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(論 文)

動名詞を中心とした世界 - 不定詞および現在分詞との比較を中心に-

•••••• 伊関 敏之 1

次

The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

目

On the Derivation of Reduced Relative Clauses

Takahiro Tozawa 35

Blood and Disguise in Venice

•••••• Fumiyuki Narushima 53

動名詞を中心とした世界 - 不定詞および現在分詞との比較を中心に-

伊関 敏之*

The World Focused on Gerund — with special reference to the Comparison of Infinitive and Present Participle — Toshiyuki ISEKI

Abstract

In this paper, we will examine the usage of Gerund, Infinitive and Present Participle. It seems to us that historical linguistics has provided very useful insights especially Gerund. This time, we will look at the various aspects of them: their syntactic, phonological and semantic aspects. At the same time, we will take both diachronic aspects and synchronic aspects into account. Taking a careful consideration on the result of historical linguistics, we will investigate their usage in present-day English based on linguistics.

序論

現代英語においては、不定詞の名詞的用法と動名詞とは、ほぼ同じ意味を表 すと言われている(例えば、It began to rain. と It began raining. は、微妙な ニュアンスの違いはあるにしても、ほぼ同じ意味を表すということである)。 ただし、認知的な側面を強調すれば、例えば、To see is to believe. と Seeing is believing. とでは、予想以上に大きな違いがあることも事実である(To listen to music is fun for me. と Listening to music is fun for me.なども同様である)。 また、例えば、I saw him cross the street.(私は彼が通りを<u>横切るのを</u>見た) と I saw him crossing the street.(私は彼が通りを<u>横切っているのを</u>見た)と では、意味に違いがあるということもよく知られている。この場合の crossing は、文法用語を用いて説明をすれば、現在分詞ということになろう。つまり、 学校英文法では、V ing という形式には、動名詞と現在分詞とがあり、全く同じ 形式であるにも関わらず、あたかも別々の事柄であるかのように扱われている

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のである。確かに、現在分詞は基本的には形容詞として機能するので、動名詞 とは働きや意味が異なるのは当然のことであろう。しかし、英語の歴史を振り 返ってみると(歴史言語学的な観点から両者を考察してみると)、音韻的・意味 的な混交現象が見られるので、大変興味深い。そのことが、現代英語における 動名詞・不定詞・現在分詞の意味と用法を考察する上で、大変示唆に富む知見 を提供してくれるのである。

「形が異なれば、意味が異なる」というのは、認知言語学の基本的な考え方 である。従って、従来ほとんど意味に差がないと言われてきた表現が、実はコ ミュニケーション上話し手の真意を聞き手に伝える上で微妙な違いを生じさせ ているのに気がつかないということが多々あるはずである。

先行研究をいろいろと調べてみても、研究者によって意見が異なることも多いということが今回わかってきたのである。

動名詞を中心において、それと不定詞および現在分詞を比較しながら、いわ ば現代英語の準動詞の意味と用法の重要な一側面について詳細に考察していく ことにする。

2. 先行研究(動名詞と不定詞の名詞的用法について)

2.1 従来の考え方

石黒監修(1999, pp.192-4) に従って説明を試みる(一部、記述の仕方が筆者の判断によって、原文とは異なる個所もある)。

動名詞と不定詞はともに他動詞の目的語として用いられるが、どちらをとる かは動詞によって決まる。次の4つの分類に従って確認しよう。

- 1、動名詞だけを目的語にとる他動詞
- 2、不定詞だけを目的語にとる他動詞
- 3、動名詞と不定詞でほとんど意味に違いのない他動詞
- 4、動名詞と不定詞で意味の異なる他動詞
- 1、動名詞だけを目的語にとる他動詞
 - (1) The man **admitted** *stealing* the bicycle.
 - (2) I've given up *trying* to solve the problem.
 - (1) その男は自転車を盗んだことを認めた。
 - (2) 私はその問題を解こうとするのをあきらめた。
 - (1)の admit (admit-ing (~ということを認める))、(2)の give up (give

up **-ing**(~をやめる))のような動名詞だけを目的語にとる他動詞は、不定詞 を目的語にすることはできない。

2、不定詞だけを目的語にとる他動詞

- (1) Roger has decided to emigrate to Australia.
- (2) She hopes to find a new boyfriend soon.
 - (1) ロジャーはオーストラリアに移住することに決めた。
 - (2)彼女はすぐに新しいボーイフレンドを見つけたいと思っている。

(1)の decide (decide + to 不定詞 (~しようと決心する))、(2)の hope
 (hope + to 不定詞 (~することを望む))のような不定詞だけを目的語にとる
 他動詞は、動名詞を目的語にとることはできない。

3、動名詞と不定詞でほとんど意味に違いのない他動詞

- (1) Sue **started** *crying* [*to cry*] when she heard the news.
- (2) He loves singing [to sing] old folk songs.
 - (1) その知らせを聞いてスーは泣きだした。
 - (2) 彼は古い民謡を歌うのが大好きだ。

(1)の start (<start -ing>、<start+to 不定詞>いずれも「~し始める」
 という意味)、(2)の love (<love -ing>、<love+to 不定詞>いずれも「~
 するのが大好きである」という意味)のような、動名詞と不定詞のどちらが目
 的語になっても、ほとんど意味に違いのない他動詞である。

4、動名詞と不定詞で意味の異なる他動詞

このパターンでは、動名詞が「すでに起こった事柄」や「実際の行為」を表し、不定詞が「まだ起こっていない事柄」を表すことに注意。

① forget

- (1) He forgot *posting* the letter to her.
- (2) He forgot to post a letter to her.
 - (1) 彼は彼女に手紙を送ったことを忘れた。
 - (2) 彼は彼女に手紙を送るのを忘れた。

(1)は<forget-ing>の形が使われており、この場合、「~したことを忘れる」 という意味になる。一方、(2)は<forget+to不定詞>の形が使われており、 この場合は「~することを忘れる」という意味になる。

2 remember

- (1) Do you **remember** *locking* the door when you left?
- (2) Please **remember** *to lock* the door when you leave.

(1) 出かける前にカギをかけたことを覚えていますか。

(2) 出かける時には忘れずにカギをかけてください。

(1)は<remember --ing>形で、「~したことを覚えている」という意味になる。
 (2)は<remember+to不定詞>で、「忘れずに~する」という意味になる。

③ regret

(1) I regret *telling* you that you were stingy.

(2) I regret to tell you that we must reject your offer.

(1) ケチだと君に言ったことを私は後悔している。

(2)残念ですが、あなたの申し出をお断りしなければなりません。

(1)は<regret -ing>で「~したことを後悔する」という意味。(2)は<
 regret+to 不定詞>で「残念ながら~しなければならない」という意味。

4 try

(1) He **tried** *walking* a few steps.

(2) He tried to walk a few steps.

(1) 彼は試しに数歩、歩いてみた。

(2) 彼は数歩、歩こうとした。

(1)は、<try -ing>で、「試しに~してみる」という意味。この動名詞は「実際の行為」を表している。(2)は、<try+to不定詞>で、「~しようと試みる、
 努力する」という意味になる。

-石黒監修 1999, pp.192-4

以上、豊富な用例とともに、わかりやすい説明がなされている。上述の説明 では、このパターンでは、動名詞が「すでに起こった事柄」や「実際の行為」 を表し、不定詞が「まだ起こっていないこと」を表すことに注意という部分が 重要である。

このことは、学校英文法においてもきちんと指導すべき事柄として押さえて おく必要があろうと思われる。

ちなみに、動詞が表す意味内容によって、動名詞と不定詞とでほとんど意味 に違いのない他動詞から、はっきりと違いが見てとれる他動詞までさまざまで ある。

例えば、江川(1991³, p.369)には次のような興味深い説明がある。

以下の説明は、後述することになる動名詞と現在分詞の意味の混交にも関わる 重要なものである。

begin と start に続く動名詞~ing は、現在分詞的な性格を持っていると言

えよう。つまり、begin to ~は「開始」を示すのに対し、begin ~ing は'It began to rain'+'It was (still) raining'= It began raining. のように、「開始+継続」 の感じである (Wood, *CEU*, p.38)。このことをさらに例証するために、Palmer (*Verb*, §9.1.2) には次のような start の例が示されている。

He started to speak, but was soon interrupted. (すぐに話を遮られた)

He started speaking, and kept on for hours. (何時間も話し続けた)

この動名詞(~ing)が進行形の現在分詞(~ing)と相通じている間接的な証拠としては、一般に begin ~ing や start ~ing は~が動作動詞のときにだけ可能であることがあげられよう。次の2つの文の不定詞は状態動詞だから動名詞とは交換できない。

I began to understand what he really meant.

(彼の真意がわかり始めた)

They started to own a house.

(初めて家を持つことになった)

-江川 1991³, p.369

上述の石黒の説明にもあるように、start ~ing と start+to 不定詞などは、 ほとんど意味に違いがないものとして筆者には認識されていた。しかし、ここ での江川の明解な説明により、両者の違いが明らかにされており、大変有益で ある。

また、安田(1970, p.113)には、次のような例もある。

動名詞と不定詞では表現の気持が少し違います。

[比較] I like to read a book.

(本が読みたい・・・ある場面の気持)

I like reading books.

(読書が好き・・・場面のない一般論)

(例) I like reading books, but I don't like to read a book now.

(読書は好きですが今は読みたくありません)

-安田 1970, p.113

安田(1970)は、中学生向けに書かれた大変有益な本であり、筆者は今でも 時折参考にしている。上述の石黒では、ほとんど意味に違いがない例として分 類されていた(石黒では、love ~ing と love+to 不定詞が例として挙げられて いた)。ここでは、難しい用語は使われてはいないが、以下に述べるように、言 いたい内容は岩垣(1980)とほぼ同じであると言えそうである。つまり、不定 詞は'動的'で、一時性、未来指向であり、動名詞は'静的'で、恒久性、過去指向で あるというものである。また、動名詞に伴う意味合いについては、場面のない 一般論と説明している。

このあたりは後述の大西・マクベイにおいては、不定詞に対する説明にまさ に当てはまる内容と言えよう。要するに、全く意見が異なっているということ である。

2.2 大津(2004)の考え方

大変説得力のある説明が、大津(2004, p.62)によってなされている。

「動名詞は、もうすでにしていること、あるいは、今もしていることについ て述べる場合に使うと書きました。なぜかというと、今していることについて 述べる進行形と同じ-ing形(現在分詞)を使っているからです。

一方、不定詞は(今そのことをしているのではなく)これからそのことをす る場合に使うというのはなぜでしょう。

その理由を知るためには、英語の歴史をさかのぼってみる必要があります。 歴史的には、不定詞を表す to は「~~」という方向を表す前置詞の to と同じ 源から発しています。そこで、不定詞の表す意味は、その動作の方向へ向かう、 つまり、(今そのことをしているのではなく)これからそのことをする、という ことになるのです。

意外に思われる方もいるでしょうが、それが歴史の面白さというものです。」 と書かれている。

ここでは、特に不定詞の表す意味について、歴史言語学の観点からの説明の 有用性を強調していて、大変興味深い。現代英語の意味の解釈において、通時 的な視点を持つことの重要性がうかがえる。ただし、動名詞の方の説明に対し ては、少し疑問が残る。後述のように、動名詞が進行形と同じ-ing という形式 をとっているので、今もしていることについて述べる場合に使われるというこ とに関しては、筆者にも異論はない。しかし、もうすでにしていることについ て述べる場合にも使われるということに関しては、-ing という形式からだけで は全く判断できないからである。その点についての説得力のある説明が是非ほ しいところである。

大津の述べていることの要点をまとめると、次のようになる。 **③動名詞を使う時-もうすでにしていること**、あるいは、**今もしていること**に ついて述べる場合(過去・現在指向)。 ◎不定詞を使う時−(今そのことをしているのではなく)これからそのことを するという場合(未来指向)。

ここでの過去・現在指向という用語は、筆者が独自につけたものである。

2.3 岩垣(1980)の考え方

さらに、岩垣(1980, p.61, 77)には、**〇不定詞の名詞用法と動名詞**という項目があり、興味深い。主に「百聞は一見に如かず」という諺を用いながら、両者の違いを説明している(引用の内容はそのままではなく、筆者による解釈によりまとめたもの)。

「Seeing is believing. = To see is to believe. (見ることは信じることである。) と解されているが、細かく言えば、動名詞を用いると'Seeing as a general rule is followed by belief.'(見ることは概して信ずることになる。)という一般的な叙 述であるのに対し、不定詞を用いると'Seeing is immediately followed by believing.'(見ればすぐ信じるようになる。)という特定の事柄を述べることに なる。動名詞と不定詞のこの差異は、言葉を変えると、

動名詞は、'静的'で、恒久性、過去指向

不定詞は、'動的'で、一時性、未来指向

とも言える。

従って、次のような特定の人物(her)を念頭に置いた

To have once seen her was to long to behold her again.

