**Three Parametric Factors Enabling Pronominal Object Shift:
Evidence from Late Modern English**

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1. INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS OBJECT SHIFT?

 Object Shift (OS) is an operation that displaces an object out of VP. ☞ HOLMBERG'S GENERALIZATION ---> (1)

(1) 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
---> (2)

(2) OS CONFIGULATION: … $\underline{V}$ … **Obj** … $\boxed{Neg/Adv}$ … [$_{VP}$ t_V $\emptyset_{P/Prt/IO}$ t_{Obj}] ---> (3)
OS

(3) *Shakespearean English*: I <u>know</u> **him** $\boxed{not}$. (*King Henry V*, III.vi.19 / Miyashita (2007b: 46))

(4) TYPOLOGY OF OS
a. The Icelandic (Ic) type of OS moves a definite weak personal pronoun (WPPrn) obligatorily and a definite full nominal (FN) or a definite strong personal pronoun (SPPrn) optionally out of VP.
b. The Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) type allows only the obligatory OS of a definite WPPrn.
---> (5)

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

		Ic type	*MSc type*	
DEFINITE	FN	optional	∗	---> (6)
	SPPRN	optional	∗	---> (7)
	WPPRN	obligatory	obligatory	---> (6)
INDEFINITE	FN	∗	∗	---> (8)
	PPRN	∗	∗	---> (9)

(6) DEFINITE FN OS VS. DEFINITE WPPRN OS
a. *Icelandic*:   i.   Nemandinn   <u>las</u>   **bókina/hana** $\boxed{ekki}$.
            ii.   Nemandinn   <u>las</u> $\boxed{ekki}$ **bókina/*hana**.
b. *Danish*:   i.   Studenten   <u>læste</u>   *****bogen/den** $\boxed{ikke}$.
          ii.   Studenten   <u>læste</u> $\boxed{ikke}$ **bogen/*den**.
c. *Norwegian*:   i.   Studenten   <u>leste</u>   *****boken/den** $\boxed{ikke}$.
          ii.   Studenten   <u>leste</u> $\boxed{ikke}$ **boken/*den**.
d. *Swedish*:   i.   Studenten   <u>läste</u>   *****boken/den** $\boxed{inte}$.
          ii.   Studenten   <u>läste</u> $\boxed{inte}$ **boken/$^{\%}$den**.
e. *Faroese*:   i.   Næmingurin   <u>las</u>   *****bókina/hana** $\boxed{ikki}$.
          ii.   Næmingurin   <u>las</u> $\boxed{ikki}$ **bókina/*hana**.
          the-student   read   the-book/it   not   the-book/it
          'The student didn't read the book/it.'   (Thráinsson (2001: 148, 150))

(7) DEFINITE SPPRN OS

    a. *Icelandic*: Hún <u>sá</u> **MIG** / **[mig og þig]** / **[þennan á hjólinu]** ekki .

    c. *Norwegian*: *Hun <u>så</u> **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))

(8) INDEFINITE FN OS

    a. *Icelandic*:   i. *Hann <u>las</u> **bækur** ekki .

                ii. Hann <u>las</u> ekki **bækur** .

                he read books not books

                'He didn't read books.'   (Diesing (1996: 67))

(9) INDEFINITE PPRN OS

    a. *Icelandic*:   i. *Ég á ekki regnhlíf, [áttu **eina** ekki]?

                ii. Ég á ekki regnhlíf, [áttu ekki **eina**]?

                I have not umbrella have-you one not one

    b. *Danish*:   i. *Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, [har du **en** ikke]?

                ii. Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, [har du ikke **en**]?

