change*

Under the P&P approach to UG, language change is conceived as parametric change brought about by the children acquiring their native language,<sup>29</sup> as the following quotation from Chomsky (2013) indicates:

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

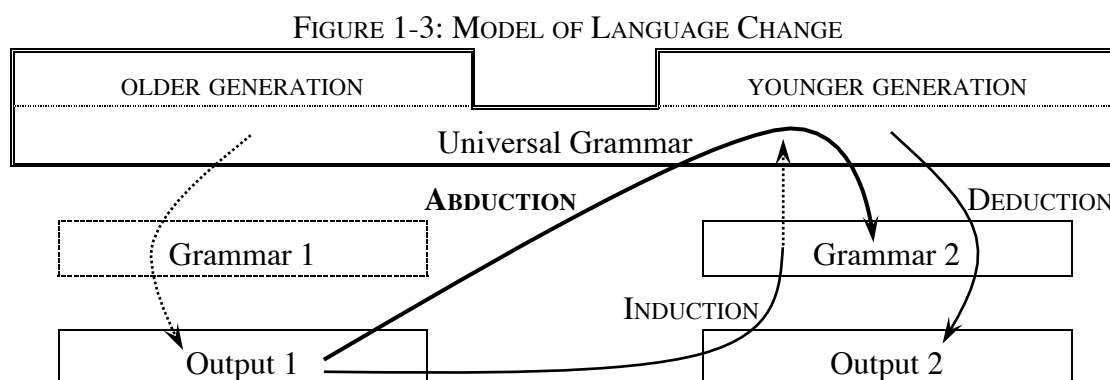
(Chomsky (2013: 38))

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

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<sup>29</sup> For instance, Axel & Weiß (2010), Battye & Roberts (1995), Biberauer & Roberts (2007, 2008a, 2009), Breitbarth et al. (2010), Clark & Roberts (1993, 1994), Crisma (2011, 2012), Fischer et al. (2000), Gelderen (2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d, 2010a, 2011a, 2011b), Hróarsdóttir (2002, 2003), Ingham (2006), Jäger (2008), Keenan (1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2009), Kroch (2001), Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1999, 2002a, 2003, 2006a, 2006b), Longobardi (2001), Meisel (2011), Niyogi & Berwick (1995), Pintzuk et al. (2000), Reintges (2009), Roberts (2001a, 2007, 2010b), Roberts & Roussou (1999, 2003), Sundquist (2010), Walkden (2011), Waltereit & Detges (2008), Westergaard (2009a, 2009b), and Yang (2000a, 2000b, 2002).

sense of Chomsky (1986: 19ff)). Various approaches to diachronic change have been made so far, among which Lightfoot (1979: 16ff) is a predecessor that pays attention to the distinction just mentioned and captures the essence of language change within the earlier generative framework: he attempts to account for language change as a product of children's language acquisition process.<sup>30</sup> According to Lightfoot, language change is a reflex of grammar change which is ultimately ascribed to children's reanalysis of the output from adults' grammar (i.e. PLD; see also Andersen (1973: 778) and Anttila (1989 [1972]: 197)). The younger generation does not (directly) inherit grammar from the older generation; instead, the younger generation constructs grammar in an abductive manner on the basis of the language that the older generation produces. This process is schematized in the following figure (where the bold solid arrow indicates the abductive mode of language acquisition), based on Andersen (1973: 767), Lightfoot (1979: 148), Anttila (1989 [1972]: 197), McMahon (1994: 94), Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]: 41), and Roberts (2007: 124, 227, 333):



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

<sup>30</sup> This is not a brand-new conception originally put forward by generative linguists. As Harris & Campbell (1995: 29, 31) point out, Paul (1995 [1880]: 115), one of the neogrammarian authorities, already considers analogical creation and divergence in use in children's language as a main cause of language change.

children acquire their native language. When exposed to PLD (i.e. Output 1), children construct their own grammar (i.e. Grammar 2) within the limitation of UG or “laws of language” in the sense of Andersen (1973: 777). In doing so, they may reanalyze the structure of the PLD, and the internal structure of their attained grammar may be different from those of previous generations’ grammars (i.e. Grammar 1), whereby language change (i.e. Output 2) may result. It is not surprising that children analyze the PLD in the way different from the way their parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, etc. did, since language acquisition is abductive (but not deductive nor inductive) in its nature (cf. Andersen (1973: 775ff)), which is indicated by a bold solid arrow in Figure 1-3.<sup>31</sup> An

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<sup>31</sup> The three modes of reasoning, namely, deduction, induction and abduction, first identified by Charles S. Peirce, an American philosopher/logician/mathematician, are exemplified by the following three propositions that constitute a syllogism (cf. Andersen (1973: 774ff), Anttila (1989 [1972]: 196f), McMahon (1994: 94), Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]: 42f)):

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

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

Among the three types of reasoning mentioned above, the mode of children’s language acquisition cannot be deductive nor inductive, but is abductive. “Any learning or understanding must be abduction (Anttila (1989 [1972]: 197)).” Deduction infers Output 2 (= the result) from UG (= the law) and Grammar 2 (= the

abductive model of language acquisition leaves us a question as to what causes grammar change, which is known as “the logical problem of language change” (cf. Clark & Roberts (1993: 299f, 1994: 12), Niyogi & Berwick (1995: 1), Kroch (2001: 699f), Roberts (2007: 230)). Thus, Clark & Roberts (1993: 299f) ask: “If each generation converges successfully to the adult grammar, how can languages ever change?” With respect to this question, two main views of driving force for grammar change are advocated.

One view points out an economy consideration as driving force for grammar change, which is advocated by Roberts & Roussou (1999: 1020ff, 2003: 30f, 44, 58, 201).<sup>32</sup> Principles of economy always choose simpler structures and more economical operations over complex structures and costly operations, respectively. Thus, when children converge on a grammar different from adults’ in an abductive manner, they tend to construct one equipped with less complex structures and less costly operations. Another view points out opacity as driving force for grammar change, which is originally put forward by Lightfoot (1979: 114, 121ff) and later reformulated in terms of a “trigger” or “cue.” When children find a trigger or a cue (i.e. no opacity) in the PLD from the previous generation’s grammar, they will successfully converge on the same grammar as the previous generation’s. However, when the PLD involves some sort of opacity to the previous generation’s grammars, such as trivial morphological or phonological change, this is a condition in which children are unable to find any triggers/cues, which makes them

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case): this mode of language acquisition is not based on the output from the older generation. Induction infers UG (= the law) from Grammar 2 (= the case) and Output 1 (= the result), which is not an instance of language acquisition at all. Abduction infers Grammar 2 (= the case) from UG (= the law) and Output 1 (= result), which is clearly an instance of language acquisition based on the PLD produced by adults’ grammar. If inferred Grammar 2 differs from Grammar 1, then Output 2 differs from Output 1, whereby language change results.

<sup>32</sup> This view is adopted by many others. For instance, Roberts (2001a: 100ff, 2007: 235, 255, 2010b: 49) and Gelderen (2004a: 11f, 18, 28f, 261f, 2004b: 60f, 69ff, 89ff, 2005: 186, 190, 196, 2007: 282, 284ff, 304, 2008a: 246ff, 251, 2008b: 183f, 187f, 2008c: 289ff, 296ff, 2009a: 99, 101, 104ff, 2009b: 132f, 135f, 151, 2009c: 264, 2009d: 8f, 2010a: 130, 132, 145, 2011a: 13ff, 40f, 201, 298f, 2011b: 10f).

reanalyze the structures of PLD to resolve the opacity, resulting in grammar change. Language change due to the cue-based language acquisition is the central idea of grammar change supposed in the previous generative literature.<sup>33</sup> This idea is also adopted in this thesis.

#### *1.4.3.2. Inertial Theory*

Given the SMT in (1-23), the MP maintains that nothing can change language, let alone parametric values, unless it is urged from the interface systems or computational efficiency. In other words, the computational system, or syntax, is essentially inert, and parametric change requires particular motivation. A theory of language change which adopts this idea is called Inertia, or the Inertial Theory, originally put forward by Keenan (1998: 9, 2002: 327f, 2003: 154f, 2009: 18f) and subsequently developed by Longobardi (2001: 277ff).<sup>34</sup> This theory maintains the following:<sup>35</sup>

##### (1-27) INERTIAL THEORY

- a. [S]yntax, by itself, is diachronically completely inert.
- b. [L]inguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon...
- c. [S]yntactic change should not arise, unless it can be shown to be *caused*—that is, a well-motivated consequence of other types of change

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<sup>33</sup> For instance, Battye & Roberts (1995: 7ff), Fischer et al. (2000: 2ff), Lightfoot (2002a: 1ff, 2003: 7f), Pintzuk et al. (2000: 2ff), and Yang (2000a: 111ff, 2000b: 231ff, 2002: 367f) (cf. Hróarsdóttir (2002, 2003), Lightfoot (1991, 1999, 2006a, 2006b)).

<sup>34</sup> Longobardi (2001) refers to the manuscript version of Keenan (1998, 2002, 2003, 2009), that is, Keenan (1994).

<sup>35</sup> The Inertial Theory is adopted by many others. For instance, Biberauer & Roberts (2007: 51, 2008a: 80, 2009: 74), Crisma (2011: 189, 2012: 198), Hróarsdóttir (2002: 10, 2003: 122), Ingham (2006: 257), Jäger (2008: 12, 89, 110), Lightfoot (2002b: 130), Roberts (2007: 227, 231ff), and Roberts & Roussou (2003: 12, 204) (cf. Axel & Weiß (2010: 30) and Breitbarth et al. (2010: 1); contra Meisel (2011: 129), Reintges (2009: 42, 45ff), Sundquist (2010: 146, 158), Walkden (2011: 233f), and Waltéreit & Detges (2008: 15, 22f, 27f)).

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

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

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

### **1.5. Organization of the Thesis**

Focusing on synchronic facts and diachronic developments of cliticization and OS,

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

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

Chapter 4 deals with emergence and demise of pronominal OS in the history of English. Coupled with emergence of a definite determiner in OE/EME and rise of finite main V-movement (i.e. V-to-T movement) in EME, the new PPrn paradigms created by the



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

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

Chapter 6 concludes this thesis, indicating that the inertial approach to language change, hence the minimalist approach to human language, is a promising one under which further theoretical and empirical researches on the nature of language change can be developed.

## Chapter 2

### Cliticization in the History of English, Part 1: Obviation of the Subject Position Asymmetry and Loss of the Wackernagel Personal Pronominal Object in Late Middle English

#### 2.1. Introduction

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

(2-1) *WH*-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. *SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>*

[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))

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

<sup>2</sup> See also Biberauer & Kemenade (2011: 19ff), 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), Kemenade & Westergaard (2012: 91ff), 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), and Westergaard (2009a: 72ff)

b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

[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)

(2-2) NEG-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

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

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

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

b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

[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))

(2-3) *PA/PONNE*-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

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

‘... then your eyes will be opened.’

(ÆCHom, I.18 / ibid.: 42)

b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

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

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

(Parker, 897 / ibid.: 112)

(2-4) TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

[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<sub>PPRN</sub>

[Æfter his gebede] **he** ahof þæt childup...  
after his prayer he lifted the childup

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 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) [Ðysne 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 refer to the subject-verb inversion and the non-subject-verb inversion, respectively.

also exhibits a clitic nature. As in (2-5), it can appear (I) to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause (henceforth, Position I), (II) to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2/V3 clause (henceforth, Position II), and to the immediate right of the finite V in the main *wh*-/neg-/pa-initial (henceforth, operator-initial) V2 clause (henceforth, Position III), where the *Obj<sub>FN</sub>* rarely appears (see also Koopman (1992: 47, 51ff, 1997: 78ff)):

(2-5) I. *Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>* RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

- a. þæt **him** his fiend wæren æfterfylgende  
 that him his enemies were following  
 ‘... that his enemies were chasing him.’

(Oros, 48.12 / Kemenade (1987: 113))

II. *Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>* LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

- b. [Fela spella] **him** sædon þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum  
 many stories him told the Permians both of their own  
 lande...  
 country  
 ‘The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country...’

(Oros, 14.27 / *ibid.*: 114)

III. *Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>* RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

- c. [Ne] geseah **hine** nan man nates-hwon yrre  
 NEG saw him no man so little angry  
 ‘None ever saw him so little angry.’ (ÆLS, XXXI.306 / *ibid.*)
- d. [þa] sticode **him** mon þa eagan ut  
 then struck him someone the eyes out  
 ‘... then his eyes were gouged out.’ (Oros, 90.14 / *ibid.*)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the *Obj<sub>PPm</sub>* in OE can also appear in the so-called Wackernagel

position (i.e. post-subject/pre-auxiliary position at the left margin of the middle field) in the subordinate clause (Pintzuk (1999: 139f)):<sup>5</sup>

(2-6) OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> 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<sub>PPm</sub>. It also allows the Obj<sub>FN</sub> to appear, but occurrence of the Obj<sub>FN</sub> in the Wackernagel position is not frequent.<sup>6</sup> It follows, then, that the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> can be a diagnosis for the clitic status of the Obj<sub>PPm</sub>.

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

This chapter considers the following three questions:

(2-7) QUESTIONS

- a. When did the SPA and the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> disappear in the history of English?
- b. How are their basic facts in OE and EME explained within the framework of the MP?

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<sup>5</sup> See Pintzuk (2002: 293f), Roberts (1997: 405), and Traugott (1972: 109). See also §2.2.3.

<sup>6</sup> 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)).”

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

§2.2 of this chapter attempts to provide an answer to the question (2-7a), utilizing a syntactically annotated electronic corpus. More specifically, §2.2.1 and §2.2.2 present the basic facts of the SPA in the main topic-initial context in the Southern/Midland dialects in EME and LME, respectively, while §2.2.3 presents those of the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  in the subordinate context in the EME and LME Southern/Midland dialects. §2.3 attempts to provide an answer to the question (2-7b), presenting analyses on the derivations of the topic-initial V2/V3 and the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  in terms of the MP. §2.4 attempts to provide an answer to the question (2-7c), demonstrating that obviation of the SPA in the LME Southern/Midland dialects which led to the uniform V3 order in the main topic-initial contexts caused the loss of the clitic nature of PPns.<sup>7</sup> In answering the question (2-7c), more specifically, loss of cliticization phenomena is shown to create a grammatical system where further language change can potentially be driven within syntax. This question is answered based on the assumption presented in §1.4.3 of Chapter 1 that language change is a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, that is, how children attain a grammatical system (cf. Andersen (1973), Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1999), Hróarsdóttir (2003)).<sup>8</sup> As support for the analysis presented in §2.4, §2.5 provides the basic facts of the LME Northern dialect, and shows that the obviation of the SPA which led to the uniform V2 order in the topic-initial contexts also caused the loss of the clitic nature of PPns in this dialect. §2.6 summarizes this chapter.

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

<sup>8</sup> See also Battye & Roberts (1995: 7ff), Fischer et al. (2000: 2ff), Lightfoot (2002a: 1ff, 2003: 7f), Pintzuk et al. (2000: 2ff), Roberts (2001a: 82ff), Roberts & Roussou (2003: 11ff), and Yang (2000a: 111ff, 2000b: 231ff, 2002: 367f).

## 2.2. Basic Facts

### 2.2.1. SPA in the EME Southern/Midland Dialects

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

(2-8) Subj<sub>FN</sub>

- a. [ʒewiss] 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 main topic-initial context with a Subj<sub>ppm</sub> exhibits V3. Compare the following sentences with the ones in (2-8):<sup>9</sup>

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

(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)



(2-9) SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

- 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.)

Although the SPA is still attested in EME, one may wonder whether this is a productive option in EME. We can see from the survey conducted by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311f) and Kroch et al. (2000: 369f) that this is indeed the case. They take up seven texts (*Trinity Homilies*, *Lambeth Homilies*, *Sawles Warde*, *Hali Meiðhad*, *St. Katherine*, *Vices and Virtues* and *Ancrene Riwe*) from the mid-13th century South Midland dialect. From these seven texts, they collected the V2/V3 instances with both the Subj<sub>FN</sub> and the Subj<sub>PPm</sub> 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 Table 2-1:

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(iii) *PA/PONNE*-INITIAL CONTEXT

[Thenne] sayd **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. SPA), hence the operator-initial context will not be touched upon any more (but see §2.3.1).

TABLE 2-1: V2/V3 IN THE SEVEN MID-13C SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	50 (92.6%)	4 (7.4%)	4 (4.5%)	84 (95.5%)
PP complement	12 (75.0%)	4 (25.0%)	0 (0%)	11 (100%)
Adj complement	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)	7 (33.3%)	14 (66.7%)
<i>þa / then</i>	37 (94.9%)	2 (5.2%)	26 (72.2%)	10 (27.8%)
<i>now</i>	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	8 (26.7%)	22 (73.3%)
PP adjunct	56 (74.7%)	19 (25.3%)	2 (2.0%)	99 (98.0%)
any other adverb	79 (57.2%)	59 (42.8%)	1 (0.5%)	181 (99.5%)
AVERAGE	71.4%	28.6%	3.5%	96.5%

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

The (lightly) shaded rows in Table 2-1 are relevant to our current discussion. They can be considered as what is referred to here as the topic-initial context.<sup>10</sup> Those shaded rows show that the majority of the tokens with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> exhibit the V2 pattern (71.4% on an average) while the majority of the tokens with a Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> exhibit the V3 pattern (96.5% on an average), clearly indicating the SPA.

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

<sup>10</sup> Although the adverb *now* behaves like a topic in Table 2-1 in that it induces V2 with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> while it induces V3 with a Subj<sub>PPRN</sub>, 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 in OE. Note that this adverb ceased to behave like an operator sometime during ME.

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

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)
PP complement	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Adj complement	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
<i>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%)
AVERAGE	62.5%	37.5%	6.9%	93.1%

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

The shaded rows in Table 2-2 show that most of the tokens with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> exhibit the V2 pattern (62.5% on average) while most of the tokens with a Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> exhibit the V3 pattern (93.1% on average). From Tables 2-1 and 2-2, we can see that the SPA phenomenon is indeed productive in EME, and that the clitic status of the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> 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<sub>FN</sub> and the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> in the *Ormulum* (an early 13th century Northeast Midland text). The result of her survey is shown in Table 2-3:

TABLE 2-3: V2/V3 IN THE *ORMULUM*

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	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%)
AVERAGE	87.2%	12.8%	57.8%	42.2%

(Trips (2002: 265))

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

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

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

Southern/Midland dialect.<sup>11</sup> The result of his survey on the late 14th century texts is shown in Table 2-4:

TABLE 2-4: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE LATE 14C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	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 MIDLAND 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 MIDLAND 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%)

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

<sup>11</sup> In fact, he surveyed 32 texts from the late 14th and 15th century Southern/Midland dialects. The five of them are disregarded here, however, since they are not available in the PPCME2, which is used for the survey on the distribution of the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> (see §2.2.3).

Although there are some exceptional texts (such as the *Mirror of St. Edmund* (Vernon ms.) in the West Midland dialect and the *Earliest English Prose Psalter* in the East Midland dialect), the degree of the SPA is greatly reduced in every text. 31.3% of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> tokens and 19.0% of the Subj<sub>PPm</sub> tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. These figures in turn suggest that in LME, the degree of the SPA was fairly obviated. This is a plausible chain reaction: since V2 was on the decline, the SPA (i.e. V2 vs. V3) in the main topic-initial context became unavailable as a consequence.<sup>12</sup>

Obviation of the SPA proceeds further in the 15th century. This is obvious from the result of Haeberli's survey on the 15th century texts, which is shown in Table 2-5:

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<sup>12</sup> In this respect, Chaucer's works are worth some comments. His texts show relatively high frequency of V2 with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> (i.e. 50.0%), but they do not show the SPA. This is because they also show relatively high frequency of V2 with a Subj<sub>PPm</sub>. Hence, the loss of the SPA in Chaucer's texts cannot be due to the decline of V2. In this regard, they are similar to the Northern texts in both the productivity of V2 with a Subj<sub>PPm</sub> and the obviation of the SPA. I will get back to this point in §2.5.

TABLE 2-5: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE 15C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	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 MIDLAND 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 MIDLAND 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%)

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

We have some exceptional cases (e.g. the *Book of Vices and Virtues* and Caxton's *History*

of the *Reynard the Fox* in the East Midland dialect). Aside from these exceptional texts, the number of the V2 tokens with both the Subj<sub>FN</sub> and the Subj<sub>PPm</sub> is reduced in every text in such a way that the SPA declines further. Only 23.9% of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> tokens and 15.5% of the Subj<sub>PPm</sub> tokens exhibit the V2 pattern on average. Thus, V2 (in the sense of subject-verb inversion) was on the decline in LME, whereby the degree of the SPA in the main topic-initial context was reduced to the extent that it was almost extinct.

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

FIGURE 2-1: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)		⇒	LME (SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS)	
SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>
V2	V3		V3	V3

In the next subsection, we turn to the basic facts of the subordinate Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> in EME and LME.

### 2.2.3. Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> in the EME and LME Southern/Midland Dialects

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

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<sup>13</sup> As we have seen so far, the main clause exhibits V2 in the topic-initial context with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> and in the operator-initial context with any type of subjects. This V2 effect in the main clause may blur the distribution of the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> (especially in the lower area of the clause). This is why my survey is limited to the subordinate clause. Inclusion of an auxiliary to the subordinate context is also intended to avoid the positional ambiguity and ensure the location of the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> in the clause. When the auxiliary is not included in the subordinate



specifically, I have collected subordinate  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  instances in the texts in the PPCME2 that were surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000) for EME and by Haeberli (2002b) for LME (see Appendix 1 for text information).<sup>14</sup> The subordinate context surveyed here is divided into two types in terms of the position of the auxiliary vis-à-vis the lexical V: one is the context where the auxiliary precedes the lexical V, and the other is the context where the auxiliary follows the lexical V (henceforth, Aux-V context and V-Aux context, respectively). In these two contexts, the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  tokens attested are classified by their positions vis-à-vis the auxiliary and the lexical V. Under this classification, six types of word order are logically possible. The  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  is located either: (i) in the Subj- $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$ -Aux-V or SOAV order (i.e. in the post-subject/pre-auxiliary position (viz. Wackernagel position) in the Aux-V context); (ii) in the Subj-Aux- $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$ -V or SAOV order (i.e. in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context); (iii) in the Subj-Aux-V- $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  or SAVO order (i.e. in the post-verbal position in the Aux-V context); (iv) in the Subj- $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$ -V-Aux or SOVA order (i.e. in the post-subject/pre-verbal position in the V-Aux context); (v) in the Subj-V- $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$ -Aux or SVOA order (i.e. in the post-verbal/pre-auxiliary position in the V-Aux context); (vi) in the Subj-V-Aux- $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  or SVAO order (i.e. in the post-auxiliary position in the V-Aux context). Note, however, that word order type (v) (i.e. intervention of the element between the lexical V and the auxiliary in the V-Aux context) is a typologically rare option (Dryer (1992: 100)), and earlier English is not an exception to this. In fact, this type of word order is not attested in my survey. Hence, I have counted the number of the other five types of word order. The result of my survey on the seven mid-13th century texts is shown in Table 2-6:

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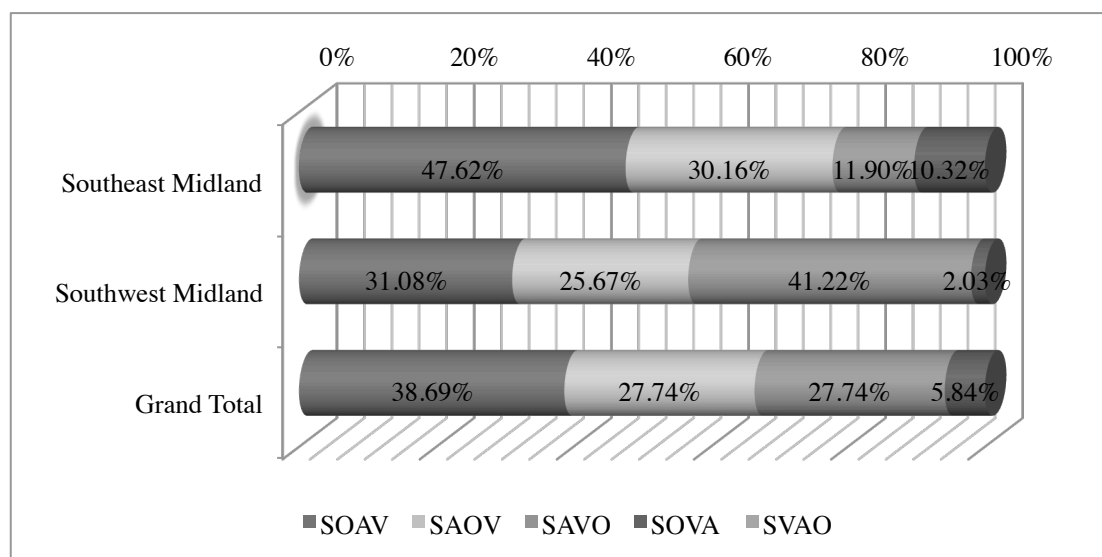
clause, the pre-verbal (pronominal) object is ambiguous with respect to its position: under the assumption that displacement of the finite V is optional in the subordinate clause, it can be either inside or outside of the verbal projection. See also footnote 21 in Chapter 1.

<sup>14</sup> The EME texts that are included in the PPCME2 but not surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) nor Kroch et al. (2000) are excluded from my survey.

TABLE 2-6:

DISTRIBUTION OF THE OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE SEVEN MID-13C SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHEAST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	45 (3)	24 (2)	6	8	0	83 (5)
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	15	14 (6)	9	5	0	43 (6)
TOTAL	60 (3)	38 (8)	15	13	0	126 (11)
SOUTHWEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	16	14 (2)	4	2	0	36 (2)
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	2	2 (1)	0	0	0	4 (1)
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 (4)
TOTAL	46	38 (7)	61	3	0	148 (7)
GRAND TOTAL	106 (3)	76 (15)	76	16	0	274 (18)



The number in the parentheses in the table represents the instances of the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  non-adjacent to the auxiliary/lexical verb. We can see from Table 2-6 that the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  tends to appear in the Wackernagel position (i.e. post-subject/pre-auxiliary position) in the mid-13th century South Midland texts, which means that the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  also carried over from OE to EME. In total, 106 out of the 274 instances of the subordinate  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  (38.69%) appear in this position while 76 instances (27.74%) appear in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context and other 76 instances (27.74%) appear in the post-verbal position in the Aux-V context. Note, in this connection, that the distribution of the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  significantly differs from that of the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{FN}}$ , which is shown in Table 2-7:

TABLE 2-7: DISTRIBUTION OF THE OBJ<sub>FN</sub> IN THE SEVEN MID-13C SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHEAST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	22 (2)	28 (7)	44	4	2	100 (9)
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	2	40 (5)	31	0	4	77 (5)
TOTAL	24 (2)	68 (12)	75	4	6	177 (14)
SOUTHWEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	4	23 (3)	57	4 (1)	0	88 (4)
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	0	16 (1)	5	0	0	21 (1)
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	0	1 (1)	5	0	0	6 (1)
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 (5)
TOTAL	6	76 (10)	155	6 (1)	2	245 (11)
GRAND TOTAL	30 (2)	144 (22)	230	10 (1)	8	422 (25)

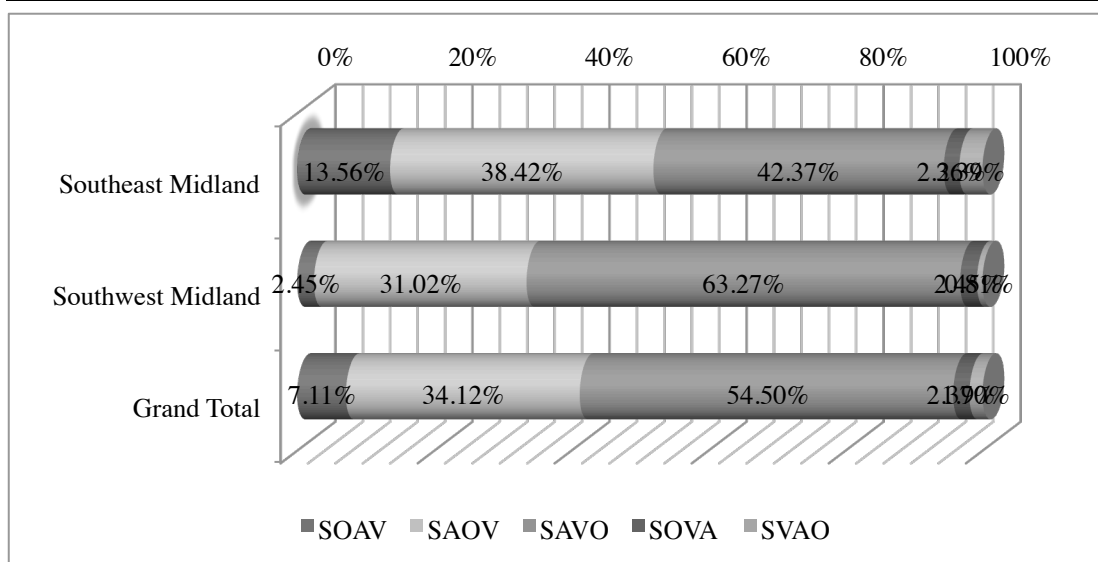


Table 2-7 shows that the Obj<sub>FN</sub> rarely appears in the Wackernagel position in the seven

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

(2-10) a. COMP-SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>-OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>-AUX-V ORDER

3if **eni mon hit** muste isean...

if any one it must see

‘... if anyone must see it...’

(CMLAMBX1, 27.315 / PPCME2)

b. COMP-SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>-OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>-AUX-V ORDER

3if **ðu me ðin** uncuðe name wouldest kyðen

if you me your unfamiliar name would reveal

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

(CMVICES1, 23.241 / *ibid.*)

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

(2-11) a. OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> CLUSTERING

þæt... & **he hem hit** would tyþian...

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<sub>PPRN</sub> AND THE OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

3iff **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 is a dubious diagnosis for (syntactic) cliticization, the example of clustering in (2-11a) shows the clitic status of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  in EME. While not so many instances are attested, moreover, the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  is also observed in the positions

idiosyncratic to the clitic  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$ : it can appear in Positions I, II and III (i.e. to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2/V3 clause, and to the immediate right of the finite V in the main operator-initial V2 clause (cf. (2-5)). This is exemplified by the following clauses:

(2-12) I.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

- a.  $\boxed{\text{bet}}$  **him** mon mote wið speken  
 that him one must speak-against  
 ‘... that one must speak against him.’

(CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2)

II.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

- b.  $[\text{perwið}]$  **us** wite ure louerd ihesu crist...  
 therewith us blame our lord Jesus Christ  
 ‘Therewith, our lord Jesus Christ blames us...’

(CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / ibid.)

III.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

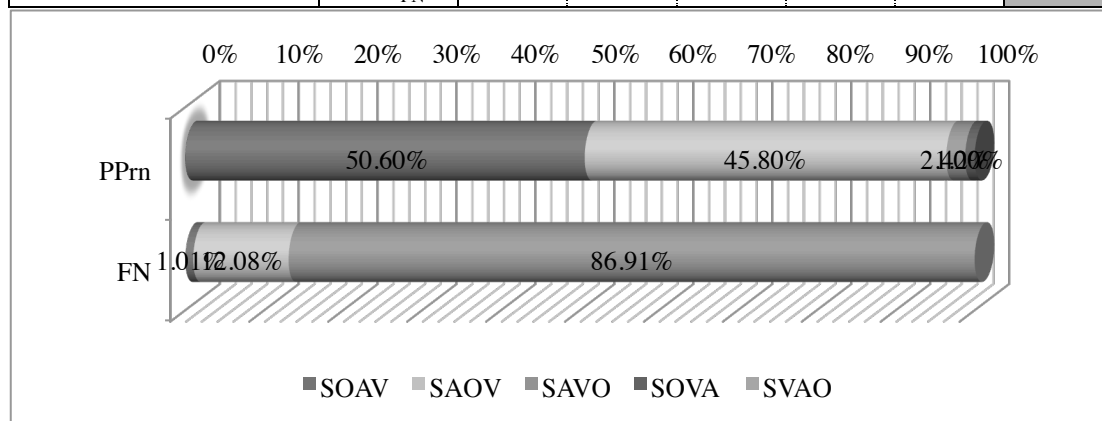
- c.  $[\text{Ne}]$  mihte **him** naðer befelen  
 NEG might him no-other happen-to  
 ‘No other might happen to him.’

(CMVICES1, 43.486 / ibid.)

Preservation of the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  (i.e. the tendency seen in the mid-13th century South Midland dialect) is also observed in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, another text surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000):

TABLE 2-8: DISTRIBUTION OF THE OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> AND THE OBJ<sub>FN</sub> IN THE *AYENBITE OF INWIT*

<PPCME2>		SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
cmayenbi.m2 (1340)	OBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	42	38 (3)	2	1	0	83 (3)
	OBJ <sub>FN</sub>	1	11	79	0	0	91



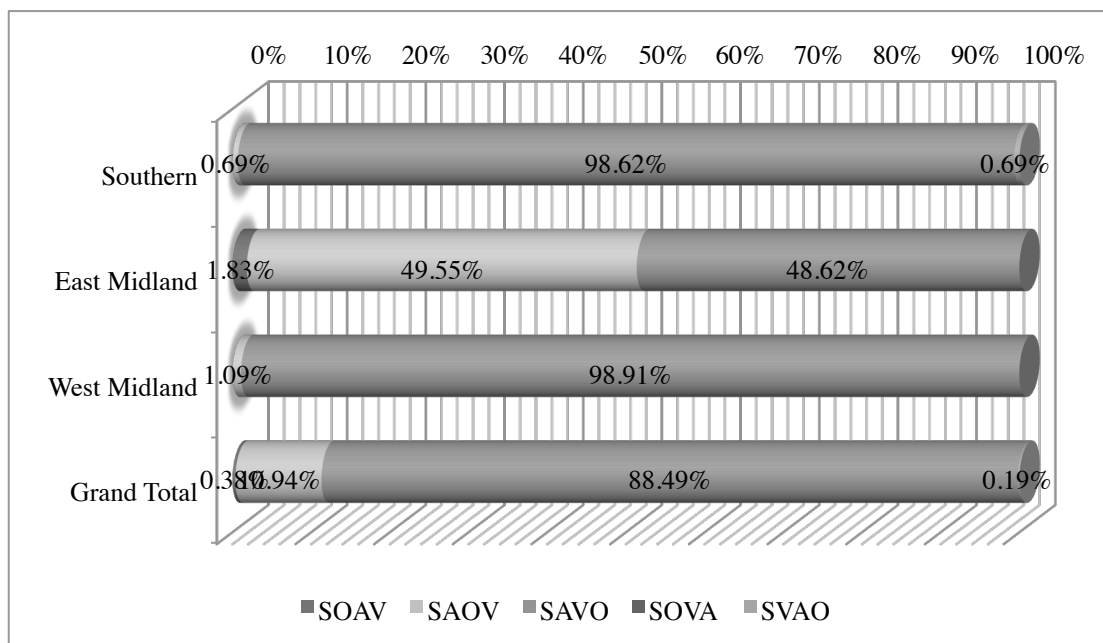
In this text, 42 out of the 83 instances of the subordinate Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> (50.60%) appear in the Wackernagel position while 38 instances (45.80%) appear in the post-auxiliary/pre-verbal position in the Aux-V context. These figures show that the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> is the most dominant pattern in this text as well. Combined with the result in Table 2-6, the result in Table 2-8 leads us to conclude that appearance of the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> in the Wackernagel position was a productive option in EME (also see Kroch & Taylor (2000b: 134)), and that the clitic status of the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> was well retained during this period.

Instances of the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> cease to be attested in LME. In fact, they were almost extinct in this period. As is obvious from Table 2-9, only two instances are attested in the 14th century:

TABLE 2-9: DISTRIBUTION OF THE OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE LATE 14C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	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 MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmedvern.m3 (c.1390)	0	6	21	0	0	27
cmbrut.m3 (c.1400)	2	48 (7)	32	0	0	82 (7)
TOTAL	2	54 (7)	53	0	0	109 (7)
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmearlps.m2 (c.1350)	0	0	19	0	0	19
cmctpars.m3 (c.1390)	0	2 (1)	38	0	0	40 (1)
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 (1)
GRAND TOTAL	2	58 (8)	469	0	1	530 (8)





The two instances of the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> constitute only 0.38% of the attested Obj<sub>PPm</sub> tokens. Thus, we can consider them exceptional. The following are the two exceptional instances in question:

(2-13) TWO EXCEPTIONAL INSTANCES OF THE WACKERNAGEL OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE 14TH CENTURY

- a. þat **a kyng liggyng in a liter ham hade bisegede**  
 that a king lying in a litter them had besieged  
 ‘... that a king lying in a litter had besieged them.’

(CMBRUT3, 68.2055 / PPCME2)

- b. þat **þe kyng oure fadier, vs hath reprouyed, shemed &**  
 that the king our father us has reproved shamed and  
dispised...  
 despised

‘... that the king, our father, has blamed, shamed and despised us...’

(CMBRUT3, 3.40 / ibid.)

Note that the exceptional instances in (2-13) are both attested in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* (a late 14th century East Midland text). This text itself is somewhat exceptional in that the Obj<sub>ppm</sub> appears in the Subj-Aux-Obj<sub>ppm</sub>-V order far more frequently than in other texts:<sup>15</sup> in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England*, 48 out of the 83 Obj<sub>ppm</sub> tokens (57.83%) appear in this position; in other texts, only 10 out of the 448 instances (2.23%) appear in this position. Thus, the two exceptional instances of the Wackernagel Obj<sub>ppm</sub> in the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* may be due to the archaic style of this text: it is rather closer to earlier texts. Whether or not this text is taken into account, our conclusion is the same: the Wackernagel Obj<sub>ppm</sub> was almost non-existent in the 14th century.

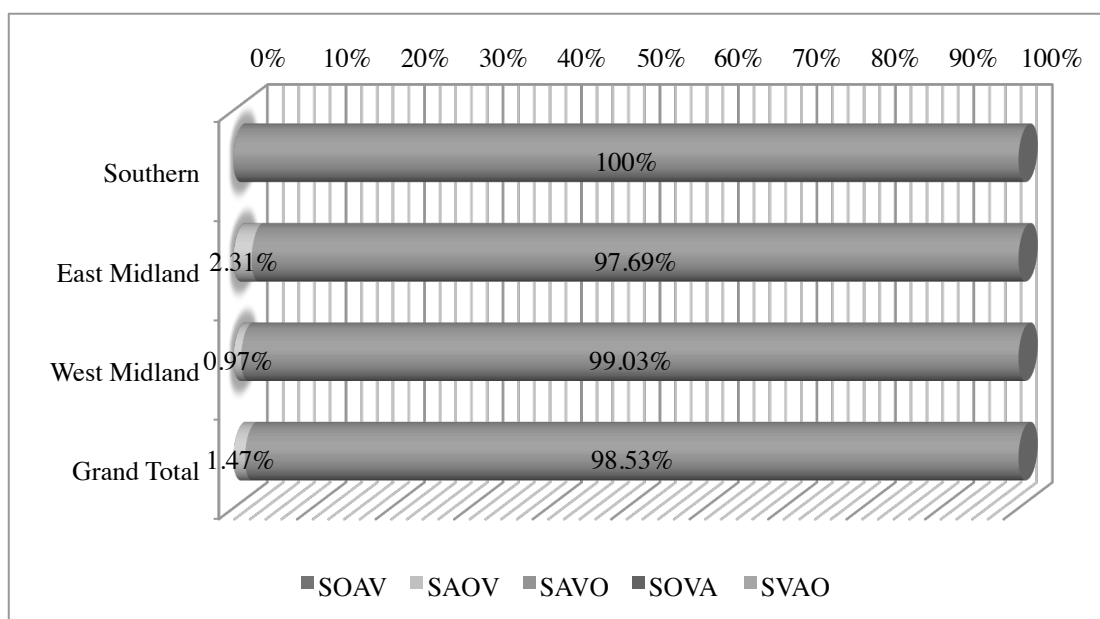
In the 15th century, the Wackernagel Obj<sub>ppm</sub> completely disappears in the texts. This is shown in Table 2-10:

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<sup>15</sup> In the *Brut or the Chronicles of England*, the Obj<sub>ppm</sub> also appears in the positions idiosyncratic to the clitic Obj<sub>ppm</sub>: with respect to the positions right-adjacent to the complementizer in the subordinate clause and left-adjacent to the finite V in the main topic-initial V2 clause, one instance is attested in each position; with respect to the position right-adjacent to the finite V in the main operator-initial V2 clause, two instances are attested. In other texts of the late 14th and 15th century, only a few instances of the Obj<sub>ppm</sub> are attested in these positions, so they are discarded here. In this regard as well, the *Brut or the Chronicles of England* is exceptional.

TABLE 2-10: DISTRIBUTION OF THE OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE 15C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	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 MIDLAND 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 MIDLAND 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
cmjurnor.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 (1)
cmreynar.m4 (1481)	0	2	29	0	0	31
cmfitzja.m4 (1495)	0	0	4	0	0	4
cminnoce.m4 (1497)	0	0	3	0	0	3
TOTAL	0	4 (1)	407	0	0	411 (1)
GRAND TOTAL	0	10 (1)	681	0	0	691 (1)



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

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

FIGURE 2-2: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE WACKERNAGEL  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$

EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)		LME (SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS)
WACKERNAGEL $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$	⇒	WACKERNAGEL $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$
productive		extinct

Bearing in mind the basic facts and the historical change of the SPA in the main topic-initial context and the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{pprn}}$  in the subordinate context, let us turn to

the following section to see how these configurations are derived.

## 2.3. Analyses

### 2.3.1. Theoretical Assumptions

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

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

Thus far, nothing is said about the clause structure in OE/EME. Since the publication of Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991) and Rizzi (1997), clause structures are often assumed to be richly layered: due to the first two (especially the latter), the IP layer can be split into a subject agreement phrase (AgrSP), a tense phrase (TP) and an object agreement phrase (AgrOP); due to the last one, the CP layer can be split into a force phrase (ForceP), a focus phrase (FocP), a topic phrase (TopP) and a finiteness phase (FinP). Chomsky (1995c: 349ff), however, casts doubts on the existence of Agr projections. Following the current minimalist assumptions, therefore, let us abandon the split-IP hypothesis and adopt the split-CP hypothesis,<sup>16</sup> although not all of the split CP projections play a crucial role in our analysis presented below. With an additional minimalist assumption that the transitive construction is headed by  $v^*$  (Chomsky (2001: 43)), the clause structure adopted here for OE/EME is the following:

(2-14) [<sub>ForceP</sub> Force [<sub>ForceP</sub> Foc [<sub>TopP</sub> Top [<sub>FinP</sub> Fin [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>v\*P</sub> v\* [<sub>VP</sub> ... V ... ] ] ] ] ] ] ]

<sup>16</sup> See also Cinque (1999) for more fine-grained clause structures in the IP layer.

The CP layer projections other than FinP in (2-14) are abstracted away and simply amalgamated into CP in what follows, since they do not play any role in our analysis. In that case, Fin is located below C.<sup>17</sup>

We have seen in §2.2.1 that the SPA in the main topic-initial context, which was due to the clitic status of Subj<sub>ppm</sub>, carried over from OE to EME. We have also seen there that V2 was systematically induced in the main operator-initial context in EME. Following the basic tenet of the previous studies (e.g. Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002: 140), Fischer et al. (2000: 126), Fuss (2003: 210ff), Haerberli (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:

(2-15) a. DIFFERENT LANDING SITES FOR V-MOVEMENT

V-movement targets two landing sites in the main clause: C in the operator-initial context and a (head-initial) functional head below C in the topic-initial context.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> In some VSO languages such as Irish and Welsh, Fin is phonologically realized by a complementizer and a particle, respectively (Roberts (2001b: 126ff)). The following is an instance of Fin realized as a particle, *mi*, which introduces an affirmative main clause in Welsh:

(i) Bore 'ma, mi glywes i 'r newyddion ar y radio.  
morning this PRT heard I the news on the radio

'This morning, I heard the news on the radio.' (Roberts (2001b: 128))

Although Fin is not overtly realized in PDE, it functions as a placeholder for V-movement in earlier English.

<sup>18</sup> Unlike the Universal Base Hypothesis proposed by Kayne (1994), I am not suggesting that all the functional/substantive projections are structured head-initially. The (substantive) verbal projection may be either head-initial or head-final. In this connection, what Kiparsky (1996: 168f), Haider (2000: 47ff) and Fuss & Trips (2002: 186ff) argue seems to be valid: functional categories are universally head-initial and the head parameter is restricted to substantive categories (pace §1.4.2). Whether the strict Universal Base Hypothesis or its looser version is taken, what is discussed below remains intact and nothing hinges on this matter. Hence, I leave it pending here.

b. DIFFERENT STRUCTURAL POSITIONS FOR SUBJECTS

Different types of subjects reside in two different structural positions in a clause: the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$ , being a clitic, has to end up in a position structurally higher than the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ .

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

TABLE 2-11: PREVIOUS PROPOSALS ON SUBJECT POSITIONS IN EARLIER ENGLISH

	$\text{SUBJ}_{\text{PPRN}}$ POSITION	$\text{SUBJ}_{\text{FN}}$ POSITION
Kemenade (1987)	procliticization to the finite V (in $\text{C}^0$ )	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)	$\text{AgrI}^0$	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  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$ : (i) one considers it to be a head element, placing it in the cliticized position or in the head position (e.g. the shaded rows in Table 2-11); (ii) the other considers it to be a phrasal element, placing it in the specifier position (e.g. the unshaded rows in Table 2-11). Nothing forces us to consider the  $\text{CPPrn}$  in OE/EME to be phrasal. On the contrary, adopting the second option is problematic in two respects. The first problem is conceptual: on a par with the functional projection for the clitic  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$ , we have to assume an additional functional projection whose specifier hosts a clitic  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$ , 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  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  is not assumed, the fact of clitic clustering (cf. (2-11a)) cannot be explained unless

the notion of multiple specifiers proposed by Chomsky (1995c: 245) is adopted. Even if the notion of multiple specifiers is adopted, some additional stipulations are called for. Therefore, let us adopt the first option and assume that OE/EME CPPrns are head elements. Treating CPPrns as heads amounts to maintaining that the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  in OE/EME is located in Spec TP in (2-14), as in PDE, while the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  is encliticized to C since finite V-movement targets C in the operator-initial context and the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  yet follows the finite V in C (e.g. (2-1b), (2-2b) and (2-3b)). Recall now that Fin is located below C. This is the functional head mentioned in (2-15a): finite V-movement targets Fin in the topic-initial context.<sup>19</sup> What drives V-to-Fin movement is left pending here (but see Chapter 4 for V-to-T movement).

### 2.3.1.2. *Trichotomy of PPrns*

As has already been shown in §1.1.2 and §1.1.3 of Chapter 1, OE/EME PPrns are not exclusively clitics (i.e. ‘deficient’ ones in the sense of Cardinaletti (1994: 195ff, 1999: 62ff) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 23ff, 1999: 150f, 160ff, 173ff)). The OE  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$

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<sup>19</sup> 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 (1995c: 368, 2000: 146, footnote 68, 2001: 37f) has put forward the idea that head movement is viewed as a PF phenomenon (see also Boeckx & Stjepanović (2001: 351ff)). While the V-to-Fin movement may 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: 378, 380, 1996: 64) and the Neg-criterion proposed by Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991: 244, 1996: 153) and Haegeman (1995: 106f) 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: 59, 2004: 141, 2009: 263ff); but see Zwart (2001: 52ff) for syntactically driven PF movement). Note, nevertheless, that the operator criterion has to be restated in minimalist terms (see Watanabe (2001: 387ff, 2002: 52ff, 2004: 576ff) for recent restatement of the Neg-criterion in minimalist terms).



sometimes inverts with the finite V in the main topic-initial context, thereby V2 order results. This fact has led Koopman (1997: 78, 1998: 137) to conclude that some of the OE PPrns are non-clitics. EME also exhibits the V2 order with a Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> in the topic-initial context (cf. Tables 2-1 and 2-2), which means that non-clitic PPrns also existed in EME.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, coordination of a PPrn and an FN is also attested (cf. Kayne (1975: 83, 85, 90f, 342)); this is not frequent in EME, nevertheless (only seven instances in the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts and the *Ayenbite of Inwit*). Note in this connection that even some of the PDE PPrns resist coordination (see Gelderen (2004b: 62ff) for details).

(2-16) a. COORDINATION OF THE SUBJ<sub>PPrn</sub>

þet ~~hy~~ ~~oper~~ ~~opre~~: byep ichose to dyngnetes of holi  
that they or others are chosen as dignities of holy  
cherche...  
church

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

(CMAYENBI, 42.706 / PPCME2)

b. COORDINATION OF THE OBJ<sub>PPrn</sub>

... al þe lecan þe god hefde ired **hire** & **adam** of þen  
all the lesson the God had read her and Adam of the  
appel  
apple

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

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

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<sup>20</sup> In fact, Cardinaletti (1994: 209ff, 1999: 62ff) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 26f, 1999: 165ff) assume a trichotomy (i.e. SPPrns, WPPrns and CPPrns) for PPrns (see also Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 409ff) for a tripartite distinction of PPrns). Since we have no evidence that indicates the existence of PPrns of the intermediate status (i.e. WPPrns) in OE/EME, let us continue to assume the strong vs. clitic dichotomy for this period. Nevertheless, the trichotomy of PPrns is eventually adopted in what follows, since WPPrns exist in LME and afterward. See the discussion in the text below and Chapter 4.