(彼女に一度会うと再び見たくなるのであった。)

など、将来の内容を含んでいるため、動名詞では表現することはできない。

では、次の例はどうであろうか。「<u>昔の小学生にとって、鉛筆を小刀で削るこ</u> <u>とは重要な自己学習であった</u>。掛け算の九九を覚えるのと同じ、あるいはそれ 以上の意味を持っていた。彼らは感覚を通じて木を知り、その香りをかいだ。 それは原始の洞窟の中で、父や兄の作業を見よう見まねで矢をけずり、弓をつ くっていた子供たちと共通する経験だっただろうと思う。」-村松貞次郎『大工 道具の歴史』

上の文を英語に訳す場合、下線の部分は、「(これから)鉛筆を小刀で削れば、 それは重要な自己学習になる」という意図で書かれたものではなく、「かつては、 そして今も、鉛筆を小刀で削ることは重要な自己学習であったし、今もそのは ずだ。」という恒久的な事実として意図されているので、

For schoolboys in former days, it was an important part of self-education to

sharpen pencils with a knife.

ではなく、to sharpen \rightarrow sharpening [動名詞] にしなければならないと、日本文学の翻訳家ジョン・ベスター氏は指摘している。

動名詞と不定詞とのこの差異は、我々が想像する以上に重要な要件で、決し て忘れてはならないことの一つである。」と書かれている。

ここでは他動詞の目的語としての用法ではなく、主語(S)と補語(C)の 位置に出てきている動名詞と不定詞の用法になっているところに注意する必要 があろう。

また、動名詞は'静的'であり、不定詞は'動的'であると述べているところが目を引くところであるが、この意見とは異なった考えを持っている研究者もいるので、次にその点について言及しておくことにする。

2. 4 大西・マクベイ (2008) の考え方

大西・マクベイ(2008, pp.111-6)の記述に基づいて、説明していく(内容は 筆者が少し再構成している)。

名詞として扱われる動詞-ing形と to 不定詞の区別。どちらも「~すること」 と訳されますが、実はずいぶん体感がちがいます。

 \rightarrow A : Just back from the office. I hate (working / to work) on a Sunday.

B : Right. I hate (to work / working) on a Sunday, too.

A:仕事から帰ってきたところ。日曜日に働くの、ものすごくいやだよ。

B:そうだよな。僕だって日曜日に働くのいやだよ。

どちらも「日曜日に働くこと」という日本語訳。どちらを選んでも「まちがい」というわけではありません。けれども、使い方がズレていることがわかりますね。

A-ing はいつもイキイキ

I hate **working** on a Sunday. (日曜日に働くのはイヤだ)

-ingは「イキイキとした行為が行われている」。名詞として使われたからとそ の気持ちが変わってしまうわけではありません。イキイキとした行為が強く意 識されている、それが名詞として使われる-ing なのです。この文は単に一般論 として「働くことが嫌いです」ではありません。働いている、その様子がリア ルに想像されているのです。仕事から帰ったばかりのAさんが「仕事はイヤだ」 と言う時、頭の中では「仕事」がイキイキと展開していますよね。だからこそ、 ここでは working がより好まれるというわけです。 B to は漠然

I hate **to work** on a Sunday. (日曜日に働くのはイヤだ)

一方 to 不定詞には--ing のような「出来事がイキイキと展開する感触」はま るで感じられません。単なる一般論。この文は「日曜日の仕事はイヤです」と、 漠然と一般論を述べているにすぎません。Bさんは自分が日曜日に仕事をして きたわけではありません。だからこそ to 不定詞がより適任なのです。

to不定詞がこうした意味合いをもつのは、その形と無縁ではありません。to は「指し示す」単語。そこに動詞の原形が加わっています。動詞原形は単に「~ する」、-ingのように何かが起こっていることを表す形ではありません。ここか ら-名詞として扱われる to 不定詞には-何か漠然とした、一般的な状況を指し 示している感じが醸し出されているのです。

 \rightarrow **To smoke** is dangerous for your health.

(喫煙は健康に悪い)

To use drugs is against the law.

(麻薬使用は法律違反です)

どちらも具体的に何かが起こっていることを表してはいませんね。漠然と「そ うしたこと」と一般論を述べているにすぎません。

\rightarrow a. I like **playing with my kids** in the park.

(公園で子どもと遊ぶのが好き)

b. I like to play with my kids in the park.

(公園で子どもと遊ぶのが好き)

ここで注意しなければいけないのは、-ing はその場で実際に起こっていなけ ればならないということではありません。肝心なのは、「リアルに起こっている 感じがする」ということ。そんな体感を伴っているということです。話し手は 子どもと遊ぶ様子をリアルに思い浮かべながら述べているのです。to 不定詞は 単に「そういうことが好きなのです」ということ。

-ingの「イキイキ」、to不定詞の「漠然一般論」、その体感さえ身につけておけば、この2つは自然に使い分けることができます。

-大西・マクベイ 2008, pp.111-4 大変有益な指摘である。上述の岩垣(1980)とは、かなり主張が異なってい ることに注意されたい。岩垣では、動名詞は'静的'であり、恒久性、過去指 向であると述べられているが、大西にはそのような感じがまるでない。この後 筆者が論じていくように、動名詞の-ing形と現在分詞の-ing形とが音韻的・意 味的に混交しているという主張を裏付けることになる。

岩垣も大西も共に、ネイティブ・スピーカーとの共同作業ということに特徴 がある研究者であるにもかかわらず、主張にかなりの隔たりがあるということ は、とても興味深い。

ただし、大津が言うように、動名詞は現在・過去指向であるという主張も筆 者は採用することにする。その上で、大西・マクベイが述べているような「イ キイキ感」が動名詞には存在するという主張を筆者は展開する。

そのことを歴史言語学の成果に基づいて、この先立証していくことにする。 一方、不定詞の意味する内容については、筆者は大西・マクベイとは少し違っ た見方をしているので、そのことも検討していく。つまり、不定詞は単に「漠 然とした一般論」を述べているだけではなく、岩垣や大津でも述べられている ように、'動的'であり、一時性、未来指向も備わっているという主張を支持す る。なぜなら、不定詞は動名詞とは違って、ある意味ではいわば「オールラウ ンドプレーヤー」であるからである。

次の項では、その辺の事情について、歴史言語学によって得られた知見も十 分に取り入れながら、検討していくことにする。

3 不定詞と動名詞の統語的特徴

3.1 不定詞の特徴

以下、中尾・児馬編(1990, pp.179-80)に基づいて説明する。

PEでは、形態的には to の付かない原形不定詞と、to の付いた to 不定詞 の2種類の不定詞(infinitive)が用いられている。原形不定詞は(1b)のよう な使役動詞や知覚動詞などの補部にも起こるものの、主として(1a)のような助 動詞の後ろに生じ、かなり限られた環境で用いられるのに対し、to 不定詞は、(2)のように、それ以外の多様な環境で用いられる。

(1) a. I can swim.

b. I made him do the job.

I saw him run.

I helped him do the job.

- (2) a. To smoke like that is dangerous. [名詞用法]
 - b. Give me something to drink. [形容詞用法]
 - c. John went to America to study English. [副詞用法]

d. This book is easy to read. [Tough-構文]

e. For Mary to go there would surprise John. [主語付き不定詞]

f. I believe John to be honest. [不定詞付き対格構文]

g. It is necessary for us to read his essay. [外置構文]

h. To tell the truth, ... [独立用法]

特に、to不定詞は機能的にも名詞、形容詞、副詞用法など多岐にわたっており、PEの文法におけるその役割は準動詞の中でも特に重要であり、その歴史的発達を知ることは大変興味深い。

ー中尾・児馬 1990, pp.178-9

以上の説明を見てもわかるように、PEにおいては、to 付き不定詞の方が無 標であり、ゼロ不定詞の方は有標であるとされている。しかし、歴史的に見れ ば、事実は逆である(詳細は、上掲の本参照)。

つまり、不定詞がPEにおいてはオールラウンドプレーヤーとして機能して いるということの例として理解できれば、ここでは十分である。

3.2 動名詞の特徴

以下、中尾・児馬(1990, pp.187-91)に基づいて説明する。

PEの動名詞(gerund)は、その名が示すように動詞的性質と名詞的性質を 合わせ持っている準動詞の1つである。現在分詞とは、形態的に同じ-ing とい う接辞を持ち、かつ、動詞句の内部構造を持っているために、両者の区別は文 全体の中でいかなる機能を果たすかによって判別するしかない。例えば、(1)、 (2)のように斜字体の部分が文全体の主語や目的語として機能する場合は動名 詞で、(3)、(4)のように副詞や形容詞として主節や先行する名詞を修飾する場 合は現在分詞である。

(1) Watching television keeps them out of mischief. [主語]

(2) He enjoys *playing practical jokes*. [動詞の目的語]

(3) Leaving the room, he tripped over the mat.

(4) The person *writing reports* is my colleague.

このようなPEの動名詞構造は、初期の英語にすでにあったわけではなく、 長い歴史の中で成立したもので、その変化の過程には興味深い点が多くある。

ー中尾・児馬 1990, p.187

要するに、PEの動名詞と現在分詞の特徴(特に、意味的特徴)を考察する に際しては、言語の通時的視点(歴史言語学的視点)が是非とも必要であると いうことである。

次に、動名詞の歴史的変遷について見ていくことにする。以下の説明を見て もわかるように、大変興味深い事実が述べられている。動名詞は元来名詞であ ったが、元来動詞的な性格を持つ不定詞や現在分詞の影響を受けながら、動詞 機能を発達させていったものである。そして、今日では、名詞的性格と動詞的 性格の2つを合わせ持っているということである(cf. 中尾 1989, pp.140-1)。

3.2.1 名詞的性質から動詞的性質の獲得

以下、中尾・児馬編(1990, pp.187-8)および児馬(1996, pp.104-8)に基づ いて見ていく。

OEでは今日、動名詞(構造)と呼ばれるものは to 付き不定詞によって代行 されており、動詞に--ing を付加した形は一種の派生名詞(以下、ING 名詞)で しかなかった。この ING 名詞は、機能はもちろん、形態的、音韻的にも現在 分詞 V-ende(これがPEの--ingに相当する)と全く別物であり、今日の動名詞 が持っている種々の動詞的性格を全く持っていなかった。

例えば、次の例を見てみよう。

(1) John's refusing the offer suddenly surprised us. (動名詞)

(2) John's sudden refusal of the offer surprised us. (派生名詞)

(1)は動名詞で、(2)は動詞に特定の派生接辞(derivational suffix: -al, -ment, -tion など)をつけて名詞を派生させるもので、派生名詞(derived nominal)と呼ばれる。

今日の動名詞構造の起源と考えられているものは、OEの ING 名詞であっ て、今日の派生名詞(2)に近い構造であった。この純粋に名詞的な構造を維持 しながら、他方で、(i)直接目的語を of なしで従える、(ii)副詞と共起する、 (iii)完了形、受動態をとりうる等、種々の動詞的性格を獲得していくうちに、今 日の動詞句を含んだ(1)の動名詞構造を発達させたのである。

ここで、動名詞の動詞的特徴と派生名詞の名詞的特徴を比較対照してみよう。 動名詞の動詞的特徴(派生名詞の名詞的特徴)

[1] 目的語を直接取る(refusal は of を取るからその意味で名詞的)

[2] 副詞と共起する (refusal は形容詞 sudden を取るから名詞的)

[3] 完了 (have) と共起する (refusal は完了にできないから名詞的) (John's) having refused ...

