

「英語の項の現れと人と人の関係について」

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1. 取り扱う構文形について

- (1) a. She slapped his face.
b. She slapped him on the face.
- (2) a. She criticized his remark.
b. She criticized him for his remark.

Body-Part Possessor Ascension Alternation

Possessor-Attribute Factoring Alternation

[Levin (1993)の用語]

2. 接触を含む動詞の項交替について

2.1 構文形の特徴について

2.1.1 Quirk et al. (1985)

- (3) a. Don't keep digging me *in the ribs*.
b. The wanted man has a scar *on the/his head*.
c. They grabbed him *by the arm*.
d. They grabbed his arm.

江川(1991)

- (4) a. He caught me *by the hand*.
b. He caught my hand.
- (5) a. The dog bit me *in the leg*.
b. The dog licked my hand.

2.1.2 単純な衝突の項の交替

- (6) a. The truck hit the car's left door.
b. The truck hit the car on the left door.

2.2 身体の動きを含む接触動詞(*caress, pat, slap*)の項の交替

2.2.1 *caress, pat, slap* の項の現れの分布(BNC から)

| 主語 | 動詞句 | caress | pat | slap | 合計 |
|----|------|--------|-----|------|-----|
| A | 人 | 79 | 62 | 91 | 232 |
| B | 身体部位 | 22 | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| C | モノ | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| D | 人 | 0 | 140 | 115 | 255 |
| E | 身体部位 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| F | モノ | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| G | 人 | 83 | 239 | 129 | 451 |
| H | 身体部位 | 68 | 5 | 2 | 75 |
| I | モノ | 12 | 0 | 6 | 18 |
| J | 人 | 20 | 115 | 29 | 164 |
| K | 身体部位 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 7 |
| L | モノ | 12 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| M | 人 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| N | 身体部位 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| O | モノ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

304 564 380 表 1

caress: touch or stroke X gently and lovingly
pat: touch X quickly and gently with the flat of the hand
slap: hit or strike X with the palm of the hand or a flat object

(Oxford Dictionary of English)

・動詞用例として、次のような項の現れが異なる事例は除外

- a. ... he caressed his hands over her naked behind..../
He then caressed his way through the lyrical, haunting melody of Monk's "Round Midnight,"
- b. Elaine patted her hair into place/ She patted down the earth in each pot..../ she ... patted out a tune softly.
- c. ... he slapped both hands palms over on the table..../
she slapped a parking ticket on his Mercedes./ he ... slapped the dust off.

2.2.2 *pat/slap* と共起する身体部位とモノ(BNC の分布から)

| pat+人+PP | |
|----------|-----|
| shoulder | 51 |
| back | 43 |
| head | 24 |
| hand | 4 |
| bottom | 4 |
| 合計 | 126 |

表 2

| pat+身体部位 | | | |
|----------|----|----------|-----|
| hand | 67 | face | 6 |
| shoulder | 28 | stomach | 5 |
| arm | 21 | chest | 4 |
| head | 16 | thigh | 4 |
| hair | 13 | paunches | 3 |
| cheek | 12 | bottom | 3 |
| knee | 12 | back | 3 |
| neck | 9 | 合計 | 213 |

表 3

| slap+人+PP | |
|-----------|-----|
| back | 45 |
| face | 29 |
| shoulder | 18 |
| mouth | 4 |
| head | 3 |
| bottom | 2 |
| 合計 | 101 |

表 5

| slap+身体部位 | | | |
|-----------|-----|--------|-----|
| face | 31 | rump | 5 |
| thigh(s) | 16 | back | 4 |
| knee(s) | 8 | legs | 4 |
| hand | 7 | palm | 4 |
| cheek | 7 | wrist | 3 |
| shoulder | 6 | neck | 3 |
| forehead | 5 | bottom | 3 |
| 合計 | 101 | 合計 | 101 |

表 6

| pat+モノ | | | |
|--------|----|---------|----|
| pocket | 18 | butter | 4 |
| chair | 8 | cushion | 3 |
| seat | 5 | sofa | 3 |
| bed | 4 | 合計 | 45 |

表 4

| slap+モノ | | | |
|---------|----|-------|----|
| table | 4 | water | 3 |
| pocket | 3 | wall | 2 |
| 合計 | 12 | 合計 | 12 |

表 7

2.2.3 特別な事例

2.2.3.1 pat の例

- (13) B: The cameraman is recording a "cut on action," which is centred on the little girl's hand as it reaches down to *pat the goat*. (CBP)
 F: We don't want to make an art that *pats people on the back*. (CD6)
 H:i. *Thomas's hand, patting her knee* reassuringly, did nothing to still her emotions. (FNT)
 ii. ..., *his hand* constantly fluttering to his mouth or *patting his greasy hair*. (H98)
 M: ... had he been walking in the pleasure garden by himself, talking to the broken queen and *patting the stone lioness on the head*? (FRC)