Coordinated Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> and Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> in (2-16) cannot be clitics, since the Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> does not appear in the second position in the main topic-initial context and the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> does not appear in the subordinate Wackernagel position nor in the positions idiosyncratic to the Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> (i.e. Positions I, II and III). Syntactic behaviors of coordinated Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> and Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> indicate that SPPrns as well as CPPrns exist in OE/EME.<sup>21</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>22</sup> See Makita (2000: 45, footnote 12) for similar treatment of clitic *there* in OE.

*uCase*. At this point, the *uφ* enters into an Agree relation with *iφ* and gets valued, thereby the *uCase* is also valued. When the agreeing probe bears an EPP feature (henceforth, EPP), the agreeing goal is driven to move to the specifier position of the agreeing probe, satisfying its EPP requirement. On a par with the feature content of DPs, let us assume that CPPrns bear *iφ*. In the following respect, however, we depart from the conventional minimalist assumption mentioned above: let us follow Roberts (2010a: 56f) and Gelderen (2013: 197f) in assuming that CPPrns lack *uCase* (cf. “structural deficiency” in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 26ff, 36ff, 1999: 179, 202) and Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 428ff)).<sup>23</sup> Under the theory of movement proposed by Roberts (2010a: 57), where he proposes that “incorporation can take place only where the label of the incorporee is nondistinct from that of the incorporation host,” lack of *uCase* induces head movement (or more precisely, encliticization). More specifically, with an additional assumption that the originally unvalued features, which are valued in the course of derivation, do not delete at the end of the phase but remains undeleted in narrow syntax (contra Chomsky (2000: 124f, 2001: 18f, 2004: 113ff, 2005: 17, 2007: 18f, 2008: 154f)), the label of the CPPrn (i.e.  $D^{Min/Max}$ ) is not distinct from that of an agreeing functional head in that both bear a full set of  $φ$ -features, and the feature contents of the *iφ* are rendered a proper subset of those of the valued *uφ* after an Agree relation between them. When all the conditions (i.e. nondistinctness of labels) are met, head movement is triggered purely by Agree without recourse to an EPP. If we assume that C bears *uφ* along the lines of Chomsky (2001: 8f, 2004: 115f, 2005: 18, 2007: 19f, 2008: 143f), Carstens (2003: 394, 397), Tanaka (2002: 80ff, 2004: 180f) and Tanaka (2003: 86f, 94), possible candidates for agreement with a CPPrn will be C, T and *v*\*. When the *uφ* of C, T or *v*\* agrees with the *iφ* of the CPPrn,

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<sup>23</sup> Since determiners/demonstratives are also considered to be instances of D, one may wonder whether there is any difference between CPPrns and determiners/demonstratives. One may speculate that this is exactly the point they differ in, other things being equal: CPPrns lack *uCase*, whereas determiners/demonstratives bear it. Obviously, this speculation requires empirical verification. Yet, this issue is left aside here, pending further investigations. Note that the case form of CPPrns is the default one since they lack *uCase*.

the label of the former is rendered nondistinct from that of the latter and the CPPrn encliticizes to the agreeing functional head (logically either C, T or  $v^*$ ; but see discussion below).<sup>24</sup>

SPPrns are derived from CPPrns (or WPPrns). When the CPPrn does not enter into an Agree relation, alternatively, it can merge with an  $N^0$ , valuing the uninterpretable features of the latter (cf. Chomsky (1995c: 337, 393, footnote 136)). Since the CPPrn (i.e.  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ ) projects upon merger with an  $N^0$  and it is no longer  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  at this point, the projection of D is not a clitic any more. Recall now that SPPrns as well as CPPrns exist in OE/EME. The properties of SPPrns mentioned above exactly fit the characterization of the  $[_{DP} D^0 + N^0]$  complex. Note that SPPrns are morphologically/orthographically identical to CPPrns. In this regard, let us claim that the  $N^0$  that merges with clitic  $D^0$  is a phonologically null counterpart of  $N^0$ .<sup>25</sup> Thus, the OE/EME SPPrn is construed as

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<sup>24</sup> The assumption that C bears  $u\phi$  and N bears  $i\phi$  should be justified for the so-called complementizer agreement (cf. Zwart (1997: 25, 136ff, 256ff)) and the determiner agreement, respectively. Although the complementizer agreement is absent from OE/EME, determiners/demonstratives clearly agree with the following noun in gender, number and Case (Ukaji (2000: 177ff)). In this respect, N may also bear  $u\text{Case}$  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 chapter.

<sup>25</sup> This idea was suggested to me by Akira Watanabe (p.c.). Note, in passing, that the  $N^0$  that merges with clitic  $D^0$  is sometimes phonologically realized. One instance is the PPrn+*self* form. In OE, *self* was an independent word contrasting the nominal it follows, and it could modify any type of nominals. In the end of the 12th century, the PPrn+*self* form came to exist as a single word (Keenan (2002: 337); also see Mustanoja (1960: 153)), although its distribution was not strictly governed by the Binding Condition A (cf. Chomsky (1981: 188)). So, there was indeed phonologically realized  $N^0$  in the  $[_{DP} D^0 + N^0]$  complex in EME. Since the PPrn+*self* form is considered as a maximal D projection under our characterization, it is predicted to behave differently from clitic PPrns. This prediction is borne out. Only a few instances of the PPrn+*self* form are attested in the subordinate Wackernagel position, and not a single instance is attested in the positions idiosyncratic to the clitic. The following is one of the rare instances of the Wackernagel PPrn+*self*:

(i) *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)


clitic/weak  $D^0$  plus phonologically null  $N^0$  bearing a Focus feature (henceforth, Foc) (cf. Cardinaletti (1994: 198ff, 1999: 63), Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 36f, 1999: 165ff, 179, 202)). If CPPrns are minimally different from WPPrns which start to be attested in LME and afterward, WPPrns bear  $u$ Case in addition to  $i\phi$  like full DPs. Let us propose that the CPPrns and WPPrns differ in featural contents and that CPPrns/WPPrns and SPPrns differ in structures. Thus, our characterization of PPrns is summarized as follows:

- (2-17) a. CPPrn:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi \rangle$   
 b. WPPrn:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle$   
 c. SPPrn:  $DP = D^0 \langle i\phi(/u\text{Case}) \rangle + \text{phonologically null } N^0 \langle \text{Foc} \rangle$

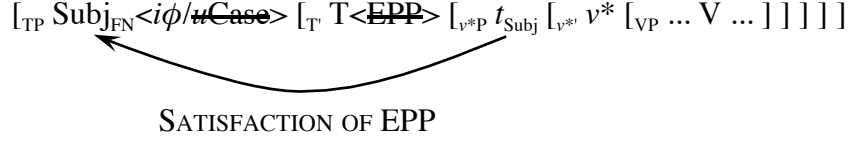
The CPPrn is  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  bearing only  $i\phi$ . The WPPrn is  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  bearing both  $i\phi$  and  $u$ Case. The SPPrn consists of  $D^0$  bearing only  $i\phi$  (i.e. CPPrn) or  $D^0$  bearing both  $i\phi$  and  $u$ Case (i.e. WPPrns) and phonologically null  $N^0$  bearing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

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

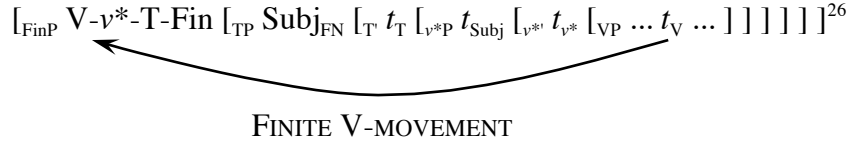
Bearing in mind the OE/EME clause structure in (2-14), the V-to-Fin movement in the topic-initial context, the positional difference between the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  and  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPrn}}$ , and the trichotomy of PPrns in (2-17) and adopting the standard minimalist assumption that a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

- (2-18) a. MERGE OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND  $\text{SUBJ}_{\text{FN}}$
- $$[\text{TP } T \langle \cancel{i\phi}/\text{EPP} \rangle [\text{VP } \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} \langle i\phi/\cancel{u}\text{Case} \rangle [\text{VP } v^* [\text{VP } \dots V \dots ] ] ] ]$$
- 
  
 AGREE

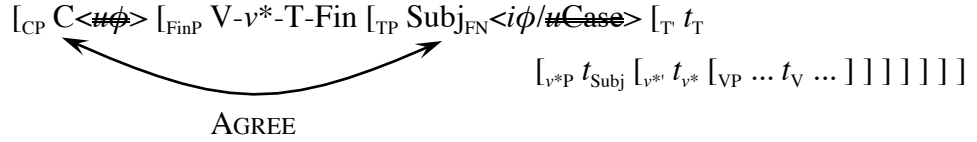
b. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub> MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP



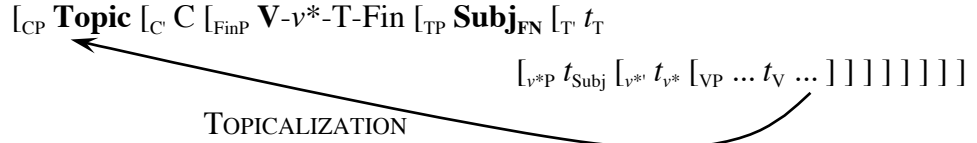
c. MERGE OF FIN AND V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT



d. MERGE OF C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>



e. TOPICALIZATION



Upon its merger with a verbal projection already completed, T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj<sub>FN</sub> in  $\phi$ -features, as in (2-18a), whereby the  $\mu\phi$  of T and the  $\mu\text{Case}$  of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> are valued. Then, as in (2-18b), the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T. As in (2-18c), the derivation is carried on to the stage where Fin is merged with the TP and the V-to-Fin movement is carried out (but see footnote 19). Upon its merger with the FinP, C enters into an Agree relation with the Subj<sub>FN</sub> in  $\phi$ -features, as in (2-18d), whereby the  $\mu\phi$  of C is valued.<sup>27</sup> Since C does not bear EPP, the Subj<sub>FN</sub> stays in

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

<sup>27</sup> Note that although the  $\mu\text{Case}$  of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is already valued by the Agree relation with T, it is still active and visible for the computational system (cf. Carstens (2003: 399ff)). This is because the valued/deleted

Spec TP at this stage. Finally, Topicalization is induced presumably for a semantic consequence, as in (2-18e).<sup>28</sup> Thereby the V2 order with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> in the topic-initial context is derived (cf. (2-8)).

### 2.3.2. Deriving the SPA

The derivation for the topic-initial structure with a Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is slightly different, which is illustrated as follows:

- (2-19) a. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

$[_{TP} T < \cancel{u\phi} / EPP > [_{v^*P} Subj_{PPRN} < i\phi > [_{v^*} v^* [_{VP} \dots V \dots ] ] ] ]$

AGREE

- b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

$[_{TP} Subj_{PPRN} < i\phi > [_{T'} T < \cancel{EPP} > [_{v^*P} t_{Subj} [_{v^*} v^* [_{VP} \dots V \dots ] ] ] ] ]$

SATISFACTION OF EPP

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uninterpretable features are erased after the completion of the relevant strong phase that contains them (Chomsky (2001: 18f)). Due to this active status of the deleted *u*Case of the Subj<sub>FN</sub>, the *i* $\phi$  of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is still eligible for Agree with the *u* $\phi$  of C at this point of the derivation.

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

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

$$* \left[ {}_{\text{TP}} \text{T} \langle \text{EPP} \rangle + \text{Subj}_{\text{PP}_{\text{rm}}} \langle i\phi \rangle \left[ {}_{\text{v}^* \text{P}} t_{\text{Subj}} \left[ {}_{\text{v}^* \text{I}} \text{v}^* \left[ {}_{\text{VP}} \dots \text{V} \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \Rightarrow \text{CRASH}$$

ENCLITICIZATION

FINITE V-MOVEMENT

[illegible]
$$[_{CP} C+Subj]_{PPm} \langle i\phi \rangle [_{FinP} V-v^*-T-Fin]_{TP} t_{Subj} [_{T'} t_T$$
  

$$[_{VP} v^* t_{Subj} [_{v^{*1}} t_{v^*} [_{VP} \dots t_V \dots ]]]]]]$$
  

ENCLITICIZATION

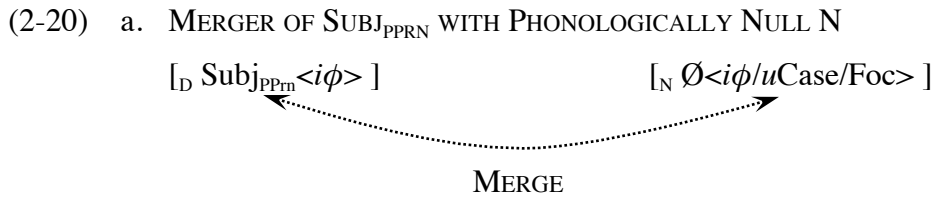
[illegible]

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words, it can be minimal and maximal simultaneously. Thus, the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  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  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$ : Fin is merged with the TP and the V-to-Fin movement is carried out, as in (2-19c). Upon its merger with the FinP, C enters into an Agree relation with the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  in  $\phi$ -features, as in (2-19d), whereby the  $u\phi$  of C is valued. Then, as in (2-19e), the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  encliticizes to C since  $i\phi$  of the former is a proper subset of the  $u\phi$  of the latter. Finally, Topicalization is induced, as in (2-19f). Thus, the topic-initial V3 order results with a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$ . It should be emphasized here that the derivation reaching the stage in (2-19f) in the end is the only convergent one for the topic-initial structure with a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$ . Because both C and T bear  $u\phi$ , the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  can be encliticized to either of them at some point in the derivation.<sup>29</sup> Yet, the derivation choosing the encliticization to T leaves its EPP feature unsatisfied (as in (2-19b')), eventually leading to crash. The only remaining choice is the encliticization to C, and the topic-initial structure with a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  is forced to be V3 (cf. (2-9)).<sup>30</sup>

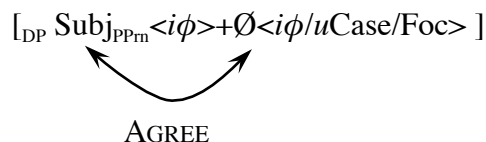
Now if  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  does not enter into an Agree relation with any functional head, an option suggested above, it can no longer behave as a clitic. This is because the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  becomes DP bearing  $u\text{Case}$  when it merges with a phonologically null counterpart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



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

<sup>30</sup> In this respect, the analysis presented here coincides with the ones provided by Haegeman (1990: 346f) and subsequently by Shlonsky (1994: 354ff) for West Flemish. That is, both of them treat the clitic  $\text{Subj}_{\text{ppm}}$  as an element in the CP domain.

b. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> AND PHONOLOGICALLY NULL N



After the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is merged with the phonologically null N<sup>0</sup>, as in (2-20a), extending the structure to a DP, the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> enters into an Agree relation with the N<sup>0</sup>, as in (2-20b).<sup>31</sup> The end product of (2-20) is a DP Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> (i.e. SPPRN) bearing *uCase*. Note, in this connection, that other features left in (2-20b) are still eligible for later operations and both the *iφ* of the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> and that of the N<sup>0</sup> can still enter into an Agree relation with a single functional head under the notion of multiple Agree (Chomsky (2004: 127, footnote 51)). Since the DP Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> has the same status as the Subj<sub>FN</sub>, it ends up in Spec TP, as in (2-18). In other words, the topic-initial structure with a DP Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> must result in the V2 order. This explains the fact that a few instances of the topic-initial V2 with a Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> are attested in EME (cf. Tables 2-1 and 2-2). Note also that when the phonologically null N<sup>0</sup> is included in the numeration or lexical array, the derivational steps in (2-20) must be taken, given the Merge-over-Move principle (Chomsky (1995c: 348)). Since “Merge comes free (Chomsky (2001: 3); also see Chomsky (1995c: 316, 2000: 101, 2001: 6))” while Move (Internal Merge) is a complex operation Agree + Pied-pipe + External Merge (Chomsky (2000: 101, 2001: 10, 2004: 114)), the former, being more economical, always preempts the latter. It follows that when a CPPRN merges with an agreeing element, merger with

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<sup>31</sup> One may wonder why the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> precedes the phonologically null N<sup>0</sup> here when it is externally merged with an agreeing functional head while it has to be encliticized (i.e. internally merged) to the functional head in question. My speculation is that this is related to the way the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is merged. When it merges with an agreeing functional head, it is merged internally (i.e. encliticization). When it is merged with the phonologically null N<sup>0</sup>, on the other hand, it is merged externally. In this case, the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is placed head-initially, projecting the structure in question. Thus, it may be the case that the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is merged with an agreeing element at any rate in the course of derivation, but the effect of IM (i.e. encliticization) is superseded by some sort of the head parameter in the case of EM.

phonologically null  $N^0$  is less costly than encliticization to an agreeing functional head: external merge is always chosen over internal merge if possible. Thus, the derivation in (2-19) is carried out under the condition that the phonologically null  $N^0$  is absent from the lexical array. Otherwise, the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPrn}}$  would be externally merged, and the V3 order would never be possible in the topic-initial context.

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

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

$[_{\text{TP}} \text{T} < \cancel{\text{EPP}} / \text{EPP} > [_{\text{v}^* \text{P}} \text{Subj} < i\phi / (\cancel{\text{Case}}) > [_{\text{v}^*} \text{v}^* [_{\text{VP}} \dots \text{V} \dots ] ] ] ]$

AGREE

- b. SUBJ MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

$[_{\text{TP}} \text{Subj} < i\phi / (\cancel{\text{Case}}) > [_{\text{T}} \text{T} < \text{EPP} > [_{\text{v}^* \text{P}} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{\text{v}^*} \text{v}^* [_{\text{VP}} \dots \text{V} \dots ] ] ] ] ]$

SATISFACTION OF EPP

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

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

FINITE V-MOVEMENT

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

$[_{\text{CP}} \text{C} < \cancel{\text{EPP}} > [_{\text{FinP}} \text{V-v}^* \text{-T-Fin} [_{\text{TP}} \text{Subj} < i\phi / (\cancel{\text{Case}}) > [_{\text{T}} t_{\text{T}}$   
 $[_{\text{v}^* \text{P}} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{\text{v}^*} t_{\text{v}^*} [_{\text{VP}} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$

AGREE

[<sub>CP</sub> C+Subj]<sub>PPm</sub><sup><i>φ> [<sub>FinP</sub> V-T-ν\*-Fin [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> T [<sub>V\*P</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>V\*</sub>\*' t<sub>V\*</sub> ]]]]]]]]]  
ENCLITICIZATION</sup>

[CP Op [C' C [FinP V-v\*-T-Fin [TP Subj<sub>FN</sub> [T' t<sub>T</sub>  
[v\*<sub>P</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> [v\*' t<sub>v\*</sub> [VP ... t<sub>V</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]

**OPERATOR FRONTING**

[<sub>CP</sub> Op [<sub>C'</sub> C+Subj]<sub>ppm</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> V-v\*-T-Fin [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> t<sub>T</sub>  
[<sub>v\*'P</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>v\*'</sub> t<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>VP ... t<sub>V</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]</sub>

**OPERATOR FRONTING**

[<sub>CP</sub> **Op** [<sub>C'</sub> **V**-v\*-T-Fin-C [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>Fin</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> **Subj**<sub>FN</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> t<sub>T</sub>

[<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>v\*'</sub> t<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ... t<sub>V</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]

FINITE V-MOVEMENT

$[_{CP} \text{Op } [_C \text{V-v*} \text{-T-Fin-C} + \text{Subj}_{PP_{Prn}} [_{FinP} t_{Fin} [_{TP} t_{Subj} [_T t_T$   
 $[_{v^*P} t_{Subj} [_{v^*I} t_{v^*} [_{VP} \dots t_V \dots ]]]]]]]]$

FINITE V-MOVEMENT

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### 2.3.3. Structural Positions of the Wackernagel *Obj<sub>PPm</sub>*

The analysis provided to the topic-initial structure in the previous subsection can be adopted for an account of the subordinate Wackernagel *Obj<sub>PPm</sub>*. Nevertheless, a few additional assumptions are called for on the subordinate clause. As is often discussed in the literature, OE/EME subordinate clauses do not exhibit V2, except for the ones embedded under the so-called bridge verb. Concerning this well-known asymmetry between the main and subordinate clauses, let us follow Rizzi (1997: 288) in assuming that the complementizer (e.g. *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 Haeberli (2001: 220)). Given that Fin is phonologically realized as a complementizer, the finite V cannot move to this position in the subordinate clause,<sup>32</sup> thereby deriving the asymmetry between the main and subordinate clauses. Let us assume further that the phonologically realized Fin moves to C in the subordinate clause.<sup>33</sup> In other words, the complementizer ends up in C although it is a phonologically realized counterpart of Fin. Bearing these additional assumptions in mind, let us take a close look at the derivations of the OE/EME subordinate clause involving a Wackernagel *Obj<sub>PPm</sub>*.

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

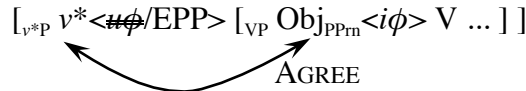
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<sup>32</sup> A prerequisite is that the finite V cannot move to the phonologically realized functional head other than the one that is affixal in nature (e.g. *v\** under Chomsky's (1995c: 321) characterization).

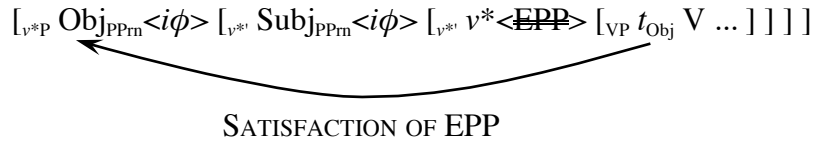
<sup>33</sup> This idea was suggested to me by Akira Watanabe (p.c.). The ground for this assumption seems to be unwarranted. However, my speculation is that it is related to the difference in the mode of finiteness and mood encoding between main and subordinate clauses. The main clause is always finite. Hence, the finite V suffices to signal the finiteness of the clause in question. The mood of the main clause, for instance, the declarative vs. interrogative/imperative distinction is signaled by the position of the finite V. On the other hand, the finiteness and mood distinction of the subordinate clause is signaled by different types of the complementizer. In this respect, the complementizer enters into not only the domain of Fin but also that of C (or Force in Rizzi's (1997) terms). Thus, it may be the case that the phonologically realized Fin must be licensed by moving to C, or together with C, Fin realizes as a complementizer.

clitic, is encliticized to C; the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  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  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ : the one with a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  and the other with a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ . Let us consider the latter first, which is illustrated as follows:<sup>34</sup>

- (2-22) a. MERGER OF  $v^*$  AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN  $v^*$  AND  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$

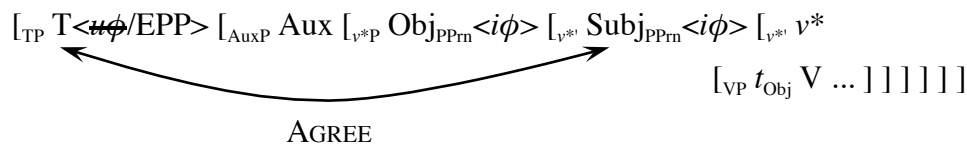


- b. MERGER OF  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  AND  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  MOVEMENT TO SPEC  $v^*P$

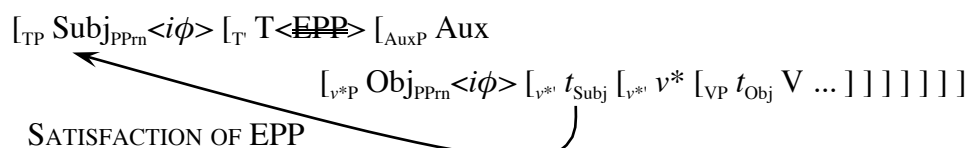


<sup>34</sup> One may wonder whether the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  in Spec  $v^*P$  induces the so-called intervention effect in (2-22c). The answer is affirmative: T can enter into an Agree relation with the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  in Spec  $v^*P$ . This is, in fact, a derivation for the subordinate clause involving a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  and a Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ . Note in this respect that when T enters into an Agree relation with the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ , it can also enter into an Agree relation with the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  under the notion of multiple Agree. See (2-23) below for details. Nevertheless, the intervention effect is obviated in (2-22c). Instead, the unvalued feature of the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  is deleted in the later operation, as in (2-22f). A crucial assumption here is that if there are two possible probes (i.e. T and C in this case) in a single phase, the first probe (i.e. T) can leave the (closest) goal (i.e.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ ) for the second one (i.e. C), and the goal in question can await the next probe to satisfy its requirement. Then, no problem arises for the derivational step in (2-22c). A potentially problematic derivational step is the multiple Agree case mentioned above. If T agrees with both the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  and the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$ , the former encliticized to T and the latter raised to Spec TP, then this derivational step leads to a convergent derivation. At the same time, however, the derivational step with the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  raised to Spec TP and the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  encliticized to T is equally possible. Nevertheless, this derivational step must be barred. An obvious question to ask is how. If we invoke the maximize matching effects principle (Chomsky (2001: 15)), the unwanted derivational step can be avoided. When the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  is raised to Spec TP, its formal features are valued and the EPP of T is deleted. When the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  is raised to Spec TP, on the other hand, only the EPP of T is deleted because its formal features are already valued by the Agree relation with  $v^*$ . Under the maximize-matching- effects principle, then, the former case (i.e.  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  movement to Spec TP) is obviously preferred to the latter (i.e.  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  movement to Spec TP). Given this principle, there is no chance for the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  with valued formal features to move to Spec TP.

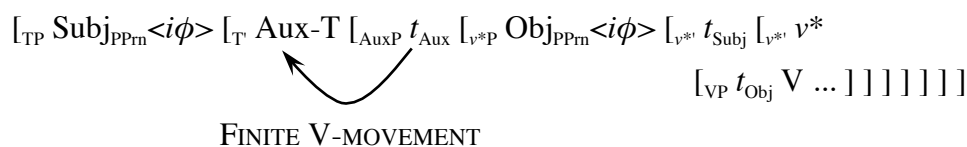
- c. MERGER OF AUX AND T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ
- <sub>PPRN</sub>



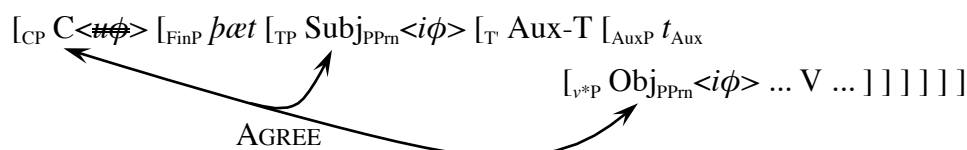
- d. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP



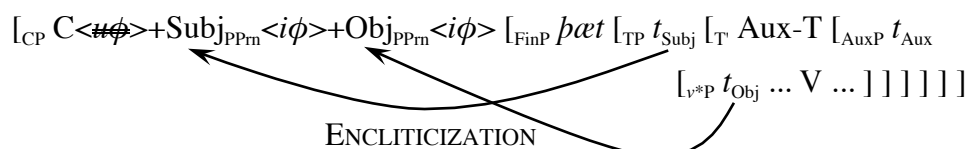
- ### e. AUX-TO-T MOVEMENT



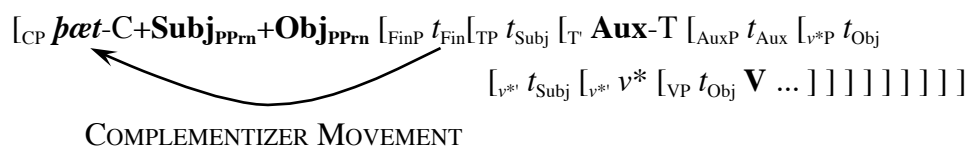
- f. MERGER OF PHONOLOGICALLY REALIZED FIN AND C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> AND OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>



8. SUBJ
- <sub>PPRN</sub>
- AND OBJ
- <sub>PPRN</sub>
- ENCLITICIZATION TO C



- #### h. FIN-TO-C MOVEMENT



Upon its merger with a VP already completed,  $v^*$  enters into an Agree relation with the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PP}_{\text{rm}}}$ , as in (2-22a), whereby the  $u\phi$  of  $v^*$  is valued. Assignment of EPP on  $v^*$  in (2-22a) is justified in accordance with Chomsky's (2001) characterization of  $\text{Spec } v^*P$ .

“The EPP position of  $v^*P$  [= Spec  $v^*P$ ] is assigned INT (Chomsky (2001: 33)),” and this is an interpretive complex which consists of specificity/definiteness, [old] information, focus, etc. (ibid.: 31). This means that material in Spec  $v^*P$  is restricted to the element conforming to INT. Accordingly, the interpretation of the  $Obj_{ppm}$  does not contradict INT, and EPP can be assigned on  $v^*$  in this case. After this stage, the  $Subj_{ppm}$  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 (2-22b). When Aux and T are merged successively with the structure already made up, as in (2-22c), T enters into an Agree relation with the  $Subj_{ppm}$  in inner Spec  $v^*P$ , ignoring the  $Obj_{ppm}$  in outer Spec  $v^*P$  (see footnote 32), whereby the  $u\phi$  of T is valued. Then, the  $Subj_{ppm}$  is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (2-22d), and the Aux-to-T movement is carried out, as in (2-22e). After the phonologically realized Fin (i.e. *bat*) is merged with the TP, C is merged with the FinP, as in (2-22f). At this stage, C enters into multiple Agree relations with the  $Subj_{ppm}$  and the  $Obj_{ppm}$ , whereby the  $u\phi$  of C is valued. Then, as in (2-22g), both the  $Subj_{ppm}$  and the  $Obj_{ppm}$  encliticize to C since the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter. Finally, as in (2-22h), the Fin-to-C movement is carried out, the outcome of which is the Comp- $Subj_{ppm}$ - $Obj_{ppm}$ -Aux-V order (cf. (2-10b)).

Let us turn now to the other conceivable derivation, that is, the derivation for the subordinate clause involving a  $Subj_{FN}$  and a Wackernagel  $Obj_{pprn}$ . This is derived in a somewhat different manner, which is illustrated as follows:

- (2-23) a. MERGER OF  $v^*$  AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN  $v^*$  AND  $Obj_{pprn}$

$[_{v^*P} v^* <u\phi/EPP> [_{VP} Obj_{pprn} <i\phi> V \dots ] ]$

AGREE

- b. MERGER OF  $Subj_{FN}$  AND  $Obj_{pprn}$  MOVEMENT TO SPEC  $v^*P$

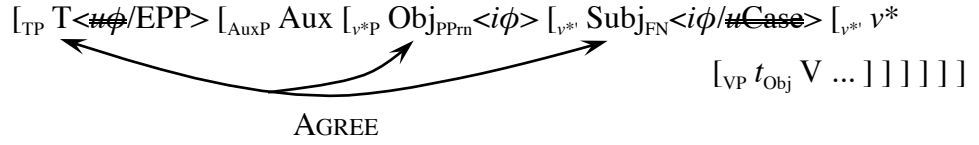
$[_{v^*P} Obj_{pprn} <i\phi> [_{v^*} Subj_{FN} <i\phi/uCase> [_{v^*} v^* <EPP> [_{VP} t_{Obj} V \dots ] ] ] ]$

SATISFACTION OF EPP

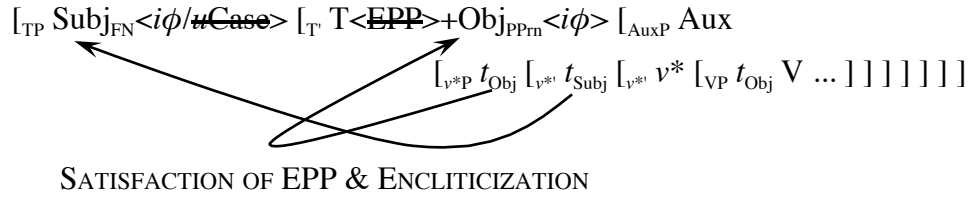


c. MERGER OF AUX AND T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ<sub>FN</sub> AND

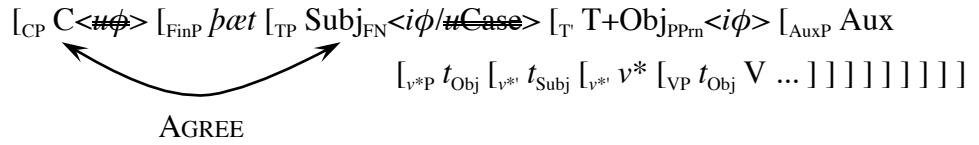
OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>



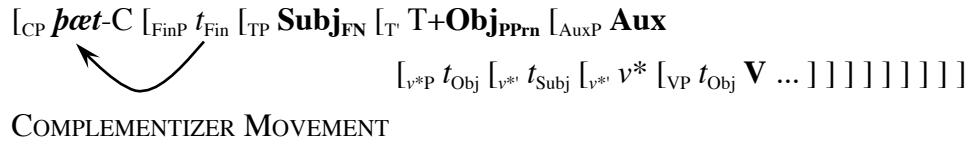
d. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub> MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP AND OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> ENCLITICIZATION TO T



e. MERGER OF PHONOLOGICALLY REALIZED FIN AND C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>



f. FIN-TO-C MOVEMENT



The first two steps of (2-23) are the same as those of the derivation for the Comp-Subj<sub>PPRN</sub>-Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>-Aux-V order (i.e. (2-22)): v\* enters into an Agree relation with the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>, whereby the uφ of v\* is valued, as in (2-23a); the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is merged with the v\*P and the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> is raised to Spec v\*P to satisfy the EPP requirement of v\*, as in (2-23b). The third step diverges from that of the derivation for the Comp-Subj<sub>PPRN</sub>-Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>-Aux-V order: upon its merger with the v\*P, T enters into multiple Agree relations with both the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> in outer Spec v\*P and the Subj<sub>FN</sub> in inner Spec v\*P, as in (2-23c). Then, as in (2-23d), the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, and the Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> is

encliticized to T as the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter.<sup>35</sup> When C is merged with the TP, as in (2-23e), it enters into an Agree relation with the Subj<sub>FN</sub>, valuing its *uφ*. At this point, the Subj<sub>FN</sub> cannot encliticize to C, because it bears *uCase*. Finally, as in (2-23f), the Fin-to-C movement is induced, and the derivation in question results in the Comp-Subj<sub>FN</sub>-Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-Aux-V order (cf. (2-10a)).

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

(2-24) NEG-AUX-V ORDER ↗ 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 is justified for the derivation of the Comp-Subj<sub>FN</sub>-Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-Aux-V order. Since the failure of Aux-to-T movement was not so frequent, moreover, it is expected that the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> is attested more frequently in the subordinate clause with a Subj<sub>PPm</sub> than the one with a Subj<sub>FN</sub>. This prediction is borne out: 101 out of the 148 instances of the Subj-Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-Aux-V order in Tables 2-6 and 2-8 (68.24%) involve a Subj<sub>PPm</sub>. This figure also suggests the lack of Aux-to-T movement

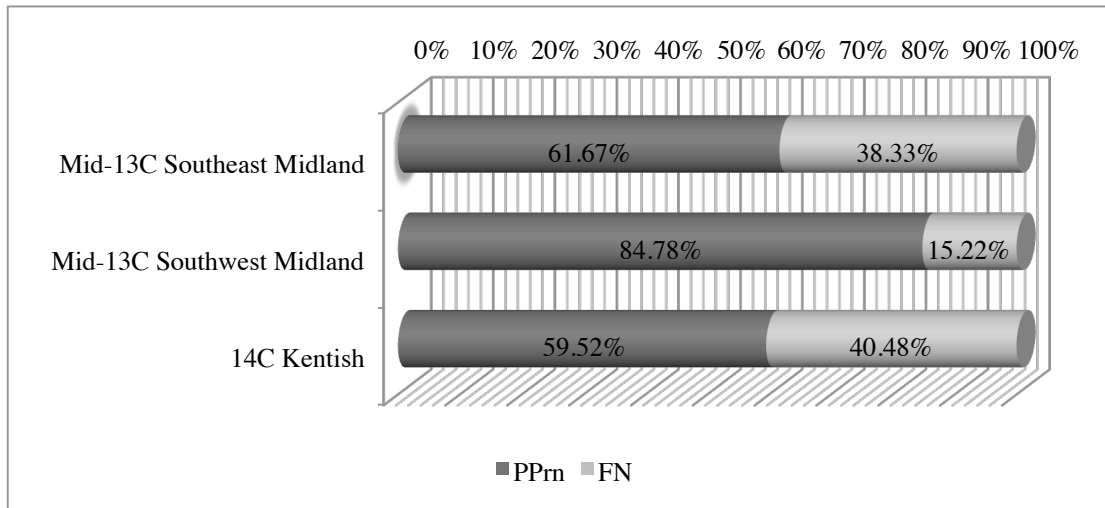
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<sup>35</sup> Again, a potentially problematic derivational step is conceivable here: the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> is raised to Spec TP, satisfying the EPP requirement of T, while the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is left behind in situ (i.e. Spec *v*\*P). Given the maximize-matching-effects principle (see footnote 34), however, this derivational step is definitively ruled out.

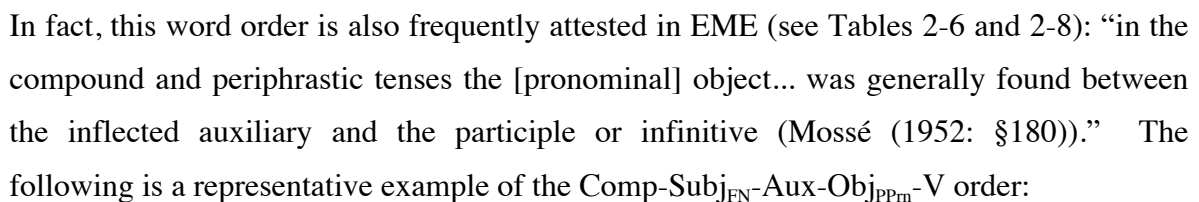
in the Comp-Subj<sub>FN</sub>-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-Aux-V order. The detailed figures are given in Table 2-12:

TABLE 2-12: SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> VS. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub> IN THE SUBJ-OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>-AUX-V ORDER

<PPCME2>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>
MID-13C SOUTHEAST MIDLAND TEXTS		
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	24	21
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	13	2
MID-13C SOUTHWEST MIDLAND TEXTS		
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	12	4
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	1	1
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	1	0
cmhali.m1 (c.1225)	2	1
cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)	4	0
cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)	19	1
14C KENTISH TEXT		
cmayenbi.m2 (1340)	25	17
GRAND TOTAL	101	47



(2-23) f'. AUX-TO-T MOVEMENT



(2-25) COMP-SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>-AUX-OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>-V ORDER

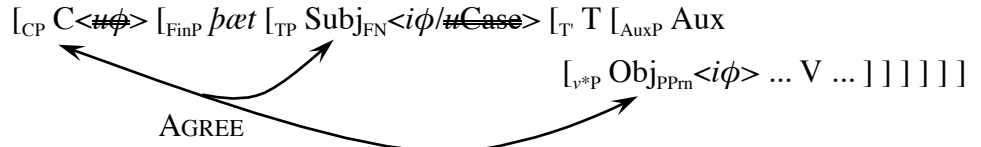
‘... that God has not given it to him...’ (CMAYENBI, 18.273 / PPCME2)

<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, 7 out of the 21 instances of the Subj<sub>FN</sub>-Obj<sub>Jppm</sub>-Aux-V order in the *Vices and Virtues* and 10 out of the 17 instances in the *Ayenbite of Inwit* involve the noun *God* ‘God’ and its orthographical variants as a Subj<sub>FN</sub>. This fact may be due to N-to-D movement attested in OE with the same noun modified by the adjective *Ælmihtig* ‘Almighty’ (cf. Crisma (1999: 109ff)). I have no interesting explanation at the moment.

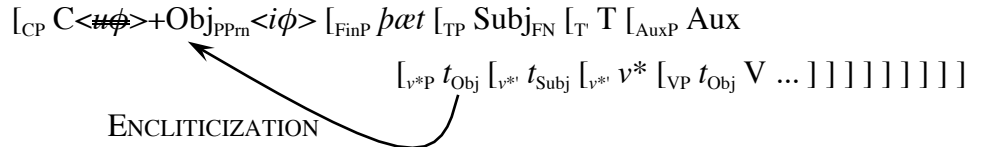
Obj<sub>PPm</sub> always results in the Comp-Subj<sub>FN</sub>-Aux-Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-V order, or with a head-initial VP, it may even result in the Comp-Subj<sub>FN</sub>-Aux-V-Obj<sub>PPm</sub> order.

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

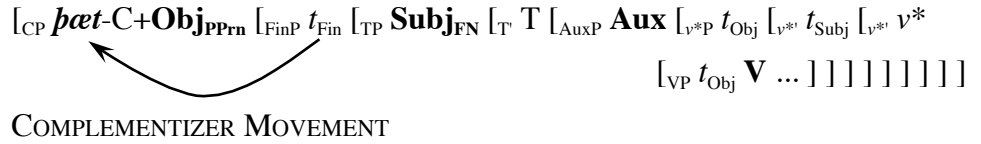
(2-23') e. MERGER OF PHONOLOGICALLY REALIZED FIN AND C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ<sub>FN</sub> AND OBJ<sub>PPm</sub>



e'. OBJ<sub>PPm</sub> ENCLITICIZATION TO C



f. FIN-TO-C MOVEMENT



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

To sum up, the Subj<sub>PPm</sub> and the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> have been shown to bear only *i*φ. Due to



The loss of the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$  is simply conceived as loss of CPPrns. That is,  $u\text{Case}$  is added to CPPrns, thereby creating WPPrns (cf. (2-17)). Since  $u\text{Case}$  is absent from PPrn D in OE/EME while it is present in PPrn D in LME, there seems to be a parametric variation in feature contents of PPrn D. With respect to this variation, let us propose that something like the following parameter is at work:

(2-27)  $u\text{CASE PARAMETER ON D}$ <sup>38</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>39</sup> This point is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. See Watanabe (1994: 168, footnote 18) for an economical flavor of the default parameter setting. See also Gelderen (2004b: 60f, 69ff, 89ff) and Roberts & Roussou

(2-27) is set for a positive value. In other words, if children do not encounter a trigger or, more precisely, a cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff, 2002a: 9, 2003: 6f, 2006a: 78ff)) for setting the negative value for (2-27) in the course of language acquisition, the default value, namely, the positive value is chosen. According to Lightfoot (2006a: 78), a cue is expressed as a partial grammatical structure and is an element of I-language derived from the input. Children scan the linguistic environment for these cues and set the parameters accordingly.

Here, a question arises as to what counts as a cue for setting the negative value for (2-27). The Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  itself cannot be considered as a cue, since it is hardly the case that children acquire language with reference to the subordinate context. Since they learn everything “from structures of ‘degree-0 complexity’ [= main clauses] (Lightfoot (1991: 10)),” instead, we can conjecture that they set the negative value for (2-27) in the following manner. First of all, the SPA in the main topic-initial context can be considered as the cue for setting the negative value for (2-27). More specifically, the cue in question consists of the V2 order involving a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  and the V3 order involving a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  in the relevant context (i.e.  $[_{\text{CP}} \text{Topic } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{V } [_{\text{TP}} \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} \dots ]]]$  and  $[_{\text{CP}} \text{Topic } \text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{V } [_{\text{TP}} \dots ]]]$ ). When children are confronted with this cue, they will infer that PPrns have properties distinct from FNs. Given that  $\mu\text{Case}$  is included in the inventory of formal features that the UG affords and that it can be placed in PPrns (= D) when features are assembled to lexical items, more precisely, they will infer that the  $\mu\text{Case}$  is absent from PPrn D, whereby (2-27) is set for the negative value. Once this is done, all the PPrns (without a phonologically null  $\text{N}^0$ ), 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  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  and T/C in the case of the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$ . In some subordinate contexts (i.e. the subordinate clause involving a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  and the one involving a  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  and no V-to-T movement),  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$

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(2003: 30f, 44, 58, 201), where it is argued independently that the notion of economy plays an important role in language change.



encliticization to T/C yields the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$ . Thus, the SPA in the main topic-initial context triggers the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  in the subordinate context.

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

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

## 2.5. Northern Dialect of LME

The linguistic facts in the Northern dialect of LME lend support to the scenario for loss of cliticization presented in the previous section. Recall that in §2.2.1 we referred to the survey conducted by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000). They, in fact, cover the Northern dialect of LME. Surveying the *Northern Prose Rule of St. Benet*, the oldest surviving Northern prose text dated to around 1425, they similarly collected the V2/V3 instances with both the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{FN}}$  and the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  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 Table 2-13:

TABLE 2-13: V2/V3 IN THE *NORTHERN PROSE RULE OF ST. BENET*

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	
	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%)
AVERAGE	93.9%	6.1%	92.9%	7.1%

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

The SPA is obviated in this text, but interestingly, the majority of instances with both the Subj<sub>FN</sub> and the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> exhibit a V2 pattern. The shaded rows in Table 2-13 show that 93.9% of the Subj<sub>FN</sub> tokens and 92.9% of the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> tokens exhibit the V2 order on average. The following are representative examples (cited from Fischer et al. (2000)):

(2-28) a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

[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<sub>PPRN</sub>

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

TABLE 2-14: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE 15C NORTHERN TEXTS

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

FIGURE 2-3: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)		LME (NORTHERN DIALECT)	
SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>
V2	V3	V2 (V3)	V2 (V3)

In terms of the analyses provided in §2.3.1, obviation of SPA in the Northern dialect of LME can be viewed as loss of the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> encliticization to C accompanied by retainment of the V-to-Fin movement:

(2-29) LOSS OF SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> ENCLITICIZATION TO C

*EME*: [<sub>CP</sub> **Topic** [<sub>C'</sub> C+**Subj**<sub>PPRN</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> **V-T-v\*-Fin** [<sub>TP</sub> *t*<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> *t*<sub>T</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>v\*</sub> *t*<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ... *t*<sub>V</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]]  
 ↓  
*LME*: [<sub>CP</sub> **Topic** [<sub>C'</sub> C [<sub>FinP</sub> **V-T-v\*-Fin** [<sub>TP</sub> **Subj**<sub>PPRN</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> *t*<sub>T</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> *t*<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>v\*</sub> *t*<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ... *t*<sub>V</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]]

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

FIGURE 2-4: THE DANELAW



(Shepherd (1911: 60))

One instance is the third person plural form of PP<sub>Prns</sub>. While the EME Southern/Midland dialect retained indigenous third person plural forms (e.g. nominative *hy/hi* (< OE *h̄e/h̄*), accusative *hie/hi* (< OE *h̄e/h̄*), 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 paradigms (Nakao (1972: 137); see also Dawson (2003: 45)). Now suppose the ON forms bear *u*Case and behave as FNs or WPP<sub>Prns</sub>. This should be warranted, given the fact that ON is a strictly systematic V2 language in both main and subordinate clauses (Rögnvaldsson (1995: 5, 1996: 57), Hróarsdóttir (2000: 53); see also Christoffersen (1980: 118) and Morse-Gagné (2003: 295ff)).<sup>40</sup> Then, the ON forms need not, hence cannot, encliticize to any functional head. Thus, the historical change shown in Figure 2-3 seems to have resulted from the replacement of indigenous third person plural forms with the new forms of ON origin. Under the pressure of language contact with ON, children learning the Northern dialect acquired the new third person plural forms bearing *u*Case, 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

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<sup>40</sup> Note that ON also exhibits the so-called V1 declarative (Faarlund (2004: 192), Haugan (1999: 55), Sigurðsson (1990: 46)). In this construction, too, both the Subj<sub>FN</sub> and the Subj<sub>PP<sub>Prn</sub></sub> systematically follow the fronted V. The sentences in (i) and (ii) are instances of V1 with a Subj<sub>FN</sub> and a Subj<sub>PP<sub>Prn</sub></sub>, respectively. Whether the sentence is V1 or V2, the subject always follows the fronted V (except for the subject topic case). Hence, the discussion in the text remains unaffected.

- (i) sóru þa fyrir mér með stöfuðum bókareiði **Lafranz** **Raumdæl**  
 swore-3PL then before me-DAT with pronounced book-oath-DAT Lafranz-NOM Raumdæl  
**ok Groa**  
 and Groa-NOM

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

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

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

‘I will give the sword to you.’

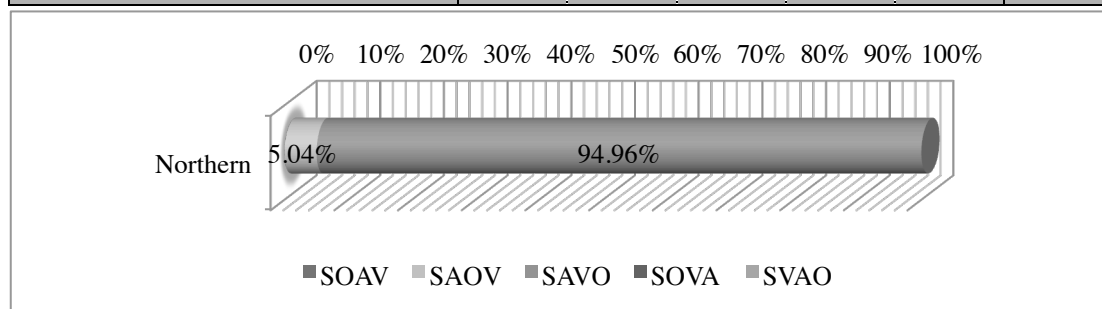
(Grett 974 / Haugan (1999: 55))

forms), whereby the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPm}}$  encliticization to C became impossible. This caused the rise of uniform V2 effects in the main topic-initial context, thereby obviating the SPA in the Northern dialect of LME. An important point here is that the change under consideration was not caused by the resetting of the parameter in (2-27), but by the rise of  $\mu\text{Case}$  in nominative PP<sub>ns</sub> (see the discussion below for justification of this point).