[4] 受け身(be)と共起する(refusal は受け身にできないから名詞的)

(the offer's) being refused by John

さらに、動名詞の名詞的な特徴を次に示す。

[1] 主語を属(所有)格(John's)で表す。(refusal も同様)

[2] 動名詞構造全体が文全体の中で名詞句が生ずる位置に起こるので、名 詞句の働きをする。(refusal も同様)

PEでは動名詞の統語的特徴として、この動詞的特徴と名詞的特徴の両方を 兼ね備えているということが重要である。

-中尾・児馬編(1990, pp.107-8); 児馬(1996, pp.104-8)

3.2.2 現在分詞の影響

これから述べることが、今回の論考を考える上で一番重要になる考え方である。児馬(1996, p.106)に基づいて見ていこう。

この新しい動名詞構造(cf. 3.2.1 の(1))を引き起こす引き金となったと考 えられるのが、OEの現在分詞語尾-ende と ING 名詞の語尾-ing との音的融 合である。つまり、[ind] > [in] という分詞の変化と、[ing] > [in] という ING 名詞の変化によって両者が同音になったことである。結果的には分詞が -ing という音と形態を、ING 名詞から譲り受け、一方、ING 名詞は動詞句の 内部構造を持つという分詞の統語的性質(分詞-ende は、その語尾を-ing に変 える前から、of なしで、直接、対格目的語を従えていた)を譲り受けたことに なる。つまり、同じ語尾を持つ、PEの動名詞と現在分詞は、OEの ING 名 詞と現在分詞が、それぞれの属性の一部を交換し合った結果、生まれた現象と みなすことができる。

- 児馬 1996, p.109

上記の説明は、今回のようなPEの英文法研究をする上においても、大変示 唆的かつ有益な情報となっている。

今回は言及できなかったが、児馬(1996)には動名詞、不定詞、現在分詞の 史的発達についての大変有益な情報が満載されているので、是非参照されたい。

次章では、現代英語においては、-ing という同じ形をしている動名詞と現在 分詞が音韻的・意味的混交を起こしているという自説を展開することにする。

4 動名詞と現在分詞の音韻的・意味的混交について

伊関 敏之

私見としては、上述のような特徴のあるPEの動名詞と現在分詞とが、OE の ING 名詞と現在分詞がそれぞれの属性の一部を交換し合った結果生まれた 現象である以上、お互いに意味的な接点が出てきても別に不思議なことではな いということである。すなわち、両者の間で意味的な混交が起こっているとい うことである。換言すれば、動名詞が不定詞の名詞的用法と同様に文中におい て名詞として機能している場合においても、意味の根底には現在分詞(~して いる)に付随しているような「イキイキ感」を含意している場合が多いという ことである。

5 結論と今後の課題

今回は動名詞を中心において、不定詞と現在分詞との比較に焦点を当てなが らいろいろと考察してきた。

ここで私見をまとめておくと、次のようになる。

◎不定詞の表す意味・・・オールラウンドプレーヤーで'動的'、一時性未来指向+漠然とした一般論

(オールラウンドプレーヤーである以上、多機能かつ多義である)

PEの統語的特徴として、不定詞は動名詞よりも動詞に近い性質を持つ。

◎動名詞の表す意味・・・歴史的には、名詞的性質→動詞的性質の獲得という こと。

過去 ・現在指向

'静的'、恒久性・「イキイキ感」。

現在指向ー「イキイキ感」

過去指向- '静的'、恒久性+ '動的'「イキイキ感」の併存

過去の事柄というのは動きがない(つまり、'静的'である)が、気持の上で は「イキイキ感」がある(つまり、'動的'である)ということもありうる。

(1) I remember [×am remembering] *posting* [having posted] your letter. = I remember (that) I posted your letter. あなたの手紙を出したこと を覚えている

-小西・南出 2006⁴, p.1613

私が手紙を出した場面をありありと(イキイキと)思い出しているのであれ ば、'動的'「イキイキ感」が醸し出される。

(2) Seeing is believing.

動名詞を中心とした世界 - 不定詞および現在分詞との比較を中心に-

イキイキとこの諺が当てはまる場面を思い出している(前述の大西の解釈) ということもありうるであろうが、このような諺の持つ性質としては、'静的'、 恒久性ということ(前述の岩垣の解釈)の方がより自然であると言えよう(cf. 2. 3)。

換言すれば、動名詞の表す意味は、現在指向の時だけではなく、過去指向の 時においても、かなり'動的'「イキイキ感」というニュアンスがついて回って いるとも言えそうである。

これまで準動詞(動詞に準ずる働きをするもの)として、動名詞、不定詞、 現在分詞についていろいろと考察してきた。統語的・意味的な振る舞いについ ても、それぞれ独特で異なったものであることがわかった。

それから、動詞から純粋な名詞に至るまでに段階を設けるとすると、次のよ うになるであろう。

動詞→現在分詞→不定詞→動名詞→純粋な名詞

今までの考察からもわかるように、不定詞は動名詞よりも動詞に近いところ に位置しているので、'動的'であり、動名詞は名詞により近いので'静的'で あるという説明にも納得がいくところである。ただし、動名詞は、現在分詞と の音韻的・意味的混交現象により、「イキイキ感」に基づく'動的'な側面も多々 持っているということである。

さらに、上記の矢印においては、現在分詞が不定詞よりも動詞に近いところ に位置していることに注意を要する。現在分詞というのは、形容詞として名詞 を限定する働き(限定用法)と be 動詞+Ving形という時の Vingに相当し、 後者は分類上は動詞扱いである。

さらに、副詞句の働きをして分詞構文を構成することもある。つまり、現在 分詞は、主な働きとしては、形容詞、動詞、副詞ということになる。一方、不 定詞の方はどうかというと、名詞的用法、形容詞的用法、副詞的用法と variety に富んでいる。それに加えて、to 不定詞と to の付かない不定詞(原形不定詞) の2種類がある。原形不定詞も考慮に入れると、これはまさに動詞そのもので あるということになる。つまり、言ってみれば、不定詞は「オールラウンドプ レーヤー」である。要するに、この両者の性質を比べてどちらが動詞により近 いかということを速断することは難しいという側面もあるが、不定詞にあるい ろいろな用法のうち名詞的用法も存在する以上、不定詞は現在分詞よりも名詞 に近い場所に位置付けておいた。ここでは便宜上上記のような位置付けにして おいたが、この辺の事情についても、今後はさらに研究を進めていくことが必 要であろう。

今後の課題としては、次のようなことが言える。

今回は、理論的アプローチと感覚的アプローチの両面から考察してきた。実際のコミュニケーションの場面においては、今回の筆者の行ったように、両方の成果を有効に取り入れて理論を構築することが必要不可欠であるように思われる。もう少しすっきりとした基準で分析(分類)ができれば、なおよいであろう。

また、これまで詳しく述べてきたような歴史言語学上の研究成果については、 大変興味深いものがあり、現代英語の文法(語法)研究にも十分に応用できる 有用性を備えていることは明らかである。ただし、上述のような研究成果は、 今だに歴史言語学上の大きな謎(問題点)の一つになっているようであるので、 さらなる成果が今後応用できれば、もっと明解な主張が展開できるようになる かもしれない。

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The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

Kazuhiko Saigusa *

Abstract

Evelyn Waugh's first published novel *Decline and Fall* presents a satire on the interwar British society by producing an atmosphere of futility and the absence of value then overhanging society. This effect results not only from satirical descriptions of social phenomena but also from a subversive treatment of the narrative form of Bildungsroman novels. Waugh's novel makes a parody of Bildungsroman novels in both structural and thematic ways. The novel denies the progressive linearity of that narrative form by giving itself the structure of meaningless circularity. The mocking treatment of other elements of Bildungsroman, especially of gentlemanship and public school, also produces the same satirical effect. Through performing a parody of Bildungsroman novels, *Decline and Fall* asserts that the narrative form which was dominant in the Victorian era was no longer acceptable after the First World War.

Ι

Evelyn Waugh's first published novel *Decline and Fall* (1928) is generally appraised to be an excellent specimen of satiric novels on the interwar British society. The novel not only contains many satirical references to the phenomena of the day, but also succeeds in producing an atmosphere of futility and the absence of value which pervaded society, the lingering aftermath of the unprecedented disaster the First World War. That effect results from a structural characteristic of the novel as well as the depictions of frivolous and farcical behaviour of people. The novel apparently does not have a clear and tight plot. Instead, the events occurring in the story are only loosely connected with one another. As the novel unfolds, one incident succeeds the last one, a situation in which the protagonist is placed shifts to another, and characters appear, disappear and appear again, but among these events happening in the story there

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is no strong causality. As one critic remarks on the novel, its "most extraordinary quality . . . is that in the world [Waugh] depicts nothing has any meaning at all, for cause has only the most irrational relation to effect and the greatest disparity exists between action and consequence" (Carens 11). The novel does nothing more than depict the protagonist tossed about in such randomness of events, or "an amazing cohesiveness" (190) if it is couched in a phrase one character utters.

The most conspicuous case of a structural characteristic which creates futility and the absence of value is that after going through various experiences the protagonist vainly returns to the same situation in which he was placed at the beginning. Because this development of *Decline and Fall* is a subversion of the typical pattern of Bildungsroman, the novel has been regarded to be a parody of this narrative form. While many critics casually point this out, they have not given enough treatment to the novel's rendering of Bildungsroman so far.¹ It should not be left untreated, however, because in addition to the subversive structure, the novel involves the theme of Bildungsroman in many respects, especially gentlemanship and public school, which are important elements of the narrative form.

The present paper analyses the structural characteristic and the representation of public school in *Decline and Fall* and considers the significance of the parodical rendering of Bildungsroman. In the following argument, the present paper examines how futility and the absence of value is produced through the satiric representation of society. Then, the analysis of the elements of Bildungsroman follows, with the satiric representations of gentlemanship and public school focused on. In this section, Alec Waugh's novel, *The Loom of Youth* (1917) is referred to, because the two novels share a common topic and contain quite similar passages though until now this fact has not

¹ For example, Beaty does not think the use of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall* has much significance, saying "The novel as a whole may . . . be viewed as an ironic parody of the Bildungsroman—one which, neither debasing the genre nor treating it seriously, merely plays with it in unexpected ways" (32). Only a few critics are much interested in the elements of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*: Meckier treats fully the theme of Bildungsroman insisting that "Throughout *Decline and Fall*, Waugh specifically subverts the Bildungsroman and challenges the salvific renewal" (53); Leo also focuses on the Bildungsroman theme.

The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

been recognised.

Π

Although Evelyn Waugh is not usually regarded as a master of symbol and metaphor, a striking evidence against such a judgment is found soon after the novel starts.² After Paul Pennyfeather is sent down from his university, his guardian gives him a notice that he will be forsaken and allowed no more inheritance money. During the interview, breaking through the quietness, the music of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera flows out from the upper floor as if playing an overture to the story of Paul. Because the title of the music is not revealed, its reference to the story is no more than a matter of speculation, but since the operas of Gilbert and Sullivan are slapstick farces full of social satire, the music can suggest some similarities between their works and Waugh's novel. Because Waugh did not appreciate Gilbert and Sullivan operas,³ he possibly intended to make a contrast between their works and his novel. Besides, the phonograph, the musical device on which the music is played, has a more important significance. The function of the phonograph to repeat the same music again and again is a metaphor for the structure of *Decline and Fall*.

While the comical tone provided by the descriptions in *Decline and Fall* serves to portray British society as confused and unstable, the noisy sounds also contribute to producing the same effect. Reading *Decline and Fall* means experiencing incessant clamors as the novel is so full of noisy scenes. The beginning of the novel describes the members of Bollinger Club wandering drunkenly around the premises of the university, making "a confused roaring and breaking of glass" (7). At Llanabba Castle, school masters have great trouble making the boisterous students silent, and "Now and then there rose from below the shrill voices of the servants scolding each other . . ." (38). When a sports festival takes place, the students' parents start a row, feeling class-conscious hostility towards each other. A peculiar music band continues to play the same music throughout the festival, and even several days after, they "were still sitting with their heads together discussing the division of their earnings" (99). At

² Exceptionally, Meckier insists that Evelyn Waugh frequently uses symbols and metaphors, saying that "Symbols are always the key to Waugh's art" (51).

³ Waugh described a famous opera of Gilbert and Sullivan *The Mikado* as "'a detestable pantomime" (Carpenter 151).

King's Thursday, many guests come up for a party and do not become quiet after late midnight. Even at the penal institution where order and tranquility must be maintained, a murder case creates a great confusion. After Paul's return to the university, a Bollinger Club's night party is again held and he also hears "a confused roaring and breaking of glass" (197). As above, Paul is not freed from clamor wherever he goes, and his adventure finishes with the replay of the same sound as he hears at the beginning. Like a phonograph repeatedly playing the same music, *Decline and Fall* continues to make clamors endlessly. Evelyn Waugh, who is so interested in new media technologies such as the phonograph here as an important metaphor for the novel's fundamental structure.

