

# 百科事典的意味論からみる英語中間構文再考

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## 1. はじめに

◇ 英語中間構文について

- (1) a. Bureaucrats bribe easily. (Keyser and Roeper 1984: 384)  
b. The wall paints easily. (ibid.)  
c. The floor waxes easily. (ibid.)

◇ 中間構文は特定の出来事を示せない (…と言われている)

- (2) [English middles] do not describe particular events in time. (Keyser and Roeper 1984: 384)  
(3) a. 中間構文は主語指示物の性質・属性を描く構文 (e.g. Fagan 1992; 吉村 2012)  
b. 属性叙述(or Individual level Predicates)である。 (e.g. Kageyama 2006 etc.)

◇ 過去時制や知覚構文の補文内で共起しにくい

- (4) a. ?? This evening, bureaucrats bribed easily. (Kageyama 2006: 95)  
b. \* Yesterday this book read easily. (Sakamoto 2001: 87)  
(5) \* I saw bureaucrats bribe easily. (Keyser and Roeper 1984: 386)

◇ 本研究の主張

基本的に、(5)のような表現は容認できないが、容認される事例も観察される。

原因は、出来事項(後述)の有無に拠らず、中間構文の意味に関する百科事典的意味に左右される。

## 2. 出来事項を想定する先行研究とその問題点

◇ Middle formation at Argument Structure

- (6) (Ev (x <y>))  
(Ev^(x<y>)) a. Ev-suppression  
(Ev^(x^ <y>)) b. collateral suppression of agent  
 $\lambda y$  (Ev^(x^ <y>)) c. property description by lambda abstraction  
(Kageyama 2006: 102 より)

抑制の考え方は Grimshaw 1990; Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994; Kageyama 2006; 影山 2009 など

◇ Incompatibility with spatiotemporal adverbs

- (7) a. ?? This evening, bureaucrats bribed easily. (Kageyama 2006: 95)  
b. \* Yesterday this book read easily. (Sakamoto 2001: 87)  
c. \*This car drove easily yesterday. (谷口 2005: 159)

◇ 知覚動詞 see の補文は事象読みか一時的な状態読みを取る。

- (8) a. I saw Mary leave. (Keyser and Roeper 1984: 386)  
b. I saw Mary naked. (ibid.)  
c. \* I saw Mary tall. (ibid.)
- (9) a. \* I saw bureaucrats bribe easily. (Keyser and Roeper 1984: 386)  
b. \* I saw chickens kill quickly. (ibid.)  
c. \* I saw the floor wax easily. (ibid.)

◇ 時空間的副詞を伴う中間構文

- (10) a. Last time, the clothes washed in five minutes flat. (Taylor and Yoshimura 2006: 363)  
b. The curry digested surprisingly easily last night. (Rosta 1995: 137)  
c. What sold like hotcakes yesterday may be dead stock tomorrow.  
(Friedman, Harry J. 2011. *No Thanks, I'm just looking: Sales Techniques for Turning Shoppers into Buyers*)

◇ 知覚構文内で生じる中間構文 ←本研究のポイント!

- (11) a. Sophy saw three goals score easily. (Rosta 1995: 137)  
b. Scarves similar to these are priced between \$22.42 and \$59.35 on eBay and Amazon. I saw them sell like hotcakes for \$26 each during a trade show that I attended in Florida.  
(<https://internationalliving.com/how-to-earn-on-your-vietnamese-adventure-fylo/>)

◇ 「中間構文は出来事項(Ev)を取らない」という主張では(10)-(11)を説明できない。

### 3. 主語指示物の属性はどのように理解されるのか？

◇ 本発表の主張

- (12) a. 中間構文は主語指示物の属性を描く  
b. ただしその属性やそれを理解するための百科事典的知識に出来事性を帯びるならば、意味解釈において柔軟に対応し、過去時制や知覚構文でも生じることができる。  
(つまり統語・語彙操作に拠らず、純粋な意味的整合性によって容認性が決まる)

◇ 意味的考察 (e.g. van Oosten 1977, 1986; Fellbaum 1985; Yoshimura & Taylor 2004)

- (13) 出来事の発生 (その前兆) はそれに対して責任を満たす事物の属性に依存する。(責任性)  
...the patient subject takes on a property typically associated with agents: responsibility of a property... By “responsibility of a property” I mean that the occurrence of the event or the coming about of the situation depends on some property of the entity that is responsible. (van Oosten 1986: 85)
- (14) A middle expression presents a non-Agent participant as possessing certain inherent properties which significantly facilitate, enable (or the case may be, impede) the unfolding of the kind of process designated by the verb phrase; at the same time, the contribution of the Agent to the process, though not erased, is backgrounded. (Yoshimura & Taylor 2004: 303)