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

TABLE 2-15: DISTRIBUTION OF  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  IN THE 15C NORTHERN TEXTS

<PPCME2>	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 (1)
TOTAL	0	6 (1)	113	0	0	119 (1)



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

Note that this change did not result from the rise of  $\mu\text{Case}$ , which caused the obviation

of the SPA. Under the scenario presented above, the property of the new third person plural forms (i.e. presence of *uCase*) was generalized to the other nominative forms, but crucially not to the other accusative/dative forms. In this connection, recall the V2/V3 facts in Chaucer's works (written in the late 14th century East Midland dialect) briefly mentioned in §2.2.2. His texts exhibit relatively high frequency of V2 both with the Subj<sub>FN</sub> (50.0%) and with the Subj<sub>PPm</sub> (50.0%), whereby the SPA is obviated (see Table 2-4). Intriguingly, Chaucer's works coincide with the LME Northern texts in this respect, namely, in that the SPA is obviated by the rise of uniform V2 in the main topic-initial context. Moreover, they are also similar to the LME Northern texts in that the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> is unattested (see Table 2-9). What is more relevant to the current discussion is the pronominal paradigms in Chaucer's works. For third person plural PPns, they borrowed the ON nominative form and retained the indigenous accusative/dative form (Ukaji (2000: 172, 174); see also Nakao (1972: 137)).<sup>41</sup> In terms of the feature contents, this means that the third person plural nominative form bears *uCase* while the third person plural accusative/dative form lacks this feature. Now, what happens if the property of the third person plural nominative form and that of the third person plural accusative/dative form are generalized to the other nominative forms and to the other accusative/dative, respectively? A conceivable possibility is that the nominative forms in general bear *uCase* while the accusative/dative forms in general lack this feature. I speculate that this is what happened in Chaucer's works. Because of these peculiar pronominal paradigms, the SPA was obviated, thereby giving rise to uniform V2 in Chaucer's works. This, in turn, reset the parameter in (2-27) for the default/unmarked value, whereby the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> 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 PPns is of ON origin, the same change could have taken place in the Northern dialect prior to the composition of the

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<sup>41</sup> Chaucer's works also retained the indigenous genitive form for the third person plural PPn. Since this form is irrelevant to the current discussion, it is abstracted away.

oldest surviving texts. Thus, introduction of the ON third person plural nominative form bearing *u*Case into the pronominal paradigms of the Northern dialect and generalization of its property only to the other nominative forms should be justified (cf. Morse-Gagné (1988: 365, 2003: Chapters 4 and 5) and references cited therein).

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

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<sup>42</sup> Like the Northern dialects of LME, contemporary Germanic languages such as German and Dutch systematically exhibit a V2 phenomenon irrespective of subject types (i.e. SPA), but they allow the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>. An obvious question to ask, then, is how the parameter in (2-27) is set for negative value without the SPA. My tentative answer for this question is that V-Subj<sub>FN</sub> non-adjacency and V-Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> adjacency in the V2 context constitute the cue for the negative value for (2-27). Let us take up German for an instance. Haeberli (2000: 114f) observes that in German, an adjunct can intervene between the fronted finite V and the Subj<sub>FN</sub> while this is impossible with the Subj<sub>PPrn</sub>, as the following examples illustrate (cf. Haeberli (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.’ (Haeberli (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<sub>FN</sub> and Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> in their properties, whereby the parameter in (2-27) is driven to set for the negative value. Note in this connection that the V-Subj<sub>FN</sub> non-adjacency was possible in EME while it became impossible in the Northern dialect of LME (Haeberli (2000: 122ff)).



## 2.6. Summary

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

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

# Chapter 3

## Cliticization in the History of English, Part 2:

### Loss of the Displaced Personal Pronominal Complement to Prepositions in Late Middle English

#### 3.1. Introduction

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

#### (3-1) P-COMPL<sub>PPrn</sub> IN THE CANONICAL COMPLEMENT POSITION

ic hæbbe gehyred **be ðe**...

I have heard about you

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

In OE, the P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> can also be displaced from its canonical position and inverted with the P in question:

#### (3-2) INVERTED P-COMPL<sub>PPrn</sub>

a. ... ðæt ic on bigspellum **eow to** ne spræce

that I in parables you to NEG speak

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

(Alc.P, XIV.35 / Allen (1977: 54))

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<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, the example sentences are represented with the PP under consideration squared off and the P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> boldfaced.

- b. and hi ne dorston **him** fore gebiddan  
 and they NEG dared him for pray  
 ‘... and they didn’t dare to pray for him.’

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

Note the contrast between (3-1) and (3-2). Besides the inverted P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub>, Kemenade (1987: 115ff) points out that the displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> may be separated from the P (see also Allen (1977: 55f, 1980: 287f) and Pintzuk (1999: 143f)):

(3-3) P-COMPL<sub>ppRN</sub> SEPARATED FROM THE P

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

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

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

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

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

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

According to Kemenade, the displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> can also move up to the positions where the Obj<sub>ppm</sub> can typically appear: it is observed in Positions I, II and III (i.e. to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause, to the immediate left of the finite V in the main topic-initial V2/V3 clause, and to the immediate right of the finite V in the main operator-initial V2 clause):

(3-4) I. P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

- a. þæt **him** eal middangeard **to** beah  
 that him all world to bowed  
 ‘... that all the world bowed to him.’

(ÆCHom, I.32 / Kemenade (1987: 116))

II. P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 CLAUSE

- b. & [seofon ærendracan] ~~he~~ **him** hæfde **to** asend  
 and seven messengers he them had to sent  
 ‘... and he had sent seven messengers to them.’

(ChronA, 94.6 (905) / Pintzuk (1999: 143))

III. P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

- c. [þa] becom **him** Antigones mid firde **on**...  
 then came him Antigones with army against  
 ‘... then Antigones rose against him with an army...’

(Oros, 79.23 / Kemenade (1987: 117); cf. (3-3a))

Those peculiar properties of the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> seen in (3-2)-(3-4) led Kemenade to conclude that it is an instance of the CPP<sub>PN</sub> that requires a host.

In Chapter 2, the clitic status of the PPN is discussed in connection with the SPA observed in the main topic-initial clause and the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPN</sub>. It is shown that SPA is a prerequisite for CPP<sub>PN</sub>s. Once the SPA is obviated (via the rise of systematic V2 or V3), the PPN loses its clitic status, whereby the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPN</sub> is lost in LME.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> As mentioned in footnote 7 in Chapter 2, the term “obviation” is not intended here to refer to the notion of non-coreference in switch reference (cf. Voegelin & Voegelin (1969)). It is simply used to mean “removal” or “elimination” in what follows.

Given the claim that the obviation of SPA causes the loss of the clitic status of PPrns, it is predicted that once the SPA is obviated, the displaced (i.e. inverted/separated) P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> will also cease to be attested.

This chapter considers the following three questions:

(3-5) QUESTIONS

- a. When did the displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> disappear in the history of English?  
More specifically, did it disappear in accordance with the obviation of SPA?
- b. How are its basic facts in OE and EME explained within the framework of the MP?
- c. Why did it disappear in the history of English?

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

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<sup>3</sup> Hence, the PPCME2 texts surveyed here are confined to the ones surveyed by Haeberli (2002b), Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000). For detailed information on the surveyed texts, see Appendix 1.

analysis provided to the loss of the displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> in §3.4, §3.5 provides the basic facts of the locative pronominal (henceforth, LPrn) complement to a P (henceforth, P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub>) in EME and LME and considers its historical development. §3.6 summarizes this chapter.

## 3.2. Basic Facts

### 3.2.1. Displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> in the EME Southern/Midland Dialects

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

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<sup>4</sup> However, Nakao (1972: 389) also points out that the inverted P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> was still frequent in ME verse. Mossé (1952: §169) also notes that '[it] was often a problem of rhythm, and is scarcely found except in poetry [i.e. verse].'

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

( i ) P-COMPL<sub>pprn</sub> RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

þet heom man to cuman ne mihte  
that them people to come NEG could

'... that people could not get to them.'

(PC, 1095.44 / Kemenade (1987: 200))

This is the sole EME instance that Kemenade cites for the displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> located in the position where an Obj<sub>ppm</sub> can typically appear.

(3-6) a. INVERTED P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub>

ʒef swete luue & sahtnesse is eauer **ow** bitweonen  
 if sweet love and softness is ever you between  
 ‘... if there is always sweet love and tenderness between you.’

(AW, 128.22 / Kemenade (1987: 194))

b. P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> SEPARATED FROM THE P

we **hit** habbeð weilawei iherd **of** inohe  
 we it have alas heard of enough

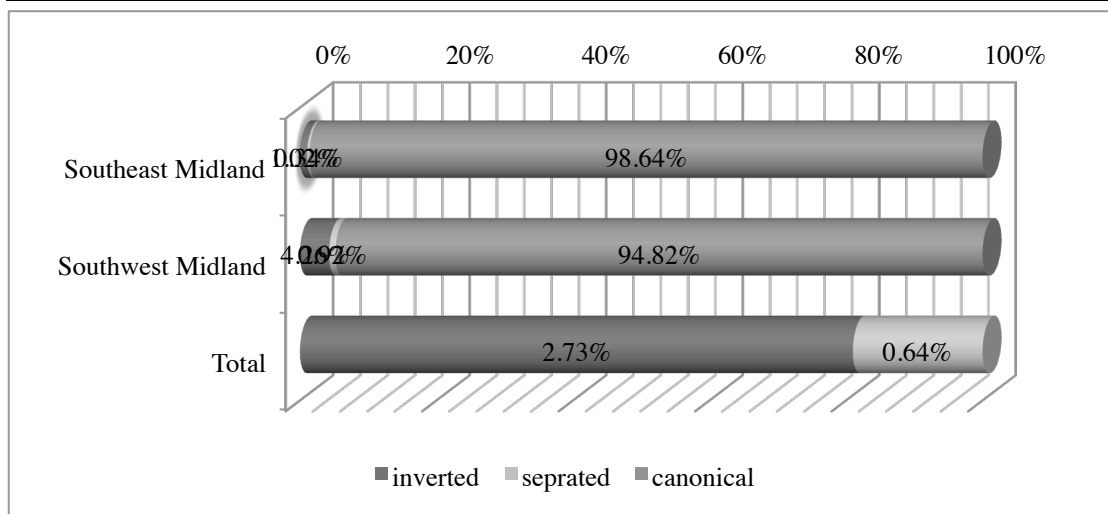
‘... we have, alas, heard enough of it.’ (AW, 34.2 / ibid.)

As it is evident now that the displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> was possible in EME, a question to ask is whether it was a productive option in EME. My survey on the distribution of the P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> in the texts of PPCME2 reveals that it was not so frequent but rather sporadic. The result of my survey on the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts (i.e. texts surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000) for SPA) is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3-1:

DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE SEVEN MID-13C SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED		CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted	separated		
SOUTHEAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	6	2	581	589
SOUTHWEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	28	6	624	658
TOTAL	34 (2.73%)	8 (0.64%)	1205 (96.63%)	1247 (100%)



We can see from Table 3-1 that the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> is sporadically attested in EME. In total, 34 out of the 1246 instances of the PP involving a P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> (2.73%) are inverted with a P while 8 instances (0.64%) are displaced and separated from a P. The following is an instance of the inverted P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> attested in one of the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts (i.e. the *Vices and Virtues*):

(3-7) INVERTED P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub>For ði... 3it winneð 3ung between...

for this it comes you between

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

(CMVICES1, 97.1167 / PPCME2)



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

TABLE 3-2: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE *AYENBITE OF INWIT*

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED		CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted	separated		
<i>AYENBITE OF INWIT</i>	0 (0%)	2 (1.04%)	191 (98.96%)	193 (100%)

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

(3-8) OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE SUBORDINATE WACKERNAGEL POSITION

3if **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 / PPCME2 (= (2-10b)))

The Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub> is fairly productive, retaining clitic nature, compared with the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub>. This means that although the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> is in the course of losing

its clitic status in EME, the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  fully retains it in this period. Based on the data collected from the PPCME2 (i.e. Tables 3-1 and 3-2), however, I consider that the  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  retained its clitic status to some extent. This is due to the fact that the ratio of the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  to the canonical  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  is one to two in OE (Mitchell (1978: 242)), which indicates that the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  was not so productive an option even in OE. Hence, the difference between the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  and the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  in EME productivity may be just a relic of OE.

Among the 10 instances (viz. 8 in Table 3-1 and 2 in Table 3-2) of the separated  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$ , 2 are instances exhibiting the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  located in the positions where an  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  can typically appear (i.e. Positions I, II and III). The case of the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  located to the immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause is not attested in my survey (but see footnote 5). The following are the instances in question:<sup>6</sup>

(3-9) II.  $\text{P-COMPL}_{\text{ppRN}}$  LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 CLAUSE

- a. [Al] **adam** **him** mihte **to** clapie  
all Adam them might to cry out

‘Adam might cry out all to them.’ (CMLAMB1, 79.122 / PPCME2)

III.  $\text{P-COMPL}_{\text{ppRN}}$  RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

- b. for [ne] mei **ham** **na þing** **ageines** etstonden  
for NEG may them nothing against stand

‘... for nothing may stand against them.’

(CMSAWLES, 184.266 / ibid.)

Despite the sparse EME tokens of the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$ , these instances also suggest

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<sup>6</sup> Notice that (3-9b) shows that the displaced  $\text{P-Compl}_{\text{ppm}}$  was possible in *Sawles Warde* (pace Kemenade (1987: 193); see the first paragraph of §3.2.1).

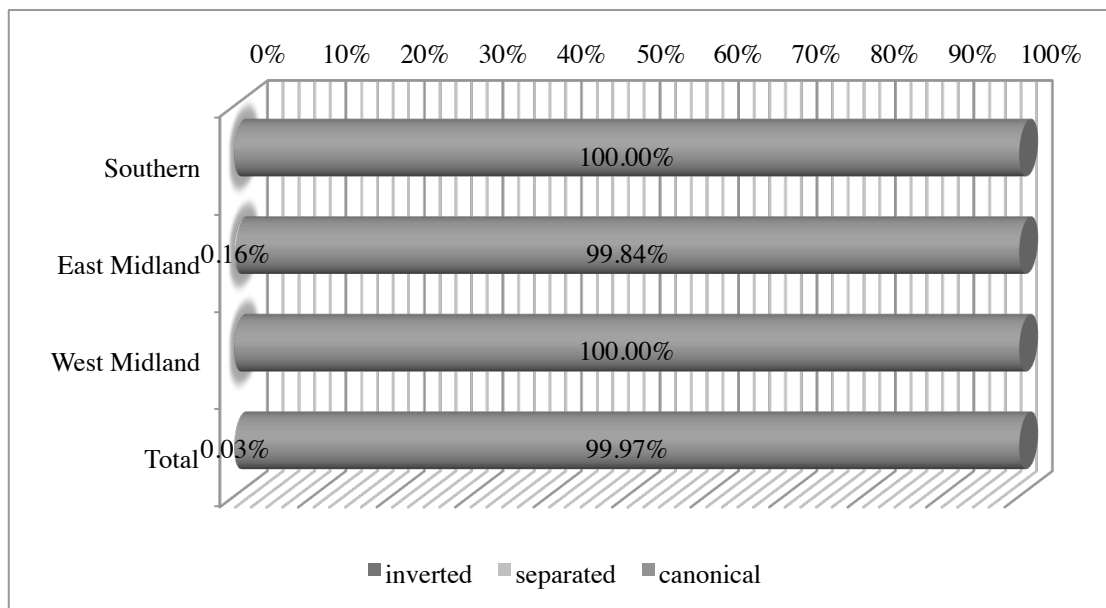
that the clitic status of the P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> was retained in EME to some extent.

### 3.2.2. Demise of the Displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> in the LME Southern/Midland Dialects

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

TABLE 3-3: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>pprn</sub> IN THE LATE 14C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED		CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted	separated		
SOUTHERN DIALECTS	0	0	1004	1004
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	0	1	616	617
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	0	0	2211	2211
TOTAL	0 (0%)	1 (0.03%)	3831 (99.97%)	3832 (100%)



The sole instance of the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> constitutes only 0.03% of the PP tokens involving a P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub>. This instance is exceptional. The following is the exceptional

instance in question:

(3-10) AN EXCEPTIONAL INSTANCE OF THE DISPLACED P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE 14TH CENTURY

and [in þe þridde ȝere after], **him** come **vppon** a stronge  
and in the third year afterwards him come upon a strong  
~~sikenesse~~, þat nedes he moste dye  
sickness that necessarily he must die

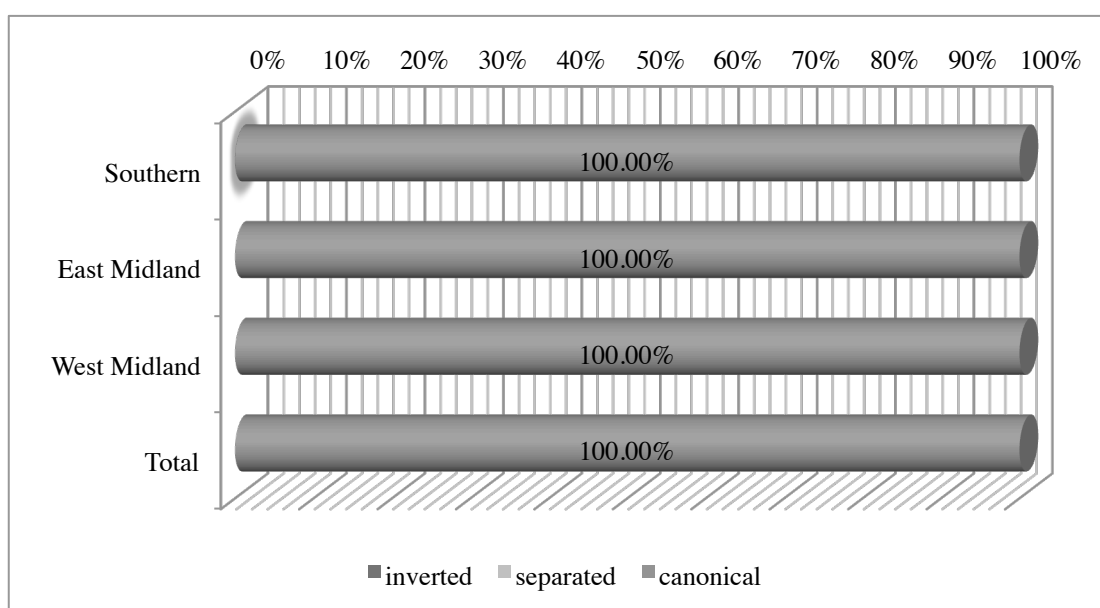
‘... and in the following third year, a strong sickness comes upon him, so that  
he must inevitably die.’ (CMBRUT3, 92.2769 / PPCME2)

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

In the 15th century, the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> completely disappears in the texts. This is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3-4: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE 15C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED		CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted	separated		
SOUTHERN DIALECTS	0	0	262	262
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	0	0	1337	1337
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	0	0	1707	1707
TOTAL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3306 (100%)	3306 (100%)



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

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

FIGURE 3-1: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE DISPLACED P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub>

EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)		LME (SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS)
DISPLACED P-COMPL <sub>PPRN</sub>	⇒	DISPLACED P-COMPL <sub>PPRN</sub>
sporadic		extinct

The change under consideration clearly indicates that the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> lost its clitic status during the transition from EME to LME.

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

(3-11) SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

[ʒewiss] hafð **godd** forworpen ðan ilche mann...  
 certainly has God rejected that same man  
 ‘... certainly, God has rejected that same man.’ (V&V, 13.31)

b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

[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)

Haeberli (2002b: 252ff) observes, however, that irrespective of the subject types, the main topic-initial context systematically exhibits V3 order in the late 14th and 15th century Southern/Midland texts. In Chapter 2, I have taken their findings to show that the SPA was conspicuous in EME and it was obviated in the transition period from EME to LME, as shown in the following figure:

FIGURE 3-2: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)		⇒	LME (SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS)	
SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>
V2	V3		V3	V3

(= Figure 2-1)

It is apparent now that the demise of the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> and the obviation of SPA took place in the same period, namely, during the transition from EME to LME. Based on the approach under which language change is conceived to be a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, both the demise of the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> and the SPA obviation can be explained in terms of children's language acquisition. Adopting the notions of degree-0 learnability (Lightfoot (1991: 10)) and cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff)), I have suggested in Chapter 2 that the existence of SPA is a prerequisite for the clitic status of PPrns and that its obviation causes the PPrns to lose their clitic status. We can conclude, then, that the SPA obviation caused the P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> to lose its clitic status, thereby resulting in the demise of the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub>. Bearing this conclusion in mind, let us turn now to the P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> facts in the Northern dialect of LME.

### 3.2.3. Demise of the Displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> in the LME Northern Dialects

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

FIGURE 3-3: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE SPA IN THE MAIN TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

EME (KENTISH/MIDLAND DIALECTS)		⇒	LME (NORTHERN DIALECT)	
SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>		SUBJ <sub>FN</sub>	SUBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>
V2	V3		V2	V2

(= Figure 2-3)

Given the conclusion that the SPA obviation causes the demise of the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub>, we can predict that the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> will already be non-existent in the Northern dialect. The data from the PPCME2 indicates that this prediction is borne out: not a single instance is attested in the 15th century Northern texts:

TABLE 3-5: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> IN THE 15C NORTHERN TEXTS

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED		CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted	separated		
NORTHERN DIALECTS	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	387 (100%)	387 (100%)

The chart illustrates that 100% of the instances in Northern dialects are canonical, with 0% being inverted and 0% being separated.

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

### 3.3. Analyses

#### 3.3.1. Structural Positions of the Displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub>

Let us turn now to the positions of the displaced P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> in the clause. The mechanism of cliticization presented in §2.3 of Chapter 2 naturally captures how the P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> is displaced, with a few additional assumptions to be introduced in the following subsection. The account given in §2.3 of Chapter 2 on the SPA and the Wackernagel Obj<sub>pprn</sub> is briefly reviewed. In a nutshell, it is argued there à la Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) that the clitic status of PPrns is attributed to the absence of *uCase*. Under the theory of movement proposed by Roberts (2010a: 57), the




lack of  $u\text{Case}$  induces encliticization. Since the originally unvalued features which are valued in the course of derivation do not delete at the end of the phase but remain undeleted in narrow syntax (contra Chomsky (2000: 124f, 2001: 18f, 2004: 113ff, 2005: 17, 2007: 18f, 2008: 154f)), the label of the CPPrn is not distinct from that of an agreeing functional head in that both bear a full set of  $\phi$ -features, and the feature contents of the former (i.e.  $i\phi$ ) are rendered a proper subset of those of the latter (i.e. valued  $u\phi$ ) after an Agree relation between the former and the latter. When all the conditions (i.e. nondistinctness of labels) are met, encliticization is triggered purely by Agree without recourse to an EPP. At this point, let us follow Chomsky (2001: 8f, 2004: 115f, 2005: 18, 2007: 19f, 2008: 143f), Carstens (2003: 394, 397), Tanaka (2002: 80ff, 2004: 180f) and Tanaka (2003: 86f, 94) in assuming that in addition to T and  $v^*$ , C also bears  $u\phi$ . Then, the potential host for CPPrns is limited to C, T and  $v^*$ . When the  $\text{Subj}_{\text{PPrn}}$  is encliticized to C, the main topic-initial context exhibits V3 order, whereby the SPA results. When the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$  is encliticized to C or T, it appears in the position preceding a modal/aspectual auxiliary verb, thereby yielding the Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$ . Similarly, the displaced P- $\text{Compl}_{\text{PPrn}}$  can also be regarded as being encliticized to C or T or some other functional head, to which we will turn now. The separated P- $\text{Compl}_{\text{PPrn}}$  such as (3-3), the inverted P- $\text{Compl}_{\text{PPrn}}$  such as (3-2b) which is right-adjacent to a head element, and the inverted P- $\text{Compl}_{\text{PPrn}}$  such as (3-2a) which is not right-adjacent to a head element are considered in detail.

### 3.3.2. Encliticization to C/T

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

(3-12) a. COMPLETION OF NEGP

$[_{\text{NegP}} \textit{ne} [_{\text{AuxP}} \textit{mei} [_{\text{vP}} \textit{na} \textit{bing} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle [_{\text{v}'} v$   
 $[_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{PP}} \textit{a} \textit{zeines} \textit{ham} \langle i\phi \rangle ] \textit{etstonden} ] ] ] ] ]$   
 VALUING  $U\Phi$  OF P 

b. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>[illegible]

### c. MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

[<sub>TP</sub> ***na ping*** <*iφ*/#Case> [<sub>T'</sub> T <~~*uφ*~~/~~EPP~~> [<sub>NegP</sub> *ne* [<sub>AuxP</sub> *mei* [<sub>V'P</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> *t<sub>na ping</sub>* [<sub>v'</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> *a3eines ham<iφ>*] etstonden ]]]]]]]]

SATISFACTION OF EPP

#### d. AUX-TO-C MOVEMENT

[illegible]e. AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub>

[<sub>CP</sub> ne-mei-T-C<~~*nɛ*~~> [<sub>TP</sub> na ping<*iφ*> [<sub>T'</sub> t<sub>T</sub> [<sub>NegP</sub> t<sub>ne</sub> [<sub>AuxP</sub> t<sub>mei</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>na ping</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> v  
[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> azeines ham<*iφ*> ] etstonden ]]]]]]]]

AGREE

f. P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> ENCLITICIZATION TO C

[<sub>CP</sub> ne-mei-T-C<~~*nə*~~>+ham<iφ>] [<sub>TP</sub> na ping<iφ>] [<sub>T</sub> t<sub>T</sub> [<sub>NegP</sub> t<sub>ne</sub> [<sub>AuxP</sub> t<sub>mei</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>na ping</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> v [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> azeines t<sub>ham</sub>] etstonden]]]]]]]

ENCLITICIZATION

At the stage of the derivation where the formation of a NegP is completed, *uφ* of the P has already been valued by a P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub>,<sup>7</sup> as in (3-12a), but *iφ* of the P-Compl<sub>pprn</sub> is still

<sup>7</sup> In fact, the *uφ* of a functional head dominating the PP is valued at this stage. See discussion below.

visible to the computational system unless the PP is a phase. Let us tentatively assume that a PP does not constitute a phase, so that the  $i\phi$  of the P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> continues to be visible to the computational system. Upon its merger with the NegP already completed, T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj<sub>FN</sub>, as in (3-12b), whereby the  $u\phi$  of the former and the  $u$ Case of the latter are valued. Then, the Subj<sub>FN</sub> is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (3-12c). After the merger of C with the TP, Aux-to-C movement is carried out, as in (3-12d). At this stage, C enters into an Agree relation with the active P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub>, as in (3-12e), and the latter encliticizes to the former since the label of the former becomes nondistinct from that of the latter, as in (3-12f).<sup>8</sup> Thus, the separated P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> cases fall under the instances of PPrn encliticization to C/T.

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

(3-13) a. COMPLETION OF  $vP$

$[_{vP} \textit{jit} <i\phi/uCase> [_{v'} v [_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{between} \textit{zung} <i\phi> ] \textit{winneð} ] ] ]$

VALUING  $u\phi$  OF P

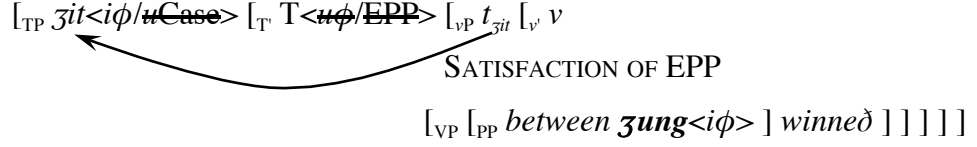
b. MERGER OF T AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND SUBJ<sub>pprn</sub>

$[_{TP} T <\cancel{u\phi}/EPP> [_{vP} \textit{jit} <i\phi/\cancel{uCase}> [_{v'} v [_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{between} \textit{zung} <i\phi> ] \textit{winneð} ] ] ] ]$

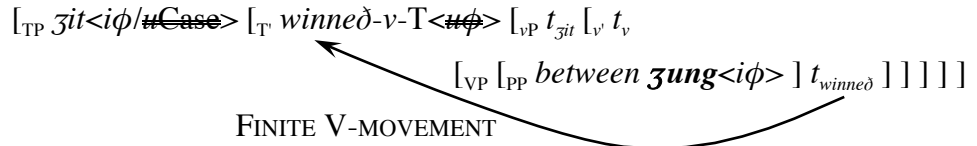
AGREE

<sup>8</sup> The finite V-movement is conceived here to be carried out in a “successive-cyclic-like” manner (i.e. via T in the case of Aux-to-C movement and via  $v$  and T in the case of V-to-C movement), although this is abstracted away from what is discussed in the text. It is also assumed here that the Subj<sub>pprn</sub> *jit* in (3-13) is an instance of the SPPrns, hence bearing  $u$ Case, and that it originates from Spec  $vP$  although the finite V *winneð* is an unaccusative V. Note that when a transitive or unergative V is involved, the P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> is first raised to Spec  $v^*P$ , and then encliticized to C.

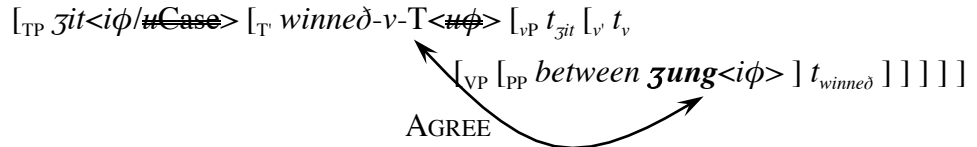
c. MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP



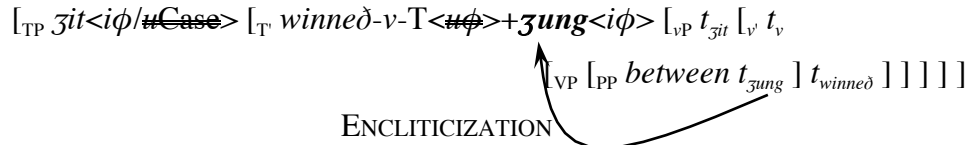
d. V-TO-T MOVEMENT



e. AGREEMENT BETWEEN T AND P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub>



f. P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> ENCLITICIZATION TO T



At the stage of the derivation where the formation of a  $vP$  is completed,  $u\phi$  of the P has already been valued by a P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub>, as in (3-13a), but  $i\phi$  of the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> is still visible to the computational system since a PP does not constitute a phase. Upon its merger with the  $vP$  already completed, T enters into an Agree relation with the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub>, as in (3-13b), whereby the  $u\phi$  of the former and the  $uCase$  of the latter are valued. Then, the Subj<sub>PPRN</sub> is raised to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP requirement of T, as in (3-13c), and the V-to-T movement is carried out, as in (3-13d). Since the phase including a TP (i.e. CP) is not completed at this stage, the valued  $u\phi$  of T is also visible to the computational system. Given this, T, then, enters into an Agree relation with the active P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub>, as in (3-13e), and the latter encliticizes to the former since the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter, as in (3-13f). Thus, the inverted P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> cases also fall under the instances of PPRN encliticization to C/T.

### 3.3.3. Encliticization to K

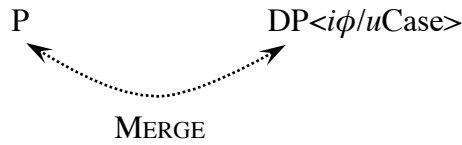
It should be emphasized here that not all of the inverted P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> instances are derived by PPRN encliticization to C/T. This is because the inverted P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> is not always right-adjacent to a head element (e.g. C, T and V) in the attested instances: a phrasal element (e.g.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

- (3-14) a. ADV INTERVENING BETWEEN THE P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> AND THE NEAREST HEAD  
 hweer þe cat of helle clachte(-T) [eauer] **hire** towardt...  
 where the cat of hell clutched ever her toward  
 ‘... where the cat of hell ever clutched at her...’  
 (CMANCRIW, II.81.965 / PPCME2)
- b. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub> INTERVENING BETWEEN THE P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> AND THE NEAREST HEAD  
 swa reðe swa (C) **his sceadu** **heom** on glað...  
 so immediately so his shadow them on gladden  
 ‘... as soon as his shadow make merry on them...’  
 (CMLAMBX1, 91.786 / ibid.)
- c. OBJ<sub>FN</sub> INTERVENING BETWEEN THE P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub> AND THE NEAREST HEAD  
 for-þi we scolden halden **his heste** **us** bitwenan  
 for-this we should hold his commandment us between  
 ‘... for this reason, we should hold his commandment between us.’  
 (CMLAMBX1, 21.233 / ibid.)

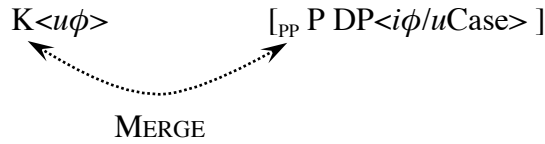
Out of the 34 EME instances of inverted P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> attested in the PPCME2 (cf. Tables 3-1 and 3-2), 11 are cases like (3-14). It follows that the sentences in (3-14) cannot be derived by P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> encliticization to C/T, since the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> is not right-adjacent to the functional head in question. Then, how can they be derived? To tackle with this problem, let us assume that PPs are dominated by a functional projection, along the lines of Kayne (2002: 72ff, 2004: 202ff). Name it Kase (henceforth, K), following Kayne’s (2002: 73) elaboration of Bayer et al. (2001: 474ff). Under this assumption, K plays a role

of the locus of Case/agreement for the P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub>, instead of a P. This prepositional system is just like the system of the verbal projection: the locus of Case/agreement for the internal argument of a transitive V is  $v^*$ , but not the V. Thus, it is after the introduction of K into the prepositional structure that an Agree relation is established for the complement of a P. This is implemented as follows:

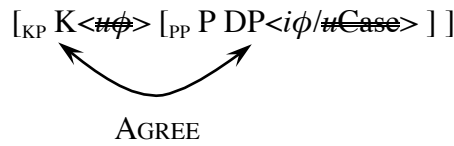
(3-15) a. MERGER OF P AND DP



b. MERGER OF K AND PP

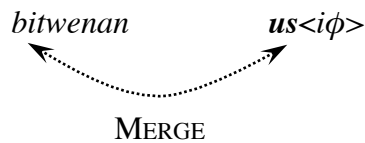


c. AGREEMENT BETWEEN K AND DP

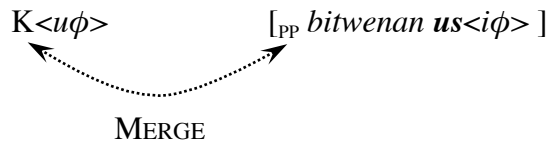


Similarly, the P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> also enters into an Agree relation with K after the introduction of the latter into the derivation. In this case, however, the derivation includes an additional step (i.e. encliticization). Let us take up (3-14c) for illustration:

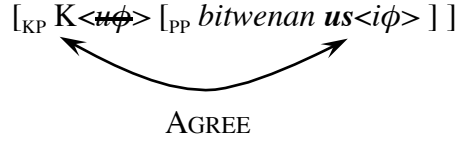
(3-16) a. MERGER OF P AND P-COMPL<sub>ppRN</sub>



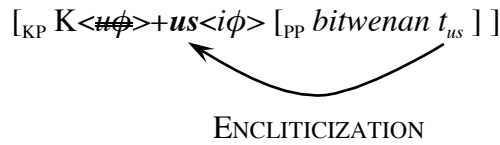
b. MERGER OF K AND PP



c. AGREEMENT BETWEEN K AND P-COMPL<sub>PPRN</sub>



d. ENCLITICIZATION TO K



First, the P merges with a P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub>, forming a PP, as in (3-16a). At this stage, nothing happens to the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub>. Then, K merges with the PP already made up, forming a KP, as in (3-16b), and it enters into an Agree relation with the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub>, as in (3-16c), whereby the *uφ* of the former is valued. Finally, the P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> encliticizes to K since the label of the former is nondistinct from that of the latter, as in (3-16d). Thus, the sentence involving an inverted P-Compl<sub>PPRN</sub> is also derived by encliticization to K.

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

### 3.4. A Net Result of Changes

This section demonstrates that the scenario for the loss of the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPRN</sub>, or more precisely, the loss of cliticization, presented in §2.4 of Chapter 2 holds true in the loss

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

(3-17) *uCase* PARAMETER ON D

- a.  $-uCase$  on D:  $D^{Min/Max} < i\phi >$  (= CPPrn)
- b.  $+uCase$  on D:  $D^{Min/Max} < i\phi/uCase >$  (= WPPrn) (= (2-27))

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

Now, one may wonder why (3-17) ceased to have a negative value in LME. As we take language change to be a reflex of the change in how children attain a grammar, we will consider how they decide the setting for the value of (3-17). As suggested in §2.4 of Chapter 2, the default/unmarked value of (3-17) is positive. This means that unless there is positive evidence indicating the contrary, (3-17) is set for the positive value. In other words, if children do not encounter a cue (Dresher (1999: 28ff), Lightfoot (1999: 149ff)) for setting the negative value for (3-17) in the course of language acquisition, the default



value, namely, the positive value is chosen. It is proposed in §2.4 of Chapter 2 that the relevant cue is the presence of SPA. More specifically, the cue in question consists of the V2 order involving a Subj<sub>FN</sub> and the V3 order involving a Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> in the main topic-initial context. When children are confronted with this cue, they infer that PPrns have properties distinct from FNs. Given that *uCase* is included in the inventory of formal features that the UG affords and it can be placed in PPrns when features are assembled to lexical items, more precisely, they infer that the *uCase* is absent from PPrns, whereby (3-17) is set for the negative value. Once this is done, the PPrns without a phonologically null N<sup>0</sup>, whether they are subjects or objects or P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>, come to behave as clitics: they come to encliticize to an agreeing functional head, C/T/K in the case of the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>.

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

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

To sum up, the loss of the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> is induced by the obviation of SPA,

which caused the loss of Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$ . The presence of SPA in the main topic-initial context plays a pivotal role in various cliticization phenomena in the history of English.

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

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

#### (3-18) a. INVERTED $\text{P-COMPL}_{\text{LPRN}}$

##### i. TWO-WORD ORTHOGRAPHY

... þæt he ne astah of ðære rode for heora

that he NEG ascended of that cross for their

hospum, ac þær on deaðes gebad,

mockery but there on deaths abode

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

##### ii. ONE-WORD ORTHOGRAPHY

He com to ðam trewe, sohte wæstm ðæron, and nænne

he came to the tree sought fruit thereon and none

ne gemette

NEG found

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

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

#### b. $\text{P-COMPL}_{\text{LPRN}}$ SEPARATED FROM THE P

... ðæt Ercol se ent ðær was to gefaren

that Hercules the giant there was to gone

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

(*Oros*, 132.10 / Allen (1980: 293))

Note that the inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> and the P head can be spelled separately as two words, as in (3-18ai), or connectedly as a single word, as in (3-18aii); they are orthographically different. As will be discussed below, an orthographic difference of inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> becomes a diagnosis for its clitic status.

My survey on distribution of P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> in the texts of PPCME2 reveals its intriguing properties. The result of my survey on the seven mid-13th century South Midland texts is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3-6:

DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>LPm</sub> *PÆR* IN THE SEVEN MID-13C SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

<PPCME2>

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED			CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted		separated		
	two words	one word			
SOUTHEAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	107	194	1	1 [1]	303 [1]
SOUTHWEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	181	218	9	0	408
TOTAL	288 (40.50%)	412 (57.95%)	10 (1.41%)	1 [1] (0.14%)	711 [1] (100%)

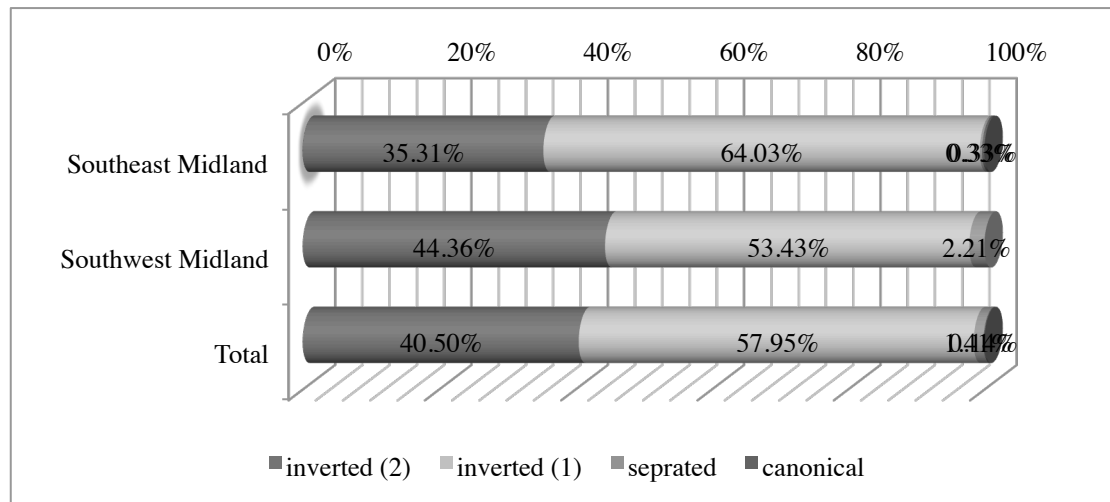


Table 3-6 shows that like P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub>, P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> separated from a P is attested sporadically at the rate of 1.41% (cf. Table 3-1). Unlike P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub>, however, inverted



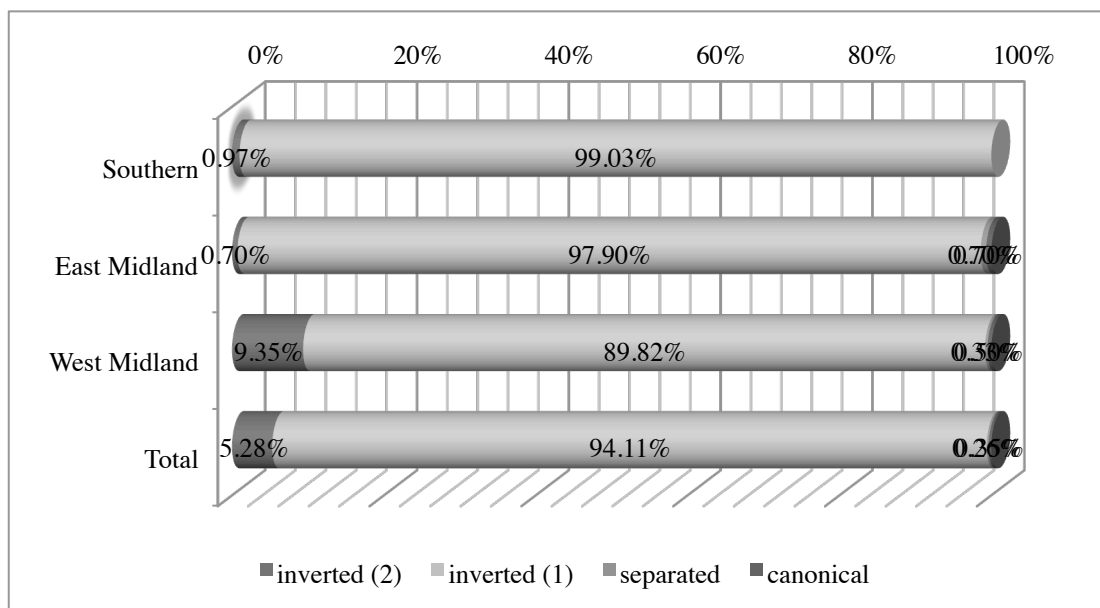
productive option in EME.

Instances of inverted P-Compl<sub>LPRN</sub> continues to be attested in LME. As is obvious from the following table, it is still a productive option in the late 14th century Southern/Midland texts:

TABLE 3-8:

DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> *PÆR* IN THE LATE 14C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS

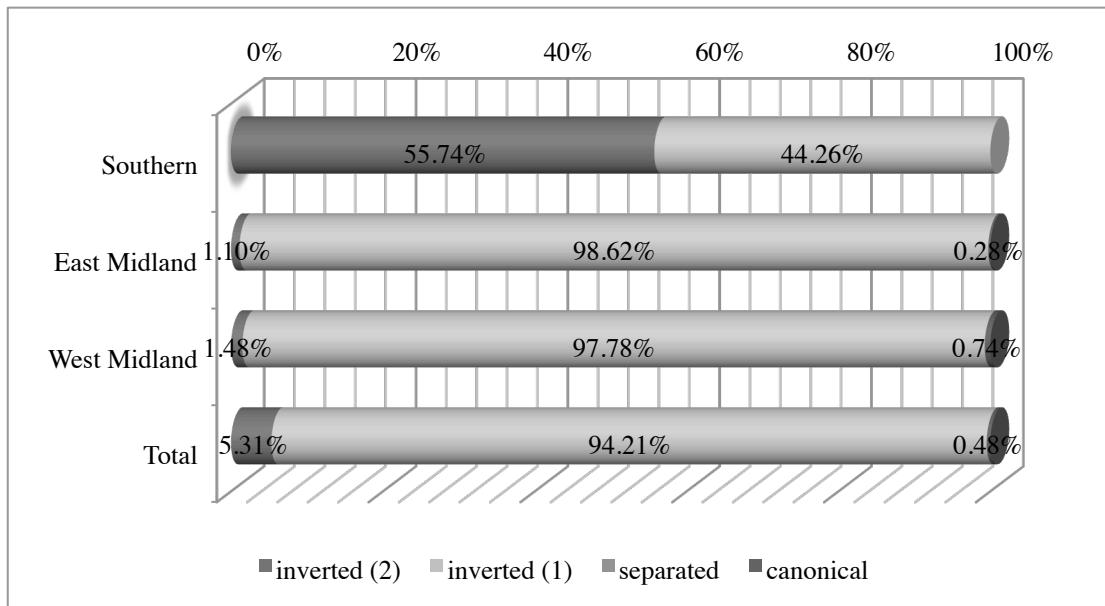
<PPCME2>	DISPLACED			CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted		separated		
	two words	one word			
SOUTHERN DIALECTS	4	409	0	0	413
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	1	140	1	1 [1]	143 [1]
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	56	538	2	3 [1]	599 [1]
TOTAL	61 (5.28%)	1087 (94.11%)	3 (0.26%)	4 [2] (0.35%)	1155 [2] (100%)



Inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> is attested at the rate of 99.39% in this period, again a very high rate. The 15th century Southern/Midland texts also witness the productivity of inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub>, which is shown in the following table:

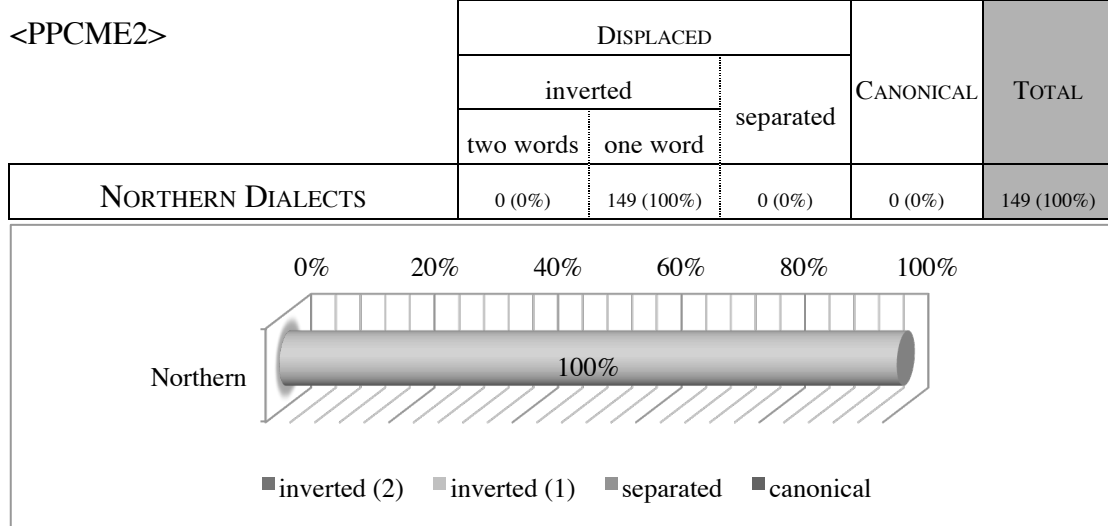
TABLE 3-9: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>LPm</sub> *PER* IN THE 15C SOUTHERN/MIDLAND TEXTS  
<PPCME2>

<PPCME2>	DISPLACED			CANONICAL	TOTAL
	inverted		separated		
	two words	one word			
SOUTHERN DIALECTS	34	27	0	0	61
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	4	357	0	1 [1]	362 [1]
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	6	397	0	3 [2]	406 [2]
TOTAL	44 (5.31%)	781 (94.21%)	0 (0%)	4 [3] (0.48%)	829 [3] (100%)



Inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> is attested at the rate of 99.52% in this period. The 15th century Northern texts exhibit an even more extreme result. As the following table shows, all the instances of P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> are inverted ones.

