

英語史における形容詞屈折の消失と支柱語 *one(s)* の出現

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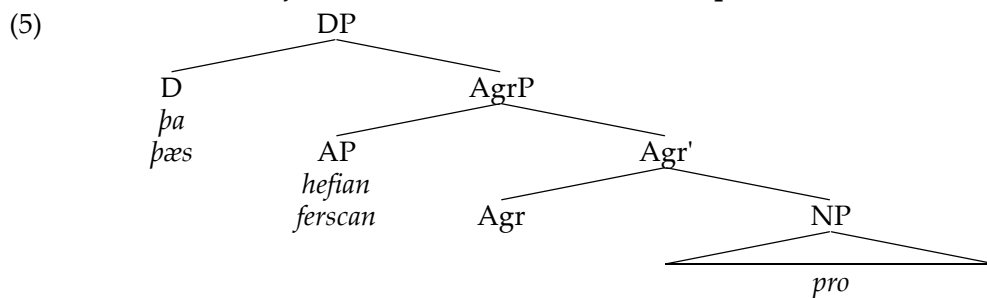
1. Introduction

- (1) a. John has a red car and Jim has a blue *one*.  
 b. I'll take the green apples if you haven't got any red *ones*.  
 (Radford (2009: 4))
- (2) a. ... þe wynsumlicor þa myclan byrþenne and [þa hefian]  
 ... *the more-joyfully the big burden and the heavy*  
 aberan migton  
*endure might* (BlHom3 1.65)  
 b. þæs swetan wætres and [þæs ferscan]  
*of-the sweet water and the fresh* (Alex. 1.338)  
 (Fischer (2000: 175))
- (3) John bought the red car and [the green *\*(one)*] (Kester (1996: 58))

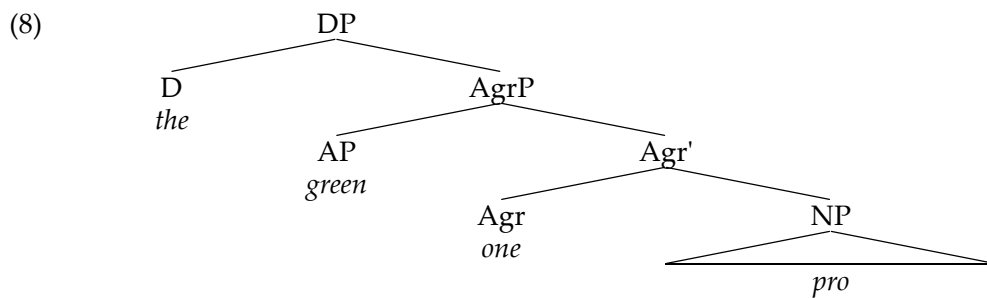
2. The Adjectival Inflection and the Prop-word *One* in the History of English

- (4) a. and [DP þa hefian *pro*]  
 b. and [DP þæs ferscan *pro*]

2.1. Postnominal 'And Adjective' Constructions and the Prop-word *One*: Haumann (2003)



- (6) Licensing and Identification of *pro*  
 An empty, non-arbitrary pronominal must be properly head-governed, and governed by an X-0 specified for strong agreement. (Lobeck (1995: 52))
- (7) Strong Agreement  
 An X-0 is specified for 'strong' agreement iff X-0, or the phrase or head with which X-0 agrees, morphologically realizes agreement in a productive number of cases. (ibid.: 51))



## 2.2. Problems with Haumann's Analysis

- (9)
- a. Haumann (2003) does not provide any empirical evidence for the correlation between the loss of the adjectival inflection and the rise of the prop-word *one*.
  - b. She does not argue about substantive adjectives, which are attested with great frequency in the Old English period
- (10)
- a. DPs in Haumann (2003) involve some notions which are no longer assumed within the recent Minimalist framework.
  - b. The prop-word *one* is generated as a head.

