

英語動詞の叙法と法性 (3)

— 従位文句の動詞 (上) —

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〔抄 録〕

C. T. Onions の *An Advanced English Syntax* (1904) の従位文句の分類は B. D. H. Miller による改訂版 *Modern English Syntax* (1971) にも引き継がれ、基本的には現代の文法 (例えば Leech, 1994²) にも及んでいる。この分類に準拠して従位文句を細目に迄分類し、各細目毎に現代英語の用例を挙げ、その細目の文句の特徴を、文句を導く連結語や述語動詞の叙法・法性に焦点を当てて論述する。(上) はその前半で捕核文句までを扱う。

キーワード 従位文句 捕核文句 上位的文句 法副詞 叙法・法性

第 1 章 英語の文句

1. 1. Simple Clauses (単一文句)

「文句 (Clause)」とは ‘a structure consisting of the elements subject, verb, complement (広義の「補語」即ち「補核」) and adjunct, or a selection of these’ (Young, *Introducing English Grammar*, p. 90) である。従って、「単文 (Simple Sentence)」は単一の文句から成る文である。この場合の「文句」は実質的に「文」と同義であり、「単一文句」は、単文と同義である。次の例文の斜線と斜線の間の文は、全て単一文句である。

(1) *Some weeks later, he left her. / She was not surprised. / She had been expecting it. / She was quite pleased to see him go. / Everything seemed a little colder without him.* (M. Drabble)

1. 2. Co-ordinate Clauses (等位文句)

単一文句が等位接続詞 (Co-ordinating Conjunction) に繋がれて1つの「文」を成す場合に、その文を「重文 (Compound Sentence)」と呼び、重文を成すそれぞれの文句を「等位文

句」と言う。

- (2) He was not interested, and she had not expected him to be so. (M. Drabble)
- (3) ‘Shall I open it?’ he said, and he nodded, so he opened it while Lucy went downstairs to look for some glasses. (M. Drabble)
- (4) He did not hand it to her, but stood there holding it, and smiling her.
(M. Drabble)
- (5) And that disposed of Malcolm, for Lucy would never have asserted herself.
(M. Drabble)

1. 3. Superordinate Clauses (上位文句)

「複文 (Complex Sentence)」中で一つの文句要素 (Clause Element) を成し、名詞・形容詞・副詞に相当する機能を有する文句を「従位文句 (Subordinate Clause)」と言う。従位文句を含む文句を「上位文句」と言う。下の文(6)で She から truth までが「上位文句」であり、as から it までの下線部と、that it から truth までの下線部が従位文句である。(7)の文章では、F. から 1924 までの文が「単一文句」、A few から Oxford までの文句が「等位文句」、I almost believe から unphilosophical までの文句が「上位文句」、that merely から文末までの下線部が従位文句である。又、上位文句から従位文句を除いた残りの部分を「主文句」(Main Clause) と呼ぶ。(7)の文で言えば、I almost believe が「主文句」である。

- (6) She had not even thought, as she said it, that it might be the truth.
(M. Drabble)
- (7) F. H. Bradley died in 1924. A few years afterwards I occupied his rooms at Oxford; and I almost believe that merely living in them has made me a little less unphilosophical. (E. Blunden)

1. 4. Modal Superordinate Clauses (法性上位文句)

ここで、本誌前号で紙面の都合上扱えなかったもののうち、「法性上位文句 (Modal Superordinate Clause)」と、これと同様の機能を持つ文修飾副詞 (Sentence Modifying Adverb) である「法副詞 (Modal Adverb)」やこれらと同様の機能を持つ形容詞を含む構文である「法形容詞 (Modal Adjective)」を扱う。

1. 4. 1. Modal Superordinate Clauses (法性上位文句)

「非人称の it + 非人称動詞 seem / appear / happen / be」に続く that-文句では、次の例文

の様に上位文句の「非人称の it + 非人称動詞 seem / appear / be + that」の形で法性を表す。

(8) *It may be that* in some dim, confused way it represents an ideal of freedom and adventure. (W. S. Maugham)

1. 4. 2. Modal Adverbs (法副詞)

上述の場合と同様の機能を文修飾副詞 (Sentence Modifying Adverb) が果たすことがある。この様な副詞を「法副詞」と言う。

David J. Carver *et al.* 編の *Collins English Learner's Dictionary* (London: Collins, 1972) (CELD と略称) が次の様な例文と注記を載せている様に、*necessarily* はよく否定文で用いられる。*You don't necessarily have to leave now* (i.e. you may stay if you wish). (CELD) 又、例文(15)が示す様に *possibly* はしばしば法助動詞と併用される。

