Pronominal Object Shift in the History of English:
A Case Study of Intra-syntactically Driven Language Change

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1. INTRODUCTION

(1) AIM: To present the research achievements of Miyashita (2013).

> ORGANIZATION OF MIYASHITA (2013)
>
> Chapter 1: Introduction
>
> Chapter 2: Cliticization in the History of English, Part 1
>
> Chapter 3: Cliticization in the History of English, Part 2
>
> Chapter 4: Pronominal Object Shift in the History of English
>
> Chapter 5: Discussion of Some Issues in the Historical Development of Deficient Personal Pronouns in English
>
> Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

ROADMAP: §2: Inertial Theory and Intra-syntactically Driven Language Change ⇐ Chapter 1

§3: emergence and demise of pronominal Object Shift in the history of English ⇐ Chapter 4 ---> (2')

§4: supplementary data from early American and Australian English

§5: conclusion

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

☞ OBJECT SHIFT (OS)

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

(3) THREE MAIN PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

700–900	Old English (OE)	Early Old English (EOE)
900–1100		Late Old English (LOE)
1100–1350	Middle English (ME)	Early Middle English (EME)
1350–1500		Late Middle English (LME)
1500–1700	Modern English (ModE)	Early Modern English (EModE)
1700–1900		Late Modern English (LModE)
1900–PRESENT		Present-day English (PDE)

(Sweet (1891: 211))

(4) SYNTACTICALLY ANNOTATED ELECTRONIC CORPORA
   a. OE: *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* [YCOE]   (Taylor et al. (2003))
   b. ME: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition [PPCME2]   (Kroch & Taylor (2000))
   c. EModE: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* [PPCEME]   (Kroch et al. (2004))
   d. LModE: *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English* [PPCMBE]   (Kroch et al. (2010))

2. INERTIAL THEORY AND INTRA-SYNTACTICALLY DRIVEN LANGUAGE CHANGE

(5) PRINCIPLES AND PARAMETERS APPROACH AND LANGUAGE CHANGE
The Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach that took shape 30 years ago [...] opened the way to research of unprecedented scope and depth over a very wide typological range, revitalized psycholinguistic inquiry with highly productive exploration of acquisition and use of parametric values, and opened the way to new approaches to historical change.   (Chomsky (2013: 38); e.g. Lightfoot (1979: 16ff))

(5′) PRINCIPLED EXPLANATION OF LANGUAGE UNDER THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM
We can regard an account of some linguistic phenomena as *principled* insofar as it derives them by efficient computation satisfying interface conditions.

(Chomsky (2010: 51); cf. Chomsky (2004: 106, 2005: 10, 2007: 5, 2008: 134))

(5″) STRONG MINIMALIST THESIS: Interfaces + Merge = Language   (Chomsky (2010: 52))

(6) INERTIAL THEORY
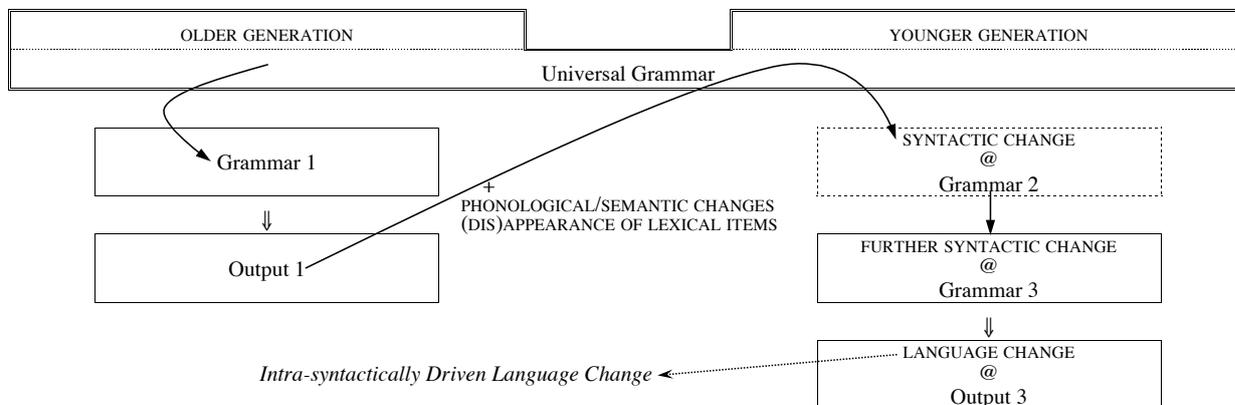 a. [S]yntax, by itself, is diachronically completely inert.   (Longobardi (2001: 277f))
  b. [L]inguistic change proper may only originate as an interface phenomenon […].   (op.cit.: 278)
  c. [S]yntactic change should not arise, unless it can be shown to be *caused* — that is, a well-motivated consequence of other types of change (phonological changes and semantic changes, including the appearance/disappearance of whole lexical items) or, recursively of other syntactic changes […].   (op.cit.: 278)
    (cf. Keenan (2002: 327f, 2003: 154f, 2009: 18f); Biberauer & Roberts (2008: 80), Roberts (2007: 231ff))
  ---> (7)