                I have not any umbrella have you one not one

                'I don't have any umbrella, don't you have one?'   (Vikner (2006: 424))

(10) MECHANISMS INDUCING OS: a. typology of PPrns   ---> (11)

                              b. decomposition of OS   ---> (12)

                              c. principles governing OS   ---> (13)

(11) TYPOLOGY OF PPRNS: a. CPPrn: $D^{Min/Max} <\phi>$

                        b. WPPrn: $D^{Min/Max} <\phi/u\text{Case}>$ ☞ PPRN UNDERGOING THE MSC TYPE OF OS

                        c. SPPrn: $DP = D^{Min} <\phi/u\text{Case}>$ + phonologically null $N^{Min} <Foc>$

    (cf. Postal (1966: 62ff); Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 165ff, 179, 202), Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002: 428ff); Chomsky (1995c: 249), Raposo (1998: 78); Roberts (2010: 56f))

(12) OS = Case Shift (CS) + Dislocation Rule (Disl)   (cf. Svenonius (2001: 272); pace Hiraiwa (2001: 296ff))
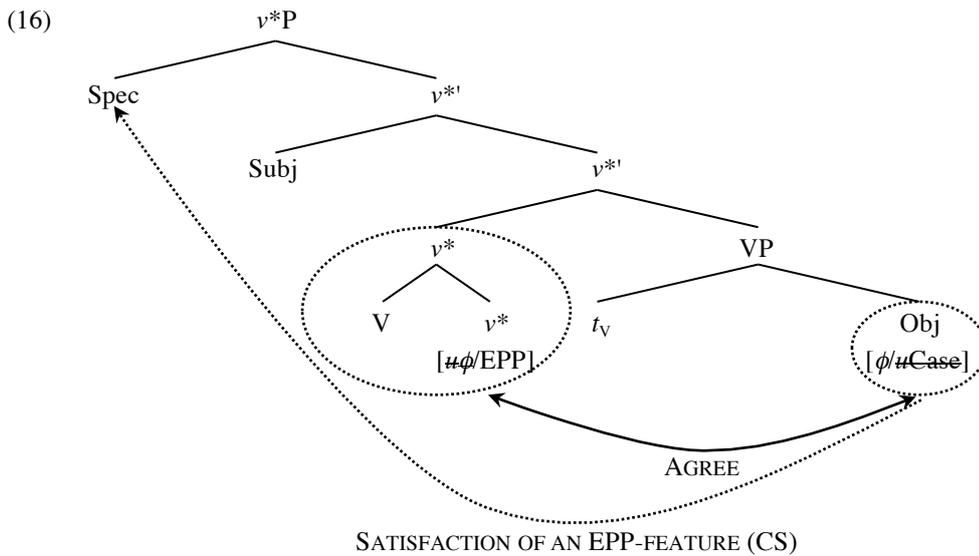
(13) PRINCIPLES (& A PARAMETER) PROPOSED BY CHOMSKY (2001)

    a. v* is assigned an EPP feature only if that has an effect on outcome.

    b. The EPP position [i.e. phonological edge / outer Spec v*P] of v* is assigned Int. ----> (14)

    c. At the phonological border of v*P, XP is assigned Int'.   (Chomsky (2001: 35))

(14) $[_{TP} \dots [_{T} [_{v*} V\text{-}v*]\text{-}T] \dots [_{v*P}$ **Obj** $[_{v*'}$ Subj $[_{v*'} t_{v*} [_{VP} t_V$ **Obj** $]]]]]$

                PHONOLOGICAL EDGE   PHONOLOGICAL BORDER

                     Int   Int'   (cf. (Chomsky (2001: 34)))

(15) PROBE-GOAL SYSTEM

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

        (Chomsky (2004: 13); cf. Chomsky (2000: 101, 122ff, 2001: 2ff, 2005: 13f, 16, 18f, 2007: 9, 2008: 141))

(16)

SATISFACTION OF AN EPP-FEATURE (CS)

(17) CLAIM: The MSc type of OS is rendered possible by the following three parametric factors: ---> (30) in §3.2

   a. presence/absence of WPPrns,
   b. presence/absence of main verb movement out of *v**P, and
   c. presence/absence of a definite article within DP.

