OBJECT-VERB ORDER AND OBJECT MOVEMENT IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

HARUMASA MIYASHITA

University of Tokyo
(Research Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)

1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1.   CANONICAL OV ORDER VS. RESIDUAL OV ORDER

The object-verb (henceforth, OV) order was on the decline in quality as well as in quantity in the 15th century: while it was decaying in number, the object types and the syntactic environments involved in the OV order also got restricted in this period. ---> (1)-(4), TABLE 1 & TABLE 2

(Fischer et al. (2000), Foster & Wurff (1995, 1997), Ingham (2000, 2002), Koma (2001, 2003) Miyashita (2001), Moerenhout & Wurff (2000), Wurff (1999), Wurff & Foster (1997))

⇓

Explanation by Miyashita (2002, 2003a): The earlier English OV order was not uniformly derived.

⇒   OV ORDER = OBJECT SHIFT (OS) + VARIOUS OBJECT MOVEMENT

(cf. Kayne (1994), Chomsky (2001a))

	BEFORE THE 15TH CENTURY	AFTER THE 15TH CENTURY
LANGUAGE CHANGE	canonical OV order	residual OV order
GRAMMAR CHANGE	OS + Negative Movement OS + Overt Quantifier Raising OS + Topicalization **OS + DISL$_S$** ———————→	OS + Negative Movement OS + Overt Quantifier Raising OS + Topicalization **OS + DISL$_W$** WEAKENING OF DISL

TABLE 1: QUANTITATIVE DECLINE OF OV ORDER

	c.1000	c.1200	c.1300	c.1400	c.1500
OV	52.5%	53.7%	40+%	14.3%	1.87%
VO	47.5%	46.3%	60‡%	85.7%	98.13%

(Fries (1940: 201) cited in 中尾 (1972: 382))

(1)   AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A NEG-OBJ
I <u>will</u> **no thyng** *grawnt* with-out the vnder-shreves assent
I will nothing   grant   without   the undersheriff's assent
'I will grant nothing without the undersheriff's assent'   (*PL* 59.15 / Ingham (2000: 20))

(2) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A Q-OBJ
   he haþ on vs mervy, for he <u>may</u> **al þynge** *do*
   he has on us mercy for he can all things do
   'he has mercy on us, for he can do everything'   (*Barlam* 2740 / Fischer et al. (2000: 163))

(3) a. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
         how hi <u>ssolle</u> **ham-zelue** *ssiriue*
         how they shall themselves shrive
         'how they must shrive themselves'   (*Ayenbite* 5.13 / Foster & Wurff (1995: 321))
     b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A DPRN-OBJ
         knelyng, he <u>schall</u> **this** *seyn*
         kneeling he shall this say
         'Kneeling, he must say this'   (*Reynes*, 145.62 / Miyashita (2001: 201))

(4) a. OV ORDER IN THE SUBJECTLESS RELATIVE CLAUSE
         al them [that **this litel werke** <u>shal</u> *see, here or rede* to have me excused]
         all them that this little work shall see hear or rede to have me excused
         'all those that will see, hear or read this little work to forgive me'
                                                        (*Caxton* 46a.29 / Wurff (1999: 242))
     b. OV ORDER IN THE SUBJECTLESS COORDINATED CLAUSE
         þat here kynge dede such reuerence and worschyp vnto þe poore men,
         that their king did such reverence and worship unto the poor men
         [and **such shame** *dede* vnto his dygnyte]
          and such shame did unto his dignity
         'that their king showed such reverence and respect to the poor people and caused such
         shame to his own dignity'   (*Barlam* 757 / op.cit.)

TABLE 2: QUALITATIVE DECLINE OF OV ORDER

	OBJECT TYPES	SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENTS
14TH CENTURY	any object	anywhere
15TH CENTURY	negated/quantified object	Aux Obj V
	topicalized object (any object)	subjectless relative/coordinated clause
	pronominal object	(Aux) Obj V
16TH CENTURY	negated object	Aux Obj V
	topicalized object (any object)	subjectless relative/coordinated clause
	negated object	(Aux) Obj V
17TH CENTURY	pronominal object	(Aux) Obj V

(Miyashita (2000: 181) with slight modification; cf. Miyashita (2001))

 QUESTIONS
   (i) Was the pre-15th-century OV order with full nominal objects derived uniformly?
   (ii) If the answer to the question in (i) is affirmative, was it really derived by OS+DISL
        (or Scrambling), or was it a consequence of the setting of the head-parameter?
        ⇓
   SURVEY OF OV ORDER (AND OS) IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE (WITHOUT V2 EFFECT)
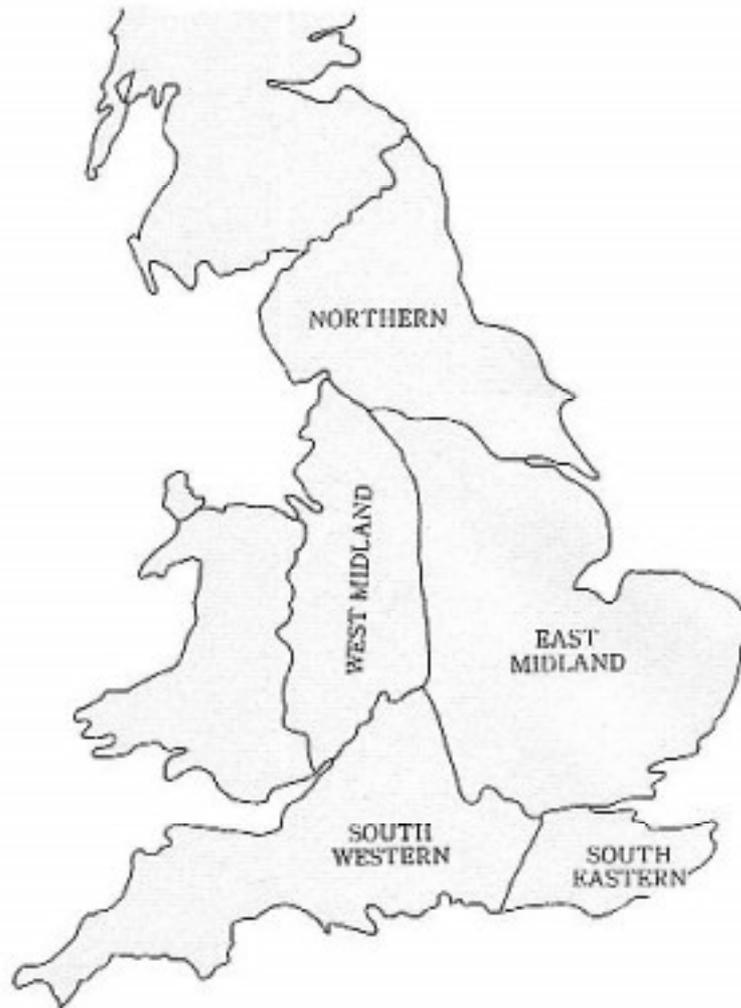
1.2. Cᴏʀᴘᴏʀᴀ ᴀɴᴅ Sᴇᴀʀᴄʜ Uᴛɪʟɪᴛɪᴇs

(5) a. *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition (PPCME2)
⇒ Tᴇxᴛs Sᴇᴀʀᴄʜᴇᴅ ---> Aᴘᴘᴇɴᴅɪx 1   (Kroch & Taylor (1999))
a'. *The Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English*
(Pintzuk et al. (2000))
b. *CorpusSearch: A Java Program for Searching Syntactically Annotated Corpora*
⇒ Qᴜᴇʀɪᴇs ---> Aᴘᴘᴇɴᴅɪx 2   (Randall (2000))

1.3. Hɪsᴛᴏʀɪᴄᴀʟ Pᴇʀɪᴏᴅs ᴏғ Eɴɢʟɪsʜ ᴀɴᴅ Dɪᴀʟᴇᴄᴛ Aʀᴇᴀs ᴏғ Mɪᴅᴅʟᴇ Eɴɢʟɪsʜ

(6) Hɪsᴛᴏʀɪᴄᴀʟ Pᴇʀɪᴏᴅs Assᴜᴍᴇᴅ
a. Old English (OE):   700-1100
b. Early Middle English (EME):   1100-1300
c. Late Middle English (LME):   1300-1500
d. Early Modern English (EModE): 1500-1700

Fɪɢᴜʀᴇ 1: Mɪᴅᴅʟᴇ Eɴɢʟɪsʜ Dɪᴀʟᴇᴄᴛ Aʀᴇᴀs

(Williams (1975: 245) cited in 宇賀治 (2000: 57))

3

2.   RESULTS OF THE SURVEY (I): OV FACTS IN ME

2.1.   OV ORDER AND CLAUSE TYPES

2.1.1. 12th Century

TABLE 3: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 12TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT

	REL / COORD $\emptyset_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmkentho.m1	4	4	0	40	48 (16.1%)	298
TOTAL	4	4	0	40	48 (16.1%)	298

TABLE 4: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 12TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS

	REL / COORD $\emptyset_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmpeterb.m1	13	4	0	10	27 (4.2%)	647
cmorm.m1	87	47	0	366	500 (19.0%)	2638
cmvices1.m1	163	50	4	311	528 (27.9%)	1893
TOTAL	263	101	4	687	1005 (19.4%)	5178

2.1.2. 13th Century

TABLE 5: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 13TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT

	REL / COORD $\emptyset_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmkentse.m2	16	5	0	20	41 (17.7%)	231
TOTAL	16	5	0	20	41 (17.7%)	231

TABLE 6: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 13TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS

	REL / COORD $\emptyset_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmlambx1.mx1	73	11	0	180	264 (18.7%)	1410
cmlamb1.m1	25	7	0	53	85 (16.2%)	526
cmsawles.m1	7	3	0	14	24 (8.7%)	276
cmhali.m1	29	3	0	32	64 (12.5%)	511
cmkathe.m1	21	5	0	39	65 (11.9%)	544
cmjulia.m1	9	10	0	25	44 (7.7%)	568
cmmarga.m1	30	6	0	29	65 (10.2%)	639
cmancriw.m1	60	15	0	156	231 (6.5%)	3559
TOTAL	254	60	0	528	842 (10.5%)	8033

TABLE 7: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 13TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECT

	REL / COORD $\emptyset_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmtrinit.mx1	156	41	4	286	487 (15.8%)	3074
TOTAL	156	41	4	286	487 (15.8%)	3074

2.1.3. 14th Century

TABLE 8: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 14TH CENTURY SOUTHERN DIALECTS

	REL / COORD Ø$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmayenbi.m2	180	77	2	273	532 (19.3%)	2757
cmpolych.m3	1	0	0	12	13 (0.3%)	3794
cmntest.m3	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	1152
cmpurvey.m3	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	2368
TOTAL	181	77	2	285	545 (5.4%)	10071

TABLE 9: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 14TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS

	REL / COORD Ø$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmedvern.m3	15	5	0	20	40 (4.3%)	936
cmaelr3.m23	1	0	3	4	8 (0.8%)	1053
cmbrut3.m3	40	39	0	102	181 (4.4%)	4114
TOTAL	56	44	3	126	229 (3.8%)	6103

TABLE 10: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 14TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS

	REL / COORD Ø$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmearlps.m2	3	11	0	0	14 (0.2%)	7869
cmctpars.m3	12	3	1	6	22 (1.3%)	1674
cmctmeli.m3	8	11	1	7	27 (3.1%)	860
cmequato.m3	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	341
cmwycser.m3	1	2	0	0	3 (0.1%)	3910
cmboeth.m3	3	0	0	0	3 (0.5%)	567
cmotest.m3	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	810
cmcloud.m3	1	0	1	0	2 (0.2%)	827
cmmandev.m3	4	4	0	0	8 (0.2%)	3312
cmastro.m3	1	0	0	0	1 (0.2%)	404
TOTAL	33	31	3	13	80 (0.4%)	20574

2.1.4. 15th Century

TABLE 11: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 15TH CENTURY SOUTHERN DIALECTS

	REL / COORD Ø$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmhorses.m3	1	0	0	7	8 (1.9%)	422
cmroyal.m34	2	0	0	0	2 (0.5%)	399
cmgregor.m4	0	0	0	3	3 (0.1%)	2631
TOTAL	3	0	0	10	13 (0.4%)	3452

TABLE 12: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 15TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS

	REL / COORD Ø$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmrolltr.m24	0	2	3	0	5 (0.5%)	956
cmrollep.m24	6	0	0	1	7 (0.7%)	1002
cmmirk.m34	7	2	8	6	23 (0.6%)	3709
cmmalory.m4	3	2	0	1	6 (0.1%)	4997
cmsiege.m4	1	6	1	15	23 (3.1%)	733
TOTAL	17	12	12	23	64 (0.6%)	11397

TABLE 13: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 15TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS

	REL / COORD ∅$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmhilton.m34	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	218
cmvices4.m34	1	1	0	2	4 (1.1%)	364
cmjulnor.m34	1	0	1	1	3 (0.9%)	334
cmaelr4.m4	0	0	1	3	4 (0.5%)	766
cmedmund.m4	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	300
cmkempe.m4	12	7	14	10	43 (1.1%)	3853
cmcapser.m4	0	6	0	0	6 (6.6%)	91
cmcapchr.m4	2	0	0	4	6 (0.1%)	4175
cmreynes.m4	3	0	0	2	5 (0.7%)	703
cmreynar.m4	0	3	0	5	8 (1.1%)	740
cmfitzja.m4	0	0	1	2	3 (1.3%)	228
cminnoce.m4	0	3	1	0	4 (1.9%)	208
TOTAL	19	20	18	29	86 (0.7%)	11980