(7) MODEL OF INTRA-SYNTACTICALLY DRIVEN LANGUAGE CHANGE

3. EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH
3.1. TYPOLOGY OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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

(9) *Italian*
  a. CPPRN
    i. *Non   diró   mai   tutto   **gli**.
    ii. *Non   diró   mai **gli**   tutto.
    iii. Non **gli**   diró   mai   tutto.
        no   him-CL   (I)will-say   never   him-CL   everything   him-CL
  b. WPPRN
    i. *Non   diró   mai   tutto   **loro**.
    ii. Non   diró   mai **loro**   tutto.
    iii.*Non **loro**   diró   mai   tutto.
        no   them-WK   (I)will-say   never   them-WK   everything   them-WK

2

c. SPPRN

   i. Non   <u>diró</u>   <u>mai</u>   tutto   **a lui**.

   ii. *Non   <u>diró</u>   <u>mai</u> **a lui**   tutto.

   iii.*Non **a lui**   <u>diró</u>   <u>mai</u>   tutto.

       no   him-STR   (I)will-say never him-STR   everything him-STR

       'I will never tell him/them anything.'   (Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 166))

(10) *OE*

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

       [Fela   spella] **him** <u>sædon</u> þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande...

       many   stories him   told   the Permians both   of their own   country

       'The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country...'   (Oros, 14.27 / Kemenade (1987: 114))

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

       [Ne]   <u>geseah</u> **hine** nan man nates-hwon yrre

       NEG   saw   him   no man so little   angry

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

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

       <u>þæt</u> **him** his fiend   <u>wæren</u> <u>æfterfylgende</u>

       that   him his enemies were   following

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

    d. PPRN OBJECT IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION

       þæt   **þa Deniscan** **him**   ne   <u>mehton</u> þæs ripes <u>forwiernan</u>

       so-that the Danes   them NEG could the harvest refuse

       '... so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest.'   (ChronA, 89.10 (896) / Pintzuk (1999: 140))

    ☞ CLITICIZATION OF CPPRN

(11) *EME*

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

       [þerwið] **us** <u>wite</u>   ure louerd ihesu crist...

       therewith us blame our lord   Jesus Christ

       'Therewith, our lord Jesus Christ blames us...'   (CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / PPCME2 / Miyashita (2004: 116))

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

       [Ne] <u>mihte</u> **him** naðer   <u>befelen</u>

       NEG might him no-other happen-to

       'No other might happen to him.'   (CMVICES1, 43.486 / PPCME2 / ibid.)

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

       <u>þet</u> **him** mon <u>mote</u>   <u>wið speken</u>

       that him one   must   speak-against

       '... that one must speak against him.'   (CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2 / ibid.)

    d. PPRN OBJECT IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION

       ʒif **ðu** **me** ðin uncuðe   name <u>wouldest</u> <u>kyðen</u>

       if   you me your unfamiliar name would   reveal

       '... if you want to reveal me your unfamiliar name.'   (CMVICES1, 23.241 / PPCME2 / ibid.)
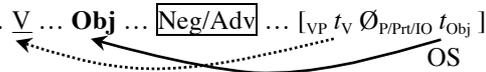
    ☞ CLITICIZATION OF CPPRN

3.2. WHAT IS OS?

(12) OS is an operation that displaces an object out of VP. ☞ HOLMBERG'S GENERALIZATION ---> (13)

(13) 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 ---> (14)

(14) OS CONFIGURATION: … V … **Obj** … Neg/Adv … [$_{VP}$ t_V Ø$_{P/Prt/IO}$ t_{Obj}]

OS

(15) TYPOLOGY OF OS

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

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

---> (16)

