

疑似分裂文の焦点位置に現れる動詞句の特性*

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0. はじめに

Whatによって導かれる(2a)のような英語の疑似分裂文(pseudo-cleft sentence)と(2b)のような分裂文(cleft sentence)は、前提部分と焦点部分とを明示的に分けて提示するという点で類似している。(以下、焦点要素は斜体字で表す。)

- (1) John lost his keys.
- (2) a. What John lost was *his keys*.
b. It was *his keys* that John lost.

しかしながら、疑似分裂文は分裂文に比べて、焦点位置に現れる要素の制限が厳しくないと言われる。具体的には、第一に、分裂文は補部(complement)を焦点化できないが疑似分裂文は焦点化できる。

- (3) She is a brilliant reporter.
- (4) a. What she is is *a brilliant reporter*.
b. *It is *a brilliant reporter* that she is. (Leech and Svartvik 1994)

第二に、分裂文とは異なり、疑似分裂文は動詞句を焦点要素として許容する。

- (5) He's spoiled the whole thing.
a. What he's done is *spoil the whole thing*.
b. *It's *spoil the whole thing* that he's done. (Leech and Svartvik 1994)

(5a)では、原形不定詞に導かれる動詞句“spoil the whole thing”が焦点部に生じている。しかしながら、疑似分裂文がその焦点位置に動詞句を取り立てる場合、必ずしも動詞の原形のみに限られるわけではない。本研究では、従来の記述文法書の所見を検証しながら、疑似分裂文の焦点位置に現れる動詞句の特性について実証的に考察する。

1. 焦点位置に現れる動詞句に関する従来の説明

疑似分裂文の焦点位置に動詞句が生起するという事実は、さまざまな記述文法書で指摘されてきた。Declerck(1991)は、次のような-ing形をその例として提示するに留まっている。

- (6) What he was doing was *cleaning the car*. (Declerck 1991)

Eastwood(1994)は次のような例を挙げ、疑似分裂文の焦点位置に多様な形式の動詞句が生ずる可能性を示唆している。

- (6) a. What the guests did after tea was *(to) play mini-golf*.
b. What the guests are doing is *playing mini-golf*.
c. What I've done is *sent a letter of complaint*.
d. What I've done is *(to) send a letter of complaint*.
e. What we could do is *(to) hire a car*.

((6a-e): Eastwood 1994)

(6a-e)にみるように、Eastwood(1994)は疑似分裂文の焦点位置に to 不定詞、原形不定詞、-ing 形、過去分詞が現れる例を引き合いに出しているが、その生起条件については十分な説明を与えてはいない。Swan(1995)も疑似分裂文が「(動詞を強調する場合には)さまざまな動詞形が可能である」と述べ、次の例を示している。

- (7) a. What he did was *(to) scream*.
b. What he did was *screamed*.
c. What she does is *(to) write science fiction*.
d. What she does is *writes science fiction*.

((7a-d): Swan 1995)

Swan(1995)は(7d)のごとき時制を伴う定形動詞“writes”が焦点位置に生起可能であることを指摘している点では注目されるが、Declerck(1991)や Eastwood(1994)と同様に動詞形の選択については明確な説明を与えていない。また、疑似分裂文の意味、機能を論ずる Prince(1978)、Sornicola(1988)においても焦点化される動詞句については言及されていない。Culicover(1977)は、(8a)のように焦点位置の動詞句が否定を受けることは許されるが、(8b)のように助動詞 be の否定辞縮約はできないこと、(9)のような会話の答えでは be の否定辞縮約が可能であることを指摘しているが、動詞形自体に関しては説明を与えていない。

- (8) a. What John did was not answer the phone.
b. *What John did wasn't answer the phone.

- (9) Was what John did to answer the phone?

