

メッセージ伝達を意味する動詞と **that** 節について

—動詞 *apologize*, *express*, *inform*, *convince* を中心に—

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Verbs of Message Transfer and That-Clauses

- Concerning *apologize*, *express*, *inform*, and *convince* -

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Abstract

This study adopts a corpus-based approach to examine some syntactic properties of verbs, focusing on their complement selection. Through detailed discussion on the availability of *that*-clauses positioned after the verbs, this paper clarifies and shows the fact that there have been some changes in the complement selection. The embedded *that* clauses we carefully look into are the ones that are placed after the following verbs: *apologize*, *express*, *inform* and *convince*. For some speakers, *that*-clauses without postverbal NPs can occur after these verbs.

Key Words: Corpus, complement selection, *that*-clauses, individual variation

1.0 序

これまでの言語研究においては、動詞がとる補文(*that* 節)の統語形式に関して様々な研究がなされ、動詞と *that* 節との間に見られる統語的形式の範疇選択(C-selection)と意味的選択(S-selection)の問題が解明されてきた。この論考では、従来、*that* 節をとることが許されていない動詞に着目して英語の使用域に変化が見られることを明らかにした住吉(2003)の研究に注目し、大規模コーパス等での検証を行い、*that* 節が可

能になった動詞の使用域を明らかにする。また、本稿では、動詞 *apologize* と *express* に加えて、ある種のメッセージを伝達する動詞 *inform*、*convince* についても併せて検証を行う。これらの動詞は、*Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (以下、LGSWE) (1999) などにおいて V + NP + *that*-clause の形式をとるものとして分類されてきた動詞であり、動詞に直接 *that* 補文が後続する動詞には分類されていない動詞の類である。2 節において英語辞書の情報と典型的文法パターンを確認する。3 節では、先行研究である住吉(2003)を概観する。4 節では、大規模コーパスを用いて住吉(2003)の検証を行う。5 節では、V + NP + *that*-clause の形式をとる動詞の一部にも *that* 節が動詞に直接後続する形式が可能になってきている事実を指摘する。¹

2.0 辞書における記述

大規模コーパスを用いて検証を行う前に、動詞 *apologize*、*express* が典型的にとる統語的連鎖を複数の英語辞書からの用例をもとに確認したい。ここでの例文は、いずれもオンライン辞書による例文である。(1)-(3)の用例は、それぞれ *Macmillan English Dictionary*、*Cambridge English Dictionary*、*Oxford English Dictionary* からの用例である。

- (1) a. I apologize for taking so long to reply.
b. You should apologize to your customers for washing their money.
- (2) a. She apologized profusely for having to leave at 3.30 p.m.
b. I must apologize to Isobel for my lateness.
- (3) a. 'I must apologize for disturbing you like this'
b. 'we apologize to him for our error'

(1)-(3)の用例からわかるように、動詞 *apologize* の場合、*apologize* + (to NP) + *for* の連鎖が典型的な文法パターンであることが確認できる。上記のいずれの辞書にも動詞のあとに直接 *that* 節が後続する文は挙げられていない。また、LGSWE (1999) や Swan (2005) においても、先述のパターンをとる動詞として分類されている。このことから、*that* 節は、典型的に動詞 *apologize* が下位範疇化している要素とは考えられていないことがわかる。

次に、動詞 *express* について見てみよう。(4)-(6)の例は、それぞれ *Macmillan English Dictionary*、*Cambridge English Dictionary*、*Oxford English Dictionary* からの用例である。

- (4) a. His teachers expressed concern about his progress at school.
b. The government has reportedly expressed an interest in the scheme.
c. I would like to express my thanks to my parents for their support.
- (5) a. Her eyes expressed deep sadness.
b. I would like to express my thanks for your kindness.
c. Words can't express how happy I am.
- (6) a. 'he expressed complete satisfaction'
b. 'with a diplomatic smile, she expressed herself more subtly'

(4)-(6)の例に見られる典型的文法パターンは、**express NP / CP (=Wh-clause) + (PP)** であることがわかる。CP を形成する Wh-clause が動詞 **express** のあとに生起することが可能であることから、統語的には **that** 節が可能であることを示唆する。しかしながら、動詞 **wonder** などの場合のように、Wh-clause は可能であるが、**that** 節は不可能である場合もあるので、動詞に下位範疇化される要素については詳しい検討が必要である。² Biber et.al (1999: 664) LGSWE では、V + to NP + that-clause のパターンが、動詞 **express** の場合には可能であることを示している。

これまで見てきたように、動詞 **apologize**、**express** には **that** 節は、範疇選択(C-selection)されていないように思われる。この事実に対して、動詞に後続する要素の範疇選択に関する英語の変容を考察しているのが住吉(2003)の研究であり、大変興味深い事実を明らかにしている。3 節では、住吉(2003)を概観することにする。

3.0 先行研究

住吉(2003)は、動詞が **that** 節を従えることが可能かということに関して、Francis et. al (1996)や Alexander and Kunz (1964)の研究に言及している。これらの研究は、**that** 節を従える動詞のリストと関連する情報を与えている。しかしながら、住吉(2003)は、彼らの考察が現代英語の特徴を必ずしも網羅していないことを指摘し、その上で、BNC (British National Corpus)を用いて動詞 **apologize**、**express**、**depend** に関する言語事実を精査している。住吉(2003)は、最近の英語では動詞 **apologize** と **express**、それに動詞 **depend** に **that** 節が後続できるようになってきていることを明らかにしている。³

住吉(2003)によると、動詞 **apologize** に **that** 節は後続できないとする研究として Turton and Heaton (1996)や Searle (1979)、Vanprays (1996)を挙げている。前者は規範的な立場から、後者は語用論的立場から動詞 **apologize** が **that** 節を従える場合は認められないという立場をとっている。他方、住吉(2003)は、Granath (1997)の研究で

は、(7)の例が挙げられていることを指摘している。(7)の例は、*that* 節が動詞に直接後続している例である。

(7) a. I can only *apologize that* we could not meet every school's request this year.

b. We *apologize that* you were unable to do the work you were called upon to do.

前述の研究等を議論の出発点として、住吉(2003)は、動詞 *apologize* が *that* 節を取ることができるかという観点から BNC による検索を行い、*that* 節が生起するのは可能であると結論づけている。住吉(2003)が挙げている BNC の用例を話し言葉、書き言葉からそれぞれ(8)に挙げる。

(8) a. I *apologize that* you will have to sit through the outstanding items of discussion.

b. (...)he *apologized that* for the following two years he was only doing German opera.