In Decline and Fall not only sounds and music but also the same characters and similar situations are used more than once. As the story unfolds, the protagonist goes from one place to another, and some characters disappear from the scene only to reappear later and make another scene similar to one which has already occurred. For example, at first Dr Fagan is a headmaster of a pretentious public school but when he appears next, he runs a nursing home and helps Paul to feign being dead in order to deliver him from the penal institution. Paul works with Grimes, Philbrick and Prendergast at Llanabba and in the later part of the novel he meets them again as a prisoner or prison staff. The structure of the novel consists of this kind of repetition of characters and situations which are loosely connected with one another. Alvin Kernan's influential thesis which deals with Waugh's first four satiric novels considers their structures to be significant and insists that "What in fact happens in Waugh's novels is that all the running produces only circular movement" (208). In his argument, the circularity implies the sterility of the society because the circle has been, "as it is in Dante's Inferno, the figure of empty, meaningless movement" (208) rather than the symbol of perfection. Then, the circular structure of meaningless movement in Decline and Fall suggests a barren society so as to satirise the interwar British society which had lost hope and stability.

What draws the largest circle of meaninglessness in *Decline and Fall* is the track of the protagonist's adventure. Paul Pennyfeather, a shy and withdrawn young man with a fair education at a public school, spends secluded uneventful days reading theology at Oxford University. After he is unjustly sent down for indecency from university, he

The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

experiences being a schoolmaster at a pretentious public school, then the private tutor and lover of the mistress at a country house, followed by a luxurious life at London Mayfair as her fiancé, then a prisoner at an experimental penal institution and deliverance from there via a faked death, and after all returns to his college again, resuming his studies for taking orders as before. Thus, the plot summary of Paul's adventure, returning in vain at the original starting point after many ups and downs without acquiring meaningful knowledge or achieving happiness, presents no more than a circular pattern of meaninglessness.

While *Decline and Fall* succeeded in representing the barrenness of life by describing Paul going through meaningless adventures, conveying the impression of sterility is reinforced by the use of a striking metaphor. Otto Friedrich Silenus, a peculiar modernist architect, gives Paul an explanation of life when his story is coming to an end, using the analogy of a recreational apparatus in the amusement park:

You pay five francs and go into a room with tiers of seats all round, and in the centre the floor is made of a great disc of polished wood that revolves quickly. At first you sit down and watch the others. They are all trying to sit in the wheel, and they keep getting flung off, and that makes them laugh, and you laugh too. It's great fun.'

'I don't think that sounds very much like life,' said Paul rather sadly.

'Oh, but it is, though. You see, the nearer you can get to the hub of the wheel the slower it is moving and the easier it is to stay on. There's generally someone in the centre who stands up and sometimes does a sort of dance. Often he's paid by the management, though, or, at any rate, he's allowed in free. Of course at the very centre there's a point completely at rest, if one could only find it. I'm not sure I am not very near that point myself. Of course the professional men get in the way. Lots of people just enjoy scrambling on and being whisked off and scrambling on again. How they all shriek and giggle! Then there are others, like Margot, who sit as far out as they can and hold on for dear life and enjoy that. But the whole point about the wheel is that you needn't get on it at all, if you don't want to. (193)

In the world which *Decline and Fall* represents, the condition of life is no more than slap-stick actions which people play boisterously on the revolving circle. They climb on the stage of life, struggle to keep a hold on it and are flung out from it. Then, they

repeat the same process again and again. "'[Y]ou needn't get on [the wheel] at all, if you don't want to'" (193), but in that case, a person can do nothing but watch the spectacles that other people make. As many critics interpret, this analogy can be thought to imply frivolity and the absence of value in society after the First World War. It shows that people merely enjoy the thrill of this kind of action on the stage of life without gaining anything or going anywhere.

Using the same analogy, Silenus moves to make a clarification on Paul's adventure: "'Now you're a person who was clearly meant to stay in the seats and sit still and if you get bored watch the others. Somehow you got on to the wheel, and you got thrown off again at once with a hard bump" (194). Silenus proposes to classify people depending on whether they are "dynamic" or "static," that is, whether they are a person who is able to enjoy shaky transitions of life or not, and he puts Paul into the latter category. Silenus's judgment that Paul is "static" would not be irrefutable, since he never acts on his own initiative on any occasion.

The futility of life is accentuated again in the last part of the novel. Paul comes back to Scone College, disguising himself with a moustache and assuming the identity of a distant cousin of Paul Pennyfeather. Though he loses his original identity, he can resume his study for the ministry. He spends an uneventful residence as before, and in his third year the Bollinger Club's annual night party takes place again. When he is sitting relaxed in his chair in his room, Peter, now a university student, very drunk, comes into the room and speaks to Paul in a slightly reproachful tone:

"... You know, Paul, I think it was a mistake you ever got mixed up with us; don't you? We're different somehow. Don't quite know how. Don't think that's rude, do you, Paul?"

'No, I know exactly what you mean. You're dynamic, and I'm static.'

'Is that it? Expect you're right. Funny thing you used to teach me once; d'you remember? Llanabba—Latin sentences, Quominus and Quin, and the organ; d'you remember?'

'Yes, I remember,' said Paul.

'Funny how things happen. You used to teach me the organ; d'you remember?' 'Yes, I remember,' said Paul.

'And then Margot Metroland wanted to marry you; d'you remember?'

'Yes,' said Paul.

'And then you went to prison, and Alastair—that's Margot Metroland's young man—and Metroland—that's her husband—got you out; d'you remember?'

'Yes,' said Paul, 'I remember.'

'And here we are talking to one another like this, up here, after all that! Funny, isn't it?'

'Yes, it is rather.'

'Paul, do you remember a thing you said once at the Ritz—Alastair was there—that's Margot Metroland's young man, you know—d'you remember? I was rather tight then too. You said, "Fortune, a much-maligned lady". D'you remember that?'

'Yes,' said Paul, 'I remember.'

'Good old Paul! I knew you would. Let's drink to that now; shall we? How did it go? Damn, I've forgotten it. Never mind. I wish I didn't feel so ill.' 'You drink too much, Peter.'

'Oh, damn, what else is there to do? You going to be a clergyman, Paul?' 'Yes.'

'Damned funny that. You know you ought never to have got mixed up with me and Metroland. May I have another drink?' (198-99)

This dialogue appears to be no more than a simple comic scene in which a drunken person unreasonably annoys someone. The mechanical repetition of questions and answers in the same manner produces a monotonous tone which also adds a ridiculous impression. However, this conversation possesses the importance of emphasizing the futility of life. Peter recites the events in which he and Paul were involved one after another and asks Paul if he remembers them or not. At the beginning and the end of the passage cited above, Peter mockingly comments that Paul ought not to have been involved with Peter and the people of his class. In this way, the interlocution emphasises the fact that Paul remembers every event in which he was involved but it made no change in him and he has returned to the same route to become a clergyman. That the protagonist goes through the vicissitudes of life without gaining anything only to return to the same situation is subversive to the plot of typical Bildungsroman. In contrast to typical Bildungsroman novels in the Victorian era which presented people with a model of life in which a person achieves mental and social development, Decline and Fall thus suggests a picture of life in which a person gains nothing from

experiences in society. Although Paul is apparently ridiculed, seen from a different angle, it becomes clear that the society is the true object of mockery. As the novel represents, the society is now so frivolous and futile that it is impossible for anyone to grow up in it.

III

As the present paper has examined so far, Decline and Fall satirises the futility of the interwar British society through rendering a parody of the fundamental structure of Bildungsroman. The novel represents a person's life comprised of repetitions and circularity which produce nothing. This is not the only measure to make a parody of Bildungsroman, as the novel mockingly treats other elements of the narrative form as well. Paul's biographical background, for example, explains that he has grown up to be a person like a hero in a Bildungsroman novel. Paul lives on the inheritance money from his parents with the support of his guardian, finishes prep school and public school, achieves fair results, reads theology and spends a moderate life aided by two scholarships at Oxford University. This information is enough for readers to encourage an expectation that he will get over the sorrow of his parents' death, and acquire enough knowledge and education to become a creditable gentleman. The fact that Paul steps into the world from the secluded academic life is also an ordeal which a protagonist of Bildungsroman has to experience in the process of growing, as his insincere guardian tells him that "It will do you the world of good to face facts for a bit—look at life in the raw, you know. See things steadily and see them whole, eh?" (15-6). However, unlike in the case of a typical Bildungsroman where the protagonist goes out voluntarily from the provincial environment,⁴ since Paul is expelled from university for an absurd reason, his encounter with the reality of the world is less likely to cultivate his personality. Decline and Fall thus bears characteristics of Buildingsroman and makes fun of them at the same time.

The story of *Decline and Fall* contains the subjects of social mobility and the test of woman. In the second part of the novel, he comes to King's Thursday to become a private tutor and eventually gets engaged with Mrs Margot Beste-Chetwynde, the mistress of the estate. Their engagement awakes an expectation that Paul would

⁴ For simple definitions of British Bildungsroman, see Buckley 17-8.

The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

acquire fortune and status through the marriage. Before it becomes clear whether Paul would do so or not, a character who indeed entertains such an expectation appears at a weekend party at King's Thursday. Sir Humphrey Maltravers, Minister of Transportation, who was born into a family of poverty and the lower-class and acquired wealth and status after strenuous efforts, tells Paul "of his early life history: of a family of nine living in two rooms, of a father who drank and a mother who had fits, of a sister who went on the streets, of a brother who went to prison, of another brother who was born deaf-mute. He told of scholarships and polytechnics, of rebuffs and encouragements, of a University career of brilliant success and unexampled privations" The background of Maltravers is a type, if grossly caricatured, of the social (122). pragmatic Bildungsroman, a narrative pattern which shows a protagonist who gets himself involved in society and goes upward from a lower social status to a higher through his efforts. Now that he has attained certain wealth and status, he aims to take his place among aristocracy by means of contracting marriage to Margot so that he would become a member of the House of Lords. He cannot even catch a glimpse of Margot's figure at the party and leaves the King's Thursday disappointedly. Yet he later succeeds in attaining both the bride and the nomination of lord, while Paul is arrested and sent to prison with his marriage broken off. In Decline and Fall as a parody of Bildungsroman, a caricaturized secondary character takes the place of the leading character.

While the fact that the text of *Decline and Fall* is full of reminders of Bildungsroman suggests that the author deliberately composed a parody of that narrative form, a working title of the novel also indicates that the narrative form was in the author's mind when he was writing. Before Waugh finally chose the title for the novel, he had changed its title a few times.⁵ "Only ten thousand words had been written under the title of *Picaresque: or the Making of an Englishman*" (Stannard 148), but this working title expresses well, probably more clearly, the final form of the novel. The main title *Picaresque* is a suitable nomination for its framework. The genre of picaresque is a traditional narrative structure where various phenomena, especially social or moral vices, are exposed through the eyes of the protagonist wandering around society. The subtitle *The Making of an Englishman* also expresses important elements

⁵ See Stannard, 148-49.

of the novel because it focuses on a process of Paul's development, though he actually never develops. Probably, this subtitle can be replaced with "the Making of an English Gentleman," and further as "Bildungsroman," because "The most significant expression of this English form of socially pragmatic Bildung is the narrative of becoming a gentleman" (Castle 19). This series of suppositions is not so arbitrary because it seems that, according to the conjecture Stannard gives through the investigation of the manuscript, "Waugh originally intended to write an amusing *éducation sentimentale* novel . . . in which Paul moved through experience to knowledge" (Stannard 164). Waugh's initial intention to write a kind of Bildungsroman vanished from the title finally adopted, but it remains as the basic structure of the final product.

Since Waugh, whose father was a literary critic and a managing director of Chapman and Hall, the publisher of the works of Charles Dickens, grew up so immersed in the world of literature, it is not surprising that he would ambitiously select such traditional narrative forms as picaresque and Bildungsroman for the subjects of his first published novel. Although the reason why he abandoned writing a more conventional kind of Bildungsroman cannot be known, the structure of *Decline and Fall*, a mixture of these two narrative forms, retains his original intent. The trace of his change of mind is possibly observed in a passage like this:

For an evening at least the shadow that has flitted about this narrative under the name of Paul Pennyfeather materialized into the solid figure of an intelligent, well-educated, well-conducted young man, a man who . . . might be expected to acquit himself with decision and decorum in all the emergencies of civilized life. This was the Paul Pennyfeather who had been developing in the placid years which preceded this story. In fact, the whole of this book is really an account of the mysterious disappearance of Paul Pennyfeather, so that readers must not complain if the shadow which took his name does not amply fill the important part of hero for which he was originally cast. (114)

In the above, different from other parts of the novel, the narrator comes up to the foreground of the story and makes a frank explanation of the nature of the protagonist. Paul was originally assigned a role of "solid figure," who had intelligence and education and would go through society by his own effort, but was deprived of it as the narrator adds: "Paul Pennyfeather would never have made a hero, and the only interest about him arises from the unusual series of events of which his shadow was witness" (115).