- No, what John did wasn't (to) answer the phone. ((8)-(9): Culicover 1977)

学習英英辞典に目を向けると、*Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1995)、

Collins COBUILD English Dictionary (1995²), *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (1998²), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2000⁶)には動詞句を焦点とする分裂文の記述は見当たらない。*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995³)は(10)のような原形不定詞を焦点とする用例を挙げている。

- (10) What we'll do is *leave a note for Mum to tell her we won't be back till late.*
(*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1995³)

ここまで概観してきた文法書や辞典に比べて、Leech and Svartvik(1994)はもう少し詳しい説明を与えている。Leech and Svartvik(1994)によれば、疑似分裂文の焦点に現れる動詞は非定形(non-finite)であり、原形不定詞が頻用されるが、次例が示すような環境では特定の動詞形が選択されると述べている。

- (11) What he'll do is *spoil the whole thing.* [bare infinitive]
 (12) a. What he's done is *spoil the whole thing.* [bare infinitive]
 b. What he's done is *to spoil the whole thing.* [*to*-infinitive]
 c. What he's done is *spoilt the whole thing.* [-ed participle]
 (13) What he's doing is *spoilling the whole thing.* [-ing participle]
 ((11)-(13): Leech and Svartvik 1994)

Leech and Svartvik(1994)は、(12)の“done”の後では原形不定詞に加えて過去分詞も許容されるが、(13)の“doing”に後続する場合には原形不定詞ではなく-ing形が用いられなければならないと説明する。Leech and Svartvik(1994)の記述は、先にみた Swan(1995)が挙げる(7d)の焦点位置に定形動詞“writes”が生ずる用例を説明することができない。また、(12c)の焦点位置に過去分詞を取り立てる例は、次にみる Quirk *et al.*(1985)が言及する(15)の容認可能性の判断と対立を成す。Quirk *et al.*(1985)はより詳細な説明を与えており、疑似分裂文の焦点に現れる動詞は通例、原形不定詞か *to* 不定詞であるが、*what* 節の動詞が進行相 (“*be going to*”を除く)の場合には-ing形が用いられ、*what* 節の動詞が完了相の場合には過去分詞も可能であるという。次の例を考えよう。

- (14) What I'm doing is *teaching him a lesson.*
 (15) ⁹What he's done is *spoilt the whole thing.*
 ((12)-(13): Quirk *et al.* 1985)

興味深いことに、Quirk *et al.*(1985)は(15)のごとき過去分詞を焦点要素とする疑似分裂文を不自然であると捉えており、Eastwood(1994)の(6c)や Leech and Svartvik(1994)の(12c)の容認可能性よりも厳しい判断を示している。また、Quirk *et al.*(1985)も Swan(1995)の記述とは異なる

り、焦点位置に定形動詞が生ずる可能性を示す(7d)のような用例は認めていない。

ここまで概観してきたように、従来の研究において、疑似分裂文の焦点位置に生ずる動詞の形については十分な説明が与えられていないのみならず、見解が分かれており実証的な説明が求められよう。次節では、実際の言語資料を観察しながらその実像に迫ることとする。

2. 言語資料に基づく観察

疑似分裂文の焦点位置に生ずる動詞が、*what* 節の相(*aspect*)の影響を受けるかどうかを検証する前に、焦点位置に定形動詞が生ずる(7d)のような可能性について確認する必要がある。

(16) What she does is *writes science fiction*. (=7d) 再掲: Swan 1995)

ここで、動詞句を焦点位置に取り立てる疑似分裂文の構造を便宜的に(17)のように仮定しよう。

(17) What NP VP1 be VP2 (be は任意の時制をとるものとする)

(17)において前提部における VP1 が“does”をとる場合に、情報構造上、焦点となる VP2 にどのような動詞形が生起するのかを実際の言語資料に基づいてみてゆくことにする。まず、*TIME MAGAZINE* (1994-2000)データベースの検索結果、次の 11 例が得られた。(17a-k)では、いずれも VP2 に原形不定詞が現れている。