さらに、住吉(2003)はウェブ上にも(8)と同様の例が多数見られることを指摘しているが、アメリカのウェブサイトに見られるということのみを指摘し、どの種のサイトに見られるのかは明らかにしていない。

住吉(2003)は、動詞 *apologize* に *that* 節が後続できることを認めた上で、次のように分析している。*apologize* と意味的に類似するものとして形容詞 *sorry* が存在し、この形容詞には *that* 節が後続できる。また、*apologize* は、意味的に[I say I am sorry]と分解できることから、*say* の用法に基づく類推によって *apologize* + *that* 節が可能になったと分析している。つまり、I say I am sorry that...における I say I am sorry に *apologize* が取って代わったという分析である。

次に、住吉(2003)による動詞 *express* の分析を概観する。住吉(2003)によると、小西(編)(1980)、Brains(2003)、Jackendoff(2002)は、*express* に *that* 節は後続できないとする立場をとっている。例えば、Jackendoff(2002)は、(9)の例を挙げている。

(9) John expressed his disappointment.

*that he was disappointed.

しかしながら、住吉(2003)は、動詞 *apologize* と同様、BNC やウェブ上に動詞 *express* に *that* 節が後続する例があることを指摘し、伝達を表す動詞 *say* (言葉による伝達)の文法パターンとの関係で *express* も *that* 節を従えることが可能になったという分析をしている。動詞 *say* は、言葉によるある種のメッセージを伝達し、動詞 *express* は考

えや感情の中身を表現すると捉えている。メッセージの伝達という点では同じ機能を持っていることになる。メッセージの伝達を意味する動詞は、nod や gesture などのジェスチャー動詞にも that 節が後続できる。このことから、住吉(2003)は、メッセージ伝達を表す動詞 express にも同じ文法パターンが取れるようになったと分析している。また、that 節が express に後続しないと分析する英語母語話者が多く見られる理由を次の点に求めている。通例、communicate something by saying を想定し、communicate something by expressing は想定しにくいとの理由である。

既に概観したように、住吉(2003)の研究は、本来、that 節が不可能と考えられてきた動詞である apologize と express が that 節をとりうることを指摘するとともに、その英語の変容に関する説明を行なっている。

4.0 大規模コーパスによる検証

ここでは、大規模コーパスである COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English)、GloWbE (Global Web-Based English)、及び COHA (Corpus of Historical American English)を用いて、住吉(2003)の分析の妥当性を検証する。住吉(2003)が指摘するように、動詞 apologize (apologise)、及び express が that 節を従えるかどうかの検証を行う。ここでウェブ上の用例を集めた GloWbE を用いるのは、アメリカ英語とイギリス英語で差異が存在するかを見極めるためである。また、COHA を用いるのは、動詞 apologize や express に that 節が後続する形式が最近の英語における変容とみなせるかどうかを検証するためである。

まずは、動詞 apologize から考察する。

(10)

Corpus of Contemporary American English				SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP	
<input type="checkbox"/> [?] <input type="checkbox"/> SAVE LIST <input type="checkbox"/> CHOOSE LIST <input type="checkbox"/> CREATE NEW LIST <input type="text" value=""/> [?] <input type="checkbox"/> SHOW DUPLICATES				2015	SPOK	Fox	A B C	Evans really aggravated the senator with her tone, and it was good that she apologized that he got a bit testy and came away feeling the interview was slanted.
2013	FIC	ChicagoRev	A B C	we broke bread together. Know now I break the bread again. Know I apologized that I did not speak her language. Know I smiled. Know the smile				
2012	NEWS	USAToday	A B C	the defending champion Bruins. Teammate Jeff Halpern showed Ward some of the tweets and apologized that he had to see them. # " Halpern just took offen				
2011	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	A B C	meet with Todd Ewalt and explained to him that we had found the perpetrator and apologized that he had been a suspect, treated as he believed somewhat u				
2011	FIC	Bk:AnEmbarrassment	A B C	They're in the main hall, you said? " " Yes. I apologized that we wouldn't be able to offer them bread and salt, or wine				
2010	FIC	Bk:ShadowCypress	A B C	downpour. I invited him to enter, which he did, but he also apologized that he could only stay for a few moments. As usual O? Flynn				
2009	MAG	WashMonth	A B C	Association. The tour does not evangelize aggres- sively, although when I sneezed and apologized that I had a cold. Runyon offered cryptically, " We could do sa				
2007	NEWS	Chicago	A B C	over the Magic Kingdom.' # When the waiter brought the bottle, he apologized that they no longer had the 2001 and asked if the 2002 was OK.				
2006	FIC	Ploughshares	A B C	stove, and it made him hungry. The kitchen was light, and she apologized that the outbuilding was not yet wired, and Jack could hear the generator humming.				
0	2006	FIC	Analogue	A B C	it was true of everyone in the sciences who was worth a damn. Kwame apologized that there was no time to shower and change. Have to do it in			
1	2004	MAG	Smithsonian	A B C	demanding submission. But, he acknowledged, no accommodation was possible, and he apologized that " the gentlemen had the trouble of coming so far to s			
2	2000	SPOK	CNN_King	A B C	in Australia knew better, because when I went back, they all kind of apologized that the hospital took that tact, and I was defending the hospital, I			
3	1999	SPOK	Fox_Crier	A B C	pay much attention to it, Catherine. But the " New York Times " apologized that for the next day. CRIER: They did. ALEXANDER: Ran a			
4	1999	FIC	GoodHousekeeping	A B C	it, Ria, " he said. # Barney McCarthy was there. He apologized that his wife had not been able to come. Barney had sent two cases			
5	1998	NEWS	Chicago	A B C	use plastic squeeze bottles. " That's how they garnish so neatly! She apologized that the basil oil atop the roasted tomato soup was sprinkled somewhat erratic			
6	1997	SPOK	NBC_Today	A B C	: From a very early age she's been like that, and has always apologized that she wasn't more like her mother. She couldn't smile. She			
7	1997	MAG	Inc.	A B C	is precisely where he chose to conduct the interviews for this article. Earlier he apologized that his schedule was " so busy " and " hectic " over the next			
8	1996	FIC	KenyonRev	A B C	, and in addition brought a goose in place of that cock. He so apologized that Grandma charitably forgave him his sin. It's true that on the next			
9	1996	FIC	Bk:HundredSecret	A B C	Poor Miss Banner! -- beaten, then left to die. Dr. Too Late apologized that he had no medicine to put on the bumps on her face. Miss			
0	1994	NEWS	NYTimes	A B C	from Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Myanmar. A guy from Mozambique stood up and apologized that he had to leave the conference because the first interne			
1	1992	MAG	HarpersMag	A B C	, the very Wednesday, in fact, he was leaving for Bermuda. He apologized that he would not be there to oversee the job. She told him that			
2	1990	FIC	BellesLettres	A B C	a pink-faced, white haired former professor, now an editor of history texts, apologized that the company had only this office to give her -- on the fifth floor			

apologized that 節での検索では、(10)の結果が得られる。(10)から明らかなように、COCA の場合、22 用例中 21 用例において、動詞に that 節が後続している。