2.2.3.2 slap の例

- (14) B: *Her hand* twitched on the rolled edge of the black silk scarf about her neck, clearly longed to rise and *slap someone*. (GUK)
 E: i. *The hand* promptly slapped her on the neck. (ADF)
 ii. *John Taylor's huge hand* slapped Morris painfully between the shoulder blades. (HNK)
 F: i. How *success* slapped me in the face by JULIA ROBERTS (G37)
 ii. *A wave* slapped him in the mouth. (AMU)
 I: i. *Ferns of brilliant green* slapped her legs. (GUK)
 ii. ...*a chill wind* slapped their faces as they clattered along the pavement to Angelo's Cafe. (G15)
 H:i. Suddenly *her hand* lashed out and slapped his face. (GUF)
 ii. Suddenly *a hand* slapped his shoulder. (B3J)
 K: *Her hands* slapped the wall, like someone drumming a loose rhythm on a tom-tom. (FS8)
 ..., *her fist* slapping the wheel in time to the beat,... (ASD)

2.2.4 pat の前置詞句分離文と所有格目的語文(back/head)

- (15) a. "Al told me that when Einstein came to his desk and looked over his paper, he smiled broadly, patting him on the back and said in his heavily accented English: 'Das is goot!'" said Gross' widow and sole survivor, Ethel. "That was one of the proudest moments of his life."
 b. I peeped in the wardrobe to see the dwarf. He was still there. Wow! He just woke and yawned. When he saw me, he was frightened and hid among my dresses. I told him to come out of the wardrobe and patting him on the head. When I touched him, he wasn't afraid anymore.
 c. Calem was born Oct. 5th, so he is just a little whipper snapper. He was fussing so I picked him up and put him on my shoulder and patting his back. That did the trick, he let out a big belch and spit up on my shoulder.
 d. Today in the grocery store, we saw a kid with a bike helmet that probably rode there on the back of his dad's bicycle. (The weather has been gorgeous lately.) Nico saw him, instantly divined the helmet's purpose, and patting his head.

2.3 Wierzbicka (1976)などの分析

- (18) a. John came to the coffin and kissed the cold hand of his father.
 b. ?John came to the coffin and kissed his father on the hand.
 c. John kissed Mary on the cheek => John kissed Mary's cheek and consequently, Mary ...
 (19) a. The prime minister kissed the queen on the hand.
 b. The prime minister kissed the queen's hand. (中村 1995)
 (20) a. A registered child minder who twice slapped the face of a baby in her care has admitted causing the child actual bodily harm. (BNC: K1C)

2.4 前置詞句に所有格形が現れる例について (slap: 7 例中 4 例; pat: 2 例中 1 例)

- (21) a. She slapped him gently *on his flat stomach*,.... (FRS)
 b. "...I'd just love to slap him *on his fat chops*." (K97)
 c. He rounded in anger, slapping the page *across his sulky, girlish face*. (H9C)
 d. ...whistling, shouting insults and slapping the laggards *on their muddy behinds*. (CEB)
 e. "Won't be long," he said, reassuringly, just managing not to pat Jennifer Morgan *on her beige cashmere shoulder*. (AB9)

2.5 まとめ

- ・人の「人」に関する認識には、「物理的な身体を持った人」と「意識体としての人」の二重性がある。
- ・身体の接触を含む動詞文において、「人」が目的語にあらわれた場合、単なる「物理的な身体を持った人」への対象接触に加えて、「意識体としての人」への接触（メッセージ伝達意図）が重ね描きされている。
- ・前置詞句分離文では、接触部分が前置詞句で表され、「意識体としての人」への接触が前景となっている。一方、所有格目的語文では、主語の身体行為の動きが前景となっており、「意識体としての人」への接触は背景へと後退している。

3. 賞罰動詞の「項の割れ」について

- (22) a. She criticized John's remark.
 b. She criticized John's rudeness.
- (23) a. She criticized John_i for his_i remark.
 b. She criticized John_i for his_i rudeness.
 c. She criticized John for making that kind of remark.
 d. She criticized John for being rude.
- (24) She criticized John { a. because of his remark.
 b. because of his rudeness.
 c. because he made that kind of remark.
 d. because he was rude (at the party).

3.1 賞罰動詞の特徴

criticize, denounce, condemn, decry, upbraid, censure, reproach; reprimand, chide, scold, admonish, rebuke, etc.