TABLE 14: OV TOKENS ATTESTED IN THE 15TH CENTURY NORTHERN DIALECTS

	REL / COORD ∅$_S$ CLAUSES	INFINITIVAL CLAUSES	PARTICIPLE CLAUSES	OTHER CONTEXTS	TOTAL OV TOKENS	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmbenrul.m3	13	27	0	20	60 (4.1%)	1454
cmedthor.m34	5	7	3	18	33 (4.2%)	795
cmgaytry.m34	3	2	0	3	8 (4.0%)	199
cmthorn.mx4	0	0	0	0	0 (0.0%)	674
TOTAL	21	36	3	41	101 (3.2%)	3122

2.1.5. Summary

[A]   There are dialectal and periodical differences in the frequency of attested OV tokens.
      ---> TABLE 15

TABLE 15: DIALECTAL AND PERIODICAL DIFFERENCES

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN	WEST MIDLAND	EAST MIDLAND	NORTHERN
12C	16.1%	---------------	19.4%	---------------
13C	17.7%	10.5%	15.8%	---------------
14C	5.4%	3.8%	0.4%	---------------
15C	0.4%	0.6%	0.7%	3.2%

(OV tokens per sentences searched)

⇒   NORTHERN DIALECTS OUT OF CONSIDERATION

2.2. OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS IN THE OV ORDER

2.2.1. Classification of Object Types and Object Positions

(7) a. OBJECT TYPE:
- i.   full nominal object ⇒ FN-Obj
- ii. personal pronominal object ⇒ PPrn-Obj
- iii. demonstrative pronominal object ⇒ DPrn-Obj
- iv. negated object ⇒ Neg-Obj
- v.   quantified object ⇒ Q-Obj

b. OBJECT POSITION:
- i.   Obj (XP) V
- ii. Obj (XP) Aux V
- iii. Aux Obj (XP) V
- iv. Obj (XP) V Aux
- v.   V Obj Aux ---> (UNIVERSALLY) IMPOSSIBLE WORD ORDER

(cf. Dryer (1992))

2.2.2. 12th Century

TABLE 16: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (12TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				TOTAL TOKENS
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmkentho.m1 c.1125	5	2	4	1	20 (3)	4	1								1		1						1		40
TOTAL TOKENS	5	2	4	1	20 (3)	4	1								1		1						1		40

TABLE 17: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (12TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				TOTAL TOKENS
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmpeterb.m1 c.1150	1	1	1		2	2 (1)	2										1								10
cmorm.m1 c.1200	39 (5)	17 (4)	40 (11)	3 (1)	130 (13)	49 (3)	63 (12)	6 (2)					2	2			2		5 (1)		1		7 (1)		366
cmvices1.m1 c.1200	36 (5)	22 (2)	28 (7)	4	100 (10)	45 (2)	24 (2)	8	8		1		9	3	4 (1)		11 (1)	1	6		1				311
TOTAL TOKENS	76 (10)	40 (6)	69 (18)	7 (1)	232 (23)	96 (6)	89 (14)	14 (2)	8		1		11	5	4 (1)		14 (1)	1	11 (1)		2		7 (1)		687

[B] OV PATTERNS IN THE 12TH CENTURY ⇒ NO MAJOR DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES
- (a) FN-Obj ⇒ ATTESTED IN VARIOUS POSITIONS ---> (8)
- (b) PPrn-Obj ⇒ ATTESTED IN VARIOUS POSITIONS ---> (9)
- (c) DPrn-Obj ⇒ MAINLY ATTESTED IN THE (i) PATTERN (IN EM DIALECTS) (AUX-OBJ-V ORDER ---> (10))
- (d) Neg-Obj ⇒ ATTESTED IN VARIOUS POSITIONS EXCEPT FOR THE (iv) PATTERN ---> (11)
- (e) Q-Obj ⇒ MAINLY ATTESTED IN THE (i) AND (iii) PATTERNS (IN EM DIALECTS) ---> (12)
- (f) Other ⇒ QUANTIFIED PPrn-Obj/DPrn-Obj IN THE (i) AND (iii) PATTERNS (AUX-OBJ-V ORDER ---> (13))

7

(8) a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
        þatt icc **Þiss werrc** <u>þe</u> <u>shollde</u> *wirrkenn*
        that I   this work you should work   (CMORM, DED.L23.7)

    b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
        ðanne ðu <u>habbe</u> **ðine sennes** [al] *aboht...*
        then you have your sins   all pay-for   (CMVICES1, 65.708)

    c. OBJ-V-AUX ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
        Þatt aniȝ wimmann **hire lif** [I maȝȝthad] *ledenn* <u>wollde</u>
        that any woman her life in method lead would   (CMORM, I, 80.703)

(9) a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
        i.   tatt tin wif Elysabæþ **Þe** <u>shall</u> **an sune** *childenn*
             that your wife Elizabeth you shall a son bear   (CMORM, I, 21.281)
        ii. ȝiff **þut** <u>mihht</u> ohht *findenn*
             if you+it might any-way find   (CMORM, I, 52.509)

    b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
        Ac ȝif ðu ne <u>miht</u> **ðe** [naht] [wel] *berȝen...*
        But if you NEG might you not well besiege   (CMVICES1, 73.824)

    c. OBJ-V-AUX ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
        þatt he þeȝȝm **Hiss lufe** *shæwedd* <u>haffde</u>
        that he them his love shown had   (CMORM, I, 182.1511)

(10) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A DPRN-OBJ
      þat unneaðe ich <u>mihte</u> **ðis** *writen...*
      that scarcely I might this write   (CMVICES1, 95.1141)

(11) a. OBJ-V-AUX ORDER WITH A NEG-OBJ
        þatt I **nan Weppmann** ne <u>wile</u> *cnawenn*
        that I no weeper NEG will know   (CMORM, I, 82.728)

    b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A NEG-OBJ
        ðe ne <u>willeð</u> **nane reste ne nane softnesse** [on ȝeure herte] *habben...*
        that NEG will no rest nor no tenderness on your heart have
                                                                 (CMVICES1, 41.480)

(12) a. OBJ-V-AUX ORDER WITH A Q-OBJ
        alswa man **to michel** <u>mai</u> *drinken* of ðare wine...
        as one too much may drink of the wine   (CMVICES1, 149.1856)

    b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A Q-OBJ
        Þa lifess þatt icc <u>habbe</u> ȝuw **Summ del** [nu] *spelledd* offe...
        the lives that I have you some part now killed of   (CMORM, I, 221.1822)

(13) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A QUANTIFIED PPRN-OBJ
      Swa þatt he <u>shall</u> **hemm alle** [imæn] *Haldenn* forr hise chilldre...
      so that he shall them all also hold for his children (CMORM, II, 263.2601)

2.2.3. 13th Century

TABLE 18: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (13TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				Total Tokens
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmkentse.m2 c.1275		2			11 (2)	6	1																		20
TOTAL TOKENS		2			11 (2)	6	1																		20

TABLE 19: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (13TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				Total Tokens
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmlambx1.mx1 a.1225	27 (1)	4	23 (3)	4 (1)	78 (7)	16	14 (2)	2	4								1		5	1			1		180
cmlamb1.m1 a.1225	12	16 (1)			17 (5)	2	2 (1)										3		1						53
cmsawles.m1 c.1225		1 (1)			7 (2)	1	2		1 (1)														2		14
cmhali.m1 c.1225	4 (2)	1			17 (4)	3	2						1				1		2	1					32
cmkathe.m1 c.1225	4	1	12	1	7 (3)	4	4		4								1		1						39
cmjulia.m1 c.1225	1 (1)	1	7		5 (1)	2	3 (1)		2	1							1		1					1	25
cmmarga.m1 c.1225	6 (3)		3		7 (2)	4	5 (1)	1	1								2 (2)								29
cmancriw.m1 c.1230	16 (2)	1	23 (5)	1	68 (12)	20	14 (4)	1			1		1		1		3		6 (2)						156
TOTAL TOKENS	70 (9)	7	86 (10)	6 (1)	206 (36)	52	46 (9)	4	12 (1)	1	1		2		1		12 (2)		18 (2)	1	1		2		528

TABLE 20: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (13TH EAST MIDLAND DIALECT)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				Total Tokens
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmtrinit.mx1 a.1225	81 (11)	2	40 (5)		112 (26)	15	14 (6)	5	2		1		1 (1)		3		3		5		2				286
TOTAL TOKENS	81 (11)	2	40 (5)		112 (26)	15	14 (6)	5	2		1		1 (1)		3		3		5		2				286

[C] OV PATTERNS IN THE 13TH CENTURY ⇒ NO MAJOR DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES
   (a) FN-Obj ⇒ DECLINE IN THE (ii) PATTERN (OTHER PATTERNS STILL PRODUCTIVE)
         ---> (14)
   (b) PPrn-Obj ⇒ ATTESTED IN VARIOUS POSITIONS (STILL PRODUCTIVE)
         ---> (15)
   (c) DPrn-Obj ⇒ MAINLY ATTESTED IN THE (i) PATTERN
         ---> (16)
   (d) Neg-Obj ⇒ LOSS OF THE (ii) PATTERN ((i) AND (ii) PATTERNS STILL PRODUCTIVE)
         ---> NO EXAMPLE GIVEN HERE
   (e) Q-Obj ⇒ MAINLY ATTESTED IN THE (i) AND (iii) PATTERNS
         ---> NO EXAMPLE GIVEN HERE
   (f) Other ⇒ QUANTIFIED PPrn-Obj/DPrn-Obj IN THE (i) AND (iii) PATTERNS
         ---> NO EXAMPLE GIVEN HERE

(14) a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
      ȝif þu þan unrihtwisan <u>nult</u>   **his unrihtwisnesse** *seggan*
      if you the unrighteous NEG+will his unrighteousness say   (CMLAMBX1, 117.1135)
    b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
      hu   we <u>mugen</u> **ure saule** [of hem] *clensen*
      how we   may   our soul of them cleanse   (CMTRINIT, 77.1055)
    c. OBJ-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
      hwen ameiden **ure muchele ouergant** [þus] *auealleð*
      when a+maiden our much   overgaunt thus helps   (CMMARGA, 81.411)

(15) a. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
      As þach... alswich   me<u>mei</u> *ilimpen...*
      as though all+such me+may limb   (CMANCRIW, II.204.2921)
    b. OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
      þe he <u>hem</u> [unwarliche] **his dintes**   *giueð*
      that he them unexpectedly his loud-claps gives   (CMTRINIT, 191.2659)

(16) OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A DPRN-OBJ
      þt he þis <u>hefde</u> *iseid*
      that he this had   said   (CMJULIA, 115.318)

2.2.4. 14th Century

TABLE 21: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (14TH CENTURY SOUTHERN DIALECTS)

	FN-OBJ				PPRN-OBJ				DPRN-OBJ				NEG-OBJ				Q-OBJ				OTHERS				TOTAL TOKENS
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmayenbi.m2 1340	5	1	11		164 (3)	42	38 (3)	1	1				2		2		3		3						273
cmpolych.m3 a.1387			1		3		5								1				2						12
TOTAL TOKENS	5	1	12		167 (3)	42	43 (3)	1	1				2		3		3		5						285

TABLE 22: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (14TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	FN-OBJ				PPRN-OBJ				DPRN-OBJ				NEG-OBJ				Q-OBJ				OTHERS				TOTAL TOKENS
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmedvern.m3 c.1390	1		4		7		6						1						1						20
cmaelr3.m23 c.1400	1																		3						4
cmbrut3.m3 c.1400	2	1 (1)	7		29	2	48 (7)		4					6 (2)			2 (1)	1							102
TOTAL TOKENS	4	1 (1)	11		36	2	54 (7)		4				1	6 (2)			2 (1)	5							126

TABLE 23: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (14TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				Total Tokens
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmctpars.m3 c.1390					2		2 (1)								1				1						6
cmctmeli.m3 c.1390		3 (2)					1								3										7
TOTAL TOKENS		3 (2)			2		3 (1)								4				1						13

[D] OV PATTERNS IN THE 14TH CENTURY ⇒ LOSS OF THE (iv) PATTERN
    (a) FN-Obj   ---> (17)
       i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ NO NON-ADJACENT OV TOKENS IN THE (ii) PATTERN
                      THE (i) PATTERN STILL PRODUCTIVE
       ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ NON-ADJACENT OV ATTESTED IN THE (ii) PATTERN
                      LOSS OF THE (i) PATTERN

    (b) PPrn-Obj   ---> (18)
       i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ THE (ii) PATTERN STILL ATTESTED
       ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ LOSS OF THE (ii) PATTERN

    (c) DPrn-Obj
       i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ STILL ATTESTED IN THE (i) PATTERN
       ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ EXTINCT

    (d) Neg-Obj   ---> (19)
       i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ NO MAJOR CHANGE
       ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ DECLINE IN THE (i) PATTERN

    (e) Q-Obj   ---> (20)
       i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ NO MAJOR CHANGE
       ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ DECLINE IN THE (i) PATTERN

    (f) Other
       i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ NO EXAMPLE ATTESTED
       ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ NO EXAMPLE ATTESTED

(17) a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
        þe ilke zelue uader... **his hous** [mid greate strengþe] <u>wolde</u> *loky*
        the very same father   his house with great strength   would lock
                                        (CMAYENBI, 263.2518)
      b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
        so that they <u>may</u> as wel **thy body** [as thyn hous] *defende*
        so that they may as well your body as your house protect   (CMCTMELI, 219.C1.69)

(18) a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
        þat þe kyng oure fadir, **vs** <u>hath</u> *reprouyd, schemed & dispised*...
        that the king our father us has reproved shamed and despised   (CMBRUT3, 3.46)
      b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
        that <u>hath</u> **hym** [openly] *revyled and repreved and disclaundred*
        that has   him   openly revealed and reproved and denounced
                                  (CMCTPARS, 308.C2.851)