次に、GloWbE での検索結果の一部を(11)(12)に示す。(11)は、アメリカ英語の場合を示し、(12)はイギリス英語の場合を示している。(11)(12)から明らかなように、アメリカ英語、イギリス英語とも that 節は動詞 apologize に後続できることが理解できる。

(11)

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)			
SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP
US G grockit.com	A B C	a few hours today # We apologize that some of you (our Learnist users) were unable to access Learnist today	
US G mkayia.wordpress.com	A B C	things similarly, but not other things. That was my meaning, and I apologize that it wasn't clear. # I don't understand why you lump these	
US G ...echildren.tumblr.com	A B C	with soldiers after that. They have lost credibility even locally. " # I apologize that I am not able to name my source for this due to security concerns	
US G ...jsmith.wordpress.com	A B C	happen to you please accept my apologize on behalf of all real men in Egypt. I do apologize that I couldn't be there to protect you. non of my words will take what	
US G mondoweiss.net	A B C	if I can make this sound less conspiratorial in nature for you. # I apologize that the above posting was not more rigorously written. Truthfully, I wrote some	
US G ...dvertisingagency.com	A B C	So thanks for the further info Michael. Although I also feel like I should apologize that you didn't get to see any nipple.	
US G dailylech.com	A B C	We did this in response to suspicious activity and immediately began an investigation. We apologize that our continuing investigation is taking this long. Know th	
US G premium.wpmudev.org	A B C	indeed it did, the rest was my own blather... lol # I sincerely apologize that you were under the impression all that was directed at you. # And	
US G foodonthetable.com	A B C	happens. What am I doing wrong? # the last poster, I apologize that I couldn't take a closer look at your situation since I can't	
US G deathandtaxesmag.com	A B C	intended to defend your post, but I got trolled by Matt instead. I apologize that we have flooded your online social networking website with notifications. We gave	
US G redgamingtech.com	A B C	continue and there is no expected interruption of any OnLive services. # " We apologize that we were unable to comment on this transaction until it completed, a	
US G thenewyorkworld.com	A B C	trying to discriminate, only separate for the sake of these peoples COMFORT. I apologize that my distaste for the tone of the article and way it tried to vilify	
US G madowblog.msnbc.com	A B C	his life's work and witness. " the EWTN president said. " We apologize that these remarks were published and ask for forgiveness for this error. " #	
US G mmo-champion.com	A B C	my vanilla friends agree with me, and for those who don't... I apologize that you don't enjoy the experience as much as I do. # I	
US G metrolyrics.com	A B C	I look into your eyes I see the pain that was caused And baby I apologize That's why I That's why I I think that I should be the	
US G kenrockwell.com (1)	A B C	to get someone at bottom dollar. I'd either walk away, or apologize that I was unclear in explaining that I'm a guy who is paid a	
US G ...ebeckr.blogspot.com	A B C	and then I have to call the day of whatever the small event is and apologize that we can't come. Sometimes I go alone, making excuses for Rick	
US G consultancy.com	A B C	#358933 # I apologize that I can not comment about water temp or pH. She's just in	
US G freedgamingtech.com	A B C	do appreciate that you are trying to get us laid more, and I do apologize that so many of my sex have given women reason for feeling threatened. A	
US G ...ientificamerican.com	A B C	we can't, which makes its usefulness as a scientific theory moot. # I apologize that I simply don't have the time currently to go through the rest of this	
US G ubuntuforums.org	A B C	# These are features we have been working on throughout this cycle, and we apologize that it was added after Feature Freeze. Unfortunately, we had a few com	
US G wncn.com	A B C	speak on behalf of most people out here. " said Dow. " We apologize that certain individuals would see this as something that we would do. And we	
US G ...s.washingtonpost.com	A B C	in the United States that borders on a practical lab on psychosis. # I apologize that we who should be a beacon of freedom, wisdom, and intelligence are	
US G ...s.washingtonpost.com	A B C	really think (it pays a lot better to push buttons). # I apologize that some of our loudest political voices are those of nitwits. # I apologize	

(12)

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)			
SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP
LOCATION: Great Britain (16)			
CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT <input type="checkbox"/> [?] <input type="button" value="SAVE LIST"/> <input type="button" value="CHOOSE LIST"/> <input type="button" value="CREATE NEW LIST"/> <input type="text"/> [?]			
GB G ...ublicationethics.org	A B C	" 7 -- 8 weeks after the peer-review process was initiated. # The editor-in-chief apologised that the handling had been delayed and provided information about the	
GB G mumsnet.com	A B C	nurse who first saw me for MM/C in Sep. she was excellent again and apologised that I had to go through repeat scan. But today I had the strength	
GB G road.cc	A B C	woman admitted she thought it safe since the other car had passed me. # Apologised that she didn't see me in time and was very concerned that I planned	
GB G ...edicalprotection.org	A B C	all the household members' contact details with the new mobile number # Dr S apologised that the text was sent in error, but gave no further details. Mr	
GB G fpp.co.uk	A B C	the Emperor's offer of a special envoy and languidly -- and wholly untruthfully -- apologised that his superiors were leaving for Potsdam that very night. The Japan	
GB G guardian.co.uk	A B C	completely while it was happening and CNN had a live commentary from Jonathan Mann who apologised that they couldn't show it but was ambiguous in his reas	
GB G julyseventh.co.uk	A B C	a civilised conversation when deceit from one side was apparent from the outset. I apologised that I could not help in such circumstances and suggested another	
GB G community.bt.com	A B C	done, that she was in the actual department that made the new connection, apologised that it would take 24 hours (also said that whoever had told me on	
GB G ...polar-foundation.org	A B C	sleeping rough. She weighed less than seven stone. She was exhausted. I apologised that I had had to report her missing to the police. " Don't	
GB G grandparentsnow.com	A B C	of breakfast orders. # He could tell Arthur was patiently anticipating a lolly but apologised that he didn't have any. Then he asked a young man who was	
GB B blog.inkyfool.com	A B C	like Hotspur - " # " " Ev ye got it? " # I apologised that I hadn't, and promised to write for it. By way of	
GB B blogs.thestage.co.uk	A B C	.The postmaster was behind the counter. It is usually his mum. I apologised that I wouldn't be able to pick up my parcels for a couple of	
GB B mymumdom.com	A B C	his teacher, who told me the tooth had been lost in the playground and apologised that they'd not been able to find it. DS didn't seen all	
GB B thesillblog.co.uk	A B C	Topographic and it entered the chart at number 1..with no single. Walker apologised that he couldn't actually stand prog and no amount of money who make his	
GB B grandparentsnow.com	A B C	of breakfast orders. # He could tell Arthur was patiently anticipating a lolly but apologised that he didn't have any. Then he asked a young man who was	
GB B marramgrass.org.uk	A B C	or accused, especially when their organisations have known them for years. I've apologised that even though they have a form from somewhere else, this place o	

