

構文の変種

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1. はじめに

- (1) I'd rather **her** come to me.
- (2) He had decided to **feel** his way **cautiously**.
- (3) They made their separate **ways** to Europe.
- (4) Thank me no **thanks**. (Cf. Thank me no **thankings**.)
- (5) She smiled **what she hoped was** a reassuring smile.

2. I'd rather **her** come to me. についての検討

- (6) 'Benjamin, I'm not going to pry into your affairs,' she said, 'but **I'd rather you didn't say anything at all than be dishonest.**'
(Charles Webb, *The Graduate*)
(「ベンジャミン、あなたの色恋沙汰に首を突っ込もうとは思わないわ、でも、嘘をつくくらいならむしろ何も言って欲しくはないわ。」)
- (7) a. "I'd rather **they** gave me the money," Joe said. (Harold Robbins, *The Storyteller*)
b. "That's right. Unless you'd rather **we** carried on until we were out of gas---probably halfway across the Pacific." (John Castle and Arthur Hailey, *Flight into Danger*)
c. I added, 'Would you rather **I** left you before you got back into town?' (Agatha Christie, *Endless Night*)
d. Or would you rather **she** came to see you? (Agatha Christie, *Elephants Can Remember*)
- (8) a. So if she was going to have anything I'd rather **her come** to me. <brspok>
b. If she's going to try it I'd rather **her get** it from me than you know everywhere else # Cos you don't know what they're getting for a start. <brspok>
c. I'd rather **him have stayed** there because I agree with some of his views. <bbc>
d. I'd rather **him sell** a lot of records rather than some idiot at EMI... <brmags>
e. I'd rather **them be** successful than fail, for music's sake. <brmags>

- f. ...I would rather **them learn** to understand that those are television programmes... <brspok>
- g. You would rather **them invest** in something that produces no income at the moment... <brspok>
- h. We'd rather **them come** in. <brspok>
- i. You know I'd rather **them get** me up... <brspok>
- j. But the risk that students will stumble on to something on the net that their teachers and parents would rather **them not see** is obvious. <oznews>

(9) a. 補文標識の that が無い。

b. should などを伴わず形態的に動詞の原形の形のみが用いられている。

(10) Calgary said slowly: 'They'd rather, you mean, **that Jack Argyle** was guilty?'

(Agatha Christie, *Ordeal by Innocence*)

(11) 'They'd rather, you mean, **that he/*him** was guilty?'

(12) I would rather **that the enterprise be judged** on its merits than dismissed because it doesn't address issues that someone calls the True Issues of Semantics. (Ray S. Jackendoff, *Semantic Structures*)

(13) ...we thought that everyone concerned would rather **the bowls should sell** rather than the Association be left with a fine gallery of unsold pieces. <brmags>

(14) I'd rather **he come and get** it off me. <brspok>

3. He had decided to **feel** his way **cautiously**. についての検討

(15) [NP V one's way PP] (岩田 2007: 8)

(16) a. Horticulture was a new course so the staff were *feeling their way* just as much as the new batch of students.

b. But it quickly hushes up as another group *gropes its way*, begging for assistance. (Wall Street Journal Corpus, Kuno and Takami 2004: 81, 岩田 2007: 8)

c. She found it was not possible even to get up out of her seat without shoving people, *elbowing her way*, pushing past them.

d. We must *fight our way* to meet our Brothers to warn them.

e. We *made our way* slowly. (BNC, 岩田 2007: 9)

(17) a. Be a little careful, please! The hall is dark and you might stumble... Here where the hall turns and dives into utter darkness is ... a flight of stairs. **You can feel your way**, if you cannot see it. <usbooks>

(お願いだから、よく注意してよ。廊下が暗いから、つまづくかもしれないわよ。廊下は曲がって真っ暗になっちゃたここが階段よ。見えないから、手探りで進んでって。)

b. At the bottom you encounter a subterranean passage, curving away in the darkness. The effect is

disorientating. As you walk, **feeling your way**, you hear the sound of water in the distance. The last stretch of the tunnel is dark. <times>

((タワー)の底のところで地下通路にあたり、その地下通路は暗闇へと曲がっている。だから、方向がわからなくなる。手探りしながら、歩いて進んでいくと、遠くに水の音がする。トンネルの最後のところもまた暗い。)

(18) a. Wills says that in 1990, **when he founded his spin-off at BA, venturing was just starting to feel** its way. <times>

b. Until the weekend, five of Roeder's seven games in charge had been away **-a tough start for anyone, let alone a rookie** who is feeling his way. <sunnow>