(19) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A NEG-OBJ
        þat soche a noble Kyng, and so doughty, <u>hade</u> **none childe** [of   his body] *bigeten*
        that such a noble king and so doughty had   no   child   from his body bear
                                  (CMBRUT3, 91.2737)

(20)   a.   OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A Q-OBJ
       so þat Kyng Knoght **all Engeland** [in his power] [holly] <u>miȝt</u> *haue*
       so that King Knoght all England   in his power   wholly might have

(CMBRUT3, 120.3654)

       b.   AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A Q-OBJ
       so þat   unneþe he <u>myȝte</u> **eny mete** *holde*
       so that scarcely he might any food hold

(CMPOLYCH, VI, 223.1603)

2.2.5. 15th Century

TABLE 24: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (15TH CENTURY SOUTHERN DIALECTS)

	FN-OBJ				PPRN-OBJ				DPRN-OBJ				NEG-OBJ				Q-OBJ				OTHERS				TOTAL TOKENS
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmhorses.m3 a.1450		3			1		3																		7
cmgregor.m4 c.1475		1			1														1						3
TOTAL TOKENS		4			2		3												1						10

TABLE 25: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (15TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	FN-OBJ				PPRN-OBJ				DPRN-OBJ				NEG-OBJ				Q-OBJ				OTHERS				TOTAL TOKENS
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmrollep.m24 a.1450 (1348)															1										1
cmmirk.m34 a.1500 (a.1415)					2												1		3						6
cmmalory.m4 a.1470					1																				1
cmsiege.m4 c.1500		1			4		6		3														1		15
TOTAL TOKENS		1			7		6		3						1		1		3				1		23

TABLE 26: OBJECT TYPES AND OBJECT POSITIONS (15TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	FN-Obj				PPrn-Obj				DPrn-Obj				Neg-Obj				Q-Obj				Others				Total Tokens
	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	
cmvices4.m34 a.1450 (c.1400)															2										2
cmjulnor.m34 a.1450 (c.1400)																			1						1
cmaelr4.m4 a.1450					1										2										3
cmkempe.m4 c.1450		1					1						1		5				2						10
cmcapchr.m4 a.1464		1													2				1						4
cmreynes.m4 1470-1500		1					1 (1)																		2
cmreynar.m4 1481							2								2				1						5
cmfitzja.m4 1495																	1		1						2
TOTAL TOKENS		3			1		4 (1)						1		13		1		6						29

[E] OV PATTERNS IN THE 15TH CENTURY
  (a) FN-Obj   ---> (25)
      i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ EXTINCT
      ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ EXTINCT
  (b) PPrn-Obj ---> (21)
      i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ LOSS OF THE (ii) PATTERN
      ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ NO MAJOR CHANGE
  (c) DPrn-Obj
      i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ NO MAJOR CHANGE
      ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ NO OV ORDER (AS IN THE 14TH CENTURY)
  (d) Neg-Obj ---> (22)
      i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ EXTINCT
      ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ NO MAJOR CHANGE
  (e) Q-Obj   ---> (23)
      i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ DECLINE IN THE (i) PATTERN
      ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ NO MAJOR CHANGE
  (f) Other   ---> (24)
      i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ EXTINCT
      ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ ONLY 1 EXAMPLE ATTESTED

(21) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ
      whan I haue it [thedir] brought...
      when I have it thither brought   (CMREYNES, 265.499)

(22) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A NEG-OBJ
      (owyr Lord Cryst Ihesu seyd to hir) sche xuld no mor chyldren beryn
        our lord Christ Jesus said to her she should no more children bear
                                                            (CMKEMPE, 38.843)

(23) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A Q-OBJ
      when he had all told [hym]...
      when he had all told hym   (CMMIRK, 83.2236)

(24) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A QUANTIFIED PPRN-OBJ
þat þe Emparovr <u>wyl</u> **vs al** *destrye*
that the emperor   will us all destroy   (CMSIEGE, 86.503)

(25) AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
    a. Of how many articules ȝe <u>schulne</u> **soth** *seyn*...
       of how many articles you shall truly say   (CMREYNES, 144.47)
       ⇒ *SOTH* = ADVERB   ---> 2 instances
    b. þat in þe ilde   of Sicicle he <u>had</u> **gret tresoure** *hid*
       that in the idleness of Cecile he had great treasure hidden   (CMCAPCHR, 94.1902)
       ⇒ CAUSATIVE/EXPERIENCE CONSTRUCTION   ---> 4 instances
    c. þat sche <u>myth</u> not **rest   ne qwiet**   *han* in hir mende
       that she   may   not peace nor quietness have in her mind   (CMKEMPE, 226.3683)
       ⇒ *NOT REST NE QWIET* = NEG-OBJ?   ---> 1 instance
    d. Yf þou <u>can</u> **my son** *helpe*...
       if you can my son help   (CMSIEGE, 88.580)
       ⇒ A TRUE EXCEPTION   ---> 1 instance

2.2.6. Summary

TABLE 27: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH AN FN-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN				WEST MIDLAND				EAST MIDLAND			
	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA
12C	▓	▓	▓	░	---------------				▓	▓	▓	░
13C	◆		◆		▓	░	▓	░	▓	░	▓	
14C	░				◆		◆				▓	
15C									◆		◆	

(◆: Non-adjacent OV patterns cease to be attested.)

TABLE 28: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH A PPRN-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN				WEST MIDLAND				EAST MIDLAND			
	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA
12C	▓	▓	░		---------------				▓	▓	▓	░
13C	▓	▓	░		▓	▓	▓	░	▓		▓	
14C	▓	▓	▓		▓	░	▓		▓		▓	
15C	▓	▓	▓		▓	▓	▓		▓		▓	

TABLE 29: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH A DPRN-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN				WEST MIDLAND				EAST MIDLAND			
	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA
12C					---------------				▓		░	
13C					▓	░	░		░			
14C	░				▓							
15C												

TABLE 30: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH A NEG-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN				WEST MIDLAND				EAST MIDLAND			
	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA
12C			▓		---------------				▓	░	░	
13C					▓		▓		░		▓	
14C	▓		▓		░		▓				▓	
15C							░				▓	

14

TABLE 31: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH A Q-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN				WEST MIDLAND				EAST MIDLAND			
	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA	OV	OAV	AOV	OVA
12C	██				---------------				██	░░	██	
13C					██		██		██		██	
14C	██		██		░░		██				██	
15C			██		░░		██		░░		██	

2.2.7. Discussion

2.2.7.1. Derived OV Patterns

[F]   ASSUMPTIONS

> i.   The head-parameter determines the directionality of the head and its complement(s).
> ii. The finite verb optionally moves to T in subordinate clauses.
> iii. The OV patterns involving an object non-adjacent to the lexical verb are derived by movement of the object. ---> (a)-(d)

(a) **Obj** XP $t_{\mathbf{Obj}}$ V
   ⇒ MOVEMENT TO THE PRE-AUX POSITION WITH V-MOVEMENT, OR
   MOVEMENT TO THE POST-AUX POSITION WITHOUT V-MOVEMENT

(b) **Obj** (XP) Aux $t_{\mathbf{Obj}}$ V   ---> (8a) & (14a)
   ⇒ MOVEMENT TO THE PRE-AUX POSITION WITH V-MOVEMENT, OR
   MOVEMENT TO THE POST-AUX POSITION WITHOUT V-MOVEMENT

(c) Aux **Obj** XP $t_{\mathbf{Obj}}$ V   ---> (8b), (14b) & (17b)
   ⇒ MOVEMENT TO THE POST-AUX POSITION WITH V-MOVEMENT

(d) **Obj** XP $t_{\mathbf{Obj}}$ V Aux   ---> (8c) & (14c)
   ⇒ MOVEMENT TO THE PRE-/POST-AUX POSITION WITHOUT V-MOVEMENT

[G]   HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH AN FN-OBJ CONSIDERED (I)

i.   The Obj-(XP)-Aux-V pattern became almost extinct in all of the 13th century dialects.
   ⇒ LOSS OF THE FN-OBJ MOVEMENT TO THE PRE-AUX POSITION (LONG-DISTANCE SCRAMBLING) IN THE 12TH CENTURY

i'. The (Aux)-Obj-XP-V patterns became extinct in the 13th century Kentish dialect. However, the OV order with an FN-Obj was still possible.
   ⇒ LOSS OF THE FN-OBJ MOVEMENT TO THE POST-AUX POSITION (SHORT-DISTANCE SCRAMBLING) IN THE 13TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT

ii. The OV order with an FN-Obj became extinct in the 15th century Southern dialects.
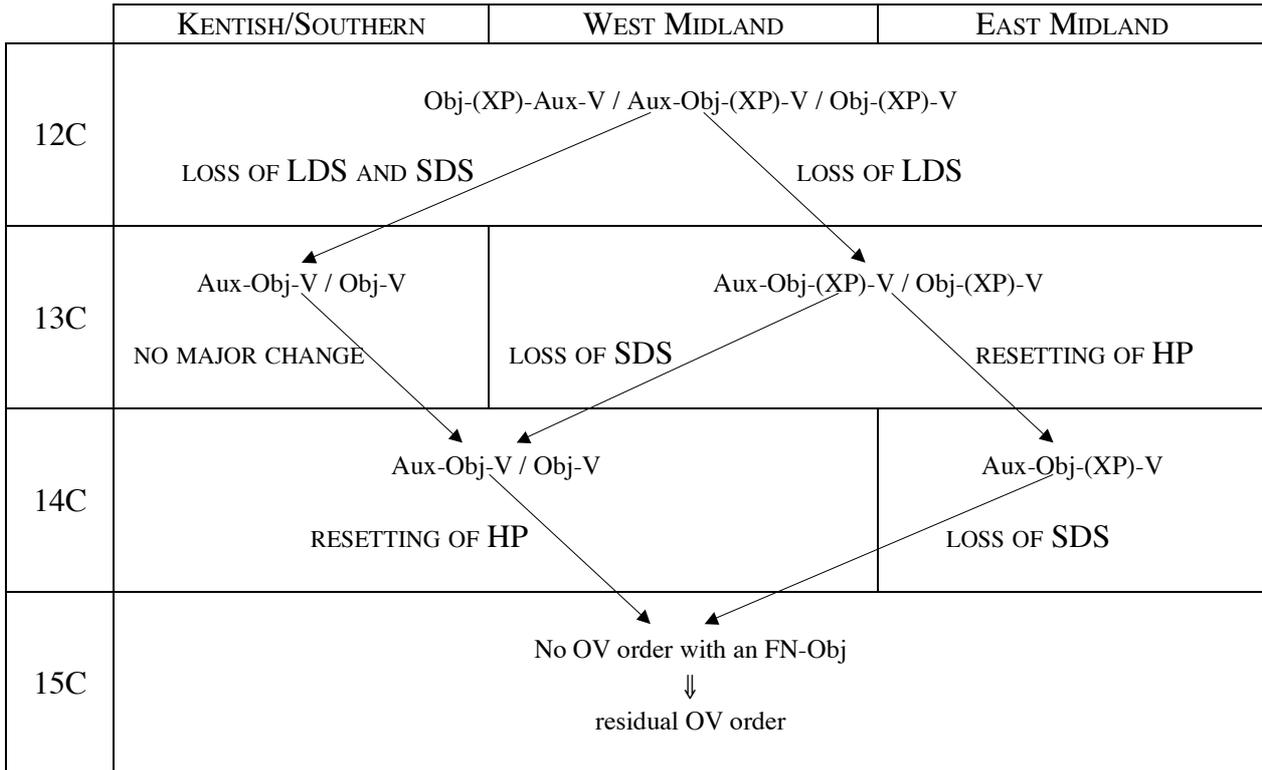   ⇒ RESETTING OF THE HEAD-PARAMETER (OV→VO) IN THE 14TH CENTURY SOUTHERN DIALECTS

[G']   HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH AN FN-OBJ CONSIDERED (II)

ii. The (Aux)-Obj-XP-V patterns became extinct in the 14th century West Midland dialects.   However, the OV order with an FN-Obj was still possible.
   ⇒ LOSS OF THE FN-OBJ MOVEMENT TO THE POST-AUX POSITION (SHORT-DISTANCE SCRAMBLING) IN THE 13TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS

iii. The OV order with an FN-Obj became extinct in the 15th century West Midland dialects.
   ⇒ RESETTING OF THE HEAD-PARAMETER (OV→VO) IN THE 14TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS

[G"] HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH AN FN-OBJ CONSIDERED (III)

ii. The Obj-V pattern became extinct in the 14th century East Midland dialects. However, The Aux-Obj-XP-V pattern was still possible.
⇒ RESETTING OF THE HEAD-PARAMETER (OV→VO) IN THE 13TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS

iii. The OV order with an FN-Obj became extinct in the 15th century East Midland dialects.
⇒ LOSS OF THE FN-OBJ MOVEMENT TO THE POST-AUX POSITION (SHORT-DISTANCE SCRAMBLING) IN THE 13TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS

FIGURE 2: ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH AN FN-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN	WEST MIDLAND	EAST MIDLAND
12C	Obj-(XP)-Aux-V / Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V LOSS OF LDS AND SDS LOSS OF LDS		
13C	Aux-Obj-V / Obj-V NO MAJOR CHANGE	Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V LOSS OF SDS	RESETTING OF HP
14C	Aux-Obj-V / Obj-V RESETTING OF HP		Aux-Obj-(XP)-V LOSS OF SDS
15C	No OV order with an FN-Obj ⇓ residual OV order		