ここで確認をしておく必要があるのは、(7)-(12)に見られる事実が最近の英語における変容であるのかという点である。そこで、COHA を用いて検証を行うことにする。COHA では、(13)に挙げる 5 例が見つかる。

- (13) a. ...and so sweetly *apologized that* I could not but forgive him.
(COHA (1853: FIC))
- b. He *apologized that* his wife was not able to be there to bow to me.
(COHA (1942: MAG))
- c. They *apologized that* the doughnuts were from Saturday, ...
(COHA (1966: FIC))
- d. He *apologized that* he would not be there to oversee the job.
(COHA (1966: FIC))
- e. she *apologized that* the outbuilding was not yet wired, ... (COHA (2006: FIC))

(13)において興味深い点は、かなり以前から that 節は存在していただけでなく、書き言葉の中で用いられていたという事実である。この事実は、apologize に that 節が直接後続する形式は最近の英語における変容ではないことを示している。この形式は、以前から一部の英語話者には容認される文法形式として存在していたことになる。

次に、住吉(2003)で取り上げられている動詞 express に関して、apologize と同様の検証を行う。COCA、GloWbE、COHA の順で検証を行う。(14)は、COCA 検索、(15)(16)は GloWbE 検索、(17)は COHA 検索の結果を示している。

(14)

Corpus of Contemporary American English			
SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	ACCOUNT
CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT	[?] SAVE LIST	CHOOSE LIST	CREATE NEW LIST [?]
2015 SPOK NPR	A B C	participate in the film because of where they were in their transition, and they expressed that to us. They said, oh, if you just, you know	
2015 SPOK NPR	A B C	me, I have no judgments about that. And so when other people have expressed that I just - I feel no connection. I feel no connection to it	
2015 SPOK CNN	A B C	with you last night. Do you remember any instances from her childhood where Rachel expressed that she was black? L. DOLEZAL: No. LEMON# Where do you	
2015 FIC Ploughshares	A B C	been sleeping rough all winter - a very hard winter, so much surprise was expressed that he'd lived through it. He gave one interview, to a	
2015 MAG Newsweek	A B C	ago, Dean Potter, then 34 and already a transcendent figure in climbing, expressed that wish in an interview with Rock and Ice magazine. He was serious.	
2015 MAG NewStatesman	A B C	In marginals, where Labour's message came over as largely irrelevant. When they expressed that confidence, many thought that they were exaggerating, or	
2015 NEWS Denver	A B C	of Christmas morning, Sullivan said everyone really indulged Veronica on this Christmas. Sullivan expressed that he did not feel the video clips were "enough	
2015 NEWS OrangeCR	A B C	he reminds receivers to watch the ball all the way into their hands. Clarke expressed that with such a small student body, Laguna Beach's ability to remain a	
2015 ACAD PlasticSurgery	A B C	severe injury and higher impact becomes stronger. # All of the parents we interviewed expressed that their child's delivery was very traumatic, which suppo-	
2015 ACAD CollegeStud	A B C	stated they are students first and do not need special treatment. Further, they expressed that their future and subsequent job opportunities at the completi	
2015 ACAD CollegeStud	A B C	independent in choosing their academic studies. # Additionally, more than 91% of student-athletes expressed that they were never encouraged by their coa	
2015 ACAD CommCollegeR	A B C	abated with Tekle describing another wave of presidential retirements: " About 75% of respondents expressed that they plan to retire within the next ten ye	
2015 ACAD Ref&UserServQ	A B C	the 2015 Midwinter meeting in Chicago. Some RUSA members in positions of upper management expressed that they feel a degree of frustration at their ov	
2015 ACAD ResearchInMiddle	A B C	if it's not then it's a zero." However, other students expressed that those teachers who demanded they " get their work done " and would not	
2015 ACAD ResearchInMiddle	A B C	whatever I ask them to do. # Some teachers, like Mr. Miller, expressed that getting to know students is essential to supporting their academic motivation, cla	
2014 SPOK CNN	A B C	when they were younger. And she feels that door is closed. She has expressed that she loves being around my kids, but, sometimes, it really makes	
2014 SPOK CNN	A B C	. she is what can be expected. I mean, you know, she expressed that. She was hurt. She expressed that she was, like, upset. But, you know, how is	
2014 SPOK CNN	A B C	I mean, you know, she expressed that. She was hurt. She expressed that she was, like, upset. But, you know, how is	
2014 FIC Confrontation	A B C	for paying for the wine the other night. I don't know if I expressed that at the time, but I did appreciate the gesture. Still, I	
2014 MAG America	A B C	the " delay tactics " of the defense team. # Yes, family members have expressed that at various times. That interaction is difficult, heart-wrenching, sad, beca	
2014 MAG USCatholic	A B C	. I discussed it with Pope Francis, and he encouraged me and afterwards publicly expressed that he was very happy with the substance of what I had propos	
2014 ACAD JournalAmerican	A B C	At a 1903 meeting of physicians associated with state institutions for feeble-mindedness, several doctors expressed that public school work was not satisfac-	
2014 ACAD ExceptionalChildren	A B C	tion around who was responsible for ensuring the purpose was adequately addressed. The students expressed that they were responsible for ensuring t	

(15)