- (17) a. "What this young man does is *make plays for his football team*." (*TIME*, Dec. 11, 2000)
- b. But McAuliffe argues that what he does is simply *grease the great wheels of democracy*. (*TIME*, June 5, 2000)
- c. "What a mouse does is *take a fin and put something extra on top of it*." (*TIME*, July 31, 1995)
- d. What ICF does is *take the core of an idea and try to grow it big by marrying it with high-quality international players*. (*TIME*, April 10, 2000)
- e. What Bauer does is *pass out right on his face*. (*TIME*, Jan. 17, 2000)
- f. But what this does is *encourage greater flexibility and competitiveness in London*, which is the basis of our success. (*TIME*, Oct. 27, 1997)
- g. What Dick Carver basically does is *carry a copy of the Constitution in his pocket*, and he just whips it out and waves it around when you ask what's the authority for the county-supremacy ordinances. (*TIME*, Oct. 23, 1995)
- h. "What he does is *give it youth appeal*," says mgm Distribution marketing honcho Gerry Rich. (*TIME*, March 23, 1998)

- i. And what this does is *magnify people's reactions*. (*TIME*, March 14, 1994)
- j. What this young man does is *make plays for his football team*. (*TIME*, Dec. 11, 2000)
- k. What the existing system does is *tell young people they can raise a child without waiting until they're old enough to handle the responsibility*. (*TIME*, June 20, 1994)

FORTUNE MAGAZINE のデータベースでは 19 例が検出され、そのうち 2 例が次のような to 不定詞を VP2 に従える用例、残りの 17 例はすべて原形不定詞を VP2 にとる用例であった。

- (18) a. What it does is *to market those things better than anyone*. (*FORTUNE*, Aug. 3, 1998)
- b. In fact, what the welfare state really does is *to take from the well-off (a little) and give to the poor (also a little, but because they are so poor it matters a lot)*. (*FORTUNE*, May 1, 1995)

The British National Corpus の言語資料に基づけば、全 20 例中 8 例が原形不定詞を、12 例が to 不定詞を疑似分裂文の焦点位置 VP2 に従えていることが確認された。(19a-h)は VP2 に原形不定詞が、(20a-l)は to 不定詞が生ずる例である。

- (19) a. A06 1360 What an impro of this kind does is *confront the actors with a situation where they have to be emotionally truthful*.
- b. A6B 107 But it is also about the unstable evolution both of homo erectus and his culture, all of which may be a vast illusion if what man does is simply *continue his savagery while trying to repeat faint echoes of some suspect original grandeur*.
- c. AM7 974 What LMS does is radically *expand the area of school responsibility*.
- d. BOP 1297 What it does is *lie at half cock and suspend a floating bait onto the water's surface*.
- e. GBT 661 What Pepper v Hart does is *bring to an end an anomaly most lay people would not have believed existed: that the courts, when trying to interpret the meaning of statutory provisions, have not been allowed to take into consideration Parliamentary debates and the legislators' intentions during the passing of a Bill*.
- f. G9L 1722 What it does is *combine both pickups through a capacitor and a resistor with a certain amount of reverse phase*, to echo the sound a Strat makes when you jam the switch between the middle and neck pickups.
- g. CBC 9580 What this announcement does is *put that arrangement on a formal basis*.
- h. GMS 797 What it does is *demonstrate that even for 'one off' individual clients the most common practice of lawyers is translation rather than control*.

(The British National Corpus)

- (20) a. A16 287 What it does is *to turn the light it controls (typically a hall light or an outside light) on and off, according to how you set the timer, to give the impression (to a potential burglar) that the house is occupied.*
- b. AMT 131 What Language, Truth and Logic does is *to call a particular philosophical position, rather than a particular branch of philosophy, 'metaphysics' and thereby nonsense.*
- c. BML 13 What the model does is *to suggest at least two things that need to be examined critically.*
- d. B25 970 A wholesale buyer of women's underwear for a large store could not hope to inspect every single item she intends buying; what she usually does is *to inspect a sample of goods and to base her decision on this.*
- e. C8V 898 What he does is *to disbelieve in his previous world view because of needs which his previous world view can no longer answer.*
- f. C9B 351 What tolerance does is *to impart spiritual insight to a man and it breaks down barriers that might exist between one faith and another.*
- g. GBR 91 In effect what applied linguistics does is *to enquire into cross-cultural accommodation: it transfers ideas and methods from different disciplinary cultures and seeks to demonstrate how they can be made coherent and effective in the different conditions of pedagogic practice.*
- h. GBR 886 What research does is *to reformulate the familiar so that it assumes a new significance.*
- i. CDV 1532 What it does is *to create an image of total separation expressed in understatement.*
- j. CDV 1186 — what the phrase actually does is *to let realism aspire for a second to higher modes, to give to the drowned Mary 'a faint coloring of the myth of Andromeda'.*
- k. GE1 118 `What the counsellor does is *to concentrate on how the client feels about the incidents or facts he is reporting rather than on the facts themselves, and then to respond to what appears to be the most significant part of each complex sequence&hellip.*
- l. CMH 745 He rightly argues that the best way to find out what part of the brain does is *to start out with very general questions about the sorts of thing it might do and then work through to more specific questions.*