The commentary on the protagonist's character which the narrator has intrusively given is so explicit that it should not be taken at face value. In those lines, however, the author's determination to give up writing what he first intended and switch to create a more comically parodied version of Bildungsroman can be recognised.

IV

Moreover, in Decline and Fall mockery of gentlemanship plays an important part in parodying Bildungsroman. Since the making of a gentleman is one of the recurrent themes of Bildungsroman especially in the Victorian era, it is natural that gentlemanship is chosen as a butt of mockery in order to make a travesty of Bildungsroman. The novel makes fun of Paul's pride of being a gentleman. When he is offered in a letter twenty pounds as a token of apology for the accident which has led him to be sent down, he is greatly troubled about whether he should accept it or not. He thinks that though there are reasonable reasons for justifying his acceptance, to receive "irregular perquisites" goes against his honour as a gentleman of the British bourgeoisie (44). He refuses the offer after a long hesitation, and then he is satisfied with confirming his "durability of [his] ideals" of a gentleman. However, "he felt a great wave of satisfaction surge up within him," when he hears later that on his behalf, one character had sent a reply to inform the acceptance without leave (44). This episode reveals that Paul cannot completely control his desire in spite of his pretention to be a gentleman. The surrender of his discipline as a gentleman would be further interpreted to call into question the consistency of gentlemen's morality in general. Thus, the public school education was successful with imprinting on Paul's mind the pride of having received it, but it failed to nurture the disciplinary strictness. Then, the public school is also a target of satire in this novel.

While the indecent image of public school men had already been expressed at the beginning of the novel by the exposure of the barbaric behaviour of Bollinger Club, the place which turned them out is thoroughly degraded in the following story. British public schools, especially from the mid nineteenth century to the mid twentieth, functioned as a particular institution to train gentlemen. As the system of public school was established, training gentlemen became its important role. Even today, which school a person graduated from "clings through later life . . . in everyday social life," and "school' is still an emotive word in this [twentieth] century; less so than it

used to be but still able to raise a degree of nostalgia, interest, love, hatred and antagonism . . ." (Quigly 1-2). The genre of public school narratives, which was founded by the birth of Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857),⁶ has also led to create these sentiments among people. Then, the satiric descriptions of the public school in *Decline and Fall* break down such emotional vision.

The representation of Llanabba Castle serves to do so as well. The fact that it is dishonourably put on the lowest place in the school ranking of four divisions causes suspicion. Taking a look at it deepens mistrust for its real identity. The building of the school is originally a traditional country house which "looks very much like any other large country house" from its back side, but "from the front . . . it is formidably feudal . . . a model of medieval impregnability" (20). This incongruity between the front and rear of the building, which is derived from the strange history of Llanabba, implies its falsity as a public school.

Llanabba is full of suspicious staff: Dr Fagan, the head master who has a doubtful doctorate, a reminder of the master of boy thieves in Charles Dickens's Oliver Twist; Prendergust, an Anglican clergyman suffering from doubts about the reason why God made the world; Philbrick, a butler whose identity is very suspicious and who repeats false statements about his background. Moreover, there is a roguish and impudent person Grimes, who is often thought the most memorable staff among all the characters in the story. He is so indecent that he commits bigamy and pedophilia, so that he is the least conceivable creature for a public school teacher as he confesses "I don't believe I was ever meant by Nature to be a schoolmaster" (27). The boys are also naughty and boisterous, especially Peter, who is good at making a cocktail despite his young age. In Llanabba, thus, both schoolmasters and students are eccentric. As Sir Shane Leslie, an Etonian, in the preface to his biographical story The Oppidan (1922), "maintained, since 'there could be nothing duller than a school novel true to life' and 'school life can be totally monotonous . . . [,] the school novelist finds it necessary to caricature the worthy masters and to exaggerate the unworthy boys'" (qtd. in Quigly 146-47), but Waugh's exaggeration goes too far.

Grimes, a Harrovian, is so peculiar not only as schoolmaster but also as a public school man that he functions as a satire on the entire system of public school. In

⁶ See Quigly 42.

The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

England, public school men have created a kind of mutual aid system known as "the old school tie or the old boy network" (Quigly 2). Grimes rather mockingly comments on it: "There's a blessed equity in the English social system . . . that ensures the public school man against starvation. One goes through four or five years of perfect hell at an age when life is bound to be hell anyway, and after that the social system never lets one down" (27-28). He says that every time he finds himself in a predicament, he is always rescued from it only because he is a public school man, though he did not finish the school in fact. Grimes enjoys much benefit from the system, but he is so indecent that he is not likely to be a gentleman, as his behaviour and self-narrated history make evident. Thus, the very existence of Grimes throws doubt on the rationality of the system.

V

Yet *Decline and Fall* was written so hilariously that a question might arise about to what extent these satirical representations concerning public school have any seriousness at all. Drawing on Waugh's diary and autobiography suggests that Grimes as a fictional character was created from the personality and background of Richard Young, a real person whom Waugh met when he was a schoolmaster.⁷ Then, as Stovel argues, Grimes might be just "an instance of how Waugh's imagination work[s]" when he shapes up people for his novels on the basis of people in the real world (14). However, it will become apparent that Grimes is not merely a funny character, when what is cited above is juxtaposed to a passage from *The Loom of Youth*, an autobiographical novel written by Evelyn's older brother Alec Waugh (1898-1981), as in the following:

[T]he Freemasonry of a Public School is amazing. No man who has been through a good school can be an outsider. He may hang round the Empire bar, he may cheat at business; but you can be certain of one thing, he will never let you down. Very few Public School men ever do a mean thing to their friends. And for a system that produces such a spirit there is something to be said after all. (90)

The tone and style of the text by Alec is significantly different from that of his younger

⁷ As to the association between Grimes and Richard Young, see Stannard 112: Waugh, Evelyn *A Little* 227-30; Stovel.

brother, but there are enormous similarities between the two passages, almost as if Evelyn had transplanted the text from Alec's novel.

The Loom of Youth is based on Alec Waugh's experiences in a public school Sherborn. He wrote it soon after he left the school when he was a soldier at a drill in England. The novel depicts the school life of the protagonist Gordon Caruthers from the day he enters a fictional public school Fernhurst to his graduation with a mixture of nostalgia and disapproval. *The Loom of Youth* was, as Evelyn commented on it, written "with a realism that was then unusual" (*A Little* 96), and it "seem[s] to cover most aspects of school life" (Quigly 199), even the homosexual relationship among the boys. The references for the homosexuality were so controversial in those days that the credit of the Waughs was impaired and consequently Evelyn could not go to Sherborn, where his brother and father went.⁸ Though *The Loom of Youth* is not an openly critical pamphlet for educational purpose but "is simply the story of a boy's life at school" (Gallagher 74), it contains a number of discourses critical for some elements of public school.

Much of the disapproval of public school is in reaction to their athleticism, or the excessive enthusiasm for athletic games.⁹ As the athletic games produce significant moments in Tom Brown's Schooldays, athletic competitions have actually been of remarkable importance, to the point that athleticism was the dominant climate among both the students and teachers. Athleticism was particularly high especially "from the 1870s until the First World War," and "the public schools . . . worshipped games to a degree so remarkable that it is now hard to credit it" (Quigly 50). In the development of the novel, at first Gordon devotes himself completely to such sports as cricket and football like most boys. But as he becomes older, he gradually realizes the excessive devotion to sports is problematic, and he calls for the reformation of such attitude and gains some support. Thus, the novel attacks the prevailing climate of athleticism in public school. This attack was turned to the fact that athleticism would not be able to contribute to winning the First World War, which was in progress at that time. Gordon denunciates it in his speech to the students and schoolmasters in Fernhurst, invoking a famous saying generally attributed to the first duke of Wellington: "Some fool said 'the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing field of Eton'.... Games don't win battles,

⁸ See Waugh, Evelyn A Little 96, 114: Quigly 209-11.

⁹ For the information of athleticism, see Quigly 50-54.

but brains do, and brains aren't trained on the footer field'" (306). Thus, *The Loom of Youth* poses a question about athleticism of public school in a critical time and calls for reformation.

In *Decline and Fall*, Evelyn Waugh also treats the athletics in a hilarious way. The confusion in the annual sports competition at Llanabba is a very funny representation of athletic games in public school life. The sports festival has a series of unsuccessful precedents: a strange local band plays noisy music throughout the festival; racing rules are completely neglected; a boy is accidentally shot in his foot with a revolver used as signal gun; and it ends in a roaring conflict among the students' parents who bare their broad class consciousness. The treatments of public school in *Decline and Fall* thus bring about disillusionment of their ideal image which has been built up by both the real and fictional public school. While *The Loom of Youth* realistically describes a boy's school life and succeeds in expressing a critical attitude toward the elements of public schools, *Decline and Fall*, in an unrealistic and farcical manner, produces the same effect.

VI

As the present paper has examined, *Decline and Fall* is a deliberate parody of Bildungsroman novels in that it has subversive structure of that narrative form and mockingly renders the making of an English gentleman. The novel's repetition and circularity deny the progressive linearity of typical Bildungsroman novels which embodied the social climate of social mobility and optimistic progression when the British Empire was in full flourish in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the novel adds a striking effect to its satire on Bildungsroman, by the use of mockery of gentlemanship, the education of gentlemen, and public school.

The satiric treatment of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall* casts doubt on the durability and importance of the narrative form after the First World War. The novel describes a protagonist acquiring nothing of importance and achieving no development after various experiences, so that it suggests that such an optimistic structure of typical Bildungsroman novels was no longer acceptable. In this way, the novel indicates the decline of British society by means of presenting the decline of one narrative form. While the novels of typical Bildungsroman were still being written at the time, some

novelists, including Waugh, made a parody of that narrative form.¹⁰ It is possible that their practice was prompted by those authors' doubt on the future possibility of Bildungsroman as a worthwhile narrative form.

¹⁰ For example, Aldous Huxley's first published novel *Crome Yellow* (1921), a Peacockian novel of conversation, describes a protagonist living without self-confidence or positive expectation. The novel's protagonist, Denis Stone, a naïve and self-conscious young poet, visits Crome manor, spends time having conversation with rather peculiar people there, and ends up returning to London without any hope for the future. Elsewhere in the same novel, one character Mr Scogan contemptuously refers to a contemporary novel of typical Bildungsroman and expresses boredom with it. Bradshaw in the introduction to *Decline and Fall* suggests that Beverley Nichols's *Prelude* (1920) and Sherard Vines's *The Dark Way* (1919) are examples of such Bildungsroman novels and Waugh and Huxley made a spoof on them. (xxxiv n52)

The Circular World of Non-Development: Evelyn Waugh's Rendering of Bildungsroman in *Decline and Fall*

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On the Derivation of Reduced Relative Clauses

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Abstract

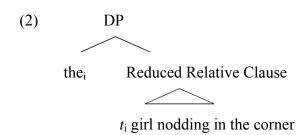
In this paper, we will argue for the promotion analysis of reduced relative clauses: the D head moves from within the reduced relative clause and projects at the landing site. Movement of the D head is selection-driven in the sense of Donati and Cecchetto (2011). Our promotion analysis of reduced relative clauses is supported by Condition C effects, availability of idiomatic interpretation, absence of object relativization, and absence of extraposed reduced relative clauses. As long as our argument is correct, even a moved element can project if it is an X^0 element, as is argued by Donati (2006), Donati and Cecchetto (2011), and Chomsky (2008).

1. Introduction

We deal with the bracketed construction in (1).

(1) Look at [the girl nodding in the corner].

This construction is called a reduced relative clause (RRC). This is a relative clause with the copula and complementizer omitted. In this paper, we will argue that RRCs are derived by the movement and projection of the D head, as shown in (2).



The D head the moves from within the RRC and projects at the landing site, deriving

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the DP. The movement and projection of the D head is selection-driven in the sense of Donati and Cecchetto (2011).

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we make theoretical assumptions concerning the labeling algorithm and movement trigger. Section 3 proposes a promotion analysis of RRCs. In section 4, we provide an account for a number of properties of reduced relative clauses on the basis of our proposed analysis. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. The Framework

In this section, we present theoretical assumptions concerning the labeling algorithm and selection-driven movement proposed by Donati and Cecchetto (2011).

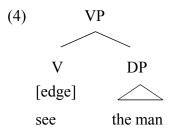
2.1. Donati and Cecchetto's (2011) Labeling Algorithm

Donati and Cecchetto (2011) propose the labeling algorithm in (3).