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)			
SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP
US G empowermentmoments.org	A B C	stewardship of my money. Then days later a complete stranger came to me and expressed that I needed to start saving my money. Lastly, I also had a	
US G richmondregister.com	A B C	next president. # Harry Moberly, a former state representative and university administrator, expressed that view Monday night as representatives of the firm con	
US G pinkisthenewblog.com	A B C	only been dating her much younger toyboy Casper Smart for about a year, has expressed that she would be amenable to having more children. J. Lo has twin chil	
US G edge.org	A B C	. Most recently as a pop phenomenon. " The Matrix " movies might have expressed that the most, where there's this conceit that somehow people's human bodie	
US G talkorigins.org	A B C	. For this, see Carl Zimmer's article: there also the hope is expressed that evolution of such an organism might be observable on the lab bench. #	
US G gamasutra.com	A B C	biography of John Von Neumann, the primary developer of Game Theory, who interestingly expressed that things that can be " solved " like chess, checkers, and 4	
US G imf.org	A B C	, also in the Philippines). At that meeting in 1996, the Archbishop expressed that more than once. Second, think that the fact that the international community	
US G imf.org	A B C	the Fund regarding China. And I expressed and hung reference to pressures. I expressed that China, like any other member of the institution of 184 members, is	
US G fda.gov	A B C	At the Initial National Vaccine Advisory Committee-sponsored meeting on thimerosal in 1999, concerns were expressed that infants may lack the ability to elimina	
US G biomedcentral.com	A B C	important addition to the salary of the health workers, and many health workers interviewed expressed that they would like to attend seminars as often as possib	
US G biomedcentral.com	A B C	of the health workers, with the exception of those close to retirement age. expressed that they would like to be upgraded through further training. The possibility	
US G newenglandreview.org	A B C	Marx's classless society. # In both Marx and Qutb, the idea is expressed that , under the new dispensation, man will become more human, less animal	
US G firsttwesworld.com	A B C	in visitation cases and I hear from clients all the time that their children have expressed that they don't want to go on visitation. Since I think it's	
US G datailama.com	A B C	opinion poll was conducted in which more than 64% of the total opinion letters received expressed that there was no need to hold a referendum, and that they w	
US G sourcwatch.org	A B C	public health. 14 Despite the study, Rep. Diana DeGette (D-CO) has expressed that it is crucial to continue the push forward for the passing of the FRAC	
US G abcnews.go.com	A B C	Senator Obama had a favorite to be named to his seat and that he had expressed that to the Governor. The new Chief of Staff and President-Elect Obama's advis	
US G ...twoheartsgeorgia.com	A B C	, also in the Philippines). At that meeting in 1996, the Archbishop expressed that it was the hope and desire of his heart that all the families of	
US G ...ionandmetabolism.com	A B C	at the patient. # Among the study patients and treating oncologists, many concerns were expressed that a diet very rich in total fat could adversely affect blood lipid	
US G wipo.int	A B C	the revision conference of the Berne Convention in 1928 in Rome, concern was expressed that the Berne Convention did not adequately protect performers. A	
US G richmondregister.com	A B C	its next president. Harry Moberly, a former state representative and university administrator, expressed that view Monday night as representatives of the firm co	
US G pregnantthebump.com	A B C	kept himself busy throughout the entire day. When we did get talking, he expressed that it came too soon. He said he's not, NOT ready.	
US G huffingtonpost.com	A B C	would be inappropriate to say that about any president of any party, and I expressed that to executives at the network. I have no comment on whatever action th	
US G census.gov	A B C	meeting made the following indirect reference to this issue: " There was some feeling expressed that there should be no changes in the present procedure for de	
US G ...teracycenter-iv.org	A B C	both the National and Leigh Valley Society for Human Resource Management Chapters. Patty has expressed that she hopes " To be actively involved, support an	
US G ...ngtodie.blogspot.com	A B C	proceeded to tell the person it was about that it was about her. She expressed that it made her very uncomfortable and asked him not to perform it again.	

(16)

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)			
SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP
GB G guardian.co.uk	A B C	the wealthy against the rest - with no middle class. The opinion is openly expressed that poor people should not be allowed to vote in elections. In some states	
GB G guardian.co.uk	A B C	, NPR was giving credibility to the idea that waterboarding wasn't torture because some expressed that opinion. Those some were Lynn Cheney and her friends. E	
GB G bobsguide.com	A B C	side, H.E. Ms. Caroline Abel, Governor of the Central Bank of Seychelles expressed that " the mobile payment initiative is a major milestone for Seychelles and the	
GB G wno1.info	A B C	the matter now these results have been published. Universities and Science minister David Willets expressed that the government was " determined to make it ea	
GB G cyclismas.com	A B C	have any idea where the 200-300 missing tests are, in fact, disappointment was expressed that I was so generous with the numbers, the true figure is almost certa	
GB G ...tcalethics.ox.ac.uk	A B C	that because of the broader context of women's oppression and the medical opinion commonly expressed that FGM is more sexually debilitating than circumcisi	
GB G newleftreview.org (1)	A B C	say, pictorial conventions. It is because value has been materially realized and expressed that these various codes and modes of discussion can circulate around it	
GB G ...pliancemagazine.com	A B C	. # About 50 million people in Britain use mobile phones. Fears have been expressed that their use can increase the risk of brain tumors, headaches, and other	
GB G ...realinvestigates.com	A B C	. It was emphatically stated that such attacks were unacceptable. # Concern was later expressed that the death of such a senior member of the Haqqani family mi	
GB G tsj.org.uk	A B C	indeed politics of any kind. Oscar Olivera, leader of the Cochabamba movement, expressed that caution in a seminar in La Paz in June of 2000: # For	
GB G guardian.co.uk	A B C	# Several staff members involved have been interviewed individually, and all independently and consistently expressed that their interaction with Dr. Mann was p	
GB G acronym.org.uk	A B C	It I wouldn't tell you, but I... # Question: You... expressed that we have no interest in invading, no interest in regime change. Pyongyang	
GB G ...injunctalst.co.uk	A B C	inanimate matter by random chemical reactions. Even the English atheist Nobel Prize-winner Fred Hoyle expressed that such a scenario " is comparable with the 4	
GB G opinsky.com	A B C	binding one. I find it interesting that not a single person so far has expressed that they smoke around their children, which supports my theory that the vast majo	
GB G ...millbanksystems.com	A B C	this may be so is brought out in paragraph 80, where the hope is expressed that the public in each locality will continue to give generous support to their local	
GB G jfloatanklees.com	A B C	than they wore; the number actually worn ranged from 2-6 pairs. It was expressed that subjects felt 'reluctant' to throw them away, possibly as unworn shoes	
GB G equityhealthj.com	A B C	complex picture did emerge in the course of the interviews. For example, informants expressed that a leader at any level will listen far more attentively to the ophi	
GB G ...ublicationethics.org	A B C	disappearance of authors C and D's names from the author list. Concern was expressed that the authorship had changed and that the results had been reinprin	
GB G opendemocracy.net	A B C	our solution " meaning that Hunt himself was the solution to the fears that Hunt expressed that the Murdoch bid might fail, the Prime Minister has now endorsed	
GB G independent.co.uk	A B C	and white gloves really worn?" asked Bejer Engh. " No, I expressed that rather pompously, " admitted the mass murderer. " What is actually left	
GB G en.mercopress.com	A B C	the this dispute, like it did for others colonial situations, beside it neither expressed that the u. k should return the islands to arg., nor expressed that the	
GB G en.mercopress.com	A B C	it neither expressed that the u. k should return the islands to arg., nor expressed that the sovereignty must be discussed if the islanders wish it only. All the	
GB G debate.org.uk	A B C	his materials even more freely than in the others. The opinion has already been expressed that Muhammad did not make use of written sources. Coincidences ar	
GB G news.arsenblog.com	A B C	the other hand, perhaps influenced by an idiotic agent, has clearly and equivocally expressed that he wants to leave. Then he tries to blame arsenal for the contra	
GB G gamesindustry.biz	A B C	came out in positive ways and negative ways, but the important part is it expressed that range of emotion. And I think that was a surprise to a lot	
GB G guardian.co.uk	A B C	ensuring that people have a choice. It concerns me when I hear the view expressed that good care is too expensive to realistically provide. My dear mum has Alzh	
GB G emeraldinsight.com	A B C	and the EFMD also provides career benefits as potential employers (academic institutions) have expressed that this award enhances my application and achievem	
GB G psychicsafa.com	A B C	opening of a selotape roll! But great spiritual teachers and even Jesus Christ himself expressed that we must look inside ourselves first as " Heaven is in within yo	