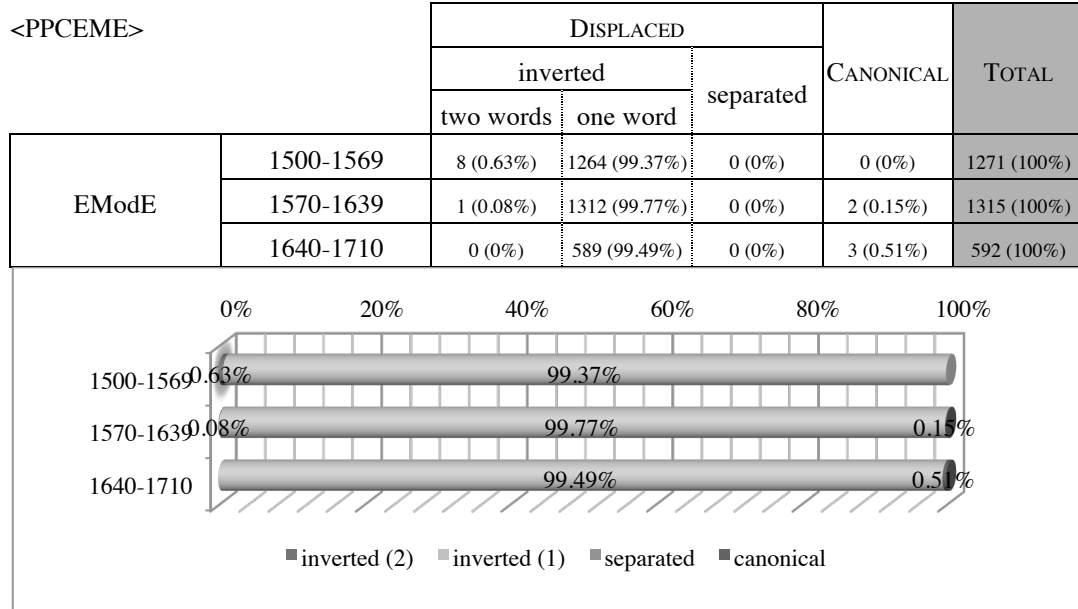
TABLE 3-10: DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> *PÆR* IN THE 15C NORTHERN TEXTS



To sum up the basic facts presented so far, canonical (and separated) P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> is sparse while inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> is frequent throughout the ME period.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> In fact, inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> continues to prevail in EModE, which is demonstrated by the survey on distribution of P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> in the texts of PPCEME.

( i ) DISTRIBUTION OF P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> *THERE* IN EMODE



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

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

(3-19) a. TWO-WORD P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> INVERTED WITH *MID*

... and **þare mide** he him bicherð.

and therewith he him misleads

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

b. ONE-WORD P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> INVERTED WITH *MID*

... for elch man þe hes doð wereð him seluen **þarmide**

for each man that them does protects himself therewith  
wið mankinnes unwine.

with mankind’s enemy

‘... for each man that performs actions protects himself therewith from the  
enemy of mankind.’ (CMTRINIT, 15.157 / ibid.)



(3-20) a. TWO-WORD P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> INVERTED WITH *EFTER*

Ah ure erde is in houene; if we **þer efter** erneð.

but our home is in heaven if we thereafter seek

‘But our home is in heaven, if we pursue it.’ (CMLAMB1, 157.498 / *ibid.*)

b. ONE-WORD P-COMPL<sub>LPRN</sub> INVERTED WITH *EFTER*

... **þer-efter** he him sceawede heȝe treon eisliche beorninde

thereafter he them showed high trees terribly burned

et-foren helle ȝete.

before hell’s gate

‘... thereafter he showed them tall trees terribly burned in front of hell’s gate.’  
(CMLAMBX1, 41.532 / *ibid.*)

Both the two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> and the one-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> are productive in the mid-13th century South Midland texts: the former is attested at the rate of 40.50% and the latter at the rate of 57.95% (cf. Table 3-6). After the 14th century onwards, however, the frequency of two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> significantly drops and that of one-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> significantly rises, the former being inversely proportional to the latter (cf. Tables 3-7, 3-8, 3-9 and 3-10). What happened to the LPns in the 14th century? Since the decline of two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> coincides with loss of displaced P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> in timing, the following scenario is conceivable. From OE up until EME, the two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> was induced by the clitic status of LPns (or, more precisely, absence of *uCase* on LPns) similarly in *modus operandi* to inverted P-Compl<sub>ppm</sub> (cf. (3-16)). On the other hand, the one-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> was a grammaticalized form (or, more precisely, a form which had undergone phrasal conversion/zero-derivation, or lexicalization (cf. Shimamura (1986), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) and Morita (1995, 1997))) of the two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub>. In other words, the one-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> was not a clitic, but its existence was indirectly contingent upon the clitic status of LPns. The argument that the one-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> is a grammaticalized form of the two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPm</sub> enables the

existence of both types in a single text. As the SPA in the topic-initial main clause was obviated after LME onwards, the clitic status of LPrns was lost via addition of *uCase* to LPrns and the two-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> was rendered impossible. Since the formation of the one-word inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> was not directly contingent upon the clitic status of LPrns, it was able to survive even after SPA obviation and loss of displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>. The only difference between the inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> and the inverted P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> is that the former had a grammaticalized form while the latter did not, which rendered possible the survival of the former after the loss of the latter. Thus, historical development of the inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> is consistent with the analysis of displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> presented above.

### 3.6. Summary

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

Analyzed in recent minimalist terms, the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> is yielded by its encliticization to C/T/K, driven by the *uCase*-less P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>. Once the SPA, which invokes the negative setting of (3-17), is obviated, the *uCase* starts to be added to PPrns. As a result, the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> ceases to be attested in accordance with the SPA obviation. The central claim of this chapter is supported by the following facts: different ways of SPA obviation (i.e. rise of systematic V3 and that of systematic V2) uniformly led to the loss of displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>; one-word orthography of inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> started to be productive when displaced P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> disappeared.

As hinted in the end of Chapter 2, the grammatical system which emerged in LME via obviation of SPA is the one with WPPrns (and SPPrns) but without CPPrns. It also lacks V-to-Fin movement, but retains V-to-T movement. The emergent grammar is a system which naturally and eventually induces further intra-syntactically driven language change, to which we will turn in the next chapter.

## Chapter 4

### Pronominal Object Shift in the History of English: Its Emergence in Late Middle English and Its Demise in Late Modern English

#### 4.1 Introduction

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

(4-1) I know **him** not. (*King Henry V*, III.vi.19 (= (1-21)))

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

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

They do not conduct any quantitative surveys. Moreover, they do not investigate linguistic facts of OS earlier than LME nor ones later than EModE. Since OS is not

attested in PDE, its historical development in earlier English (especially, OE, EME, and LModE) also needs empirical investigation.

This chapter considers the following four questions:

(4-3) QUESTIONS

- a. Is OS attested in earlier English of the MSc type, as the previous studies point out?
- b. When did it emerge and disappear in the history of English?
- c. How are the basic facts of OS in LME and EModE explained within the framework of the MP?
- d. Why did they emerge and disappear in the history of English?

§4.2 attempts to provide an answer to the questions (4-3a) and (4-3b), utilizing syntactically annotated electronic corpora. More specifically, §4.2.1 presents syntactic and semantic characteristics of OS, comparing them with those of scrambling, and §4.2.2 shows differences between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS. §4.2.3 presents the basic facts on OS throughout the history of English. §4.3 attempts to provide an answer to the question (4-3c), presenting analyses on the derivations of OSCs in terms of the MP. §4.4 attempts to provide an answer to the question (4-3d), demonstrating that an emergent grammatical system where three factors interact renders pronominal OS possible at the beginning of the 14th century and impossible at the end of the 19th century in the history of English. In answering the question (4-3d), it is demonstrated that the emergence and demise of pronominal OS is an epiphenomenon of previous syntactic/parametric changes, hence an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change. More specifically, emergence of WPPrns, the obligatory presence of a definite article within definite DPs and application of V-to-T movement are shown to cause the emergence of pronominal OS in the beginning of LME, whereas decrease in the application of V-to-T movement is shown to cause its decline in the end of EModE. Thus, the change in question is a by-product of syntactic/parametric changes that have previously taken place in the course of the cue-based language acquisition adopted in §1.4.3 of Chapter 1. In order to elaborate upon

intra-syntactically driven language change exemplified in §4.4, §4.5 reformulates the three pre-theoretical/descriptive factors enabling pronominal OS in the history of English into parameters in terms of formal features on functional heads. As support for the analysis presented in §4.4, §4.6 shows that loss of finite V-movement induces demise of pronominal OS in LModE. §4.7 demonstrates that one of the word order patterns of PCs in PDE is derived in a manner similar to the derivation of OSCs, but that “apparent ” OS attested in PDE is not a relic of earlier English syntax. §4.8 summarizes this chapter.

## 4.2. Basic Facts

### 4.2.1. What is OS?

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

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

(i) DISPLACEMENT OF PP: SCRAMBLING

b. *German*

Ich	<u>habe</u>	<b>für</b>	<b>das</b>	<b>Buch</b>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">nicht</span>	<i>t</i> <sub>für das Buch</sub>	<u>bezalt</u>
I	have	for	the	book	not		paid

‘I have not paid for the book.’

(Vikner (2006: 403))

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

(ii) LICENSING OF A PARASITIC GAP: OS VS. SCRAMBLING

b. *German*

...	daß	Peter	<b>sie</b>	[ohne	<i>pg</i> <sub>sie</sub>	kennengelernt	zu	haben]	<i>t</i> <sub>sie</sub>	<u>einladen</u>	<u>wollte</u> .
	that	Peter	them	without	met		to	have	invite	wanted	

‘... that Peter wanted to invite them without having met them.’

(Vikner (1994: 491))

but they crucially differ from each other in the possibility of displacement in the presence of an element c-commanding an object (e.g. a main V, a P, a Prt, and an IO) within VP.<sup>2</sup> When an element c-commands an object within VP, OS is impossible while scrambling does not have such a restriction:

(4-4) PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF MAIN V-MOVEMENT: OS VS. SCRAMBLING

a. *Icelandic*

- i. Af hverju las Pétur þessa bók aldrei [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>las</sub>* *t<sub>þessa bók</sub>* ]?  
 for what read Peter this book never  
 ‘Why did Peter never read this book?’
- ii. \*Af hverju hefur Pétur þessa bók aldrei [<sub>VP</sub> *lesið* *t<sub>þessa bók</sub>* ]?  
 for what has Peter this book never read  
 ‘Why has Peter never read this book?’ (Vikner (2006: 394f))

b. *German*

- i. Warum liest Peter dieses Buch oft [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>liest</sub>* *t<sub>dieses Buch</sub>* ]?  
 why reads Peter this book often  
 ‘Why does Peter often read this book?’

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c. *Danish*

- \*Peter inviterede dem ikke [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>inviterede</sub>* *t<sub>dem</sub>* [uden at kende *pg<sub>dem</sub>* på forhånd].  
 Peter invited them not without to know beforehand  
 ‘Peter did not invite them without knowing them beforehand.’ (ibid.)

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

- (i) Node A c-commands node B iff the branching node  $\alpha_1$  most immediately dominating A either dominates B or is immediately dominated by a node  $\alpha_2$  which dominates B, and  $\alpha_2$  is of the same category type as  $\alpha_1$ . (Reinhart (1983: 23))
- (ii) A node c-commands its sisters and all the daughters (and granddaughters and great-granddaughters, etc.) of its sisters. (Carnie (2013 [2002]: 127))

- ii. Warum hat Peter **dieses Buch** oft [<sub>VP</sub> gelesen *t*<sub>dieses Buch</sub> ]?  
 why has Peter this book often read  
 ‘Why has Peter often read this book?’ (ibid.: 396)

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

(4-5) PRESENCE OF A P: OS

a. *Icelandic*

- \*Af hverju las Pétur **þessari bók** aldrei [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>las</sub> í *t*<sub>þessari bók</sub> ]?  
 for what read Peter this book never in  
 ‘Why did Peter never read in this book?’ (Vikner (2006: 397))

In the case of DOCs, an IO asymmetrically c-commands a DO, which complicates the applicability of OS. In Icelandic, OS of an IO is possible even if the DO is left behind within VP, as in (4-6ai). OS of a DO is impossible, however, when an IO remains in VP, as in (4-6aaii), since the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO. OS of a DO becomes possible when the IO is relocated out of VP (via independent OS), as in (4-6aiii).<sup>3</sup> In German, on the other hand, completely independent scrambling of an IO and a DO is

<sup>3</sup> OS of a DO is possible when the IO is relocated out of VP not only via independent OS but also via independent *wh*-movement.

(i) DOCs: OS

a. *Icelandic*

- Hvaða bókasafni** skilar hann **bókunum** aldrei [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>skilar</sub> *t*<sub>Hvaða bókasafni</sub> *t*<sub>bókunum</sub> ]?  
 which library returns he the-books never  
 ‘Which library doesn’t he ever return the books to?’ (Holmberg (1999: 32))



possible in DOCs, as in (4-6bi) and (4-6bii), respectively.

(4-6) PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF AN IO IN DOCs: OS VS. SCRAMBLING

a. *Icelandic*

- i. Ég lána **Maríu** ekki [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>lána</sub> *t*<sub>Maríu</sub> **bækurnar** ].  
 ii. \*Ég lána **bækurnar** ekki [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>lána</sub> **Maríu** *t*<sub>bækurnar</sub> ].  
 iii. Ég lána **Maríu** **bækurnar** ekki [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>lána</sub> *t*<sub>Maríu</sub> *t*<sub>bækurnar</sub> ].  
 I lend Maria-DAT the-books-ACC not Maria the-books  
 ‘I do not lend Maria the books.’

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

b. *German*

- i. ... daß die Firma **meinem Onkel** nicht  
 that the company my uncle-DAT not  
 [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>meinem Onkel</sub> **die Möbel** zugestellt] hat.  
 the furniture-ACC delivered has  
 ii. ... daß die Firma **die Möbel** nicht  
 that the company the furniture-ACC not  
 [<sub>VP</sub> **meinem Onkel** *t*<sub>die Möbel</sub> zugestellt] hat.  
 my uncle-DAT delivered has  
 ‘... that the company did not deliver the furniture to my uncle.’

(Thráinsson (2001: 167))

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

TABLE 4-1: SCANDINAVIAN OS VS. WEST GERMANIC SCRAMBLING

	Scandinavian OS	West Germanic Scrambling
PRESENCE OF V-MOVEMENT	*	OK
PRESENCE OF A P	*	OK
PRESENCE OF AN IO IN DOCs	*	OK

Now it is apparent that OS is an operation that displaces an object out of VP, but that this operation has a restriction on its application. It is well known that this restriction is called Holmberg's Generalization (henceforth, HG):


(4-7) HOLMBERG'S GENERALIZATION

Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except for adjuncts.

(Holmberg (1999: 15))

As HG in (4-7) states, phonological material asymmetrically c-commanding the object position such as a main V, a P, a Prt and an IO blocks OS. Therefore, relocation of the phonological material, especially a main V, out of VP is a prerequisite for application of OS. Thus, OS is defined here as an operation displacing an object out of VP whose application is contingent on the main V-movement out of VP. The configuration or structure resulting from OS is referred to in what follows as "OS construction" or "OS configuration" (i.e. OSC; cf. footnote 2 in Chapter 1), which is schematically shown in (4-8), where the solid arrow indicates OS:

(4-8) OSC: ... V ... **Obj** ... [Neg/Adv] ... [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>V</sub>* Ø<sub>P/Prt/IO</sub> *t<sub>Obj</sub>* ]



#### 4.2.2. Typology of OS

The OSC has been drawing attention in the Scandinavian languages since the seminal work by Holmberg (1986). According to previous studies such as Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Thráinsson (2001, 2007) and Vikner (1994, 2006), Scandinavian OS can be categorized into two types: (i) the Icelandic type of OS which moves a definite WPPrn obligatorily and a definite FN optionally out of VP; (ii) the MSc type which allows only the obligatory OS of a definite WPPrn:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In addition to Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, Faroese, which is spoken in Faroe Islands, an integral part of the Kingdom of Denmark (cf. Barnes (2006: 432), Mackenzie (2007: 264)), is classified into MSc in what

(4-9) DEFINITE FN OS VS. DEFINITE WPP<sub>RN</sub> OS<sup>5</sup>

a. *Icelandic*

- i. Nemandinn las **bókina/hana** ekki.  
 ii. Nemandinn las ekki **bókina/\*hana**.

b. *Danish*

- i. Studenten læste **\*bogen/den** ikke.  
 ii. Studenten læste ikke **bogen/\*den**.

c. *Norwegian*

- i. Studenten leste **\*boken/den** ikke.  
 ii. Studenten leste ikke **boken/\*den**.

d. *Swedish*

- i. Studenten läste **\*boken/den** inte.  
 ii. Studenten läste inte **boken/%den**.<sup>6</sup>

e. *Faroese*

- i. Næmingurin las **\*bókina/hana** ikki.  
 ii. Næmingurin las ikki **bókina/\*hana**.  
 the-student read the-book/it not the-book/it

‘The student didn’t read the book/it.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 148, 150))

With respect to the so-called definite SPP<sub>RN</sub> such as a focused PPrn, a coordinated PPrn and a PPrn modified by a PP or a relative clause, the Icelandic type of OS is possible while the MSc type is impossible. Interestingly, the SPP<sub>RN</sub> exhibits syntactic properties similar to those of the FN vis-à-vis OS:

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follows. Although the Faroese lexicon has been said to be similar to that of Icelandic, its syntactic features are actually rather more similar to Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, as we will see below.

<sup>5</sup> As will be shown in §4.3.3 in detail, definiteness of (bare) FNs is commonly marked by a suffix in Scandinavian languages.

<sup>6</sup> The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (4-9dii) is indicated with the notation “%” since, according to Holmberg (1986: 228ff), OS of a WPP<sub>RN</sub> is optional in some dialects of Swedish.

(4-10) DEFINITE SPP<sub>RN</sub> OS

a. *Icelandic*

Hún sá MIG / [mig og þig] / [þennan á hjólinu] ekki.

c. *Norwegian*

\*Hun så MEG/ [meg og deg] / [ham på sykkelen] ikke.

she saw ME me and you him on the-bike not

‘She didn’t see ME/[me and you]/[him on the bike].’

(Thráinsson (2001: 150))

OS cannot be applied to an indefinite FN in Icelandic although its application to a definite FN is licit, as mentioned above.<sup>7</sup> (Obviously, OS of an indefinite FN is impossible in MSc.)

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<sup>7</sup> However, the OS facts in Icelandic at first glance appear to be complicated by the following sentences with an indefinite FN object. When the finite main V or the sentential adverb is heavily stressed, hence focused, OS of an indefinite FN is licit:

(i) *Icelandic*

a. Ég LES bækur aldrei.

I READ books never

‘I never READ books (I only buy them).’

b. Ég les bækur ALDREI.

I read books NEVER

‘I NEVER read books (not only rarely so).’

(Thráinsson (2007: 32))

According to Thráinsson (2007: 33), putting a heavy stress on the finite main V or the sentential adverb defocuses the indefinite FN object, which, in turn, makes the shifted indefinite FN interpreted as given information (or more precisely, generic plural). As nominal elements bearing given information are compatible with the Icelandic type of OS, the sentences in (i) do not actually complicate the matter. See also the summary of the properties of OS in the text.

(4-11) INDEFINITE FN OS

a. *Icelandic*

i. \*Hann las **bækur** ekki.

ii. Hann las ekki **bækur**.

he read books not books

‘He didn’t read books.’

(Diesing (1996: 67))

Furthermore, applying OS to an indefinite PPrN is impossible both with the Icelandic type and with the MSc type:

(4-12) INDEFINITE PPrN OS

a. *Icelandic*

i. \*Ég á ekki regnhlíf, [áttu **eina** ekki ]?

ii. Ég á ekki regnhlíf, [áttu ekki **eina** ]?

I have not umbrella have-you one not one

b. *Danish*

i. \*Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, [har du **en** ikke ]?

ii. Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, [har du ikke **en** ]?

I have not any umbrella have you one not one

‘I don’t have any umbrella, don’t you have one?’ (Vikner (2006: 424))

To sum up the observation on Scandinavian OS so far, the syntactic differences between the Icelandic type and the MSc type are shown below:

TABLE 4-2: ICELANDIC TYPE OF OS VS. MSc TYPE OF OS

		<i>Icelandic type</i>	<i>MSc type</i>
DEFINITE	FN	optional (4-9a)	* (4-9b-e)
	SPPrN	optional (4-10a)	* (4-10c)
	WPPrN	obligatory (4-9a)	obligatory (4-9b-e)
INDEFINITE	FN	* (4-11a)	* N/A
	PPrN	* (4-12a)	* (4-12b)

Both the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS can be applied only to (a subset of) nominals that bear given/specific information: in Icelandic, definite FN and SPP<sub>rn</sub> objects optionally undergo OS while definite WPP<sub>rn</sub> objects obligatorily undergo OS; in MSc, definite WPP<sub>rn</sub> objects obligatorily undergo OS. Bearing in mind the OS typology in the Scandinavian languages, let us turn now to the OS observed in the history of English.

#### 4.2.3. *OS in the History of English*

As pointed out in §4.1, previous studies on OS in the history of English are extremely scarce, and not a single quantitative survey is conducted so far. The historical development of OS in English is yet to be brought into light. In order to capture the picture of OS facts in the history of English, I have conducted a survey on the distribution of the Obj<sub>pp<sub>rn</sub></sub> in subordinate clauses that include a Neg and exclude an Aux.<sup>8</sup> With the aid of the Java program devised by Randall (2000, 2005-2010), more specifically, I have collected subordinate Obj<sub>pp<sub>rn</sub></sub> instances in the texts in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCME (see Appendix 1 for text information). The subordinate context surveyed here is divided into two types in terms of the position of the finite lexical V vis-à-vis the phrasal Neg (i.e. *na* in OE and *not* in ME and ModE including their orthographic variants): one is the context where the finite lexical V precedes the phrasal Neg, and the other is the context where the finite lexical V follows the phrasal Neg (henceforth, V-movement context and non-V-movement context, respectively). In these two contexts, the Obj<sub>pp<sub>rn</sub></sub> tokens attested are classified by their positions vis-à-vis the finite lexical V and the phrasal Neg. Under this classification, six types of word order are logically possible. The Obj<sub>pp<sub>rn</sub></sub> is located either: (i) in the V-Obj<sub>pp<sub>rn</sub></sub>-Neg order (i.e. in the post-V/pre-Neg position in the V-movement context (viz. an OSC)); (ii) in the V-Neg-Obj<sub>pp<sub>rn</sub></sub> order (i.e. in the post-Neg

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<sup>8</sup> The reason why my survey is restricted to subordinate clauses is that main clauses may induce the V2 effect and blur the exact position of the shifted object, as pointed out in Chapter 2. Exclusion of an Aux from the subordinate context is intended to ensure that finite lexical V-movement is potentially possible in the relevant context.

position in the V-movement context); (iii) in the Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-V-Neg order (i.e. in the pre-V position in the V-movement context); (iv) in the Neg-V-Obj<sub>PPm</sub> order (i.e. in the post-V position in the non-V-movement context); (v) in the Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-Neg-V order (i.e. in the pre-Neg position in the non-V-movement context); (vi) in the Neg-Obj<sub>PPm</sub>-V order (i.e. in the post-Neg/pre-V position in the non-V-movement context). Taking dialectal differences in ME into consideration, I have counted the number of these six types of word order. My survey confirms that observations made by Wurff (1997: 488f) and Roberts (1995: 269, 2007: 57f) indeed hold: the OSC is found only with definite PPrn objects.

OE instances exhibit only the OSC with a definite PPrn object:

(4-13) OSC WITH A DEFINITE PPRN OBJECT

*OE*

... þonne ne funde he **hit** no.

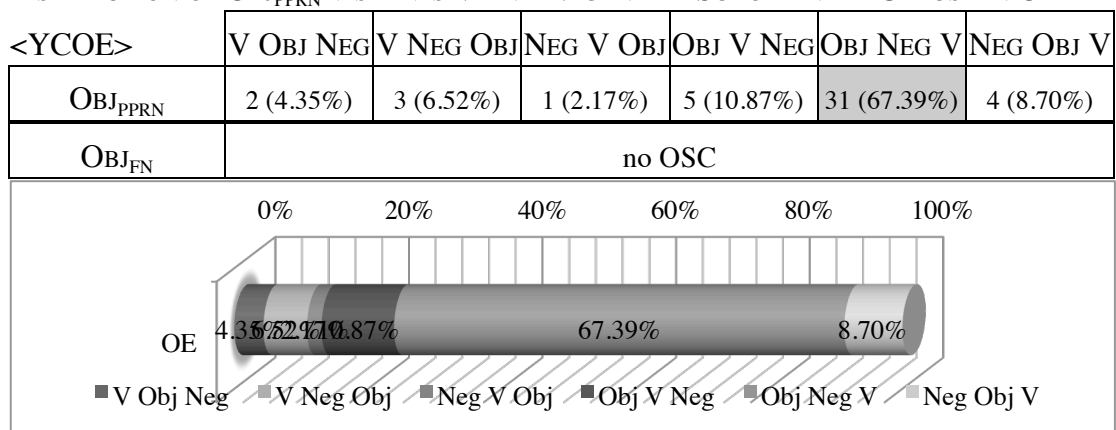
then NEG found 3-M-SG-NOM 3-N-SG-ACC not

‘... then he did not find it.’ (coboeth, Bo:40.140.13.2797 / YCOE)

A survey with the YCOE, however, reveals that the OSC with a definite PPrn object was not productive at all in this period:

TABLE 4-3:

DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> VIS-À-VIS V AND NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN OE



The shaded cell in the table indicates the word order whose ratio among the logically

possible word orders is more than 15%. In OE, the V-Obj-Neg order (i.e. the OSC) with a definite WPPrn object is attested at the rate of only 4.35%.

EME instances and, as Wurff (1997: 488f) describes, LME instances also exhibit only the OSC with a definite WPPrn object:

(4-14) OSC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT

a. *EME (Mid-13C)*

... þat we ne understonden ne bisechen **him** noht...  
 that we NEG understand nor beseech him not  
 ‘... that we do not understand nor beseech him...’

(CMTRINIT, 121.1638 / PPCME2)

b. *EME (Ayenbite of Inwit)*

... þet me ne scorne **þe** naȝt.  
 that one NEG scorn you not  
 ‘... that one does not scorn you.’

(CMAYENBI, 54.977 / ibid.)

c. *LME (Posterior Half of the 14C)*

... that they ne requeren ne preyen **me** nat of pees,  
 that they NEG require nor pray me not of money  
 ‘... that they do not require nor pray me of money,’

(CMCTMELI, 235.C2.710 / ibid.)

d. *LME (15C)*

... þat he forȝeue **hym** not,  
 that he forgive him not  
 ‘... that he does not forgive himself,’

(CMVICES4, 112.299 / ibid.)

Definite FN objects and SPPrn objects such as PPrn+*self* forms (i.e. reflexive/intensified forms) do not appear in the OSC: they always appear in the position following the Neg in the collected examples:<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Haeberli & Ingham (2007: 14ff) also point out that positional asymmetry vis-à-vis the (phrasal) Neg exists



(4-15) *LME (15C)*

a. NON-OSC WITH A DEFINITE FN OBJECT

... þat hir confessowr vndirstod not **her langage**...  
that her confessor understood not her language  
'... that her confessor did not understand her language...'

(CMKEMPE, 97.2219 / PPCME2)

b. NON-OSC WITH A DEFINITE SPPRN (= PPRN + *-SELF*) OBJECT

... þat þou lese not **þyself**.  
that you lose not yourself  
'... that you do not lose yourself.'

(CMMIRK, 55.1556 / *ibid.*)

Indefinite FN/PPrn objects are not found in the OSC at all in ME: they too appear in the position following the Neg. A survey with the PPCME2 indicates that the OSC with a definite WPPrn object was productive in this period:

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between the FN and WPPrn objects in the mid-13th century:

- (i) ac it ne openede **hem** noht **þe blisse of heuene**  
but it NEG opened them not the bliss of heaven  
'but it did not open the bliss of heaven to them'

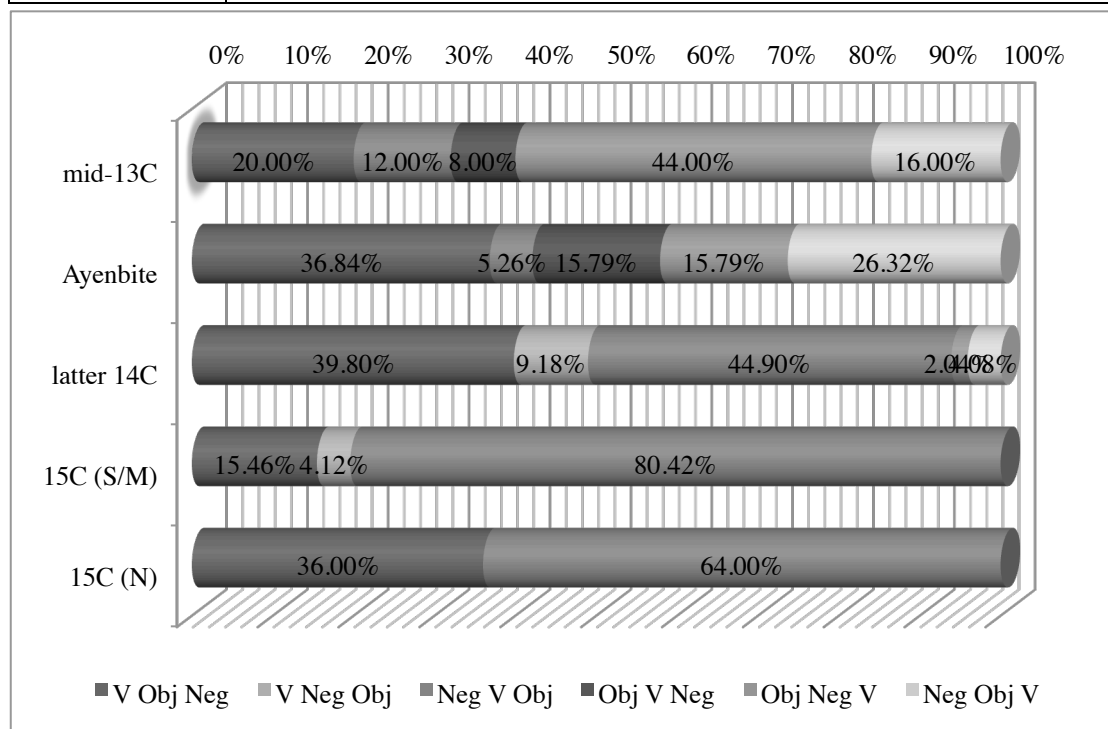
(CMTRINIT, 87.1165 / PPCME2 / Haeberli & Ingham (2007: 17))

The EME OSCs like (i) cannot be “true” OSCs, since they can be derived by pronominal scrambling or cliticization still productive in EME, accompanied by finite main V-movement, which falls under the pattern illustrated in Figure 4-1. See the discussion in the text below.

TABLE 4-4:

DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> VIS-À-VIS V AND NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN ME  
<PPCME2>

OBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>		V OBJ NEG	V NEG OBJ	NEG V OBJ	OBJ V NEG	OBJ NEG V	NEG OBJ V
SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS							
EME	mid-13C	5 (20.00%)	0 (0%)	3 (12.00%)	2 (8.00%)	11 (44.00%)	4 (16.00%)
	<i>Ayenbite</i>	7 (36.84%)	0 (0%)	1 (5.26%)	3 (15.79%)	3 (15.79%)	5 (26.32%)
LME	latter 14C	39 (39.80%)	9 (9.18%)	44 (44.90%)	0 (0%)	2 (2.04%)	4 (4.08%)
	15C	15 (15.46%)	4 (4.12%)	78 (80.42%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
NORTHERN DIALECTS							
LME	15C	9 (36.00%)	0 (0%)	16 (64.00%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
OBJ <sub>FN</sub>		no OSC					



The V-Obj-Neg order (i.e. the OSC) with a definite WPPrn object is attested at the rate of

20.00% in the seven mid-13th century texts written in the Southern/Midland dialects, and its ratio rises to 36.84% in the *Ayenbite of Inwit* (a mid-14th century Kentish text) and 39.80% in the fourteen posterior half of the 14th century Southern/Midland texts. The ratio of this word order drops to 15.46% in the fifteen 15th century Southern/Midland texts, but it is retained at the rate of 36.00% in the three 15th century Northern texts.

As Roberts (1995: 269) describes, EModE instances also exhibit only the OSC with a definite WPPrn object:

(4-16) OSC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT

a. *EModE (Anterior Half of the 16C)*

... bycause he sawe **hym** not... (MERRY TAL-E1-H, 148.442 / PPCEME)

b. *EModE (Posterior Half of the 16C & Anterior Half of the 17C)*

If you grant **me** not **this Favour**, (RALEIGH-E2-H, I, 215.C1.533 / *ibid.*)

In EModE as well, definite FN objects and SPPrn objects always appear in the position following the Neg:

(4-17) *EModE (Anterior Half of the 16C)*

a. NON-OSC WITH A DEFINITE FN OBJECT

... if they slewe nat **the kynge of Atheniennis**...

(ELYOT-E1-H, 153.141 / PPCEME)

b. NON-OSC WITH A DEFINITE SPPRN (= PPRN + *-SELF*) OBJECT

... yf he purifye not **himselfe** the thyrd daye,

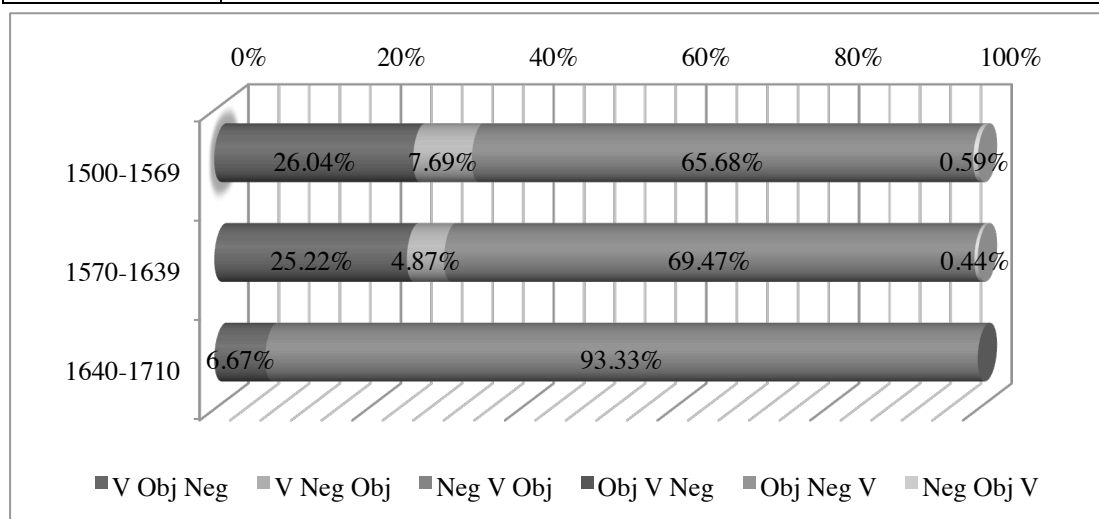
(TYNDOLD-E1-P1, XIX, 1N.1191 / *ibid.*)

Again, Indefinite FN/PPrn objects are not found in the OSC at all. A survey with the PPCEME shows that the OSC with a definite WPPrn object became less productive in this period:

TABLE 4-5:

DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> VIS-À-VIS V AND NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN EModE  
<PPCEME>

OBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>		V OBJ NEG	V NEG OBJ	NEG V OBJ	OBJ V NEG	OBJ NEG V	NEG OBJ V
EModE	1500-1569	44 (26.04%)	13 (7.69%)	111 (65.68%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.59%)
	1570-1639	57 (25.22%)	11 (4.87%)	157 (69.47%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.44%)
	1640-1710	13 (6.67%)	0 (0%)	182 (93.33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
OBJ <sub>FN</sub>		no OSC					



The V-Obj-Neg order (i.e. the OSC) with a definite WPP<sub>rn</sub> object is attested at the rate of 26.04% in the anterior half of the 16th century and 25.22% in the posterior half of the 16th century and the anterior half of the 17th century. The ratio of this word order, however, drops to 6.67% in the posterior half of the 17th century.

To sum up the findings thus far, (i) OSCs with an FN/SPP<sub>rn</sub> object are not attested at all throughout the history of English, and (ii) OSCs with a (definite) WPP<sub>rn</sub> object starts to be productively attested in the mid-13th century and becomes infrequent in the posterior half of the 17th century. It must be noted, however, that instances of OSCs do not always imply the presence of OS (as a syntactic operation). Earlier English allowed Obj-Aux-V

and Aux-Obj-V orders with a PPrn in subordinate clauses (see also §2.2.3 of Chapter 2), and the syntactic operations deriving these word orders had the potential of yielding OSCs:

(4-18) *EME (Mid-13C)*

a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

... ac 3if min lauerd godd **me** wolde swingen mid ani swinge...  
 but if my Lord God me would scourge with any scourge  
 ‘... but if my Lord God would scourge me with any scourge...’

(CMVICES1, 13.145 / PPCME2 / Kroch & Taylor (2000: 134))

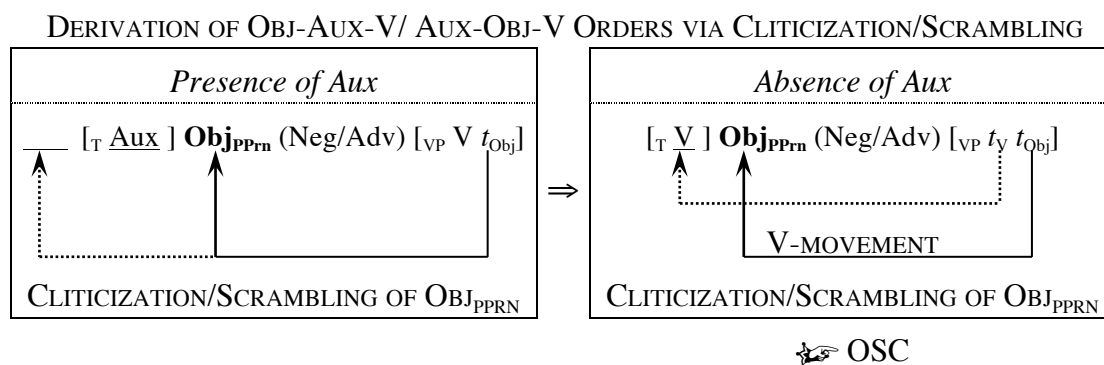
b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

Ac 3if ðu ne miht ðe naht wel berzen,  
 but if you NEG can you not well defend  
 ‘But if you cannot defend yourself well,’

(CMVICES1, 73.824 / PPCME2)

According to Kroch & Taylor (2000: 148), cliticization or scrambling of PPrns, which does not conform to HG, was frequent in EME; hence, the Obj-Aux-V order as in (4-18a) and the Aux-Obj-V order as in (4-18b) can be derived via cliticization/scrambling of Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>. The derivation in question is illustrated as follows:

FIGURE 4-1:

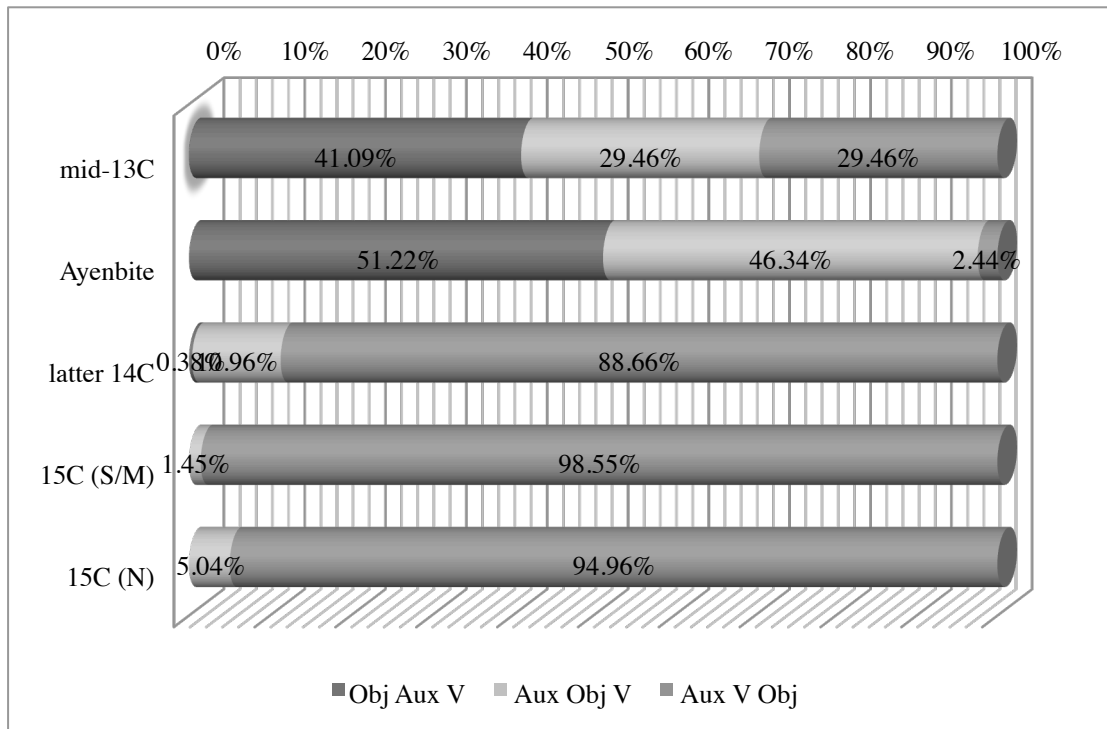


In the presence of an auxiliary (as in the left column of Figure 4-1), the auxiliary is located in T, and cliticization/scrambling raises the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  in VP to the position preceding or following the auxiliary in T, whereby  $\text{Obj-Aux-V/Aux-Obj-V}$  orders result. In the absence of an auxiliary (as in the right column of Figure 4-1), cliticization/scrambling again raises the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  in VP to the position preceding or following T (i.e. procliticization or encliticization), but the finite main V moves to T (which requires an overt element); as a result, the same derivation results in an OSC. Obviously, this is an “apparent” OSC. Thus, while cliticization/scrambling is still existent, that is, while  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders are still productive, instances of OSCs cannot be conceived as the configuration to which OS has applied. In other words, it is after the loss of the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders that OSCs are considered as “true” ones. This state of affairs requires a survey on the frequency of the  $\text{Aux-V-Obj}$  order, which is the norm in PDE, in addition to the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders, that is, a survey on the distribution of the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  with respect to an auxiliary and a main V. This is done with the PPCME2 for ME facts. The result is shown below:

TABLE 4-6:

DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> VIS-À-VIS AUX AND V IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN ME

<PPCME2>		OBJ AUX V	AUX OBJ V	AUX V OBJ
SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS				
EME	mid-13C	106 (41.09%)	76 (29.46%)	76 (29.46%)
	<i>Ayenbite</i>	42 (51.22%)	38 (46.34%)	2 (2.44%)
LME	latter 14C	2 (0.38%)	58 (10.96%)	469 (88.66%)
	15C	0 (0%)	10 (1.45%)	681 (98.55%)
NORTHERN DIALECTS				
LME	15C	0 (0%)	6 (5.04%)	113 (94.96%)



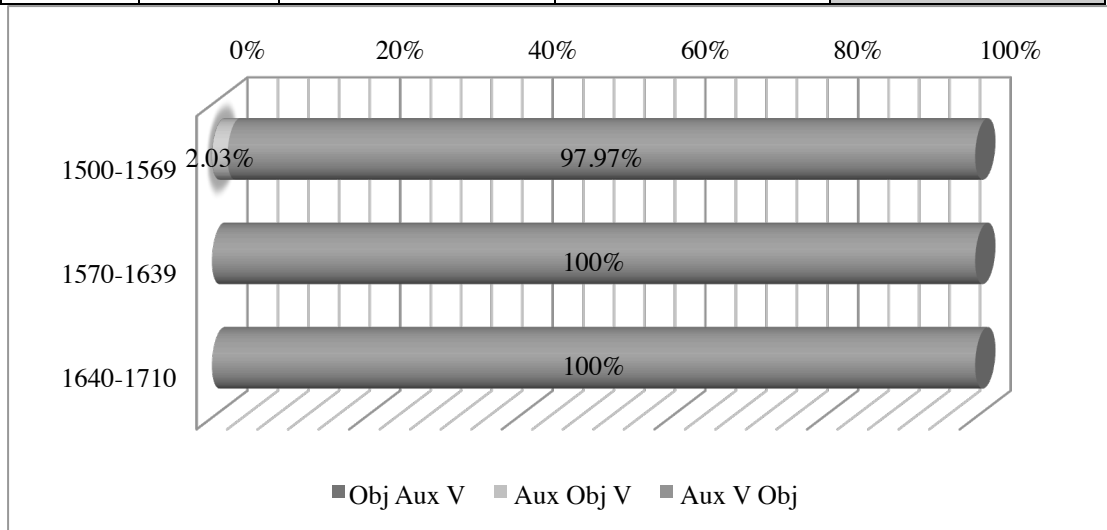
In the seven mid-13th century Southern/Midland texts, the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are attested at the rate of 41.09% and 29.46%, respectively. In the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, the Obj-Aux-V and Aux-Obj-V orders are attested at the rate of 51.22% and 46.34%,

respectively. This means that cliticization/scrambling of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  was still a productive option in EME, as we have seen in Chapter 2. However, these orders become infrequent in LME. In the fourteen posterior half of the 14th century Southern/Midland texts, the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders are attested at the rate of 0.38% and 10.96%, respectively. In the fifteen 15th century Southern/Midland texts, the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  order was not attested at all and the  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  order was attested at the rate of only 1.45%. In the three 15th century Northern texts, the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  order was not attested either and the  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  order was attested at the rate of 5.04%. This indicates that cliticization/scrambling of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  was almost lost in LME. A similar result is obtained from a survey with the PPCEME for EModE facts:

TABLE 4-7:

DISTRIBUTION OF  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPRN}}$  VIS-À-VIS AUX AND V IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IN EMODE

<PPCEME>		OBJ AUX V	AUX OBJ V	AUX V OBJ
EModE	1500-1569	0 (0%)	21 (2.03%)	1,034 (97.97%)
	1570-1639	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1,265 (100%)
	1640-1710	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1,101 (100%)



In this period as well, the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders are almost inexistent;



cliticization/scrambling of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PP}_{\text{RN}}}$  was almost lost in EModE.

Based on the discussion thus far, it can be concluded that OSCs start to be attested productively in the mid-13th century, but that they are derived via cliticization/scrambling of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PP}_{\text{RN}}}$  accompanied by finite main V-movement. While cliticization/scrambling of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PP}_{\text{RN}}}$  is still a productive operation, that is, while the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders are still attested, apparent OSCs cannot be considered as “true” OSCs derived via OS. Therefore, emergence of OS in the history of English is at least after the loss of the  $\text{Obj-Aux-V}$  and  $\text{Aux-Obj-V}$  orders. Since these word orders cease to be attested in the posterior half of the 14th century, emergence of OS is dated to this time. As already mentioned above, its decline is dated to the posterior half of the 17th century. Thus, the historical development of OS in English can be schematized as follows:

FIGURE 4-2: EMERGENCE AND DECLINE OF OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

		OE	EME	LME		EModE	
				14C	15C	16C	17C
DEFINITE	FN						
	SPP <sub>RN</sub>						
	WPP <sub>RN</sub>		EMERGENCE → DECLINE				
INDEFINITE	FN						
	PP <sub>RN</sub>						

OSCs with an FN/ $\text{SPP}_{\text{RN}}$  object are not found at all throughout the history of English, and “true” OSCs with a  $\text{WPP}_{\text{RN}}$  object start to be attested in the posterior half of the 14th century and declined in the posterior half of the 17th century. Now the question (4-3a) can be provided with an answer: OS observed in the history of English is indeed of the MSc type, as the previous studies point out.

Other syntactic properties of earlier English OS support our conclusion. They are no different from the properties of OS found in Scandinavian languages. First, as shown in §4.2.1, OS from the post-P position is illicit when a P exists within VP, and this is indeed

the case in LME and EModE as well: no instances of OSCs with this structure are attested in the PPCME2 nor the PPCEME. Second, DOCs allow independent OS of an IO and OS of a DO accompanied by relocation of the IO out of VP (i.e. OS of an IO and a DO retaining the base order), but disallow independent OS of a DO (cf. (4-6a)). In LME and EModE, only the cases of independent OS of an IO is attested:

(4-19) V-IO-NEG-DO ORDER IN DOCs (= INDEPENDENT OS OF AN IO)

a. *LME (Posterior Half of the 14C)*

... Moyses 3af **3ou** not **breed** fro heuene,  
(CMNTEST, VI, 20.507 / PPCME2)

b. *EModE (Posterior Half of the 16C & Anterior Half of the 17C)*

... Moses gaue **you** not **that bread** from heauen,  
(AUTHNEW-E2-H, VI, 20J.722 / PPCEME)

‘... Moses did not give you that bread from heaven,’

The number of the OS instances in DOCs attested in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME are shown in the following table:<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 4-8: OS IN DOCs

<PPCME2/PPCEME>	V IO DO NEG	V DO IO NEG	V IO NEG DO	V DO NEG IO
LME	0	0	7	0
EModE	0	0	6	0

7 and 6 instances of independent OS of an IO (i.e. V-IO-Neg-DO order) are found in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME, respectively. Independent OS of a DO (i.e. V-DO-Neg-IO order) and OS of an IO and a DO with reversed order (i.e. V-DO-IO-Neg order) are not observed, as expected. However, OS of an IO and a DO retaining the base order (i.e. V-IO-DO-Neg order) is not attested at all in any syntactically annotated electronic corpora either, which is unexpected. Since earlier English OS is of the MSc type on the one hand,

<sup>10</sup> Since the population of DOCs is small, the survey on OS in DOCs included instances in main clauses as well as those in subordinate clauses.

and DOCs involving both a PPrn IO and a PPrn DO are very rare even in earlier English and they tend to exhibit V-DO-IO order rather than V-IO-DO order when they are attested on the other, absence of OS of both an IO and a DO retaining the base order (i.e. V-IO-DO-Neg order and V-DO-IO-Neg order) may be attributable to an “accidental gap” or a “hole in the pattern.”