2.2.7.2. *Clitic Status of the PPrn-Obj*

[H] The (dislocated) PPrn-Obj is always adjacent to a head element. ⇒ CLITIC

(cf. Koopman (1997))

i. pre-Aux position   ⇒ PROCLITICIZATION TO THE AUXILIARY
---> (8a), (9ai) & (15a)

ii. post-Aux position   ⇒ ENCLITICIZATION TO THE AUXILIARY
---> (9b) & (22)

iii. pre-V position   ⇒ PROCLITICIZATION TO THE LEXICAL VERB
---> abundant examples

iv. post-V position   ⇒ ENCLITICIZATION TO THE LEXICAL VERB
---> §3

v. post-PPrn-Subj position ⇒ ENCLITICIZATION TO THE PRONOMINAL SUBJECT
---> (9aii), (9c) & (15b)

(26) a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ (= (9aii))
ȝiff þu**t**   **mihht** ohht *findenn*
if you+it might any-way find   (CMORM, I, 52.509)
⟹ PPRN-OBJ MERGED WITH PPRN-SUBJ

  b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A PPRN-OBJ (= (15a))
As þach... alswich   **me**<u>mei</u> *ilimpen*...
as though all+such me+may limb   (CMANCRIW, II.204.2921)
⟹ PPRN-OBJ MERGED WITH AUX

[I]   HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH A PPRN-OBJ CONSIDERED
The Obj-(XP)-Aux-V pattern became extinct in the 13th century East Midland dialects and in the 14th century Southern and West Midland dialects.   (contra Kroch & Taylor (2000))
⟹ RELATED TO THE LOSS OF THE PRONOMINAL (CLITIC) SUBJECT POSITION IN V2 ---> (28)

(27) V2 PATTERNS IN SOUTHERN ME
  a. *Wh*/NEG/*Þa*-INITIAL CONTEXTS
    i. *Full Nominal Subject*: XP V Subj$_{FN}$ ⟹ GENUINE V2
    ii. *Pronominal Subject*: XP V Subj$_{Prn}$ ⟹ GENUINE V2
  b. TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXTS ---> (28)
    i. *Full Nominal Subject*: XP V Subj$_{FN}$ ⟹ GENUINE V2
    ii. *Pronominal Subject*: XP Subj$_{Prn}$ V   ⟹ V3
   (Fischer et al. (2000), Haeberli (1999, 2000, 2002), Hulk & Kemenade (1997), Kemenade (1987), Kroch & Taylor (1997), Pintzuk (1999); cf. transitive expletive constructions discussed in Tanaka (2000))

a'. [$_{CP}$ *Wh*/Neg/*Þa* [$_{C'}$ C [$_{FP}$ Subj$_{Prn}$ [$_{F'}$ F [$_{TP}$ Subj$_{FN}$ ... V]]]]]

b'. [$_{CP}$ Topic [$_{C'}$ C [$_{FP}$ Subj$_{Prn}$ [$_{F'}$ F [$_{TP}$ Subj$_{FN}$ ... V]]]]]

        (cf. Fischer et al. (2000), Haeberli (1999, 2000, 2002), Hulk & Kemenade (1997))

⇓
LOST IN THE LATE 14TH AND EARLY 15TH CENTURY (IN THE SOUTHERN DIALECTS)
     (Hulk & Kemenade (1997); cf. Haeberli (1999, 2000, 2002), Kroch & Taylor (1997))

(28) TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXTS
  a. *Full Nominal Subject*
[þis] *singeð* <u>þenne</u> **iweddede**
this sing   then   wedded
'The wedded sing this then.'   (Hali, 142.221 / Haeberli (2000: 123))
  b. *Pronominal Subject*
[þis] ne *habbe* **ic** <u>nauht</u> ofearned
this NEG have I   not   earned
'I have not earned this.'   (VV, 17.9 / Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 193))

(29) *Wh*/NEG/*Þa*-INITIAL CONTEXTS (OE)
[Ne] *het*   **he** us <u>na</u> leornian heofonas to wyrcenne
NEG ordered he us not learn   heavens to make
'He did not bid us learn to make the heavens.'
                               (ÆLS, XVI.127 / Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 190))
⟹ THE PPRN-OBJ CAN OCCUPY SPEC FP (= PRE-AUX POSITION).

[I']   AFTER THE LOSS OF THE CLITIC (= SPEC FP) POSITION
   a.   The PPrn-Subj started to appear in the canonical subject position.
   b.   The PPrn-Obj started to appear in the canonical object position?
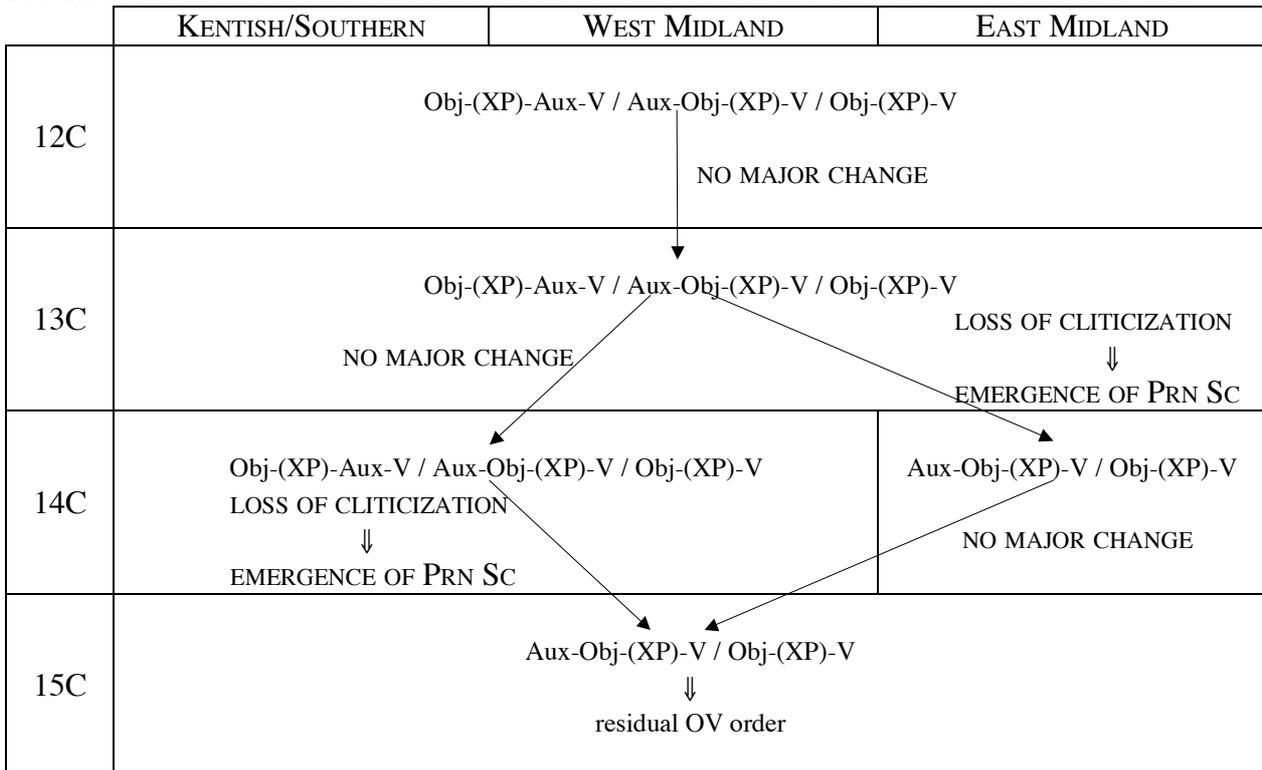
> LONG DISTANCE SCRAMBLING OF THE FN-OBJ ALREADY IMPOSSIBLE IN THE 13TH CENTURY
>
> ⇓
>
> *The (canonical) object position was restricted to the (Aux)-Obj-(XP)-V pattern.*
> ⇒   *Pronominal cliticization was replaced by pronominal Scrambling.*

FIGURE 3: ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE OV PATTERNS WITH A PPRN-OBJ

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN	WEST MIDLAND	EAST MIDLAND
12C	Obj-(XP)-Aux-V / Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V — NO MAJOR CHANGE		
13C	Obj-(XP)-Aux-V / Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V — NO MAJOR CHANGE		LOSS OF CLITICIZATION ⇓ EMERGENCE OF PRN SC
14C	Obj-(XP)-Aux-V / Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V LOSS OF CLITICIZATION ⇓ EMERGENCE OF PRN SC		Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V NO MAJOR CHANGE
15C	Aux-Obj-(XP)-V / Obj-(XP)-V ⇓ residual OV order		

2.3.   SPECIFICITY/GIVENNESS/DEFINITENESS OF THE DISLOCATED FN-OBJ

[J]   Movement of the object is restricted to the specific/given/definite material.
   (Chomsky (2001a), Diesing (1992, 1996, 1997), Diesing & Jelinek (1995), Holmberg (1999), Miyashita (2003b), Thráinsson (2001) among others)
      ⇒   WHAT ABOUT THE OBJECT MOVEMENT (THAT IS, OV TOKENS IN THE OBJ-(XP)-AUX-V AND (AUX)-OBJ-XP-V PATTERNS)IN ME?

(a)	displaced FN-Obj	⇒ MOSTLY SPECIFIC/GIVEN READING ---> TABLE 32, (30) & (31)
(b)	displaced Neg-Obj & Q-Obj	⇒ MOSTLY PARTITIVE READING ---> (11) & (12)

TABLE 32: SPECIFICITY/GIVENNESS VS. NON-SPECIFICITY/NEWNESS OF THE DISLOCATED FN-OBJ

		SPECIFIC/GIVEN	NON-SPECIFIC/NEW	AMBIGUOUS
12C	KENTISH DIALECT			
	cmkentho.m1	1	0	1
	EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS			
	cmpeterb.m1	1	0	0
	cmorm.m1	26	1	7
	cmvices1.m1	25	0	9
13C	WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS			
	cmlambx1.mx1	7	0	2
	cmlamb1.m1	1	0	0
	cmsawles.m1	1	0	0
	cmhali.m1	2	0	0
	cmkathe.m1	0	0	1
	cmjulia.m1	1	0	1
	cmmarga.m1	3	0	0
	cmancriw.m1	6	0	2
	EAST MIDLAND DIALECT			
	cmtrinit.mx1	14	0	4
14C	SOUTHERN DIALECT			
	cmayenbi.m2	1	0	0
	WEST MIDLAND DIALECT			
	cmbrut3.m3	0	0	2
	EAST MIDLAND DIALECT			
	cmctmeli.m3	2	0	0
	TOTAL	90	1	29

(30) AUX-OBJ-XP-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
    a. *Specific/Given Reading* (= (14b))
        hu   we <u>mugen</u> **ure saule** [of hem] *clensen*
        how we may our soul of them cleanse   (CMTRINIT, 77.1055)
    b. *Ambiguous Reading*
        Þatt teȝȝ swa late <u>mihhtenn</u> **child** I mikell elde   *streonenn*
        that they so late might   child in many passing-years strain (CMORM, I, 23.295)
        ⇒ SCRAMBLING INDEPENDENT OF THE PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF THE DETERMINER
                (cf. Early Modern Swedish facts discussed in Delsing (2000))

(31) OBJ-(XP)-AUX-V ORDER WITH AN FN-OBJ
    a. *Specific/Given Reading* (= (14a))
        ȝif þu þan unrihtwisan <u>nult</u>   **his unrihtwisnesse** *seggan*
        if you the unrighteous NEG+will his unrighteousness say (CMLAMBX1, 117.1135)
    b. *Non-specific/New Reading*
        þatt ȝho **An sune** <u>shollde</u> *childenn*, Þatt shollde nemmnedd ben Jesus & Godess Sune
        that you a son should bear   that should named   be Jesus and God's son
        onn eorþe
        on earth   (CMORM, I, 106.904)
    c. *Ambiguous Reading*
        (ðat ðu bie wel warr þat tu luuiȝe ðine nexte, ðat is, aurich mann...) ȝif þu
        that you are well aware that you love your neighbor that is every man   if you
        karite <u>scalt</u> *habben* on ðe
        charity shall have on you   (CMVICES1, 39.459)

3.   RESULTS OF THE SURVEY (II): OS FACTS IN ME

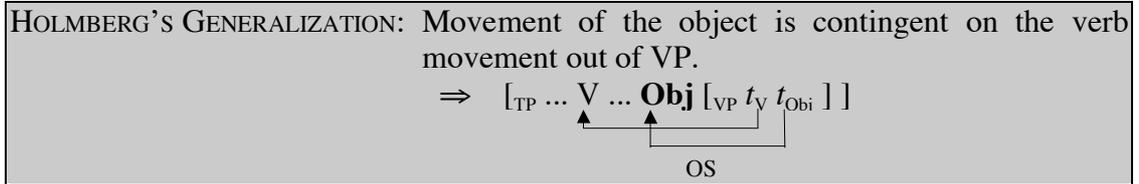### 3.1.   *OS IN EMODE*

(32)   V-OBJ-NEG ORDER
  if you *knew* **them** <u>not</u>   (1580 John Lyly / Roberts (1995: 274))
  ⇒ OS = OBJECT MOVEMENT THAT CONFORMS TO HOLMBERG'S GENERALIZATION

> HOLMBERG'S GENERALIZATION: Movement of the object is contingent on the verb movement out of VP.
>
> ⇒ $[_{TP} ... V ... \textbf{Obj} [_{VP} t_V t_{Obi}]]$
>
> OS

3.2.   *OBJECT POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE NEGATIVE MARKER*

3.2.1. Possible Patterns

(33)   i.   V Obj Neg   ⇒ VM + OS
  ii.   V Neg Obj   ⇒ VM
  iii. Neg V Obj   ⇒ VO BASE ORDER (NO MOVEMENT AT ALL)
  iv.   Obj Neg V   ⇒ SCRAMBLING
  v.   Obj V Neg   ⇒ VM + SCRAMBLING
  v.   Neg Obj V   ⇒ OV BASE ORDER (NO MOVEMENT AT ALL)