   ☞ SUPPORTED BY THE OS FACTS IN LATE MODERN ENGLISH

(18) ORGANIZATION: §2 ☞ overview of the OS facts in the history of English (up to EModE)
                     §3 ☞ explanation of the difference between the Ic type and the MSc type of OS
                     §4 ☞ basic facts of OS in LModE
                     §5 ☞ demise of OS induced by decline of V-movement
                     §6 ☞ refinement of the three parametric factors
                     §7 ☞ conclusion

(19) THREE PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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

2. DEVELOPMENT OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH (UP TO EMODE): AN OVERVIEW

(20) a. "[I]t is well-established that the order of… V-OBJ-*not* occurs in [L]ate Middle English… only with pronominal objects."   (Wurff (1997: 488f))
   b. "Early Modern English… of the 16th century had object shift of a type very similar to that found in MSc…"   (Roberts (1995: 269))

3

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

		OE	EME	LME		EModE	
				14C	15C	16C	17C
DEFINITE	FN						
	SPPRN						
	WPPRN			EMERGENCE (39.80%) →→→→→→→→→→→→→→→			DEMISE (6.67%)
INDEFINITE	FN						
	PPRN						

(Miyashita (2007a: 15))

(21') ELECTRIC 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))

(22) OS CONFIGURATION WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT
    a. *LME: Posterior Half of the 14th Century*
        … that they ne   <u>requeren ne preyen</u>   **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. *LME: 15th Century*
        … þat he <u>forȝeue</u> **hym** not,
             that he forgive   him   not
        '… that he does not forgive himself,'   (CMVICES4, 112.299 / ibid.)
    c. *EModE: Anterior Half of the 16th Century*
        … bycause he <u>sawe</u> **hym** not...   (MERRYTAL-E1-H, 148.442 / PPCEME / Miyashita (2008: 82))
    d. *EModE: Posterior Half of the 16th Century & the 17th Century*
        If you <u>grant</u> **me** not **this** Favour,   (RALEIGH-E2-H, I, 215.C1.533 / ibid.)

3. DERIVING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE IC TYPE AND THE MSC TYPE OF OS
3.1. Previous Studies

(23) a. Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 208ff):   Transitive Expletive Construction (TEC) ---> (24a)
      b. Bošković (2004: 48ff) & Hiraiwa (2001: 298f):   Stylistic Fronting (SF)   ---> (24b)
      ☞ IC TYPE OF OS (FN/SPPRN OS/CS) POSSIBLE ⇒ COUNTEREXAMPLES IN LME ---> (25)

(24) a. *TEC (Icelandic)*
        Það <u>hafa</u> margir jólasveinar   <u>borðað</u> búðing.
        EXPL have   many   Christmas trolls eaten   pudding
        'Many Christmas trolls have eaten puddings.'   (Bobaljik & Jonas (1996: 209))
    b. *SF (Icelandic)*
        þeir   sem   <u>þessa erfiðu   ákvörðun</u> <u>verða</u> að   <u>taka</u> $t_{\text{þessa erfiðu ákvörðun}}$
        those that   this   difficult decision   have   to   take
        'those that have to take this difficult decision'   (Holmberg (2000: 449))

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(25) a. *TEC (LME: 15th Century)*

    the   <u>schall</u> no man <u>bete ne bynde</u> a messyng

    EXPL shall no man beat nor bind a messenger

    'No one will beat or bind a messenger.'   (Dc. Prov. p.49 / MED / Tanaka (2000: 479))

  b. *SF (LME: 15th Century)*

    … al them that <u>this litel werke</u> <u>shal see, here or rede</u> $t_{\text{this litel werke}}$ …

    all them that this little work   shall see hear or read

    '… all those that will see, hear or read this little work…'   (Caxton 46a.29 / Wurff (1999: 242))

  ☞ IC TYPE OF OS (FN/SPPRN OS/CS) IMPOSSIBLE IN LME!

