# Gradual Parametric Change? Revisiting the Loss of Non-Nominative Experiencers of *Like*

Hiroyuki Nawata

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## Revisiting the Loss of Non-Nominative Experiencers of *Like*\*

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This paper investigates the replacement of dative/non-nominative Experiencers of *like* by nominative ones in the history of English. The literature on this issue has traditionally supposed that this change was caused by the decline of the dative case ending. However, Allen（1995）reveals that there was a substantial time lag between the decline of the morphological dative and the loss of non-nominative Experiencers and that nominative and non-nominative Experiencers coexisted for more than a century. This is problematic for the view of the language change endorsed by the principles-and-parameters approach, which claims that changes of this kind should occur in an abrupt and radical fashion. To reconcile this paradox, I put forth an analysis that makes use of two parameters, maintaining that the emergence of nominative Experiencers was enabled by the decline of the morphological dative, while the loss of non-nominative Experiencers stemmed from the loss of verb second. This analysis can also account for residual non-nominative Experiencers in Modern English.

## 1. Introduction

Studies in historical syntax within the generative framework generally assume that grammatical changes result from the resetting of parametric values that are innately built into human language. Since generative grammar makes a strong claim that parameter setting is a once-and-for-all process, carried out when children acquire their mother tongue, it is predicted that grammatical changes also take place catastrophically. This expectation, however, is often betrayed by the historical data recorded in the literature. This is the case when a syntactic property X changes into another property Y through an intermediate stage where X and Y are both allowed. Given that X and Y are phenotypes of a relevant parameter P, the discrepancy between the presumed parametric change and the actual data change can be illustrated as

in (1).

(1)　　a. parametric change: P(x) → P(y)
　　　　b. actual data change: X → X/Y → Y

This situation presents a serious challenge to the generative approach to grammatical changes, particularly in cases where a single speaker (with a single parametric value) equally accepts both X and Y.

　　With this general problem in mind, this paper addresses the issues concerning *like* as a specific case study. As is well known, the Experiencer argument of *like* was marked dative through Old English (OE) to early Middle English (ME), but it was replaced by nominative Experiencers in late ME. The literature commonly argues that the direct trigger of this change was the loss of morphological case endings. Consider the example below:

(2)　　God liketh thy requeste,
　　　　　　　　　(Chaucer, *Second Nun's Tale* 239 / Ando (2002: 107))

The traditional analysis since Jespersen (1927) runs as follows. Here, *god* was originally a dative object, but along with the decline of case endings, the distinction between nominative and dative nouns was blurred; consequently, the Experiencer *god* came to be interpreted as the nominative subject on the grounds that it was placed in the preverbal position. Likewise, analyses within the generative framework have attributed this change to single parameters. There are two types of analyses proposed along this line. The first includes that of Lightfoot (1979), who argues that the crucial factor was the change of the basic verb-phrase order from OV to VO. The second type is that of Fischer and van der Leek (1983), according to whom non-nominative Experiencers were lost when lexical case-marking became unavailable in English grammar. Both of these single-parameter analyses predict that the replacement of non-nominative Experiencers of *like* by nominative ones was a sudden, catastrophic change; however, Allen's (1995) detailed survey reveals that the

relevant replacement was a rather gradual process that encompassed more than a century; furthermore, single authors employed both non-nominative and nominative Experiencers. Thus, the change in question constitutes a typical example of the paradox shown in (1).

To reconcile this paradox, I argue that case-marking on the Experiencer of *like* is a function of two distinct parameters—the availability of inherent dative Case and the verb second (V2) order—and that the intermediate stage in (1b) resulted from the time lag in the changes of these parameters. Let the parameter concerning inherent Case be P and the one that derives V2 be Q; then, the correspondence between the parametric values and the observed linguistic data can be more adequately represented as follows:

(3)　a.　parametric change: $P(x)/Q(x) \rightarrow P(y)/Q(x) \rightarrow P(y)/Q(y)$
　　　b.　actual data change: $X \rightarrow X/Y \rightarrow Y$

The Experiencer of *like*, which was exclusively marked as dative in OE, came to be marked as nominative due to the change from $P(x)$ to $P(y)$, but this change did not exclude the option of dative marking; after an interval of several generations, non-nominative Experiencers were lost via the change from $Q(x)$ to $Q(y)$. The gist of my claim, then, is that the apparent gradualness of the case shift of *like* does not contradict the generative approach to grammatical changes in terms of sudden parameter resetting.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the basic properties of *like* in OE and their subsequent changes in ME and points out the issues to be considered. Section 3 defines the notion of subject with special reference to typological differences between discourse-configurational and agreement-based languages. Section 4, the main part of this paper, provides an analysis of the early structures of *like* and the loss of non-nominative Experiencers. Section 5 deals with residual non-nominative Experiencers in Modern English (ModE). Finally, section 6 presents some concluding remarks.

## 2. The Puzzle

We shall first review the linking patterns of *like* in OE and their subsequent changes in ME. This section is mainly based on Allen (1995).