## 3. A Historical survey on the Loss of the Adjectival Inflection and the Rise of the Prop-word *One*

- (11)
- a. YCOE: The York-Toronto Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose
  - b. PPCME2: The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition for Middle English
  - c. PPCEME: The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English for Early Modern English

### 3.1. Postnominal 'And Adjective' constructions

Table 1 The Frequency of Postnominal 'And Adjective' Constructions (per 1,000,000 words)

| YCOE | PPCME2 | PPCEME |
|------|--------|--------|
| 85.7 | 12.3   | 5.0    |

- (12) a. to ðam fægran monnum & ðam beorhtan  
*to the fair men and the bright* (cobede,Bede\_5:14.440.6.4421:o2)
- b. ða fægran boc & ða hwitan  
*the fair book and the white* (cobede,Bede\_5:14.440.27.4436:o2)
- c. seo anwyrþe fæmne & seo halige  
*the honorable woman and the holy*  
(coblick,HomU\_18\_[BIHom\_1]:5.23.27:o39)
- (13) a. þe wicked man and þe treacherous  
*the wicked man and the treacherous* (CMEARLPS,52.2240:m2)
- b. bothe þe newe kyng and the old  
*both the new king and the old* (CMGREGOR,216.2039:m4)
- (14) a. betweene the superiour Globe and the inferiour  
(BACON-E2-H,1,22V.78:e2)
- b. towards the right hand or the left (BOYLE-E3-H,32E,118:e3)

### 3.2. Substantive Adjectives

Table 2 The Frequency of Substantive Adjectives in Subject Positions (per 1,000,000 words)

| YCOE  | PPCME2 | PPCEME |
|-------|--------|--------|
| 874.2 | 213.4  | 40.1   |

- (15) The poor are often generous to each other.
- (16) a. Se lama him andwyrde, ...  
*the crippled to him answered* (coaelhom, ÆHom\_2:33.257:o3)
- b. ... m+ag la se blinda lædan þone blindan  
*may the blind lead the blind*  
(coaelhom, ÆHom\_14:18.2015:o3)
- (17) a. , so þat ðe grete grucchede agenst hym, and þe smale  
*, so that the great grutch against him and the small*  
*cursed wellfast*  
*cursed wel faste* (CMPOLYCH,VIII,103.3666:m3)
- b. The wykkyde sall be don a-waye,  
*The wicked shall be done away* (CMROLLTR,4.118:m4)

- (18) a. For the wicked do reuenge them selfe vpon dygnytie  
(BOETHCO-E1-P2,61.124:e3)
- b. I see the good lye down prostrate for feare of my fall  
(BEETHEL-E2-P1,12.93:e2)

### 3.3. The Rise of the Prop-word *One*

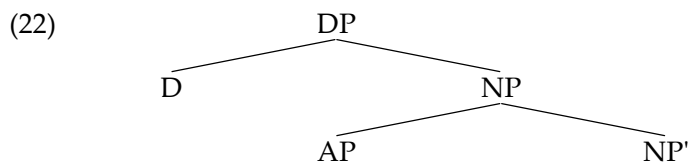
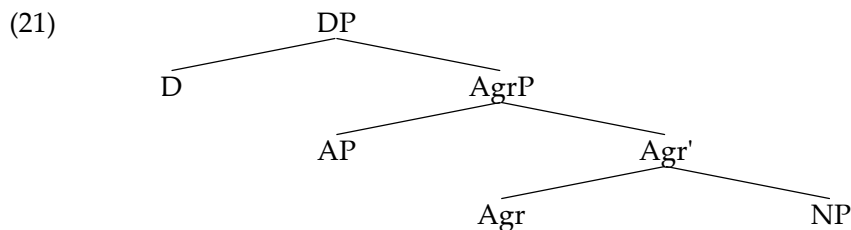
Table 2 The Frequency of the Prop-word *One* (per 1,000,000 words)

| YCOE | PPCME2 | PPCEME |
|------|--------|--------|
| 0    | 1      | 34     |

- (19) [thilke same oon] is thilke that is good  
*this same on is this that is good* (CMBOETH,436.C2.319:m3)
- (20) a. and God blesse that Little *one* (PETTIT-E2-P1,23.20:e2)
- b. it were the wild *one* (MARKHAM-E2-P1,1.94.96:e2)
- c. ..., which is almost as good as the old *one* (PEPYS-E3-P1,7.420322:e3)