3.2. Miyashita (2008)

(26) Watanabe (2003: 31): absence of the double definiteness phenomenon ---> (27)

  ☞ IC TYPE OF OS (FN/SPPRN OS/CS) POSSIBLE

(27)

SCANDINAVIAN D-SYSTEM	DEFINITE NOMINAL	ADJECTIVE + DEFINITE NOMINAL		
Icelandic	hús-**ið**		nýja	hús-**ið**
Danish	hus-**et**	**det**	nye	hus
Norwegian	hus-**et**	**det**	nye	hus-**et**
Swedish	hus-**et**	**det**	nya	hus-**et**
Faroese	hús-**ið**	**tað**	nýa	hús-**ið**
GLOSS	house-**DEF**	**DEF**	new	house-**DEF**

          (Julien (2002: 264))

(28) *15th Century English (LME)*: [$_{DP/NP}$ *þe/the* N] ☞ DEFINITE NOMINAL

        (cf. Osawa (2000: 57, 75ff), Philippi (1997: 63, 89f))

(29) DESCRIPTIVE GENERALIZATION ON OS

    Presence of an overt definite determiner within a DP (i.e. a nominal projection) prevents the object at the phonological border from being assigned Int'.   (Miyashita (2007a: 24, 2008: 91); cf. (13))

  ☞ THREE PARAMETRIC FACTORS EABLING OS ---> (30)-(32)

(30)

PARAMETRIC FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (LME/EMODE)	PRESENT	ABSENT	
a. WPPRN	✓		
b. V-MOVEMENT OUT OF *V**P	✓		
c. DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	✓		

⇒ MSC TYPE OF OS POSSIBLE

(31)

PARAMETRIC FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (OE/EME)	PRESENT	ABSENT	
a. WPPRN		✓	☞ CLITICIZATION
b. V-MOVEMENT OUT OF *V**P	✓		
c. DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	(✓)	✓	☞ IC TYPE OF OS

⇒ MSC TYPE OF OS IMPOSSIBLE (CLITICIZATION POSSIBLE)

(32)

PARAMETRIC FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (LMODE)	PRESENT	ABSENT	
a. WPPRN	✓		
b. V-MOVEMENT OUT OF *V**P		✓	☞ HG UNSATISFIED
c. DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN A DEFINITE DP	✓		

⇒ ANY TYPE OF OS IMPOSSIBLE

(33) EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH [II]

OE/EME (– latter 14C)	NON-OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*absent*	Ø
		V-movement	*present*	
		definite article	*(absent)*	

EMERGENCE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇩

LME/EModE (latter 14C – latter17C)	WPPRN OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*present*	PRONOMINAL OS
		V-movement	*present*	
		definite article	*present*	

DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇩

LModE/PDE (latter17C –)	NON-OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*present*	Ø
		V-movement	*absent*	
		definite article	*present*	

(Miyashita (2008: 99))

(34) LOSS OF V-MOVEMENT

  a. *V-to-T movement*:   i.   Roberts (1985: 47):   mid-16th century
                    ii.   Han (2000: 291f):   early 17th century
                    iii.   Warner (1997: 381):   18th century
  b. *V2*:   i.   Haeberli (2002: 256, 261): drop of the frequency in the late 14th century
                    ii.   Bækken (1998: 59):   late 17th century

(35) V-TO-T MOVEMENT: DISTRIBUTION OF V_{FIN} VIS-À-VIS NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE (PPCEME)

	V_{FIN} NEG	NEG V_{FIN}	DO_{FIN} NEG V
E1 (1500-1569)	76.03%	0.44%	23.53%
E2 (1570-1639)	64.76%	0.44%	34.84%
E3 (1640-1710)	33.76%	0.22%	66.02%

(Miyashita (2008: 98))

4. BASIC FACTS OF OS IN LMODE

(36) ELECTRIC CORPUS

  LModE: *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English* [PPCMBE]   (Kroch et al. (2010))

(37) DISTRIBUTION OF PPRN OBJ VIS-À-VIS V AND NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE (PPCMBE)

	V OBJ_{PPRN} NEG	V NEG OBJ_{PPRN}	NEG V OBJ_{PPRN}	OBJ_{PPRN} V NEG	OBJ_{PPRN} NEG V	NEG OBJ_{PPRN} V
1700-1769	5 (4.7%)	1 [1] (0.9%)	100 (94.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
1770-1839	3 (3.4%)	1 (1.1%)	84 (95.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
1840-1914	3 (3.8%)	2 [1] (2.5%)	74 (93.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	11 (4.0%)	4 [2] (1.5%)	258 (94.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

(Bracketed numbers indicate the occurrences of reflexive pronouns (i.e. SPPrn).)