### 2.1. OE *Lician*

*Like*-class psych verbs take the Experiencer and the Theme as their arguments. In OE, the former is exclusively encoded as a dative NP, whereas the latter is realized as a nominative NP or a clause. Verbs that belong to this class include the following: *losian* 'lose,' *gelician* 'like,' *mislician* 'dislike,' *oflician* 'dislike,' *lician* 'like,' *eglian* 'grieve,' *gehreowan* 'repent,' *laþian* 'loathe' (ibid.: 85). Of these, we will focus on *lician* 'like,' which has been continuously observed with high frequency throughout the history of English.

In the construction in which the Theme is realized as a nominative NP (henceforth the NP-TH(eme) construction), either the Experiencer or the Theme can precede the other, as illustrated in (4).

(4)　a. Experiencer-Theme
　　　　hu　　him　　se　　　sige　　　　gelicade
　　　　how　him-Dat　the-Nom　victory-Nom　liked
　　　　'how the victory had pleased him'

(Or 84.32 / Denison (1993: 72))

　　　b. Theme-Experiencer
　　　　ge　　　noldon　　gode　　lician on godum ingehyde
　　　　you-Nom not-would God-Dat like　on good　　understanding
　　　　'You would not please God with good understanding.'
　　　　(ÆCHom II, 44 332.160 / Allen (1995: 146-147))

In both cases, the verb agrees with the nominative Theme. On the assumption that the verb agrees with the subject, this seems to indicate that the Theme functions as the subject of these sentences.

However, Allen convincingly argues that the preposed dative Experiencer acts as the subject, on the basis of data concerning argument ellipsis.

Generally, the subject of a coordinated clause can be omitted only if it is coreferential with the subject of the preceding conjunct. Thus, coordinated subject deletion (CSD) serves as a diagnostic for subjecthood. According to Allen's survey, the dative Experiencer can control CSD if it appears at the preverbal position, as in (5).

(5)    ac gode    ne licode na heora geleafleast,    ne heora
      but God-Dat not liked  not their  faithlessness-Nom nor their
      ceorung,      ac    asende  him    to  fyr
      grumbling-Nom  but  sent    them  to  fire
      'But God did not like their unbelief or their grumbling, but sent
      fire to them.'                 (ÆHom 21 68 / ibid.: 114-115)

On the other hand, dative Experiencers cannot control CSD when they occur post-verbally as in (4b) (ibid.: 115). Thus, it follows that the generalization in (6) holds.

(6)    Non-nominative Experiencers function as the subject iff they precede the Theme.

This observation casts doubt on the traditional view that the nominative Theme is the subject of *lician*.

In the construction where the Theme is clausal (henceforth the CL(ausal)-TH(eme) construction), the dative Experiencer always precedes the Theme. Another characteristic of this construction is that the personal pronoun *hit* or demonstrative *þæt* can optionally appear as an expletive element:

(7)    a.  Without an expletive
        Ac  me      swa ðeah    no    ne  licade on him  ðæt he
        but me-Dat nevertheless never not liked  on  him  that he
        ða    weorþunge Eastrena on riht  ne  heold
        then worship    Easter    on  right not held

'However I did not like in him his not keeping Easter rightly.'

　　　　　　(Bd. 3, 17; S. 545, 2 / Bosworth and Toller (1898: 637))

　b. With an expletive

Þa　　gelicode　hit　ðam　　　leodebiscope ...　þæt　he　his

then　liked　　it　　the-Dat　bishop　　　　that　he　his

lichaman　up　ða　　gelogode

body　　　up　then　placed

'Then it pleased the bishop to inter his body.'

　　　　　　(ÆCHom II, 10 90.333 / Allen (1995: 87))

Sentences without expletives are widely dubbed as "impersonal," since there are no nominative elements included in them. Finite verbs exhibit the agreement of third person and singular number, regardless of the presence or absence of expletive elements.

## 2.2. Changes in ME

I now move on to the change of case-marking on the Experiencer of *like* in ME. As mentioned at the outset, it has been assumed that dative Experiencers came to be marked as nominative due to the loss of the dative case ending attached to nouns. However, Allen (1995) astutely points out that this explanation faces the following difficulties. First, the period in which the dative ending declined did not coincide with the one where non-nominative Experiencers were lost. Second, the replacement was a rather gradual process; there was a period of more than a century in which both old and new forms were allowed. Third, the loss of non-nominative Experiencers was sensitive to the environment in which they occurred; they survived in the CL-TH construction longer than in the NP-TH construction.

　The decline of the dative case ending began in the Northern dialect as early as the 12th century and ended in the early 13th century therein. Even in the Midland and Southern dialects, where the dative ending was retained during the 12th century, nominal objects selected by verbs gradually lost their morphological evidence of dative-marking during the 13th century,

although the reduced dative suffix -*e* survived in objects of prepositions until the middle of the next century（ibid.: 213）. On the other hand, clear instances of nominative Experiencers as evidenced by pronouns are not attested in texts written in the 12th and 13th centuries. The first instances of nominative-marked Experiencers of *like* given by Allen are from Chaucer's mid-14th century works, as illustrated in（8）.