(9) And *probably* the half-unconscious rhapsody was a Fetichistic utterance in a Monotheistic setting. (T. Hardy)

(10) If members of the village could speak to one another across five hundred years, they would *probably* find themselves unable to communicate. (P. Roberts)

(11) *Perhaps* you could make some suggestions. (W. S. Maugham)

(12) She was *surely* one of the rarest women of our time. (COBUD=*Collins CO-BUILD English Language Dictionary*)

(13) The fact that something is cheap doesn't *necessarily* mean it's of low quality. (CIDE=*Cambridge International Dictionary of English*)

(14) *Certainly* there are some features of language to which we can apply the terms 'good' and 'bad.' (P. Roberts)

(15) This tale, which is recorded by a later diarist and may *possibly* be an invention, has the ring of truth in its very succinctness. (M. McCarthy)

1. 4. 3. Modal Adjectives (法形容詞)

「代表主語の it + 連結動詞 be + 形容詞 + that-文句 / to-不定詞」の形で法性を表す構文の形容詞を法形容詞 (Modal Adjective) と言う。(16)の Cf. の例文の様に連結動詞が seem 等になることもある。法形容詞 *probable* 等の後には that-文句が続くが、*possible* や *impossible* の後は to-不定詞が普通である。

(16) It is *probable* that electronic books will start to replace paper ones in the near

future. (CIDE) / Cf. It seems very *probable* that they are descended from a single ancestor. (COBUD)

(17) It was *possible* to hear the bird, but very few did. (M. Spark)

(18) It is *necessary* to examine this claim before we proceed any further. (COBUD)

(19) It's *impossible* for me to be there before 7 o'clock. (CELD)

(20) It is almost *certain* that he will be elected. (COBUD)

第2章 従位文句

2. 1. Kinds of Subordinate Clauses (従位文句の種類)

Mood and Modality (F. Palmer, 1986) で F. R. Palmer は、従位文句 [即ち従文] (Subordinate Clause) は a part of the syntactic structure of the main clause (F. Palmer, 1986 : 131) であることを指摘している。その見地から従位文句を観ると、名詞文句 ([Onions 他] Noun Clause / [Leech 他] Nominal Clause) は上位文句 (Superordinate Clause) の動詞の補核 (Complement) (述語動詞の叙述を完全にする為に補う文核 [文の要素]、即ち主語、目的語、賓辞名詞) となる文句だから「補核文句 (Complement Clause)」であり、副詞文句 ([Onions 他] Adverb Clause / [Leech 他] Adverbial Clause) は上位文句の中で斜格 (Oblique) 的または副詞的働きをする文句だから「斜格的 [副詞的] 文句 (Oblique [or Adverbial] Clause)」である。形容詞文句 ([Onions 他] Adjective Clause / [Leech 他] Relative Clause) は上位文句の中で文核を付加的に修飾する文句だから「付加的文句 (Attributive Clause)」である。

2. 2. Modals in Subordinate Clauses (従位文句の法助動詞)

F. R. Palmer は、従位文句に於ける法性形 (Modal Form) の中で、多くの欧州の言語では、特に叙想法 (Subjunctive) に関心が持たれる (F. Palmer, 1986 : 126)、と述べている。英語の法助動詞の場合、特に関心が持たれるのは「叙想法代用 (Subjunctive Equivalent)」の *should* である。補核文句の例文(21)(23)(24)(25)の *should* がこれに当たる。斜格的 [副詞的] 文句の一種の目的文句 (Final Clause [Clause of Purpose]) の *may / might, shall / should* 等も叙想法代用であるが、*can / could* には Dynamic Modality の要素が加わっている。同様に、文(22)の補核文句の *must* も Deontic Modality の要素の加わった叙想法代用の *must* であることは、本誌「文学部論集」の第80号 § 2. 4で既に論じた通りである。

2. 2. 1. Complement Clauses (補核文句) の法助動詞

例文(21)は「従属叙述 (Dependent Statement)」の例、文(22)は「従属命令 (Dependent

Command)」の例である。用法の詳細に就いては第3章で論じる。

(21) All that mattered was that he *should* love her and she *should* love him and they *should* live kindled to one another. (D. H. Lawrence)

(22) She insisted that Jim *must* leave or she would call the police. (COBUD)

2. 2. 2. Oblique Clauses (斜格的 [副詞的] 文句) の法助動詞

次の例文(23)は「時の文句 (Temporal Clause)」の例である。

(23) He wanted her, she was his, he suspended his being till the day *should* come. (D. H. Lawrence)