(38) OS CONFIGURATION WITH A DEFINITE WPPRN OBJECT

  a. *1700-1769*

  but all my Hopes are, that he <u>sees</u> **me** not.   (STEVENS-1745, 20.65 / PPCMBE)

  b. *1770-1839*

  or if one <u>has</u> **it** not, go to another,   (CARLYLE-1835, 2, 260.93 / ibid.)

  c. *1840-1914*

  and if I should say, I <u>know</u> **him** not, I shall be like unto you, a liar: (ERV-NEW-1881, 8, 40J.758 / ibid.)

(39) V-Neg-Obj_PPRN Order

    a. *1700-1769*

      when thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou <u>hide</u> not **thyself** from thine own flesh?

                        (BURTON-1762, 2, 8.144 / PPCMBE)

    b. *1770-1839*

      but if I do them, though ye <u>believe</u> not **Me**, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him;   (NEWCOME-NEW-1796, 10, 20J.943 / ibid.)

    c. *1840-1914*

      The soul, which <u>knows</u> not **itself**, and has not, by the grace of God, purified itself, will not see clearly the image of God, which it has deformed in itself.   (PUSEY-186X, 295.221 / ibid.)

(33') EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH [II] RECONSIDERED

OE/EME (– latter 14C)	NON-OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*absent*	Ø
		V-movement	*present*	
		definite article	*(absent)*	

EMERGENCE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇩

LME/EModE (latter 14C – latter 17C)	WPPRN OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*present*	PRONOMINAL OS
		V-movement	*present*	
		definite article	*present*	

DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇩

LModE (latter 17C – 20C)	WPPRN OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*present*	PRONOMINAL OS
		V-movement	*sporadic*	
		definite article	*present*	

DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇩

PDE (20C –)	NON-OS GRAMMAR	*WPPrn*	*present*	Ø
		V-movement	*absent*	
		definite article	*present*	

5. CORRELATION BETWEEN THE DECLINE OF V-MOVEMENT AND THE DEMISE OF OS

(40) V-TO-T MOVEMENT: DISTRIBUTION OF V_{FIN} VIS-À-VIS NEG IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE (PPCMBE)

	V_{FIN} NEG	NEG V_{FIN}	Do_{FIN} NEG V
1700-1769	45 (14.6%)	0 (0%)	264 (85.4%)
1770-1839	48 (21.6%)	0 (0%)	174 (78.4%)
1840-1914	37 (20.8%)	1 (0.6%)	140 (78.6%)
TOTAL	130 (18.3%)	1 (0.2%)	578 (81.5%)

☞ DECLINE OF V-MOVEMENT INDUCING DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS

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

    rich "tense" morphology (rather than rich "agreement" morphology) ---> (43)