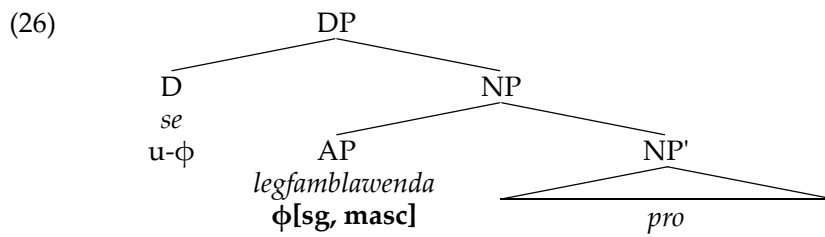
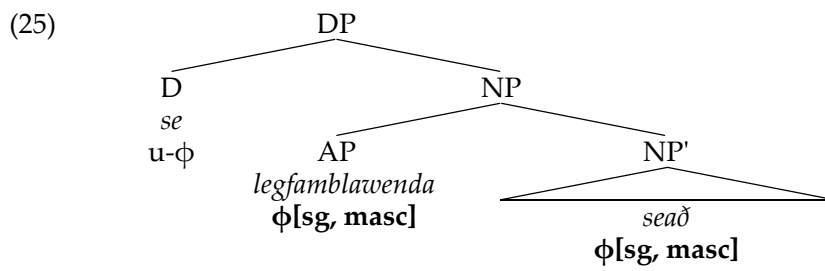
### 3.4. Summary

#### 4. Alternative

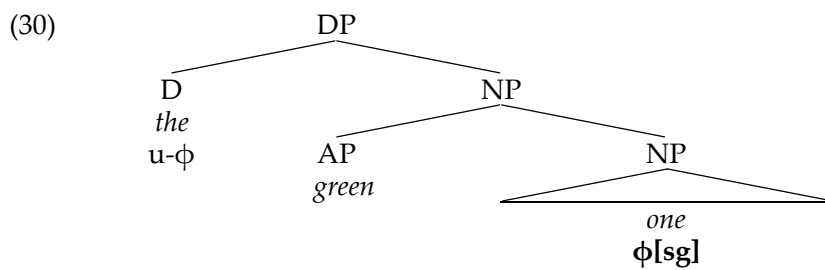
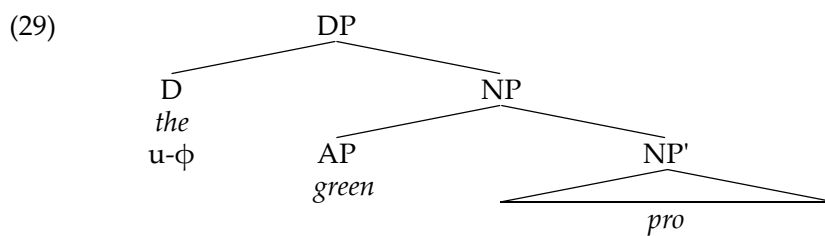
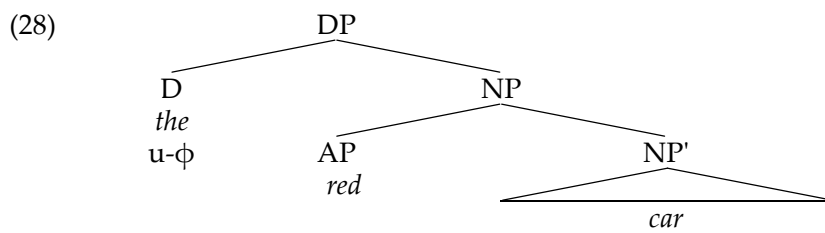


- (23) a. Determiners have unvalued  $\phi$ -features which function as a probe.  
b. Adjectives in Old English have lexically valued  $\phi$ -features.  
c. At least, *pro* generated in NP does not have any  $\phi$ -features.