下の例文(24), (25), (26), (26), (27), (28), (29)は「目的文句 (Final Clause)」の例である。

(24) I have eaten no lunch to-day in order that Susan *may* think me cadaverous and that Jinny *may* extend to me the exquisite balm of her sympathy. (V. Woolf)

(25) I look at the mother closely so that I *shall* know her again when I come to say good-bye. (A. A. Milne)

(26) Others encourage the new driver to drive everywhere, whether to the supermarket or to the dentist, so that the new driver *can* continue improving his or her driving skills. (N. Reid)

(27) They wouldn't let their cat run around outside for fear that it *would* get run over by a car. (CIDE)

(28) I take these in case I *should* not get back to-night from the person I am going to visit. (T. Hardy)

(29) He was extra polite to his superiors lest something adverse *might* be written into his records. (COBUD)

下の例文(30), (31)は「条件文句 (Conditional Clause)」の例である。

(30) If it *should* happen to you, who'd be surprised? (S. Bellow)

(31) "If I *could* believe," said Rhoda, "that I should grow old in pursuit and change, I should be rid of my fear." (V. Woolf)

下の例文(32), (33)は「譲歩文句 (Concessive Clause)」の例である。例文(32)(33)の認識の法助動詞 *may* / *might* には、例えば次の用例 *I may be wrong, but I think you would be wise to go.* (RHD=*Random House Dictionary*) 等が端的に示す様に、譲歩 (concession) の含みがある。

(32) Whatever the accident *may* have been, however, it had in no way disturbed the young lady and gentleman who were towing. (J. K. Jerome)

(33) But whatever it *might* have been the warmth and simplicity with which she took her place between them spoke of an affectionate complicity. (L. Durrell)

以上の斜格的 [副詞] 文句の法助動詞の用法の詳細に就いては第5章で論じる。

第3章 補核文句 [名詞文句]

3. 1. Kinds of Complement Clauses (補核文句の種類)

C. T. Onions は、補核文句 [即ち名詞文句] を、文の意義上の分類である「叙述 (Statement)」「命令 (Command)」「疑問 (Question)」「感嘆 (Exclamation)」の別に準じて、「従属叙述 (Dependent Statement)」「従属命令 (Dependent Command)」「従属疑問 (Dependent Question)」「従属感嘆 (Dependent Exclamation)」の4種に分類している (Onions, 1971: 46-53)。しかし、「名詞役関係詞文句 (Nominal Relative Clause)」も補核になる文句なのでこれを加えると、補核文句 [即ち名詞文句] は5種類に分類される。

3. 1. 1. Dependent Statements (従属叙述) or Noun Clauses of Statement (叙述の名詞文句)

(a) *that*-Clauses (*that*-文句)

この種の *that*-文句の *that* は、発生的には二つの等位文 (two Co-ordinate Sentences) : You are just : I know *that*. と、「並列構文 (Parataxis)」中の指示代名詞 (Demonstrative) だったものが、I know *that you are just.* と「従属構文 (Hypotaxis)」になったのだと Onions は説いている (Onions, 1971: 47)。(尤も「並列構文」「従属構文」の概念は *An Advanced English Syntax* にあったが、*Modern English Syntax* からは省かれている。) 上述の様な並列構文は現代文でもそう珍しくはない。例えば、

(34) You were more sinned against than sinning, *that* I admit. (T. Hardy)

次に、従属叙述の that-文句の例を挙げる。

(a-1) 主語になる that-文句：

(35) *That he had not killed Catherine was an accident.* (J. Steinbeck)

この種の that-文句が(b)の無接続詞文句になるのは、その文句が他動詞の目的語になっている場合か、「動詞 be+形容詞 glad / sure &c.」の後か、真主語となって文末に置かれている場合に限られる。従って、例文(35)の様に文句が主語になって文頭にある場合等は、that が必ず必要である。

(36) *It seemed to me very attractive that the executive head of the most powerful country in the world should have this simple, healthy, touching desire to hear the songs of birds.*
(E. Grey) Cf. *It is essential that our prices remain competitive.* (CIDE)

これは第2章の例文(21)と共に「判断に訴える問題を提起する文句」の場合であって、イギリス英語では、動詞は普通「叙想法代用の should+原形不定詞」になる。(36) Cf. 等の例文は、文句の動詞が叙実法なのか叙想法なのか形の上では判然としないが、*English in Use* (Quirk & Stein, 1990) では、伝統的には *It is essential that he should acquire / acquires a licence.* と「叙想法代用の should+原形不定詞」または叙実法を使っていた文脈でイギリス英語でも *It is essential that he acquire a licence.* と叙想法を用いることがあるのはアメリカ英語の影響に基づく、と説いている (Quirk & Stein, 1990 : 74)。