◇ 百科事典的意味観

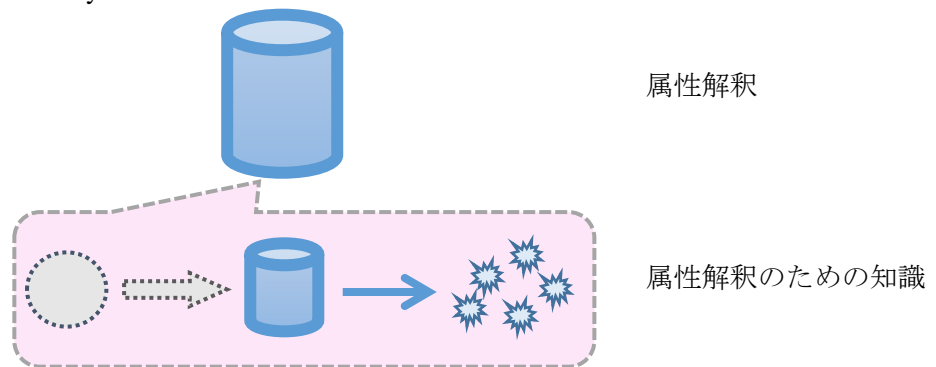
言語の意味に関する知識と現実世界に関する知識は完全に二分できない。

- (15) a. An alternative view, metaphorically referred to as encyclopedic semantics, is generally adopted in cognitive linguistics... In this approach, a lexical meaning resides in a particular way of accessing an open-ended body of knowledge pertaining to a certain type of entity....On the encyclopedic view, a lexical meaning is neither totally free nor totally fixed. (Langacker 2008: 39)

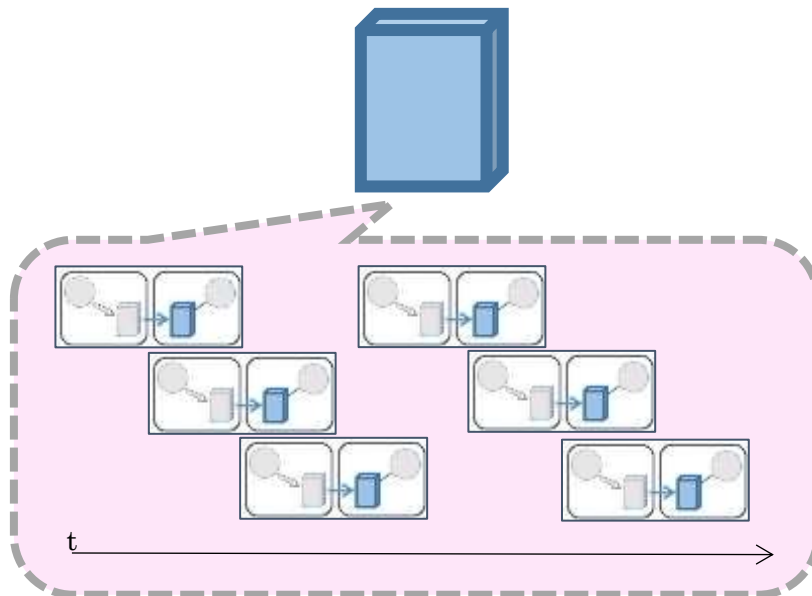
- b. ある語（に相当する言語単位）の百科事典的意味とは、その語から想起される（可能性のある）知識の総体のことである。 (靑山 2010: 5)

◇ 主語の属性を解釈するために必要な知識： 複数回性

- (16) This type of glass breaks easily.



- (17) This book sells like hotcakes.



◇ *sell like hotcakes* を理解するためには、*this book is sold* を複数回想定しなければならない。

- (18) a. # This book sells like hotcakes!! I saw Cathy buying the book.  
 b. This book sells like hotcakes!! I saw many women buying the book.  
 ⇒ 「売れやすさ」という属性を理解するには、「売る」行為が繰り返し生じないと理解されない。行為が繰り返されるため、より出来事性を帯びている。

#### 4. 知覚構文内における中間構文－事象の連続から属性を読み込む

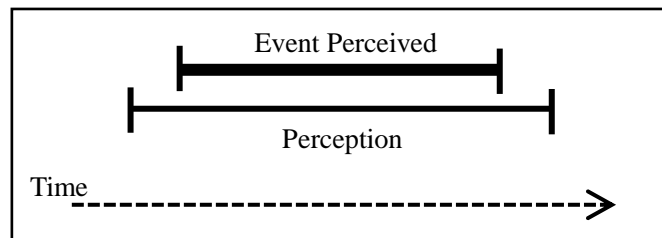
◇ 知覚構文との不一致 (SC内は事象読みか一時的な状態読みを要求する)

- (19) a. \* I saw bureaucrats bribe easily. = (9a)  
 b. \* I saw chickens kill quickly. = (9b)  
 c. \* I saw the car drive easily.  
 d. \* I saw the clothes wash easily.

◇ 不定形の補文を伴う知覚構文

- (20) a. I saw the man cross the road.  
 b. I saw the man crossing the road.

