

英語史における人称代名詞目的語の語順変化 — 媒介変数値の変化の観点から

宮下 治政

鶴見大学

1. INTRODUCTION

🍏 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); e.g. Lightfoot (1979: 16ff))

(1) AIM

To demonstrate that two parametric changes are responsible for the historical change in the occurrence position(s) of personal pronouns (PPRns) functioning as objects in English. ✂️ WORD ORDER CHANGE  
---> (2)-(4) & (5)

(2) PDE: I do not know **him**.

(2') PARTICLE CONSTRUCTIONS IN PDE

a. \*Mikey looked up **it**.

b. Mikey looked **it** up.

(3) *Shakespearean English*: I know **him** not.

(*King Henry V*, III.vi.19 / Miyashita (2007a: 46))

✂️ OBJECT SHIFT (OS)

(4) OE

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

[Fela spella] **him** sædon þa Beornas, 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

[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

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

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))

✂️ CLITICIZATION

(5) THREE PARAMETERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORD ORDER CHANGE OF PPRN OBJECTS

a. U/CASE PARAMETER ON D

i. -uCase on D:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi>$  (= CPPrn)

ii. +uCase on D:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u\text{Case}>$  (= WPPrn) (Miyashita (2013: 100))

b. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARAMETER

- i. rich tense morphology: formation of V+T compounds required  
✂ *V-to-T movement required*
- ii. poor tense morphology: formation of V+T compounds impossible  
✂ *V-to-T movement impossible*

(ibid.: 195)

c. /DEF PARAMETER

- i. *i*Def = semantic feature: presence of a definite article
- ii. *i*Def = interpretable formal feature: absence of a definite article

(ibid.: 203)

- (6) ORGANIZATION: §2 ✂ typology of PPrns  
§3 ✂ basic facts on word order of PPrn objects  
§4 ✂ discussion  
§5 ✂ conclusion

## 2. TYPOLOGY OF PPRNS

(7) TYPOLOGY OF PPRNS

- a. clitic PPrn (CPPrn):  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi>$
- b. weak PPrn (WPPrn):  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} <i\phi/u\text{Case}>$
- c. strong PPrn (SPPrn):  $DP = D^0 <i\phi(/u\text{Case})> +$  phonologically null  $N^0 <\text{Foc}> =$  full nominal (FN)  
(Miyashita (2013: 82); cf. Postal (1966: 62ff); Cardinaletti & Starke (1996: 26f, 1999: 165ff, 179, 202), Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 428ff); Chomsky (1995: 249), Raposo (1998: 78); Roberts (2010: 56f), Gelderen (2013: 197f))

## 3. BASIC FACTS ON WORD ORDER OF PPRN OBJECTS

(8) 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))

### 3.1. CLITICIZATION

(9) EME

- a. PPRN OBJECT 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 / PPCME2 / Miyashita (2004: 116))
- b. PPRN OBJECT RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE  
[Ne] mihte **him** naðer befelen  
NEG might him no-other happen-to  
‘No other might happen to him.’ (CMVICES1, 43.486 / PPCME2 / ibid.)
- c. PPRN OBJECT 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 / ibid.)

d. PPRN OBJECT IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION

i. FN SUBJECT

3if **eni mon hit** muste isean...  
 if anyone it must see  
 ‘... if anyone must see it...’

(CMLAMBX1, 27.315 / PPCME2 / ibid.: 115)

ii. PPRN SUBJECT

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 / ibid.)

✂ CLITICIZATION LOST IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FROM EME TO LME

3.2. OS

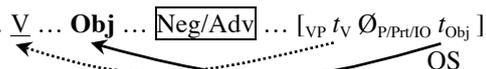
(10) OS is an operation that displaces an object out of VP. ✂ HOLMBERG’S GENERALIZATION ---> (11)

(11) HOLMBERG’S GENERALIZATION

Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except for adjuncts. (Holmberg (1999: 15))

✂ PREREQUISITE FOR OS = RELOCATION OF THE PHONOLOGICAL MATERIAL (ESPECIALLY A MAIN V) OUT OF VP

---> (12)

(12) OS CONFIGURATION: ... V ... **Obj** ... Neg/Adv ... [VP t<sub>V</sub> Ø<sub>P/Prt/IO</sub> t<sub>Obj</sub>]  


(13) TYPOLOGY OF OS

a. The Icelandic (Ic) type of OS moves a definite WPPrn obligatorily and a definite FN or a definite SPPrn optionally out of VP.

b. The Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) type allows only the obligatory OS of a definite WPPrn.