To sum up, earlier English allows only WPPrn OS, which is classified as the MSc type. According to observations shown above, the WPPrn OS was possible from the posterior half of the 14th century up until the posterior half of the 17th century: it emerged in LME and started to decline in EModE. But why was the MSc type of OS frequently attested for only three centuries? Before answering this question, let us turn now to the syntax of OS. We will get back to the whys and the wherefores of the ephemeral OS in the history of English in §4.4.

### **4.3. Analyses**

#### *4.3.1. Morphosyntactic Properties of the PPrn Undergoing OS*

First of all, we must explicate morphosyntactic properties of the PPrn in LME/EModE to which OS is applied. Some of the previous studies on Scandinavian OS (e.g. Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 207), Déprez (1994: 122), Diesing (1996: 77, 1997: 415), Hiraiwa (2001: 303ff)) analyze the PPrn undergoing OS as a CPPrn. Moreover, Kemenade (1987: 110ff) and Pintzuk (1999: 125ff, 171ff) among others point out that the CPPrn exists in OE and EME. Thus, the analyses and observations in the previous studies might lead us to suppose that the LME/EModE PPrn is also an instance of a CPPrn. This possibility, however, should be rejected on the following two grounds. First, as we have seen in Chapter 2, the CPPrn object observed in OE and EME occurs in various positions where the definite FN object cannot appear (i.e. the Wackernagel position, and Positions I, II and III):

(4-20) *EME (Mid-13th Century)*

- a. CPPRN OBJ LEFT-ADJACENT TO AN AUXILIARY IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

... ac ȝif min lauerd godd **me** wolde swingen mid ani swinge...

but if my Lord God me would scourge with any scourge

‘... but if my Lord God would scourge me with any scourge...’

(CMVICES1, 13.145 / PPCME2 / Kroch & Taylor (2000: 134)

(= 4-18a))

- b. CPPRN OBJ RIGHT-ADJACENT TO AN AUXILIARY IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

Ac ȝif ðu ne miht ðe naht wel berȝen,

but if you NEG can you not well defend

‘But if you cannot defend yourself well,’

(CMVICES1, 73.824 / PPCME2 (= 4-18b))

- c. CPPRN OBJ RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMPLEMENTIZER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

... þet **him** mon mote wið speken

that him one must speak-against

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

(CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2 (= (2-12a))

- d. CPPRN OBJ LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

þerwið **us** wite ure louerd ihesu crist...

therewith us blame our lord Jesus Christ

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

(CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / *ibid.* (= (2-12b))

- e. CPPRn OBJ RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

Ne mihte **him** naðer befelan

NEG might him no-other happen-to

‘No other might happen to him.’ (CMVICES1, 43.486 / *ibid.* (= (2-12c))

This is not the case in LME/EModE: the PPrn undergoing OS in LME/EModE appears only before or after the Neg, always following a finite main V (i.e. in the V-Obj-*not* order or in the *not*-V-Obj order). Second, when a finite V undergoes T-to-C movement in interrogatives, a CPPrn like the one in French also moves from T to C obligatorily, accompanying the finite V in question:

(4-21) *French*

a. Où [<sub>C</sub> I' avait] -il [<sub>T</sub> *t<sub>avait</sub>*] [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>avait</sub>* acheté *t<sub>le</sub>*]?  
 where it-had he bought

b. \*Où [<sub>C</sub> avait] -il [<sub>T</sub> **le** *t<sub>avait</sub>*] [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>avait</sub>* acheté *t<sub>le</sub>*]?  
 where had he it bought

‘Where had he bought it?’ (Vikner (2006: 419))

On the other hand, the LME/EModE PPrn never moves to C in interrogatives. From the syntactic behavior of the CPPrn in (4-20) and (4-21), we can conclude that the PPrn undergoing OS in LME/EModE is not an instance of a CPPrn.

Given the conclusion above, it is reasonable to claim that the syntactic/morphological status of the LME/EModE PPrn is defined in the following way along the lines of proposal presented in §2.3.1.2 of Chapter 2. To begin with, the PPrn is considered here as a definite article along the lines of Postal (1966: 62ff), and it constitutes the functional head D<sup>0</sup>, bearing *iφ* and *uCase* on a par with the feature content of a DP. Secondly, the PPrn is categorized into three types, which is based on the trichotomy of PPrns suggested by Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 36f, 1999: 165ff, 179, 202), Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 428ff), Roberts (2010a: 56f) and Gelderen (2013: 197f):

- (4-22) a. CPPrn:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi \rangle$   
 b. WPPrn:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle$  ~~is~~ *PPrn undergoing OS*  
 c. SPPrn:  $DP = D^0 \langle i\phi(/u\text{Case}) \rangle + \text{phonologically null } N^0 \langle \text{Foc} \rangle$   
 (cf. (2-17))

The CPPrn in (4-22a) is structurally defective in the sense that it lacks *uCase*, which makes cliticization (i.e. incorporation or head movement) possible, hence necessary. The CPPrn amounts to a  $D^0$  lacking *uCase* (cf. Chomsky (1995c: 249), Raposo (1998: 78)). In contrast, the WPPrn in (4-22b) is a  $D^0$  with *uCase*: this PPrn does not cliticize to the functional head it agrees with. This is the PPrn that undergoes OS in LME/EModE (and MSc/Icelandic). The SPPrn in (4-22c) is a DP which is projected from a  $D^0$  with or without *uCase* taking a phonologically null  $N^0$  with a Foc as its complement.<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.3.2. A Semantic Effect of OS

Now, let us move on to consider the second properties of OS. This section briefly reviews previous studies on (Scandinavian) OS and adopts proposals made therein, making slight modifications to them. If we follow Svenonius (2001: 272), OS can be decomposed into two independent operations: Case Shift and Dislocation Rule (henceforth, CS and Disl, respectively):<sup>12</sup>

$$(4-23) \quad \text{OS} = \text{CS} + \text{Disl} \quad (\text{pace Hiraiwa (2001: 296ff)})$$

---

<sup>11</sup> The phonologically null  $N^0$  that merges with a  $D^0$  is sometimes realized. One instance is *self* in the PPrn+*self* form (i.e. SPPrn). In OE, *self* was an independent word contrasting or intensifying the nominal it follows, and it could modify any type of nominal. In the end of the 12th century, the PPrn+*self* form came to exist as a single word (Keenan (2002: 337)), although its distribution was not strictly governed by the Binding Condition A (cf. Chomsky (1981)). See also footnote 25 in Chapter 2.

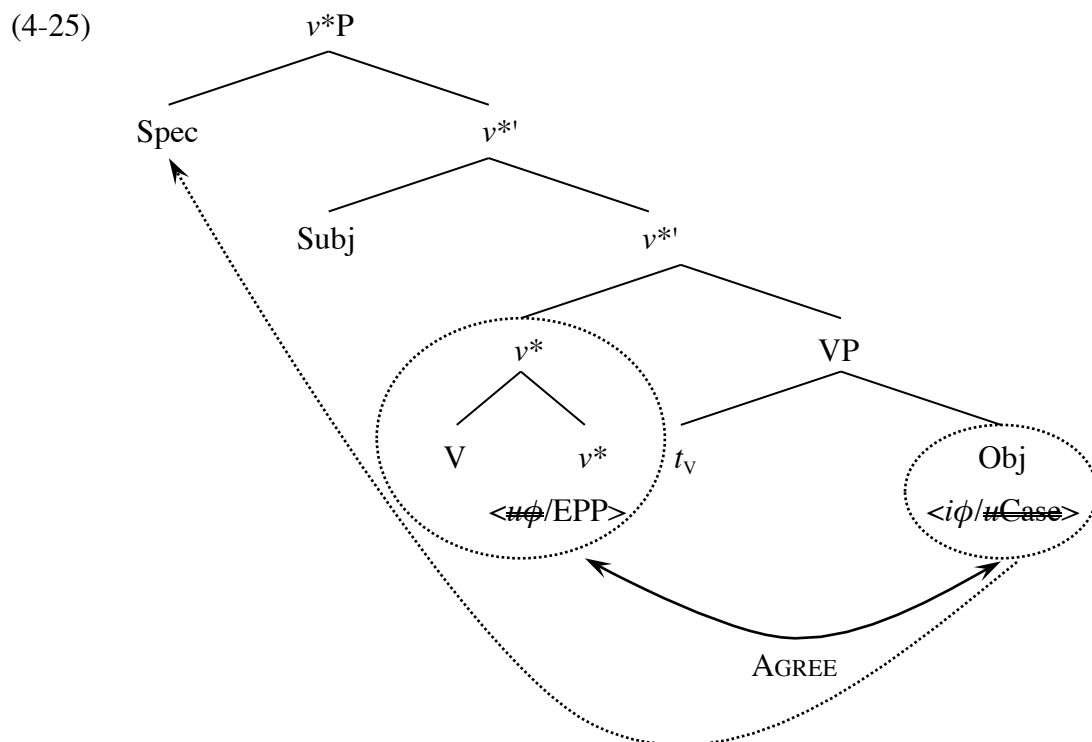
<sup>12</sup> Chomsky (2001: 30) also states that “Icelandic, for example, also excludes OS without further raising of the object, either A'-movement or Disl.” Note that decomposition of OS into two operations is not a brand-new idea. The quotation from Chomsky (2001) cited just above indicates that he already recognizes that OS must be accompanied by further movement. His term “OS” corresponds to Svenonius’s (2001) term “CS” here.

CS, which is associated with another operation called “Agree,” is a syntactic operation that moves an object from the externally merged position to Spec  $v^*P$ ; this operation applies only when it has a semantic effect on the resultant derivation (cf. Diesing (1996: 67, 1997: 412), Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 150), Holmberg (1999: 22f)). Disl is a phonological operation that moves an element in Spec  $v^*P$  to a higher head/specifier position. Agree, which may be accompanied by CS, or more precisely, internal merge (i.e. move), establishes the following relation (see also Chomsky (2000: 101, 122ff, 2001: 2ff, 2005: 13f, 16, 18f, 2007: 9, 2008: 141)):

(4-24) [T]here is a relation Agree holding between probe P and goal G, which deletes [= values] uninterpretable features if P and G are appropriately related.

(Chomsky (2004: 113))

When an unvalued/uninterpretable formal feature exists in the phase constructed in narrow syntax, the unvalued feature in question becomes P, seeking for G bearing a corresponding interpretable formal feature and entering into an Agree relation with it, whereby the unvalued feature in question is valued and deleted. On this occasion, G needs to be active, carrying an unvalued formal feature different from the one that P bears. For instance, the functional head  $v^*$  carries  $u\phi$ , and this element becomes P seeking for appropriate G bearing  $i\phi$  and  $uCase$  (i.e. the object DP in this case), as in (4-25):



SATISFACTION OF AN EPP FEATURE (CS)

After  $v^*$  enters into an Agree relation with the object DP,  $u\phi$  and  $uCase$  are valued and deleted. When the  $v^*$  carries an EPP feature in addition to  $u\phi$ , the object DP moves to the outer Spec  $v^*P$  in order to satisfy the EPP requirement.

Recall here that OS (restated here as CS) has a semantic restriction on its application: CS can be applied only to (a subset of) nominals that bear given information (cf. Table 4-2). Concerning this aspect of CS, let us follow Chomsky (2001) in assuming the following UG principles:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The intuition behind Chomsky (2001) is the Mapping Hypothesis proposed by a series of works by Molly Diesing (see Chomsky (2001: 48, footnote 59)). This hypothesis can correctly explain the semantic restriction imposed on CS. The following is a version stated in Diesing & Jelinek (1995):

( i ) MAPPING HYPOTHESIS

a. VP maps into the nuclear scope (i.e. the domain of existential closure).

b. IP maps into the restriction (of an operator).

(Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 124))



- (4-26) a.  $v^*$  is assigned an EPP feature only if that has an effect on outcome.  
 b. The EPP position [i.e. phonological edge / outer Spec  $v^*P$ ] of  $v^*$  is assigned INT.  
 c. At the phonological border of  $v^*P$ , XP is assigned INT'.

(Chomsky (2001: 35))

Chomsky counts (4-26a) and (4-26b) as invariant UG principles and (4-26c) as a parameter, but we also take (4-26c) to be an invariant UG principle.<sup>14</sup> In a nutshell, (4-26a) states that assignment of an EPP feature to  $v^*$  and subsequent movement to outer Spec  $v^*P$  are made possible only when they have a semantic consequence (cf. Chomsky (1995c: 294, 337, 2000: 109, 2001: 34, 2004: 111, 2005: 14, 2007: 10ff, 2008: 140)). “INT [in (4-26b)] is an interpretive complex which consists of specificity/definiteness, [old] information, focus, etc. (Chomsky (2001: 31)).” This is the semantic interpretation that the shifted object receives. (4-26b) states that elements which can appear in the phonological edge, or outer Spec  $v^*P$  (i.e. landing site of CS), are limited to material bearing INT. (4-26c) captures HG in (4-7). When there is no phonological material c-commanding the object position within the  $v^*P$ , the object position in question becomes a phonological border (Chomsky (2001: 34)), where material bearing INT' (which consists of the interpretations opposite to INT) appears:

$$(4-27) \quad [_{TP} \dots [_{T} [_{v^*} V-v^* ]-T ] \dots [_{v^*P} \mathbf{Obj} [_{v^*} \mathbf{Subj} [_{v^*} t_{v^*} [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{Obj} ] ] ] ] ]$$

PHONOLOGICAL EDGE

INT

PHONOLOGICAL BORDER

INT'

---

Under this hypothesis, the material inside of VP is existentially bound; hence it receives an existential interpretation. On the other hand, the material outside of VP (i.e. in the restriction) receives a presuppositional or quantificational interpretation because it is not existentially bound. When the definite DP is shifted out of VP, it can be correctly interpreted as presuppositional. Shifting an indefinite DP out of VP never renders it existential, hence OS is impossible. Thus, OS of a definite DP is licit while OS of an indefinite DP is illicit (see Diesing (1996: 74ff, 1997: 410ff) for details). Note, however, that the Mapping Hypothesis is problematic in that it cannot capture the fact that OS is a movement operation contingent on main V-movement out of VP (cf. HG in (4-7)).

<sup>14</sup> If (4-26c) is a parameter, it is predicted that OS is observed more limitedly than the actual facts.

Under the UG principles in (4-26), INT' is assigned to the position where the object is externally merged, and INT to outer Spec  $v^*P$ . It follows that movement from the object position to outer Spec  $v^*P$  yields a semantic effect, thereby assigning an EPP feature to  $v^*$  and rendering CS possible.

### 4.3.3. Deriving the Difference between the Icelandic Type and the MSc Type of OS

#### 4.3.3.1. Previous Studies

Recall again that the CS yielding a semantic effect is applied to different elements in Icelandic and MSc (cf. §4.2.2). A substantial number of previous studies have tried to account for the difference between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of CS in a principled manner. For instance, Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 208ff) associate the capability of the CS of an FN and an SPPrn with the existence of Transitive Expletive Constructions (henceforth, TECs) like (4-28):

(4-28) TEC

*Icelandic*

Pað hafa margir jólasveinar borðað búaðing.

EXPL have many Christmas trolls eaten pudding

‘Many Christmas trolls have eaten puddings.’ (Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 209))

Both the FN/SPPrn CS and the TEC are allowed in Icelandic while neither is allowed in MSc. It may seem that this fact demonstrates the correlation between FN/SPPrn CS and TECs. Bošković (2004: 48ff) and Hiraiwa (2001: 298f), on the other hand, correlate the capability of FN/SPPrn CS with the phenomenon called Stylistic Fronting (henceforth, SF) like (4-29):

(4-29) SF

*Icelandic*

þeir sem þessa erfiðu ákvörðun verða að taka  $t_{\text{þessa erfiðu ákvörðun}}$

those that this difficult decision have to take

‘those that have to take this difficult decision’ (Holmberg (2000: 449))

Again, Icelandic allows both the FN/SPP<sub>Prn</sub> CS and SF while MSc allow neither: the correlation between them may seem to be justified.

Given the earlier English facts, however, the claims for the two correlations mentioned just above cannot be maintained. First, although CS is restricted to the WPP<sub>Prn</sub> in LME and EModE, TECs are found between the 14th and 16th centuries, according to Makita (2000: 27) and Tanaka (2000: 478f):

(4-30) TEC

*LME (15C)*

the schall no man bete ne bynde a messyng  
EXPL shall no man beat nor bind a messenger  
'No one will beat or bind a messenger.'

(Dc. Prov. p.49 / MED / Tanaka (2000: 479))

Second, SF is found in the *Ormulum* written in the 13th century Northeast Midland dialect, according to Trips (2002: 306ff, 2003: 460ff):

(4-31) SF

*EME (13C)*

... al þat ifell iss *t<sub>ifell</sub>*...  
all that evil is

'... all that is evil...' (CMORM, I 58.538 / PPCME2 / Trips (2003: 461))

Moreover, what Wurff (1999: 242) deems the 15th century residual OV order in the subordinate clause without an overt subject can be considered here as an instance of SF:

(4-32) SF

*LME (15C)*

... al them that this litel werke shal see, here or rede *t<sub>this litel werke</sub>* ...  
all them that this little work shall see here or read  
'... all those that will see, hear or read this little work...'

(Caxton 46a.29 / Wurff (1999: 242))

Thus, the view that correlates the FN/SPP<sub>Prn</sub> CS on the one hand with the TEC/SF on the

other suggested by the previous studies is untenable.

#### 4.3.3.2. Proposal

In light of the discussion above, let us follow Watanabe (2003) in associating the capability of FN CS (and SPPrn CS) with the determiner system (D-system) in the relevant language. Julien (2002: 264f, 2003: 230, 2005: 26ff) observes that the D-system in MSc exhibits the so-called “double definiteness” phenomenon: the definiteness of a nominal is commonly marked by a suffix in MSc; when the nominal in question is modified by an adjective (henceforth, Adj), it is marked by both a suffix and a definite article:<sup>15</sup>

TABLE 4-9: SCANDINAVIAN D-SYSTEM

	DEFINITE NOMINAL	ADJ + DEFINITE NOMINAL
<i>Icelandic</i>	hús- <b>ið</b>	nýja hús- <b>ið</b>
<i>Danish</i>	hus- <b>et</b>	<b>det</b> nye hus
<i>Norwegian</i>	hus- <b>et</b>	<b>det</b> nye hus- <b>et</b>
<i>Swedish</i>	hus- <b>et</b>	<b>det</b> nya hus- <b>et</b>
<i>Faroese</i>	hús- <b>ið</b>	<b>tað</b> nýa hús- <b>ið</b>
GLOSS	house-DEF	DEF new house-DEF

(Julien (2002: 264))

The D-system in Icelandic does not show such a property: the definiteness of a nominal is always marked by a suffix in Icelandic. Watanabe (2003: 51) points out that presence of the double definiteness phenomenon and absence of the FN CS (and the SPPrn CS) may be correlated with each other. A similar correlation is attested in the history of English.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Note that the definiteness of a nominal is marked only by a definite article in Danish when the nominal in question is modified by an Adj. Strictly speaking, this is not an instance of the double definiteness phenomenon. Nevertheless, let us follow Katzir (2011: 46, footnote 2) in assuming that the D-system in Danish always encodes definiteness as a suffix, but that it is just not morphologically realized when a nominal is modified by an Adj.

<sup>16</sup> According to Julien (2005: 27, 44ff), MSc Adjs show weak declension in the syntactic environment where

We have seen in §4.2.3 that application of CS is limited to WPPrn in LME/EModE. According to Osawa (2000: 57, 75ff) and Philippi (1997: 63, 89f), moreover, the PDE D-system is already established at least in the 15th century: the definite nominal has come to be marked by a definite article (in addition to demonstratives and possessive/genitive pronouns (henceforth, Dems and Posses, respectively)):

(4-33) *15th Century English (LME)*

[<sub>DP/NP</sub> *þe/the* N ] ~~✗~~ *definite nominal*

Based on the common traits of MSc and LME/EModE reviewed above, we see that CS is limited to WPPrn and that the definite nominal is marked by a definite determiner (always in LME/EModE and when the definite nominal is modified by an Adj in MSc). These striking similarities lead us to formulate the following descriptive generalization:

(4-34) Additional presence of an overt definite determiner within a DP (i.e. a nominal projection) prevents the object at the phonological border from being assigned Int'.

The descriptive generalization in (4-34) captures the fact that application of CS is limited to WPPrn. In Icelandic, absence of a definite determiner in the definite DP makes possible the assignment of INT and INT' to outer Spec  $v^*P$  and the phonological border, respectively, thereby allowing a potential semantic effect of movement from the externally merged object position to outer Spec  $v^*P$ . This potential semantic effect allows the  $v^*$  to be

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the double definiteness phenomenon appears. Earlier English also exhibits the properties “similar” to the double definiteness phenomenon. Hogg (1992: 138) points out that a Dem or a Poss can be either present or absent in OE and EME when definite DPs involve an Adj: the Adj is marked with a weak (a.k.a. definite) inflection when a Dem/Poss is present, as in (ia), while it is marked with a strong (a.k.a. indefinite) inflection when a Dem/Poss is absent, as in (ib):

- (i) a. [<sub>DP/NP</sub> Dem/Poss Adj<sub>WEAK</sub> N ]  
       b. [<sub>DP/NP</sub> Adj<sub>STRONG</sub> N ]

Under the analysis put forward by Watnabe (2009: 360), weak/definite declension of Adjs in the presence of a Dem/Poss results from an Agree relation with D<sup>0</sup>. According to Lass (1992: 115), however, the distinction between weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension of Adjs within a DP is lost in the 14th century.

assigned an EPP feature, whereby CS of an FN and an SPPrn in Icelandic is made possible as well as the WPPrn CS.<sup>17</sup> In MSc and LME/EModE, on the other hand, presence of a definite determiner in the definite DP blocks the assignment of INT' to the phonological border (cf. generalization in (4-34)), thereby allowing no semantic effect of movement from the externally merged object position to outer Spec  $v^*P$ . The absence of a semantic effect does not allow EPP assignment to  $v^*$ , which, in turn, makes CS of an FN and an SPPrn impossible. Even though the INT' assignment to the phonological border, hence the EPP assignment to  $v^*$ , is blocked in the case of a definite FN, it is possible with a definite WPPrn since the definite WPPrn is not a DP accompanied by a definite determiner (cf. footnote 17). Thus, application of CS, hence OS, is limited to WPPrn in MSc and LME/EModE.

It is predicted that under the UG principles in (4-26), languages with the VO base order and WPPrns in its pronominal paradigms can allow OS of an FN, a SPPrn, and a WPPrn. In light of the descriptive generalization in (4-34) and presence/absence of the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$ , however, the typological variation of OS is limited, as the following table shows:

TABLE 4-10: TYPOLOGICAL VARIATION OF OS

<i>VO grammar (with WPPrn)</i>		DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	
		YES	NO
V-MOVEMENT OUT OF $v^*P$	YES	WPPrn OS language	FN OS language
	NO	non-OS language	non-OS language

A language that allows finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$  but lacks a definite article within a definite DP becomes an FN OS language (e.g. Icelandic) and allows the Icelandic type of OS. When the language in question accepts obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP, it becomes a WPPrn OS language (e.g. MSc and LME/EModE) and

<sup>17</sup> Under the trichotomy of PPrns in (4-22), the WPPrn is considered as a definite article (i.e.  $D^0$ ). This categorial status may seem to pose a problem, but the WPPrn is not a nominal projection (i.e. DP), hence the generalization in (4-34) is not applicable: it is not considered to be a DP accompanied by a definite article.

allows the MSc type of OS.

#### 4.3.4. Derivation of the OSC

Given the detailed mechanism driving WPPrn OS, the OSC in LME/EModE such as (4-14d) can be derived as follows:

- (4-35) a. MERGER OF  $v^*$ , V-TO- $v^*$  MOVEMENT & MERGER OF A SUBJECT

$[_{v^*P} \text{he } [_{v^*} \text{forzeue-}v^* \langle u\phi/EPP \rangle] [_{VP} t_{\text{forzeue}} [_D \text{hym} \langle i\phi/uCase \rangle ] ] ] ]$

V-TO- $v^*$  MOVEMENT

- a'. AGREEMENT BETWEEN  $v^*$  AND THE WPPRN OBJECT

$[_{v^*P} \text{he } [_{v^*} \text{forzeue-}v^* \langle \cancel{u\phi}/EPP \rangle] [_{VP} t_{\text{forzeue}} [_D \text{hym} \langle i\phi/\cancel{uCase} \rangle ] ] ] ]$

AGREE

- a''. CS OF THE WPPRN OBJECT

$[_{v^*P} [_D \text{hym} \langle i\phi/\cancel{uCase} \rangle ]] [_{v^*} \text{he } [_{v^*} \text{forzeue-}v^* \langle \cancel{u\phi}/EPP \rangle] \boxed{[_{VP} t_{\text{forzeue}} t_{\text{hym}}]} ] ] ] ]$   
 CS SPELL-OUT

- b. MERGER OF A NEG AND T &  $v^*$ -TO-T MOVEMENT

$[_{TP} \text{forzeue-}v^* \langle \cancel{u\phi}/EPP \rangle] \text{-T } [_{\text{NegP}} \text{not}]$   
 $[_{v^*P} [_D \text{hym} \langle i\phi/\cancel{uCase} \rangle ]] [_{v^*} \text{he } [_{v^*} t_{v^*} [_{VP} \dots ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$

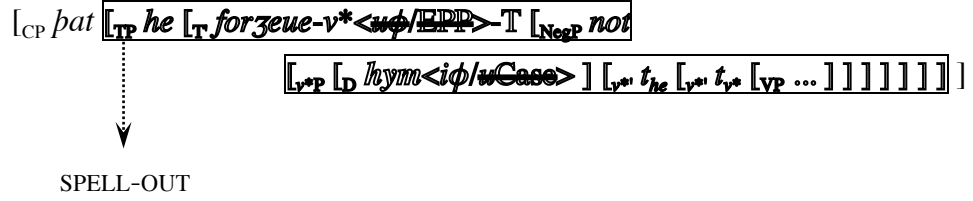
$v^*$ -TO-T MOVEMENT

- b'. SUBJECT MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

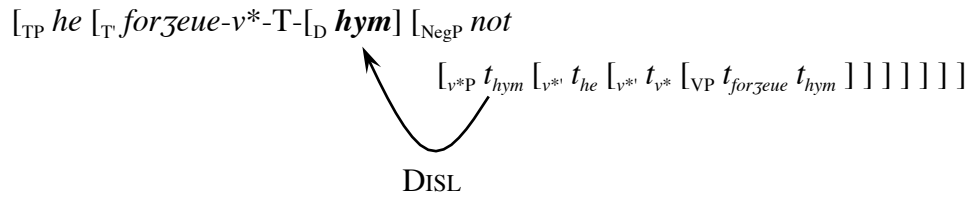
$[_{TP} \text{he } [_T \text{forzeue-}v^* \langle \cancel{u\phi}/EPP \rangle] \text{-T } [_{\text{NegP}} \text{not}]]$   
 $[_{v^*P} [_D \text{hym} \langle i\phi/\cancel{uCase} \rangle ]] [_{v^*} t_{\text{he}} [_{v^*} t_{v^*} [_{VP} \dots ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$

SUBJECT MOVEMENT

c. MERGER OF C



d. DISL OF THE WPPRN OBJECT (AT  $\Phi$ )



Let us suppose that the derivation under consideration has reached the stage where  $v^*$  and the subject is merged with the VP already constructed and the main V has moved to  $v^*$ : this is (4-35a). At this point of the derivation, the WPPrn object does not contain any definite determiner (cf. footnote 16), hence INT' is assigned to the object position within the VP, allowing a potential semantic effect of movement, whereby an EPP feature is assigned to  $v^*$ . Then, the  $v^*$  enters into an Agree relation with the WPPrn object, and the  $u\phi$  of  $v^*$  and  $uCase$  of the WPPrn object are valued and deleted, as in (4-35a'). As a consequence of Agree, CS of the WPPrn object takes place in order to satisfy the EPP requirement of  $v^*$ , the  $v^*P$  phase being completed and the VP being spelled out to  $\Phi$  and  $\Sigma$ , as in (4-35a''). At the next phase level, the Neg and T are merged to the  $v^*P$  in sequence, and the  $v^*$  moves to T, as in (4-35b). Then, the subject located in the inner Spec  $v^*P$  moves to Spec TP (in order to satisfy the EPP requirement of T), as in (4-35b'). When C is merged to the TP, the CP phase is completed and the TP is spelled out to  $\Phi$  and  $\Sigma$ , as in (4-35c). At the  $\Phi$  side, Disl raises the WPPrn object in outer Spec  $v^*P$  to T, as in (4-35d). This is the end of the derivation under consideration: it converges.

In the case of the FN object or the SPPrn object, the derivation diverges from the stage corresponding to (4-35a), where INT' is not assigned to the object position within the VP since the object DP such as  $[_{DP} [_D the] [_{NP} kynge\ of\ Atheniensis]]$  in (4-17a) and  $[_{DP} [_D him]]$  in



*selfe*]] in (4-17b) contains a definite determiner. This makes the EPP assignment to  $v^*$  impossible, whereby CS and subsequent Disl at  $\Phi$  never take place. Thus, the convergent derivation with an FN object or a SPPrn object does not result in an OSC.

Based on the UG principles in (4-26) proposed by Chomsky (2001) and the descriptive generalization in (4-34), we have presented the derivation of an OSC with a WPPrn and have accounted for the fact that the OS attested in LME/EModE is the MSc type. Bearing in mind the discussion in this section, let us turn now to how and why the derivation in (4-35) was made possible in LME and impossible in LModE in the history of English.

#### 4.4. Emergence and Decline of OS as Intra-syntactically Driven Language Change

##### 4.4.1. Three Factors Which Enable Pronominal OS in LME/EModE

Recall now that the prerequisites for CS, hence OS, in a language are the presence of WPPrns in the pronominal paradigm and the relocation of phonological material, especially a main V, out of  $v^*P$ . When the language in question allows a definite determiner in the definite DP, the attested OS will be the MSc type. Since pronominal OS is possible in LME and EModE, it follows that they have the following three factors related to CS/OS:

TABLE 4-11: FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (LME/EModE)

	PRESENT	ABSENT
a. WPPRN	✓	
b. V-MOVEMENT OUT OF $v^*P$	✓	
c. DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	✓	
POSSIBILITY OF OS	<i>MSc type possible</i>	

One might think that the factors presented in Table 4-11 and in the remainder of this section are not the de facto parameters that consist of UG. They merely capture the generalization of the characteristics potentially enabling CS/OS yet to be formalized. This task is set aside here, pending further discussion and refinement in the following section. This section focuses on how the presence/absence of the three factors enabling CS/OS interact to

make pronominal OS possible in LME and impossible in LModE.

Concerning the first factor, the previous studies such as Kemenade (1987: 189ff, 200) point out that CPPrns were lost sometime during EME, which is ascribed in §2.4 of Chapter 2 to the direct consequence of the addition of *uCase* to CPPrns. Note, in connection with the trichotomy of the PPrn, that addition of *uCase* to the feature content of CPPrn in (4-22a) amounts to the characterization of the WPPrn in (4-22b). This line of reasoning leads us to propose that the periods after EME (i.e. LME and EModE) have only weak (and strong) PPrns. Thus, the first factor enabling CS/OS is present in LME/EModE, as in Table 4-11a.

Concerning the second factor, finite V-movement out of *v\*P* has been attested in the main clause since OE and in the subordinate clause presumably since EME.<sup>18</sup> The topic-initial main clause with an FN subject exhibits the well-known V2 phenomenon in OE (Kemenade (1987: 110ff) among others) and EME (Fischer et al. (2000: 130) among others), which is taken here to be an instance of finite V-movement out of *v\*P*:

(4-36) V2 IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL MAIN CLAUSE WITH AN FN SUBJECT

a. *OE*

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

(ÆCHom, I.20 / Kemenade (1987: 42))

b. *EME*

[On þis gær] would þe king Stephne tæcen Rodbert...  
in this year wanted the king Stephen seize Robert  
'During this year, King Stephen wanted to seize Robert...'

(ChronE (Plummer), 1140.1 / Fischer et al. (2000: 130))

Although the frequency of the V2 order in the topic-initial context drops, it continues to be

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<sup>18</sup> See Biberauer & Roberts (2005: 38, 2008b: 36, 2010: 279f).

found in LME (Haeberli (2002b: 252ff)) and sporadically in EModE (Bækken (1998: 59)). The subordinate clause in EME starts to exhibit VO order, which is rarely attested in OE. When a phrasal Neg or an Adv is included in the clause under consideration, V-Neg/Adv-Obj and V-Obj-Neg/Adv orders are taken to be instances of V-to-T movement:

(4-37) V-NEG-OBJ ORDER IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

*EME (Ayenbite of Inwit)*

... of huam me ne kan naʒt **his name...**

of whom one NEG knows not his name

‘... of whom one does not know his name...’

(CMAYENBI, 103.2015 / PPCME2)

It is also evident from the sentences presented in §4.2.3 (i.e. (4-14)-(4-17)) that the V-to-T movement continues to be possible in LME and EModE. Thus, the second factor enabling CS/OS is present in LME/EModE, as in Table 4-11b.

Concerning the third factor, the definiteness/specificity of nominals in OE and EME is marked by a Dem or Poss and weak Adjs if present (Traugott (1992: 171), Fischer (1992: 217)), as briefly mentioned in §4.3.3.2:

(4-38) *OE/EME*

[<sub>DP/NP</sub> Dem/Poss (Adj<sub>WEAK</sub>) N ] ~~is~~ *definite nominal*

However, the definite nominal comes to be marked by a definite article (in addition to Dems and Posses) at least in the 15th century, as in the PDE D-system (cf. (4-33)). Wood (2003: 69, 2007: 170f) and Crisma (2011: 178) on the one hand and Watanabe (2009: 367) on the other date the establishment of the PDE D-system to even earlier periods: late OE and EME, respectively. Thus, the PDE D-system can be considered to be already established in LME, and the third factor enabling CS/OS is present in LME/EModE, as in Table 4-11c.

It should be noted here that the first and second factors in Table 4-11 (i.e. (a) and (b)) differ from the third one (i.e. (c)) in its role. The first two factors enable OS in general making no distinction between the Icelandic and MSc types, whereas the last one restricts

OS into the MSc type.

#### 4.4.2. Three Factors Which Enable Pronominal OS in OE/EME

As is clear from the diachronic characterization of the WPPrn, the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$  and the definite determiner within a definite DP just mentioned above, the parametric factors related to CS/OS are exercised as follows in OE and EME:

TABLE 4-12: FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (OE/EME)

	PRESENT	ABSENT
a. WPPRN		✓
b. V-MOVEMENT OUT OF $v^*P$	✓	
c. DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	(✓)	✓
POSSIBILITY OF OS	<i>impossible</i>	

Since the second factor enabling CS/OS in Table 4-12b is already set for the presence of finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$  in OE/EME, the OE/EME grammar with the parametric factors in Table 4-12 is what Biberauer & Roberts (2008a: 80) call “a system which has a propensity to further parametric change”: it has a potential to evolve into an OS grammar. Then, what causes the emergence of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 14th century is the shift in the presence/absence of the three factors from Table 4-12 to Table 4-11. First, by the end of EME, CPPrn obtaining  $u$ Case becomes WPPrn, shifting the first factor from Table 4-12a to Table 4-11a.<sup>19</sup> This shift induces an OS grammar. Second, the PDE D-system emerges presumably in the end of EME or in the beginning of LME and starts to mark the definite DP with a definite determiner. This change shifts the third factor from Table 4-12c to Table 4-11c. This shift restricts the attained OS grammar to a WPPrn OS grammar: presence of a definite determiner within the definite DP prevents the

<sup>19</sup> The addition of  $u$ Case to the CPPrn renders cliticization impossible. Note, however, that pronominal scrambling can also move the WPPrn to the position in front of the phrasal Neg (cf. footnote 9). An implicit premise here is that pronominal scrambling is also impossible from LME onwards.

INT' assignment to the phonological border, hence the EPP assignment to  $v^*$ , rendering only the MSc type of OS possible. In the manner just described, the MSc type of OS emerges in the posterior half of the 14th century, and this change is a consequence of other syntactic changes previously induced (i.e. emergence of WPPrns and the PDE D-system), hence an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change.

#### 4.4.3. Three Factors Which Enable Pronominal OS in LModE/PDE

The MSc type of OS disappears in the posterior half of the 17th century, which results from the following parametric choices in LModE/PDE:

TABLE 4-13: FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (LModE/PDE)

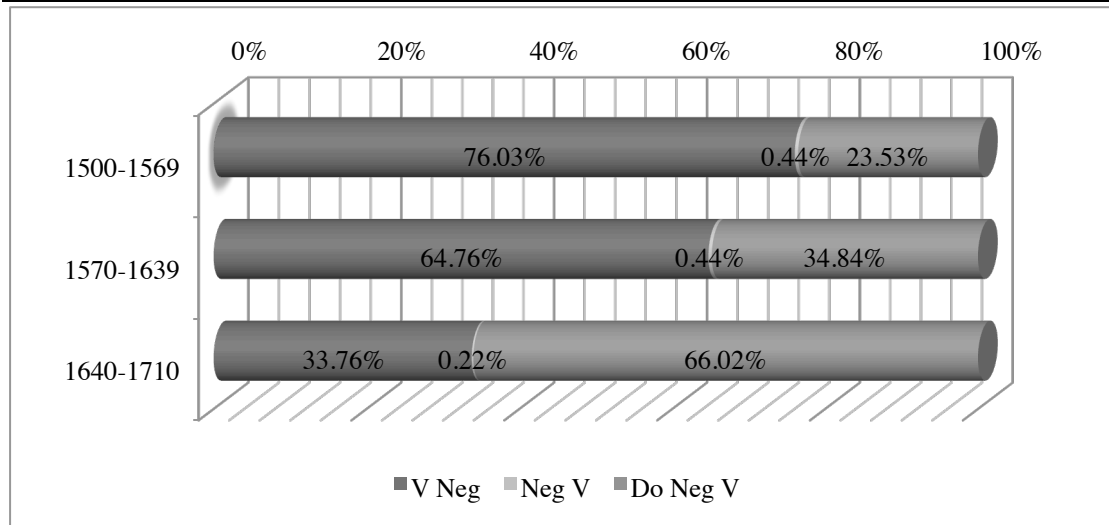
	PRESENT	ABSENT
a. WPPRN	✓	
b. V-MOVEMENT OUT OF $v^*P$		✓
c. DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	✓	
POSSIBILITY OF OS	<i>impossible</i>	

The exact timing of the loss of V-to-T movement is still controversial: for instance, Roberts (1985: 47) insists that it is lost in the mid-16th century while Han (2000: 291ff) claims that its loss takes place in the early 17th century (cf. Kroch (1989, 1994) and Ellegård (1953)); Warner (1997: 381) even dates it to sometime in the 18th century. Nevertheless, a survey with the PPCEME suggests a middle course: the frequency of V-to-T movement significantly drops in the latter half of the 17th century:

TABLE 4-14:

V-TO-T MOVEMENT: DISTRIBUTION OF  $V_{FIN}$  VIS-À-VIS NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

<PPCEME>	$V_{FIN}$ NEG	NEG $V_{FIN}$	$Do_{FIN}$ NEG V
1500-1569	349 (76.03%)	2 (0.44%)	108 (23.53%)
1570-1639	294 (64.76%)	2 (0.44%)	158 (34.84%)
1640-1710	157 (33.76%)	1 (0.22%)	307 (66.02%)



Moreover, Haerberli (2002b: 256, 261) observes that the frequency of V2 starts to drop in the late 14th century, and Bækken (1998: 59) notes that it dramatically drops in the late 17th century. These changes shift the second factor from Table 4-11b to Table 4-13b. Absence of the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$  creates no phonological border, hence no semantic effect of CS, thereby rendering the EPP assignment to  $v^*$  impossible. Thus, the MSc type of OS becomes impossible and fades away in the posterior half of the 17th century. Note, in this respect, that the LME/EModE grammar with the factors in Table 4-11 is also a system which has a propensity to further parametric change: it has a potential to evolve into a non-OS grammar. In other words, the LME/EModE grammar is apt to be a non-OS grammar only with the loss of the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$ . The decline of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 17th century is also a consequence of

another syntactic change previously induced: it is inevitably induced by the loss of the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$ , hence an instance of intra-syntactically driven language change.

#### 4.4.4. Convergence on a Pronominal OS Grammar

The emergence and decline of the MSc type of OS in the history of English and their interaction with other syntactic changes are summarized as follows:

FIGURE 4-3: EMERGENCE AND DECLINE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

FIGURE 4. OS: EMERGENCE AND DECLINE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

OE/EME (– latter 14C)	NON-OS GRAMMAR		∅
	<i>WPP<sub>Prn</sub></i>	<i>absent</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>(absent)</i>	
EMERGENCE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓			
LME/EModE (latter 14C – latter17C)	WPP <sub>Prn</sub> OS GRAMMAR		Prn OS
	<i>WPP<sub>Prn</sub></i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>present</i>	
DECLINE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓			
LModE/PDE (latter17C –)	IMPOVERISHED WPP <sub>Prn</sub> OS / NON-OS GRAMMAR		Prn OS
	<i>WPP<sub>Prn</sub></i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>sporadic/absent</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>present</i>	

In light of the minimalist analysis of the OSC presented in §4.3, both the emergence and the decline of OS in the history of English are shown to be caused by a grammatical system which has a propensity to further parametric change. It should be emphasized here that acquisition of the MSc type of OS does not require a cue: it is acquired as a consequence of interaction of other parametric factors. In other words, the MSc type of OS attested in the

history of English is an epiphenomenon of other syntactic changes.

The grammatical system in question is, of course, brought about by the children of the succeeding generation. Children acquiring, say, EME encounter the finite V-movement in PLD, which is not a sufficient condition for OS by itself. Hence, they acquire a non-OS grammar. Due to the establishment of the modern pronominal paradigm and D-system, however, children acquiring LME/EModE encounter the WPPrn, finite V-movement and the DP accompanied by a definite determiner in PLD. These factors lead the children acquiring LME/EModE to construct a WPPrn OS grammar. Due to the loss of the finite V-movement, children acquiring LModE encounter only the WPPrn and the DP accompanied by a definite article in PLD. Again, these are not conditions sufficient for children to construct a WPPrn OS grammar. Therefore, they attain another non-OS grammar. Thus, the emergence of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 14th century is induced by the grammatical system where the WPPrn and the V-movement out of  $v^*P$  are present and the PDE D-system is established; its decline in the posterior half of the 17th century is induced by the grammatical system where the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$  is infrequent. Consequently, the historical development of OS results in following the trail of the intra-syntactically driven language change. Since the three factors enabling pronominal OS presented above are not really parameters that consist of UG, as already mentioned, let us turn now to refine and formulate them as *de facto* parameters.

#### **4.5. The Three Factors Fine-tuned**

As shown in §1.4.2.2 of Chapter 1, the locus of the parametric variations under the minimalist research strategy is restricted to the formal features on functional heads. Thus, the three pre-theoretical/descriptive factors enabling pronominal OS in the history of English should be attributed to the presence/absence of formal features on functional heads or the variation in their nature. This section attempts to formulate the three factors into parameters in terms of formal features on functional heads.



#### 4.5.1. *uCase Parameter*

As shown in §2.3.1.2 of Chapter 2, presence/absence of WPPrns is straightforwardly accommodated by the minimalist conception of parametric variations, which is already done in §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3: the presence/absence of WPPrns is ascribed to presence/absence of *uCase* on  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$ . Recall now the trichotomy of PPrns presented in (4-22) above. Presence of *uCase* as well as *iφ* on  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  results in constituting WPPrns while its absence results in constituting CPPrns. Thus, the first factor enabling pronominal OS is restated as the following parameter:

(4-39) *uCase* PARAMETER ON D

- a.  $-u\text{Case}$  on D:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi>$  (= CPPrn)
- b.  $+u\text{Case}$  on D:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u\text{Case}>$  (= WPPrn) (= (2-27))

Acquisition of language involves formation of a lexicon made up of lexical items, into which semantic, phonological, and formal features are selected and assembled. When *uCase* is selected and put into  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  during the formation of a lexicon, the language in question possesses WPPrns in its pronominal paradigms, as in (4-39b). When *uCase* is not selected during this process, on the other hand, the language in question possesses CPPrns in its pronominal paradigms, as in (4-39a). Thus, the absence/presence of WPPrns follows from the *uCase* Parameter in (4-39).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Note that the *uCase* Parameter on D in (4-39) does not always have binary variation: the variation can be trinary. It may seem at first sight that some languages have only WPPrns (as well as SPPrns) while the others have only CPPrns (as well as SPPrns). Nevertheless, there is a third possibility: *uCase* can be selected and put into D and not selected simultaneously, forming two kinds of  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  (i.e. WPPrns and CPPrns) in one language. In this case, the language in question possesses both WPPrns and CPPrns as well as SPPrns. The third possibility is exemplified by languages such as Italian, French, Dutch, West Flemish, Olang Tirolese, and Slovak (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 38ff, 43, 51ff, 1999: 165ff)).

#### 4.5.2. *Tense Morphology Parameter*

Before moving on to discuss the second factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of finite main V-movement out of  $v^*P$ , its driving force must be considered in detail. This is because the parametric variation in the applicability of finite main V-movement out of  $v^*P$  is directly ascribed to presence/absence of its driving force. In other words, a parameter resides in the driving force for finite main V-movement.

Many researchers attribute the driving force of V-to-T movement to the richness of verbal inflections, especially, rich “agreement” morphology:<sup>21</sup> details aside, when verbal agreement morphology is rich enough in a language, finite main V-movement to T is possible in the language in question. Based mainly on the Faroese facts and theory-internal reasons, however, later studies refute the correlation between the rich agreement morphology and the presence of V-to-T movement.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, let us adopt the notion of (partial) “reprojective” V-to-T movement.<sup>23</sup> Biberauer & Roberts (2008b: 27f, 2010: 267f) and Roberts (2010a: 163f) argue that V-movement to T is related to the rich “tense” morphology rather than rich agreement morphology (cf. Roberts (2011: 212ff, 219)). According to their proposal, the difference between Germanic and Romance languages regarding V-to-T movement is correlated with the richness of the inflectional (i.e. synthetic) marking of tense distinctions. They observe that the Germanic and Romance languages differ noticeably in the number of synthetic tense paradigms that are typically found. In this respect, the Romance languages are considerably richer than the Germanic

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<sup>21</sup> For instance, Roberts (1985: 32ff, 1993: 267, 272, 1999: 289, 291f), Vikner (1997: 200), Rohrbacher (1994: 108, 118, 128, 1999: 116, 130, 138, 141) among others.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002: 226f), Bobaljik (2002: 157ff), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998: 58ff), and Thráinsson (2003: 161f, 168ff).