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

		Ic type	*MSc type*	
DEFINITE	FN	optional	∗	---> (17)
	SPPRN	optional	∗	---> (18)
	WPPRN	obligatory	obligatory	---> (17)
INDEFINITE	FN	∗	∗	
	PPRN	∗	∗	

(17) DEFINITE FN OS VS. DEFINITE WPPRN OS

a. *Icelandic*: i. Nemandinn <u>las</u> **bókina/hana** ekki .

ii. Nemandinn <u>las</u> ekki **bókina/*hana**.

b. *Danish*: i. Studenten <u>læste</u> ***bogen/den** ikke .

ii. Studenten <u>læste</u> ikke **bogen/*den**.

c. *Norwegian*: i. Studenten <u>leste</u> ***boken/den** ikke .

ii. Studenten <u>leste</u> ikke **boken/*den**.

d. *Swedish*: i. Studenten <u>läste</u> ***boken/den** inte .

ii. Studenten <u>läste</u> inte **boken/$^{\%}$den**.

e. *Faroese*: i. Næmingurin <u>las</u> ***bókina/hana** ikki .

ii. Næmingurin <u>las</u> 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))

(18) 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))

3.3. OS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

(19) *OE*

... þonne ne <u>funde</u> he **hit** no .

then NEG found 3-M-SG-NOM 3-N-SG-ACC not

'... then he did not find it.' (coboeth, Bo:40.140.13.2797 / YCOE / Miyashita (2013: 156))

☞ CLITICIZATION OF CPPRN ≠ OS OF WPPRN ---> (20)

(20) *EME*

    a. *Mid-13C*

        ... þat we ne   understonden ne   bisechen **him** noht...

           that we NEG understand   nor beseech him not

        '... that we do not understand nor beseech him...'   (CMTRINIT, 121.1638 / PPCME2 / Miyashita (2013: 157))

    b. *Ayenbite of Inwit (Mid-14C)*

        ... þet me   ne scorne þe   naȝt.

           that one   NEG scorn   you   not

        '... that one does not scorn you.'   (CMAYENBI, 54.977 / ibid.)

    ☞ CLITICIZATION OF CPPRN ≠ OS OF WPPRN ---> (20)

(21) *EME (Mid-13C)*

    a. OBJ-AUX-V ORDER WITH A CPPRN OBJECT IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

        ... ac ȝif min lauerd godd **me** wolde swingen mid ani swinge...

           but if my Lord God   me would scourge with any scourge

        '... but if my Lord God would scourge me with any scourge...'

                                    (CMVICES1, 13.145 / PPCME2 / Kroch & Taylor (2000: 134))

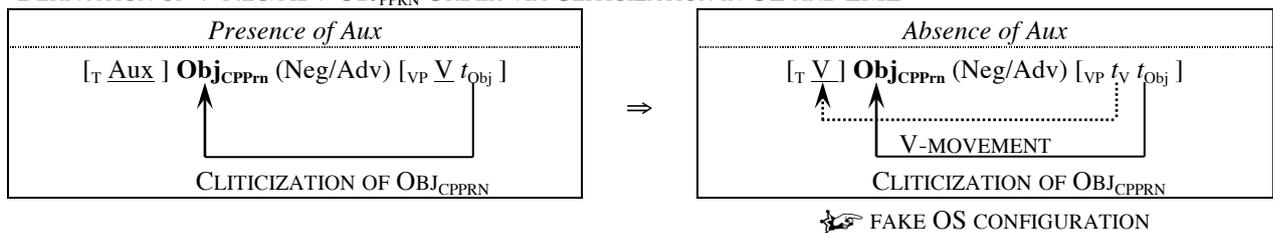   b. AUX-OBJ-V ORDER WITH A CPPRN OBJECT IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

        Ac ȝif ðu ne miht **ðe**   naht wel berȝen,

        but if   you NEG can   you   not   well defend

        'But if you cannot defend yourself well,'   (CMVICES1, 73.824 / PPCME2 / Miyashita (2013: 162))

    ---> (22)

(22) DERIVATION OF V-NEG/ADV-OBJ_PPRN ORDER VIA CLITICIZATION IN OE AND EME

(23) *LME*

    a. *Late 14C*

        ... that they ne   requeren ne preyen **me** nat of pees,

           that they NEG require nor pray   me not of money

        '... that they do not require nor pray me of money,'

                                  (CMCTMELI, 235.C2.710 / PPCME2 / Miyashita (2008: 82))

    b. *15C*

        ... þat he forȝeue **hym** not,

           that he forgive him not

        '... that he does not forgive himself,'   (CMVICES4, 112.299 / ibid.)