(a-2) 発話行為や感覚・情動・認識を表す動詞 (Halliday, 1994²: 107) の目的語になる that-文句やその相当表現：

(37) *We now know that the languages of about one-third of human race come from this Indo-European "common source".* (R. McCrum)

(38) *I couldn't deny that he was stunning us.* (M. Drabble)

(39) *When I came home to West Egg that night I was afraid for a moment that my house was on fire.* (Fitzgerald)

この種の文句の述語動詞は叙実法である。

(a-3) 「非人称の it+非人称動詞 seem / appear / happen / be」に続く that-文句：

(40) *It seemed that the trouble between the two was about the autumn leaves.* (M. Spark)

- (41) It happens that I am an orphan, without fortune. (D. du Maurier)
(42) It may be that the two views are not fundamentally irreconcilable. (A. J. Toynbee)

この種の文は、that-文句の主語を文の主語にした人称構文に書き直せる。即ち文(40)は The trouble between the two seemed to be...と、文(41)も I happen to be an...と、文(42)は The two views may not be...と、それぞれ書き直せる。

(a-4) 動詞 *rejoice*, *grieve*, *wonder*, *complain* 等やその相当表現 (it is a) *pity* 等や (I am) *glad* [*sorry* / *annoyed* / *surprised*] 等や (it is) *strange* / *wonderful* 等の後に来る「感情を表わす that-文句」:

この種の文句の述語動詞は、話者が実際に起こる事実として捉えている場合には叙実法になるが、それを話者が想念または感情として捉える時には「叙想法代用の should」(Jespersen の所謂「感情の should」[Jespersen, 1931: 337-8]) が用いられる。

- (43) He complained *that the office was not businesslike*. (COBUD)
(44) I'm so glad *that your niece was able to use the tickets*. (COBUD)
(45) My father went from home...I was glad *that he should go*. (A. C. Doyle)
(46) Connie was very angry *that Mrs Bolton knew her secret*. (D. H. Lawrence)

(a-5) 動詞 be の補語になる that-文句:

この種の文句の述語動詞は叙実法である。

- (47) The truth was *that her first sight of Clelia had not impressed her*. (M. Drabble)

(b) Zero *that*-Clauses (無接続詞文句)

この種の文句の述語動詞は、that-文句(a-1)~(a-5)の場合と同様である。

従属叙述が等位接続詞で繋がれている時、最初の文句が無接続詞であっても二つ目以降は that-文句となる。

- (48) She realized ϕ *her arm was broken and that she must find help if she wanted to live*.
(J. Steinbeck)

どの他動詞の目的語文句が that-文句になるか、無接続詞文句になるかについては、H. W. Fowler, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (s. v. **that**, conj. 旧版633頁、新版624頁) の

'tentative lists, to which everyone can make additions for his own use, of verbs'が参考になる : (1) *That* is usual with *agree, announce, argue, assume, aver, calculate, conceive, contend, hold, indicate, learn, maintain, observe, reckon, remark, state, suggest*; (2) *That* is unusual with *believe, dare say, presume, suppose, think*; (3) *That* is used or omitted with *be told, confess, consider, declare, grant, hear, know, perceive, propose, say, see, understand*.

- (49) I daresay ϕ *he's been delayed*. (Maugham)
- (50) And I knew ϕ *she was right*. (G. Swift)
- (51) I fear ϕ *I do not know the answer to that*. (COBUD)
- (52) She had said ϕ *she was getting rid of her garbage*. (M. Spark)
- (53) I told her ϕ *I would think it over a few days*. (M. Spark)
- (54) It was small wonder ϕ *the widow thought so well of him*. (D. du Maurier)
- (55) I am glad ϕ *you have come, Miss Eustacia*. (T. Hardy)
- (56) I'm sure ϕ *he'd let you in*. (M. Drabble)
- (57) Shadrach, the truth is, ϕ *you are not a businessman*. (T. Hardy)

(c) *but*-Clauses (but-文句)

否定的な義の語 *question, doubt, deny, hinder* 等が更に打ち消されている場合、それに続く *but (that) = that* である。文句の述語動詞は叙実法である。

- (58) There's no question *but that* Norm did love Mira. (M. French)

(d) *lest*-Clauses (*lest*-文句)

動詞 *fear* の目的語またはその相当表現 (動詞 *dread* 等の目的語、名詞 *fear, dread, risk* 等と同格) の従属叙述は *lest* に導かれることがある。