(The British National Corpus)

TIME MAGAZINE, *FORTUNE MAGAZINE*, The British National Corpus の各データベースに基づくここまでの検索結果を統計的に分析すると、“What NP VP1 be VP2”の VP1 に “does”が用いられる疑似分裂文、合計 50 例中、焦点要素 VP2 に原形不定詞が現れるのは 36 例(=72%)、VP2 に to 不定詞が現れるのは 14 例(=28%)である。To 不定詞と原形不定詞の選択条件については明確ではないが、(20k)の“to concentrate ..., and then to respond ...”では離れている二つの動詞がともに焦点化を受けていることを明示するために to が用いられていると仮定される。

ここまでに示したデータベースには、時制を伴う定形動詞が焦点化されている例は一つもない。しかしながら、*The Guardian*には次例のような興味深い構文が観察される。

- (21) a. I've always been used to looking for bargains, but what having a little money does is *it slightly broadens your horizon.* (*The Guardian*, March

12, 2000)

- b. 'It empowers people, because what it does is *it encourages them to make small steps to change*,' says Thompson, who studied the approach in the US before bringing the idea back here. (*The Guardian*, March 19, 2000)

(21a-b)では“it slightly broadens your horizon”と“it encourages them to make small steps to change”といった節要素が焦点化されている。このような疑似分裂文“What NP VP1 be VP2”のVP1が“does”で、焦点要素のVP2が節要素となる用法は、従来の研究ではほとんど取り上げられてこなかったように思われる。Swan(1995)が言及する“What she does is *writes science fiction*.”のごとき定形動詞を直接焦点化する例は見当たらないものの、(21a-b)では情報価値の低い代名詞itを主語とする節要素が焦点化されている。次いで、The CobuildDirect corpusにも同様に、“What NP does is it + 定形動詞”の構文が検索される。

- (22) How does it work? OGILVIE: What it does is it modifies the layer of air are in our brain and what our brain does is, it starts to recognise patterns. issue? [p] Grant: Well, it—what it does is it allows each country to make make things worse. What all this does is it sends a picture of confusion discounts and things, so what it does is it takes math class outside. [p] call rejection. And what it does is it kind of gives the control back [p] Wilson: What the museum does is it takes away even more of the of good and evil. What this museum does is it reminds anyone and everyone of
(The CobuildDirect corpus)

こららの事実を総合すると、疑似分裂文の前提部“What NP does is”に続く焦点要素には、原形不定詞、次いでto不定詞、さらにはitを主題とする節要素が現れるが、定形動詞が独立して生起する例は確認できなかった。

次に、疑似分裂文の焦点位置に生ずる動詞は、what節の相(aspect)の影響を受けるのであろうか。前節で概観したように、Quirk *et al.*(1985)はwhat節の動詞が進行相(“be going to”を除く)の場合には-ing形が用いられると指摘する。

- (23) What I'm doing is *teaching him a lesson*. (= (14) 再掲)

たしかに、“What NP VP1 be VP2”の前提部に生ずるVP1が進行相をとる場合、-ing形のVP2と共起する例は多い。

- (24) a. What Apple is doing is *building better computers*. (*FORTUNE*, Nov. 9, 1998)
b. What a good history student is doing is *coping each week with a lot of diverse human being centred information and interpreting it*, and that's what life throws at people, and what jobs throw at people, not neatly pack-

aged propositions which they have to illustrate with a few examples.
(*The Guardian*, Oct. 26, 1999)