(3) The label of a syntactic object {α, β} is the feature(s) that act(s) as a probe of the merging operation creating {α, β}.

(Donati and Cecchetto (2011: 521))

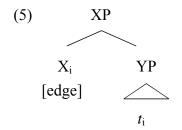
(3) states that when α and β merge, the element containing the probe feature projects. Let us illustrate this with Merge of V and DP.



Chomsky (2008) supposes that all lexical items have an edge-feature.¹ In (4), the

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that according to Chomsky (2008), not only lexical items but also projected categories have an edge-feature. In this paper, we mainly focus on the edge-feature of lexical items. I thank this anonymous reviewer for suggesting this point.

lexical item *see* has the edge feature, which is a probe.² The edge feature urges the V to merge with DP. Here, V projects in conformity with (3) since V contains the probe feature. According to (3), the moved element should be able to project as long as it is an X^{0} category. Consider (5).



In (5), X is an X^0 element, carrying the edge feature. The edge feature is a probe and therefore, it can project at the landing site. In this way, the moved element can project if it is an X^0 category.

2.2. Selection-Driven Movement

Donati and Cecchetto (2011) argue that c-selection (categorial selection) is done on the basis of the probe-goal relation. For example, let us consider (6) where the verb *think* takes a clausal complement.

(6) I think that John is tall.

The derivation is shown in (7).

(7) {think_C...}
a. [_{CP} that John is tall]
b. [think_C [C that John is tall]

The verb *think* in Numeration c-selects CP as its complement, which is indicated by the subscript C. At the stage of the derivation in (7a), the selectional requirement of *think*, which is a probe, searches for its goal in the computational workspace, finding the CP.

 $^{^{2}}$ According to Donati and Cecchetto (2011), the edge feature searches for the element that the lexical item merges with. In this sense, the edge feature is a probe.

As in (7b), External Merger of *think* with the CP takes place, which satisfies the c-selectional property of *think*.

Donati and Cecchetto also argue that the selectional requirement of the lexical item drives movement of an element which satisfies the requirement. Consider the derivation of (8), which is indicated in (9)-(11).

- (8) the man that will laugh
- $(9) \ \{the_N\}$

[_{CP} that [_N man] will laugh]

 $(10) \{ the_N .. \}$

 $[_{NP} man_i [_{CP} that t_i will laugh]]$

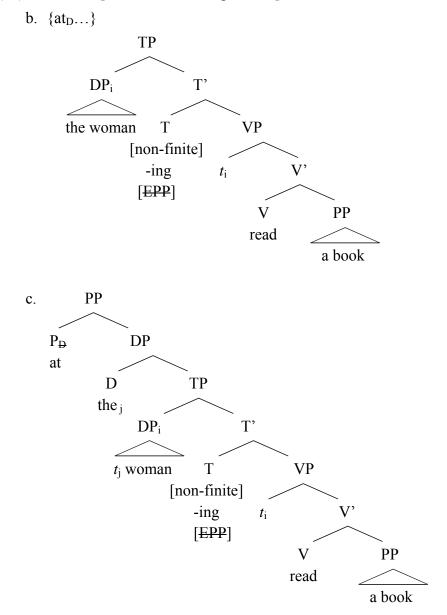
(11) [the_N [NP man_i [CP that t_i will laugh]]]

Suppose that the derivation has reached the stage in (9). The D head in Numeration requires an NP complement and it searches for the NP, finding the noun *man* in the computational workspace.³ The goal *man* moves and projects to satisfy the c-selectional requirement of the D *the* as shown in (10). In (11), *the* merges with *man*, satisfying the selectional requirement. In this way, movement of *man* is triggered by the selectional requirement. Donati and Cecchetto name this type of movement selection-driven movement.

3. A Proposal

We argue that the RRCs are derived by the movement and projection of the D head. For example, the derivation of the RRC in (12a) is shown in (12b, c).

³ Donati and Cecchetto (2011) assume that selection is done by the probe-goal relation, arguing that an element in Numeration searches for a goal in the structure already built, and merges with the goal. In this way, Donati and Cecchetto regard Numeration as a part of the computational workspace. See Bobaljik (1995) for the same line of reasoning.



(12)a. Look at [the woman reading a book].

We analyze the RRCs as non-finite TPs headed by the participial -ing, as shown in (12b). The subject of the RRC is base-generated in [Spec, VP] and moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature.⁴ The preposition at in Numeration searches for DP in the computational workspace since it requires the DP complement. In (12c), the D head the moves to satisfy the selectional requirement of at.^{5, 6} Here, the moved element *the* is an

⁴ We omit the additional projection vP above VP, which is currently widely assumed. But the omission of the vP projection does not affect the discussion in this paper. ⁵ In the RRC, TP occupies the complement position of the D head *the*. As for full relative

 X^0 element carrying the edge feature, which is a probe feature. Thus, given (3) it can project at the landing site. Next, *at* merges with DP, satisfying the selectional requirement.⁷

As we have seen above, the RRC is TP. This is supported by distribution of sentential adverbs. Consider (13).⁸

(13) Isaac remembered what Leon said about the person probably being a worker on the ship.

(http://www.fanfiction.net/s/7944092/5/To-Know-the-Unknown)

In (13), the adverb *probably* occurs in the RRC. Given that *probably* is a TP adverb, this shows that RRCs have the TP projection. The structure of the RRC in (13) is (14).

(14) $[_{DP} \text{ the}_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i \text{ person}] [_{T'} \text{ probably} [_{T} \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} \text{ be a worker...}]]]]$

Next, in (12b) the RRC subject moves out of VP. A piece of evidence for the subject movement comes from the floating quantifier.

(15) The boys all playing soccer together will go home soon.

clauses, it may be that the relative clause CP is in the complement position of the D head. See Kayne (1994) for details.

⁶ An anonymous reviewer wonders whether movement of D is blocked due to the freezing effect: the ban on extraction out of moved elements. We suggest that the RRC subject DP is not Case-checked, remaining active. Therefore, the subject DP and DP-internal element is visible for further computation and can be subject to movement. I thank this anonymous reviewer for pointing out this problem.

⁷ Donati and Cecchetto (2011) argue that pseudo-relatives in Romance are derived by the movement and projection of a determiner. The pseudo-relatives are different from restrictive relatives in that the head of the pseudo-relatives is a pronoun. The example of the pseudo-relative is illustrated in (i).

⁽i) Ho incontrato lui che baciava Maria.

⁽I) have met him that kissed Maria

^{&#}x27;I met him while he was kissing Maria.

The pseudo-relatives should be distinguished from English RRCs since the pseudo-relative in (i) has the complementizer *che*. Furthermore, the promotion analysis of pseudo-relatives is problematic since the pronoun *lui* is Case-assigned both in the relative clause and the matrix clause. On the other hand, under our promotion analysis of RRCs, the subject in English RRCs receives Case only from the matrix element, as we will see in 4.3.

⁸ I have found this datum on the Internet. My informant judged this sentence acceptable.

Sportiche (1988) argues that floating quantifiers are quantifiers stranded by movement of NP that they quantify over. Then, the RRC has the structure in (16).

(16) $[_{DP} \text{ the}_{i} [_{TP} [_{DP} t_{i} \text{ boys}]_{i} [_{T} \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} \text{ all } t_{i} \text{ play soccer together...}]]]$

The RRC subject moves from [Spec,VP] to [Spec,TP], leaving the quantifier behind.

4. Predictions

In this section, we test a number of predictions that follow from the promotion analysis of RRCs showing that predictions are born out.

4.1. Reduced Relatives Lack the CP Projection

4.1.1. The Ban on an Overt Relative Operator

We argue for the promotion analysis of RRCs: the D head directly moves from within the RRC to the matrix clause as indicated in (17).

(17) $[_{DP} \text{ the}_i [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]$

As shown in (17), an operator movement is not involved in the derivation of RRCs. Then, we predict that an operator does not appear overtly in the RRCs. This prediction is born out in (18).

(18) A man (*who) working for John visited us yesterday. (cf. Krause (2001: 27))

There is no position for the operator to occupy. Therefore, the operator cannot appear overtly.

4.1.2. The Ban on an Overt Complementizer

We claim that RRCs are TPs, lacking the CP projection. Then, we predict that the complementizer cannot be realized. This prediction is correct.

(19) A man (*that) working for John visited us yesterday. (cf. Krause (2001: 27))

There is no structural position for the relative complementizer. Therefore, *that* cannot occur overtly in the RRC.

4.1.3. CP Adverbs

We assume with Cinque (1999) that *evidently*, *unfortunately*, and *honestly* are CP adverbs. Since we analyze the RRCs as TPs, we make a prediction that these adverbs cannot occur in RRCs. This prediction is correct.

- (20)a. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Evidently,} \\ \text{Unfortunately,} \\ \text{Honestly,} \end{array} \right\} \text{ the boy was reading the book.}$
 - b. A fire crew extinguished blazing roadside car which evidently contained a bomb. (http://articles.cnn.com/keyword/belfast)

c.
*I met the boy
$$\begin{cases} evidently \\ unfortunately \\ honestly \end{cases}$$
 reading the book.

The CP adverbs can occur in the full clause and the full relative clause, as illustrated in (20a-b), while they cannot in the RRC as illustrated in (20c). This contrast supports that the RRC does not have a CP projection.

4.2. Idiom Chunks

Idiom chunks receive an idiomatic interpretation if they form a constituent at some stage of the derivation (see Chomsky (1993)). As we have argued above, the RRC is derived by the movement and projection of the RRC head. Given the promotion analysis of RRCs, we predict that a part of the idiom can be the head of the RRC. This is born out.

(21) The picture being taken by Mary will be for sale.

The RRC in (21) permits the idiomatic interpretation of *take the picture*. The RRC in (21) has the structure in (22).

(22) $[_{DP} \text{ the}_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j \text{ picture}]_i [_T \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} \text{ be taken [the picture}]_i \dots]]]$

In (22), the lower copy of *the picture* forms a constituent with *take*. Therefore, the RRC permits the idiomatic interpretation.

4.3. The Subject and Object Asymmetry

Let us turn to the Case licensing of DPs in the RRC. We claim that the subject DP is assigned a Case by the matrix element, while the object DP is assigned a Case by the verb in the RRC. This is shown in (23).

(23)a. $\begin{bmatrix} VP & V & DP & the & TP & DP & t_i & man \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} T & -ing & VP & DP & t_i & man \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} T & -ing & VP & DP & t_i & t_i$

In (23a), the T head of the RRC is non-finite and therefore, it cannot assign a nominative Case to the subject DP. After the movement and projection of D, the subject receives a Case from the matrix element. In (23b), the object DP gets an accusative Case from V of the RRC, being frozen in the position. Then, the prediction is that subject relativization is allowed, while object relativization is not. This prediction is correct, as illustrated in (24a, b).

- (24)a. Do you know the guy wearing the green suit?.
 - b. *I bought the gift giving e to him.
 - (cf. I bought the gift to give e to him.)

The structures of the RRCs in (24a, b) are (25a, b).

Takahiro Tozawa

(25)a. know [DP the_j [TP [DP t_j guy]_i [T -ing] [VP t_i wear the green suit]]] [Case] b. bought [DP the_j [TP [DP t_j gift]_i [TP PRO [T -ing] give t_i to him]]] [Case] [Case]

After the D head moves and projects, the RRC subject in (25a) is Case-assigned by the matrix verb *know*. There is no problem with this derivation, resulting in the grammaticality of (24a). In (25b), the object is assigned an accusative Case twice: once by the RRC verb *give* and a second time by the matrix verb *bought*. This derivation is illicit. Therefore, (24b) is ungrammatical.

We further predict that object relativization is permitted if the RRC verb is passivized and unable to assign an accusative Case to the object, as indicated in (26).

(26) $\begin{bmatrix} VP & V & DP & the & TP & DP & t_i & N \end{bmatrix}_j \begin{bmatrix} T & -ing \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} VP & ... be & V-en & t_j \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$ [Case]

This prediction is also born out.

(27)a. the suspects being examined by the police (Quirk, et al. (1985: 153))

b. Reports being written by my colleague will be discussed tomorrow.

(Quirk, et al. (1985: 1263))

c. the man being questioned by the police was my brother.

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(Quirk, et al. (1985: 1264))
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For example, the RRC in (27a) has the structure in (28).

(28) $[_{DP} \text{ the}_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j \text{ suspects}]_i [_T \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} \text{ be examined } t_i \text{ by}...]]]$ [Case]

The RRC object the suspects is not assigned a Case at the base position, being

computationally active. After the object DP moves to [Spec,TP], the D head moves and projects, deriving the RRC. Here the DP is Case-assigned by the matrix element and the derivation converges.^{9, 10}

4.4. Binding Principle C

Let us consider (29).