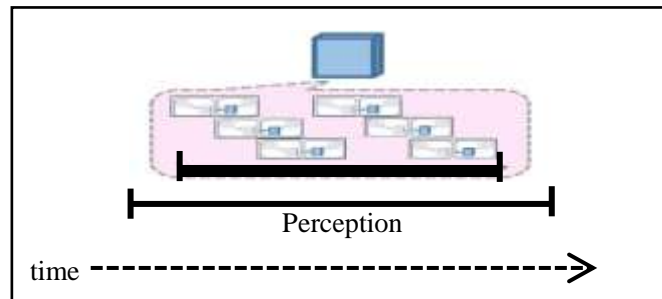
(21) V + IC temporal relations (Pizer 1994: 343), (19a)について



◇ 知覚構文内で生じる中間構文

(22) I saw them sell like hotcakes for \$26 each during a trade show that I attended in Florida. = (12b)

⇒ 商品の属性を描写しつつも、その背景にある「繰り返し生じる売買」の事象を目撃している事態



(23) a. Ashok Kumar Kinger the owner of Asia Book Depot, one of the oldest bookstores in Anna's town, said that he has never seen a book sell at such a fast pace.

(<http://www.chakranews.com/increase-in-sales-for-vivekananda%E2%80%99s-books-with-anna-hazares-help/1515>)

b. My girls, my husband and my family without doubt are top of the list, and then of course I get a real kick from seeing my collections sell well.

(<https://www.independent.ie/life/what-is-the-secret-to-happiness-31271695.html>)

◇ さらなる観察

- (24) a. ? I saw my car handle very well.  
 b. [Used cars are repaired one after another at the repair shop, and]  
 I saw these cars handle very smoothly!!

## 5. 属性と事象の狭間で－更なる構文例

### 5.1. 状態動詞と場所副詞

◇ Stative Verb + Locative Modification

- (25) a. \*The dog is hot on the porch. (Ernst 2016: 237)  
b. \*The tomatoes weigh 1 kg beside the peppers. (ibid: 238)

◇ 出来事項としての説明 (cf. Maienborn 2005)

- (26) a. She hits her brother.  
b.  $\exists e$  [HIT(e) & Agent (e, she) & Theme (e, b)]  
(27) a. She resembles her brother.  
b.  $\exists k$  [RESEMBLE(k) & Holder (k, she) & Theme (k, b)]

◇ 容認される例

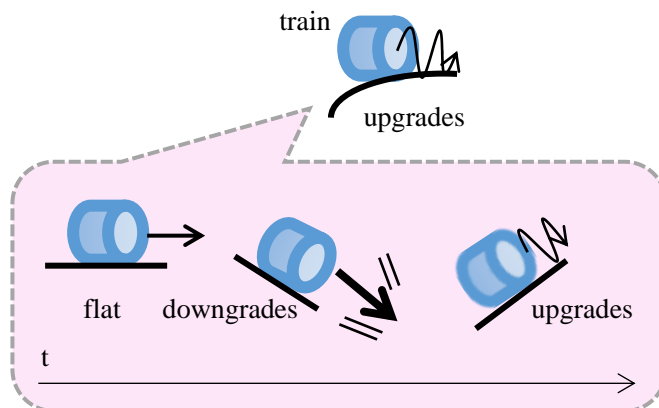
- (28) a. In New York, I am scared in the subway. (In Paris, I am not.) (Ernst 2016: 238)  
b. This train is slow on upgrades/hills. (ibid: 244)  
c. Olivier was brilliant (on stage) in London that year. (ibid: 245)

◇ 条件について : Pragmatic knowledge を踏まえる (Ernst 2016: 242)  
⇒ 一般的に状態述語は場所とは無関係に存在・実現するものだが、その状態に関わる場所が著しく変動しうる場合容認される。この想定は文脈的知識に基づく。

◇ One of Salient variability for stative predicates with locatives.

- (29) a. Location causes variation (change) in state. = CAUSE type (Ernst 2016: 244)  
b. This train is slow on upgrades/hills. (ibid: 244)

◇ Ernst による分析は本発表と考え方は同じ



## 5.2. 描写構文における状態動詞

◇ Stative verb in Depictive Constructions

- (30) a. John left nude / singing. (Williams 1980: 207)  
b. Roni cut the bread wet. (Rapoport 1991: 166)
- (31) a. \* John love Mary happy. (Saurenbach 2008: 246)  
b. \* John has two children sad. (ibid.)  
c. \* John lives in L.A. bored. (ibid.)

◇ 容認される例

- (32) a. John likes his women plump. (Saurenbach 2008: 247)  
b. Mary is attractive naked. (Arimoto 1991)
- (33) a. \* John loves his girlfriend plump. (Saurenbach 2008: 247)  
b. \* Mary is attractive tall. (ibid.)

## 6. 結論

◇ 主に中間構文の属性について考察：

知覚構文の補文に生じることがめったにない（実際、動詞 *sell* 以外の実例は未発見）

しかし生じる事例も存在する。このような例は、Event 項の有無という単純な二者択一では不十分。

語彙・語句に含まれる柔軟な百科事典的知識や文脈によって生じる事象の中の属性、

あるいは属性のなかの事象を捉えて、その整合性を計る必要性がある。

### 主要参考文献：

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