（8）　she　likede　hym　the　bet
　　　　she　liked　　him　the　better　　　　（Ch. LGW. 1076 / ibid.: 251）

Interestingly enough, we can also find non-nominative Experiencers in Chaucer's writings such as the following:[1]

（9）　"A!" quod　Melibee,　"this　vengeance　　liketh　me　no thyng."
　　　　Ah　said　　Melbee　　this　punishment　likes　me　no thing
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（CMCTMELI, 230.C1.504）

Furthermore, Allen notes that Chaucer clearly preferred non-nominative Experiencers when *like* was employed in the CL-TH construction（ibid.: 252）. Taking these points into consideration, I postulate that Chaucer had a grammar that ruled in both nominative and non-nominative Experiencers.[2] It should be stressed that this observation poses a serious challenge to any analysis that attributes the shift from non-nominative to nominative Experiencers to a single parameter resetting. Such a transient situation spanned over the 15th century（ibid.: 270）. It was not until the beginning of the 16th century that clear instances of non-nominative Experiencers disappeared in the NP-TH construction, but even thereafter, they continued to be observed in the CL-TH construction during the course of that century（ibid.: 274）.

　　To sum up, according to the survey by Allen, the chronological relation among the decline of the dative case ending, the emergence of nominative Experiencers, and the loss of non-nominative Experiencers can

be summarized as in Figure 1. This timetable is based on the Midland and Southern dialects. The gray shading of the dative case ending indicates that the residual dative suffix -*e* can only appear in the environment where nouns are selected by prepositions:
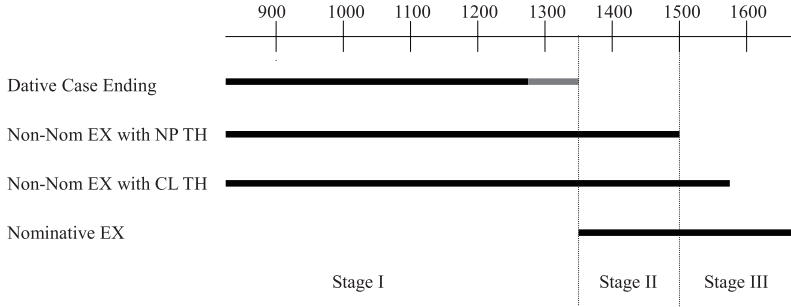


Figure 1: The Chronological Relation between the Loss of the Dative Case Ending and (Non-) Nominative Experiencers of *Like*

Throughout OE and early ME, only non-nominative Experiencers appeared both in the NP-TH and CL-TH constructions (Stage I). In the mid-14th century, nominative Experiencers were introduced in addition to non-nominative ones (Stage II). By the beginning of the 16th century, non-nominative Experiencers came to be limited to the CL-TH construction, and were eventually lost during this time (Stage III).

Then, the task is to explain this gradual change in terms of the dichotomy of parameters. For this purpose, one must answer the specific questions listed in (10).

(10)  a. How were the NP-TH and CL-TH constructions derived in Stage I?
      b. Why did nominative Experiencers come to be allowed in Stage II?
      c. Why did non-nominative Experiencers come to be banned in the NP-TH construction in Stage III?
      d. Why did non-nominative Experiencers survive in the CL-TH construction in Stage III?

I deal with questions（10a-c）and（10d）in sections 4 and 5, respectively. Prior to the discussion of these main topics, the next section will be devoted to the establishment of a theoretical framework concerning the grammatical function of subjects.

## 3. Defining Subjects

Section 2.1 has shown that the Experiencer and the Theme of OE *lician* were interchangeable. The same phenomenon is observed in a variety of modern languages including Greek and Italian, as illustrated in（11）and（12）.

（11）Greek

    a. Tu Petru    tu    aresi to  krasi.
      the Peter-Dat  cl-Dat  likes  the  wine-Nom
      'Peter likes the wine.'

    b. To krasi tu aresi tu Petru.      （Anagnostopoulou（1999: 69））

（12）Italian

    a. A  Gianni  è  sempre  piaciuta la   musica.
      to  Gianni  is  always  pleased  the  music
      'Music always pleased Gianni.'

    b. La musica è sempre piaciuta a Gianni.

                             （Belletti and Rizzi（1988: 334））

These psych verbs share another property with *lician* in that the preposed Experiencer behaves as the subject. The contrast in（13）makes it clear that it is not identical with ordinary topic elements. The preposed Experiencer *a Gianni* in（13a）does not prevent another element from moving across it; on the other hand, when *a Gianni* is preposed as a topic element as in（13b）, it blocks movement of another element, resulting in a somewhat degraded grammaticality.

(13) a.　　Le idee che a Gianni piacciono di più sono queste
　　　　　the ideas that to Gianni please　　most are　these
　　b. ?(?) Le idee che a Gianni Maria raccomanda sono queste
　　　　　the ideas that to Gianni Maria recommends are　these
(Rizzi (2009: 20))

This observation strongly suggests that *a Gianni* fulfills different grammatical functions in (13a, b). Given that it does not create a topic island in (13a), it most plausibly functions as the quirky subject.