3.2.2. 12th Century

TABLE 33: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (12TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmkentho.m1	0	0	0	0	0	0	298
TOTAL TOKENS	0	0	0	0	0	0	298

TABLE 34: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (12TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmpeterb.m1	0	0	0	0	0	0	647
cmorm.m1	2 (2)	8 (1)	15 (5)	4 (3)	1 (1)	8 (3)	2638
cmvices1.m1	1 (1)	2 (0)	0	9 (8)	2 (1)	1 (1)	1893
TOTAL TOKENS	3 (3)	10 (1)	15 (5)	13 (11)	3 (2)	9 (4)	5178

[K]   OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE IN THE 12TH CENTURY (EM DIALECTS)
  (a) V Obj Neg   ⇒ ONLY WITH PRONOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (34)
  (b) V Neg Obj   ⇒ MAINLY WITH FULL NOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (35)
  (c) Neg V Obj   ⇒ WITH BOTH FULL NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (36)
  (d) Obj Neg V   ⇒ WITH BOTH FULL NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (37)
  (e) Obj V Neg   ⇒ WITH BOTH FULL NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (38)
  (f) Neg Obj V   ⇒ WITH BOTH FULL NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (39)
                                                           (cf. OV facts presented in §2)

(34) V-Obj-Neg Order (= VM + OS/Cliticization)
      ʒif ðat hali writ   ne *wiðseið*   ðe [naht]
      if that holy Wright NEG renounces you not   (CMVICES1, 101.1223)

(35) V-Neg-Obj Order (= VM)
      Þatt teʒʒ ne *draʒhe* [nohht] **hemm** onn To follʒhenn ille þæwess
      that they NEG drew   not   them on to follow evil morals (CMORM, I, 237.1954)

(36) Neg-V-Obj Order (= VO Base Order)
      ʒiff þu ne <u>mahht</u> [nohht] ʒet All ʒemenn **þe** fra sinne
      if you NEG may   not   yet all aim   you from sin   (CMORM, I, 276.2257)

(37) Obj-Neg-V Order (= Scrambling/Cliticization)
      a. Ʒiff þatt... &   ge**t**   rihht [nohht] ne *trowwenn*
          if   that and you+it right   not   NEG believe   (CMORM, II, 227.2435)
      b. þei   his michele euelnesse **hit** <u>nabbe</u> [noht] *ofearned*
          though his much   evilness it NEG+have not   offered   (CMVICES1, 113.1386)
      c. Swa þatt he þurrh   an idell word Ne <u>shollde</u> **himm** [nohht] *forrgilltenn*
          so   that he through a futile word NEG should him   not   forget
                                                                  (CMORM, I, 109.940)

(38) Obj-V-Neg Order (= VM + Scrambling/Cliticization)
      ʒiff þatt he**t**   ne *beteþþ* [nohht]
      if   that he+it NEG beats   not   (CMORM, I, 212.1747)

(39) Neg-Obj-V Order (= OV Base Order)
      þe blinde, ðe dumbe... ðe ne <u>muʒen</u> [naht] **hit** ᵗe *forʒielden*
      the blind the dumb   that NEG may   not   it you foreyield   (CMVICES1, 75.871)

3.2.3. 13th Century

TABLE 35: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (13TH CENTURY KENTISH DIALECT)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	Sentences Searched
cmkentse.m2	0	1 (0)	0	0	0	0	231
Total Tokens	0	1 (0)	0	0	0	0	231

TABLE 36: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (13TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	Sentences Searched
cmlambx1.mx1	0	5 (0)	2 (0)	0	0	0	1410
cmlamb1.m1	0	0	0	2 (2)	0	0	526
cmsawles.m1	1 (1)	0	0	0	0	0	276
cmhali.m1	0	0	2 (1)	0	0	1 (1)	511
cmkathe.m1	1 (1)	1 (0)	0	0	0	0	544
cmjulia.m1	1 (1)	0	1 (0)	0	0	0	568
cmmarga.m1	4 (4)	0	0	0	1 (1)	0	639
cmancriw.m1	1 (0)	4 (0)	1 (1)	2 (2)	1 (1)	1 (1)	3559
Total Tokens	8 (7)	10 (0)	6 (2)	4 (4)	2 (2)	2 (2)	8033

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	Sentences Searched
cmtrinit.mx1	2 (2)	0	3 (3)	2 (2)	0	3 (1)	3074
Total Tokens	2 (2)	0	3 (3)	2 (2)	0	3 (1)	3074

[L] Object Positions w.r.t. the Negative in the 13th Century (WM and EM Dialects)

    (a) V Obj Neg   ⇒ only with pronominal objects ---> (40) & (41)
    (b) V Neg Obj   ⇒ only with full nominal objects
    (f) Neg Obj V   ⇒ with both full nominal and pronominal objects

(40)   V-Obj Order-Neg (= VM + OS/Cliticization)
    þt ich me *do* **hit** [nawt]
    that I me do it not   (CMSAWLES, 177.167)

(41)   V-Obj-Neg Order (= VM + OS) with a Full Nominal Object
    þt he *droch* **alþis** [naut] for him seolue...
    that he drew all-this not for himself   (CMANCRIW, II.142.1921)
    ⇒ presumably an instance of constituent negation

3.2.4. 14th Century

Table 38: Object Positions w.r.t. the Negative (14th Century Southern Dialects)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	Sentences Searched
cmayenbi.m2	7 (7)	13 (0)	7 (1)	3 (3)	3 (3)	5 (5)	2757
cmpolych.m3	3 (3)	9 (0)	14 (2)	0	0	1 (1)	3794
cmntest.m3	2 (2)	8 (0)	1 (1)	0	0	0	1152
cmpurvey.m3	1 (1)	46 (5)	11 (3)	0	0	0	2368
Total Tokens	13 (13)	76 (5)	33 (7)	3 (3)	3 (3)	6 (6)	10071

Table 39: Object Positions w.r.t. the Negative (14th Century West Midland Dialects)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	Sentences Searched
cmedvern.m3	3 (3)	1 (0)	10 (3)	1 (1)	1 (1)	2 (0)	936
cmaelr3.m23	2 (2)	7 (0)	11 (6)	0	0	0	1053
cmbrut3.m3	4 (4)	4 (0)	12 (3)	1 (1)	0	4 (3)	4114
Total Tokens	9 (9)	12 (0)	33 (12)	2 (2)	1 (1)	6 (3)	6103

TABLE 40: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (14TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmearlps.m2	7 (7)	15 (1)	4 (0)	0	0	0	7869
cmctpars.m3	2 (2)	5 (0)	19 (8)	0	0	0	1674
cmctmeli.m3	5 (5)	8 (0)	13 (6)	0	0	1 (0)	860
cmequato.m3	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	0	341
cmwycser.m3	7 (7)	24 (1)	37 (4)	0	0	0	3910
cmboeth.m3	3 (3)	2 (0)	7 (2)	0	0	0	567
cmotest.m3	1 (1)	2 (1)	3 (1)	0	0	0	810
cmcloud.m3	0	4 (1)	11 (6)	0	0	0	827
cmmandev.m3	1 (1)	7 (0)	21 (5)	0	0	0	3312
cmastro.m3	0	1 (0)	1 (0)	0	0	0	404
TOTAL TOKENS	26 (26)	68 (4)	117 (32)	0	0	1 (0)	20574

[M]   OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE IN THE 14TH CENTURY
    (a) V Obj Neg ⇒ ONLY WITH PRONOMINAL OBJECTS   ---> (42)
    (b) V Neg Obj ⇒ MAINLY WITH FULL NOMINAL OBJECTS ---> (43)
    (f) Neg Obj V
        i.   Southern/WM dialects ⇒ WITH BOTH FULL NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL OBJECTS
        ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ ALMOST EXTINCT   ---> (44)

(42) V-OBJ-NEG ORDER (= VM + OS/CLITICIZATION)
al   ȝif fleschly disciples *vndirstonde* þis [not]
even if sensual disciples understand this not   (CMWYCSER, 392.2995)

(43) V-NEG-OBJ ORDER (= VM)
þo folk   þat ne *knewe* [nouȝt] þe
the people that NEG know   not   you   (CMEARLPS, 98.4288)

(44) NEG-OBJ-V- ORDER (= OV BASE ORDER)
(If so be) that thou ne <u>mayst</u> [nat] **thyn owene conseil** *hyde*, (how darstou prayen any
if so be that you NEG may   not your own   secret hide how dare+you pray   any
oother wight   thy conseil secrely to kepe?)
other person your secret secretly to keep   (CMCTMELI, 222.C2.217)
⇒ CONSTITUENT NEGATION? = DERIVED OV ORDER?
'If it is not your own secret that you may hide, how do you dare to pray any other person to
secretly keep your secret?'

3.2.5. 15th Century

TABLE 41: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (15TH CENTURY SOUTHERN DIALECTS)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmhorses.m3	0	1 (0)	0	0	0	0	422
cmroyal.m34	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	0	0	0	399
cmgregor.m4	0	2 (0)	5 (0)	0	0	0	2631
TOTAL TOKENS	2 (2)	5 (2)	7 (2)	0	0	0	3452

TABLE 42: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (15TH CENTURY WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmrolltr.m24	3 (3)	12 (0)	11 (4)	0	0	0	956
cmrollep.m24	12 (12)	17 (0)	20 (9)	0	0	0	1002
cmmirk.m34	1 (1)	16 (1)	34 (16)	0	0	0	3709
cmmalory.m4	3 (3)	8 (0)	17 (8)	0	0	0	4997
cmsiege.m4	0	0	2 (0)	0	0	0	733
TOTAL TOKENS	19 (19)	53 (1)	84 (37)	0	0	0	11397

TABLE 43: OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE (15TH CENTURY EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS)

	V Obj Neg (VM+OS)	V Neg Obj (VM)	Neg V Obj (VO)	Obj Neg V (Sc)	Obj V Neg (VM+Sc)	Neg Obj V (OV)	SENTENCES SEARCHED
cmhilton.m34	0	5 (0)	3 (0)	0	0	0	218
cmvices4.m34	1 (1)	3 (0)	0	0	0	0	364
cmjulnor.m34	2 (2)	2 (1)	1 (0)	0	0	0	334
cmaelr4.m4	1 (1)	3 (0)	8 (4)	0	0	0	766
cmedmund.m4	0	0	0	0	0	0	300
cmkempe.m4	3 (3)	7 (0)	68 (39)	0	0	1 (0)	3853
cmcapser.m4	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	0	91
cmcapchr.m4	1 (1)	1 (0)	15 (9)	0	0	0	4175
cmreynes.m4	0	3 (0)	2 (0)	0	0	0	703
cmreynar.m4	2 (2)	2 (0)	4 (3)	0	0	0	740
cmfitzja.m4	0	2 (0)	0	0	0	0	228
cminnoce.m4	0	0	2 (2)	0	0	0	208
TOTAL TOKENS	10 (10)	28 (1)	104 (57)	0	0	1 (0)	11980

[N]   OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE IN THE 14TH CENTURY
- (a) V Obj Neg ⇒ ONLY WITH PRONOMINAL OBJECTS ---> (45)
- (b) V Neg Obj ⇒ MAINLY WITH FULL NOMINAL OBJECTS ---> (46)
- (f) Neg Obj V
    - i. Southern/WM dialects ⇒ EXTINCT
    - ii. East Midland dialects ⇒ ALMOST EXTINCT ---> (47)

(45) V-OBJ-NEG ORDER (= VM + OS/CLITICIZATION)
that kynge Arthure *knewe* **hym** [nat]
that King Arthur knew him not   (CMMALORY, 30.939)

(46) V-NEG-OBJ ORDER (= VM)
þat þou *lede* [not] **vs** in-to temptacion
that you led not us into temptation   (CMROYAL, 11.66)

(47) NEG-OBJ-V- ORDER (= OV BASE ORDER) (= (25c))
þat sche <u>myth</u> [not] **rest ne qwiet** *han* in hir mende
that she may not peace nor quietness have in her mind   (CMKEMPE, 226.3683)
⇒ *NOT REST NE QWIET* = NEG-OBJ?

3.2.6. Summary

[O]   OS is restricted to the PPrn-Obj. ⇒ COEXISTENCE WITH PPRN-OBJ SCRAMBLING
                (cf. similar facts observed by Sundquist (2002) in Middle Norwegian)

TABLE 44: HISTORICAL CHANGE IN THE OBJECT POSITIONS W.R.T. THE NEGATIVE MARKER

	KENTISH/SOUTHERN			WEST MIDLAND			EAST MIDLAND		
	VM+OS	VO	OV	VM+OS	VO	OV	VM+OS	VO	OV
12C	---------------			---------------			11.1%	55.6%	33.3%
13C	---------------			50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	25.0%	37.5%	37.5%
14C	25.0%	63.5%	11.5%	18.8%	68.7&	12.5%	18.1%	81.2%	0.7%
15C	22.2%	77.8%	0%	18.4%	81.6%	0%	8.7%%	90.4%	0.9%

(tokens per total V-Obj-Neg, Neg-V-Obj and Neg-Obj-V tokens)

⇓

THE NEG-OBJ-V FACTS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH CONFORMS TO THE EXPLANATION GIVEN IN §2.

