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Author(s)	福沢, 清
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関係詞節の制限性について

福 沢 清

伝統文法から今日の生成変形文法を通じて、制限的關係詞節(RRC)と非制限的關係詞節(NRRC)との間には歴然たる相違があると主張されてきているが、しかし、この二つの關係詞節(RC)の差異を明示的な形で述べようとすれば、たちどころにいろいろと困る問題が生じてくる。Jespersen (1927: 82 ff), Curme (1931: 223 ff), Zandvoort (1962: 162-3)のこの二つのRCに対する区別は、概略、(1)のような規準に基づいており、これが(2)の文法性の相違を説明することになる。(*(,)はコンマがあれば容認可能であり、なければ非文であることを、逆に(*,)はコンマがあれば非文であることを示す。)

(1)

	I	II	III	IV	V
	Comma	that, ϕ	Indispensability	Limiting	Assertion
RRC	×	○	○	○	1
NRRC	○	×	×	×	2

- (2) I : a. Fortitude *(,) which they demonstrated, helped their cause.
 b. The sincerity which he showed was genuine. (Fetta 1974)
- II : The man *(,) that Bill saw *(,) sneezed. (Jackendoff 1977)
- III : a. I want a man who understands Persian. \neq I want a man.
 b. I will engage Mr. Smith, who understands Persian. (RC: deletable)
- IV : Westminster Abbey, which is one of the oldest churches in Great Britain, contains the graves of many famous Englishmen. (Zandvoort 1962)
- V : He has four children (,) who became lawyers.

しかし、(I-V)の規準だけでは(3)のような文の説明に支障をきたす。

- (3) I : This attitude is not found in *Japan where* the bath is consistently associated with

relaxation and family ties,

(J. Condon & F. S. Yousef *An introduction to intercultural communication*)

II : a. The box, that (incidentally) had jewels in (didn't it?), was stolen.

b. *The girl, that was (incidentally) tall (wasn't she?), left the party.

(Hawkins 1978 : 284)

III : And Europeans walk out in the road with their wives, which we utterly refuse to
φ except the festival of Hachiman.

(Lafcadio Hearn)

IV : But, as usual, it seemed to take more out of Siegfried who went off on his rounds
glowering and hoarse from shouting.

(Bache & Jakobsen 1980)

V :, and yet it was precious to hear, because she pleased his eyes and a heart
which — quite true! — had never grown old.

(J. Galsworthy *Indian summer of a Forsyte*)

当該の RC の差異をさらに明示的に述べると(4)のようになる。(5)はそれに対応する例である。

- (4) (i) 先行詞に any, no, every などの普遍限量詞が含まれるのは RRC のみである。
(ii) ある種の副詞は RRC 内に生起できない。
(iii) 挿入句も RRC 内に生じない。
(iv) 代名詞でない (full) 名詞の属格形を限定辞にもつ名詞句は RRC の先行詞になりえない。
(v) both, each, all などの限量詞に of 関係代名詞が後続するのは NRRC のみである。
(vi) 固有名詞, 抽象名詞句を先行詞にもつ RRC は定冠詞を要求する。
(vii) NRRC の時制は主文のそれと異なってよい。
(viii) 叙述名詞を先行詞とする時, RRC では that, φ, NRRC では which となる,
- (5) (i) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Any} \\ \text{Every} \end{array} \right\}$ man (*,) knows the way (*,) will reach camp by dusk.
- (ii) a. The driver *(,) who took a wrong turn, *unfortunately* *(,) managed to find the house any way.
(Hooper & Thompson 1973)
- b. American universities are huge athletic institutes *(,) where, *however*, some academic activities *(,) are retained for the physically weak. (Kajita 1968)

- (iii) The captain *(,) who is, *I think*, *(,) our best player, will graduate next year.
(Hooper & Thompson *ibid*)
- (iv) *John's book that $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you stole} \\ \text{I borrowed} \end{array} \right\}$ (Jackendoff *ibid*)
- (v) a. The trucks *(,) *each of which* blocked the highway *(,) belonged to the independent truckers. (Fetta *ibid*)
- (vi) *The Willy Brandt* who was chancellor resigned. (Fetta *ibid*)
- (vii) The word *comes* from the Dutch, who *were* the first settlers in New York City in the seventeenth century.
- (viii) a. *John is not the man *who* he was.
b. *My typewriter is not the machine *which* it was.
c. I recalled the genius *that* Mary had once been.
d. the people $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*who} \\ \text{(that)} \end{array} \right\}$ there are (Brame 1981: 277)
e. He is an anthropologist, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*who} \\ \text{which} \end{array} \right\}$ studies Indian tribes.

が, (4)の各々の条項にはさらに制約を加える必要が(6)の例から示される。

- (6) (i) a. *Any* man, who is a mammal, walks. (Partee 1972)
b. *Every* boy in this country, who is tall, must go for a soldier.
- (ii) a. The one apparent connection between the two is a score of buildings which somehow or other have survived and which *naturally* enough are called "historical monuments."
(Kajita *ibid*)
b. The generalization which holds, *however*, for all speaker — oriented SCP's is that uttering them requires not only that the speaker is designator of the names used, but also, as in normal assertions, that the speaker has a certain degree of belief in the content of the main clause (or, in speech act different than assertions, that their conditions are met).
(Reinhart *whose main clause?*)
- (iii) The girl who *I tell you* he liked left the room blushing.

- (iv) a. *John's life which was happy was short.*
 b. **John's life which was short was happy.*
- (v) a. Mr. Oxford led him into a very long chamber *both of whose* long walls were studded with thousands upon thousands of massive books.
 b. English, like other Germanic languages, has a great many examples of vocales which, though felt and used as single words, are made up of two or more elements *each of which* may also be used as a separate word.
 (Zandvoort 1962: 289)
- (vi) The United States position today is in no way comparable to that of *a France* that was still struggling to recover from demoralizing defeat in World War II.
 (梶田 1976: 235)
- (vii) John *bought* a painting that frankly I *find* rather ugly.
 (Fairclough 1973)
- (viii) a. He is not the proud boy *which* he once was.
 b. like the clever girl *which* she undoubtedly was
 c. He is not the man *which* his father wants him to be.

これらの文法性の差異に関与しているのは、発話行為における話者の立場を中心とする語用論的側面である。換言すれば、先行詞となる名詞句の指示機能および記述機能、それに RC の内容がいわば関数的に相互作用して RRC, NRRC の差となって現われうる、ということである。当然のことながら、名詞句の指示機能にはその限定辞である冠詞のもつ指示性、特定性という属性が重要な意味をもつ。この属性の決定には話者の意図、談話構造、あるいは(非)言語的コンテキストなど語用論的要因がからんでくる。例えば、(5i)と(6i)の差は RC と主文が総称か特定性の点で一致しているかどうかであり、この背景には「首尾一貫性」という会話の法則が観察される。以上、RRC と NRRC の差異を従来の統語論・意味論の立場からではなく語用論の観点から考察することの有意義性を述べたことになる。

(紙面の都合で参考文献や個々の説明は割愛せざるをえない。詳細は熊本大学教養部紀要・外国語・外国文学編第17号(1982年1月発行)福沢(1981)を参照されたい。)