(14)-(16)は、動詞 **express** に介在する要素を伴わない **that** 節が後続する例が多数見つかることを示している。この検索結果は、住吉(2003)で指摘されている事実を支持する結果である。ここでも動詞 **express** に **that** 節が後続する文法形式が最近の英語に見られる変容であるのか検証する必要がある。COHA を用いて検索を行うと、(17)(18)

メッセージ伝達を意味する動詞と that 節について

の検索結果が得られる。この検索結果からは、1980 年代、1990 年代でも問題の文法形式が用いられているという事実がわかる。動詞 apologize と同様に、that 節が後続する形式が英語母語話者の一部に存在していたことを示している。

(17)

Corpus of Historical American English				SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP
ACTION: 1820 (5)							
CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT <input type="checkbox"/> [?] SAVE LIST CHOOSE LIST CREATE NEW LIST [?] SHOW DUPLICATES							
1823	NF	ViewHebrewsExhibiting	A B C	house of David, and the ten tribes are irrecoverably lost; it is here expressed that the Jews and those Isra- elites, their companions, were symbolized by one			
1824	FIC	RedwoodATaleVolume1	A B C	; and finally perhaps she loved him; for neither her words nor actions ever expressed that she did not; if the maidenly reserve that " never tells a love			
1827	FIC	BuccaneersARomance	A B C	rain drops on his long eye-lashes. -- in truth the unfortunate child might well have expressed that image of patient sorrow, who with " Her meek hands fold			
1827	FIC	HopeLeslieVolume1	A B C	! when he had finished, Gorton, whose face for the last hour had expressed that he felt much like a criminal condemned to be scourged before he is hung			
1827	FIC	HopeLeslieVolume2	A B C	who was still sitting by her; the Governor, by a significant nod, expressed that he comprehended her; and she went on to say, that she trusted			

(18)

Corpus of Historical American English				SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP
1920	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	of Ambassadors, is a reply to Berlin's note in which the hope was expressed that the Allies would not insist upon the execution of the power conferred upon them			
1920	NEWS	Chicago	A B C	discount market unwilling to take bills, were somewhat allayed today. The belief is expressed that the joint stock bank will be able to regulate credit facilities so the Ba			
1920	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	's war indemnities at a specific sum also is being discussed. The belief is expressed that the German Government can organize its finances and industries more efficien			
1920	NEWS	WallStJrnl	A B C	the report that there was a scarcity of better-grade cotton textiles. The opinion is expressed that in view of the iv4, reduction in working hours stocks of spinners are			
1920	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	on Bainbridge Colby. While Colby represents liberalism in their minds, the fear is expressed that he would not hold the Democratic ranks together "? that the party w			
1921	MAG	NewRepublic	A B C	or anticipated events. luminous. would not be a new fabric woven with He expressed that experience not with an eye to more or less success out of a fragmentary			
1921	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	Act. on Soldiers' Bonus. In today's conference the definite opinion was expressed that a soldiers' bonus must form part of the legislative program. Senator Penrose			
1921	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	said to be displaying an uglier temper, especially in South Wales. Fears are expressed that there may be a much wider withdrawal of the engine men and pump men			
1921	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	. While all this appears to be a matter of prearrangement, some surprise is expressed that Japan should be willing to enter a world conference having to do with the			
1921	NEWS	Chicago	A B C	Valera was published in Dublin today. In high Sinn rein quarters the opinion was expressed that unless something unforeseen happens there will be a breakdown in ti			
1921	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	Government's representatives I have adopted toward' the Hughes proposal. I The belief is expressed that the Ad- miralty's order is almost certain to bring about a me			
1921	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	Among French politicians on the special train from Havre to Paris the utmost confidence was expressed that mutual explanations would remove all misunderstanding			
1921	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	England. In the more reactionary and nationalist papers fear already is beginning to be expressed that this general conversation suggested by Mr. Lloyd George may t			
1922	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	it was said here, the conclave may meet Feb. 1. The fear was expressed that if the conclave was as short as that which resulted in the election of			
1922	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	not believe it should participate in the proposed conference at Genoa, although hope was expressed that progress might be made in preparing the way for the event.			
1923	MAG	Time	A B C	. Great Britain, France, Japan. The debate was perfunctory. Regret was expressed that the terms of the treaty did not apply to French Indo-China. Eulogies of			
1923	MAG	Time	A B C	skinner in Berlin. Thirty-seven sausage and meat-canning factories are idle, and fear is expressed that the strike may lead to the closing of no less than 1,000 plants.			
1923	MAG	Time	A B C	young Californians, the challenge was taken up in the East and a general sentiment expressed that 7,000 was too high. Presumably Professor Montgomery has no pri			
1923	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	bill which did not give the city the right to operate buses. Doubt was expressed that the Mayor would accept a bill, even if it did permit municipal bus			
1923	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	able to continue transit as an issue in the next city campaign. Belief was expressed that the Mayor and the Board of Estimate would be able to block any attempt			
1923	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	port, with no intention or effort to bring it ashore, the opinion was expressed that interference with such a cargo might be considered as an effort to			
1923	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	examination of Fuller in any way, even when informed that the opinion had been expressed that his injection into the situation had made it more difficult to obtain --			
1924	FIC	PlasticAge	A B C	his contempt for his college " education " increased. One night in May he expressed that contempt to a small group of seniors. " College is bunk. "			
1924	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	. was said to be not unfriendly personally to Governor Smith, and belief was expressed that the delegates favoring the Governor might accept him without a contest. C			
1925	MAG	Time	A B C	S. Legation at Peking dissented from the view of the missionaries. The opinion was expressed that U. S. interest and the safety of U. S. citizens would be permanently j			
1925	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	present Russian Government in a number of addresses. " The fear has often been expressed that the overthrow or the downfall of the Bolsheviks will be accompanie			
1925	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	no formal statements today, but in behalf of the French mission the belief was expressed that the late developments may clear the way for a rapid understanding. Fra			
1925	NEWS	NYT-Reg	A B C	that the American and French viewpoints apparently were being brought gradually closer and hope was expressed that a funding agreement might be reached by We			
1926	NEWS	NYT-Ed	A B C	been making its way through the Senate, the wonder has been more than once expressed that a majority stood ready to " out-Mellon MErzoN. " There could be no			