3.2.7. Discussion

3.2.7.1.   *Obligatoriness of the PPrn-Obj Movement*

[P]   HOW OBLIGATORY IS THE PPRN-OBJ MOVEMENT? ---> (48) & (48')
obligatoriness of the PPrn-Obj movement
= (expected V-Neg-PPrn tokens − actual V-Neg-PPrn tokens)
÷ expected V-Neg-PPrn tokens × 100

> (i)   expected V-Neg-PPrn tokens
> = (total V-Neg-Obj tokens × ratio of the PPrn in the text) ÷ 100
> (ii)   ratio of the PPrn in the text
> = (Neg-V-PPrn tokens + Neg-PPrn-V tokens)
> ÷ (total Neg-V-Obj tokens + total Neg-Obj-V tokens) × 100

(48)   EXPECTED V-NEG-PPRN TOKENS
   a.   12th century: $10 \times (5 + 4) \div (15 + 9)$ = 3.75
   b.   13th century: $11 \times (5 + 3) \div (9 + 5)$ = 6.29
   c.   14th century (i) Southern/WM dialects: $88 \times (19 + 9) \div (66 + 12)$ = 31.59
                          (ii) East Midland dialects: $68 \times (32 + 0) \div (117 + 1)$ = 18.44
   d.   15th century: $86 \times (96 + 0) \div (195 + 1)$ = 42.12

(48')   OBLIGATORINESS OF THE PPRN-OBJ MOVEMENT
   a.   12th century: $(3.75 − 1) \div 3.75 \times 100$ = 73.3%
   b.   13th century: $(6.29 − 0) \div 6.29 \times 100$ = 100%
   c.   14th century (i) Southern/WM dialects: $(31.59 − 5) \div 31.59 \times 100$ = 84.2%
                          (ii) East Midland dialects: $(18.44 − 4) \div 18.44 \times 100$ = 78.3%
   d.   15th century: $(42.12 − 4) \div 42.12 \times 100$ = 90.5%
   ⇓
   NO MAJOR CHANGE?

3.2.7.2.   *Clitic Status of the PPrn-Obj Reconsidered: Emergence of OS*

[Q]   Cliticization was lost in the 13th century East Midland dialects and in the 14th century Southern and West Midland dialects.
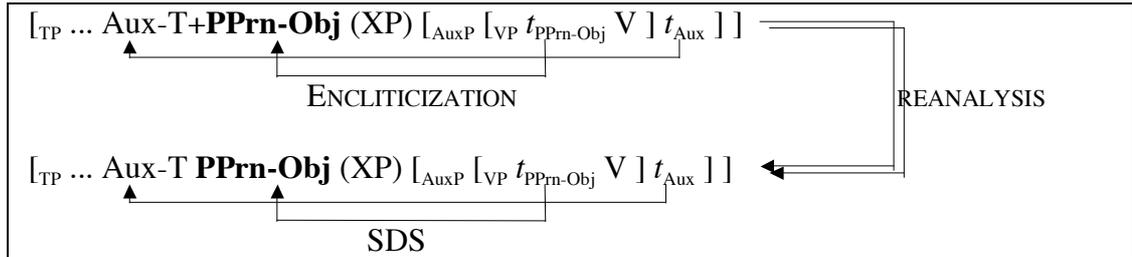
> (i)   LDS of the FN-Obj was already impossible in the 13th century.
> (ii)   The (canonical) object position was restricted to the (Aux)-Obj-(XP)-V pattern.

   ⇒ *Pronominal cliticization was replaced by pronominal SDS and OS in the 13th century East Midland dialects and in the 14th century Southern and West Midland dialects.*
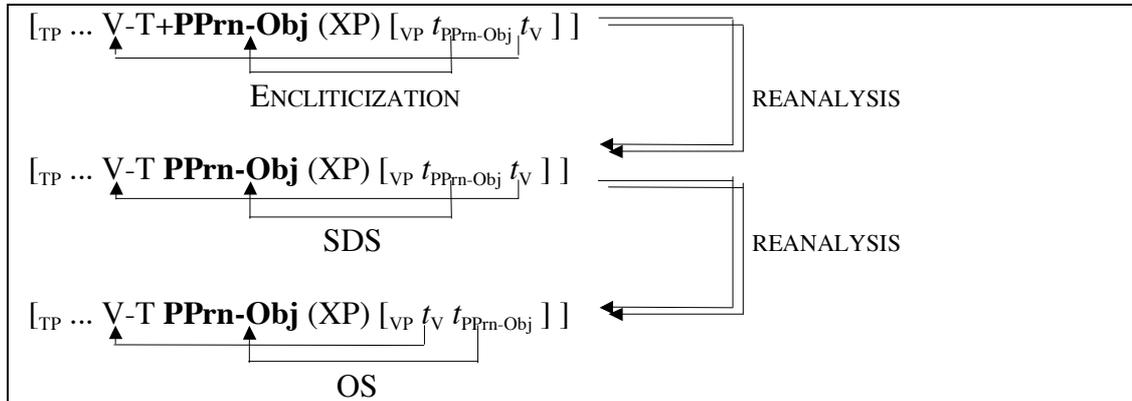   ---> [Q'] & [R]   (cf. [I'])

[Q'] a. PRONOMINAL CLITICIZATION → PRONOMINAL SDS

$[_{TP}$ ... Aux-T+**PPrn-Obj** (XP) $[_{AuxP} [_{VP} t_{PPrn-Obj}$ V] t_{Aux}]]

ENCLITICIZATION   REANALYSIS

$[_{TP}$ ... Aux-T **PPrn-Obj** (XP) $[_{AuxP} [_{VP} t_{PPrn-Obj}$ V] t_{Aux}]]

SDS

b. PRONOMINAL CLITICIZATION → PRONOMINAL SDS → PRONOMINAL OS

$[_{TP}$ ... V-T+**PPrn-Obj** (XP) $[_{VP} t_{PPrn-Obj} t_V$]]

ENCLITICIZATION   REANALYSIS

$[_{TP}$ ... V-T **PPrn-Obj** (XP) $[_{VP} t_{PPrn-Obj} t_V$]]

SDS   REANALYSIS

$[_{TP}$ ... V-T **PPrn-Obj** (XP) $[_{VP} t_V t_{PPrn-Obj}$]]

OS

[R] a. OV (base order) grammar accommodates (German-Dutch-type) Scrambling.
  ---> (49)
 b. VO (base order) grammar accommodates OS (and (Yiddish-type) Scrambling).
  ---> (50)

             (cf. Chomsky (2001a) ---> (51))

⇒ COEXISTENCE OF SCRAMBLING AND OS = COEXISTENCE OF OV AND VO GRAMMARS
        DOUBLE BASE HYPOTHESIS ---> [S]

             (cf. TABLE 1)

(49) a. GERMAN
  Gestern <u>hat</u> Peter (**das Buch**) ohne   Zweifel (**das Buch**) nicht (**das Buch**)
  yesterday has Peter the book without doubt   the   book   not   the book
  gelesen.
  read   (Vikner (1994: 493))
 b. DUTCH
  dat ik (**de directeur**) morgen (**de directeur**) over   die zaak (**de directeur**)
  that I the manger tomorrow the manger   concerning this matter the manger
  in Kopenhagen (**de directeur**) *ontmoet.*
  in Copenhagen the manger   meet   (Wyngaerd (1989: 256))

(50) YIDDISH
 a. Maks <u>hot</u> *geleyent* **a bukh**.
  Max has read   a book
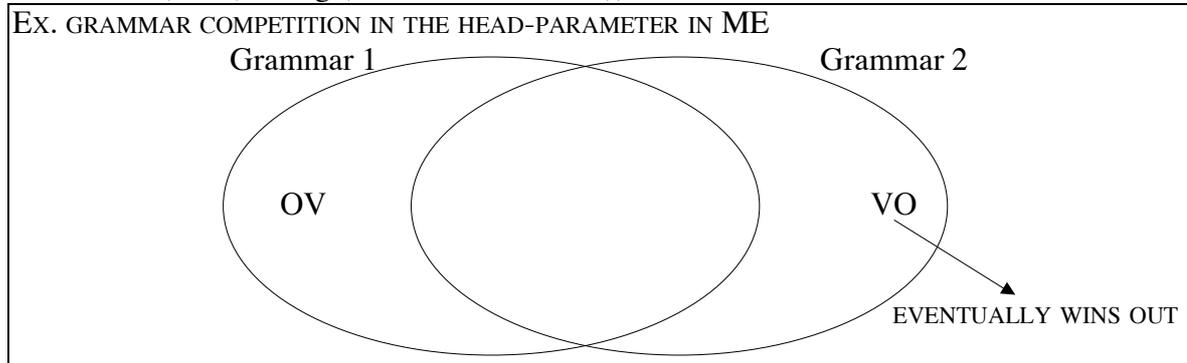 b. Maks <u>hot</u> **dos bukh** *geleyent.*
  Max has the book   read   (Diesing (1997: 381))

[S]   DOUBLE BASE HYPOTHESIS = GRAMMAR COMPETITION
Several grammars "competing" (say, in the head-parameter) exist side by side in the mind of the speaker, and eventually, one of them wins out.
(Fuss & Trips (2002), Kroch (1989, 1994, 2001), Pintzuk (1999, 2002), Santorini (1992), Thráinsson (2003), Yang (2000a, 2000b, 2002))

EX. GRAMMAR COMPETITION IN THE HEAD-PARAMETER IN ME

Grammar 1   Grammar 2

OV   VO

EVENTUALLY WINS OUT

⇓
Scrambling and OS options were available until the 13th century in East Midland dialects and the 14th century in Southern and West Midland dialects.   (cf. [R])

SPECULATION:
The Yiddish-type Scrambling (i.e. Scrambling in VO grammar) is made possible through grammar competition in the head-parameter?

(51)   a. $v*$ is assigned an EPP feature only if that has an effect on outcome.
           ⇒ UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE
           (i.e. Movement is possible only when it yields a (semantic) consequence.)
       b.   The EPP position (i.e. phonological edge) of $v*$ is assigned INT.
           ⇒ UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE
           (i.e. The phonological edge (= Spec $v*$P) is limited to the specific/definite material.)
       c.   At the phonological border of $v*$P, XP is assigned INT'.
           ⇒ PARAMETER
           (i.e. Holmberg's generalization)   (Chomsky (2001a: 35))

(52)   INT is an interpretive complex which consists of specificity/definiteness, [old] information, focus, etc.   (Chomsky (2001a: 31))

(53)   If there is no c-commanding phonological material within $v*$P, the first-merged position of the object becomes the phonological border. ---> (54)   (Chomsky (2001a: 34))

(54)   *When (51c) has a positive setting*
       a.   *VO languages*: $[_{TP} ... [_{T} [_{v} V\text{-}v*]\text{-}T] ... [_{v*P}$ **Obj** $[_{v'}$ Subj $[_{v*'} t_{v*} [_{VP} t_{V}$ **Obj** $]]]]]$
                               PHONOLOGICAL EDGE   PHONOLOGICAL BORDER
                                         INT   INT'
           ⇒ Object movement is contingent on verb movement out of $v*$P.   = OS
       b.   *OV languages*: $[_{TP} ... T ... [_{v*P}$ **Obj** $[_{v'}$ Subj $[_{v*'} v* [_{VP}$ **Obj** V $]]]]]$
                               PHONOLOGICAL EDGE   PHONOLOGICAL BORDER
                                         INT   INT'
           ⇒ Object movement is independent of verb movement.   = SCRAMBLING

27

4.   DERIVING AND LOSING THE OV ORDER

4.1.   DERIVATION OF OV ORDER

[T]   MOVEMENTS INVOLVED IN THE DERIVATIONS (I)
V-OBJ-XP ORDER (= OS CONFIGURATION)
⇒   V-movement & cliticization / V-movement & Case Shift (+ DISL)
(cf. Chomsky (2001a); terminology adopted from Svenonius (2001))

> OS = SDS = CASE SHIFT + DISL: (a) OS = CS + DISL with VO base order
> (b) SDS   = CS + DISL with OV base order

---> (55)

(55)   a.   OS
$[_{TP}$ ... V-v*-T ... **Obj** ... $[_{NegP}$ Neg $[_{v*P}$ t_{Obj} $[_{v'}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ t_{v*} $[_{VP}$ t_V t_{Obj}]]]]]]

DISL   CS

b.   SDS
$[_{TP}$ ... T ... **Obj** ... $[_{NegP}$ Neg $[_{v*P}$ t_{Obj} $[_{v'}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ v* $[_{VP}$ t_{Obj} V]]]]]]

DISL   CS

[T']   MOVEMENTS INVOLVED IN THE DERIVATIONS (II)
a.   (AUX)-XP-OBJ-V ORDER ⇒ OV base order
b.   OBJ-V-XP ORDER
   i.   other Obj   ⇒ (CS +) non-feature-driven LDS   ---> (57)
   ii.   PPrn-Obj   ⇒ cliticization   ---> (56)
c.   (AUX)-OBJ-XP-V ORDER
   i.   FN-Obj & DPrn-Obj ⇒ SDS
   ii.   PPrn-Obj   ⇒ cliticization / pronominal SDS
   iii.   Neg-Obj   ⇒ (CS +) NM   ---> (58)
   iv.   Q-Obj   ⇒ (CS +) overt QR   ---> (59)
d.   OBJ-AUX-V ORDER
   α.   with V-movement: same as Obj-V-XP order
   β.   without V-movement: same as (Aux)-Obj-XP-V order

> NM: Fischer et al. (2000), Ingham (2000, 2002), Wurff (1999)
> (cf. Haegeman (1995), Svenonius (2000) among others)
> overt QR: Fischer et al. (2000), Wurff (1999)
> (cf. Beghelli & Stowell (1997), Szabolcsi (1997))

(56)   CLITICIZATION
a.   *Aux-Obj-XP-V Order*
$[_{TP}$ ... Aux-T+**PPrn-Obj** ... XP ... $[_{AuxP}$ t_{Aux} $[_{v*P}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ v* $[_{VP}$ $t_{PPrn-Obj}$ V]]]]]]

ENCLITICIZATION

b.   *Obj-XP-V Order*
$[_{TP}$ PPrn-Subj+**PPrn-Obj** $[_{T'}$ T ... XP ... $[_{v*P}$ $t_{PPrn-Subj}$ $[_{v*'}$ v* $[_{VP}$ $t_{PPrn-Obj}$ V]]]]]