---> (14)

(14) IC TYPE OF OS VS. MSC TYPE OF OS

|            |       | <i>Ic type</i> | <i>MSc type</i> |
|------------|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| DEFINITE   | FN    | optional       | *               |
|            | SPPRN | optional       | *               |
|            | WPPRN | obligatory     | obligatory      |
| INDEFINITE | FN    | *              | *               |
|            | PPRN  | *              | *               |

---> (15)

---> (16)

---> (15)

(15) DEFINITE FN OS VS. DEFINITE WPPRN OS

a. *Icelandic*: i. Nemandinn las **bókina/hana** ekki.  
 ii. Nemandinn las ekki **bókina/\*hana**.  
 b. *Danish*: i. Studenten læste **\*bogen/den** ikke.  
 ii. Studenten læste ikke **bogen/\*den**.  
 c. *Norwegian*: i. Studenten leste **\*boken/den** ikke.  
 ii. Studenten leste ikke **boken/\*den**.  
 d. *Swedish*: i. Studenten läste **\*boken/den** inte.  
 ii. Studenten läste inte **boken/%den**.  
 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))

(16) DEFINITE SPPRN 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))

(17) LME

- a. *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 / PPCME2 / Miyashita (2008: 82))

- b. *15C*  
 ... þat he forgeue hym not,  
 that he forgive him not  
 ‘... that he does not forgive himself.’ (CMVICES4, 112.299 / ibid.)

(18) EModE

- a. *Anterior Half of the 16C*  
 ... because he sawe hym not... (MERRY TAL-E1-H, 148.442 / PPCEME / Miyashita (2008: 82))  
 b. *Posterior Half of the 16C & Anterior Half of the 17C*  
 If you grant me not this Favour, (RALEIGH-E2-H, I, 215.C1.533 / PPCEME / ibid.: 83)

(19) LModE

- a. *1700-1769*  
 but all my Hopes are, that he sees me not. (STEVENS-1745, 20.65 / PPCMBE / Miyashita (2011: 6))  
 b. *1770-1839*  
 or if one has it not, go to another, (CARLYLE-1835, 2, 260.93 / PPCMBE / 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 / PPCMBE / ibid.)

(20) EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH [I]

|          |       | OE | EME | LME                  |     | EModE |     | LModE          |     |
|----------|-------|----|-----|----------------------|-----|-------|-----|----------------|-----|
|          |       |    |     | 14C                  | 15C | 16C   | 17C | 18C            | 19C |
| DEFINITE | FN    |    |     |                      |     |       |     |                |     |
|          | SPPRN |    |     |                      |     |       |     |                |     |
|          | WPPRN |    |     |                      |     |       |     |                |     |
|          |       |    |     | EMERGENCE (39.80%) → |     |       |     | DEMISE (3.80%) |     |

(cf. Miyashita (2007b: 15, 2011: 6))

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. TWO FACTORS WHICH ENABLE (PRONOMINAL) OS

- (21) MECHANISMS INDUCING OS: a. typology of PPrns ---> (7)  
 b. decomposition of OS ---> (22)  
 c. principles governing OS ---> (23)

- (22) OS = Case Shift (CS) + Dislocation Rule (Disl) (cf. Svenonius (2001: 272); pace Hiraiwa (2001: 296ff))



## (31) EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH [III]

|                                     |                  |                         |                 |               |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| OE/EME (– latter 14C)               | NON-OS GRAMMAR   | <i>WPrn</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 – latter 17C) | WPPRN OS GRAMMAR | <i>WPrn</i>             | <i>present</i>  | PRONOMINAL OS |
|                                     |                  | <i>V-movement</i>       | <i>present</i>  |               |
|                                     |                  | <i>definite article</i> | <i>present</i>  |               |
| DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓           |                  |                         |                 |               |
| LModE (latter 17C – 20C)            | WPPRN OS GRAMMAR | <i>WPrn</i>             | <i>present</i>  | PRONOMINAL OS |
|                                     |                  | <i>V-movement</i>       | <i>sporadic</i> |               |
|                                     |                  | <i>definite article</i> | <i>present</i>  |               |
| DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS ↓           |                  |                         |                 |               |
| PDE (20C –)                         | NON-OS GRAMMAR   | <i>WPrn</i>             | <i>present</i>  | ∅             |
|                                     |                  | <i>V-movement</i>       | <i>absent</i>   |               |
|                                     |                  | <i>definite article</i> | <i>present</i>  |               |

(Miyashita (2011: 7))

## 4.2. THE TWO FACTORS FINE-TUNED

## (32) 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))
- b. 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 (1995a: 6))
- c. 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 (1995b: 54))
- 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))
- 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))
- f. L [= each particular language] assembles  $[F_L]$  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))
- 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))
- 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 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))

✦ LEXICON / LEXICAL ITEMS

(33) TWO PARAMETERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORD ORDER CHANGE OF PPRN OBJECTS (= ( 5 ))

a. uCASE PARAMETER ON D

- i. -uCase on D:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi \rangle$  (= CPPrn)
- ii. +uCase on D:  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle i\phi/u\text{Case} \rangle$  (= WPPrn)

(Miyashita (2013: 100))

b. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARAMETER

- i. rich tense morphology: formation of V+T compounds required  
 $\rightarrow$  V-to-T movement required
- ii. poor tense morphology: formation of V+T compounds impossible  
 $\rightarrow$  V-to-T movement impossible

(ibid.: 195)