　　Then, what motivates the movement of the quirky subject? Rizzi (2009) proposes that movement of an NP to the surface subject position is triggered by the interpretive requirement imposed by the conceptual-intentional interface, that is, the necessity for the relevant NP to obtain a new interpretation that is distinct from the $\theta$-role assigned at the base-generated position. The specific interpretation given at the subject position is postulated as follows:

(14)　The interpretive counterpart of subjecthood: an argument is selected and taken as the starting point in the description of the event, which is presented as "being about" that argument.

(ibid.: 20)

Rizzi argues that although subjects and topics both express the aboutness of sentences, topics additionally represent the D(iscourse)-linking relationship, which signals that they are already known in the discourse. The latter interpretation is not necessarily implied with subjects. Thus, the difference between subjects and topics are as follows:

(15)　a.　subject: [+aboutness]
　　　b.　topic:　[+aboutness] [+D-linking]　　　　(ibid.: 21)

Rizzi's proposal seems to adequately capture the properties of quirky subjects;

however, this approach is not without problems as well. First, he assumes that subjects in every language are licensed through this interpretive mechanism, but this supposition in turn raises a question of why some languages allow quirky subjects while others do not. Second, expletive subjects can appear even in languages that allow quirky subjects, such as Italian. Since expletives are void of any interpretive contents postulated in (14), it is not clear how they are licensed as the subject.

In relation to these problems, Miyagawa (2005) advances an insightful proposal on independent grounds. He attempts to deduce typological differences between agreement-based languages, such as English and French, and discourse-configurational languages, such as Japanese and Turkish, in terms of the parametric variation concerning EPP-triggered movement. Specifically, he maintains that in agreement-based languages, the EPP feature works in tandem with the φ-features, while in discourse-configurational languages, the EPP is coupled with the topic/focus feature. In both cases, the EPP raises the target that matches the φ- or topic/focus feature(s) to the subject position.

Slightly modifying Miyagawa's proposal by incorporating Rizzi's [+aboutness] feature, I postulate the typological parametric variation in (16).

(16) a. Agreement-based languages:
The EPP feature works with the unvalued φ ([$u$φ]) features, which obtain their values via Agree with an appropriate goal.
b. Discourse-configurational languages:
The EPP feature *can* work with the unvalued topic ([$u$topic]) feature, which are specified either [+topic], [+focus] or [+aboutness] via Agree with an appropriate goal.

On the basis of this EPP-related parameter, the grammatical function of the subject is defined as in (17).

(17) a. Nominative subject (def.):

an element that assigns its values to the [*u*φ] features via Agree and moves to the Spec of the relevant functional head via EPP

b. Quirky subject（def.）:

an element that assigns its [+aboutness] value to the [*u*topic] feature via Agree and moves to the Spec of the relevant functional head via EPP

Agreement-based languages, including Present-day English, have the parametric value in（16a）; for these languages, only the option in（17a）is available, so that the subject is always marked as nominative. On the other hand, languages such as OE, Greek, and Italian, have the value in（16b）; thus, the EPP feature can function with the [*u*topic] feature（in addition to the [*u*φ] features）. Languages of this type exhibit both nominative and quirky subjects, depending on which of the options in（17a, b）are selected.
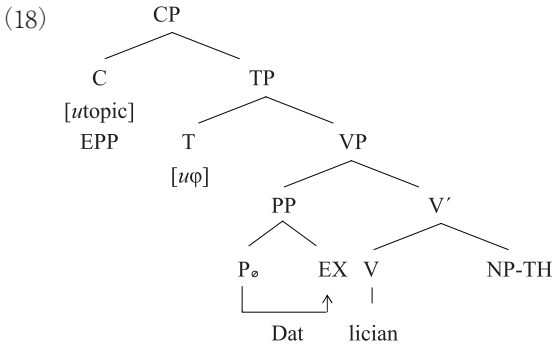
## 4. An Analysis

We are now in a position to account for the history of *like* sketched in section 2. In subsections 4.1-4.3 below, the issues listed in（10a-c）are discussed in turn: the structure and derivation of OE *lician*, the emergence of nominative Experiencers, and the loss of non-nominative Experiencers. We defer the issue of residual non-nominative Experiencers in early ModE to section 5.

### 4.1. The Structure of OE *Lician*

Landau（2010）argues that the predicate-internal structure of *like*-class verbs has the following properties. First, the Experiencer and the Theme are both internal arguments generated within VP, and the former is located at a higher position than the latter. Second, the categorial status of the Experiencer is PP, irrespective of whether the preposition is overtly realized （as in Italian in（12））or not（as in Greek in（11））. Third, the Experiencer is assigned inherent Case from P. I assume that these properties apply to the NP-TH construction of OE *lician* as well. Then, the relevant structure can be

delineated as in (18).

(18)

```
              CP
         ╱         ╲
       C             TP
   [utopic]      ╱       ╲
     EPP        T          VP
            [uφ]       ╱       ╲
                     PP          V′
                   ╱    ╲      ╱    ╲
                 Pø     EX   V      NP-TH
                  └──────→   │
                  Dat      lician
```

Since OE is a discourse-configurational language, in which the sentence-initial position is normally occupied by a topic, a focus, or an "aboutness" subject, the EPP feature is located on C together with the [*u*topic] feature (see (16b); for expository purposes, we abstract away from the possibility that the EPP feature can also work with the [*u*φ] features on T).