    ☞ OS OF WPPRN

(24) *EModE*

    a. *Early 16C*

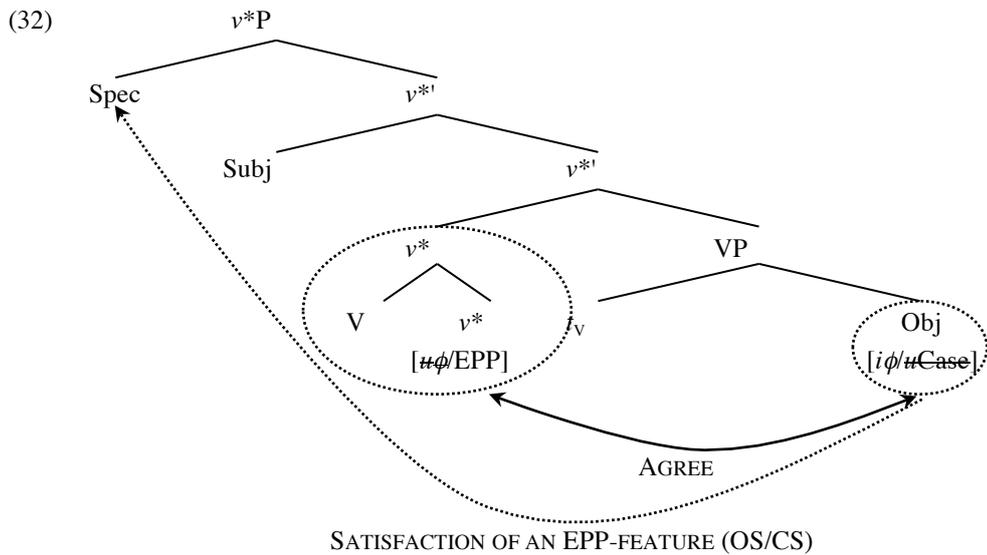   ... bycause he sawe **hym** not...   (MERRYTAL-E1-H, 148.442 / PPCEME / Miyashita (2008: 82))

    b. *Late 16C & Early 17C*

        If you grant **me** not this Favour,   (RALEIGH-E2-H, I, 215.C1.533 / PPCEME / ibid.: 83))

    ☞ OS OF WPPRN

(25) *LModE*

    a. *1700-1769*

       but all my Hopes are, that he <u>sees</u> **me** not.   (STEVENS-1745, 20.65 / PPCMBE / Miyashita (2011: 6))

    b. *1770-1839*

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

    ☞ OS OF WPPRN

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

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

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

3.4. TWO FACTORS WHICH ENABLE (PRONOMINAL) OS

(27) MECHANISMS INDUCING OS: a. typology of PPrns   ---> (8)

                                b. decomposition of OS   ---> (28)

                                c. principles governing OS ---> (29)

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

(29) 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. ----> (30)

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

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

               PHONOLOGICAL EDGE   PHONOLOGICAL BORDER

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

(31) 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))

(32)

```
                    v*P
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        Spec                    v*'
                       ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                     Subj                  v*'
                            ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                          ( v* )                          VP
                        ┌───┴───┐                 ┌────────┴────────┐
                       V       v*              (  tV )           ( Obj )
                           [uφ/EPP]                              [iφ/uCase]
```

AGREE

SATISFACTION OF AN EPP-FEATURE (OS/CS)

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(33)

> CLAIM: The (MSc type of) OS is rendered possible by the following two parametric factors: ---> (34)
>   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.)

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(34)

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

⇒ (MSC TYPE OF) OS POSSIBLE

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(35)

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)

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(36)

PARAMETRIC FACTORS ENABLING PRONOMINAL CS/OS (PDE)	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

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

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

EMERGENCE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇓

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

DECLINE OF PRONOMINAL OS ⇓

LModE (late 17C – 20C)	PRONOMINAL 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*	

3.5. THE TWO FACTORS FINE-TUNED

(38) LOCUS OF PARAMETRIC VARIATIONS

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); cf. Chomsky (1993: 3, 1995b: 54, 1998: 122f, 2000: 100, 2001: 10, 2004: 107, 2007: 6f, 2008: 135, 2014: 11); contra Chomsky (2015: 15))