(19) a. He had decided to feel his way **cautiously** where Keating was concerned and for the time being stick to the story that he was the victim of a marital dispute. <brbooks>

b. Instead he feels his way **instinctively**. <brnews>

c. He's just a young lad and just feeling his way **like everyone else**. <brnews>

d. Despite elaborate preparation we were audibly feeling our way **minute by minute**. <brnews>

e. After a couple of weeks of this, his PA Cindy White tells me, he gets back into a rhythm, on the roll for the next season, feeling his way **slowly**, picking up inspiration from the streets, his travels, nightclubs, his friends;... <brmags>

4. They made their separate **ways** to Europe. についての検討

(20) a. They made their separate **ways** to Europe, Pamela going home to England and Gunther to his native Germany. <brbooks>

b. It deteriorated yet further when the unhappy pair made their separate **ways** to Oslo to collect their Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. <brnews>

c. With visible reluctance they touched hands; and then they swung about and made their separate **ways** out of the ring, walking very carefully, as though they were in some danger of falling again. <usbooks>

d. The staff then tracked the movements of the men after they made their separate **ways**. <oznews>

(20)' a. The bikini, the miniskirt and the Beatles made their trendsetting ways from Europe to the United States, ... --- "Early language lessons arrive in U.S." By Sheila Flynn (The Associated Press)

b. And so that was it, until the party broke up and we all made our different ways home. <brbooks>

c. And so we made our separate ways to the little basement apartment to enjoy the meal that Sigmund Sichel had spent three days preparing. <usbooks>

(these three examples are due to Naohiro Takizawa)

- (21) a. We made our way into a bar, which is one of those rooms decorated not with taste or enthusiasm, but with the mortal fear of being passe. <times>
b. Instead they made their way to Heathrow from all parts of Ireland and Britain, grabbed a sandwich in the departure lounge, boarded the flight for Chile and braced themselves. <times>
- (22) [NP V one's way(s) PP]
- (20) a. They made their separate **ways** to Europe, Pamela going home to England and Gunther to his native Germany. < brbooks >
- (23) a. *They made their separate **way** to Europe, Pamela going home to England and Gunther to his native Germany.
b. *It deteriorated yet further when the unhappy pair made their separate **way** to Oslo to collect their Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.
c. *With visible reluctance they touched hands; and then they swung about and made their separate **way** out of the ring, walking very carefully, as though they were in some danger of falling again.
d. *The staff then tracked the movements of the men after they made their separate **way**.
- (24) a. **One by one** the teachers made their **ways** to their homes--; modest, mostly celibate, mostly cheerless homes. (BNC: H8Y)
b. Eighteen years later, when Hitler overran France in 1940, he ordered the Gestapo to find mother and son, who had **independently** made their **ways** to Paris. (TIME CORPUS of American English (1997/11/14))
- (25) a. **One by one** the teachers made their **way** to their homes--; modest, mostly celibate, mostly cheerless homes.
b. Eighteen years later, when Hitler overran France in 1940, he ordered the Gestapo to find mother and son, who had **independently** made their **way** to Paris.

5. Thank me no **thanks**. についての検討

- (26) Yet another class of double-object constructions combining possession and benefaction recently came to my attention. Bob Ryan, a sportswriter for *the Boston Globe*, justified a selection on his personal All-Star list by writing, "Meanwhile, Jeff Malone me no Jeff Malones." The Malone in question was a well-reputed basketball player whom Ryan did not care for. I also recall the title of an editorial in *Life* magazine a few years back protesting the standard two-letter abbreviations for American states introduced by the postal service: UT me no UTs." This semiproductive, self-conscious construction translates as "Don't think you're doing me a favor by offering/saying X

to me.” It is quite stereotyped (cf. *Don’t Jeff Malone me any Jeff Malones) and is probably inspired by a few well-known literary sources. Harrison (1968) notes that it was “a common kind of idiom” in Shakespeare’s time. In (4.26), I quote passages cited by Jespersen (1938/1982).

(4.26) “My gracious uncle,---”

“Tut tut , **Grace me no Grace**, nor **Uncle me no Uncle**:

I’m no traitor’s uncle, and that word ‘grace’

In an ungracious mouth is but profane.”

(Shakespeare *Richard II*, act II, scene 3)

“What is this?

‘Proud’ and ‘I thank you not,’

And yet ‘not proud,’ Mistress minion, you,

Thank me no thankings, nor **proud me no prouds**.”

(Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act II, scene 5)

“I heartily wish I could, but---”

“Nay, **but me no buts**---I have set my heart upon it.”

(Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*)

“Advance and take thy prize, the diamond; but he answered,

Diamond me no diamonds! For God’s love, a little air!

Prize me no prizes, for my prize is death!”

(Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*)

(Pinker (1989: 116-117))

(27) a. 二重目的語構文の一種である。

b. 準生産性を持つ。

c. 意識的に用いられる。

d. X, X というのもういいかげんよしてくれ、という意味を持つ。

e. 非常に定型化しているため、意味は同じでも、形をくずすと不可。

例えば、Jeff Malone me no Jeff Malones を *Don’t Jeff Malone me any Jeff Malones とすると不可。

f. 現代英語でも使われるが、Shakespeare 時代によく使われた熟語である。

例えば、以下のようなものがある。Grace me no Grace, Uncle me no Uncle, Thank me no thankings, Proud me no prouds, Diamond me no diamonds, Prize me no prizes. 等がある。

(28) a. $(X^0 \rightarrow) N^0 \rightarrow V^0$

b. $(X^0 \rightarrow) N^0(s)$

(29) [_{Phrase} [_{PreS} Imp [_S [_{VP} [V⁰] me no [N⁰(s)]]]]] :V⁰=N⁰

(30) "Don't think you're doing me a favor by offering/saying X to me."

(31) Now she is flighty enough and Mrs Pardell would make a nice contrast." "I see you are determined to go." "You'd love it too, Violetta, so don't pretend the desire to see them all is one-sided." "Of course I'd love to go. But # **But me no buts**. Will you explain to Mrs Jermyn? It would be better coming from you." So I sat with her in the solarium as I had so many times, and over a cup of tea I said:
'My family seem to think that Dorabella and I should go home for a little while. <brbooks>

(32) a. > Can somebody tell me who is Jim Hacker

Jim Hacker is the little-known, misunderstood and lonely brother of J.

Random Hacker. Jim Hacker should not be confused with B1FF [1] who posts articles using his elder brother's VIC-20.

> and how is related to my problem,,

Me, me me. /My/ problem. Tell /me/... Is that all you care about?

> I thought i will get some help

> from you guys but it seems you are just making joke

> out of it..

OK I won't make a joke this time.

> Anyway thanks for the SHOW!!!

Thank me no thankings, Rocky [2].

(<http://216.239.63.104/search?q=cache:ASaDFTpgcKUI>)

b. At first she thought the little man must have been Satan, but after talking with her husband she realized he was Gubich, King of the Dwarfs and helper of the poor. She went into town and sold some of the fir cones and returned with everything her family needed. Although her husband was sick and could not eat they all went to bed with happy hearts.

The next day the woman went back into the forest. She found Gubich near the same tree stump and poured out her thanks to him. "**Thank me no thanks, my good woman!**" he **laughed**. "I am happy to be of service."

(http://216.239.63.104/search?q=cache:9Z4k_ZA9M5kJ)

6. She smiled **what she hoped was** a reassuring smile. についての検討

(33) a. Pauline smiled.

smile₁: [x do 'smile']

b. Pauline smiled her thanks.

smile₂: [x EXPRESS y BY [x DO 'smile']]

(34) Pauline smiled a happy smile.

smile₃: [x PRODUCE y BY [x DO 'smile']]

(35) a. Mark smiled **the** bitter smile of a disillusioned corporate executive and walked out of the office, closing the door slowly and carefully behind him. (AC2 2536 n/a)

b. The "Iron Lady" as she was called, smiled **the** steely smile which was so familiar on the television screen and in the press. (AC 21598 n/a)

c. Ramsbum smiled **the** smile of pure malevolence that Amiss had come to expect of him. (HTG 34 n/a)

(36) a. He smiled what I thought was a cynical smile.

b. Rover barked what I would characterize as a friendly bark. (高見・久野 (2002:144))

(37) a. She indicated the chair, and smiled **what** she hoped was **a** reassuring smile. (JXW 611 n/a)

b. "A big chicken," he said, smiling **what** he hoped was **a** disarming smile. (F9C 588 n/a)

c. Marcus again smiled **what** Ludens saw as **a** mysterious complicit smile, as if Ludens were a talented tempter who was at the same time a fellow initiate. (APM 1701 n/a)

(38) a. There was what appeared to be a jackknife on the table.

b. There was what she thought was a gun on the table. (梶田 (1985: 38))

7. まとめ

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(2) He had decided to **feel** his way **cautiously**.

(3) They made their separate **ways** to Europe.

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(5) She smiled **what she hoped was** a reassuring smile.

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