<sup>23</sup> The notion of reprojective movement introduced here is “partial” in the sense that the movement in question is applied only to the case of V-to-T movement. Unlike the theories of movement proposed by Bury (2003: 9ff, 2007: 79), Donati (2006: 31), and Surányi (2007: 124f, 2008: 290, 298f), the target of movement does not always project.

languages, as the following contrasts of (1st person singular conjugations of) the verb *speak* illustrate:

TABLE 4-15: TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS (1SG): ROMANCE VS. GERMANIC

ROMANCE	<i>French</i>	<i>parle</i> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <i>parlerai</i> (future) / <i>parlerais</i> (conditional) / <i>parlais</i> (imperfect) / <i>parlai</i> (preterit) / <i>parlasse</i> (past subjunctive)
	<i>Italian</i>	<i>parlo</i> (present) / <i>parlerò</i> (future) / <i>parlerei</i> (conditional) / <i>parlavo</i> (imperfect) / <i>parlai</i> (preterit) / <i>parli</i> (present subjunctive) / <i>parlassi</i> (past subjunctive)
	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>hablo</i> (present) / <i>hablaré</i> (future) / <i>hablaría</i> (conditional) / <i>hablaba</i> (imperfect) / <i>hablé</i> (preterit) / <i>hable</i> (present subjunctive) / <i>hablase</i> (past subjunctive I) / <i>hablara</i> (past subjunctive II)
GERMANIC	<i>German</i>	<i>spreche</i> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <i>sprach</i> (past) / <i>spräche</i> (past subjunctive)
	<i>English</i>	<i>speak</i> (present) / <i>spoke</i> (past)
	<i>Swedish</i>	<i>snakker</i> (present) / <i>snakket</i> (past)
	<i>Icelandic</i>	<i>tala</i> (present indicative) / <i>talaði</i> (past indicative/subjunctive) / <i>tali</i> (present subjunctive)

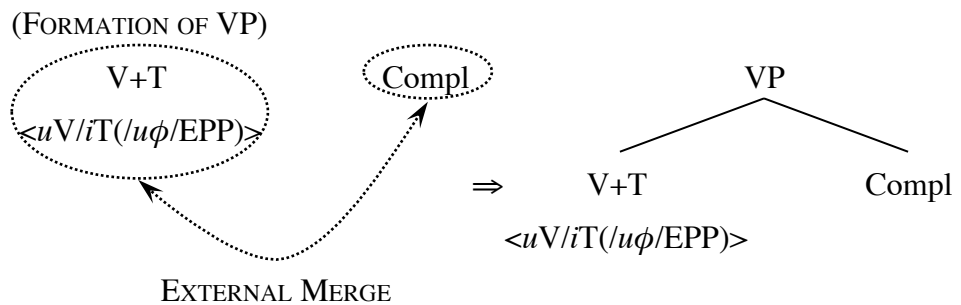
(Biberauer & Roberts (2008b: 28, 2010: 266), Roberts (2010a: 163))<sup>24</sup>

Based on the difference between the Germanic and Romance languages in the number of synthetic tense paradigms shown in Table 4-15, Biberauer & Roberts and Roberts relate the rich synthetic tense paradigms in Romance languages to the presence of V-to-T movement in these languages. Specifically, they propose that finite Vs in these languages are not

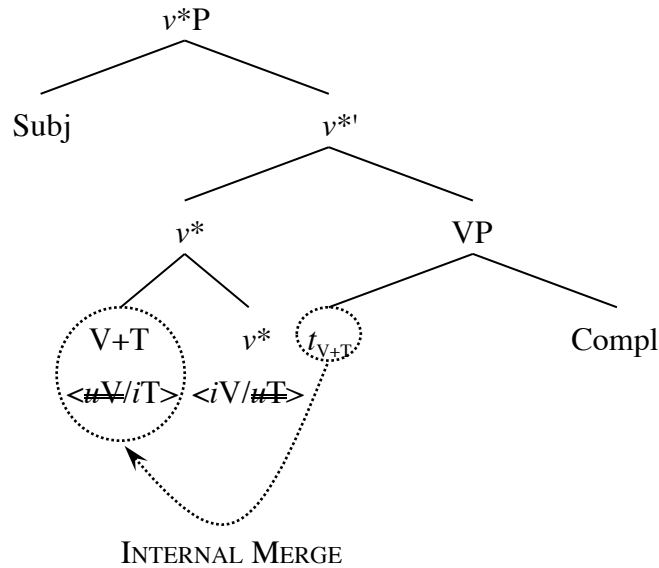
<sup>24</sup> Since Biberauer & Roberts (2008b, 2010) and Roberts (2010a) do not give synthetic tense paradigms in Icelandic, they are illustrated in Table 4-15, based on Bayldon (1870: 74), Morita (1980: 93, 103f), Einarsson (1945: 81ff), Thráinsson (1994: 159ff: 1996: 269, 2003: 156, 2007: 8f), Vikner (1995: 133, 1997: 191, 197), and the entry *tala* ‘speak’ in *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd edition.

categorically simple Vs, but are instead compound elements consisting of a V and a fully specified T. This V+T compound is formed in the Numeration, which is considered to be part of the process of pre-syntactic word formation. Thus, the rich synthetic tense paradigms trigger the formation of compounds of V and T before they are independently put into the computational system. In virtue of the thematic roles associated with V, the V+T compound bearing an unvalued V-feature and an interpretable T-feature (henceforth,  $uV$  and  $iT$ , respectively) in addition to  $u\phi$  and an EPP must first externally merge with any  $\theta$ -marked complement of V, forming a VP. Then, it must also internally merge with  $v^*$  bearing an interpretable V-feature and an unvalued T-feature (henceforth,  $iV$  and  $uT$ ) in addition to  $u\phi$ , forming a  $v^*P$ . Finally, it must also internally merge with the complement of T, projecting and forming a TP. The derivation of the reprojective V-to-T movement just explained is illustrated as follows:

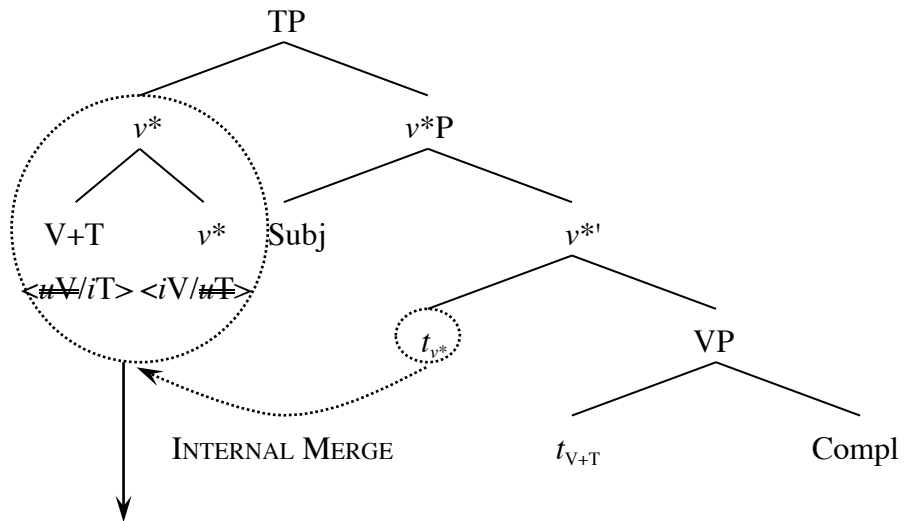
(4-40) a. EXTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND AND ITS COMPLEMENT



- b. FORMATION OF  $v^*P$  (EXTERNAL MERGER OF  $v^*$  AND VP & EXTERNAL MERGER OF SUBJ AND  $v^*$ ) & INTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND AND  $v^*$



- c. INTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND (+  $v^*$ ) AND ITS COMPLEMENT (FORMATION OF TP)





In order to satisfy the thematic requirement of V, the V+T compound bearing an unvalued

$uV$  and  $iT$  (in addition to  $u\phi$  and an EPP) externally merges with a  $\theta$ -marked complement of  $V$ , forming a  $VP$ , as in (4-40a). Nothing happens to the formal features of the  $V+T$  compound here. When  $v^*$  bearing  $iV$  and  $uT$  (in addition to  $u\phi$ ) is introduced into the derivation, it projects  $v^*P$  via external merger with the  $VP$  already formed, as in (4-40b). At this stage,  $v^*$  enters into an Agree relation with the  $V+T$  compound, whereby the  $uT$  of the former and the  $uV$  of the latter are valued.<sup>25</sup> This Agree relation induces internal merger of  $v^*$  and the  $V+T$  compound. The lexical requirement of  $T$  is yet to be satisfied; hence, the  $V+T$  compound internally merges with the  $v^*P$  already formed and projects (i.e. reprojects)  $TP$ , as in (4-40c).  $V$ -to- $T$  movement is thus triggered by the inherent features of the lexically formed  $V+T$  compound. Richness of tense morphology is what underlies the lexical requirement for the formation of the  $V+T$  compound in the Numeration in the first place.

Given the notion of reprojective  $V+T$  movement which is eventually triggered by rich synthetic tense paradigms, the second factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of finite main  $V$ -movement out of  $v^*P$  is formulated as follows:

(4-41) TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARAMETER

- a. rich tense morphology: formation of  $V+T$  compounds required  
 *V-to-T movement required*
- b. poor tense morphology: formation of  $V+T$  compounds impossible  
 *V-to-T movement impossible*

In languages like Romance languages where synthetic tense paradigms are rich, formation of the  $V+T$  compound in the Numeration is required, as in (4-41a); hence  $V$ -to- $T$  movement takes place in *modus operandi* illustrated in (4-40). In languages like Germanic languages (except for Icelandic) where synthetic tense paradigms are relatively

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<sup>25</sup> According to Chomsky (2000: 124f, 2001: 18f, 2004: 113ff, 2005: 17, 2007: 18f, 2008: 154f), the originally unvalued/uninterpretable features delete at the end of the phase. Roberts (2010a: 60), however, departs from this standard minimalist assumption, assuming that the valued features remain undeleted in narrow syntax.

impoverished, on the other hand, formation of the V+T compound is impossible, as in (4-41b); hence V-to-T movement cannot take place. Thus, the presence/absence of finite main V-movement to T out of *v*\*P is also captured in terms of lexical properties, and attributed to the Tense Morphology Parameter in (4-41).

Now one may wonder how rich/poor the synthetic tense paradigms are in earlier English. Although the verbal conjugation is relatively rich in OE, its synthetic tense paradigms are already impoverished, as Table 4-16 illustrates, which is based on Campbell (1959: 296ff), Strang (1970: 306ff), Ono & Nakao (1980: 256), Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 36ff), the entry *speak* in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, and the entry *sprecan* ‘speak’ in *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*:

TABLE 4-16: TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: OE

<i>OE</i>	<i>sprece</i> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <i>spræc</i> (past indicative) / <i>spræce</i> (past subjunctive)
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Since the verbal conjugation is fairly leveled in ME, its synthetic tense paradigms also become poorer accordingly, as Table 4-17 illustrates, which is based on Mossé (1952: §86), Pinsker (1959: 183), Strang (1970: 276ff), Nakao (1972: 171), O’Neil (1980: 265), Davis (1985: 497f), Sisam & Tolkien (2005: 291f, the entry *speke(n)* in the glossary), the entry *speak* in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, and the entry *spēken* ‘speak’ in *Middle English Dictionary*:

TABLE 4-17: TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: ME

<i>ME</i>	<i>speke</i> (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / <i>spake</i> (past indicative)
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The verbal conjugation of EModE is almost that of PDE; hence the synthetic tense paradigms of the former are the same as those of the latter, as Table 4-18 illustrates, which is based on Araki & Ukaji (1984: 196ff, 208ff), Nakao (1989: 158f), Görlach (1991: 88ff), Barber (1997: 164ff), Algeo (2009 [1964]: 170ff), and the entry *speak* in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition:

TABLE 4-18: TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: EMode

<i>EMode</i>	<i>speak</i> (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / <i>spoke</i> (past indicative)
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As can be seen from Tables 4-16, 4-17 and 4-18, the synthetic tense paradigms are relatively impoverished throughout the history of English, which predicts that V-to-T movement should be impossible in earlier English. This prediction is obviously inconsistent with the fact, and this state of affairs must be ameliorated. To this end, Biberauer & Roberts (2008b: 36, 2010: 279) argue that OE lacked V-to-T movement but ME gained it due to the reanalysis of subject-initial V2 orders (contra Biberauer & Roberts (2005: 16, 2006: 280f)). If we assume that successive cyclic V-movement did not exist in OE (contra footnote 19 in Chapter 2), the reanalysis in question is schematized as follows, based on the (topic-initial) V2 structure presented in §2.4 of Chapter 2:

(4-42) REANALYSIS OF SUBJECT-INITIAL V2 AS V-TO-T MOVEMENT

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{OE:} \quad [_{\text{CP}} \text{Subj} [_{\text{C}'} \text{C} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{V-T-v}^* \text{-Fin} [_{\text{TP}} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{\text{T}'} t_{\text{T}} [_{\text{v}^* \text{P}} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{\text{v}^*} t_{\text{v}^*} \\
 \quad \quad \quad [_{\text{VP}} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ] \\
 \quad \quad \quad \Downarrow \\
 \text{ME:} \quad [_{\text{CP}} \emptyset [_{\text{C}'} \text{C} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Fin} [_{\text{TP}} \text{Subj} [_{\text{T}'} \text{V-T-v}^* [_{\text{v}^* \text{P}} t_{\text{Subj}} [_{\text{v}^*} t_{\text{v}^*} \\
 \quad \quad \quad [_{\text{VP}} \dots t_{\text{V}} \dots ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ] \quad \quad \quad (\text{cf. (2-26)})
 \end{array}$$

The result of this reanalysis is an unstable grammatical system with V-to-T movement and impoverished synthetic tense paradigms. Hence, existence of V-to-T movement cannot last long in the history of English: the movement in question is already on the verge of demise since its emergence.

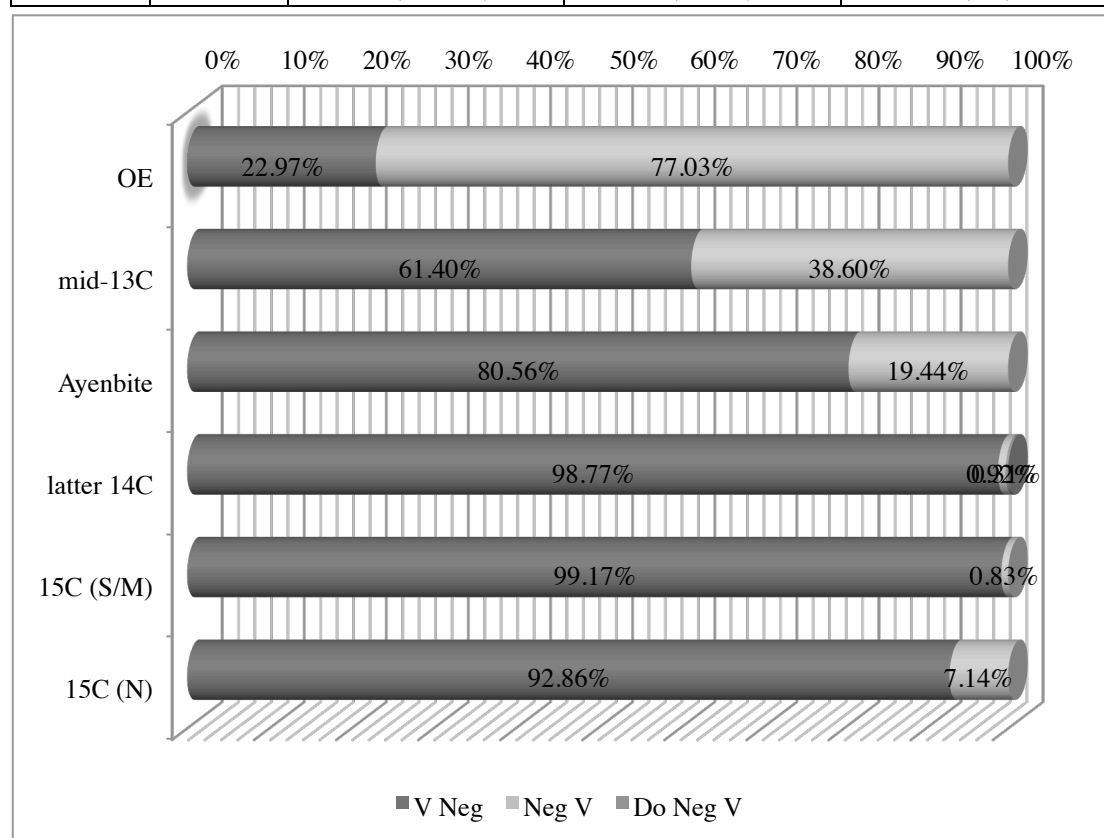
The scenario of the emergence of V-to-T movement proposed by Biberauer & Roberts (2008b) predicts that the V-Neg order (i.e. V-to-T movement configuration) in subordinate clauses is infrequent or rare in OE and the word order in question starts to be attested productively in ME. Surveys with the aid of the YCOE and the PPCME2 reveal that the prediction is borne out:



TABLE 4-19:

V-TO-T MOVEMENT: DISTRIBUTION OF  $V_{FIN}$  VIS-À-VIS NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

<YCOE&PPCME2>		$V_{FIN}$ NEG	NEG $V_{FIN}$	$Do_{FIN}$ NEG V
OE		51 (22.97%)	171 (77.03%)	0 (0%)
SOUTHERN/MIDLAND DIALECTS				
EME	mid-13C	35 (61.40%)	22 (38.60%)	0 (0%)
	<i>Ayenbite</i>	29 (80.56%)	7 (19.44%)	0 (0%)
LME	latter 14C	321 (98.77%)	3 (0.92%)	1 (0.31%)
	15C	119 (99.17%)	1 (0.83%)	0 (0%)
NORTHERN DIALECTS				
LME	15C	39 (92.86%)	3 (7.14%)	0 (0%)



As Table 4-19 shows, the V-Neg order is attested at the rate of 22.97% in OE.<sup>26</sup> The ratio of this word order sharply rises in EME (up to 61.40% in the seven mid-13th century Southern/Midland texts and 80.56% in the *Ayebite of Inwit*). In LME, the ratio reaches to almost 100% in the Southern/Midland dialects and exceeds 90% in the Northern dialects. The data shown in Table 4-19 indicates that V-to-T movement is sporadic and optional in OE while it becomes productive and almost obligatory in ME (or more precisely LME), supporting the scenario of the emergence of V-to-T movement proposed by Biberauer & Roberts.<sup>27</sup>

Under the scenario they propose, the value of the Tense Morphology Parameter is set to (4-41a) in ME via the reanalysis of subject-initial V2 orders in spite of impoverished synthetic tense paradigms, which results in an unstable grammatical system, as mentioned above. This unstable grammatical system cannot be maintained without tangible evidence (i.e. rich synthetic tense paradigms). Thus, although it may take some time, V-to-T movement in the history of English is destined to disappear just after its appearance without any further morpho-phonological change, which is discussed in detail in §4.6 in connection with the demise of OS in LModE.

#### 4.5.3. iDef Parameter

We have seen so far that interaction between the *uCase* Parameter on D and the Tense Morphology Parameter results in enabling OS in general (without making distinction

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<sup>26</sup> The V-Neg order in OE is searched by investigating into the relative order of a finite V and *na/no* (i.e. ADV+NEG) and that in ME by investigating into the relative order of a finite V and *not/nought* (i.e. NEG).

<sup>27</sup> Although the ratio falls short of 50%, the relatively high frequency of the V-Aux order (45.9%) vis-à-vis the Aux-V order surveyed by Haeberli (2005: 270) and the  $V_{\text{Non-finite}}-V_{\text{Finite}}$  order (39.9%) vis-à-vis the  $V_{\text{Finite}}-V_{\text{Non-finite}}$  order surveyed by Haeberli & Pintzuk (2006: 79ff, 2012: 224) and the productivity of the  $V_{\text{Finite}}$ -final order vis-à-vis the  $V_{\text{Finite}}$ -medial order pointed out by Haeberli (2001: 207) and Pintzuk & Haeberli (2008: 369) also support the infrequency and optionality of V-to-T movement in OE. They analyze the facts in terms of the double base hypothesis (i.e. head-initial and head-final TP structures) with obligatory V-to-T movement.

between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS). These parameters do not suffice to restrict OS into pronominal OS. The third factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence or absence of a definite determiner within definite DPs is yet to be formulated. Since obligatoriness of the presence of a definite determiner within definite DPs differs between the earlier periods and the later periods in the history of English, it can be conjectured that the variation in question is related to how the definiteness/specificity is realized. Let us start with the situation in OE and EME. As already mentioned in §4.4.2, the definite article does not exist in OE/EME and the definiteness/specificity of nominals in these periods is marked by a Dem or a Poss and weak Adjs if present (Traugott (1992: 171), Fischer (1992: 217)), which was schematized in (4-38) and is repeated here as (4-43a) and exemplified by (4-43'a):<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Adjs in OE have two types of declension for case, number, and gender: weak/definite declension and strong/indefinite declension. Adj paradigms of weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension, say, for *gōd* ‘good’ are given in the following table:

( i ) ADJ PARADIGMS FOR *GŌD* IN OE

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
WEAK/DEFINITE DECLENSION						
NOM	<i>gōda</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdan</i>		
ACC	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>		
GEN	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdena</i>		
DAT	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdum</i>		
INSTR	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdum</i>		
STRONG/INDEFINITE DECLENSION						
NOM	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōde, -a</i>
ACC	<i>gōdne</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōde, -a</i>
GEN	<i>gōdes</i>	<i>gōdes</i>	<i>gōdre</i>	<i>gōdra</i>	<i>gōdra</i>	<i>gōdra</i>
DAT	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdre</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>
INSTR	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdre</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>

(Moore & Knott (1961 [1955]: 158, 161), Baugh & Cable (2002 [1951]: 58))

(4-43) *OE/EME*

a. [<sub>DP/NP</sub> Dem/Poss Adj<sub>WEAK</sub> N ] ~~↗~~ *definite nominal*

b. [<sub>DP/NP</sub> Adj<sub>STRONG</sub> N ]

(4-43') a. his sio **gode** modor

his that good<sub>WEAK-NOM-SG-FEM</sub> mother

‘his good mother’ (Orosius, 270.26 / Mitchell (1985: §104))

b. fela **godra** monna

many good<sub>STRONG-GEN-PL</sub> men

‘many good men’ (Chr. 871. Erl. 74.34 / *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*: 482)

According to Mitchell (1985: §102), Hogg (1992: 138), Fischer & Wurff (2006: 117) and Fischer (2000: 159ff, 2001: 250, 2012: 252) among others, when a Dem/Poss encoding definiteness/specificity is present, the Adj is marked with weak/definite declension; when the Dem/Poss is absent, on the other hand, the Adj is marked with strong/indefinite declension, as in (4-43b) and (4-43'b). In other words, the definiteness/specificity of nominals is realized not only by a Dem/Poss but also by weak Adjs. As briefly mentioned

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The distal demonstrative *se* ‘that’ in OE also declines for case, number, and gender, whose paradigms are given in the following table:

(ii) DEM PARADIGMS FOR *SE* IN OE

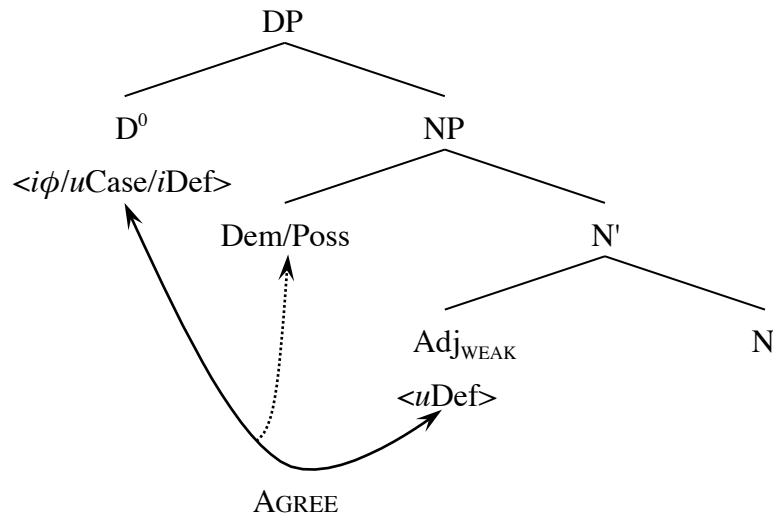
	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE	M	N	F
NOMINATIVE	<i>se</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>sēo/sīo</i>	<i>þā</i>		
ACCUSATIVE	<i>þone</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>þā</i>	<i>þā</i>		
GENITIVE	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þære</i>	<i>þāra/þæra</i>		
DATIVE	<i>þæm/þām</i>	<i>þæm/þām</i>	<i>þære</i>	<i>þæm/þām</i>		
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>þy/þon</i>	<i>þy/þon</i>				

(Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 18))

The singular masculine nominative form *se* eventually develops into the definite article *þe*, which is not discussed further here. For detailed observation of the historical development of *se*, see Sommerer (2011) and references cited therein.

in footnote 16, Watanabe (2009: 360) proposes that weak/definiteness declension of an Adj in the presence of a Dem/Poss results from an Agree relation with (phonologically null) D<sup>0</sup> with respect to the definiteness feature, which is illustrated as follows:

(4-44) AGREEMENT BETWEEN A D<sup>0</sup> AND A WEAK ADJ (AND DEM/POSS)



When D<sup>0</sup> enters into an Agree relation with an Adj, the uninterpretable definiteness feature (henceforth, *uDef*) of the Adj is valued by the interpretable definiteness feature (henceforth, *iDef*) of the D<sup>0</sup>, whereby weak/definite declension of an Adj results.

According to Lass (1992: 115), however, the distinction between weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension of Adjs within a DP is lost in the 14th century. According to Osawa (2000: 57, 75ff) and Philippi (1997: 63, 89f), moreover, the PDE D-system is already established at least in the 15th century: the definite nominal has come to be marked by a definite article, which was schematized in (4-33) and is repeated here as (4-45) with slight modification:<sup>29</sup>

(4-45) *15th Century English (LME)*

[<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D<sup>0</sup></sub> *pe/the*] (Adj) N ] ~~is~~ definite nominal

<sup>29</sup> For arguments for earlier dating of the emergence of the definite article, see discussion below (4-38) in the text and references cited there.

The DP-internal syntax of 15th century English (i.e. obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP and absence of the distinction between weak/definite and strong/indefinite declension of Adjs) amounts to demonstration that there is no Agree relation between  $D^0$  and an Adj in this period. A straightforward question to ask is whether the *i*Def really exists in the 15th century and afterward. If we follow the claim advocated by Watanabe (2009: 368), the answer is readily provided. Since this feature does not induce an Agree relation but only contributes to definiteness/specificity interpretation, it does exist after the 14th century not as a formal feature but as a semantic one.<sup>30</sup> The *i*Def establishes an Agree relation between  $D^0$  and an Adj and induces definiteness/specificity interpretation of a DP when it exists as a formal feature, whereas it only contributes to the definiteness/specificity interpretation when it exists as a semantic feature. Thus, third factor enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of a definite article within a definite DP, is formulated as follows:

(4-46) *i*DEF PARAMETER

- a. *i*Def = semantic feature:                      presence of a definite article
- b. *i*Def = interpretable formal feature:    absence of a definite article

As mentioned above, acquisition of language involves formation of a lexicon made up of lexical items, into which semantic, phonological, and formal features are selected and assembled. When *i*Def is selected as a semantic feature during the formation of a lexicon, the feature in question only contributes to definiteness/specificity interpretation, requiring obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP in the language in question, as in (4-46a). When *i*Def is selected as a formal feature, on the other hand, the feature in question not only induces definiteness/specificity interpretation, but also establishes an Agree relation between  $D^0$  and an Adj, not requiring obligatory presence of a definite article within a definite DP in the language in question.<sup>31</sup> The presence/absence of a

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<sup>30</sup> See also Watanabe (2010: 72).

<sup>31</sup> Note that like the *u*Case Parameter on D in (4-39), the *i*Def Parameter in (4-46) may have trinary variation.

definite article within a definite DP is thus attributed to the *i*Def Parameter in (4-46).

#### *4.5.4. Interaction of the Three Parameters*

To sum up, the three factors enabling pronominal OS, namely, presence/absence of WPPrns, presence/absence of finite main V-movement out of *v*\*P, and presence/absence of a definite article within a definite DP, can be reduced to the *u*Case Parameter in (4-39), the possibility of reanalysis of subject-initial V2 orders (or the Tense Morphology Parameter (4-41) in languages like Romance), and the *i*Def Parameter in (4-46), respectively. The parameters proposed in this section are all formulated in terms of the properties (i.e. features) of lexical items in the spirit of the minimalist view of parametric variations.

The *u*Case Parameter on D set for presence of *u*Case in PPrns and the Tense Morphology Parameter set for formation of V+T compounds interact to result in enabling OS in general (without making distinction between the Icelandic type and the MSc type of OS). When either one of the parameters is set for a different value (viz. absence of *u*Case in PPrns or non-formation of V+T compounds), OS becomes impossible. The *i*Def Parameter set for a semantic feature restricts OS into pronominal OS (i.e. the MSc type of OS). When this parameter is set for an interpretable formal feature, FN OS as well as pronominal OS (i.e. the Icelandic type of OS) becomes possible.

### **4.6. Correlation between Loss of Finite V-movement and Demise of OS**

§4.4 and §4.5 demonstrated that in the history of the English language, pronominal OS was enabled by the following three parameters:

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A single language may manifest *i*Def in both a semantic feature and an interpretable formal feature. If such a case exists, the language in question is expected to allow optional presence of a definite article within definite DPs. The double definiteness phenomenon observed in MSc languages may be attributable to the third possibility. However, this possibility is nothing more than a speculation and needs empirical verification, which is left open here, pending further studies.

(4-47) THREE PARAMETERS ENABLING PRONOMINAL OS

a. *u*Case Parameter

✎ presence/absence of WPPrn

b. Tense Morphology Parameter

✎ presence/absence of main V-movement out of *v*\*P

c. *i*Def Parameter

✎ presence/absence of a definite article within DP

(cf. (4-39), (4-41) & (4-46))

The positive value for (4-47b), that is, the presence of main V-movement out of *v*\*P is a prerequisite for the possibility of OS in general.<sup>32</sup> As argued in §4.4 and §4.5, decline of pronominal OS in LModE is attributable to the decline of main V-movement. Thus, the aim of this section is to reconfirm this causal relationship by considering the OS facts in LModE. It is predicted that as the frequency of V-movement declines, pronominal OS (or OS in general) dies out in LModE. It is shown here that this prediction is borne out.

Investigation into word order patterns in subordinate clauses in the PPCMBE reveals that pronominal OS is sporadically attested in LModE. The results of my survey is shown in the following table:<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The correlation between main V-movement and OS predicts that insofar as main Vs undergo movement out of *v*\*P, (pronominal) OS should be possible in any (periods and regional dialects of) English. This prediction is borne out: even in Early American English or Colonial American English (henceforth, EAE/CAE; cf. Kytö (1991: 6ff), Algeo (2001: 18ff), Bailey (2004: 4ff), Finegan (2006: 387ff), Amberg & Vause (2009: 23f) among others), pronominal OS was possible when main V-movement took place (see Rissanen (2003: 108)). The following is an instance from the records of Salem witch trials conducted in colonial Massachusetts in the late 17th century (i.e. between February 1692 and May 1693):

( i ) OSC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN EAE/CAE

Charge **him** not unless it be he.

(Examination of Nehemiah Abbott Jr. / Rosenthal et al. (2009: 205))

<sup>33</sup> Bracketed numbers in the table indicate the occurrences of reflexive pronouns (i.e. SPPrns).

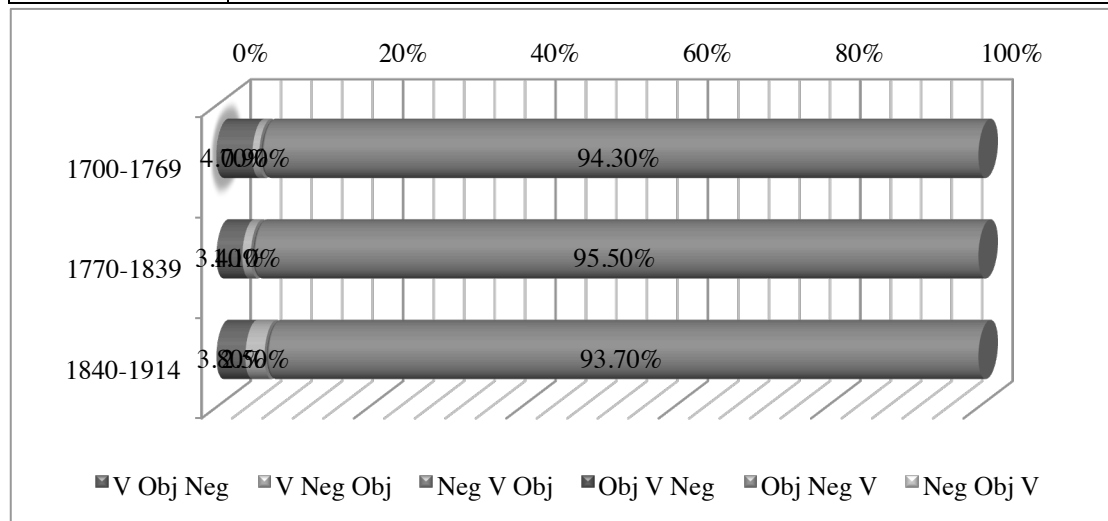


TABLE 4-20:

DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> VIS-À-VIS V AND NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

&lt;PPCMBE&gt;

OBJ <sub>PPRN</sub>		V OBJ NEG	V NEG OBJ	NEG V OBJ	OBJ V NEG	OBJ NEG V	NEG OBJ V
LModE	1700-1769	5 (4.7%)	1 [1] (0.9%)	100 (94.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	1770-1839	3 (3.4%)	1 (1.1%)	84 (95.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	1840-1914	3 (3.8%)	2 [1] (2.5%)	74 (93.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
OBJ <sub>FN</sub>		no OSC					



Representative examples of the OSC in LModE are given below:

(4-48) OSC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT

a. 1700-1769

but all my Hopes are, that he sees **me** not.

(STEVENS-1745, 20.65 / PPCMBE)

b. 1770-1839

or if one has **it** not, go to another, (CARLYLE-1835, 2, 260.93 / ibid.)

c. 1840-1914

and if I should say, I know **him** not, I shall be like unto you, a liar:

(ERV-NEW-1881, 8, 40J.758 / *ibid.*)

Note that all of the instances of potential OSCs (i.e. non-OSCs where main V-movement takes place but OS does not) involve a reflexive pronoun (i.e. SPP<sub>rn</sub>), as in (4-49a) and (4-49c), or a focused pronoun (i.e. SPP<sub>rn</sub>), as in (4-49b).

(4-49) V-NEG-OBJ<sub>PPRN</sub> ORDER

a. 1700-1769

when thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou hide not **thyself** from thine own flesh? (BURTON-1762, 2, 8.144 / PPCMBE)

b. 1770-1839

but if I do them, though ye believe not **Me**, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him;

(NEWCOME-NEW-1796, 10, 20J.943 / *ibid.*)

c. 1840-1914

The soul, which knows not **itself**, and has not, by the grace of God, purified itself, will not see clearly the image of God, which it has deformed in itself. (PUSEY-186X, 295.221 / *ibid.*)

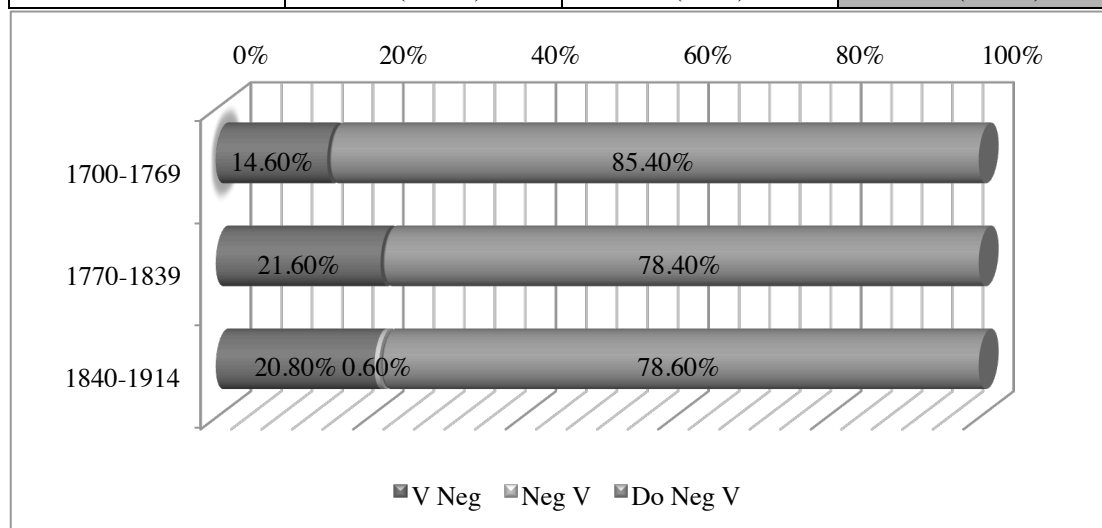
Thus, OS is applicable to only WPP<sub>rn</sub>s in LModE as well, but compared to the situation in EModE, attested instances are sporadic (cf. Table 4-5). In order to demonstrate that the sporadic instances of pronominal OS are due to low frequency of main V-movement in LModE, let us turn now to the basic facts of the latter.

The result of my survey on main V-movement in subordinate clauses in the PPCMBE shows that its frequency in LModE declined compared with that in EModE (cf. Table 4-14).

TABLE 4-21:

V-TO-T MOVEMENT: DISTRIBUTION OF  $V_{FIN}$  VIS-À-VIS NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

<PPCMBE>	$V_{FIN}$ NEG	NEG $V_{FIN}$	$Do_{FIN}$ NEG V
1700-1769	45 (14.6%)	0 (0%)	264 (85.4%)
1770-1839	48 (21.6%)	0 (0%)	174 (78.4%)
1840-1914	37 (20.8%)	1 (0.6%)	140 (78.6%)



In the absence of periphrastic *do*, finite main Vs are moved across the Neg, but the frequency is only 18.3% in total. It follows that the demise of pronominal OS in LModE is attributable to the decline of main V-movement, since the timing of the former coincides with that of the latter.

To sum up, the emergence and demise of pronominal OS in the history of English illustrated in Figure 4-3 should be modified into the following:

FIGURE 4-4: EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

OE/EME (– latter 14C)	NON-OS GRAMMAR		Ø
	<i>WPPrn</i>	<i>absent</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>(absent)</i>	
EMERGENCE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓			
LME/EModE (latter 14C – latter17C)	WPPRN OS GRAMMAR		Prn OS
	<i>WPPrn</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>present</i>	
DECLINE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓			
LModE (latter17C – 20C)	IMPOVERISHED WPPRN OS GRAMMAR		Prn OS
	<i>WPPrn</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>sporadic</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>present</i>	
DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓			
PDE (20C –)	NON-OS GRAMMAR		Ø
	<i>WPPrn</i>	<i>present</i>	
	<i>V-movement</i>	<i>absent</i>	
	<i>definite article</i>	<i>present</i>	

#### 4.7. OS in PCs in PDE: A Relic of Earlier English Syntax?

##### 4.7.1. Similarities between English PCs and Icelandic OSCs

Thus far, this chapter has demonstrated that the MSc type of OS (i.e. pronominal OS) was possible from LME to LModE in the history of English, and it is no longer attested nowadays. Recent studies have shown, however, that the syntactic behavior of PCs in PDE is analogous to that of OSCs in Icelandic in many respects (e.g. Diesing & Jelinek

(1995: 152ff), Johnson (1991: 604ff), Svenonius (1996a: 63), Thráinsson (2001: 163ff), Vikner (1994: 508)). A question naturally arises as to whether the PC in PDE is to be analyzed on a par with the OSC in Icelandic. This section investigates this possibility in light of the syntax of OS proposed in this chapter.

Close comparison of PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs reveals that they share the following syntactic properties. First, only a nominal object can precede the Prt in PDE PCs (Kayne (1984: 104ff)): only a nominal object can precede the Neg (i.e. undergo OS) in Icelandic OSCs (Johnson (1991: 605f), Thráinsson (2001: 150f), Vikner (1994: 492)). Other material such as a PP or AdvP cannot appear in these positions. Thus, the second examples of (4-50b), (4-50c), (4-51b) and (4-51c) are ill-formed.

(4-50) PC IN PDE

- a. i. John looked up **the information.**  
 ii. John looked **the information** up.

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

- b. i. John teamed up **with Bill.**  
 ii. \*John teamed **with Bill** up. (Kayne (1984: 104))  
 c. i. John gave up **immediately.**  
 ii. \*John gave **immediately** up. (ibid.: 105)

(4-51) OSC IN ICELANDIC

- a. i. Nemandinn las ekki **bókina.**  
 ii. Nemandinn las **bókina** ekki.  
 the-student read not the-book not  
 ‘The student didn’t read the book.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 148))  
 b. i. Jón talaði ekki **við Maríu.**  
 ii. \*Jón talaði **við Maríu** ekki.  
 John spoke not to Mary not  
 ‘John didn’t speak to Mary.’ (ibid.: 151)

- c. i. Jón talaði ekki **allan daginn**.  
 ii. \*Jón talaði **allan daginn** ekki.  
 John spoke not all the-day not

‘John didn’t speak for the whole day.’ (ibid.: 164)

Second,  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  must precede the  $\text{Prt}$  in PDE PCs and it must also precede the  $\text{Neg}$  by undergoing OS in Icelandic OSCs:<sup>34</sup>

(4-52) PC IN PDE

- a. \*Mikey looked up **it**.  
 b. Mikey looked **it** up.

(4-53) OSC IN ICELANDIC

- a. \*Nemandinn las ekki **hana**.  
 b. Nemandinn las **hana** ekki.  
 the-student read not it not

‘The student didn’t read it.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 150))

Thus, PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs are syntactically similar in that both allow only the nominal object to appear in front of the  $\text{Prt}/\text{Neg}$  and both prohibit a  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  from appearing after the  $\text{Prt}/\text{Neg}$ .

Another similarity is found between PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs. As shown in §4.2.2, the type of objects that can undergo OS in Icelandic is semantically restricted. As Diesing (1996: 67, 1997: 412), Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 150) and Thráinsson (2001: 188-194) demonstrate, only material that bears specific/given information may shift while material that bears non-specific/new information cannot. The specific/given information is typically conveyed by definite FN and  $\text{PPrn}$  DPs, whereas the non-specific/new information is typically conveyed by indefinite DPs. Thus, definite FN/ $\text{PPrn}$  DPs may

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<sup>34</sup> Moreover, this restriction is relaxed in the same syntactic contexts: when the  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$  is stressed or focused, or when it is coordinated with another  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPm}}$ , it may follow the  $\text{Prt}$  in English PCs (see Bolinger (1971: 39-41), Dikken (1995: 100), Fraser (1974: 17)) and it does not have to shift in Icelandic OSCs (see Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 154), Johnson (1991: 606), Thráinsson (2001: 165)).

undergo OS while indefinite DPs cannot.<sup>35</sup> Compare (4-54a) with (4-54b):

- (4-54) a. i. Hann las ekki **bækunar**.  
           ii. Hann las **bækunar** ekki.  
               he    read   not   the-books   not  
               ‘He didn’t read the books.’  
       b. i. Hann las ekki **bækur**.  
           ii. \*Hann las **bækur** ekki.  
               he    read   not   books       not  
               ‘He didn’t read books.’

(Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 150))

In PDE PCs, the material bearing specific/given information tends to appear in the pre-Prt position while the material bearing non-specific/new information tends to appear in the post-Prt position (Dehé (2002: 128ff), Erades (1961: 58)).<sup>36</sup> This contrast is clearly seen in the following example:<sup>37</sup>

- (4-55) We’ll make up **a parcel** for them... On the morning of Christmas Eve  
           together we made **the parcel** up. (Punch, 25.12, 1915 / Erades (1961: 58))

The contrast between (4-54) and (4-55) shows that the semantic restriction imposed on the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs and the shifted object in Icelandic OSCs is also the same.

These intriguing similarities lead us to conclude that the pre-Prt object in PDE should be analyzed on a par with the shifted object in Icelandic. This means that the pre-Prt object in PDE should be derived by OS. Accordingly, this conclusion raises a question as

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<sup>35</sup> Note that the indefinite DP may undergo OS in Icelandic when it receives a generic or partitive interpretation (see Diesing (1996: 68, 1997: 412), Diesing & Jelinek (1995: 151)).

<sup>36</sup> Thus, the indefinite DP may appear in the pre-Prt position when it receives a specific interpretation implied in the discourse (see Dehé (2002: 130f)). Besides, if the V implies the content of the object, it appears in the pre-Prt position irrespective of the type of the object. See Erades (1961: 58) and Bolinger (1971: 56).

<sup>37</sup> Citing the following example, Mahajan (1990: 277, footnote 18) also demonstrates that the pre-Prt object is sensitive to specificity:

(i) a. He let out **a yell**.

b. \*He let **a yell** out.

(Mahajan (1990: 277, footnote 18))

to how Icelandic OSC facts should be ascertained. They can naturally be accounted for by mechanisms proposed in §4.3.

#### 4.7.2. *OS within the Verbal Projection*

There is one crucial difference between the pre-Prt object in PDE and the shifted object in Icelandic: the latter precedes the Neg while the former never does. Concerning this difference, let us hypothesize that the pre-Prt object in PDE is derived by OS to the specifier position of a verbal functional head located higher than V but lower than  $v^*$ . Following the terminology of Pesetsky (1989: 14), let us call this intermediate functional projection  $\mu$ . Under this hypothesis, the (full) verbal projection has the following structure:

$$(4-56) \quad [_{v^*P} \text{Subj } [_{v^*} v^* [_{\mu P} \text{Spec } [_{\mu} \mu [_{VP} V \text{Obj } ] ] ] ] ]^{38}$$

With this verbal structure, the pre-Prt object in PDE is conceived to be derived by OS to Spec  $\mu P$ .

At this point, one may think that the object movement deriving the pre-Prt object in PDE is not an instance of OS because it does not observe HG. However, this is only apparent under Chomsky's (1995c) proposal. Since  $v^*$  is affixal in nature, the V must move out of VP to adjoin to it (Chomsky (1995c: 321)). Accordingly, the V, in fact, moves to  $v^*$  in (4-56). In that case, the verbal-projection-internal object movement in PDE is, indeed, an instance of OS. Thus, the PDE pre-Prt object is derived in the same

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<sup>38</sup> Note that not all PCs have the verbal structure in (4-56). Ishikawa (1999: 331f) and Wurmbrand (2000: 2) independently argue that PCs are classified into (at least) two types: (a) simple combination or transparent PCs and (b) idiomatic PCs. The transparent PC retains the inherent meaning of the V and the Prt. Thus, the meaning of a transparent PC is compositional. The idiomatic PC, on the other hand, expresses a meaning different from that of the V and the Prt: the V-Prt compound expresses an idiomatic meaning. On the plausible assumption that the idiomatic meaning of V-Prt compounds is determined in the lexicon, the verbal structure in (4-56) is applicable to the idiomatic PC. Whether or not the transparent PC has the structure in (4-56) still remains controversial. We are uncommitted to this issue here.



way as the Icelandic shifted object.

In order to precisely explain the facts of PDE PCs, a few more assumptions are called for. First, let us follow Johnson (1991: 591), Keyser & Roeper (1992: 92), Koizumi (1993: 121) and Selkirk (1982: 28) in assuming that the V and the Prt constitute a compound, which is stored in the lexicon as a single V, [<sub>V</sub> V-Prt]. This is not implausible: as Fraser (1974: 3) originally notes, the Prt gaps with the (rest of the) V as in (4-57a) and cannot be stranded as in (4-57b) and (4-57c).<sup>39</sup>

- (4-57) a. Gary looked up **Sam's number**, and Mittie, **my number**.  
b. \*Gary looked up **Sam's number**, and Mittie, up **my number**.  
c. \*Gary looked **Sam's number** up, and Mittie, **my number** up.

(Johnson (1991: 591))

It follows that the V and the Prt must be making up a constituent when they are deleted. Second,  $\mu$  bears  $u\phi$  since, as reviewed above, satisfaction of the EPP (hence OS) is contingent on Agree. Third, the V-Prt compound [<sub>V</sub> V-Prt] moves out of VP to  $\mu$ , and the V excorporates from [<sub>V</sub> V-Prt] at this point, adjoining to  $v^*$ . A piece of evidence for the first movement comes from the distribution of manner adverbs. Consider the following sentence:

- (4-58) Colleen looked **the reference** (\**carefully*) up (*carefully*).

(Koizumi (1993: 121))

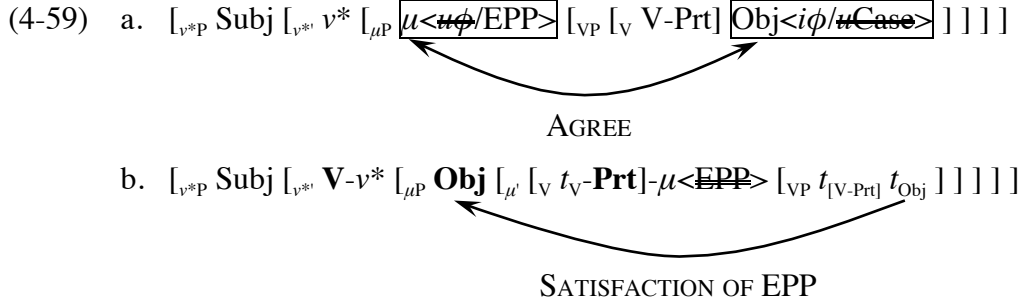
In (4-58) the Prt cannot follow the adverb. On the plausible assumption that manner adverbs are left-adjoined to VP, the Prt must also move out of VP together with the V. The second movement is supported by the assumption made above: only the V (but not the [<sub>V</sub> V-Prt] compound) can adjoin to  $v^*$  (cf. Johnson (1991: 602)).<sup>40</sup>

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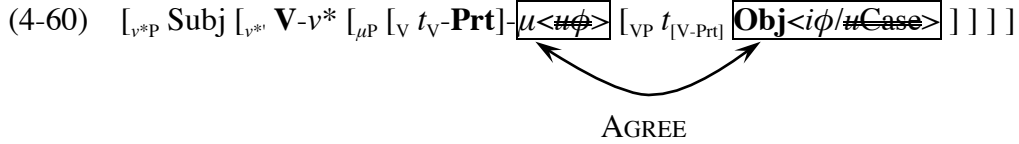
<sup>39</sup> Along the lines of Lasnik (1999: 155ff) among others, the gapping fact in (4-57a) is analyzable as VP (but not  $v^*P$ ) deletion in the second conjunct, with the object raised to Spec  $\mu P$  and the V-Prt compound left behind in VP.

<sup>40</sup> Note that this movement is compatible with the excorporation theory advanced by Roberts (1991: 215f, 2010a: 206f) which allows successive-cyclic head movement, since the V-Prt complex has an adjunction

Under these assumptions, the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs will be derived as follows:



The  $u\phi$  of  $\mu$  enters into an Agree relation with the  $i\phi$  of the object, as in (4-59a). Then, the object moves to Spec  $\mu P$  to satisfy the EPP requirement of  $\mu$ , as in (4-59b). The post-Prt object in PCs reflects the absence of OS. This is illustrated as follows:<sup>41</sup>



Even though  $\mu$  agrees with the object, the latter does not move because the former does not

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structure.

<sup>41</sup> The derivation of sentences like (i) below (i.e. a non-OS counterpart of (4-58)) may involve adjunction of the object to VP, since adverbs may induce an intervention effect (Takano (1998: 845)) and block the Agree relation between  $\mu$  and the object.

(i) Colleen looked up the reference carefully.