- c. "If you have knowledge that what you are doing is *causing infringement*," he says, "you're liable." (*FORTUNE*, March 20, 2000)
- d. So what people are doing is *asking*, "How big is the market opportunity?" (*FORTUNE*, Dec. 29, 1997)

しかしながら、収集した言語資料を観察する限り、Quirk *et al.*(1985)の文法記述はやや制限が強いように思われる。具体的には、次例のように前提部が進行相を含むにもかかわらず焦点位置に *to* 不定詞が生起する例が確認される。これらはいずれも Quirk *et al.*(1985)の反例となる。

- (25) a. What Gore, with the aid of Bush, is doing is *to challenge some of the assumptions which persuaded Clinton that the only way he could win and govern was by leading his party from the right.* (*The Guardian*, Aug. 31, 2000)
- b. What everyone else is doing is *to take action and then justify it later.* (*The Guardian*, Nov. 27, 2000)
- c. What we are doing is *to put those traditional values in a modern setting.* (*The Guardian*, June 6, 2000)
- d. What it should be doing is *to prepare the young adequately for the unknowable world of tomorrow.* (*The Guardian*, Nov. 16, 1999)
- e. But what he is actually doing is *to justify greed and cynicism.* (*The Guardian*, Nov. 8, 1999)
- f. What the Republican position is doing is *to highlight the one-sided nature of the existing treaties on nuclear weapons.* (...) (*The Guardian*, Oct. 10, 1999)
- g. What the manufacturers are doing is *to bring list prices more closely in line with actual transaction prices following the government's August orders to force them to realign prices with those on the continent.* (*The Guardian*, Oct. 7, 2000)
- h. What we have been doing and will continue doing is *to get rid of investment that is passive and switch to areas where we can be active.* (*TIME*, June 30, 1997)

(25a-h)の疑似分裂文は *to* 不定詞を焦点位置に取り立てている。これらが例証するように、疑似分裂文の前提部が進行相であっても、必ずしも焦点部に-ing形が生ずるとは限らないことが

わかる。焦点位置に *to* 不定詞と *-ing* 形が生ずる際の文脈や場面的状況を明確に峻別することは難しい。しかしながら、よく知られているように進行相には未来を表す用法があり、*to* 不定詞にも未来志向性が認められる。そのため、疑似分裂文の前提部に現れる進行相が未来について言及する場合には、未来志向的特性を帯びる *to* 不定詞を焦点位置に許容すると仮定できるかもしれない。

注目すべき点は、“What NP VP1 be VP2”の VP1 が進行相をとる場合、VP2 に原形不定詞をとる例はほとんどなく、手元の資料には The CobuildDirect corpus で検索された次の一例のみであることである。

- (26) Oh yeah.” In fact, what they are doing is try to use some sort of
(The CobuildDirect corpus)

これらのことから明らかなように、疑似分裂文の前提部分に現れる進行相と焦点位置に生ずる動詞の形式にはある程度関係が認められるものの、従来の文法書の記述はやや厳しすぎるのがわかる。また、前節で指摘したように、前提部分に完了相をとる疑似分裂文の焦点に過去分詞が現れる可能性については、従来の研究では判断が分かれていた。実際の言語資料を観察すると、Eastwood(1994)や Leech and Svartvik(1994)の記述とは異なり、完了相を前提部にとる疑似分裂文の焦点に過去分詞が生ずる用例はひとつもない。次は、The CobuildDirect corpus の検索結果の一部である。

- (27) going for it, and what I should have done was lift off, tuck back in behind
life without knowing it. What I had done was to borrow Violet’s tried and
she was right. What he should have done was put her out of her misery. He’d
at the penitentiary said what I had done was kill my daddy but I know that
small pick up coils. So what we’ve done is to replace the pick up coil with
seen as condescend ing. What she has done is to let the Duchess know that if
from common sense. What I think I’ve done is to provide a set of labels and
(The CobuildDirect corpus)