- (24) se legfamblawenda seað & [DP se fula *pro*] wæs helle tintreges muð  
*that vomiting-fire hole and that foul was hell's torture's mouth*  
(Bede, 13.432.7)  
(Haumann (2003: 80))



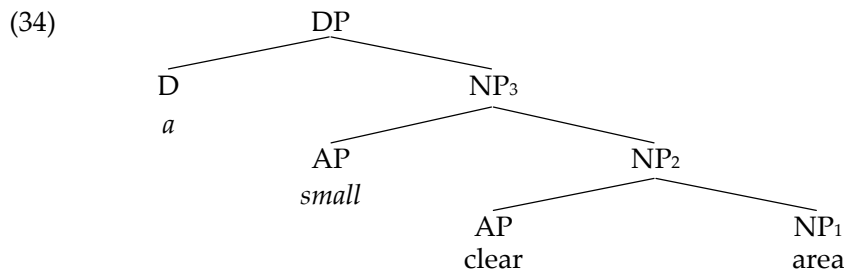
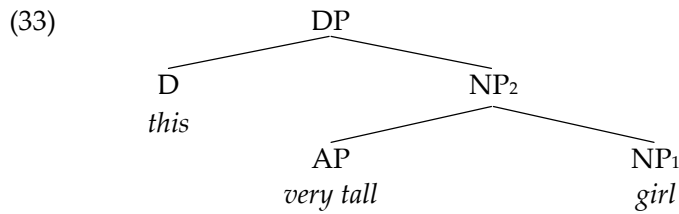
(27) John bought the red car and [the green\*(one)]. (Kester (1996: 58))



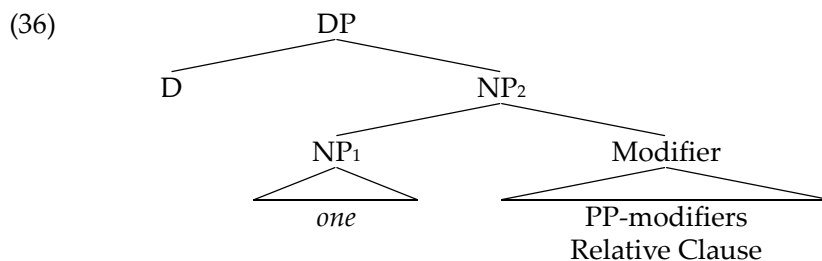
## 5. Consequences

- (31) a. \* Mary will meet at Berkeley because she didn't [e] John.  
 b. Mary will meet at Berkeley because she didn't [e]. (Lobeck (1995: 23))

- (32) a. I like this very tall girl more than that *one* (Radford (1981: 92))  
 b. They passed through a small clear area, then a larger *one*.  
 (Yasui and Nakamura (1984: 63))



- (35) a. I like the students from Mexico, and I adore the *one* from Canada.  
 (Schütze (2001: 130))  
 b. How do farmers decide which apples to use for what? – Well, they often use *ones* that have fallen to the ground to make cider. (ibid.: 175)



- (37) a. The attack on Iran by Iraq in June was more destructive than the *one* in September. (McCawley (1988: 186))  
 b. The theory of light that Newton proposed that everyone laughed at was more accurate than the *one* that met with instant acceptance. (ibid.: 368)

- (38) a. \* The students of physics are smarter than the *ones* of chemistry.  
 b. \* Newton's theory of planetary motion is more interesting than his *one* of light. (McCawley (1988: 185-186))

- (39) a. \* Alice read every book on the reading list, and George read *one* too.  
 b. \* Toscanini recorded Wagner's Faust overture, and Furtwängler recorded *one* too. (ibid.: 186)

## 6. Conclusion

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