This is evidenced by the fact that adverbs can agree with functional heads such as T, as the following sentence illustrates:

(ii) *Slowly* is exactly how he speaks. (Quirk et al. (1985: 746) cited in Takano (1998: 845))

If that is the case, the object, when left behind in VP, must move via non-feature driven movement (such as adjunction) to the position where  $\mu$  can agree with it (cf. Takano (1998: 845)). Under this conception, the derivation of (i) is schematically represented as follows:

(iii)  $[_{v^*P} \text{Subj } [_{v^*} V\text{-}v^* [_{\mu P} [_V t_V\text{-Prt}] -\mu [_{VP} \text{Obj } [_{VP} \text{Adv } [_{VP} t_{[V\text{-Prt}]} t_{\text{Obj}}] ] ] ] ] ] ]$

In (iii), the  $u\phi$  of  $\mu$  can agree with the  $i\phi$  of the object because the latter is located in outer Spec VP, hence closer to the former than the adverb is. Then, it is not implausible to assume that when manner adverbs appear in Spec VP, the object moves via non-feature driven movement (such as adjunction) to the position where it can be closer than any other material to the functional head it agrees with.

bear an EPP feature.

Since the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is derived by OS, this movement must be governed by UG principles similar to (4-26). Slightly modifying and generalizing them to include  $\mu$ , then, let us propose that OS (to either Spec  $v^*P$  or Spec  $\mu P$ ) is governed by the following UG principles:

- (4-61) a. F is assigned an EPP feature only if that has an effect on outcome.  
b. The EPP position (i.e. phonological edge) of F is assigned INT.  
c. At the phonological border of FP, XP is assigned INT'.  
(where F is either  $v^*$  or  $\mu$ )

In (4-61), “ $v^*$ ” in (4-26) is replaced by “F”, but its basic functions are comparable to those of (4-26): (4-61a) states that movement to the specifier position of a certain functional head is possible only when it yields an effect; (4-61b) states that the target position of OS is limited to the specific/definite material; (4-61c) captures HG. The only difference is that the functional head under consideration can be either  $v^*$  or  $\mu$ .

As far as  $v^*$  and  $\mu$  are concerned, there are four logical combinations of possibility or impossibility of OS: (i) OS is possible with respect to both  $v^*$  and  $\mu$ ; (ii) it is possible with respect to  $v^*$  but impossible with respect to  $\mu$ ; (iii) it is impossible with respect to  $v^*$  but possible with respect to  $\mu$ ; (iv) it is impossible with respect to both  $v^*$  and  $\mu$ . Note that possibility/impossibility of OS is captured in terms of finite V-movement out of  $\mu P$  and/or  $v^*P$  along the lines of the parametric options enabling OS proposed in this chapter. Since Icelandic allows the pre-Prt object in PCs, it is an instance of type (i) languages (see §4.7.3 for details). PDE falls under type (iii) languages. Swedish may be conceived as an instance of type (ii) languages: it allows the OS of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  to the left edge of  $v^*P$ , as in (4-62a), but the pre-Prt object is impossible in PCs, as in (4-62b) (Holmberg (1999: 2), Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 203), Thráinsson (2001: 166)).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, the story is not so straightforward. Swedish does not allow the OS of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{ppm}}$  to the left edge of  $v^*P$  in PCs (Holmberg (1999: 2)). In other words, presence of a Prt blocks OS in Swedish (compare

- (4-62) a. i. (\*)Jag kysste inte **henne**.<sup>43</sup>  
 ii. Jag kysste **henne** inte.  
 I kissed not her not  
 ‘I didn’t kiss her.’ (Holmberg (1999: 1))
- b. i. Hon kastade ut **honum**.  
 ii. \*Hon kastade **honum** ut.  
 she threw out him out  
 ‘She threw him out.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 166))

The UG principles in (4-61) have empirical coverage broader than the ones proposed by Chomsky (2001). When the functional head under consideration is  $v^*$ , the effect of (4-61) is the same as that of (4-26), and thereby the Icelandic OSC facts are captured. When it is  $\mu$ , the PDE PC facts are captured. In this case, more specifically, the

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with the Icelandic facts in (4-66) below):

- (i) a. Dom kastade inte ut **mej**.  
 b. \*Dom kastade **mej** inte ut.  
 they threw not out me not out  
 ‘They didn’t throw me out.’ (Holmberg (1999: 2))

Rather than the principle (4-61c) being inactive with respect to  $\mu$ , the Prt may be functioning as c-commanding phonological material in Swedish. Concerning the type (iv) languages, I do not know of any instance of such a language at the moment. I leave this issue aside here, pending further empirical research.

Given that presence of V-movement is one of the parametric factors which enable OS (cf. §4.4), the four types of languages are distinguished by possibility of V-movement with respect to both  $v^*$  and  $\mu$ . Type (i) and type (ii) languages allow V-movement out of  $v^*P$ , hence (potentially) enabling OS to both Spec  $v^*P$  and Spec  $\mu P$ . The type (ii) languages are distinguished from the type (i) languages in that the Prt functions as c-commanding phonological material in the former: only OS to Spec  $v^*P$  is possible in the type (ii) languages. Type (iii) languages allow V-movement out of  $\mu P$  but do not allow the one out of  $v^*P$ , hence enabling only OS to Spec  $\mu P$ . Type (iv) languages do not allow V-movement out VP at all, hence disallowing any type of OS. The characterization of the parametric factors distinguishing the four types of languages just presented is not sufficient, but its elaboration must be made elsewhere.

<sup>43</sup> According to Holmberg (1999: 2), (4-62ai) is grammatical in some varieties of Swedish even when the object is a weak PPn. This is why the asterisk is put in the parentheses in (4-62a).

phonological edge of  $\mu$  crucially differs from that of  $v^*$ : it is Spec  $\mu$ P. This is illustrated as follows together with the phonological border:

$$(4-63) \quad [_{v^*P} \text{Subj } [_{v^*} V-v^* [_{\mu P} \text{Obj } [_{\mu'} [t_{V-\text{Prt}}]-\mu [_{VP} t_{[V-\text{Prt}]} \text{Obj} ] ] ] ] ]$$

PHONOLOGICAL EDGE

INT

PHONOLOGICAL BORDER

INT'

Since the V always moves out of  $\mu$ P, as mentioned above, the interpretation of Spec  $\mu$ P always differs from that of the first-merged position of the object.<sup>44</sup> When  $\mu$  is assigned an EPP feature, the definite DP bearing specific information moves to Spec  $\mu$ P and is interpreted in this position, ending up preceding the Prt in PCs. When  $\mu$  is not assigned an EPP, on the other hand, the indefinite DP bearing non-specific information is interpreted in situ, hence it follows the Prt.

#### 4.7.3 PCs in Icelandic and $\phi$ -defectiveness of $\mu$

We have seen so far that the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is derived by OS. A natural question to ask is whether there is any difference between the PDE OS and the Icelandic OS. The most salient difference that emerges from the present discussion is attributed to their landing sites: the Icelandic OS targets Spec  $v^*P$  while the PDE OS targets Spec  $\mu$ P. This is not the whole story, however. This section shows that Agree with  $v^*$  deactivates the  $\mu$ Case of the object while Agree with  $\mu$  does not.

To begin with, let us consider the properties of Icelandic PCs. As noted by Holmberg (1999: 32) and Thráinsson (2001: 165), the syntactic behavior of Icelandic PCs is analogous to that of their PDE counterparts and to that of Icelandic OSCs:

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<sup>44</sup> A crucial assumption here is that the Prt does not count as c-commanding phonological material in (4-63).

(4-64) PC IN ICELANDIC

- a. i. Jón tók upp **bókina**.  
 ii. Jón tók **bókina** upp.  
 John picked up the-book up  
 ‘John picked up the book.’
- b. i. Jón hélt til **hjá systrunum**.  
 ii. \*Jón hélt **hjá systrunum** til.  
 John held to with the-sisters to  
 ‘John stayed with the sisters.’
- c. i. Jón kastaði upp **allan daginn**.  
 ii. \*Jón kastaði **allan daginn** upp.  
 John threw up all the-day up  
 ‘John threw up all the day.’
- d. i. \*Jón tók upp **hana**.  
 ii. Jón tók **hana** upp.  
 John picked up it up  
 ‘John picked it up.’ (Thráinsson (2001: 165); cf. (4-50)-(4-53))

Furthermore, the semantic restriction seen in PDE PCs and Icelandic OSCs is also imposed on Icelandic PCs (Svenonius (1996a: 60-62, 1996b: 11)):

(4-65) a. PC WITH AN INDEFINITE FN OBJECT

- i. Ég tók upp **kartöflur**.  
 ii. <sup>?</sup>Ég tók **kartöflur** upp.  
 I took up potatoes up  
 ‘I picked up potatoes.’







effect.<sup>45</sup>

Under the principle in (4-69), assignment of an EPP to  $\mu$  is licit because subsequent movement of the object to Spec  $v^*P$  yields a semantic effect at the  $v^*P$ -phase level. A principle like (4-69) is needed at any rate if non-phase-constituting functional heads are to proliferate and successive cyclic movement via the specifier position of these functional heads is allowed. Whether this principle has desirable consequences or not is an open question at the moment. The issue of how OS to Spec  $v^*P$  in PCs is carried out should be left pending here.

Let us turn back to the  $\phi$ -defectiveness of  $\mu$ . By assumption, the transitive construction is headed by  $v^*$  (Chomsky (2001: 43)). Then, it is not implausible to suppose that  $v^*$  is responsible for deactivation of the  $u$ Case of the object in PDE as well, and that  $\mu$  is defective in  $\phi$ -features. However, PDE does not allow OS to the left edge of  $v^*P$ .<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> This principle may be considered as a broad interpretation of “an effect on outcome” in (4-61a). If the semantic effect induced by later movement counts as “an effect on outcome” at the phase level, then the principle in (4-69) is a theorem derived from the axiomatic principle in (4-61a).

<sup>46</sup> As shown in this chapter, OS of PPrns to the left edge of  $v^*P$  is possible in earlier English. Wurff (1997: 496ff) and Roberts (1995: 273ff) note that this is attested in LME and EModE, respectively. The following are LME and EModE instances of OSCs involving a Prt attested in the PPCME2 and the PPCME, respectively:

(i) OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN LME

... but he putte **hem** hou3t out...  
but he put them not out

‘... but he did not put them out.’

(CMPOLYCH, VI, 369.2703 / PPCME2)

(ii) OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT IN EMODE

... that they take **the** not in rashly and unadvisedly...

(TURNER-E1-P2, G1R.186 / PPCEME)

This fact (indirectly) lends further support to the claim that  $\mu$  in PDE is also defective in  $\phi$ -features. Note also that, as shown in this chapter, the  $Obj_{FN}$  never precedes a Neg while it can either precede or follow a Prt in LME and EModE, depending on its interpretation.

(iii) OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE FN OBJECT IN EMODE

... if a man enter peaceably, and put not **his aduersary** out forcibly...

(ROPER-E1-H, 90.107 / PPCEME)

This means that the difference between PDE and Icelandic can be attributed to the difference in the possibility of finite V-movement: the finite V moves out of  $v^*P$  in Icelandic while it moves out of only  $\mu P$  and remains within  $v^*P$  in PDE.

To sum up, the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs should be analyzed on a par with the shifted object in Icelandic OSCs. That is, both are derived by OS. Reformulation of the UG principles proposed by Chomsky (2001) into (4-61) allows the PDE PC and Icelandic OSC facts to be captured in a similar manner. However, the PDE verbal-projection-internal OS differs from the one leading to Icelandic OSCs in that the functional head driving the latter OS (i.e.  $v^*$ ) deactivates the  $\mu$ Case of the object while the functional head driving the former OS (i.e.  $\mu$ ) is defective in  $\phi$ -features, being unable to deactivate it. In this respect, the analysis provided in this section crucially differs from previous studies such as Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1993) and a series of Lasnik's seminal works (e.g. Lasnik (2001)). Not wishing to go into the fine details, it is argued in these studies that the pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is derived by movement targeting the functional head that deactivates the object. They wrongly predict that OS targeting Spec  $v^*P$  is impossible in PCs. But this is not the case in Icelandic. Therefore,  $\mu$  must be defective in  $\phi$ -features. Although PDE PCs are analyzed on a par with Icelandic OSCs here, the OS involved in PCs are distinct from the one attested in earlier English in that the landing sites of these operations are different. In that sense, the OS giving rise to a pre-Prt object in PDE PCs is not a relic of earlier English

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(iv) OSC + PC WITH A DEFINITE FN OBJECT

a. *LME*

... therefore God brou3te not yn **this yuel** in his daies...

therefore God brought not in this evil in his days

‘... therefore God did not bring in this evil in his days...’ (CMPURVEY, I, 14.605 / PPCME2)

b. *EModE*

Whoso brought not in **corne** to the market as he was appointed...

(EDWARD-E1-P2, 293.52 / PPCEME)

These facts show that the Icelandic type of OS targeting Spec  $\mu P$  already existed at least in EModE, the details of which must be investigated elsewhere (but see Los et al. (2012)).

syntax.

#### **4.8. Summary**

This chapter has shown that both the emergence and the demise of OS in the history of English illustrate the syntactic change caused when an initial extra-syntactically induced parameter change creates a system which has a propensity for further parametric change. In terms of the minimalist analysis of OS, the emergence of the MSc type of OS in the posterior half of the 14th century is shown to be induced by the system where new pronominal paradigms including the WPPrn and the PDE D-system are established and V-movement out of  $v^*P$  is possible. Its decline in the posterior half of the 17th century is shown to be induced by the system where the finite V-movement out of  $v^*P$  declined. Thus, the historical development of OS follows the trail of the intra-syntactically driven language change. It is also shown that although pronominal OS of the MSc type is extinct in PDE, close examination of word order patterns of PCs reveals that its relic *prima facie* exists in PDE (in fact, as the Icelandic type).

## **Chapter 5**

### **Discussion of Some Issues in the Historical Development of Deficient Personal Pronouns in English**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

Chapters 2 to 4 have seen the historical development of deficient PPrns from OE to PDE. This chapter aims to discuss the remaining issues surrounding the accounts this thesis has provided to the historical development in question. In §1.2 of Chapter 1, we have raised the following four questions about the historical change in morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns in English:

#### **(5-1) QUESTIONS**

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

Since we have seen the development of cliticization and pronominal OS in the history of English where peculiar morphosyntactic properties of deficient PPrns are observed, we can now provide an answer to each question in (5-1). The answers to the questions in (5-1) are the following:

#### **(5-2) ANSWERS**

- a. The deficient PPrns in OE to EME were CPPrns (i.e.  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  bearing only  $i\phi$ ) which require a host while the ones in LME to PDE were/are WPPrns

- (i.e.  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  bearing  $i\phi$  and  $u\text{Case}$ ) which do not require a host.
- b. During the transition period from EME to LME, CPPrns were replaced with WPPrns via addition of  $u\text{Case}$  to  $D^{\text{Min/Max}}$  bearing only  $i\phi$ .
  - c. In the Southern/Midland dialects of the transition period from EME to LME, loss of V-to-Fin movement caused loss of part of the cue for acquisition of CPPrns. In the Northern dialect, borrowing of third person plural forms of PPrns from ON caused replacement of CPPrns with WPPrns.
  - d. In OE to EME, the deficient PPrns (i.e. CPPrns) were licensed by their host (i.e. in the cliticized position), whereby cliticization was required. In LME to LModE, the deficient PPrns (i.e. WPPrns) were licensed in the shifted position when the finite main V moves out of the verbal projection, due to the interaction of three UG principles in (4-26) (or (4-61)) and three parameters in (2-27), (4-41) and (4-46), whereby pronominal OS was required whenever the finite main V-movement was possible. In PDE, the deficient PPrns (i.e. WPPrns) are licensed in the externally-merged position, due to loss of V-to-T movement in EModE.

The close observations made in §2.2 of Chapter 2 and §3.2 of Chapter 3 reveal that there were two types of deficient PPrns in the history of English. The deficient PPrns in OE and EME had more distributional freedom than the ones in LME to LModE. Moreover, the ones in PDE have no distributional freedom.<sup>1</sup> These observations indicate that the deficient PPrns in OE and EME are instances of CPPrns which need to be cliticized to their host, whereas the ones in LME to PDE are instances of WPPrns which do not require cliticization, as (5-2a) answers.

The  $u\text{Case}$  Parameter on D proposed in Chapter 2, repeated here as (5-3), maintains

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<sup>1</sup> But see §1.1 of Chapter 1 and §4.7 of Chapter 4. PCs in PDE allow OPA, exhibiting distributional freedom of (deficient) PPrns to some extent.

that deficient PPns can either lack or bear *uCase*.

(5-3) *uCase* PARAMETER ON D

- a.  $-uCase$  on D:  $D^{Min/Max} <i\phi>$  (= CPPrn)
- b.  $+uCase$  on D:  $D^{Min/Max} <i\phi/uCase>$  (= WPPrn) (= (2-27))

When the *uCase* Parameter on D has a negative value and the deficient PPns lack *uCase*, bearing only *iφ*, they become CPPns. When the parameter in question has a positive value and the deficient PPns bear *uCase* as well as *iφ*, on the other hand, they become WPPns. In the transition period from EME to LME, the *uCase* Parameter on D came to choose a positive value and *uCase* was added to CPPns, whereby WPPns were created, as (5-2b) answers.

Under the Inertial Theory adopted in Chapter 1, parametric change is caused solely by the opacity caused by phonological/semantic changes or extra-linguistic factors, or syntactic change caused by the opacity.<sup>2</sup> Thus, resetting of the *uCase* Parameter on D requires an extra-syntactic or extra-linguistic motivation, or a syntactic motivation brought about by extra-syntactic or extra-linguistic factors. Under the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change, the extra-syntactic/extra-linguistic factor or the previously induced syntactic change has an influence on what kind of cues children use during their native language acquisition. Acquisition of a negative value for the *uCase* Parameter on D requires a cue which consists of [<sub>CP</sub> Topic [<sub>FinP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> Subj<sub>FN</sub> ... ]]] and [<sub>CP</sub>

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<sup>2</sup> A tacit assumption behind the Inertial Theory is the Subset Principle proposed by Berwick (1985: 23). “[G]iven two languages, one of which is a subset of the other, if both are compatible with the input data, ... the learning function must pick the smaller one (Manzini & Wexler (1987: 414)).” “The learner must guess the smallest possible language compatible with the input at each stage of the learning procedure (Clark & Roberts (1993: 304f)).” “[A]cquirers run the risk of falling into ‘superset traps’: if a grammar which generates a language which is a superset of the target language is posited, no positive evidence can disconfirm this hypothesized system (Biberauer & Roberts (2007: 34, 2009: 58f)).” “Hence acquirers must always posit the grammar which generates the ‘smallest language’ consistent with the trigger experience; in this way positive evidence can be maximized in the process of convergence towards the target grammar in the sense that evidence of this type may be sufficient to cause the acquirer to revise hypotheses (op.cit.: 34, 59).”

Topic Subj<sub>PPm</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> ... ]]] (i.e. SPA). In the Southern/Midland dialects of LME, part of the cue in question (i.e. [<sub>CP</sub> Topic [<sub>FinP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> Subj<sub>FN</sub> ... ]]]) was lost due to the loss of V-to-Fin movement, which is an instance of change caused by other syntactic change. In the Northern dialect of LME, third person plural forms of PPrns (which bore *uCase*) were borrowed from ON, which is an instance of change caused by an extra-linguistic motivation. The loss of V-movement and the borrowing of new PPrns from ON are independent causes of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns in each dialect, as (5-2c) answers. It is still a matter of debate whether the explanation of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns advanced in this thesis can be recaptured in terms of the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change such as the one proposed by Westergaard (2009a). Moreover, our claim that acquisition of a negative value for the *uCase* Parameter on D requires a cue means that absence of *uCase* from deficient PPrns is a marked parametric option and its presence is an unmarked one. Whether this is a proper characterization of parameters and whether addition of *uCase* is a natural course of language change are also still controversial. There still remain some issues surrounding the answer (5-2c).

Resetting of the *uCase* Parameter on D creates a new system which tends to undergo cascades of parametric change or intra-syntactically driven language change. This is what the Inertial Theory accommodates and (5-2d) illustrates. Since CPPrns need to be cliticized to their host in order to be licensed, cliticization was possible in OE to EME. With the emergence of WPPrns, however, the licensing condition on deficient PPrns changed. Since WPPrns bear *uCase*, they cannot undergo cliticization, but end up in a position where the formal feature in question is licensed (i.e. valued). As LME also allowed V-to-T movement and a definite article within a definite DP, pronominal OS became possible in the beginning of this period. Thus, WPPrns were formally licensed in an OSC whenever V-to-T movement was possible. Pronominal OS eventually disappeared in LModE due to the loss of V-to-T movement, which is a change independent of the licensing condition of WPPrns. They are now licensed in a post-verbal position

within VP (i.e. non-OSC).

Note that the questions (5-1c) and (5-1d) can only be provided a proper answer (viz. answers (5-2c) and (5-2d)) under the Inertial Theory. First, the cause for resetting of the *uCase* Parameter on D (i.e. addition of *uCase*) has a difference between the Southern/Midland dialects and the Northern dialect. In the Southern/Midland dialect, parameter resetting is caused by syntactic change (i.e. loss of V-to-Fin movement),<sup>3</sup> whereas in the Northern dialect, it is caused by extra-syntactic change (i.e. borrowing of third person plural forms from ON). Variation in the cause for parametric change and convergence on single parametric change is what the Inertial Theory predicts, which is well illustrated in the answer (5-2c). Second, addition of *uCase* to deficient PPrns causes the loss of cliticization in the history of English, but at the same time, it creates a grammatical system which tends to undergo further parametric change. When two other parametric conditions (i.e. presence of V-to-T movement and presence of a definite article within a definite DP) are met in this system, pronominal OS becomes possible. This is what happened in the beginning of LME. When V-to-T movement becomes impossible, pronominal OS becomes impossible too. This is what happened in LModE. The answer (5-2d) exemplifies cascades of parametric change which the Inertial Theory accommodates.

As mentioned above, there are two issues surrounding the answer (5-2c) yet to be discussed. One issue is concerned with whether the explanation of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns advanced in this thesis can be reconciled with the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change. Since our analysis is based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b), who defines cues in general terms, the answer (5-2c) is worth reconsideration in terms of the micro-cue model proposed by Westergaard (2009a), who defines cues in more detail. The other issue is concerned with whether it is proper to characterize absence of *uCase* on deficient PPrns (i.e. a negative value) as a marked

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<sup>3</sup> For speculation about the cause for the loss of V-to-Fin movement, see footnote 37 in Chapter 2.



parametric option and its presence (i.e. a positive value) as an unmarked one; that is to say, whether addition of *uCase* is a natural course of language change. The remainder of this chapter attempts to solve these two issues. §5.2 reconsiders the answer (5-2c) in terms of Westergaard (2009a). §5.3 discuss the markedness of (5-3a) in terms of Gelderen (2011a) and Roberts (2007). §5.4 summarizes this chapter.

## 5.2. Our Analysis Reconsidered in Terms of the Micro-cue Model

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change is the foundation for explaining the historical development of deficient PPrns in English. Loss of part of a cue for a negative value for the *uCase* Parameter on D plays an important role in our account of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns. Crucial to our account is that unlike what Lightfoot (1999: 149ff, 2006a: 77ff, 2006b: 32ff) proposes, the cue in question consists of two structures:  $[_{CP} \text{ Topic } [_{FinP} V [_{TP} \text{ Subj}_{FN} \dots ]]]$  and  $[_{CP} \text{ Topic Subj}_{PPm} [_{FinP} V [_{TP} \dots ]]]$ . These two structures constitute SPA. In other words, SPA is the cue for a negative value for the *uCase* Parameter on D. Once one of the structures (e.g.  $[_{CP} \text{ Topic } [_{FinP} V [_{TP} \text{ Subj}_{FN} \dots ]]]$  in the case of Southern/Midland dialects) disappears, the cue in question no longer exists and the *uCase* Parameter on D starts to be set for a positive value. In our account, SPA is merely a cue for acquisition of CPPrns, but not a phenomenon to be acquired: it results as a consequence of intricate interaction between existence of CPPrns and possibility of V-to-Fin movement.

Westergaard (2009a), however, considers SPA as a set of structures to be acquired by children under the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change. This section briefly reviews her proposals and discusses whether they can be incorporated into our account. Since her analysis of SPA is provided from a perspective different from ours, let us first turn to it before going into the details of the micro-cue model.

### 5.2.1. Information Structure Analysis of SPA

Instead of regarding the  $\text{Subj}_{PPm}$  in earlier English as an instance of CPPrns,

Westergaard (2009a: 87ff) advances an information structure analysis of SPA. She rejects such an analysis to SPA as the one advocated in Chapter 2, which she refers to as a clitic analysis (cf. Bech (2001: 79ff)). The information structure analysis of SPA maintains that discourse-given subjects including PPrns appear in a higher subject position while discourse-new subjects (with a focus) appear in a lower subject position.<sup>4</sup> In other words, SPA results from the informational difference of subjects. Westergaard (2009a) makes her proposal based on the data taken from Bech (2001) and sentences drawn from Haeberli (2002a). The following are the examples which Westergaard (2009a: 66, 73) cites from Haeberli (2002a: 88, 90) to validate her proposal:<sup>5</sup>

(5-4) DISCOURSE-NEW SUBJECT

[On his dagum] sende **Gregorius** us fulluht.  
in his days sent Gregory us baptism  
‘‘In his time, Gregory sent us Christianity.’’

(ChronA2, 18.565.1 / Haeberli (2002a: 88))

(5-5) DISCOURSE-GIVEN SUBJECT

a. SUBJ<sub>FN</sub>

& [fela ðinga] **swa** **gerad** **man** sceal don.  
and many things so wise man must do

‘‘And such a wise man must do many things.’’ (Law4, 448.5.4 / *ibid.*: 90)

b. SUBJ<sub>PPRN</sub>

[Hiora untrymnesse] **he** sceal ðrowian on his heortan.  
their weakness he shall atone in his heart

‘‘He shall atone in his heart for their weakness.’’ (CP, 60.17 / *ibid.*)

Adopting a full split-CP hypothesis (cf. Westergaard (2008: 1856)) and assuming that an

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<sup>4</sup> See also Kemenade (2009), Biberauer & Kemenade (2011), Kemenade & Milicev (2012) and Kemenade & Westergaard (2012).

<sup>5</sup> Haeberli (2002a) investigates ten text samples from the *Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki Parsed Corpus* (Pintzuk et al. (2000)).

informationally light element (i.e. a subject or a verb) is attracted to the low TopP (L-TopP) domain (cf. Westergaard (2009b: 53f)) and the topic appears in the specifier position of the high TopP (H-TopP), Westergaard (2009a: 88) claims that the higher subject position is Spec L-TopP.<sup>6</sup> Thus, SPA in the information structure analysis is schematized as follows:

(5-6) SPA IN THE INFORMATION STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

- a.  $[_{H-TopP} \mathbf{XP} [_{H-Top'} H-Top^0 [_{L-TopP} \mathbf{V-L-Top}^0 \dots [_{TP} \mathbf{Subj}_{NEW} \dots ] ] ] ]$
- b.  $[_{H-TopP} \mathbf{XP} [_{H-Top'} H-Top^0 [_{L-TopP} \mathbf{Subj}_{GIVEN} [_{L-Top'} L-Top^0 \dots [_{TP} \mathbf{V-T}^0 \dots ] ] ] ] ]$   
(cf. Westergaard (2009a: 89))

Note that the information structure analysis of SPA does not consider the  $Subj_{PPm}$  as an instance of CPPrns: it is no different from FNs since it appears in Spec L-TopP (cf. Table 2-11 in Chapter 2).

Westergaard (2009a: 74) rejects the clitic analysis of SPA for three reasons. First, by referring to the data presented by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311), she points out that there is a considerable number of exceptions to the generalization that the  $Subj_{PPm}$  does not invert while the  $Subj_{FN}$  always does in ME: 25.3% (90/356) of the  $Subj_{FN}$  are uninverted, which cannot be explained in terms of the clitic analysis. Second, by referring to the observation made by Kemenade (2000: 69), she shows that SPA is still attested in negative questions in LME and EModE: the  $Subj_{FN}$  appears after the negative marker (i.e. *not/nat*) while the  $Subj_{PPm}$  appears before it:

(5-7) NEGATIVE QUESTIONS IN LME

- a.  $SUBJ_{FN}$   
also ne accordeth nat ~~the~~ poeple to that  
(Chaucer, *Melibee* 2132 / Kemenade (2000: 69))
- b.  $SUBJ_{PPRN}$   
yet ne wolde ~~he~~ nat answere sodeynly (Chaucer, *Melibee* 2222 / *ibid.*)

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<sup>6</sup> Although Westergaard (2009a) does not explicitly mention the exact location of the lower subject position, we can infer from the structure in her (39) that it is Spec TP.

This fact cannot be explained in terms of the clitic analysis either, since it would predict that SPA is impossible in any contexts after the loss of CPPrns. Third, she indicates that the adverbs *þalþonne*, when in the clause-initial position, always require V2 with a Subj<sub>PPm</sub>: this syntactic environment does not show SPA, as we have seen in previous chapters.

The last reason for rejecting the clitic analysis of SPA is unproblematic to our account. The adverbs *þalþonne* are considered as instances of operators in previous chapters. On a par with other operator-initial clauses, *þalþonne*-initial clauses cannot be the syntactic environment where SPA is observed. The first reason cannot be sufficiently rebutted or falsified at the moment, which has to be left pending here. Let us turn to the second reason. Haeberli (1999a: 340ff) observes that XP-adjuncts can intervene between the fronted finite V and the subject (in the operator-initial V2 clause) in OE (cf. footnote 42 in Chapter 2):

(5-8) V-SUBJ NON-ADJACENCY IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

- a. & [ðonne] wyrð [þurh Godes mihte] [sona] **deofol**  
 and then gets through God's power soon devil  
 swyðe geyrged  
 very-much terrified  
 'Then, soon, the devil is very much terrified through God's power.'  
 (WHom, 176.28 / Haeberli (1999a: 341))
- b. & gearwige eac to huslgange oft & gelome **gehw**  
 and prepare also to going-to-Eucharist often and frequently each  
 hine sylfne  
 himself  
 'And everyone should prepare himself often to go to the Eucharist.'  
 (Low3, 242.22.1 / ibid.)

c. & hæfð nu þurh his gyfe **mann** **gehwyle**, gif he  
 and has now through his gift persons' each if he  
 geearnian wylle, heofona rice  
 earn will heavens' kingdom  
 'And through his gift, everyone now gets the kingdom of heaven if he  
 earns it.' (WHom, 228.43 / *ibid.*)

According to Haeberli (1999a: 342), however, there is a clear restriction on the V-XP-Subj order: the subject can never be a PPrn; when the subject is a PPrn, it has to precede the XP-adjunct, giving rise to the V-Sub-XP order, and V-Subj non-adjacency never results. In other words, SPA also obtains with respect to the V-Subj non-adjacency. The V-Subj non-adjacency continues to be attested in the Southern dialect of EME (*ibid.*: 384ff), but it becomes infrequent in LME (*ibid.*: 409f). The historical development of V-Subj non-adjacency shows that SPA vis-à-vis this linguistic phenomenon is also obviated in LME. It seems that the SPA in negative questions attested in LME and EModE are a relic of earlier English syntax.

The information structure analysis of SPA is not without drawbacks. First, since it only deals with SPA, it could not explain the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> (or OPA) and the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPm</sub> as well as SPA. It is unlikely that the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> appears in the Wackernagel position and P-Compl<sub>PPm</sub> is displaced for the reason of information structure. On the other hand, the clitic analysis of SPA adopted here can capture a wider range of linguistic phenomena including the Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPm</sub> and the displaced P-Compl<sub>PPm</sub> all together and account for their syntactic properties in terms of cliticization. Second, if the uninverted Subj<sub>PPm</sub> in the topic-initial clause is not an instance of CPPrns, it cannot be distinguished from the Subj<sub>FN</sub> morphosyntactically. Suppose it is an instance of WPPrns, the data of the inverted Subj<sub>PPm</sub> (10.2% (48 out of 469 instances)) presented by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311) still cannot be accounted for. Besides, Westergaard (2009a) does not assume the tripartite classification of PPmns adopted in Chapter 1. If the Obj<sub>PPm</sub> is also an instance of WPPrns in OE and EME, its later development (*viz.* emergence of pronominal

OS in LME) cannot be accounted for either: the information structure analysis would have to claim that it is just a coincidence. On the other hand, the clitic analysis can attribute it to the demise of CPPrns and the emergence of WPPrns. It is not the case, however, that the information structure analysis is not totally rejected here. Westergaard's (2009a) first reason for rejecting the clitic analysis mentioned above still requires justification. More specifically, the uninverted Subj<sub>FN</sub> in the topic-initial clause may be best analyzed in terms of information structure, yet the information structure analysis can still be incorporated into the clitic analysis. The former can adopt the trichotomy of PPrns like the latter. Suppose OE and EME realized two types of PPrns, CPPrns and SPPrns, as proposed in this thesis. The uninverted Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> can be analyzed as a CPPrn since it is always informationally light. The inverted Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> can be analyzed as an SPPrn since it bears a focus. This line of explanation can straightforwardly capture the emergence of pronominal OS, details of which have to be elaborated upon elsewhere.

### 5.2.2. *Micro-cue Model of Language Acquisition and Language Change*

Our analyses provided to loss of cliticization phenomena in §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3 are based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b). Under our analyses, the cue for absence of *uCase* from deficient PPrns is SPA which consists of [<sub>CP</sub> Topic [<sub>FinP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> Subj<sub>FN</sub> ... ]]] and [<sub>CP</sub> Topic Subj<sub>PPrn</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> ... ]]]. Since the operator-initial context does not show SPA but exhibits uniform V2, as we have seen in §2.1 of Chapter 2, a natural question arises as to how the topic-initial structures are acquired independently of the operator-initial structures. This question cannot be answered under the cue-based model. Thus, this subsection considers the possibility of adopting the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change proposed by Westergaard (2009a).

Revising the cue for V2 syntax formulated by Lightfoot (2006a: 86),<sup>7</sup> Westergaard

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<sup>7</sup> The following is the cue for V2 which Lightfoot (2006a) formulates:

(2009a: 71, 88, 95) argues for subdivision of the cue for various V2 contexts, and proposes the following micro-cue for V2 in topic-initial clauses with a discourse-new Subj<sub>FN</sub> in terms of the information structure analysis:

(5-9) MICRO-CUE FOR V2 IN DECLARATIVES WITH A DISCOURSE-NEW SUBJECT

$$[_{H-TopP} XP [_{H-Top'} H-Top^0 [_{L-TopP} V-L-Top^0 \dots [_{TP} Subj_{[+Foc]} \dots ] ] ] ]$$

(Westergaard (2009a: 88))

For V2 in operator-initial structures, she proposes the following micro-cues:<sup>8</sup>

(5-10) a. MICRO-CUE FOR V2 IN *WH*-QUESTIONS

$$[_{IntP} wh [_{Int'} V-Int^0 \dots ] ]$$

(Westergaard (2009a: 71))

b. MICRO-CUE FOR V2 WITH *PA/PONNE*

$$[_{TopP} pa/ponne [_{Top'} V-Top^0 \dots ] ]$$

(ibid.: 95)

Postulation of separate micro-cues for various V2 contexts is supported by the residual V2: V2 in the topic-initial context (with a Subj<sub>FN</sub>) and the *pa/ponne*-initial context is lost in the history of English while V2 in the *wh*-initial context and Neg-initial context is still possible with an Aux in PDE. The micro-cue model can properly capture the V2 facts in the history of English.

The notion of micro-cues actually plays an important role in our account in the following two respects. First, the cue for the acquisition of a negative value for the *u*Case Parameter on D necessitates acquisition of SPA, a set of structures,  $[_{CP} Topic [_{FinP} V [_{TP} Subj_{FN} \dots ] ]]$  and  $[_{CP} Topic Subj_{PPm} [_{FinP} V [_{TP} \dots ] ]]$ . An independent micro-cue is required for acquisition of V2 in the topic-initial clause (i.e. V-to-Fin movement), so that SPA is made attested.<sup>9</sup> Second, the micro-cue for the acquisition of  $[_{CP} Topic [_{FinP} V [_{TP}$

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(i) CUE FOR V2:  $[_{CP} XP [_{C'} V-C^0 \dots ] ]$

(Lightfoot (2006a: 86))

<sup>8</sup> She also proposes a separate micro-cue for V2 with *ne*, but she does not explicitly formulate it (cf. Westergaard (2009a: 95)).

<sup>9</sup> The cue for V2 in the operator-initial clause formulated by Lightfoot (2006a: 86) suffices to trigger acquisition of the linguistic phenomenon in question. However, the cue for V2 in the topic-initial clause is a matter different from the cue for SPA. As mentioned in the text, the cue for SPA consists of two structures,

Subj<sub>JFN</sub> ... ]]] must be distinguished from the cue for the acquisition of V2 in the operator-initial clause (cf. footnote 5). Acquisition of V2 in various operator-initial contexts (i.e. V-to-C movement) requires separate micro-cues which are different from the one for the acquisition of V2 in the topic-initial context. In order for the V2 in various contexts to be distinguished in terms of acquisition, the micro-cue model must thus be incorporated into the mechanism of language change proposed in this thesis. Only under this model are our analyses provided to the historical development of deficient PPrns in English in §2.4 of Chapter 2 and §3.4 of Chapter 3 validated.

### 5.3. Is Absence of a Formal Feature a Marked Parametric Value?

As mentioned in §5.1, acquisition of a negative value for the *uCase* Parameter on D requires a cue, which means that absence of *uCase* on D in (5-3a) is a marked parametric option. Put differently, absence of the cue in question results in acquisition of a “positive” value, which instead means that presence of *uCase* on D in (5-3b) is an unmarked default parametric option. A natural question arises as to whether this is valid characterization of parameters, that is, whether the absence of formal features is a marked parameter value. The final section of this chapter attempts to provide this question with an answer.

#### 5.3.1. Feature Economy

To begin with, let us consider how the diachronic change of (formal) features is dealt with in the literature. Concerning the development of features, for instance, Gelderen (2011a: 16f) proposes that they change in accordance with the following economy

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one of which results from V2 in the topic-initial clause. In other words, acquisition of V2 in the topic-initial clause requires an independent cue, which can be formulated as follows:

- ( i ) CUE FOR V2 IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL CLAUSE: [ <sub>CP</sub> Topic [ <sub>FinP</sub> V [ <sub>TP</sub> Subj<sub>JFN</sub> ... ] ] ]

Since the cue in (i) is different from the cue for V2 in the operator-initial clause, it can also be considered as an instance of micro-cues.



principle:<sup>10</sup>

(5-11) FEATURE ECONOMY

Minimize the semantic and interpretable features in the derivation, for example:

Adjunct		Specifier		Head		Affix
[semantic]	>	[iF]	>	[uF]	>	[uF]

(Gelderen (2011a: 17))

Feature Economy in (5-11) maintains that (initially) semantic features are reanalyzed as *iF* and then as *uF*.<sup>11</sup> The change which takes place in accordance with Feature Economy is exemplified in the type of change which Gelderen (2011a: 8) refers to as the subject agreement cycle:

(5-12) SUBJECT AGREEMENT CYCLE

emphatic pronoun	>	full pronoun	>	head pronoun	>	agreement
[iφ]		[iφ]		[u1] [u2] [i3]		[uφ]

(ibid.)

When emphatic/demonstrative pronouns are reanalyzed as full (personal) pronouns, their feature contents do not change. When the full (personal) pronouns are reanalyzed as head/clitic pronouns, however, the *iφ* become unvalued/uninterpretable counterparts for first and second persons. When the head/clitic pronouns are reanalyzed as agreement markers, the *i3* become unvalued/uninterpretable counterparts, giving rise to *uφ*. Finally, the *uφ* disappear along with loss of agreement markers. Gelderen (2011a: 38) exemplifies the subject agreement cycle with the historical development of French *il*. The Latin demonstrative pronoun *ille* ‘that’ bearing *iφ* is reanalyzed as the article *le* ‘the’, the third person subject pronouns *il* ‘he’, and the third person object pronoun *le* ‘him’ in French.

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<sup>10</sup> See also Gelderen (2007: 286, 2008c: 297, 2009a: 105ff, 2009b: 186, 2009c: 264, 2009d: 8, 2010a: 144f, 2011b: 10).

<sup>11</sup> Gelderen (2011a) also maintains that “parametric variation is due to different features connected to lexical items (p.16)” and “[a]ll parameters are lexical (p.350).”

The French third person subject pronoun *il* bearing *iφ* (or *i3*) is on its way to becoming an agreement marker bearing *uφ*.

Case cycles (or dependent marking cycles) also exemplify Feature Economy, as in (5-13) and (5-14):

(5-13) SEMANTIC/INHERENT CASE CYCLE

Adv/N/V	>	P	>	semantic/inherent Case
[semantic]		[iTime/iLoc]		[uTime] on V
[iφ]		[uφ]		[iLoc] on P

(5-14) GRAMMATICAL/STRUCTURAL CASE CYCLE

a. Nominal

demonstrative	>	article	>	zero
[iLoc]		[uLoc] = [uT]		
[iφ]		[uφ]		

b. Verbal

Adv/D	>	aspect/tense	>	affix on v/C-T
[semantic]		[iAsp]/[iT]		[uAsp]/[uT]

(Gelderen (2011a: 156))

Change in the *uCase* Parameter on D from the negative value to the positive value (viz. addition of *uCase*) obviously goes against Feature Economy, under which a semantic feature changes into *iF*, the *iF* then changes into *uF*, and the *uF* eventually disappears. It may seem that the answer to the question addressed in the beginning of this subsection is a negative one: our characterization of parameters MAY NOT be valid, and the absence of formal features MAY NOT be a marked parameter value. Gelderen (2011a: 161ff) finds out, however, that in 12th century English genitive Case (i.e. semantic Case) was lost and use of a definiteness marker such as *þe/ðe* (which she calls (grammatical) Case (ibid.: 196)) increased. In other words, semantic Case was replaced by grammatical Case in OE. This is only a speculation at the moment, but rise of grammatical Case in OE is comparable to addition of *uCase* to deficient PPns in LME. The latter change does not observe

Feature Economy. Under the Grammaticalization Theory such as the one advocated by Hopper & Traugott (2003 [1993]), feature change in accordance with Feature Economy is comparable to the course of change called “grammaticalization” while feature change such as addition of *uCase* to deficient PPrns is comparable to “lexicalization” (i.e. change in order inverse to grammaticalization). The latter change is the one from an unmarked option to a marked option. Under Feature Economy, therefore, (5-3a) is *prima facie* an unmarked parametric value.

### 5.3.2. *Markedness Reversal*

Roberts (2007: 269ff) also maintains that the general simplicity metric such as the following dictates that a parameter change from a marked to a default value:

#### (5-15) GENERAL SIMPLICITY METRIC

Given two structural representations R and R' for a substring of input text S,  
R is simpler than R' if R contains fewer formal features than R'.

(Roberts (2007: 235); cf. Roberts & Roussou (2003: 201))

Under this metric, for instance, absence of an EPP feature from a functional head is an unmarked default value while its presence is a marked one. He claims, however, that a markedness convention allows markedness reversal of parametric values (*ibid.*: 272f). Adopting Hawkins' (1983) generalization of cross-categorical harmony, he proposes the following markedness convention (*ibid.*: 274), where *uEPP* stands for presence of an EPP feature as an unmarked value:

#### (5-16) MARKEDNESS CONVENTION FOR AN EPP FEATURE

For a class of heads H, *uEPP* for  $H_{uF} \neq v$   $\rightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+EPP]/v_{[+EPP]} \\ [-EPP] \end{array} \right\}$

(Roberts (2007: 274))

What (5-16) says is that the unmarked value for the EPP feature for some head of a particular type with *uF* is [+EPP] (i.e. presence of an EPP feature) just like *v*, or [-EPP] (i.e. entire absence of an EPP feature). In other words, presence of an EPP feature becomes an

unmarked value when it is present on all the functional heads with *uF*, whereas absence of an EPP feature becomes a marked value when it is entirely absent from the functional heads with *uF*. Under the markedness reversal, presence of a formal feature becomes an unmarked value of a parameter when it is present on all the functional heads it is associated with. Otherwise, the entire absence of the feature in question becomes an unmarked value.

If we adopt the notion of markedness reversal, presence of *uCase* on D (i.e. deficient PP<sub>rns</sub>) can be an unmarked value while its absence can be a marked value when the *uCase* is present on other heads it is associated with. This is indeed the case. Ns bear *uCase* and Adjs may also bear *uCase* since the latter declined for case as well as number and gender. Thus, marked reversal dictates that absence of *uCase* on D can be a marked value and its acquisition requires a cue. Addition of *uCase*, which indicates change from a marked value to an unmarked value, can be a natural course of language change. It is the case that the answer to the question addressed in the beginning of this subsection can be an affirmative one: our characterization of parameters CAN be valid, and the absence of formal features CAN be a marked parameter value.

#### **5.4. Summary**

This chapter has provided an answer to the four questions posed in §1.2 of Chapter 1 about the historical change in morphosyntactic properties of deficient PP<sub>rns</sub> in English. This chapter has also discussed the two remaining issues surrounding the accounts this thesis has provided to the historical development in question. One issue is concerned with whether the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change can be incorporated into the explanation of the demise of CPP<sub>rns</sub> and the emergence of WPP<sub>rns</sub> advanced in this thesis. The other is concerned with whether it is proper to characterize the absence of *uCase* on deficient PP<sub>rns</sub> as a marked parametric option of a parameter and its presence as an unmarked one and whether addition of *uCase* is a natural course of language change. This chapter has reached the conclusions that the micro-cue model CAN

be incorporated into our account and that absence of *u*Case on deficient PPrns CAN be a marked parameter value and addition of *u*Case CAN be a natural course of language change under markedness reversal.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Concluding Remarks**

This thesis is a minimalist study of the historical change in the formal licensing conditions of PPrn objects in English. Focusing on the diachronic phenomena of cliticization and pronominal OS, it has investigated morphosyntactic properties of (deficient) PPrn objects in the history of English. With no quantitative survey on the linguistic phenomena taken up in this thesis available, detailed investigations of the diachronic data have been conducted with the aid of syntactically annotated electronic corpora such as YCOE, PPCME2, PPCEME, and PPCMBE.

The thesis has considered in minimalist terms how and why the loss of cliticization in EME contributed to forming a new grammatical system in LME which potentially allows pronominal OS. Principled explanations have been provided for the loss of cliticization in EME, and the emergence of pronominal OS in LME and its demise in LModE based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change advanced by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b) and the Inertial Theory originally put forward by Keenan (1994, 2002, 2003, 2009) and subsequently developed by Longobardi (2001).

The cue-based model claims that language change arises when a cue which children use to acquire a certain linguistic phenomenon is lost. Children scan the linguistic input for a cue which is expressed as a partial grammatical structure derived from the I-Language in order to set the values of parameters. When the cue in question is lost, a parametric change arises and thus a new grammatical system is acquired. The Inertial Theory maintains that linguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon and the syntactic component, by itself, is diachronically completely inert. Parametric changes can only result from extra-linguistic factors such as language contact or extra-syntactic factors such as morphophonological and semantic changes, including the appearance or disappearance of lexical items, or other syntactic factors induced by the loss of cues. When extra-syntactically induced parametric changes create a grammatical system which

has a potential for further parametric change, syntactic change occurs recursively. This is called by Biberauer & Roberts (2008a) the intra-syntactically driven language change. By demonstrating that loss of cliticization and emergence and demise of the MSc type of OS in the history of English stem from the changes in positions of occurrence of PPrn objects which are governed by the formal licensing conditions on them, this thesis has confirmed that the historical change in the formal licensing conditions of PPrn objects in English is a syntax-internally driven language change.

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction and Chapter 6 is a conclusion. The following are the main points of Chapters 2 through 5.

Based on my survey of diachronic data, Chapters 2 and 3 have shown that cliticization phenomena (or more precisely, structurally defective CPPrns) attested in OE such as Wackernagel  $\text{Obj}_{\text{PPrn}}$  and displaced P- $\text{Compl}_{\text{PPrn}}$  were lost at the end of EME. It has been claimed that the loss of cliticization is induced by obviation of SPA in the topic-initial main clause. It has been argued that in Southern/Midland dialects, the obviation of SPA is ascribable to the rise of uniform V3 order via loss of V-to-Fin movement (vis. loss of part of a cue,  $[_{\text{CP}} \text{Topic } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{V } [_{\text{TP}} \text{Subj}_{\text{FN}} \dots ]]]$ ), while in Northern dialects, it is ascribable to the rise of uniform V2 order via borrowing of third person plural forms of non-clitic PPrns (i.e. nominative *þei/þai*, accusative/dative *þem*, and genitive *þeir/þair*) from ON. It has also been claimed that the set of changes just mentioned eventually leads to loss of CPPrns (i.e.  $\text{D}^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi \rangle$ ) and gives rise to a grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms including WPPrns (i.e.  $\text{D}^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle$ ) as well as SPPrns (i.e.  $\text{DP} = \text{D}^{\text{Min}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle +$  phonologically null  $\text{N}^{\text{Min}} \langle \text{Foc} \rangle$ ) in mid-14th century English.