 The derivation proceeds as follows. The [*u*φ] features on T enter into an Agree relation with the NP Theme, and the values of the φ-features carried by the Theme are copied onto [*u*φ]. At the same time, the Theme is assigned nominative Case by the finite T-probe. Notice here that although the Experiencer is already assigned inherent dative Case from P and thus is inactive for the purpose of Agree, it does not block the probe-goal relation between T and the Theme in violation of the Defective Intervention Constraint in (19), since it does not c-command the Theme by virtue of being embedded within PP.
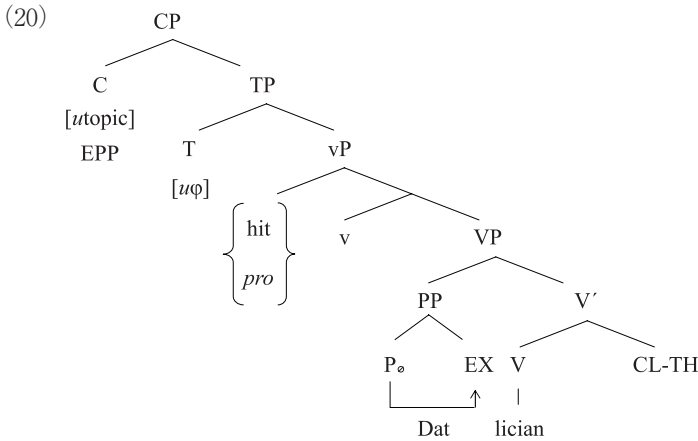
 (19) The Defective Intervention Constraint
  \* $\alpha > \beta > \gamma$ , where > is c-command, $\beta$ and $\gamma$ match the probe $\alpha$, but $\beta$ is inactive so that the effects of matching are blocked

  (Chomsky (2000: 123))

After the mutual Case/agreement valuation within TP, the [$u$topic] feature on C enters into Agree in search of a matching goal with a [+topic]/[+focus]/ [+aboutness] feature. When the Experiencer or the Theme is specified as [+aboutness], it assigns its value to [$u$topic] and simultaneously moves to Spec-C to satisfy the EPP. Either the Experiencer or the Theme can precede the other, depending on which undergoes EPP-movement（see（4））.[3] It is especially noteworthy that the dative Experiencer, when equipped with the [+aboutness] feature, functions as the subject.[4] This provides a natural explanation of the fact that dative Experiencers can control CSD if they appear in a position preceding the Theme（see（5））.

We turn to the structure of the CL-TH construction. I will assume that it involves the vP-VP shell structure with expletive *hit* or null expletive *pro* at Spec-v. The overall structure involving the TP and CP layers is shown below:

（20）

```
                    CP
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
          C                     TP
       [utopic]        ┌────────┴────────┐
        EPP            T                 vP
                      [uφ]       ┌────────┴────────┐
                            ┌─────┐               
                            │ hit │    v          VP
                            │     │        ┌───────┴───────┐
                            │ pro │        PP              V′
                            └─────┘    ┌────┴────┐     ┌────┴────┐
                                       Pø   EX   V   CL-TH
                                       └──────┐  │
                                           Dat  lician
```

Recall that the verb always exhibits third person singular agreement in the CL-TH construction. Given that expletive *pro*, being phonologically defective, lacks Case and agreement features altogether, the verbal agreement pattern in question is produced in either of the following ways. When *hit* occurs at Spec-v, its person and number values are copied onto [$u$φ] on T via Agree;

alternatively, when Spec-v is occupied by expletive *pro*, the [$u\varphi$] features assume the value of the third person singular as default, since there is no element in the search domain of [$u\varphi$] that can enter into an Agree relation.

As with the NP-TH construction, the Experiencer EPP-moves to Spec-C when it is specified as [+aboutness]. This yields the word order of the type "Me liked that ...," where the Experiencer precedes the finite verb that has raised to C via head movement (see (7a)). It is also possible for Spec-C to be occupied by an independent topic element with the D-linking property. In that case, the Experiencer remains in situ, resulting in the word order of the type "Then liked (it) me that ..." (see (7b)).
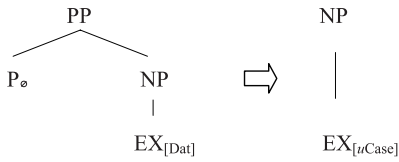
From the discussion above, we can account for the properties of OE *lician* reviewed in section 2.1, whereby providing an answer to the question raised in (10a) at the end of section 2.2.