(29) Which picture that John_i took did he_i like t? (Lebeaux (2009: 44))

In (29), *he* can corefer with *John*. This shows that the restrictive relative clause cannot be reconstructed into VP, which avoids a Condition C violation. Lebeaux (2009) accounts for the lack of the Condition C effect on the basis of the proposal that the relative clause can be late-merged.¹¹ The derivation of the sentence in (29) is shown in (30).

(30)a. [which picture]_i he like t_i

b. [[which picture]_i [that John_i took]] he_i like t_i

In (30a), the *wh*-phrase moves to the sentence initial position. Then, the relative clause merges with the *wh*-phrase in the matrix [Spec,CP] counter-cyclically as shown in (30b). In this structure, *he* does not c-command *John*. Therefore, the Condition C does not block coreference between *he* and *John*.

⁹ Donati and Cecchetto (2011) propose the promotion analysis of full relative clauses based on selection-driven movement. However, an obvious problem with the analysis is that the head NP of the full relative clause is Case-assigned not only in the relative clause, but also in the matrix clause. On the other hand, our promotion analysis of RRCs is free from such a problem since the head of the RRC is Case-assigned only in the matrix clause. In this sense, it is our promotion analysis of the RRCs that supports selection-driven movement proposed by Donati and Cecchetto. I thank Nobuhiro Miyoshi for suggesting this point.

¹⁰ An anonymous reviewer suggests that the present analysis predicts that object relativization is possible if the RRC is in a Case-less position.

⁽i) *It is believed [the book giving e to him] to be expensive.

In (i), the passivized verb *believed* loses the ability of assigning an Accusative Case to the RRC *the book giving to him* in non-finite [Spec,TP]. Then, we incorrectly predict that (i) is grammatical since the D head *the* is assigned a Case only in the RRC. For the moment, we leave this problem open.

¹¹ The proposal is made in Lebeaux (1991).

Let us return to the RRCs. According to the promotion analysis of the RRC, the head of the RRC directly moves to the head position of the RRC as in (31).

(31) $[_{DP} the_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i [_{NP} N]]_j ...t_j..]]$

As long as the promotion analysis of RRCs is on the right track, the RRCs cannot be late-merged. This is because the RRC head is base-generated in the RRCs. Let us illustrate this with the derivation in (32).

- (32)a. $[_{DP} the_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i [_{NP} N]]_j ...t_j..]]$
 - b. $[_{VP}V [_{DP} the_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i [_{NP} N]]_j ...t_j..]]]$
 - c. $[VP Subject V [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i [NP N]]_j ...t_j..]]]$

In (32a), the D head in [Spec,TP] moves and projects, deriving the RRC. Next, the matrix V merges with the DP as in (32b) and then the subject merges with the VP as in (32c). From (32c), we see that under the promotion analysis, the RRC occurs in the base position of the RRC head. Then, our prediction is that unlike the full relative clauses, the RRC ought to exhibit reconstruction effects with respect to the condition C. This prediction is born out by (33).

(33)a. Which student who was reading Chomsky's book did he_i say was smart?

b. *Which student reading Chomsky'si book did hei say was smart?

(Thompson (2001: 308))

While *Chomsky* in the restrictive relative clause can corefer with *he* in (33a), *Chomsky* in the RRC cannot corefer with *he* in (33b). The derivation of (33b) is shown in (34).

(34)a. $[DP which_j [TP [DP t_j student]_i [T - ing] [VP t_i read Chomsky's book]]]$

- b. [CP [DP which_j [TP [DP *t*_j student]_i [T -ing] [VP *t*_i read Chomsky's book]]] was smart]
- c. [VP he_i say [CP [DP which_j [TP [DP *t_j* student]_i [T -ing] [VP *t_i* read Chomsky's_i book]]] was smart]]

The RRC is derived by the movement and projection of *which* in (34a). Then, the RRC is merged in the embedded clause in (34b). The pronoun *he* binds *Chomsky* at the stage of the derivation of (34c), where the matrix subject *he* is merged. This yields a Condition C violation. Therefore, (33b) is ungrammatical.

4.5. Reduced Relative Clauses and Perception Verb Complements

Let us consider the derivation of the RRC again.

(35)a. $[_{TP} DP [_{T} - ing] [_{VP} V DP]]$ b. $[_{VP} V_{\mathcal{D}} [_{DP} the_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i N] [_{T} - ing] [_{VP} V DP]]]]$

The non-finite TP in (35a) is the participial clause headed by *-ing*. The selectional requirement of the matrix element triggers the movement and projection of the D head, deriving the RRC.

Now we are in a position to consider the case in which a matrix element c-selects either DPs or non-finite TPs. This is shown in (36).

- (36)a. $[_{XP} X_{\mp} [_{TP} [_{DP} \text{ the } N] [_{T} \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} V DP]]]$
 - b. $[_{XP} X_{\mathbf{D}} [_{DP} \text{ the}_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i N] [_{T} \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} V DP]]]]$

If the matrix element c-selects non-finite TPs, the D head remains in [Spec,TP] as in (36a). On the other hand, if the matrix element c-selects DP, the D head moves and projects in order to satisfy the selectional requirement of the matrix element as in (36b). Thus, we predict that if the matrix element c-selects either non-finite TP or DP, its complement is ambiguous between two categories: TP and DP. This predication is born out by (37).

(37) I saw [the boy running to the station].

The section in brackets in (37) is structurally ambiguous: it can be interpreted either as a perception verb complement or as a RRC. The perception verb complement has an interpretation in (38a), while the RRC has an interpretation in (38b).

- (38)a. I saw the boy's action of running which is in progress.
 - b. I saw the boy who is running to the station.

This ambiguity follows from whether the movement and projection of the D head takes place or not. The structure of the section in brackets is shown in (39a, b).

- (39)a. $[VP \text{ see}_{\mathbb{T}} [TP [DP \text{ the boy}]_i [T \text{ -ing}] [VP t_i \text{ run to the station}]]]$
 - b. $[VP \text{ see}_{\mathcal{P}} [DP \text{ the}_i [TP [DP t_i \text{ boy}]_i [T \text{ -ing}] [VP t_i \text{ run to}...]]]]$

If the verb *see* c-selects TP, movement of the D head does not occur as in (39a). On the other hand, if it c-selects DP, the D head moves and projects, satisfying the c-selection of the verb *see*. In this way, the ambiguity of the sentence in (37) is accounted for in terms of the movement and projection of the D head.

We have seen that the complements of the verb *see* in (39a, b) are different in their categorical status. There is another difference between (39a, b): the constituency of *the* and *boy*. In (39a), *the* forms a constituent with *boy*, while the moved *the* no longer forms a constituent with *boy* in (39b). Then, we predict that if *the boy* is moved, the observed ambiguity is resolved: the complement is only interpreted as a perception verb complement. This is because *the* and *boy* form a constituent in (39a), allowing movement of *the boy*, while they do not form a constituent in (39b), disallowing movement of *the boy*. Our prediction is correct.

(40) Which boy did you see running to the station?

The complement of *see* is unambiguous, only interpreted as a perception verb complement.¹²

The structure of the complement of see in (40) would be (41a), but not (41b).

¹² An anonymous reviewer notes that our analysis predicts that the *wh*-phrase cannot move, stranding a participial clause. This prediction is correct as illustrated in the contrast between (ia) and (ib).

⁽i)a. Which boy playing soccer do you respect?

b. *Which boy do you respect *t* playing soccer?

In (ib), which boy cannot move since which and boy do not form a constituent as shown in (ii).

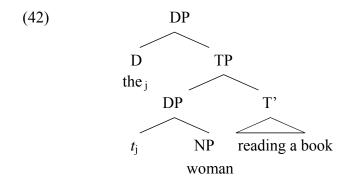
⁽ii) $[_{DP} \text{ which}_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j \text{ boy}]_i [_{T} \text{ -ing}] [_{VP} t_i \text{ play socder}]]]$

- (41)a. $[_{TP} [_{DP} which boy]_i [_{T} ing] [_{VP} t_i run to the station]]$
 - b. $[DP \text{ which}_j [TP [DP t_j \text{ boy}]_i [T \text{ -ing}] [VP t_i \text{ run to the station}]]]$

In (41a), the complement of *see* is a perception verb complement. In this structure, *which* and *boy* form a constituent. Therefore, movement of *which boy* can take place. On the other hand, in (41b), the verb complement is the RRC, and *which* and *boy* do not form a constituent. Thus, movement of *which boy* is prohibited. This is why (40) only has the interpretation of the perception verb complement.

4.6. Extraposition of Reduced Relative Clauses

Note that the NP inside the subject of the RRC remains in [Spec,TP] although the D head moves outside the RRC as in (42).



Then, if the extraposition is applied to the RRC, the T' would move rightward. Given that an intermediate projection cannot move, we predict that the extraposition of the RRC is impossible. This prediction is correct.

- (43)a. A man said hello to me who was wearing a fedora.
 - b. *A man said hello to me wearing a fedora.

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(Thompson (2001: 309))
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The full relative clause can be extraposed as in (43a), while the RRC cannot as in (43b). The structure of (43b) is (44).

(44) $[_{DP} A [_{TP} man t_i]]$ said hello to me $[_{T'}$ wearing a fedora $]_i$

In (44), the intermediate projection moves, which is not allowed. Therefore, (43b) is ungrammatical.¹³

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued for the promotion analysis of the RRCs: the D head moves from within the RRC and projects at the landing site. This argument is supported by an idiom chunk, a subject and object asymmetry in relativization, the Condition C effect, and the prohibition of the extraposition of the reduced relative clause. As long as our analysis is on the right track, it supports the theory that the moved element can project if it is a head, as is proposed by Donati (2006), Donati and Cecchetto (2011), and Chomsky (2008).

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¹³ Our promotion analysis of RRCs is compatible with Hulsey and Sauerland's (2006) argument that a raising structure of restrictive relative clauses prevents the extrapositon of the relative clause.

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Source of Examples

http://www.fanfiction.net/s/7944092/5/To-Know-the-Unknown http://articles.cnn.com/keyword/belfast

Blood and Disguise in Venice

Fumiyuki Narushima*

Abstract

There were two ways to attract people's attention on the Elizabethan stage. One is using blood and the other is disguise. Usually, calves' blood was used when they tried this primitive way to attract the audience's attention. But blood may have had some disadvantages. In the indoor theatres, using blood cannot have been very practical, as it must have been very hard to wash it away. Moreover, the gorgeous costume was one of the reasons why gradually real blood became unused.

The other device to attract the attention is disguise. Most of the famous actors belonged to the theatre, so their face was very familiar to the people. Disguise in that period meant that the actor hid their identity behind the roles. But the audience was able to see through the character and find who they really are. This can be a real fun for those theatre-goers. Compared with blood, disguise is a refined, sophisticated way to attract attentions.

Let me begin with blood on stage. Desdemona dies smothered. In the Italian novella by Cinthio, the conspirators—the Moor and the Ensign (both unnamed)—first make a plan of stabbing or poisoning, but in the end the ensign hidden in a closet clubs her with a kind of blackjack (clotty sand in a stocking) when Disdemona approaches the closet to see what a strange sound was. Later, the criminals make up a scene, pretending that her death is caused by debris of a ceiling having fallen on her head.¹ So Shakespeare changed the cause of her death, probably because he thought that they were not able to present the spectacle on the stage.

Of course, it would have been very demanding, if not impossible, to prepare a ceiling which was likely to fall, but the main point was blood. Blood was

Part of this paper was read at the welcome seminar for Prof. Andrew Gurr, held at Kyoto University, Oct. 27, 2011.

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¹ Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols.

⁽London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1957-1975), vii, 239-52, esp. 250-51.

inconvenient because it was hard to wash out, and also it stained high-cost garments. Sometimes, costumes were much more expensive than the play itself. Here's what Andrew Gurr counted: "Henslowe laid out £35 on plays, . . . and £21 10s 8d on clothing and other 'things'."² They had no desire to dirty these valuable dresses every day, if the performance was possible almost every weekday.

Professor Gurr observes that blooding on stage was not specific to a certain play but very general to many of the plays performed at London theatres those days.³ He thinks that this kind of device was first developed to attract an audience in the city-settled theatre where every player soon became familiar enough for the regular playgoers to reduce the feeling of innovation.