Chapter 4 has considered how and why the MSc type of OS emerged in a grammatical system with new pronominal paradigms which include WPPrns and SPPrns in LME, accompanied by the emergence of a definite determiner in OE/EME and the rise of finite main V-movement (i.e. V-to-T movement) in EME, and how and why it was lost in LModE. It has been claimed that the emergence of pronominal OS in LME is made possible by the emergent grammatical system where three factors (i.e. presence/absence of

CPPrns, presence/absence of a definite determiner within a DP, and possibility/impossibility of V-to-T movement) interact, and has argued that this is a syntax-internally driven language change. It has been proposed that these three pre-theoretical/descriptive factors are formulated in terms of formal features as parameters: the *u*Case Parameter, the *i*Def Parameter, and the Tense Morphology Parameter. Furthermore, it has been claimed that change in one of the three factors (i.e. loss of finite main V-movement) caused the demise of pronominal OS in LModE, which is also a syntax-internally driven language change. Finally, it is argued in this chapter that seeming OS in PDE PCs is analyzable as an instance of the Icelandic type of OS targeting a landing site lower than Spec *v*\*P, rather than as a relic of earlier English syntax.

Chapter 5 has discussed two theoretical issues concerning the historical development of deficient PPrns in English. One issue is concerned with the micro-cue model of language acquisition and language change advocated by Westergaard (2009a). The analysis provided with respect to the loss of cliticization in Chapters 2 and 3 is based on the cue-based model of language acquisition and language change advanced by Lightfoot (1999, 2006a, 2006b). Westergaard (2009a) proposes more fine-grained cues. Reconsidering the explanation of demise of CPPrns and emergence of WPPrns advanced in this thesis under the micro-cue model, it has been concluded that the explanation should be restated based on the micro-cue model. The other issue is concerned with the way the default/unmarked value of parameters is formulated. Chapter 2 has claimed that absence of *u*Case on deficient PPrns is a marked parameter value while presence of *u*Case on them is a default/unmarked parameter value. Considering whether this can be a proper characterization of the parametric option and whether addition of formal features can be a case of the natural course of language change, it has been suggested that absence of *u*Case on deficient PPrns can be a marked parameter value and, therefore, addition of *u*Case can be a natural course of language change under the concept of markedness reversal proposed by Roberts (2007).

The synchronic and diachronic facts and their analyses presented in this thesis indicate



that the inertial approach for language change is a promising one under which further theoretical and empirical researches on the nature of language change can be developed. They also indicate that the minimalist approach to the principled explanation of the nature of human language proves to be the right direction to head for, advancing a step toward substantiation of the strong minimalist thesis (i.e. Interfaces + Merge = Language) presented by Chomsky (2010).

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## **Appendix 1**

### **Electronic Corpora**

#### **Syntactically Annotated Corpora**

Kroch, Anthony & Ann Taylor (2000) *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition, Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.

[<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-3/index.html>]

Kroch, Anthony, Beatrice Santorini & Lauren Delfs (2004) *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*, Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.

[<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCEME-RELEASE-2/index.html>]

Kroch, Anthony, Beatrice Santorini & Ariel Diertani (2010) *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*, Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.

[<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCMBE-RELEASE-1/index.html>]

Pintzuk, Susan, Eric Haeberli, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Frank Beths (2000) *Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English*, Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York.

[<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~sp20/corpus.html>]

Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths (2003) *York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry*, Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York.

[<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm>]

#### **Java Programs**

Randall, Beth (2000) *CorpusSearch: A Java Program for Searching Syntactically Annotated Corpora*, Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania.

Randall, Beth (2005-2010) *CorpusSearch 2: A Tool for Linguistic Research*, Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania.

## 1. Texts in the YCOE

<O1 (-850)>

### **codocu1**

Harmer, F. E. (1914) *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Robertson, A. J. (1956 (1939)) *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

### **codocu4**

Robertson, A. J. (1956 (1939)) *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

<O2 (850-950)>

### **cocura, cocuraC & coprefcura**

Sweet, Henry (1958 (1871)) *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* (EETS 45 & 50), Oxford University Press, London.

### **colawaf & colawafint**

Lieberman, F. (1903-1916) *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle. [Reprinted Aalen 1960]

### **coorosiu**

Bately, Janet (1980) *The Old English Orosius* (EETS SS 6), Oxford University Press, London.

### **coboeth**

Sedgefield, Walter John (1899) *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1968]

### **colaece**

Cockayne, Oswald (1864-1866) *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England* (Rolls Series 35, vol. 1), London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. [Reprinted Kraus Reprint Ltd. 1965]

**cosolsat2**

Menner, Robert J. (1941) *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* (MLA Monograph Series 13), The Modern Language Association of America, New York.

**codocu2**

Robertson, A. J. (1956 (1939)) *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**codocu2 & codocu3**

Harmer, F. E. (1914) *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Robertson, A. J. (1956 (1939)) *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

<O3 (950-1050)>

**coaelhom**

Pope, J. C. (1968) *Homilies of Ælfric, A Supplementary Collection* (EETS 260), Oxford University Press, London.

**cochronA**

Plummer, Charles (1965 (1892-1899)) *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

**coverhom & coverhome**

Scragg, D. G. (1992) *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (EETS 300), Oxford University Press, London.

**coalex & comarvel**

Orchard, Andrew P. M. (1995) *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the "Beowulf" Manuscript*, D. S. Brewer, Cambridge.

**coblick**

Morris, Richard (1967 (1874-1880)) *The Blickling Homilies* (EETS 58, 63 & 73), Trübner, London.

**cocathom1 & coprefcath1**

Clemons, P. (1997) *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series* (EETS SS 17), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

**cocathom2 & coprefcath2**

Godden, M. (1979) *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series* (EETS SS 5), Oxford University Press, London.

**comart3**

Kotzor, G. (1981) *Das Alterenglische Martyrologium, vol. II* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge, Heft 88/2), Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München.

**cotempo**

Henel, Heinrich (1970 (1942)) *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni* (EETS 213), Oxford University Press, London.

**colacnu**

Grattan, John, Henry Grafton & Charles Singer [eds.] (1952) *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum n.s. 3), Oxford University Press, London.

**colaw6atr, colawnorthu, colaw1cn, colaw2cn & colaw5atr**

Lieberman, F. (1903-1916) *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle. [Reprinted Aalen 1960]

**codocu3**

Robertson, A. J. (1956 (1939)) *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Whitelock, Dorothy (1930) *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**cobenrul**

Schröer, Arnold (1885-1888) *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel* (Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, II), Kassel. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1964]

**cogregdH**

Hecht, Hans (1965 (1900-1907)) *Bischof Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* (Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa, V), Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.

**coherbar & coquadru**

Vriend, Hubert Jan de (1984) *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de quadrupedibus* (EETS 286), Oxford University Press, London.

**conicodD**

Hulme, William H. (1903-1904) "The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus," *Modern Philology* 1, 579-614.

**comart1**

Herzfeld, George (1973 (1900)) *An Old English Martyrology* (EETS 116), Trübner, London.

**cowsgosp**

Skeat, Walter William (1871-1887) *The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1970]

**cootest & cogenesiC**

Crawford, Samuel J. (1922) *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis* (EETS 160), Oxford University Press, London.

**cochronC**

Rositzke, H. A. (1967 (1940)) *The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles*, Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 34, Bochum-Langendreer.

**coaelive, coeuphr, coeust, comary & copreflives**

Skeat, Walter William (1966 (1881-1900)) *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (EETS 76, 82, 94 & 114), Oxford University Press, London.



**cocanedgD**

Fowler, Roger (1972) *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar* (EETS 266), Oxford University Press, London.

**coinspolD**

Jost, K. (1959) "Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical'," *Swiss Studies in English* 47, Bern.

**cosevensl**

Magennis, Hugh (1994) *The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers* (Durham Medieval Texts 7), Durham.

**coadrian**

Cross, James E. & Thomas D. Hill (1982) *The "Prose Solomon and Saturn" and "Adrian and Ritheus"*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo & London.

**coapollo**

Goolden, Peter (1958) *The Old English "Apollonius of Tyre"*, Oxford University Press, London.

**cobyrhthf**

Baker, Peter S. & Michael Lapidge (1995) *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion* (EETS SS 15), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

**cochristoph**

Rypins, Stanley (1971 (1924)) *Three Old English Prose Texts in Ms. Cotton Vitellius A.XV* (EETS 161), Oxford University Press, London.

**comargaT**

Clayton, Mary & Hugh Magennis (1994) "The Old English Lives of St Margaret," *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon English* 9, 112-138, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

<O4 (1050-1150)>

**cowulf**

Bethurum, Dorothy (1957) *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

**colwsigeT, colwsigeXa, colwstan1 & colwstan2**

Fehr, B. (1914) *Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung* (Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa, IX), Verlag von Henri Grand, Hamburg.  
[Reprinted Darmstadt 1966]

**cochronD**

Classen, E. & F. E. Harmer [eds.] (1926) *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

**cocanedgX**

Fowler, Roger (1972) *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar* (EETS 266), Oxford University Press, London.

**cochdrul**

Napier, Arthur S. (1971 (1916)) *The Old English Version, with the Latin Original, of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original* (EETS 150) Oxford University Press, London.

**coinspolX**

Jost, K. (1959) "Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical,'" *Swiss Studies in English* 47, Bern.

**covinsal & conicodA**

Cross, J. E. (1996) *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nichodemus and The Avenging of the Saviour, with contributions by Denis Brearley, Julia Crick, Thomas Hall and Andy Orchard* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 19), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**comart2**

Herzfeld, George (1973 (1900)) *An Old English Martyrology* (EETS 116), Trübner, London.

**cobede**

Miller, Thomas (1959-1963 (1890-1898)) *The Old English Version of "Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People"* (EETS 95, 96, 110 & 111), Oxford University Press, London.

**coepigen, colsigewB, colsigewZ, coprefgen & coexodusP**

Crawford, Samuel J. (1922) *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis* (EETS 160), Oxford University Press, London.

**coverhomL**

Scragg, D. G. (1992) *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (EETS 300), Oxford University Press, London.

**colwgeat & colsigef**

Assmann, Bruno (1889) *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* (Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, III), Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Kassel. [Reprinted Darmstadt 1964]

**colawger, colawine & colawwllad**

Lieberman, F. (1903-1916) *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle. [Reprinted Aalen 1960]

**codicts**

Cox, R. S. (1972) "The Old English Dicts of Cato," *Anglia* 90, 1-42, Max Niemeyer, Tübingen.

**cochronE**

Plummer, Charles (1965 (1892-1899)) *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

**coalcuin, coaugust, cojames, coneot, coeluc1 & coeluc2**

Warner, Rubie D.-N. (1917 (1971)) *Early English Homilies from the 12th Century Ms. Vespasian D.XIV* (EETS 152), Trübner, London.

**conicodC**

Hulme, William H. (1903-1904) "The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus," *Modern*

*Philology* 1, 579-614.

**coprefsolilo & cosolilo**

Endter, W. (1922) *König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus* (Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa, 11), Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt. [Corrections by T. A. Carnicelli (1969) *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.]

**cosolsat1**

Cross, James E. & Thomas D. Hill (1982) *The "Prose Solomon and Saturn" and "Adrian and Ritheus"*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo & London.

**conicodE**

Torkar, Roland [ed.] From Ms. for Dictionary of Old English Project.

**corood**

Napier, Arthur S. (1973 (1894)) *History of the Holy Rood Tree* (EETS 103), Trübner, London.

**covinceB**

Irvine, Susan (1993) *Old English Homilies from Ms Bodley 343* (EETS 302), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

**coleofri**

Napier, Arthur S. (1907-1910) "An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 180-88.

**cogregdC**

Hecht, Hans (1965 (1900-1907)) *Bischof Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* (Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa, V), Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.

**cochad**

Vleeskruyer, Rudolf (1953) *The Life of Saint Chad: An Old English Homily*, North-Holland, Amsterdam.

**comargaC**

Clayton, Mary & Hugh Magennis (1994) "The Old English Lives of St Margaret," *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon English* 9, 112-38, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**2. Texts in the PPCME2**

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

**CMLAMBX1**

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

**CMTRINIT**

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

<M1 (1150-1250)>

**CMPETERB**

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

**CMORM**

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

**CMLAMB1**

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

**CMVICES1**

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

**CMHALI, CMKATHE & CMSAWLES**

D'Ardenne, S. R. T. O. (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**

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

<M2 (1250-1350)>

**CMAYENBI**

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

**CMEARLPS**

Bülbring, Karl D. (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**

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

<M3 (1350-1420)>

**CMPOLYCH**

Lumby, Joseph (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**

Forshall, Josiah & 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**

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#### **CMEDVERN**

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#### **CMASTRO, CMBOETH, CMCTMELI & CMCTPARS**

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#### **CMBRUT3**

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#### **CMWYCSE**

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#### **CMCLOUD**

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

#### **CMMANDEV**

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

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Kock, Ernst A. (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), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

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

**CMEDTHOR**

Perry, George G. (1869) *The Mirror of St. Edmund, Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (EETS OS 26), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

**CMHILTON**

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**CMVICES4**

Francis, Winthrop N. (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**

Beer, Frances (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**

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**CMAELR4**

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**CMKEMPE**

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Gairdner, James (1876) *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society NS XVII), Camden Society, Westminster.

**CMREYNAR**

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**CMINNOCE**

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### 3. Texts in the PPCEME

<E1 (1500-1569)>

**AMBASS-E1-P2, BEDYLL-E1-H, CROMWELL-E1-H, CROMWELL-E1-P1, CROMWELL-E1-P2, DACRE-E1-P2, DELAPOLE-E1-P1, FRIAR-E1-P1, GCROMW-E1-H, GCROMW-E1-P1, GCROMW-E1-P2, GREY-E1-P1, HENRY-1510-E1-P2, HENRY-1520-E1-H, HENRY-1520-E1-P1, HENRY-1530-E1-P2, INTERVIEW-E1-P2, LORDS-E1-H, MANNERS-E1-P2, MHOWARD-E1-P2, MOREWOL-E1-H, MOREWOL-E1-P1, MOREWOL-E1-P2, MTUDOR-1510-E1-P1, MTUDOR-1510-E1-P2, MTUDOR-1520-E1-P2, RUSSELL-E1-P2, SURETY-E1-P2, TUNSTALL-E1-H, TUNSTALL-E1-P1, WCECIL-1560-E1-H, WOLSEY-E1-H, WOLSEY-E1-P1 & WOLSEY-E1-P2**

Ellis, Henry [ed.] (1824, 1827, 1846) *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*, Richard Bentley, London.

**APLUMPT-E1-H, APLUMPT-E1-P1, APOOLE-E1-P2, DPLUMPT-E1-H, EPOOLE-E1-P2, GASCOIGNE-1500-E1-P1, GASCOIGNE-1510-E1-P1, GPOOLE-1500-E1-P2, GPOOLE-1510-E1-P2, IPLUMPT-E1-H, NEVILL-E1-P1, RPLUMPT-E1-H, RPLUMPT-E1-P1, RPLUMPT2-E1-P1, RPLUMPT2-E1-P2, SAVILL-E1-P1, WPLUMPT-1500-E1-H, WPLUMPT-1510-E1-H & WPLUMPT-1530-E1-H**

Stapleton, Thomas [ed.] (1839) *The Plumpton correspondence, A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII*, Camden Society, IV.

**ASCH-E1-H, ASCH-E1-P1 & ASCH-E1-P2**

Arber, Edward [ed.] (1870) *The Scholemaster, Written between 1563-1568*, Posthumously published, First edition, 1570; collated with the second edition, 1571, English reprints, [no publisher], London.

**BOETHCO-E1-H, BOETHCO-E1-P1 & BOETHCO-E1-P2**

Bax, Ernest Belfort [ed.] (1897) *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, translated from the*

*Latin by George Colville, 1556* (The Tudor Library, V), David Nutt, London.

**CHAPLAIN-E1-P2**

Ellis, Henry [ed.] (1851) *The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506, From a copy believed to be unique, from the press of Richard Pynson*, Camden Society, London.

**EBEAUM-E1-H**

Macray, William D. [ed.] (1884) *Beaumont papers, Letters relating to the family of Beaumont, of Whitley, Yorkshire, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries*, Nichols, London.

**ECUMBERL-E1-H & KSCROPE-1530-E1-H**

Dickens, Arthur G. [ed.] (1962) *Clifford letters of the sixteenth century* (Surtees Society, 172), Andrews and Co., Durham.

**EDWARD-E1-H, EDWARD-E1-P1 & EDWARD-E1-P2**

Nichols, John Gough [ed.] (1857 (reprinted 1963)) *The diary of Edward VI, Literary remains of King Edward the Sixth, Vol. II* (Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series, 51), Burt Franklin, New York.

**ELIZ-1560-E1-P2**

Butler, Geoffrey G. [ed.] (1913) *The Edmondes papers, A selection from the correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, envoy from Queen Elizabeth at the French court*, Nichols, London.

Ellis, Henry [ed.] (1824, 1827, 1846) *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*, Richard Bentley, London.

Grosart, Alexander B. [ed.] (1873) *The Dr. Farmer Chetham ms, Being a commonplace-book in the Chetham Library, Manchester, Temp. Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, Consisting of verse and prose, mostly hitherto unpublished, The Queene's letter to my Ladye Norrice* (Chetham Society, 89), Chetham Society Manchester.

**ELYOT-E1-H, ELYOT-E1-P1 & ELYOT-E1-P2**

Elyot, Thomas (1907) *The boke named the Governour, With an introduction by Foster Watson*, Everyman's Library, edited by Ernest Rhys, J. M. Dent and E. P. Dutton, London & New York.

**FABYAN-E1-H, FABYAN-E1-P1 & FABYAN-E1-P2**

Fabyan, Robert (1516) *The new chronicles of England and France*, Pynson, London.  
[Reprinted F.C. & J. Rivington, London 1811]

**FISHER-E1-H , FISHER-E1-P1 & FISHER-E1-P2**

Mayor, John E. B. [ed.] (1876) *The English works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Part I* (EETS ES 27), Asher, Scribner, Lippincott, Berlin, New York, Philadelphia.

**FITZH-E1-H, FITZH-E1-P1 & FITZH-E1-P2**

Skeat, Walter W. [ed.] (1882) *The book of husbandry, by Master Fitzherbert* (English Dialect Society, 37 (Series D. Miscellaneous)), Trübner, London. [Reprinted Kraus Reprint Ltd., Vaduz 1965]

**HARMAN-E1-H, HARMAN-E1-P1 & HARMAN-E1-P2**

Viles, Edward & F. J. Furnivall [ed.] (1869) *A caueat or warening for commen cursetors vulgarely called vagabones, by Thomas Harman Esquiere* (EETS ES 9), Trübner, London.

**LATIMER-E1-H, LATIMER-E1-P1 & LATIMER-E1-P2**

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**LELAND-E1-H, LELAND-E1-P1 & LELAND-E1-P2**

Smith, Lucy Toulmin [ed.] (1964) *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, Parts I to III, With a foreword by Thomas Kendrick. Volume 1*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL.

**MACHYN-E1-H, MACHYN-E1-P1 & MACHYN-E1-P2**

Nichols, John Gough [ed.] (1848) *The diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (Camden Society, 42), Nichols, London.

**MARCHES-E1-P1**

Hoyle, R. W. [ed.] (1992) *Letters of the Cliffords, lords Clifford and earls of Cumberland, c.1500-c.1565* (Camden Miscellany 31, Camden Fourth Series, vol. 44), Offices of the Royal Historical Society, London.

**MERRYTAL-E1-H, MERRYTAL-E1-P1 & MERRYTAL-E1-P2**

Oesterley, Hermann [ed.] (1866) *Shakespeare's Jest book: A hundred mery talys, from the only perfect copy known*, John Russell Smith, London.

**MORELET1-E1-H, MORELET2-E1-H, MORELET2-E1-P1, MROPER-E1-H, MROPER-E1-P1 & MROPER-E1-P2**

Rogers, Elizabeth F. [ed.] (1947) *The correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

**MORERIC-E1-H, MORERIC-E1-P1 & MORERIC-E1-P2**

Sylvester, Richard Standish [ed.] (1963) *The complete works of St. Thomas More, Volume 2*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT & London.

**MOWNTAYNE-E1-H, MOWNTAYNE-E1-P1 & MOWNTAYNE-E1-P2**

Nichols, John Gough [ed.] (1859) *The autobiography of Thomas Mowntayne, Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer* (Camden Society, 77), [no publisher], London.

**RECORD-E1-H, RECORD-E1-P1 & RECORD-E1-P2**

Record, Robert (1974 (facsimile)) *The path-way to knowledge, containing the first principles of geometrie, 1551* (The English experience, 687), Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm, Amsterdam.

**ROPER-E1-H, ROPER-E1-P1 & ROPER-E1-P2**

Hitchcock, Elsie Vaughan [ed.] (1935 (for 1934)) *The lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knyghte*,

*written by William Roper, esquire, whiche married Margreat, daughter of the sayed Thomas Moore; and now edited from thirteen manuscripts, with collations, etc.* (EETS OS 197), Oxford University Press, London.

**STAT-1500-E1-H, STAT-1510-E1-P2, STAT-1530-E1-P1, STAT-1540-E1-H,  
STAT-1540-E1-P1, STAT-1550-E1-P2 & STAT-1560-E1-P2**

*The statutes of the realm, Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. III and IV, 1817*, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London.

**STEVENSO-E1-H, STEVENSO-E1-P1 & STEVENSO-E1-P2**

Brett-Smith, Herbert Francis Brett [ed.] (1920) *Gammar Gvrtons nedle*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston & New York.

**THOWARD-E1-H & THOWARD-E1-P1**

Ellis, Henry [ed.] (1824, 1827, 1846) *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*, Richard Bentley, London.

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**THROCKM-E1-H**

Hargrave, Francis [ed.] (1776-1781 (4th ed.)) *A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave, Vol. 1*, T. Wright, London.

**TORKINGT-E1-H, TORKINGT-E1-P1 & TORKINGT-E1-P2**

Loftie, William John [ed.] (1884) *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travell, being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517* (The Vellum-Parchment Shilling Series of Miscellaneous Literature, VI), Field & Tuer, London.

**TURNER-E1-H, TURNER-E1-P1 & TURNER-E1-P2**

Larkey, Sanford Vincent & Philip M. Wagner [ed.] (1941) *A book of wines, by William Turner, together with a modern English version of the text by the editors, and a general introduction by Sanford V. Larkey and an oenological note by Philip M. Wagner*, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, New York.

**TURNERHERB-E1-P2**

Chapman, George T. L. & Marilyn N. Tweddle [eds.] (1995) *A new herball, by William Turner*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**TYNDNEW-E1-H, TYNDNEW-E1-P1 & TYNDNEW-E1-P2**

Wallis, Norbert Hardy [ed.] (1938) *The New Testament, translated by William Tyndale, 1534, A reprint of the edition of 1534 with the translator's prefaces & notes and the variants of the edition of 1525, with an introduction by I. Foot*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**TYNDOLD-E1-H, TYNDOLD-E1-P1 & TYNDOLD-E1-P2**

Mombert, Jacob I. [ed.] (1967) *William Tyndale's five books of Moses called the Pentateuch, being a verbatim reprint of the edition of M.CCCCC.XXX, compared with Tyndale's Genesis of 1534, and the Pentateuch in the Vulgate, Luther, and Matthew's Bible, with various collations and prolegomena, Newly introduced by F. F. Bruce*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL.

**UDALL-E1-H, UDALL-E1-P1 & UDALL-E1-P2**

Udall, Nicholas (1934 (for 1935)) *Roister Doister* (Malone Society reprints) Oxford University Press, London.

**UNDERHILL-E1-P2**

Nichols, John Gough [ed.] (1859) *Autobiographical anecdotes of Edward Underhill, one of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer* (Camden Society, 77), [no publisher], London.

**VICARY-E1-H, VICARY-E1-P1 & VICARY-E1-P2**

Furnivall, Frederick J. & Percy Furnivall (1888) *The anatomie of the bodie of man, by Thomas Vicary ... The edition of 1548, as re-issued by the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's in 1577* (EETS ES 53), Oxford University Press, London. [Reprinted Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, NY 1973].

<E2 (1570-1639)>

**ARMIN-E2-H, ARMIN-E2-P1 & ARMIN-E2-P2**

Armin, Robert (1842) *A nest of ninnies, Fools and jesters: with a reprint of Robert Armin's nest of ninnies, 1608*, Shakespeare Society, London.

**AUTHNEW-E2-H, AUTHNEW-E2-P1, AUTHNEW-E2-P2, AUTHOLD-E2-H, AUTHOLD-E2-P1 & AUTHOLD-E2-P2**

*The Holy Bible*, (1911) *An exact reprint in Roman type, page for page of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611, With an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard*, Henry Frowde & Oxford University Press, London, Oxford, New York.

**BACON-E2-H, BACON-E2-P1 & BACON-E2-P2**

Bacon, Francis (1970 (facsimile)) *The twoo bookes of the proficiencie and advancement of learning, London 1605* (The English Experience, 218), Theatrum Orbis Terrarum & Da Capo Press, Amsterdam & New York.

**BLUNDEV-E2-H, BLUNDEV-E2-P1 & BLUNDEV-E2-P2**

Blundeville, Thomas (1597) *M. Blundeuile his exercises, Pt. 1; A briefe description of the tables of the three speciall right lines belonging to a circle, called signes, [sic] lines tangent, and lines secant; A plaine Treatise of the first principles of Cosmographie, and specially of the Spheare, representing the shape of the whole world*, John Windet, London.

**BOETHEL-E2-H, BOETHEL-E2-P1 & BOETHEL-E2-P2**

Pemberton, Caroline [ed.] (1899) *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, A.D. 1593, Plutarch, De Curiositate, Horace, De Arte*



*Poetica (Part)*, A.D. 1598 (EETS OS 113), Trübner, London.

**BRINSLEY-E2-H, BRINSLEY-E2-P1 & BRINSLEY-E2-P2**

Campagnac, Ernest Trafford [ed.] (1917) *Ludus literarius or The Grammar Schoole* (1627),  
Liverpool University Press & Constable, Liverpool & London.

**CLOWES-E2-H, CLOWES-E2-P1 & CLOWES-E2-P2**

Clowes, William (1970 (facsimile)) *Treatise for the artificiall cure of struma, London 1602*  
(The English Experience, 238), Theatrum Orbis Terrarum & Da Capo Press,  
Amsterdam & New York.

**CLOWESOBS-E2-P2**

Starnes, De Witt T. & Chauncey D. Leake [eds.] (1945 (facsimile)) *Profitable and  
necessarie booke of observations, by William Clowes, With introductions general and  
medical*, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, New York.

**CONWAY-E2-H, HATCHER-E2-P1, RICH-E2-P1, TALBOT-E2-P2,  
TRINCOLL-E2-H, WCECIL-1580-E2-H & WCECIL-1580-E2-P2**

Ellis, Henry [ed.] (1824, 1827, 1846) *Original letters, illustrative of English history;  
including numerous royal letters*, Richard Bentley, London.

**COVERTE-E2-H, COVERTE-E2-P1 & COVERTE-E2-P2**

Pike, Clement Edwards [ed.] (1913) *Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel  
Earl of Essex 1675-1677* (Camden Third Series, Vol. 24), Royal Historical Society,  
London.

**DELONEY-E2-H, DELONEY-E2-P1 & DELONEY-E2-P2**

Lawlis, Merrit E. [ed.] (1961) *The novels of Thomas Deloney* (Jack of Newbury (1619)),  
Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN.

**EDMONDES-E2-H , EDMONDES-E2-P1, EDMONDES-E2-P2, RCECIL-E2-H,  
RCECIL-E2-P1 & RCECIL-E2-P2**

Butler, Geoffrey G. [ed.] (1913) *The Edmondes papers, A selection from the  
correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, envoy from Queen Elizabeth at the French  
court*, Nichols, London.

**ELIZ-1570-E2-P2, ELIZ-1580-E2-P1, ELIZ-1590-E2-H & ELIZ-1590-E2-P2**

Butler, Geoffrey G. [ed.] (1913) *The Edmondes papers, A selection from the correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, envoy from Queen Elizabeth at the French court*, Nichols, London.

Ellis, Henry [ed.] (1824, 1827, 1846) *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*, Richard Bentley, London.

Grosart, Alexander B. [ed.] (1873) *The Dr. Farmer Chetham ms, Being a commonplace-book in the Chetham Library, Manchester, Temp. Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, Consisting of verse and prose, mostly hitherto unpublished, The Queene's letter to my Ladye Norrice* (Chetham Society, 89), Chetham Society Manchester.

**ESSEX-E2-H & ESSEX-E2-P1**

Grosart, Alexander B. [ed.] (1873) *The Dr. Farmer Chetham ms, Being a commonplace-book in the Chetham Library, Manchester, Temp. Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, Consisting of verse and prose, mostly hitherto unpublished, The Queene's letter to my Ladye Norrice* (Chetham Society, 89), Chetham Society Manchester.

**ESSEXSTATE-E2-P1, ESSEXSTATE-E2-P2, JUDALL-E2-P2, RALEIGH-E2-H, RALEIGH-E2-P1, RALEIGH-E2-P2, THOWARD2-E2-P1 & THOWARD2-E2-P2**

Hargrave, Francis [ed.] (1776-1781 (4th ed.)) *A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave, Vol. 1*, T. Wright, London.

**EVERARD-E2-H, JBARRING-E2-H, JBARRING-E2-P1, JBARRING-E2-P2, JUBARRING-E2-P1, JUBARRING-E2-P2, MASHAM-E2-H, MASHAM-E2-P1, MASHAM-E2-P2, TBARRING-E2-H, TBARRING-E2-P1 & TBARRING-E2-P2**

Searle, Arthur [ed.] (1983) *Barrington family letters 1628-1632* (Camden Fourth Series.

Vol. 28), Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London, London.

**FORMAN-E2-H, FORMAN-DIARY-E2-P1 & FORMAN-DIARY-E2-P2**

Halliwell, James Orchard [ed.] (1849) *The autobiography and personal diary of Dr. Simon Forman, the celebrated astrologer, from A.D. 1552, to A.D. 1602*, privately printed, London.

**GAWDY-E2-H, GAWDY-E2-P1 & GAWDY-E2-P2**

Jeayes, Isacc Herbert [ed.] (1906) *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to various members of his family, 1579-1616*, Nichols, London.

**GIFFORD-E2-H, GIFFORD-E2-P1 & GIFFORD-E2-P2**

White, Beatrice [ed.] (1931) *A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes, 1593, By George Gifford, With an introduction by Beatrice White* (Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 1), Oxford University Press, London.

**HARLEY-E2-H, HARLEY-E2-P1, HARLEYEDW-E2-P1 & HARLEYEDW-E2-P2**

Lewis, Thomas Taylor [ed.] (1854) *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley, wife of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath* (Camden Society, 58), [no publisher], London. [Reprinted AMS Press, New York 1968]

**HAYWARD-E2-H, HAYWARD-E2-P1 & HAYWARD-E2-P2**

Bruce, John [ed.] (1840) *Sir John Hayward, Annals of the first four years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Camden Society, 7), Nichols, London.

**HOBY-E2-H, HOBY-E2-P1 & HOBY-E2-P2**

Meads, Dorothy M. [ed.] (1930) *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

**HOOKE-A-E2-H, HOOKE-A-E2-P1, HOOKE-A-E2-P2, HOOKE-B-E2-H, HOOKE-B-E2-P1 & HOOKE-B-E2-P2**

Hooker, Richard (1969 (facsimile)) *Two sermons upon part of S. Judes Epistle, 1614* (The English Experience, 195), Theatrum Orbis Terrarum & Da Capo Press, Amsterdam & New York.

**JOTAYLOR-E2-H, JOTAYLOR-E2-P1 & JOTAYLOR-E2-P2**

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**TILLOTS-A-E3-H, TILLOTS-A-E3-P1, TILLOTS-B-E3-H, TILLOTS-B-E3-P1 & TILLOTS-C-E3-P2**

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Albin, Eleazar (1736) *A natural history of spiders, and other curious insects, by Eleazar Albin: Illustrated with fifty three copper plates, engraved by the best hands*, London.

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Burton, John (1762) *Two sermons preached at St. Mary's before the university of Oxford, Feb. 11. 1757, and Mar. 12. 1762, being the days appointed for general fasting and humiliation, &c.*, Oxford.

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Butler, Joseph (1726) *Fifteen sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel upon the following subjects: Upon humane nature*, London.

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Davys, Mary (1716) *The northern heiress: or, the humours of York: A comedy: As it was acted at the New-Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields,* London.

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Doddridge, Philip (1747) *Some remarkable passages in the life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner, who was slain at the Battle of Prestonpans, September 21, 1745: With an appendix, relating to the ancient family of the Munro's of Fowlis.*

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Hind, Thomas (1707) *The history of Greece, Vol. 1, containing the space of about 1660*

*years; from the first plantation of Greece, to the Peloponnesian War*, printed for S. and J. Sprint, A. and J. Churchill, Tim Childe, and Rob Knaplock, London.

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*Minutes of the proceedings at the trial of Captain Holmes, of His Majesty's ship the Lenox, by a court-martial, held on board His Majesty's yacht the Charlotte, at Deptford: For his conduct and behaviour in an engagement with a Spanish squadron on the first of October, 1748*, London (1751).

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Lind, James (1753) *A treatise of the scurvy*, 3 parts, *Containing an inquiry into the nature, causes, and cure, of that disease: Together with a critical and chronological view of what has been published on the subject*, Edinburgh.

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*Anonymous officer of the fleet (1744) A voyage to the South-Seas, and to many other parts of the world, performed from the month of September in the year 1740, to June 1744, by Commodore Anson: By an officer of the squadron*, London.

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Purver, Anthony (1764) *A new and literal translation of all the books of the Old and New Testament; with notes critical and explanatory*, 2 vols., Richardson and Clark, London.

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Matthews, William [ed.] (1939) *The diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716; transcribed from shorthand and edited by William Matthews*, Methuen, London.

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Stevens, John (1745) *The modern wife; or, the virgin her own rival: A comedy: As it was to have been acted at the New Theatre in the Haymarket: By a citizen of London*, 2nd ed., corrected, London.

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*The genuine trial of Francis Townley, late of Manchester, gentleman; who was appointed colonel of the Manchester regiment by the young Pretender, and was convicted of high treason, on Tuesday July 15th, 1746.*

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Wesley, John (1744-1745) *An extract of the Reverend Mr. John Wesley's journal, from October 27, 1743, to November 17, 1746*, London.

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Chapman, R. W. [ed.] (1952) *Jane Austen's letters to her sister Cassandra and others*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, London.

**bardsley-1807**

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Ridpath, Philip (1785) *Boethius's Consolation of philosophy, Translated from the Latin, with notes and illustrations*, printed for C. Dilly, London.

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Norton, Charles Eliot [ed.] (1888) *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, Vol. 2 (1832-1836), Macmillan, London.

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Carlyle, Thomas (1837) *Thomas Carlyle's works*, The standard edition in 18 volumes, Vol. 1 (1905): *The French revolution: A history*, Funk & Wagnalls, New York.

**chapman-1774**

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Cook, James (1776) *A second voyage round the world, in the years MDCCLXXII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV*, London.

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Wormald, Mark [ed.] (1999) *Charles Dickens: The posthumous papers of the Pickwick Club*, Penguin, London.

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Froude, Richard Hurrell (1830) *Remains of the late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude*, Vol. 2, Rivington, London.

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Gibbon, Edward (1776) *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. 1, London.

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Handwerk, Gary & Arnold A. Markley (2001) *Fleetwood, or the new man of feeling*, Broadview Literary Texts.

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Goldsmith, Oliver (1773) *She stoops to conquer: or, the mistakes of a night: A comedy: As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden: Written by Doctor Goldsmith*, 3rd ed., London.

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*A new treatise on the art of grafting and inoculation: Wherein the different methods are copiously considered; And many curious experiments lately made by the author*, Salisbury.



**haydon-1808**

Pope, Willard Bissell [ed.] (1960) *The diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, Vol. 1, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

**herschel-1797**

Herschel, Sir William (1797) *On the discovery of four additional satellites of the Georgium Sidus: From the Philosophical Transactions*, London.

**johnson-1775**

Chapman, R. W. [ed.] (1952) *The letters of Samuel Johnson, with Mrs. Thrale's genuine letters to him*, Vol. 2: 1775-1782 (*Letters 370-821.1*), Clarendon Press, Oxford.

**lancaster-1806**

Lancaster, Joseph (1806) *Improvements in education, as it respects the industrious classes of the community*, 4th edition.

**lyell-1830**

Lyell, Charles (1830) *Principles of geology*, Vol. 1, Murray, London. [Reprinted 1990, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, With a new introduction by Martin J. S. Rudwick.]

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Montefiore, Lady Judith, née Cohen (1836) *Private journal of a visit to Egypt and Palestine by way of Italy and the Mediterranean*. Rickerby, London. [Reprinted 1975, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.]

**newcome-new-1796**

Newcome, William (1796) *An attempt toward revising our English translation of the Greek Scriptures, and toward illustrating the sense by philological and explanatory notes*, 2 volumes.

**okeeffe-1826**

O'Keeffe, John (1826) *Recollections of the life of John O'Keeffe, written by himself*, Vol. 1, Colburn, London.

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Reeve, Clara (1777) *The champion of virtue: a Gothic story*, Colchester.

**ruskin-1835**

Evans, Joan & John Howard Whitehouse (1956) *The diaries of John Ruskin*, Vol. 1: 1835-1847, Clarendon, Oxford.

**southey-1813**

Southey, Robert (1813) *Life of Nelson*. [Reprinted 1906, Dent and Sons, London.]

**statutes-1775**

*The statutes at large, from the seventh year of the reign of King George the Third, to the eighteenth year of the reign of King George the Third, To which is prefixed, a table of the titles of all the publick and private statutes during that time*, Vol. 8, printed by Charles Eyre and Andrew Strahan; and by William Woodfall and Andrew Strahan, London, 1786.

**statutes-1805**

*The statutes at large, from the Magna Charta, to the end of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain, Anno 1761: Continued: By Danby Pickering, of Gray's Inn, Esq.*, Vol. 45, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**statutes-1835**

*The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 5 & 6: William IV, Vol. 75. His Majesty's Printers, London.

**tindall-1814**

Tindall, John (1814) *Tindall's Yorkshire farriery: being a treatise on the diseases of horses, with a statement of cases, and applicable recipes, never before published*, J. Lancashire, Huddersfield.

**turner1-1799**

Turner, Sharon (1799) *The history of the Anglo-Saxons, from their first appearance above the Elbe, to the death of Egbert, with a map of their ancient territory*, London.

**turner2-1800**

Turner, Samuel (1800) *An account of an embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan, and part of Tibet*, London.

**watson-1817**

*The trial of James Watson for High Treason at the Bar of the Court of King's Bench: Taken in shorthand by William Brodie Gurney*, Vol. 1, London (1817).

**wellesley-1815**

Gurwood, Lieutenant Colonel [ed.] (1842) *Selections from the dispatches and general orders of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, Murray, London.

**whewell-1837**

Whewell, William (1837) *On the principles of English university education*, Parker, London.

**wollaston-1793**

Wollaston, Francis (1793) *Two sermons preached in the parish church of Chislehurst in Kent*, London.

<1840-1914>

**bain-1878**

Bain, Alexander (1886) *Education as a science*, International scientific series, Vol. 25, Appleton, New York.

**benson-1908**

Benson, Arthur Christopher (1908) *The schoolmaster: A commentary upon the aims and methods of an assistant-master in a public school*, Putnam, New York.

**benson-190x**

Lubbock, Percy [ed.] (1926) *The diary of Arthur Christopher Benson*, Longman, Greens and Co., New York.

**boethja-1897**

James, Henry Rosher (trans.) (1897) *The consolation of philosophy of Boethius*, Routledge,

London.

**bradley-1905**

Bradley, Arthur Granville (1905) *Highways and byways in North Wales*, Macmillan, London.

**brougham-1861**

Brougham, John (1861) *Playing with fire: An original comedy*, 5 acts, Lacy, London.

**erv-new-1881**

Ellicott, Charles John et al. (1885) *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greek: being the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised, A.D. 1881*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

**erv-old-1885**

*The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: translated out of the original tongues, being the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1885).

**faraday-1859**

Faraday, Michael (1859) *A course of six lectures on the various forces of matter and their relations to each other: Delivered before a juvenile auditory at the Royal Institution of Great Britain during the Christmas holidays of 1859-60*, 3rd edition, Griffin, London and Glasgow.

**fayrer-1900**

Fayrer, Sir Joseph (1900) *Recollections of my life*, Blackwood, London.

**fleming-1886**

Fleming, George (1886) *The practical horse keeper*, Cassell, London.

**gladstone-1873**

Ramm, Agatha [ed.] (1952) *The political correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868-1876*, Vol. 2: 1871-76, Camden Third Series, Vol. 82, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, London.

**long-1866**

Long, George (1866) *The decline of the Roman republic*, Vol. 2, Bell and Daldy, London.

**meredith-1895**

Meredith, George (1910) *The amazing marriage: The works of George Meredith*, Memorial edition, Vol. 19, Scribner's, New York.

**nightingale-188x & nightingale-189x**

Vicinus, Martha & Bea Nergaard [eds.] (1990) *Ever yours, Florence Nightingale*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

**oman-1895**

Oman, Sir Charles (1895) *A history of England*, Arnold, London.

**poore-1876**

Poore, George Vivian (1876) *A text-book of electricity in medicine and surgery: for the use of students and practitioners*, Smith, Elder, and Co., London.

**pusey-186x**

Pusey, Edward Bouverie (1874) *Lenten sermons, preached chiefly to young men at the universities, between A.D. 1858-1874*, Society of the Holy Trinity, Oxford.

**reade-1863**

Reade, William Winwood (1863) *Savage Africa: being the narrative of a tour in equatorial, southwestern, and northwestern Africa*, Harper, New York.

**skeavington-184x**

Skeavington, George (n.d.) *The modern system of farriery*, London Printing and Publishing Company, London.

**statutes-1865**

*The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 28 & 29: Victoria, Vol. 105, Edited by George Kettlby Rickards, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Counsel to the Speaker of the House of Commons, George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London (1865).

**statutes-1895**

*The public general statutes, passed in the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth Years and in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, with a list of the local acts, tables showing the effect of the session's legislation, and a copious index*, Vol. 32, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London (1895).

**strutt-1890**

Strutt, John William, third baron Rayleigh (1902) *Scientific papers*, Vol. 3: 1887-1892. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

**talbot-1901**

Talbot, Edward Stuart (1905) *Some aspects of Christian truth*, Rivington's, London.

**thring-187x**

Thring, Edward (1870-1872) *Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham School: Life, diary, and letters*, Macmillan, London.

**trollope-1882**

Trollope, Anthony (1882) *Lord Palmerston*, Isbister, London. [Reprinted 1981, Arno Press, New York, with an introduction by John Halperin.]

**victoria-186x**

Buckle, George Earle [ed.] (1926) *The letters of Queen Victoria: A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence and journal between the years 1862 and 1878*, Second series, Vol. 1: 1862-1869, Murray, London.

**weathers-1913**

Weathers, John [ed.] (1913) *Commercial gardening: A practical and scientific treatise for market gardeners, market growers, fruit, flower, and vegetable growers, nurserymen, etc.: By many practical specialists under the editorship of John Weathers, fully illustrated*, Vol. 1. Gresham, London.

**wilde-1895**

Wilde, Oscar (1999) *An ideal husband*, Penguin.

**yonge-1865**

Simmons, Clare A. [ed.] (2001) *The clever woman of the family*, Broadview Press.

## **Appendix 2**

### **Search Queries for *CorpusSearch 2***

<Wackernagel Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> (PPCME2/PPCEME)>

#### **Subj-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-Aux-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

#### **Subj-Aux-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

#### **Subj-Aux-V-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)



### **Subj-Obj<sub>PP<sub>Prn</sub></sub>-V-Aux Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

### **Subj-V-Obj<sub>PP<sub>Prn</sub></sub>-Aux Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

### **Subj-V-Aux-Obj<sub>PP<sub>Prn</sub></sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

<Wackernagel Obj<sub>FN</sub> (PPCME2)>

**Subj-Obj<sub>FN</sub>-Aux-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Subj-Aux-Obj<sub>FN</sub>-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Subj-Aux-V-Obj<sub>FN</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Subj-Obj<sub>FN</sub>-V-Aux Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Subj-V-Obj<sub>FN</sub>-Aux Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Subj-V-Aux-Obj<sub>FN</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

<Obj<sub>PPm</sub> Right-adjacent to the Complementizer in the Subordinate Clause (PPCME2)>

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes NP-SBJ\*)

AND

(NP-SBJ\* Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

<Obj<sub>PPm</sub> Left-adjacent to the Finite Verb in the Topic-initial V2 Clause (PPCME2)>

node: IP-MAT\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-SBJ\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

<Obj<sub>PPm</sub> Right-adjacent to the Finite Verb in the Operator-initial V2 Clause (PPCME2)>

node: IP-MAT\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes NP-SBJ\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

<Coordinated PPm (PPCME2)>

node: NP-SBJ\*|NP-OB\*

query: (PRO\* Precedes PRO\*)

<Dislocated P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> (PPCME2)>

**P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> in the Canonical Complement Position**

query: (P iPrecedes NP\*) AND (NP\* iDominates PRO\*)

**Inverted P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub> & Separated P-Compl<sub>PPrn</sub>**

query: (NP\* Precedes P) AND (NP\* iDominates PRO\*)

<Dislocated P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> (PPCME2/PPCEME)>

**P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub> in the Canonical Complement Position**

query: (PP\* iDominates ADVP\*) AND (P iPrecedes ADV\*)

**Separated P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub>**

query: (P\* iDominates ADV\*) AND (ADV\* iDominates \*ICH\*)

**Two-word Inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub>**

query: (PP\* iDominates ADVP\*) AND (ADV\* iPrecedes P)

**One-word Inverted P-Compl<sub>LPrn</sub>**

query: PP\* Dominates ADV+P

<OS (YCOE)>

**V-Obj-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\* Precedes NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)

AND

(NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN Precedes ADVP)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

### **V-Neg-Obj Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\* Precedes ADVP)

AND

(ADVP Precedes NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

### **Neg-V-Obj Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (ADVP Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\*)

AND

(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\* Precedes NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

### **Obj-V-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\*)

AND

(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\* Precedes ADVP)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

### **Obj-Neg-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN Precedes ADVP)

AND

(ADVP Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\*)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

### **Neg-Obj-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (ADVP Precedes NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN)

AND

(NP-ACC|NP-DAT|NP-GEN Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|AX\*)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

<PP<sub>rn</sub> OS (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

### **V-Obj<sub>PP<sub>rn</sub></sub>-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

### **V-Neg-Obj<sub>PP<sub>rn</sub></sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NEG)  
AND  
(NEG Precedes NP-OB\*)  
AND  
(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

### **Neg-V-Obj<sub>PP<sub>rn</sub></sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NEG Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)  
AND  
(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)  
AND  
(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

### **Obj<sub>PP<sub>rn</sub></sub>-V-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)  
AND  
(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NEG)  
AND  
(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)



### **Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-Neg-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NEG Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

### **Neg-Obj<sub>PPrn</sub>-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NEG Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Dominates PRO\*)

<FN OS (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

### **V-Obj<sub>FN</sub>-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

### **V-Neg-Obj<sub>FN</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NEG)  
AND  
(NEG Precedes NP-OB\*)  
AND  
(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

### **Neg-V-Obj<sub>FN</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NEG Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)  
AND  
(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)  
AND  
(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

### **Obj<sub>FN</sub>-V-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*)  
AND  
(V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NEG)  
AND  
(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Obj<sub>NP</sub>-Neg-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NP-OB\* Precedes NEG)

AND

(NEG Precedes V\*[MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*])

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

**Neg-Obj<sub>FN</sub>-V Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NEG Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes V\*[MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAG|DA\*|DO\*])

AND

(NP-OB\* iDominates !PRO\*)

<OS in Double Object Constructions (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

**V-IO-DO-Neg Order**

query: (NP-OB1 Precedes NP-OB2) AND (NP-OB2 Precedes NEG)

**V-DO-IO-Neg Order**

query: (NP-OB2 Precedes NP-OB1) AND (NP-OB1 Precedes NEG)

**V-IO-Neg-DO Order**

query: (NP-OB1 Precedes NEG) AND (NEG Precedes NP-OB2)

**V-DO-Neg-IO Order**

query: (NP-OB2 Precedes NEG) AND (NEG Precedes NP-OB1)

<Finite V-movement (YCOE)>

**V<sub>Fin</sub>-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (V\* Precedes ADVP) AND (ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

**Neg-V<sub>Fin</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (ADVP Precedes V\*) AND (V\* iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

**Do<sub>Fin</sub>-Neg-V<sub>Inf</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (DA\*|DO\*|AX\* Precedes ADVP)

AND

(ADVP Precedes V\*)

AND

(ADVP iDominates NEG+ADV\*)

<Finite V-movement (PPCME2/PPCEME/PPCMBE)>

**V<sub>Fin</sub>-Neg Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (VBP\*|VBD\*|VBI Precedes NEG) AND (NEG iPrecedes !FP)

**Neg-V<sub>Fin</sub> Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (NEG Precedes VBP\*|VBD\*|VBI) AND (NEG iPrecedes !FP)

### **$Do_{Fin}$ -Neg- $V_{Inf}$ Order**

node: IP-SUB\*

query: (DA\*|DO\* iPrecedes NEG) AND (NEG Precedes V\*)

<OSC + PC (PPCME2/PPCEME)>

### **V-Obj-Neg-Prt Order**

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes NEG\*)

AND

(NEG\* Precedes RP\*)

### **V-Neg-Obj-Prt Order**

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NEG\*)

AND

(NEG\* Precedes NP-OB\*)

AND

(NP-OB\* Precedes RP\*)

### **V-Neg-Prt-Obj Order**

query: (V\*|HV\*|HA\*|DA\*|DO\* Precedes NEG\*)

AND

(NEG\* Precedes RP\*)

AND

(RP\* Precedes NP-OB\*)