

補文の差異について

——主語機能の不定詞・節の通時的研究より——

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1 序

本稿では、佐藤 (2005) の調査結果より、標題及び±It とその区分法について思うところを記す。統語・文体・意味・リズム等の上の区分法が存在するのか。補文の差異とは、[U(ninflected inf.) : I(nflected inf.)], ±*that*, [inf. : cl.]である。なお、佐藤 (2005) での言語資料は英語聖書四福音書である。

2 ±It について

古英語において、不定詞ではほぼ -It であるが、節 (-NP) では±It の両方が普通にみられる。この±It 両方を伴う述語だけを調べたところ大方次のことが言える。±It の区分法は特になし(例えば(1)(2))。ただし、名詞節(引用文除く)・形容詞節中では-It が一般的である(例えば(3))。(1)(2)の a, b は同一内容。なお、例文中のイタリック・下線は筆者による。例文が古・中英語だけの場合は現代英語訳(NRSV)を添える。以下同様。

- (1) a. *nys* hit na god þæt man nime bearna hlaf and hundum worpe (OE) / It is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs (PE) (Mt 15.26)
b. *nis* na god. þæt man nime þara bearna hlaf and hundum worpe (OE) / it is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs (PE) (Mk 7.27)

- (2) a. *Hit is awriten*, drihten þinne god ðu geeadmetst. and him anum þeowast (OE) / It is written, ‘Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him.’ (PE) (Lk 4.8) [文頭に副詞無]
 b. Soþlice *hit ys awriten*, to drihtne þinum gode þu ðe geeaðmetsð and him anum þeowast (OE) / for it is written, ‘Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him.’ (PE) (Mt 4.10) [文頭に副詞有]
- (3) Ge gehyrdon þæt *gecweden wæs* lufa þinne nextan and hata þinne feond (OE) / You have heard that it was said, ‘You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.’ (PE) (Mt 5.43)

3 補文の差異について

[U : I], *±that*, [inf. : cl.]に分けて記す。

3.1 [U : I]について

古英語において、U, I 両方を伴う述語だけを調べたところ大方次のことが言える。[U : I]の区分法は特になし（例えば(4)(5)）。(4)(5)の a, b は同一内容。

- (4) a. *alyfð* on restedagum wel *don*. oððe yfele (OE) / is it lawful to do good or to do harm on the sabbath . . . ? (PE) (Lk 6.9)
 b. *alyfð* restedagum wel *to donne* hweþer ðe yfele (OE) / Is it lawful to do good or to do harm on the sabbath . . . ? (PE) (Mk 3.4)
- (5) a. *betere* þe *is* mid anum eagan *gan* on godes rice þonne twa eagan hæbbende sy aworpen on helle fyr (OE) / it is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than to have two eyes and to be thrown into hell (PE) (Mk 9.47)
 b. *Betere* þe *ys* mid anum eage on life *to ganne* þonne þu si mid twam asend on helle fyr (OE) / it is better for you to enter life with one eye than to have two eyes and to be thrown into the hell of fire (PE) (Mt 18.9)

3.2 *±that* について

古英語～現代英語において、*±that* 両方を伴う述語だけを調べたところ大方次のことが言える。say^p系では、*±that* の区分法は「補文の通常文／引用文」である（例えば(6)）(cf. Kaltenböck 2006: 379, 383,

385)。write^pでは、近・現代英語に限り、±*that* の区分法は「補文の通常文／引用文」である（例えば(7)）。happen 系では、±*that* 両方を伴うのは古英語～近代英語だが、古・中英語に限り、±*that* の区分法は「補文の単文／複文(副詞節)」である（例えば(8)）。(7)の b, c は同一内容。なお、say^p, write^p の p は passive を表す。

- (6) a. sume sædon þæt iohannes of deaðe aras (OE) / it was seide of sum men, *that* Joon was risen fro deth (ME) / it was said of some, *that* Iohn was risen from the dead (EMnE) / it was said by some *that* John had been raised from the dead (PE) (Lk 9.7) [OE は他構文]
- b. Soþlice hit ys gecweden swa hwylc swa his wif forlæt. he sylle hyre. hyra hiwgedales boc (OE) / And it hath be seyð. Who euere leeueth his wijf, 3yue he to hir a libel of forsakyng (ME) / It hath beene said. Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him giue her a writing of diuorcement (EMnE) / It was also said. ‘Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of divorce.’ (PE) (Mt 5.31)
- (7) a. swa be mannes suna awriten is þæt he fela ðolige and si oferhogod (OE) / and as it is writun of mannus sone, *that* he suffre many thingis, and be dispisid (ME) / and how it is written of the Sonne of man, *that* he must suffer many things, and be set at nought (EMnE) / How then is it written about the Son of Man, *that* he is to go through many sufferings and be treated with contempt? (PE) (Mk 9.12)
- b. hyt ys awriten. min hus ys gebedhus (OE) / It is writun. Myn hous schal be clepid an hous of preier (ME) / It is written. My house shall be called the house of prayer (EMnE) / It is written. ‘My house shall be called a house of prayer’ (PE) (Mt 21.13)
- c. Hit ys awriten þæt min hus ys gebedhus (OE) / It is writun. *That* myn hous is an hous of preyer (ME) / It is written. My house is the house of prayer (EMnE) / It is written. ‘My house shall be a house of prayer’ (PE) (Lk 19.46)
- (8) a. Soðlice on oðrum restedæge wæs geworden þæt he on gesamnunge eode and lærde (OE) / And it was don in another sabat, *that* he entride in to a synagoge, and tau3te (ME) / And it came to passe also on another Sabbath, *that* he entred into the Synagogue, and taught (EMnE) (Lk 6.6)
- b. Ða wæs geworden þa se hælend þas word geendode þa wundrode þæt folc his lare (OE) / And it was doon, whanne Jhesus hadde endid these wordis, the puple wondride on his techyng (ME) / And it came to