☞ LEXICON / LEXICAL ITEMS

(39) TWO PARAMETERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EMERGENCE AND DEMISE OF PRONOMINAL OS

   a. *u*CASE PARAMETER ON D

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

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

   b. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARAMETER

     i. rich tense morphology: formation of V+T compounds required

        ☞ *V-to-T movement required*

     ii. poor tense morphology: formation of V+T compounds impossible

        ☞ *V-to-T movement impossible*   (ibid.: 195)

$\Bigg($
   c. *i*DEF PARAMETER

     i. *i*Def = semantic feature: presence of a definite article

     ii. *i*Def = interpretable formal feature: absence of a definite article   (ibid.: 203)
$\Bigg)$

(39') a. PARAMETER FOR WPPRNS: presence/absence of *u*Case

    ☞ $D^{Min/Max} <\phi>$ (= CPPrn) + $<u$Case$>$ = $D^{Min/Max} <\phi/u$Case $>$ (= WPPrn)

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

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

     ii. poor tense morphology = formation of V+T compounds impossible

    (cf. relatively impoverished tense morphology in LME (Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 280)) & (43))

(40) Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 267f) & Roberts (2010: 163f); cf. Roberts (2011: 212ff, 219):
rich "tense" morphology (rather than rich "agreement" morphology) ---> (42)
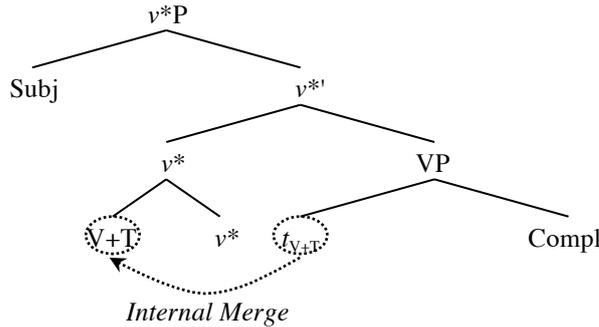☞ LEXICAL REQUIREMENT FOR THE FORMATION OF A V+T COMPOUND IN THE NUMERATION
☞ TRIGGER FOR "REPROJECTIVE" V-TO-T MOVEMENT ---> (41)
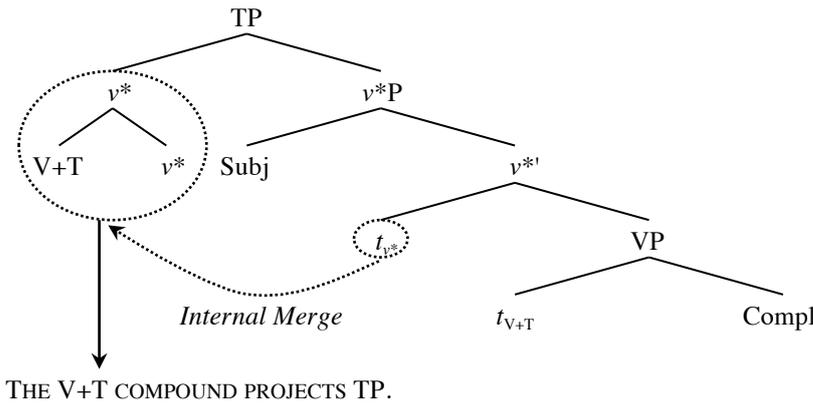
(41) *"Reprojective" V-to-T Movement*
    a. EXTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND AND ITS COMPLEMENT (FORMATION OF VP)

    b. FORMATION OF *v**P (EXTERNAL MERGER OF *v** AND VP & EXTERNAL MERGER OF SUBJ AND *v**) &
        INTERNAL MERGER OF THE V+T COMPOUND AND *v**

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

THE V+T COMPOUND PROJECTS TP.

(42) 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))

(43) a. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: OE

OE	*sprece* (present indicative/subjunctive) / *spræc* (past indicative) / *spræce* (past subjunctive)

(Campbell (1959: 296ff), Strang (1970: 306ff), Ono & Nakao (1980: 256), Mitchell & Robinson (2012 [1964]: 36ff), the entry *speak* in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, and the entry *sprecan* 'speak' in *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*)

b. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: ME

| ME | *speke* (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / *spake* (past indicative) |