これまでの議論をまとめると、次のようになる。動詞 apologize と express に後続する that 節が容認可能な文法形式であることが大規模コーパスを用いての検索結果から支持される。また、この文法形式は、最近の英語に見られる変容ではなく、かなり以前から存在していた文法形式である。これまでの言語研究では、英語母語話者間に見られる変異(variation)に関して十分な検討が加えられていなかったことになる。⁴

5.0 inform、convinceに見られる統語形式

コーパス用例を基盤とし、英語表現形式の使用実態をまとめた LGSWE によると、動詞 **inform**、**convince** が **that** 節をとる場合、いずれの動詞も **verb + NP + that-clause** の形式をとるものとして分類されている。前節までに取り上げた辞書の用例を見ても LGSWE での分類を反映したものとなっている。

(19) a. Parents were informed that the school was closing.

(Macmillan English Dictionary)

b. I informed my boss that I was going to be away next week.

(Cambridge English Dictionary)

c. ‘they were informed that no risk was involved’ (Oxford English Dictionary)

メッセージの伝達という観点から見ると、動詞 **inform**、**convince** は、動詞 **apologize** と **express** と同じ機能を有すると考えられる。したがって、これらの動詞と同様に NP が存在せず、動詞に直接 **that** 節が後続できるようになっているのではないかと考えられる。この仮説に従って、大規模コーパスや新聞などの実例を検索し、検証を試みる。

大規模コーパス COCA と BYU-BNC を用いて **inform + that** 節の用例を検索すると、次の例が見つかる。ここでのデータは、受動分詞である **informed** と過去時制をもつ **informed** を区別するために、「**inform + that**」というコマンドでの検索結果である。コマンドの要請から、原形を伴う **regret to inform that** 節の結果が得られるが、**inform** に **that** 節が後続できることは確認できる。(20)の結果の中から該当する英文を抽出したものを(21)(22)に示す。(21)は COCA の用例、(22)は BYU-BNC の用例である。

(20)

Corpus of Contemporary American English					
SEARCH	FREQUENCY	CONTEXT	HELP		
CK FOR MORE CONTEXT [?] SAVE LIST CHOOSE LIST CREATE NEW LIST [?]					
2013	SPOK	Fox	A B C	hour information line. Due to staffing reductions resulting from sequestration, we regret to inform that White House tours will be cancelled effective Saturday	
2013	NEWS	WashPost	A B C	a company is trying to decide where to open a new office, LinkedIn can inform that evaluation. " For example, we could tell you what's the best	
2011	ACAD	Bioscience	A B C	, population and community monitoring, and population and disease modeling is currently underway to inform that assessment. As we discuss below, the pr	
2010	MAG	RollingStone	A B C	things that haven't come together in my life the way I wanted them to inform that point of view of Greenberg? " So what kind of regrets do you	
2008	SPOK	NPR_TalkNation	A B C	education at West Point, your experience in the army, do so much to inform that . Mr-SLOAN: It does. It's been very - it's funny	
2008	FIC	Analog	A B C	complicate matters at this pilot-project stage, I'm afraid. " I regret to inform that my research grant is almost completely exhausted at this point, and travel fr	
2006	ACAD	SchoolPsych	A B C	in selecting a practice and to help researchers build a useful body of knowledge to inform that practice. In this commentary, we offer such a framework and	
2004	SPOK	CNN_LiveSat	A B C	VIDEOTAPE) UNIDENTIFIED MALE: On behalf of the Marine Corps, I regret to inform that you your husband was killed in action. THELMA GUTIERREZ, CNN CC	
2000	ACAD	Style	A B C	but the continuing presence of what Hetton represents for Teddy and Tony is seen to inform that world of flats and adulteries occupied by Brenda and the E	
1998	SPOK	NPR_Science	A B C	sides with a tram. I am now on tamoxifen and my oncologist didn't inform that there was a study that showed that it did help prevent cancer. I	
1997	SPOK	CBS_Sixty	A B C	know, too, that it's these same people that I was supposed to inform that were directly involved in what was happening to me. BRADLEY: How do you	
1996	MAG	PopScience	A B C	, once again this is the captain... You're uh, do regret to inform that , air-traffic control has put us in a holding pattern up here. We	
1994	MAG	PsychToday	A B C	I give the pill or not? What are all the hundreds of things that inform that moment where we decide to say: I really would recommend that you do	
1993	ACAD	IntAffairs	A B C	priest by the printer-businessman as the arbiter of what is relevant information and what values inform that information. 17 # The invention of printing, Sch	

- (21) a. ...we regret to inform that White House tours will be cancelled effective Saturday, March 9th, 2013. (COCA)
b. ...my oncologist didn't inform that there was a study that showed that it did help prevent cancer. (COCA)
c. You're uh, do regret to inform that air-traffic control has put us in a holding pattern up here. (COCA)
d. I regret to inform that my research grant is almost completely exhausted at this point... (COCA)
- (22) a. ...he had to inform that these were evidently not shared by Bruce's own nephew,... (BYU BNC)
b. Forward scouts came back to inform that the English might had reached Cheswick,... (BYU BNC)