(33') a. PARAMETER FOR WPPRNS: presence/absence of uCase

$\rightarrow$   $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle \phi \rangle$  (= CPPrn) +  $\langle u\text{Case} \rangle$  =  $D^{\text{Min/Max}} \langle \phi/u\text{Case} \rangle$  (= WPPrn)

b. PARAMETER FOR V-TO-T MOVEMENT: possibility/impossibility of forming V+T compounds

- i. rich tense morphology = formation of V+T compounds possible (hence, required)
- ii. poor tense morphology = formation of V+T compounds impossible

(cf. relatively impoverished tense morphology in LME (Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 280)) & (37))

(34) Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 267f) & Roberts (2010: 163f); cf. Roberts (2011: 212ff, 219):

rich “tense” morphology (rather than rich “agreement” morphology) ---> (36)

$\rightarrow$  LEXICAL REQUIREMENT FOR THE FORMATION OF A V+T COMPOUND IN THE NUMERATION

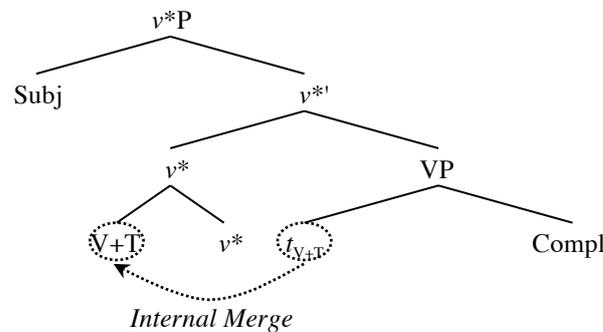
$\rightarrow$  TRIGGER FOR “REPROJECTIVE” V-TO-T MOVEMENT ---> (35)

(35) “Reprojective” V-to-T Movement

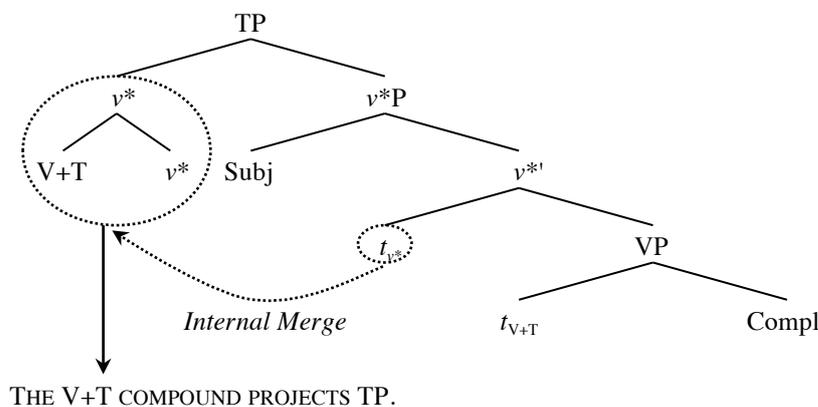
a. EXTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND AND ITS COMPLEMENT (FORMATION OF VP)



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)



## (36) TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: ROMANCE VS. GERMANIC

|          |         |   |
|----------|---------|---|
| ROMANCE  | FRENCH  | <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)  |
|          | ITALIAN | <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)  |
|          | SPANISH | <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 | GERMAN  | <i>spreche</i> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <i>sprach</i> (past) / <i>spräche</i> (past subjunctive)  |
|          | ENGLISH | <i>speak</i> (present) / <i>spoke</i> (past)  |
|          | SWEDISH | <i>snakker</i> (present) / <i>snakket</i> (past)  |

(Biberauer &amp; Roberts (2010: 266), Roberts (2010: 163))

## (37) a. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: OE

|    |  |
|----|--|
| OE | <i>sprece</i> (present indicative/subjunctive) / <i>spraec</i> (past indicative) / <i>spraece</i> (past subjunctive) |
|----|--|

(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*)

## b. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: ME

|    |   |
|----|---|
| ME | <i>speke</i> (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / <i>spake</i> (past indicative) |
|----|---|

(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*)

## c. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: EMODE

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| EMODE | <i>speak</i> (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / <i>spoke</i> (past indicative) |
|-------|---|

(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)

## 5. CONCLUSION: SYNTACTIC CHANGE CAPTURED IN TERMS OF THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

## (38) PRINCIPLED EXPLANATION OF LANGUAGE UNDER THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

- 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))
- 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))
- 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))
- 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))
- 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))

## (39) STRONG MINIMALIST THESIS: Interfaces + Merge = Language

(Chomsky (2010: 52))

(40) INERTIAL THEORY

- a. [S]yntax, by itself, is diachronically completely inert. (Longobardi (2001: 277f))
  - b. [L]inguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon... (op.cit.: 278)
  - c. [S]yntactic change should not arise, unless it can be shown to be *caused* — that is, a well-motivated consequence of other types of change (phonological changes and semantic changes, including the appearance/disappearance of whole lexical items) or, recursively of other syntactic changes... (op.cit.: 278)  
(cf. Keenan (2002: 327f, 2003: 154f, 2009: 18f); Biberauer & Roberts (2008: 80), Roberts (2007: 231ff))
- ✎ *The word order change in the history of English exemplifies (40c).*

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