    ☞ LEXICAL REQUIREMENT FOR THE FORMATION OF A V+T COMPOUND IN THE NUMERATION
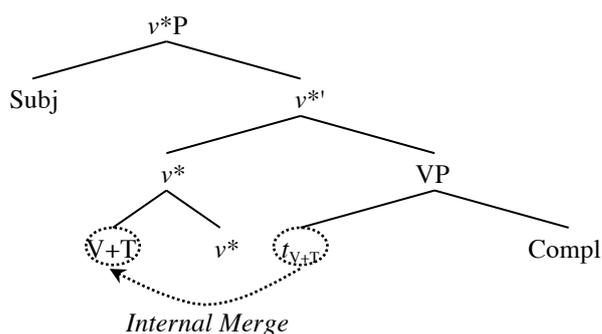
    ☞ TRIGGER FOR "REPROJECTIVE" V-TO-T MOVEMENT ---> (42)
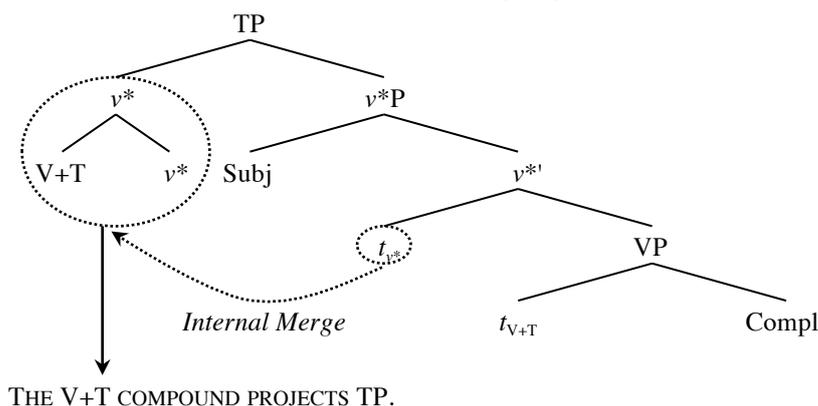
(42) *"Reprojective" V-to-T Movement*

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

External Merge   VP

V+T   Compl   ⇒   V+T   Compl

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**

Internal Merge

c. INTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND (+ *v**) AND ITS COMPLEMENT (FORMATION OF TP)

Internal Merge

THE V+T COMPOUND PROJECTS TP.

(43) TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: ROMANCE VS. GERMANIC

ROMANCE	FRENCH	*parle* (present indicative/subjunctive) / *parlerai* (future) / *parlerais* (conditional) / *parlais* (imperfect) / *parlai* (preterit) / *parlasse* (past subjunctive)
	ITALIAN	*parlo* (present) / *parlerò* (future) / *parlerei* (conditional) / *parlavo* (imperfect) / *parlai* (preterit) / *parli* (present subjunctive) / *parlassi* (past subjunctive)
	SPANISH	*hablo* (present) / *hablaré* (future) / *hablaría* (conditional) / *hablaba* (imperfect) / *hablé* (preterit) / *hable* (present subjunctive) / *hablase* (past subjunctive I) / *hablara* (past subjunctive II)
GERMANIC	GERMAN	*spreche* (present indicative/subjunctive) / *sprach* (past) / *spräche* (past subjunctive)
	ENGLISH	*speak* (present) / *spoke* (past)
	SWEDISH	*snakker* (present) / *snakket* (past)

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

6. THE PARAMETRIC FACTORS REFINED

(44) 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))

☞ LEXICON / LEXICAL ITEMS

(45) PARAMETER FOR WPPRNS: presence/absence of uCase
☞ $D^{Min/Max} <\phi>$ (= CPPrn) + $<u\text{Case}>$ = $D^{Min/Max} <\phi/u\text{Case}>$ (= WPPrn)

(46) PARAMETER FOR V-TO-T MOVEMENT: possibility/impossibility of forming V+T compounds
a. rich tense morphology = formation of V+T compounds possible (hence, required)
b. poor tense morphology = formation of V+T compounds impossible
(cf. relatively impoverished tense morphology in LME (Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 280)) & (43))

(47) PARAMETER FOR A DEFINITE ARTICLE WITHIN DEFINITE DPS: difference in realization of definiteness/specificity?
a. morphological case on NPs and adjectives (and demonstratives and genitive pronouns)
b. definite article (= D)
(cf. Philippi (1997: 74ff); Traugott (1992: 171), Fischer (1992: 217); Wood (2007: 107f), Watanabe (2009: 366f))

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

(48) 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))

(49) S<small>TRONG</small> M<small>INIMALIST</small> T<small>HESIS</small>: Interfaces + Merge = Language   (Chomsky (2010: 52))

(50) I<small>NERTIAL</small> T<small>HEORY</small>
  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 emergence and the demise of pronominal OS in the history of English exemplify (50c).*

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