問題となっている連鎖が COCA、BYU-BNC においても多く見つからないことから、非標準的な用法であると結論づけるのは危険である。COHA を調べてみると、(23) が示すように、1800、1900 年代でも *inform* に *that* 補文が後続する例が見つかる。同様の例は、Time Magazine Corpus にも見られる。したがって、*inform* に *that* 補文が後続する形式は最近の傾向であると断定することもできない。これらの例からすると、問題の形式が以前から存在していたことになる。

- (23) a. Lewis and Clark, in their tour to the Pacific, *inform that* they found among the natives, in those remote regions, receptacles for the dead, always lying east and west; the door of the tomb to the east, and the bodies in the tombs lying with the face to the east. (COHA 1823)
b. ...he would *inform that* it comprised a good library, carefully selected, and a reading-room warmed and lighted, to which any clerk could obtain access every evening by paying an initiation fee of one dollar, and two dollars annual subscription. (COHA 1848)
c. To correct or criticize this statement I might *inform that* no zealous Mason would attempt to induce any man to join the order.
(Time Magazine Corpus 1929)

(23)に類する例は、(24)に示すように、ウェブ上の新聞サイトにおいても見つかる。

- (24) “Part of our role is to inform that you might want a job, but if you can’t speak the language it’s so difficult.” (Winnipeg Sun – 19 November 2016)

次に、動詞 *convince* の場合を考察する。*convince* に直接 *that* 節が後続する形式が COCA、及び BYU-BNC にも見られる。また、同様の例は、クオリティー紙である The Guardian にも見られる。(25)(26)がこの事実を示している。

- (25) a. ...we have to *convince that* national parks are important... (COCA)
b. Immigrants who fled countries with repressive governments are expected to be among the hardest *convince that* filling out census forms will do them no harm. (COCA)
c. In fact, the only male singer in the cast able to *convince that* his part might have been written for him is Stafford Dean,... (BYU-BNC)
- (26) a. Others are young, scared and inexperienced – penalized for “failing to *convince that* they could be “capable” parents while a wealthier family waits to take their child. (The Guardian - 25 October 2016)
b. Sarah Miele initially struggles to *convince that* she is 12, but gradually makes us invest in this foul-mouthed waif whose frail physical appearance belies a steely determination and wisdom. (The Guardian - Sunday 23 October 2016)

問題にしている文法形式が最近の英語に見られる特徴であるのかを確認するために COHA で検索を行うと、次の結果が得られる。to *convince that* のコマンドで検索すると、全用例 14 のうち、問題の形式に該当するのは 3 例である。3 例のうちの 1 例を(27)に挙げる。3 例は、いずれも 1970 年代後半の例であることから、*convince* に *that* 節が後続する形式が容認されるようになったのは比較的最近である可能性がある。

- (27) The Tiger agreed with me that a lot of people stank in the prison. but was hard to *convince that* he stank too. (COHA)

5 節では、verb + NP + *that*-clause の形式をとるものとして分類されているものの中から、*inform* と *convince* を取り上げ、大規模コーパスを用いて動詞に *that* 節が直接後続する形式が存在するかという問いの検証を行った。検証結果からは、*inform* に *that* 節が後続する形式は、少なくともアメリカ英語では以前から存在していたことが確認できた。また、動詞 *convince* にも同様の形式が存在し、比較的最近の英語

で認められる形式に変容した可能性が明らかになった。*that* 節がある種のメッセージ伝達を担っていることは間違いないと思われる。メッセージを伝える相手が明らかの場合、あるいは相手を広く想定する場合に NP が省略される場合も考えられる。さらには、*verb* + NP + *that*-clause の形式をとる動詞の場合、NP に受動化が適用される場合が少なくない。この場合、結果として動詞の過去分詞形に *that* 節が後続する形となり、誤って、動詞の過去形に同じ形式を用い始めたという可能性も考えられる。

6.0 結語

先行研究を踏まえた前節までの議論と大規模コーパスを用いての検証結果から、伝達内容を伝える動詞の場合、容認されないと見なされてきた文法形式にはこれまで考えられてきた事実とは異なり、個人差が存在することが明らかになったと思われる。また、最近の英語では、個人差のレベルではなく、動詞に直接 *that* 節が続く形式が広く使用されるようになってきている事実も明らかになったと思われる。これらの特徴は、動詞に後続する要素が意味的にメッセージの伝達という機能を有する場合、動詞に隣接する位置に *that* 節を選択する傾向にあることを示すものと思われる。この種の変容は、発話様態動詞にも見られる現象である。*murmur* や *whisper* などの発話様態動詞には、元々、補部位置を占める *that* 節は容認されなかった。しかしながら、発話様態動詞の種類にもよるが、現在の英語ではこの種の動詞に後続する *that* 節は容認される。今後は、メッセージの伝達という機能を有する他の動詞、及び、典型的には *verb* + NP + *that*-clause の形式をとる動詞の中で NP が介在しないことを許す動詞について、さらなる検討を行いたい。

注

- 1 この場合、動詞の目的語に受動化が適用された場合は除く。
- 2 稲田(1989)は、*express* の後には *that* 節が構造できることを指摘している。詳しくは、稲田(1989: 208)を参照のこと。
- 3 動詞 *depend* は、通例、前置詞 *on* を伴い、この論考で議論する動詞のタイプとは異なることから議論の対象とはしない。*depend* に *that* 節が後続する議論に関しては、住吉(2003)を参照のこと。
- 4 形容詞の前位用法、及び後位用法に関しても母語話者間に文法性判断に差が見られる。*Bolinger* (1970)などの指摘に基づき、*the visible stars* では「いつも目に見える星」を表し、*the stars visible* は、「(一時的に) 見えている星」という解釈が成り立つという説明が見られるが、必ずしも事実はそうではない。実際、*Larson* (2002)は前者の場合にも一時的な星の状態の解釈が可能であることを指摘している。また、形容詞が補助部を伴わないで単独で名詞句に後続する場合、*a*-形容詞の場合をのぞいて容認しない話者も多い。

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コーパス

British National Corpus, BYU (BNC-BYU)
Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)
Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)
Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)
Time Magazine Corpus

オンライン辞書

Cambridge English Dictionary
Macmillan English Dictionary
Oxford English Dictionary