3.1.1 賞罰動詞の目的語の特徴

- (25) Many scientists criticized { a.# climate change.
 b. climate change arguments.
 c.? greenhouse gas emission.
 d. the greenhouse gas emission in the US.
 e.* this summer.
 f.* this summer's humidity.
- (26) She criticized { a. the prototype's low efficiency.
 b. the prototype for its low efficiency.
 c. the project team for the prototype *they made*.
 d.*the project team for the prototype *they made* for its low efficiency.
 e. the project team for the prototype *they made* because of its low efficiency.

3.1.2 主語の特徴

- (27) a. The review criticized the film.
 b. Her report criticized his remark.
 c. She criticized his remark *in her report*.
 d. She criticized *him for his report* in her report.
- (28) a. (The) Japanese television criticized (the) American television.
 b. [Japanese television/X] criticized [American television/Y]
 c. X CRITICIZE Y for American television on Japanese television.
- (29) a. *John's left hand* patted her head.
 b. *John* patted her head *with his left hand*. } 接触動詞の主語の割れ

3.1.3 賞罰動詞の動詞句内の項の展開

- (30) a. They denounced Bush's insincerity.
 They denounced Bush { b. for his insincerity.
 c. for being insincere.
 d. as being insincere.
 e. as insincere.
- (31) f.* They denounced that Bush was insincere.
 g.? They denounced Bush that he was insincere.
- (32) Some economists criticized the measure { a. for further increasing the number of bankruptcies.
 b. as a cause of increasing the number of bankruptcies.

3.1.4 肯定的な価値を持つ賞罰動詞: praise, reward, forgive, bless, applaud, toast, compliment, etc.

- (33) a. The judges praised *her artistic performance*.
 b. The judges praised her *for her artistic performance*.
 (34) a. She rewarded *his hard work*.
 b. She rewarded him *for his hard work*.

3.1.5 目的語が人に限定される賞罰動詞: reprimand, chide, scold, admonish, rebuke, etc.

- (35) a. The supervisor reprimanded him *for his unauthorized trade*.
 b.* The supervisor reprimanded his unauthorized trade.
 (36) a. The teacher scolded the child *for his bad behavior*.
 b.* The teacher scolded the child's bad behavior.
 (37) a. The company reprimanded him *for engaging in stock trade during office hours*.
 b.* The company reprimanded him as being negligent in duties.
 (38) a. The mother scolded the child *for entering a stranger's car*.
 b.* The mother scolded the child as being lazy in school.

3.1.6 言語的行為に限定される賞罰動詞: thank, congratulate, insult, mock; greet, hail, etc.

- (39) a.* She thanked his invitation to the party.
 b. She thanked him for his invitation to the party.
 (40) a.* She congratulated his promotion to directorship.
 b. She congratulated him for his promotion to directorship.
 (41) a. She appreciated his invitation to the party.
 b.* She appreciated him for his invitation to the party.
 (42) a. They celebrated his promotion to directorship.
 b.* They celebrated him for his promotion to directorship.

3.2 for 句について

3.2.1 名詞句と動名詞句

- (44) She criticized the project team { a. for the prototype.
 b. for the prototype they made.
 c.# for making the prototype.
 d. for making such a prototype.
 (45) She criticized him { a. for his remark (in the meeting).
 b. for the careless remark he made in the meeting.
 c. for making that careless remark in the meeting.
 d.# for making the remark in the meeting.

3.2.2 目的語の現れと for 句について

3.2.2.1 「人」が目的語である場合と for 句

- (46) a. She criticized his remark.
 b. She criticized him.
 (47) a. Susan criticized *him* for making that kind of remark.
 b. Susan criticized *him* for causing troubles in their class.
 (48) a. # Susan criticized *his remark* for causing troubles in their class.
 b. # Susan criticized *his rudeness* for causing troubles in their class.
 (49) a. *His remark* was criticized for causing troubles in their class.
 a. *His rudeness* was criticized for causing troubles in their class.

- (50) She criticized John for making many mistakes in his work.

A: "Why did she criticize John?"

B: "Because he made many mistakes in his work."

C: "For making many mistakes in his work."

- (51) #She criticized John's work for having many mistakes in it.

A: Why did she criticize John's work?

B: "Because it has many mistakes in it."

C: * "For having many mistakes in it."

3.2.2.2 for句と共起する criticized の用例 (BNC から)

| for句と共起している criticized | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| 「人」に対する例 | 能動態 | 152 | 300 |
| | 受動態 | 148 | |
| 「人」でないものに対する例 | 能動態 | 20 | 72 |
| | 受動態 | 52 | |
| | | 372 | |

表 9

3.2.3 動詞句内要素としての for 句

- (52) a.* In Ben's picture of Rosa's tennis team, she_i found a scratch. (Reinhart 1983)
 b.* For John's remark on Mary_i's analysis, she_i criticized him.
 c.* For John's thoughtful comment on Mary_i's analysis, she_i thanked him.
- (53) The principal slapped one child, but the other teachers didn't criticize him
 a. {for/*because of} his violence.
 b. {*for/because of} his continuous commitment to education.
- (54) a. She didn't praise him because of his arrogance.
 b.* She didn't praise him for his arrogance.
 c. She didn't praise him for his bravery.