ENCLITICIZATION

c.   *Obj-V-XP Order*
$[_{TP}$ ... **PPrn-Obj**+V-v*-T ... XP ... $[_{v*P}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ t_{v*} $[_{VP}$ $t_{PPrn-Obj}$ t_V]]]]]

PROCLITICIZATION

(57) (CS +) LDS

$[_{TP}$ Subj $[_{T'}$ **Obj** $[_{T'}$ Aux-T $[_{AuxP}$ t_{Aux} $[_{v*P}$ t_{Obj} $[_{v'}$ t_{Subj} $[_{v*'}$ $v*$ $[_{VP}$ t_{Obj} V $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

                  LDS   CS

(58) (CS +) NM

$[_{TP}$ ... T ... $[_{NegP}$ **Neg-Obj** $[_{Neg'}$ Neg $[_{v*P}$ $t_{Neg-Obj}$ $[_{v'}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ $v*$ $[_{VP}$ $t_{Neg-Obj}$ V $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

             NM   CS

(59) (CS +) OVERT QR

a. $[_{TP}$ ... T ... $[_{FP}$ **Q-Obj** $[_{F'}$ F $[_{v*P}$ t_{Q-Obj} $[_{v'}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ $v*$ $[_{VP}$ t_{Q-Obj} V $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

             OVERT QR   CS

b. $[_{TP}$ ... T ... $[_{v*P}$ Subj $[_{v*'}$ $v*$ $[_{VP}$ **Q-Obj** $[_{VP}$ t_{Q-Obj} V $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

               OVERT QR (ADJUNCTION TO VP)

[U] FEATURES DRIVING THE MOVEMENTS
   a.   LDS: non -feature-driven adjunction or tucking-in to an existing projection?
   b.   CLITICIZATION: clitic nature of pronominals?
   c.   OS/SDS: $[u\phi]$ & $[\phi]+[u$Case$]$ (Chomsky (2000, 2001a))
   d.   NM: $[u$Neg$]$ & $[$Neg$]+[u$Foc$]$ (Watanabe (2001, 2002a, 2002b))
   e.   OVERT QR: feature-driven or adjunction?
                                        (cf. Beghelli & Stowell (1997), Szabolcsi (1997))

4.2. *TRIGGERS FOR THE CHANGES*

[V] LANGUAGE CHANGE AS GRAMMAR CHANGE ---> FIGURE 4
   ☞   change in the process of parameter setting (Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1998, 1999))

FIGURE 4: LANGUAGE CHANGE AS A RESULT OF GRAMMAR CHANGE

        Parents' I-language   ⇒   Parents' E-language

        Children's I-language   ⇒   Children's E-language

       (Battye & Roberts (1995: 8), Yang (2000a: 112, 2000b: 232); cf. Andersen (1973: 778))

[V'] PARAMETER CHANGE WITHIN THE MINIMALIST FRAMEWORK
    ☞ change in the feature composition (Pintzuk et al. (2000); cf. Roberts (2001))

> (i)   ... [P]arameters are restricted to *formal features* with no interpretation at the interface... [T]hey are restricted to formal features of functional categories.
> <div align="right">(Chomsky (1995a: 6))</div>
> (ii)   ... [B]eyond PF options and lexical arbitrariness, variation is limited to non-substantive parts of the lexicon and general properties of lexical items.
> <div align="right">(Chomsky (1993: 3))</div>

⇓ HOWEVER

Within the recent minimalist program (i.e. Chomsky (2000, 2001a, 2001b)), availability of movement can be determined just by the presence/absence of the EPP-feature on functional heads.

[W] CAUSES FOR THE LOSS OF THE MOVEMENTS
- a. LDS   ⇒ ?
- b. CLITICIZATION ⇒ introduction of *they/them/their* from Old Norse after the Viking raids and their generalization in the 13C? (cf. 中尾・寺島 (1988))
            ---> CHANGE IN THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM?
- c. i. OS   ⇒ loss of V-movement
      ii. SDS   ⇒ resetting of the head-parameter (OV→VO)?
                (i.e. The parameter in (51c) ceased to be effective.)
- d. NM   ⇒ loss of the EPP feature on Neg
            ---> HOW?
- e. OVERT QR   ⇒ loss of the EPP feature on F or loss of the adjunction to VP
            ---> HOW?

[W'] CAUSES FOR THE RESETTING OF THE HEAD-PARAMETER (OV→VO)
    loss of LDS   --->increase in VO tokens in matrix clauses (with V2 effects)
        ⇒ FINALLY TERMINATES GRAMMAR COMPETITION?

> $[_{CP}$ Topic $[_{C'}$ C $[_{FP}$ PPrn-Subj $[_{F'}$ **Obj** $[_F$ **V-T-F** $[_{TP}$ t_T ... $[_{VP}$ t_{Obj} t_V]]]]]]]]
> ⇓
> $[_{CP}$ Topic $[_{C'}$ C $[_{FP}$ PPrn-Subj $[_{F'}$ **V-T-F** $[_{TP}$ t_T **Obj** ... $[_{VP}$ t_{Obj} t_V]]]]]]

5. CONCLUSION

APPENDIX 1: TEXTS IN THE PPCME2

MX1 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1150-1250)
(i)   Richard Morris (1868) *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises: Part I* (EETS OS 29 & 34), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(ii)   Richard Morris (1873) *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century: Second Series* (EETS OS 53), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

M1 (1150-1250)
(i)   Rubie D. N. Warner (1917) *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century Ms. Vespasian D XIV* (EETS OS 152), [publisher unknown], London.
(ii)   Cecily Clark (1970) *Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154* (2nd ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford.
(iii)   Robert Holt (1878) *The Ormulum, with the Notes and Glossary of Dr. R. M. White: Vols. I & II*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
(iv)   Richard Morris (1868) *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises: Part I* (EETS OS 29 & 34), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(v)   Ferdinand Holthausen (1888) *Vices and Virtues: Part 1* (EETS OS 89), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(vi)   S. R. T. O. D'Ardenne (1977) *The Katherine Group Edited from Ms. Bodley 34* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège Fasc. 215), Société d'EDition Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
(vii) Robert W. Ackerman & Roger Dahood (1984) *Ancrene Riwle: Introduction and Part I* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 31), Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton NY.

M2 (1250-1350)
(i)   Joseph Hall (1963) *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250: Part I* (2nd ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford.
(ii)   Richard Morris (1979) *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt* (EETS OS 278), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(iii)   Karl D. Bülbring (1891) *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter* (EETS OS 97), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

M23 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1350-1420)
(i)   John Ayto & Alexandra Barratt (1984) *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions* (EETS OS 287), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

M24 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1420-1500)
(i)   George G. Perry (1921) *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole* (EETS OS 20), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(ii)   Hope E. Allen (1931) *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

M3 (1350-1420)
(i)   Joseph Lumby (1876, 1882) *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis: Vols. VI & VIII, English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century* (Rolls Series 41), [publisher unknown], London.
(ii)   Josiah Forshall & Frederic Madden (1879) *The New Testament in English According to the Version of John Wycliffe about A.D. 1380 and Revised by John Purvey about A.D. 1388*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

(iii)   Josiah Forshall & Frederic Madden (1850) *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers: Vol. 1*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(iv)   C. Horstman (1895-1896) *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.
(v)   Larry D. Benson (1987) *The Riverside Chaucer* (3rd ed.), Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
(vi)   Derek J. Price (1955) *The Equatorie of the Planets*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
(vii)   F. W. D. Brie (1906) *The Brut or the Chronicles of England: Part I* (EETS OS 131), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(viii)   Anne Hudson (1983) *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
(ix)   Phyllis Hodgson (1944) *The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling* (EETS OS 218), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(x)   Paul Hamelius (1919- 1923) *Mandeville's Travels, Translated from the French of Jean D'Outremeuse* (EETS OS 153 & 154), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(xi)   Ernst A. Kock (1902) *The Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet, Three Middle English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet and Two Contemporary Rituals for the Ordination of Nuns* (EETS OS 120), Ernst A. Kock (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(xii)   Anne Charlotte Svinhufvud (1978) *A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses* (Stockholm Studies in English 47), Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.

M34 (comp. date 1350-1420; ms. date 1420-1500)
(i)   George G. Perry (1869) *The Mirror of St. Edmund, Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (EETS OS 26), George G. Perry (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(ii)   George G. Perry (1869) *Dan Jon Gaytridge's Sermon, Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (EETS OS 26), George G. Perry (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
(iii)   Fumio Kuriyagawa (1967) *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*, Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Tokyo.
(iv)   Winthrop N. Francis (1942) *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens D'Orléans* (EETS OS 217), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(v)   Frances Beer (1978) *Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love: The Shorter Version Edited from B. L. Add. Ms. 37790* (Middle English Texts 8), Winter, Heidelberg.
(vi)   Woodburn O. Ross (1940) *Middle English Sermons, Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. xxiii* (EETS OS 209), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(vii)   Theodore Erbe (1905) *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies, by Johannes Mirkus: Part I* (EETS ES 96), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

MX4 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1420-1500)
(i)   Margaret S. Ogden (1969) *'Liber de Diversis Medicinis' in Thornton Manuscript* (EETS OS 207) Oxford University Press, Oxford.

M4 (1420-1500)
(i)   John Ayto & Alexandra Barratt (1984) *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions* (EETS OS 287), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(ii)   Norman F. Blake (1972) *The Life of St. Edmund, Middle English Religious Prose* (York Medieval Texts), Norman F. Blake (ed.), Arnold, London.
(iii)   Sanford B. Meech & Hope E. Allen (1940) *The Book of Margery Kemp: Vol. 1* (EETS OS 212). Oxford University Press, Oxford.
(iv)   John J. Munro (1910) *John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and a Sermon* (EETS OS 140), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

(v)   Peter J. Lucas (1983) *John Capgrave's Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* (EETS OS 285), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

(vi)   Eugène Vinaver (1954) *The Works of Thomas Malory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

(vii)   Cameron Louis (1980) *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner Ms. 407* (Garland Medieval Texts 1), Garland, New York.

(viii) James Gairdner (1876) *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society NS XVII), Camden Society, Westminster.

(ix)   Norman F. Blake (1970) *Caxton's History of Reynard the Fox: Translated from the Dutch Original by William Caxton* (EETS OS 263), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

(x)   Francis J. H. Jenkinson (1907) *Sermo die Lune in Ebdomada Pasche, by Richard Fitz-James: Printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about the Year 1495*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

(xi)   J. G. Nichols (1875) *Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop, at St. Paul's Temp. Henry VII, and at Gloucesyer Temp. Mary* (Camden Society NS XIV), [publisher unknown], London.

(xii)   Auvo Kurvinen (1969) *The Siege of Jerusalem in Prose* (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 34), Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, Helsinki.

APPENDIX 2: QUERIES FOR *CORPUSSEARCH*

Node: IP-SUB*|IP-INF*|IP-PPL*|IP-SMC* ⇒ SUBORDINATE CLAUSES (---> NO V2 EFFECT)

Query: [a] *Object-Verb Order*
        (NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*)

        [b] *Position of the Object vis-à-vis the Negative Marker*
        (i)   ((V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*) AND
                (NP-OB* Precedes NEG))
                ⇒ V-OBJ-NEG ORDER (= V-MOVEMENT + OBJECT SHIFT)
        (ii)   ((V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes NEG) AND
                (NEG Precedes NP-OB*))
                ⇒ V-NEG-OBJ ORDER (= V-MOVEMENT)
        (iii)   ((NEG Precedes V*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO*) AND
                (V*|HV*|HA*|DA*|DO* Precedes NP-OB*))
                ⇒ NEG-V-OBJ ORDER (= VO BASE ORDER)
        (iv)   ((NP-OB* Precedes NEG) AND
                (NEG Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*))
                ⇒ OBJ-NEG-V ORDER (= SCRAMBLING)
        (v)   ((NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*) AND
                (V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO* Precedes NEG))
                ⇒ OBJ-V-NEG ORDER (= V-MOVEMENT + SCRAMBLING)
        (vi)   ((NEG Precedes NP-OB*) AND
                (NP-OB* Precedes V*|MD*|HV*|HA*|BE*|BAG|DA*|DO*))
                ⇒ NEG-OBJ-V ORDER (= OV BASE ORDER)

APPENDIX 3: A PIECE OF EVIDENCE FOR THE STRONG PRONOMINALS IN ME

TABLE 45: COORDINATION OF THE PPRN-OBJ

			COORDINATED PPRN-OBJ
12C	EAST MIDLAND DIALECT	cmorm.m1	1
13C	WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	cmkathe.m1	1
		cmancriw.m1	2
14C	SOUTHERN DIALECTS	cmayenbi.m2	1 (1)
		cmpolych.m3	2
	WEST MIDLAND DIALECT	cmbrut3.m3	1
	EAST MIDLAND DIALECT	cmwycser.m3	2
15C	SOUTHERN DIALECT	cmroyal.m34	1
	WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS	cmmirk.m34	18
		cmmalory.m4	1
	EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS	cmjulnor.m34	1
		cmaelr4.m4	1
		cmkempe.m4	1
		cmreynes.m4	1
TOTAL			34 (1)

(60)   COORDINATED PPRN-OBJ

a.   bothyn bowys &   arwys, wyth þe whech þei <u>myth</u> *defendyn* **bothyn þe   &**
both   bows and arrows with the which they may   defend   both   you and
<u>hem-self</u>
themselves   (CMKEMPE, 77.1729)

b.   and þeruore   eureich more loueþ wyþoute comparisoun god: [þet **hym and oþre**
and therefore every   more loves without   comparison god   that him and other
made]...
made   (CMAYENBI, 268.2670)

c.   as ʒe <u>wyll</u> *answer   and aquyte* **ʒourself and <u>vs</u>** aʒens our souerayn   lord þe Kyng...
as you will answer and acquit   yourself and us to   our sovereign lord the King
                                                                 (CMREYNES, 157.98)

d.   al þe lecun   þe god hefde ired   <u>hire</u> &   adam of þen appel
all the lesson that god had advised her   and Adam of the apple
                                                                 (CMANCRIW, II.54.521)

⇓

COORDINATED PRONOMINALS ARE STRONG ONES.
                                          (Cardinaletti (1999), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999))

REFERENCES

Andersen, Henning (1973) "Abductive and Deductive Change," *Language* 49, 765-793.