## 4.2. The Rise of Nominative Experiencers

I move on to the change from Stage I to Stage II, that is, the emergence of nominative Experiencers in the mid-14th century. In this regard, I would essentially like to follow the traditional analysis and assume that this change was caused by the loss of the dative case ending. Recall, however, that the period of the rise of nominative Experiencers did not coincide with that of the loss of the dative case ending in the environment where NPs are selected by verbs; rather, nominative Experiencers began to appear with *like* when the dative case ending was finally lost in the complement of prepositions (see Figure 1).
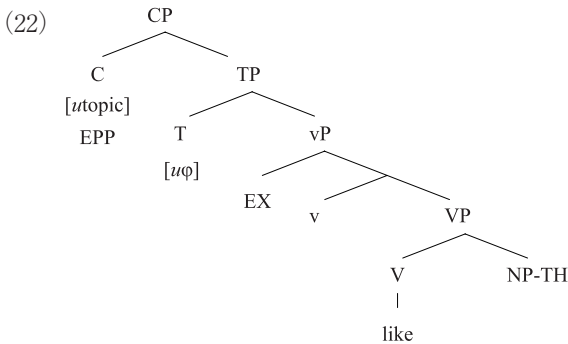
Our null-P analysis of dative Experiencers can successfully cope with this situation. It seems reasonable to suppose that as long as the reduced dative case ending endured, it served as evidence for the presence of null P that assigned inherent Case; however, along with the final loss of its morphological clue, the inherent Case disappeared from English, and accordingly, the null P ceased to be acquired. This parametric change can be schematized as in (21).
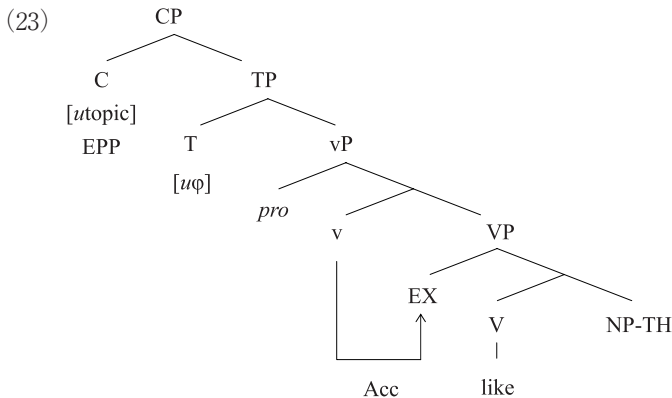
(21)　The Loss of Inherent Dative Case

```
        PP                        NP
       /  \
     P_ø    NP          ⇨        |
            |
         EX[Dat]               EX[uCase]
```

The categorial status of the Experiencer selected by *like* was reanalyzed from PP with inherent dative Case to NP with unvalued structural Case.[5]

With the change in (21), the phrase structure of the NP-TH construction must also have undergone reanalysis, since the old structure in (18) would involve only one structural-Case assigner, that is, finite T, for two NP arguments, and thus the Experiencer or the Theme would be Caseless. To save this structure, a distinct functional category that can value a Case feature is in need. The most plausible possibility for what should have happened is the borrowing of existing structures with similar psych constructions. There seem to have been two sources available for this purpose. The first is the Experiencer-subject construction of verbs like *lufian* 'love,' in which the Experiencer had been invariably marked as nominative since the OE period. It can be safely assumed that the Experiencer selected by verbs of this class was generated at Spec-v as an external argument, in much the same manner as the ordinary Agent argument. When *like* adopted this structure, the overall phrase structure should have changed into the one illustrated below:

(22)

```
                   CP
                  /  \
                 C    TP
              [utopic] / \
               EPP    T   vP
                   [uφ]  /  \
                        EX   \
                         v    VP
                             /  \
                            V   NP-TH
                            |
                           like
```

In this configuration, the Experiencer is assigned nominative Case via Agree with the $[u\varphi]$ features on T in exchange for its person and number values. On the other hand, the NP Theme obtains accusative Case from v. This process reveals how nominative Experiencers began to occur with *like* (see (8)). This is the answer to (10b) above.

Another possibility for the reanalysis of the NP-TH construction is to generate the Experiencer as an internal argument at Spec-V as before, by utilizing the basic schema of the CL-TH construction of *like*. Given that expletive *pro* could occur at Spec-v, the relevant structure can be illustrated as follows:[6]

(23)

```
                CP
             ╱      ╲
          C            TP
       [utopic]      ╱    ╲
         EPP       T         vP
               [uφ]        ╱    ╲
                        pro        
                            v         VP
                                   ╱    ╲
                                 EX        
                                 ↑      V      NP-TH
                                 │      │
                                Acc    like
```

The Experiencer is assigned accusative Case from v, since it is the nearest active element in the search domain of v that can enter into an Agree relation. The NP Theme then should be assigned nominative from T, but the problem is that the Experiencer, which has its Case value already specified and is hence inactive, c-commands the Theme; thus, as it stands, the configuration above will induce a violation of the Defective Intervention Constraint (see (19)). Let us assume, then, that v has an edge feature that raises Theme to adjoin to vP. The derivation in which the Theme is specified as [+aboutness] is represented as follows:

(24)　$[_{CP}$ TH$_{[Nom][3.pl.][+aboutness]}$ C$_{[+aboutness][EPP]}$ $[_{TP}$ T$_{[3.pl.]}$ $[_{vP}$ $t_{TH}$ $[_{vP}$ *pro* v $[_{VP}$ EX$_{[Acc]}$ like $t_{TH}$]]]]]
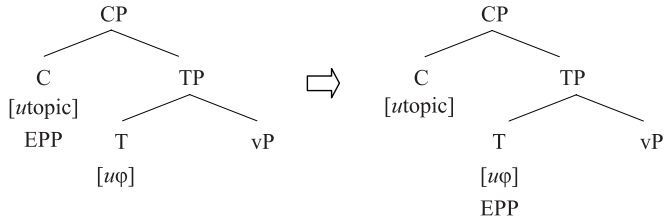
After T and C are introduced into the phrase structure, [$u\varphi$] on T Agrees with the Theme adjoined to vP since it is the nearest active element in its search domain, and assigns nominative Case in exchange for the person and number values of the Theme. Subsequently, the [+aboutness] feature of the Theme enters into an Agree relation with [$u$topic] on C and moves to Spec-C to satisfy the EPP. This results in the word order of the type "These like me" （see （9））.[7] It will be equally possible to derive the order of the type "Me like these," by allotting the [+aboutness] feature to the Experiencer; in that case, the Experiencer moves to Spec-C across the Theme. Note that the Theme adjoined to vP does not yield defective intervention effects, because it is lacking any features that can potentially match the [$u$topic] feature.

　　To sum up, reanalysis of the Experiencer from PP to NP in Stage II enabled it to be generated as an external argument, permitting the emergence of nominative Experiencers. At the same time, the old NP-TH construction with non-nominative Experiencers continued to be derived from a structure somewhat different from OE.

### 4.3. The Demise of Non-Nominative Experiencers

　　We next consider why non-nominative Experiencers disappeared from the NP-TH construction at the end of ME. I would like to claim that it was triggered by the loss of the V2 word order, which also occurred in the same period （Fischer et al. （2000: 133））. Although the precise mechanism of this loss is beyond the scope of this paper, an important effect caused by this change was that English experienced a typological shift from a discourse-configurational language to an agreement-based language, in which the sentence-initial position is normally occupied by the subject that triggers agreement with the finite verb. Capitalizing on Miyagawa's parameter concerning EPP-movement, the loss of V2 in English can be seen as a consequence of the shift of the EPP feature from C to T:

(25) The Loss of V2



Along with this shift, the EPP began to work exclusively with the [$u$φ] features on T, but no longer with the [$u$topic] feature on C.

With this parametric change in mind, let us consider the derivation based on the structure in (23) again. If the EPP feature is located on T together with the [$u$φ] features, the intermediate step of the derivation where [$u$φ] enters into an Agree relation with the Theme adjoined to vP looks like (26).

(26)  [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ T$_{[3.pl.][EPP]}$ [$_{vP}$ TH$_{[Nom][3.pl.]}$ [$_{vP}$ *pro* v [$_{VP}$ EX$_{[Acc]}$ like $t_{TH}$]]]]]

Crucially, the quirky subject construction of the type "Me like these" cannot be derived here, since the Experiencer, which does not Agree with [$u$φ], is not identified as the goal of EPP-movement. The only possible candidate that the EPP feature could attract is the Theme at the vP-adjoined position, but then, the Theme would move from an A-position (Comp-V) to another A-position (Spec-T) through an intermediate A-bar position, so that the resultant chain would constitute an instance of improper movement. It follows that the construction of the type "These like me" cannot be derived, either. Thus, the continuation of (26) is doomed to crash in any event. This, I claim, is the reason why non-nominative Experiencers were lost in the NP-TH construction at the end of ME; it is the answer to (10c).

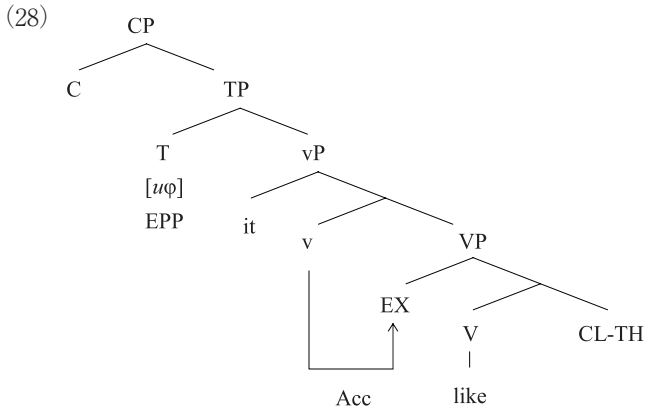## 5. Residual Non-Nominative Experiencers in Modern English

I briefly comment on the non-nominative Experiencers that remained in early ModE, thereby giving an answer to (10d). I argued immediately above

that the offending element causing the derivation to crash is the NP Theme that is adjoined to vP for its Case feature to be valued. Thus, it is predicted that if the Theme does not require Case, that is, it is realized as a clausal argument, the derivation is properly licensed. This is indeed the case with residual non-nominative Experiencers in the CL-TH construction. Some examples are given below:

(27) a. yf yt will like you to be so good and kynd father unto me

(DPLUMPT-E1-H, 202.11)

b. it may lyke you no lesse to regarde and tender it

(MORELET2-E1-P1, 511.39)

c. For it liked hir as well to tell you no lies,

(UDALL-E1-P2, L782.50)

Since expletive *pro* had disappeared at this time, these examples all include expletive *it* as the formal subject.