- (59) 'Only not quite so useful,' he, added, fearing *lest people should think him unpractical, which he really was not*. (O. Wilde)
- (60) I have just the same dread *lest an iron contract should extinguish your tenderness for me, and mine for you*. (Hardy)

勿論、上の様な文脈でも、文(51)のように、無接続詞や *that*-文句になる場合も多い。

3. 1. 2. **Dependent Commands** (従属命令) or **Noun Clauses of Command** (命令の名詞文句)

従属命令の連結語の用法は、*that*-文句や無接続詞が導く従属叙述の場合と同じである。

従属命令の述語動詞はイギリス英語 (British English) では「*should*+原形不定詞」、米語 (American English) では叙想法現在 (動詞の原形) が普通である。

- (61) The captain ordered *that all his officers should attend the parade.* (CIDE)
- (62) It was decided *that a deputation should wait on the boy's aunt.* (T. Hardy)
- (63) Norm always insisted ϕ *she come into his bed.* (M. French)
- (64) He proposed *that the building be restored.* (F. S. Fitzgerald)

従属命令の述語動詞の例外は動詞 *mind*, *take care*, *see* (to it) 等の後の文句の動詞が叙実法になることである。

- (65) *Mind ϕ you work in the morning.* (T. Hardy)
- (66) Round the vault,...the five brothers stood, with white heads bowed; they would see *that Ann was comfortable where she was going.* (J. Galsworthy)

従属命令は意志による願望を表すところから、「果たされざる願望 (an unfulfilled wish)」を表す *I wish* 等続く *that*-文句もこの範疇に入れる。文句の述語動詞は叙想法になる。

- (67) *I wish ϕ you could forget about other people and talk about yourself, but I suppose you have to talk of other people's feelings because you haven't any of your own.* (D. Garnett)
- (68) My sister occasionally wished ϕ *she were a boy.* (COBUD)
- (69) *I wish now that I had not started to write this book in the first person singular.* (M. Drabble)

3. 1. 3. **Dependent Question** (従属疑問) or **Noun Clauses of Question** (疑問の名詞文句)

従属疑問は疑問詞または接続詞 *whether* / *if* に導かれる。但し、*whether* は元もと 'which of the two' の義の疑問代名詞であった。

従属疑問の述語動詞は普通叙実法であるが、従位文句には叙想法が用いられていた名残が文(70)の叙想法に見られる。

- (a) *wh*-Clauses (疑問詞文句)

- (70) I've no idea *what you're talking about*. (M. Drabble)
- (71) I didn't know *what kind of behaviour he expected from me*. (M. Drabble)
- (72) You can't understand *why I asked all those questions just now*. (D. du Maurier)
- (73) I wondered *when you would get back*. (M. Drabble)

(b) *if / whether*-Clauses (*if / whether*-文句)

- (74) I can't tell *whether she loves me or she hates me*. (COBUD)
- (75) I wonder *if you sent me these flowers*, Lord Bleane? (W. S. Maugham)
- (76) He wondered *if the inscription were legible still*. (T. Hardy)

3. 1. 4. **Dependent Exclamations** (従属感嘆) or Noun Clauses of Exclamation (感嘆の名詞文句)

従属感嘆は感嘆詞 *what* または *how* に導かれ、文句の述語動詞は叙実法である。なお、文(79)の 'the younger generation' の *younger* は、絶対比較級 (Absolute Comparative) である。

- (77) Now Sue sees *what a mistake she has made!* (T. Hardy)
- (78) If my home had not been so far from the shop, the others would have realized *what a saint I was*. (R. Lynd)
- (79) And he thought *how much more advanced and broad the younger generation was than the old!* (G. Swift)

3. 1. 5. **Nominal Relative Clauses** (名詞関係詞文句)

- (80) *What was pleasant for him* was pleasant for her. (M. French)
- (81) It's just *what he'd want*. (G. Swift)
- (82) By the light of a match he could still discern *what he had cut so enthusiastically so long ago*. (T. Hardy)
- (83) I'm sure he would do full justice to *whichever role he might be called*. (COBUD)
- (84) Now, the most pleasant feature of lunch at a country house is this—that you may sit next to *whomsoever you please*. (A. A. Milne)
- (85) You may go—with *whom you will*. (T. Hardy)
- (86) There's no reason why you shouldn't ask *whom you please* to stay with you. (W.

S. Maugham)

文句の動詞が *like*, *please*, *choose*, *will* (=like) 等の場合は *-ever* 無しで「複合関係代名詞」の義になる。上の2例とも、*whom you will* = *whom you please* = *whomever* [= anyone whom] you like である。

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