Battye, Adrian & Ian Roberts (1995) "Introduction," *Clause Structure and Language Change*, ed. by Adrian Battye & Ian Roberts, 3-28, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Beghelli, Filippo & Tim Stowell (1997) ìDistributivity and Negation: The Syntax of *Each* and *Every*,î *Ways of Scope Taking*, ed. by Anna Szabolcsi, 71-107, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Cardinaletti, Anna (1999) "Pronouns in Germanic and Romance Languages: An Overview," *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, ed. by Henk van Riemsdijk, 33-82, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Cardinaletti, Anna & Michal Starke (1999) "Typology of Structural Deficiency: A Case Study of the Three Classes of Pronouns," *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, ed. by Henk van Riemsdijk, 145-233, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Chomsky, Noam (1993) "A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory," *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger,* ed. by Kenneth Hale & Samuel Jay Keyser, 1-52, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Chomsky, Noam (1995a) ìIntroduction,î *The Minimalist Program*, 1-11, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Chomsky, Noam (1995b) ìCategories and Transformations in a Minimalist Framework,î *The Minimalist Program*, 219-394, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Chomsky, Noam (2000) "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework," *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels & Juan Uriagereka, 89-155, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Chomsky, Noam (2001a) "Derivation by Phase," *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Chomsky, Noam (2001b) ìBeyond Explanatory Adequacy,î *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 20, MIT, Cambridge Mass.

Delsing, Lars-Olof (2000) "From OV to VO in Swedish," *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, ed. by Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas & Anthony Warner, 255-274 , Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Deprez, Viviane (1994) "Parameters of Object Movement," *Studies on Scrambling: Movement and Non-Movement Approaches to Free Word-Order Phenomena*, ed. by Nobert Cover & Henk van Riemsdijk, 101-152, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Diesing, Molly (1992) *Indefinites*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Diesing, Molly (1996) "Semantic Variables and Object Shift," *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax II*, ed. by Höskuldur Thráinsson, Samuel David Epstein & Steve Peter, 66-84, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Diesing, Molly (1997) "Yiddish VP Order and the Typology of Object Movement in Germanic," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15, 369-427.

Diesing, Molly & Eloise Jelinek (1995) "Distributing Arguments," *Natural Language Semantics* 3, 123-176.

Dryer, Matthew S. (1992) "The Greenbergian Word Order Correlations," *Language* 68, 81-138.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Wim van der Wurff (2000) *The Syntax of Early English*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Foster, Tony & Wim van der Wurff (1995) "The Survival of Object-Verb Order in Middle English: Some Data," *Neophilologus* 79, 309-327.

Foster, Tony & Wim van der Wurff (1997) "From Syntax to Discourse: The Function of Object-Verb Order in Late Middle English," *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, 135-156, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Fries, Charles C. (1940) "On the Development of the Structural Use of Word-Order in Modern English," *Language 16*, 199-208.

Fuss, Eric & Carola Trips (2002) "Variation and Change in Old and Middle English: On the Validity of Double Base Hypothesis," *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 4, 171-224.

Haeberli, Eric (1999) *Features, Categories and the Syntax of A-positions: Synchronic and Diachronic Variation in the Germanic Languages*, Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Genève.

Haeberli, Eric (2000) "Adjuncts and the Syntax of Subjects in Old and Middle English," *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, ed. by Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas & Anthony Warner, 109-131, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Haeberli, Eric (2002) "Inflectional Morphology and the Loss of Verb-Second in English," *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot, 88-106, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Haegeman, Liliane (1995) *The Syntax of Negation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Holmberg, Anders (1999) "Remarks on Holmberg's Generalization," *Studia Linguistica* 53, 1-39.

Hulk, Aafke & Ans van Kemenade (1997) "Negation as a Reflex of Clause Structure," *Negation and Polarity: Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by Danielle Forget, Paul Hirschbühler, France Martineau & María-Luisa Rivero, 183-207, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Ingham, Richard (2000) "Negation and OV Order in Late Middle English," *Journal of Linguistics* 36, 13-38.

Ingham, Richard (2002) "Negated Subjects and Objects in 15th-Century Nonliterary English," *Language Change and Variation* 14, 291-322.

Kemenade, Ans van (1987) *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English*, Foris, Dordrecht.

Kiparsky, Paul (1996) "The Shift to Head-Initial VP in Germanic," *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax II*, ed. by Höskuldur Thráinsson, Samuel David Epstein & Steve Peter, 140-179, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Kayne, Richard S. (1994) *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Koma, Osamu (2001) "OV Order in LME: Embraciated Negative Object Constructions in the *Paston Letters*," Talk given at the Workshop at the 19th National Conference of English Linguistic Society of Japan held at University of Tokyo, Komaba.

Koma, Osamu (2003) "Embraced Negative Object Constructions in the *Paston Letters*," Ms., Tokyo Gakugei University.

Koopman, Willem F. (1997) "Another Look at Clitics in Old English," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 95, 73-93.

Kroch, Anthony S. (1989) "Reflexes of Grammar in Patterns of Language Change," *Language Variation and Change* 1, 199-244.

Kroch, Anthony S. (1994) "Morphosyntactic Variation," *Papers from the 30th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 180-201, Chicago Linguistic Society, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Kroch, Anthony S. (2001) "Syntactic Change," *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. by Mark Baltin & Chris Collins, 699-729, Blackwell, Oxford.

Kroch, Anthony & Ann Taylor (1997) "Verb Movement in Old and Middle English: Dialect Variation and Language Contact," *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade & Nigel Vincent, 297-325, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kroch, Anthony & Ann Taylor (1999) *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition, University of Pennsylvania.

Kroch, Anthony & Ann Taylor (2000) "Verb-Object Order in Early Middle English," *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, ed. by Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas & Anthony Warner, 132-163, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Lightfoot, David W. (1979) *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lightfoot, David W. (1991) *How to Set Parameters: Arguments from Language Change*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass.

Lightfoot, David W. (1998) "The Development of Grammars," *Glot International* 3.1, 3-8.

Lightfoot, David W. (1999) *The Development of Language: Acquisition, Change and Evolution*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Miyashita, Harumasa (2000) ìA Note on the Object DP Movement in Late Middle English and Early Modern English," *Linguistic Research* 17, 175-184, The University of Tokyo Linguistics Association.

Miyashita, Harumasa (2001) "Some Observations on Object-Verb Order in 15th Century English," *Linguistic Research* 18, 195-206, The University of Tokyo Linguistics Association.

Miyashita, Harumasa (2002) "The Qualitative Decline of Object-Verb Order in Late Middle English and Early Modern English," Paper presented at the 19th National Conference of the Modern English Association held at Hokkaido University on May 24, 2002.

Miyashita, Harumasa (2003a) "The Qualitative Decline of Object-Verb Order in Late Middle English: A Minimalist Approach," *Linguistic Research* 19, 117-140, The University of Tokyo Linguistics Association.

Miyashita, Harumasa (2003b) "Object Shift in Particle Constructions," *Linguistic Research* 19, 141-155, The University of Tokyo Linguistics Association.

Moerenhout, Mike & Wim van der Wurff (2000) "Remnants of the Old Order: OV in the *Paston Letters*," English Studies 6, 513-530.

中尾俊夫（1972）『英語史「：英語学体系第９巻』，大修館書店，東京.

中尾俊夫・児馬修（1990）『歴史的にさぐる現代の英文法』，大修館書店，東京.

中尾俊夫・寺島廸子（1988）『図説英語史入門』，大修館書店，東京.

Nunes, Jairo (2002) "VO or OV? That's the Underlying Question: Commentary on Pintzuk," *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot, 300-306, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Osawa, Fuyo (2000) "The Historical Emergence of DP in English," *English Linguistics* 17, 51-79.

Osawa, Fuyo (2003) "Syntactic Parallels between Ontogeny and Phylogeny," *Lingua* 113, 3-47.

Philippi, Julia (1997) "The Rise of the Article in the Germanic Languages," *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade & Nigel Vincent, 62-93, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Pintzuk, Susan (1999) *Phrase Structures in Competition: Variation and Change in Old English Clause Structure*, Garland, New York.

Pintzuk, Susan (2002) "Verb-Object Order in Old English: Variation as Grammatical Competition," *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot, 276-299, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Pintzuk, Susan, Eric Haeberli, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Frank Beths (2000) *The Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English*, 1st edition, University of York.

Pintzuk, Susan, George Tsoulas & Anthony Warner (2000) "Syntactic Change: Theory and Method," *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, ed. by Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas & Anthony Warner, 1-22, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Randall, Beth (2000) *CorpusSearch: A Java Program for Searching Syntactically Annotated Corpora*, University of Pennsylvania.

Roberts, Ian G. (1995) "Object Movement and Verb Movement in Early Modern English," *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, ed. by Hubert Haider, Susan Olsen & Sten Vikner, 269-284, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Roberts, Ian G. (1997) "Directionality and Word Order Change in the History of English," *Parameters and Morphosyntactic Change*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade & Nigel Vincent, 397-426, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Roberts, Ian G. (2001) "Language Change and Learnability," *Language Acquisition and Learnability*, ed. by Stefano Bertolo, 81-125, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Santorini, Beatrice (1992) "Variation and Change in Yiddish Subordinate Clause Word Order," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10, 595-640.

Sundquist, John D. (2002) "Object Shift and Holmberg's Generalization in the History of Norwegian," *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot, 326-347, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Suñer, Margarita (2000) "Object-Shift: Comparing a Romance Language to Germanic," *Probus* 12, 261-289.

Svenonius, Peter (2000) "Quantifier Movement in Icelandic," *The Derivation of VO and OV*, ed. by Peter Svenonius, 255-292, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Svenonius, Peter (2001) "On Object Shift, Scrambling and the PIC," *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 39: A Few from Building E39*, ed. by Elena Guerzoni & Ora Matushansky, 267-289, MIT, Cambridge Mass.

Szabolcsi, Anna (1997) ìStrategies for Scope Taking,î *Ways of Scope Taking*, ed. by Anna Szabolcsi, 109-154, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Takano, Yuji (1998) "Object Shift and Scrambling," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16, 817-889.

Tanaka, Tomoyuki (2000) "On the Development of Transitive Expletive Constructions in the History of English," *Lingua* 110, 473-495.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur (2001) "Object Shift and Scrambling," *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. by Mark Baltin & Chris Collins, 148-202, Blackwell, Oxford.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur (2003) "Syntactic Variation, Historical Development and Minimalism," *Minimalist Syntax*, ed. by Randall Hendrick, 152-191, Blackwell, Oxford.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs (1972) *A History of English Syntax: A Transformational Approach to the History of English Sentence Structure*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

宇賀治正朋（2000）『英語史：現代の英語学シリーズ第８巻』, 開拓社, 東京.

Watanabe, Akira (2001) "Decomposing the Neg-Criterion," *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 1999: Selected Papers from 'Going Romance' 1999*, ed. by Yves D'Hulst, Johan Rooryck & Jan Schroten, 386-406, John Benjamins, Amsterdam..

Watanabe, Akira (2002a) "Feature Checking and Neg-Factorization in Negative Concord," *Proceedings of the Sophia Symposium on Negation*, ed. by Yasuhiko Kato, 51-77, Sophia University, Tokyo.

Watanabe, Akira (2002b) "The Genesis of Negative Concord," Ms., University of Tokyo.

Williams, Joseph M. (1975) *Origins of the English Language: A Social and Linguistic History*, Free Press, New York.

Wurff, Wim van der (1997) "Deriving Object-Verb Order in Late Middle English," *Journal of Linguistics* 33, 485-509.

Wurff, Wim van der (1999) "Objects and Verbs in Modern Icelandic and Fifteenth-Century English: A Word Order Parallel and Its Causes," *Lingua* 109, 237-265.

Wurff, Wim van der & Tony Foster (1997) "Object-Verb Order in 16th Century English: A Study of Its Frequency and Status," *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday*, Vol. I, ed. by Raymond Hickey & Stanislaw Puppel, 439-453, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Wyngaerd, Guido van den (1989) "Object Shift as an A-movement Rule," *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 11: Papers from the Student Conference in Linguistics 1989*, ed. by Phil Branigan, Jill Gaulding, Miori Kubo & Kumiko Murasugi, 256-271, MIT, Cambridge Mass.

Vikner, Sten (1994) "Scandinavian Object Shift and West Germanic Scrambling," *Studies on Scrambling: Movement and Non-Movement Approaches to Free Word-Order Phenomena*, ed. by Nobert Cover & Henk van Riemsdijk, 487-517, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Vikner, Sten (2001) "The Interpretation of Object Shift and Optimality Theory," *Competition in Syntax*, ed. by Gereon Müller & Wolfgang Sternefeld, 321-340, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Yang, Charles D. (2000a) *Knowledge and Learning in Natural Language*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

Yang, Charles D. (2000b) "Internal and External Forces in Language Change," *Language Variation and Change* 12, 231-250.

Yang, Charles D. (2002) "Grammar Competition and Language Change," *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot, 367-380, Oxford University Press, Oxford.