Using calves' blood on stage was an everyday event, as Professor Gurr admits: "A boy would have had to visit the local butcher every morning before an *Alcazar* performance to get the gather and the '*raw flesh*' of Muly's dead lion."⁴ The 'gather' which is "also called the pluck, was the heart, liver and lungs held together in a bladder, a kind of raw proto-sausage."⁵

Gurr also concedes that it "created laundry problems." *The Battle of Alcazar*, whose 1601 'plot' we are discussing, was revived at the new-made Fortune playhouse. As Gurr points out, the next year Shakespeare wrote *Othello* for the Globe.⁶ It is likely that they changed the way of killing Desdemona to avoid such a laundry problem.

Another device used to attract the audience's attention is 'disguise'. Many of the 'humour' plays very popular during this period may have been invented first to have a kind of 'perspective effect', which was also in fashion among visual arts.⁷ The familiar faces and characters were hidden behind the costumes, and the audience's interest was to detect such meta-theatrical overlapping.

In 1596, Richard Burbage's opposite, Edward Alleyn, played the chief role in

² Shakespeare's Opposites (Cambridge, 2009), 50.

³ Ibid., 52.

⁴ Ibid., 149.

⁵ Ibid., 148-9.

⁶ For the first performance, I follow Honigmann's edition. The influence of the *Alcazar* plot on *Othello* is shown in *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 150.

⁷ 'Anamorphous' techniques meant the same thing. See Mitsuru Kamachi, *Anamorphoses in Shakespeare* (Kenkyusha, 1999) in Japanese, passim.

George Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. He changed his disguise many times, as Gurr says, "In Scene 4 as the usurer with his great nose he exits to return only five lines later as the roistering Count with pistol and eye mask (761-66). Later in the same scene he changes from Count Hermes back to Irus while offstage for only six lines (804-10)."⁸ Gurr points out that "a reversible gown" may have been effective for these quick changes three times.

In the same year, *The Merchant of Venice* was performed probably at the Theatre. *The Jew of Malta* was not a success first when it was mounted in1594, according to Holger Schott Syme.⁹ But it got later success as it was revived two years later, probably because of the popularity of Shakespeare's play.

If it was 1597 when *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was first mounted at the Curtain, we can be sure that this play is categorized as one of the humour plays. In fact, as Giorgio Melchiori reveals, the (bad) Quarto possesses the title page which describes many of the characters' humours in details: "... Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humours, of syr *Hugh* the Welch Knight, Iustice *Shallow*, and his wise Cousin M. *Slender. / /* With the swaggering vaine of Auncient *Pistoll, and Corporall Nym.*"¹⁰ We may say that *Merchant* as well as *Merry Wives* was played during the period when humour plays were popular.

Shylock's nose may be the main point of the actor's disguise. He is not disguised in the play world. He is just himself. Burbage with the great nose shows himself changed into someone else, but was easily found to be himself, which is the point of his disguise. This is the condition in the duopoly atmosphere of 1594, when only two theatres were officially licensed and no other venues could have theoretically existed.¹¹ That is, familiar faces wearing strange coats were the situation that enhanced the audience's curiosity to look beneath the costume.

If "concealments that did not conceal, disguises that the audience had to see through" were the standard of the early Elizabethan stage, as Gurr wrote,¹² we can

⁸ Shakespeare's Opposites, 23.

⁹ SQ2010, 4, 509.

¹⁰ The Merry Wives of Windsor, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, The Arden 3rd (2000), 35.

 $^{^{11}\,}$ Many antitheses flock around Gurr's article in SQ 2010 winter issue. Most of them are against the idea of duopoly itself.

¹² Shakespeare's Opposites, 54.

Fumiyuki Narushima

easily detect the connection between the blood on stage and disguising. That is, blood seems to have interfered with the method of disguising, in that blood made the costume dirty. As Gurr wrote, "Yet the novelty of such attire was in constant contrast to the familiar faces wearing them every day. A new doublet or gown would enhance the newness of the character on show, but while the new garb could offset the familiar faces wearing them it only intensified audience awareness of the metatheatricality inherent in the occasion."¹³ If the old method of using blood to attract people's attention would have interfered with the method of disguise that worked well among the limited number of actors or venues, it was not clever to adhere to the orthodox or primitive way of using blood. That is, blood seems to be a very direct way of commanding people's attention, compared to the much more sophisticated way of disguising. Gurr says, citing Neil Carson: "That has made it easy for us to accept Neil Carson's differentiation between the early 'theatre of enchantment', with its blood and its magical shows, compared with the more sophisticated 'theatre of estrangement'."¹⁴ Thus, Gurr finds a similar point in transvestism and disguise: "Boys playing adult men or boys playing girls generate their own meta-theatrical anti-realism, just as would a familiar player appearing in a new gown in a new play."¹⁵

Thus, in a sense, we can say that almost all the novelties of the Elizabethan theatres were related to disguising. Blood was the older way of attracting the audiences' attention that may have been done away with when they invented the method of disguising. Costly costumes were introduced at the same time as the hiding of familiar faces, while transvestism can be one type of disguising. Then, we could easily say that Shylock wears disguises because he is just a character in an Elizabethan play.

Life could be a counterfeit, as John Astington defines in his new book.¹⁶ He quotes Hamlet's Hecuba speech. His idea is based on Stanislavski's 'emotion memory.' Stanislavski recommended the actors to bring their personal lives onto the stage: the tragedies in their family might be a good trigger to start a theatre-shaking emotion. In such a situation, each actor has two reservoirs to draw upon for his own feelings: the

¹³ Ibid., 50.

¹⁴ Ibid., 52.

¹⁵ Ibid., 52.

¹⁶ Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time, Cambridge, 16.

real emotion and the fictional one. In the case of Hamlet, he is confused about where his feelings come from, that is, "It is not this inky coat . . ." or something, but every feeling of his resides in the play world.

The problem is where the reality resides. If a player brings his personal life on stage, saddened by some tragic event in his family--parents' death, financial trouble--, the player cries because he takes the plot of the play so hard to his heart and feels like the protagonist. Where is the reality and where is the shadow?

Astington tells us that Falstaff cannot be 'natural.¹⁷ He means that Falstaff is too exaggerated to be in an everyday life. By the same analogy, we can say that Shylock is too typical a Jew with his nose and costume to be believed as lifelike. His way of behavior in the play, his eagerness for money, his seriousness, severe strictness, and no smiles, all indicate that he is just 'typical.' This typicality makes this world of Venice as a fiction. Venice itself was a fiction for most of the Elizabethan Londoners. Very few have been to Venice. We may remember an episode of Shakespeare mistaking Bohemia as a coastal country. Similarly, London citizens would have easily been cheated if they were told that Venice is an inland city. Shakespeare himself did not visit Venice or other Italian cities in his lifetime.

It is usually said that Belmont is a dream world compared with Venice, which is, as many critics admit, an everyday society. But for me, Venice with this typical Jew is no more dreamlike than Belmont. Shylock is a 'caricature,' if I could use the term Astington applied for Falstaff. There is no seriousness in a caricature. His scenario becomes a comedy, not a tragedy.

It is often said that when an actor plays in the *locus*, a playing area, he is taken as a character in the play world itself, but when he comes to the front and faces the audience in the *platea* where Hamlet soliloquies, his identity (as an actor) is revealed to the audience and they have great fun. We can imagine that the real thrill of watching a play occurs in the *platea*, where we can detect who the actor actually is, especially when they are disguised under unfamiliar costumes. It is said that just a glance at Tarlton sticking his head out of the curtain made people laugh: ". . . how the first sight of his

¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

face alone, peeping through the hangings at the back of the stage, could start people laughing."¹⁸ Also, Astington writes: "It needs only a certain movement of the face or intonation of the voice for us to begin to laugh \dots "¹⁹ Here we can see a hint as to the identity of an actor.

When an actor is playing in the *locus*, it is our unacknowledged consent that we should not reveal his identity. He is Shylock, Hamlet, or Lear, any character in a play but he is not Richard Burbage himself, and we should not talk about who he is himself. But when he comes to the front and talks to the audience in his own voice, we are relieved to look at the actor himself and enjoy the disclosure of his true identity, that is, we are free to share the secret with each other and in that we feel a kind of catharsis. This can be done, for example, when Hamlet soliloquizes. We are feeling that the actor himself is talking to us, and at that moment, we are feeling Stanislavski's effect to the full. The actor and the character become one.

If we talk about Shylock's disguise, we should keep this in mind. Shylock mainly resides in the play world (locus), and he doesn't come often to the front, except when he makes his "Hath not a Jew eyes" speech. Here, Shylock is talking as a general Jew, or we can say that he is talking as a representative of the human race.

At the end of *Shakespeare's Opposites*, Gurr uses the word "disguise" many times. One of them concerns the London Mayor Roger Oatley, who is described as the "antithesis of Simon Eyre" in Dekker's citizen play. Gurr wrote, "The figure of Oatley was Dekker's thin *disguise* for the citizen who had been London's Lord Mayor in 1594-95, Sir John Spencer" (*Opposites*, 179, emphasis mine).

Many London citizens of the time hated Spencer because he objected to theatres and plays, and he was too strict in his way of challenging their tastes for entertainment. Gurr writes, "Spencer's *acquisitiveness* made him the antithesis of Simon Eyre." We could easily suppose a similarity between him and Shylock. They are both covetous. They are unpopular among citizens. Spencer refused, like Oatley in Dekker's play, to marry his daughter Elizabeth to her devoted lover, who escaped from the confinement in a washing basket, just like Falstaff.

¹⁸ Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge, 2004), 153.

¹⁹ Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time, 121.

Everything on stage should be used for good reasons. Everything is used for the sake of performance. Baskets, disguise and costumes were used to hide something on the Elizabethan stage. The audience's curiosity was to reveal something beneath the disguise.

In Venice, no blood is shed, but the crime is sure to be revealed.

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北見工業大学論文集「人間科学研究」投稿等に関する内規

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 一部改正 平成22年6月28日
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附 則

この内規は、平成22年6月28日から実施する。ただし、第13条のなお書きについては初刊から適用する。

論文集「人間科学研究」査読要領

制 定 平 成 16年 8月 3日 人間科学研究編集委員会

査読の方法

評価

査読に当たり,投稿論文がその分野において,いかなる位置づけにあるか,新たな観 点から考察された内容を含んでいるか,等の点について以下の項目に照らして客観的に 評価してください。

1 新規性:内容が既知のことから容易に導き得るものではないこと。

- a) 主題, 内容, 手法に独創性がある
- b) 学界, 社会に重要な問題を提起している
- c) 時宜を得た主題に関して,新しい知見と見解を提示している
- 2 完成度:内容が読者に理解できるように簡潔,明瞭,かつ平易に記述されている こと。
 - この場合、次のような点についても評価してください。
 - a) 全体の構成が適切である
 - b) 目的と結果が明確である
 - c) 既往の研究との関連性が明確である
 - d) 文章表現は適切である
 - e) 全体的に冗長になっていないか
- 3 信頼度:内容に重大な誤りがなく、また、読者から見て信用のおけるものである こと。
 - a) 重要な文献がもれなく引用され、公平に評価されているか
 - b) 従来からの研究成果との比較や評価がなされ, 適正な結論が導かれている か

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論文掲載の最終判断は,編集委員会において行ないますが,査読論文が水準以上であ れば掲載「可」とし,掲載するほどの内容を含まないと考える場合,および掲載すべき ではない場合は「否」としてください。なお、「否」とする場合は、以下の項目で該当 するものを選び査読票に示すと共に理由を具体的に記述してください。

I 誤り

- a) 理論又は考えのプロセスに客観的・本質的な誤りがある
- b) 資料整理に誤りがある
- c) 明らかに不相応な理論を当てはめて論文が構成されている
- d) 都合のよい資料・文献のみを利用して議論が進められ、明らかに公正でない記述により論文が構成されている
- e) 修正を要する根本的な指摘事項をあまりにも多く含んでいる
- Ⅱ 既発表
 - a) 明らかに既発表とみなされる
 - b) 独立した論文と認めがたい
 - c) 他人の研究成果をあたかも本人のもののごとく記述して論文が構成され ている
- Ⅲ レベルが低い
 - a) 通説が述べられているだけで、新しい知見がまったくない
 - b) 多少の有用な資料は含んでいても論文にするほどの価値がまったく見あ たらない
 - c) 論文にするには明らかに研究がその水準まで進展していない
 - d) 着想が悪く、当然の結果しか得られていない
 - e) 研究内容が単に他の分野で行なわれている方法の模倣で,まったく意味を 持たない

修正意見

編集委員会は修正意見を著者に伝え、その回答により掲載の判定を行います。また再 査読が必要と判断された場合は再査読を依頼致します。

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