passe, when Iesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine (EMnE) (Mt 7.28)

- c. Ða wæs geworden þa elizabeth gehyrde Marian gretinge, þa gefagnude þæt cild on hyre innoðe (OE) / And it was don, as Elizabeth herde the salutacioun of Marie, the ʒong child in hir wombe gladide (ME) / And it came to passe *that* when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Marie, the babe leaped in her wombe, and Elizabeth was filled with the holy Ghost (EMnE) (Lk 1.41)

3.3 [inf. : cl.]について

古英語~近代英語において、inf., cl.両方を伴う述語だけを調べたところ大方次のことが言える。古・中英語では、[inf. : cl.]の区分法は特になし（例えば(9)(10)）。近代英語では、例が少なく、[inf. : cl.]の区分法は不明である（例えば(11)）。ただし、古英語~近代英語において、NP と補文の主語が異なる場合は cl.が一般的である（例えば(12)）。(9)(10)の a, b は同一内容。なお、本言語資料の現代英語では inf., cl.両方を伴う述語はみられない。

- (9) a. god ys us her *to beonne* (OE) / it is good vs *to be* here (ME) / it is good for vs to be here (EMnE) (Mt 17.4)
 b. god is *þæt* we her beon (OE) / it is good *that* we be here (ME) / it is good for vs to be here (EMnE) (Lk 9.33)
- (10) a. Alyfð gafol *to syllanne* þam casere hwæðer þe we ne syllað (OE) / Is it leeueful *that* tribute be ʒouun to the emperoure, or we schulen not ʒyue? (ME) / Is it lawfull to giue tribute to Cesar, or not? (EMnE) (Mk 12.14) [a, b の OE は類似述語]
 b. Ys hit riht *þæt* man þam casere gafol sylle þe na (OE) / Is it leueful to vs *to ʒyue* tribute to the emperoure, or nay? (ME) / Is it lawfull for vs to giue tribute vnto Cesar, or no? (EMnE) (Lk 20.22)
- (11) a. It is not meete *to take* the childrens bread, and cast it to dogs (EMnE) (Mt 15.26)
 b. It was meete *that* we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is aliue againe: and was lost, and is found (EMnE) (Lk 15.32)
- (12) betere him ys *þæt* an cwyrnstan si to hys swyran gecnytt. and si be-

senced on sæs grund (OE) / it spedith to *hym that a mylnstoon* of assis be hangid in his necke, and he be drenchid in the depnesse of the see (ME) / it were better for *him that a milstone* were hanged about his necke, and that hee were drowned in the depth of the Sea (EMnE) (Mt 18.6)

4 結 び

2・3 節を表にまとめる。決定的な区分法は部分的にしかみられない。限られた言語資料中の限られた述語（差異両方を伴う述語）での結果であり、参考程度にみていただきたい。しかし、本結果より、述語を拡大しての研究継続に疑問を感じてしまう。ちなみに、「補文の差異」は現代英文法分野ではこれまで頻繁に取り上げられてきたテーマである。本結果（特に±*that*, [inf. : cl.]の場合）は、現代英文法の視点からはどのように解釈することができるであろうか。

表 補文の差異及び±It とその区分法(通時的)

			主な区分法
±It		OE	特になし；名詞節(引用文を除く)・形容詞節中では-It が一般的
U : I		OE	特になし
± <i>that</i>	say ^p 系 write ^p	OE-PE OE-PE	補文の通常文／引用文 EMnE, PE にて、補文の通常文／引用文
	happen 系	OE-EMnE	OE, ME にて、補文の単文／複文(副詞節)
inf. : cl.		OE-EMnE	特になし／不明；NP と補文の主語が異なる場合は cl.が一般的

引用文献

- Kaltenböck, G. 2006. “... *That* is the question’: Complementizer Omission in Extraposed *that*-clauses”. *English Language and Linguistics* 10: 371-96.
 佐藤勝. 2005. 「主語機能の不定詞・節の通時的—研究——記述的研究——」
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* 英語聖書は、OE: Liuzza (ed.) (1994); ME: Forshall & Madden (eds.) (1850); EMnE: AV (Kenkyusha rpt., 1985); PE: NRSV (OUP, 1989)である。