The relevant structure can be delineated as follows:

(28)



The derivation of this construction is rather straightforward. The $[u\varphi]$ features on T enters into an Agree relation with expletive *it* and the valuation of $[u\varphi]$/

Case assignment to *it* ensues as usual. Since the clausal Theme does not require a Case value, defective intervention effects that might be caused by the Experiencer are simply irrelevant.

Finally, why were non-nominative Experiencers with *like* completely lost along with the CL-TH construction illustrated in（27）? The structure in（28）per se does not pose any difficulties, even in Present-day English. In fact, constructions of this type are observed with other verbs, e.g. *It struck me that he was not telling the truth*. Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that the loss of the CL-TH construction with *like* was caused by lexical, rather than syntactic, reasons. More specifically, I speculate that the following two factors were at work. The first is the rise of nominative Experiencers in the NP-TH construction. After their emergence in the mid-14th century, they gradually took the place of non-nominative Experiencers and came to be regarded as the unmarked realization of the Experiencer of *like*. The second is the competition with *please*. This French-origin word was introduced into English in the 14th century, and was employed with essentially the same meaning as *like*, especially in the construction with the non-nominative Experiencer and the clausal Theme. Against these backgrounds, it might well have been the case that *like* and *please* came to split their functions, so that *like* was gradually restricted to occur only with nominative Experiencers.

### 6. **Conclusion**

I have argued in this paper that the shift of case-marking on the Experiencer of *like* resulted from the interaction between the availability of inherent dative Case and the behavior of the EPP feature. Specifically, I have demonstrated that the loss of the dative case ending opened up the possibility for the Experiencer to be marked as nominative, but this change did not immediately prohibit the option of non-nominative Experiencers, which were later lost in the NP-TH construction due to the shift of the EPP feature from C to T. Thus, unlike previous attempts, I have successfully accounted for the intermediate stage, where both old and new forms were allowed, in a manner that is consistent with the core hypothesis of generative grammar

that parameter（re）setting is a sudden process.

## Notes

\* This research was supported in part by Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists（B）
 from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology,
 Grant No. 21720176. I would like to express my gratitude to anonymous
 reviewers for providing me with useful comments and suggestions on an
 earlier version of this paper. All remaining errors are my own responsibility.

1. Unless otherwise indicated, examples are cited from the Penn-Helsinki
 Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition（Kroch and Taylor（2000））
 and from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English（Kroch,
 Santorini and Diertani（2004））. The final line in each example gives an
 abbreviated filename for the source text followed by the sentence ID from
 the corpus file.

2. As a reviewer points out, it might well have been the case that nominative
 and non-nominative Experiencers fulfilled distinct discourse or stylistic
 functions, particularly when they occupy different syntactic positions;
 however, the crucial question for our concern is what kind of grammar
 Chaucer internalized that allows these options in the first place.

3. Following the research under the cartographic project, let us assume that
 C should be understood as shorthand for a bundle of functional categories
 including Force, Topic, Focus, and Finiteness（Rizzi（1997）among others）.
 Though we will not decide on the specific category that hosts the [*u*topic]
 feature, it is most plausibly borne by a head below the one that carries the
 clause-typing feature, i.e. Force. Thus, neither the cooccurrence of *hu* ʻhowʼ
 and the preposed Experiencer in（4a）nor the general availability of the
 NP-TH construction in embedded clauses raises a serious problem for the
 present analysis.

4. More specifically, when the Experiencer functions as the subject, the
 [+aboutness] feature is located on P, so that the whole PP moves to Spec-C.
 Though OE lacks the phonetic content of P, pied-piping movement of the
 whole PP is clearly evidenced in languages like Italian（see（12a））.

5. Alternatively, the preposition could manifest itself overtly and assigns a
 structural Case to the following NP, as illustrated in（i）.
 （i）if it like *to thee* of thyn humylitee;

if it like to you of your humility 　　（CMCTPARS, 324.C2.1565）
I will leave for future research to explore why this PP-Experiencer construction with *like* was eventually lost. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for bringing my attention to this possibility.

6. Contrary to the CL-TH construction in （20）, expletive *hit* cannot occur at Spec-v in （23）. Given that *hit* is equipped with Case and agreement features, it would compete with the NP Theme for Case valuation by T, and thus either *hit* or the NP Theme would be Caseless. On the other hand, expletive *pro*, being void of Case and agreement features, does not count as a possible candidate for the goal of the [$u\varphi$] features on T.

7. This analysis is reminiscent of the one proposed by Kayne （1984） to account for the peculiar behavior of French *croire*-type and English *allege*-type verbs. Constructions involving these verbs do not allow a lexical subject to occur at the subject position of their infinitival complement, but *wh*-movement salvages the sentence:

（i）a. *Jean croit　　Bill avoir 　menti.
　　　Jean believes Bill to have lied 　　（Kayne （1984: 103)）
　　b. Quel garçon crois-tu 　être le 　plus intelligent de tous?
　　　which boy 　believe-you be 　the most intelligent of all
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（ibid.: 111）

Kayne argues that the infinitival complements of these verbs are CP and that the subject of the infinitive is Case-marked at the embedded CP-adjoined position on its way to Spec-C of the matrix clause. See Ura （1993） for a treatment of this line in the early Minimalist framework.

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