前提部分が完了相をとる疑似分裂文の焦点位置には、原形不定詞、*to* 不定詞のみが現れ、過去分詞や *-ing* 形は生じ得ないと結論してよい。

さて、Leech and Svartvik(1994)は疑似分裂文の焦点に現れる動詞には原形不定詞が頻用されると述べ、一方、Quirk *et al.*(1985)は疑似分裂文の焦点に現れる動詞は通例、原形不定詞か *to* 不定詞であると指摘する。Leech and Svartvik(1994)と Quirk *et al.*(1985)はいずれも、どのような環境で *to* 不定詞が焦点部分に生じやすいのかということについては説明していない。To 不定詞を焦点として積極的に提出する疑似分裂文にはどのようなものがあるだろうか。Bolinger(1968)は *to* 不定詞について可能性(potentiality)、仮想性(hypothesis)をその特性として認め、現実性(reification)の意味をもつ *-ing* 形と対立させて捉えている。

- (28) a. I like him *to be nice to you*.
 b. I like his *being nice to you*. (Bolinger 1968)
- (29) a. I sensed him *to be a bit uncertain* (and sure enough he told me later he had been).
 b. I sensed his *being a bit uncertain* (and acted to reassure him immediately). (ibid.)

Bolinger(1968)によれば、(28a)の to 不定詞は仮想性を表し「私は彼にあなたに(これから)優しくしてもらいたいと思っている」、(28b)の-ing 形は現実性を表し「私は彼があなたに(実際に)優しいのは好ましいと思っている」といった解釈が得られるという。(29a-b)も同様の対立を示している。Bolinger(1968)の考察を妥当なものとするれば、可能性、仮想性を表す to 不定詞が焦点として取り立てられる例として、実現されていない未来のことが前提部で表現される場合が予測される。まず、実現されていない未来のことを積極的に表現する“try to do”(「これから～しようと努力する」)が前提部に生ずる疑似分裂文は The CobuildDirect corpus で 12 例検出されるが、その中の 5 例(41.6%)が to 不定詞を焦点にしている。

- (30) a way that few other things can What I try to do is put my characters into a
 be beneficial. [p] What I want to try to do is look at what we can do to
 that's viewed as impossible. What you try to do is to transplant the same
 calm persuasion. So what they try to do is to short-circuit the
 molecule. And what we're now going to try to do is understand how that
 Rochester University What the—they try to do is build a house of cards,
 sympathize. In the book, what we try to do is simply to proceed from
 facing. What I would like the game to try to do is to give feedback back to
 want to go in. And what I'm going to try to do is to define, in as clear a
 Bush? [p] Gramm: What we're going to try to do is to talk about what the
 there. And what we are all going to try to do is continue to move forward
 comes in advance of others. What we try to do is look at several factors
 (The CobuildDirect corpus)

次に、try が進行相をとる用例を検索した結果、(31)が示すように“trying to do”が前提部に含まれる疑似分裂文、全 23 例中 10 例(43.5%)が焦点部に to 不定詞を取り立てていることが明らかである。また、(32)が示すように“tried to do”が前提部に含まれる場合には 5 例中 4 例(80.0%)が焦点部に to 不定詞を従えていることがわかる。

- (31) You get the idea that what you are trying to do is to provide good service in
 to use our car park. [p] What we are trying to do is to find the means to
 on different subjects. What we are trying to do is to network with people.
 But we'd get laughed at! What we're trying to do is mix radical politics with
 like crazy [p] Caitlin What we're trying to do is make people aware again of
 we're trying to do — What we're trying to do is to get your Roisin and
 knowledge. [p] What we should be trying to do is eliminate from the game
 it at the PC level. What Sun is trying to do is make the operating system
 mismanaged organisation. What we are trying to do is to turn that around and
 and limited funding. What we're trying to do is completely off the wall to
 awareness and what this new test is trying to do is to build up hazard
 to tell him how to play. What we are trying to do is fit him into the side in
 way in the late Seventies. What I'm trying to do is to really make it regain
 way in the late Seventies. What I'm trying to do is really make it regain its
 for that character. Part of what I'm trying to do is to see some of the choices