(Mossé (1952: §86), Pinsker (1959: 183), Strang (1970: 276ff), Nakao (1972: 171), O'Neil (1980: 265), Davis (1985: 497f), Sisam & Tolkien (2005: 291f, the entry *speke(n)* in the glossary), the entry *speak* in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, and the entry *spēken* 'speak' in *Middle English Dictionary*)
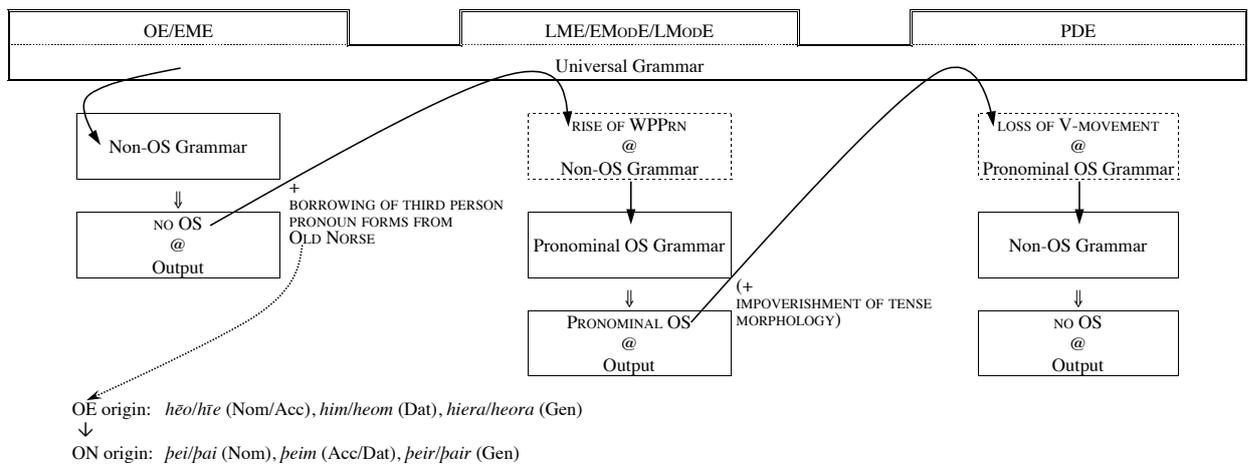
c. TENSE MORPHOLOGY PARADIGMS: EModE

| EMODE | *speak* (present indicative/(present and past) subjunctive) / *spoke* (past indicative) |

(Araki & Ukaji (1984: 196ff, 208ff), Nakao (1989: 158f), Görlach (1991: 88ff), Barber (1997: 164ff), Algeo (2009 [1964]: 170ff), and the entry *speak* in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition)

3.6. SUMMARY

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

OE origin: *hēo/hīe* (Nom/Acc), *him/heom* (Dat), *hiera/heora* (Gen)
↓
ON origin: *þei/þai* (Nom), *þeim* (Acc/Dat), *þeir/þair* (Gen)

4. SUPPLEMENTARY DATA FROM EARLY AMERICAN AND AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

(45) PREDICTION

As long as WPPrns exist and V-movement takes place, (pronominal) OS is also possible in any periods and regional dialects of English.

☞ BORNE OUT ---> (49)&(50)   1

(46) [I]n the use of *do*-support in negation, both AusE and BrE were less advanced in the ongoing change than AmE of the time, but AusE was slightly more conservative than BrE.   (Hundte (2015: 78))

---> (47)

(47) V-MOVEMENT

a. *Early American English (1855)*
... we have not **the means of knowing**   (COHA, NF / Hundte (2015: 69))

b. *Early Australian English (1860)*
For the whole of this distance we found not **a break or interruption of water**, which appears to be very deep.
                    (COOEE, 3-201 / Hundte (2015: 74))

(48) CORPORA

a. Early American English (EAmE): *Corpus of Historical American English* [COHA]   (Davies (2010))

b. Early Australian English (EAusE): *Corpus of Oz Early English* [COOEE]   (Fritz (2004))

(49) a. *Colonial American English (1692)*
    <u>Charge</u> **him** boxed(not) unless it be he.   (Examination of Nehemiah Abbott Jr. / Rosenthal et al. [eds.] (2009: 205))
    b. *EAmE (1851)*
    Dissect him how I may, then, I but go skin deep; I <u>know</u> **him** boxed(not), and never will.   But if I know not even the tail of this whale, how understand his head?   (COHA, MobyDickWhale)

(50) *EAusE (1849)*
    Convicts had been a source of wealth to many; many hoped again to amass riches from their services; but Australia <u>wanted</u> **them** boxed(not).   (COOEE, 2-352)

5. CONCLUSION

 REMAINING ISSUE: Quantitative research is yet to be conducted on pronominal OS in EAmE and EAusE.

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