3.2.4 for句と意味上の主語について

- (55) She_i criticized him_j { a. for PRO_k asking a very personal question in public.
 b.? for PRO_k being asked a very personal question in public.
 a: k=j, b: ?k=i, ?k=j
- (56) She_i denounced John_j { a. for PRO_k having deceived her for years. (k=j)
 b. for PRO_k having been deceived for years. (k=j > k=i)
- (57) She thanked him { a. for inviting her to the party.
 b. for being invited to the party.
- (58) She apologized to John { a. for injuring him in the accident.
 b.? for being injured in the accident.

3.2.5 for句と because について

- (59) a. He failed in the exam *because he studied less than his friends.*
 b. She took long holidays *because she completed the project as a leader.*
 c. He owns a private jet plane *because he has run a multinational company for years.*
- (60) a.* He failed in the exam *for having studied less than his friends.*
 b.* She took long holidays *for having completed the project as a leader.*
 c.* He owns a private jet plane *for having run a multinational company for years.*
- (61) a. The teacher failed him in the exam *for having studied less than his friends.*
 b. Her boss allowed her to take long holidays *for having completed the project as a leader.*
 c. The company awarded him a private jet plane *for having run a multinational company for years.*
- (62) a. They criticized him for indoctrinating, not educating, young people.
 b. They criticized him because he is indoctrinating, not educating, young people.
 c. They criticized him *on the grounds that* he is indoctrinating not educating young people.
- (63) a. She criticized John ①*for resigning suddenly* ②*because it caused many inconveniences in her office.*
 b. She thanked him ①*for doing the job in stead of her* ②*because she knew he was very busy at that time.*

3.2.6 Jackendoff (2002)における for の分析

瀬戸(2006)

- (64) a. Susan praised her son Sam *for behaving nicely.*
 b. Fred cooked Lois dinner *for fixing his computer.*
- (65) a. Susan insulted Sam *for behaving badly.*
 b. Lois slashed Fred's tires *for insulting her sister.*
- (66) a. [X does something to Y]_P FOR [Y does something to X]_Q
 b. X EXCHANGE [P] for [Q]
- <場所・物などの獲得を>目的にして
 <物の等価交換を>目的にして
 <物事の理由が>相当するとして

3.3 まとめ

- ・賞罰動詞文の目的語に現れる語には人の行為が背景でつながっている。(「人」でない目的語においては「人の行為」が重なっている)
- ・賞罰動詞文で、「人」が目的語にあらわれた場合、「意識体としての人」への言語的な接触(賞罰の伝達)として解釈される。
- ・賞罰動詞文で現れる for 句は、言語的な接触(賞罰の伝達)を行う主語側からの「理由」を表しており、賞罰行為が等価に交換される事前の出来事を表す。

4. 接触動詞と賞罰動詞の関連について

- (67) a. When Cheney talked up current conditions in Iraq, Edwards knocked him for linking Saddam Hussein to Sept. 11.
 b. Nobody bashed Bill Clinton for sending the military into Somalia without the UN authorization.
 c. That's what Bill Maher did, with his famous "I love my country" speech, after he was hammered for calling the suicide bombers courageous.
 d. A Liverpool nursery was rapped for taking snaps of children and putting them on the walls without their parents' consent.
 e. Then Camp Clinton's damage control backfired as she was pounded for suggesting the "boys" ganged up on her.

- (68) a. bash/ batter/ hammer/ knock/ lash/ rap: 「たたく」=>「非難する」
 b. beat/ smash/ dash: 「たたく」=>「負かす」、「困らせる」、「くじく」
 c. drum: 「たたく」=>「たたき込む、教え込む」
 d. bang/ bump/ smack/ tap/ thump/ whack: 擬態語系は意味の展開が希薄(?)

praise -- pat
criticize -- slap

- (69) The police are investigating the food company { a. for illegal records. (search for)
 b. for making illegal records. (reason for)
 c. for the illegal records it made. (ambiguous)

5. まとめ

- ・身体の動きを伴う接触動詞において、「人」が目的語に現れる場合、人の人への何らかのメッセージ伝達意図が重ねられ、伝達意図を介しての人と人の関係を表す文となっている。
- ・賞罰動詞において、「人」が目的語に現れる場合、相手が係わる事前の出来事に対する交換として、主語側からの賞罰の伝達として解釈され、賞罰を介しての人と人の関係を表す文となっている。

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