Roman Pasca. [p] Pasca: What I'm trying to do is work with other realities, by Hispanic members, what you're trying to do is create voting blocks where clearly what—the Iraqis are trying to do is to get off the hook at there's all these issues, what I'm trying to do is find a way to say that it's the same coin, actually. What we are trying to do is to ask ourselves the Young Mayor, Detroit What I'm trying to do is get the proper agencies of Yeah. It's—it's kind of—what I'm trying to do is basically record our eighties. What they're effectively trying to do is deny people in the

(The CobuildDirect corpus)

- (32) done that? BASSETT: Well what we've tried to do is to target the hormones where they do. [p] Ken Chan: What we tried to do is to crystallize it in a way created some sort of magic [p] What I tried to do with the movie is show a lot the root of the problem. What we tried to do was to solve the most urgent [p] Forman Dew: Well, in fact what I tried to do slowly was to find a dressing

(The CobuildDirect corpus)

(31)-(32)の分布が示すように、“try to”は40例中20例(50.0%)が焦点部にto不定詞を取り立てる。このto不定詞の生起率の高さは、疑似分裂文の焦点には原形不定詞が頻用されるというLeech and Svartvik(1994)の観察が不十分であることを裏付けている。また、原形不定詞とto不定詞の選択には発話の形式度の相違が関与している可能性がある。例えば、Eastwood(1994)によれば、“have to”と“have got to”は同義的であり、“have to”は形式的な英語でも、形式ばらない英語でも用いられるが、“have got to”は形式ばらない英語で用いられるという。(33)-(34)は、これらを前提部を含む疑似分裂文がどのような動詞形を焦点にとるかをThe CobuildDirect corpusで検索した結果である。

- (33) pancake coil and then what we have to do is to burn off the polymers and available right now. What we have to do is bring it out into the open. [p] Quite normal. What we have to do is to enable you to release your of the 406 ad, says: `What we have to do is give the car an emotional appeal. Welsh public. [p] What we have to do is to do it better so that the right have to do, what all of us have to do, is step back from the hysteria and on his door. [p] What I have to do is prove him wrong by doing the work afford to dwell on it. What we have to do is go beyond being in charge of that will count. [p] What I have to do is carry on from where I have started grade gold nuggets. What we have to do is look for clues to enable us to his barrister is. [p] What we have to do is break the pattern that rules these as a matter of fact. What you have to do is wait until the Tradewest logo [p] AND FINALLY [p] What we have to do is look forward [p] Ted Heath, be quite wrong. [p] What we have to do is work over a 10-year cycle making these funds available. What we have to do is whittle down the alternatives to em into going home. What you have to do is try to talk 'em into being safe. I mean, first what they have to do is agree as Democrats. I'm on it. I—I think what you have to do is to move in. I think in—to—to

(The CobuildDirect corpus)

- (34) by a unified Germany, what you've got to do is to play your part in door. [p] What the Law Society has got to do is to ensure that all get to a stage like this, what you've got to do is have a break, recharge the sure that Babe had one. Now what we've got to do is get her the best lawyer in and gnashing our teeth. What we've got to do is look at the potential collapse within 24 hours. What you've got to do is to bring the parties to the [p] [h] [p] 1990 `What Christians have got to do is to take back this country,

(The CobuildDirect corpus)

(33)と(34)はサンプル数が異なるものの、“have to”の場合には 18 例中 14 例(77.8%)が原形不定詞を、4 例(22.2%)が to 不定詞を焦点に取り立て、形式ばらない表現である“have got to”の場合には 7 例中 3 例(42.9%)が原形不定詞を、4 例(57.1%)が to 不定詞を焦点に取り立てている。

3. まとめ

本研究では、疑似分裂文の焦点に取り立てられる動詞句の特性について実証的に考察した。まず、疑似分裂文の焦点位置に生ずる動詞の形について、従来の研究では統一的な記述が与えられていないことを指摘した。次いで、実際の言語資料の観察に基づいて、疑似分裂文の前提部分と焦点部分に現れる言語形式の相関を計量的に示しながら、これまでの記述文法書による説明が部分的に強すぎる点を論じた。さらに、焦点部における動詞句の選択にどのような制約が関わっているのかについて可能な説明方法を探った。

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