

## E-4

英語における不可算名詞、可算名詞の文法化とその意味的特徴について

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### 1. はじめに

- (1) a. Can I have a coffee? [‘a cup of coffee’] an ‘appropriate unit of’  
b. This is a nice coffee. a ‘kind/sort/brand of’ Quirk et al. (1985: 248)
- (2) a. Can I have another pint/another beer?  
b. This is an excellent of Scotch whiskey. Radden and Dirven (2007: 72)  
beverage portioning: Wechsler (2015); metonymic shift: Radden and Dirven (2007), Brems (2003, 2008); Individuation Units (IU): Wechsler (2008), 今井 (2015)
- (3) a. John ordered the water. Mary wants one too.  
b. \*John saw the water that dripped on the floor. Mary saw one too. Wechsler (2015: 21)
- (4) i. beer: have a glass of beer [23] << have a beer [147]; drink a glass of beer [22] << drink a beer [65]  
ii. coffee: have a cup of coffee [180] >> have a coffee [20]; drink a cup of coffee [51] >> drink a coffee [7]

◎ 英語の名詞 *beer* と *coffee* との間に見られる、不可算名詞から可算名詞への変化の違いに関して、COHA におけるデータに基づき、共起する形容詞、動詞の意味的特徴から明らかにする。

### 2. 文法化、部分詞の形容詞による修飾、構文的多義性と語彙拡張について

・文法化(grammaticalization)について

- (5) i. content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7)  
ii. [[back] of the barn] > [back of [the barn]] (ibid.: 51)
- (6) [[NP1] of NP2] > [NP1 of [NP2]]  
i. Brems (2003): measure nouns (e.g. bunch(es) of, a heap(s) of, pile(s) of, ...)  
ii. Brems (2007): small size nouns (e.g. a bit of, a whiff of, a smidgen of, a kerrick of, a jot of, ...)  
iii. Traugott (2008): degree modifiers (e.g. (a) sort of, a lot of, a shred of)
- (7) i. coalescence: what were formerly individually autonomous signs become more dependent on each other to the extent that they are increasingly interpreted as together constituting “chunk” ...  
ii. semantic attrition (delexicalization): gradual broadening of collocational scatter or a loosening of the collocational requirements of the MN[=Measure Noun: SK] via such semantico-pragmatic processes as metaphoricarization, metonymization, analogy, etc. Brems (2003: 291), Lehman (1985)
- (8) SSNs [=Small Size Nouns: SK] lose in “nounness” and are typically attested only in the singular in their quantifier use. Brems (2007: 301)

・量的修飾(quantitative modification)と質的修飾(qualitative modification)

- (9) There’s now a **whole** bunch of studies from different cities that show the same thing. Brems (2003: 299)
- (10) a. Aren’t we a bunch of **great** guys?  
b. I’m racing with a **great** bunch of guys and it makes a racing fun again. (ibid.: 300)

・構文的多義性 (constructional polysemy)と意味拡張(semantic extension)

- (11) a. a fast motorway/car/driver b. Sam enjoyed (drinking) the beer. Copstake and Briscoe (1995: 13)
- (12) a. Sam fed the lamb. b. Sam carved the lamb adapted from Copstake and Briscoe (1995: 17)

### 3. 提案

◎ a {glass/bottle/can} of beer/a beer と a cup of coffee/a coffee の間において、文法化の過程で、各名詞句内の要素間の統語的・意味的關係の強さに違いがあり、その違いが、用いられる形式の違いに反映される。

[a {glass/bottle/can}[of beer]] > [[a {glass/bottle/can} of] beer] > [[a {glass/bottle/can} of] beer]  
[a cup [of coffee]] > [[a cup of] coffee] > [[a cup of] coffee]

◎ 各名詞句の事例において、名詞の意味拡張、構文的多義性が連続的に見られる。

- ・ a {glass/bottle/can} of と beer との間の統語的・意味的關係が弱い。→ a beer が用いられる傾向が強い。
- ・ a cup of と coffee との間の統語的・意味的關係が強い。→ a cup of beer が用いられる傾向が強い。

表 1：名詞句 beer における、形容詞、名詞の修飾関係にみられる連続性

統語連鎖	形容詞の修飾内容	beer のクオリア
a/an-Adj-{glass/bottle/can}-of-beer	ビールの量、ビールの状態	形式役割、構成役割
	飲む動作・事象の様態	目的役割
a/an-Adj-beer	ビールの種類	形式役割、構成役割
	ビールの種類、ビールの状態	↓ 目的役割
	飲む動作・事象の様態	

表 2：名詞句 coffee における、形容詞、名詞の修飾関係にみられる連続性

統語連鎖	形容詞の修飾内容	coffee のクオリア
a/an-Adj-cup-of-coffee	カップの素材	形式役割、構成役割
	コーヒーの量、コーヒーの状態	↓
	コーヒーの品質	
	飲む動作・事象の様態	目的役割、動作主役割
a/an-Adj-coffee	コーヒーの品質	形式役割、構成役割
	コーヒーの種類、コーヒーの状態	↓
	飲む動作・事象の様態	

#### 4. 各名詞句に見られる意味的特徴について

##### 4. 1 a/an Adj {glass/bottle/can} of beer に見られる意味的特徴

glass/beer	bottle/beer	can/beer	total
4/17	5/16	3/13	12/46

・ a glass/bottle/can が主要部の場合、形容詞は、入れ物の形状、状態を表す。

- (13) Now he was sitting on a dining room chair [...] between the dining room and the living room, **a long-necked bottle of beer** cradled in his hands. (COHA, 2009, FIC)
- (14) a. There is **a half-empty glass of beer** and an ashtray full of cigarette butts ... (COHA, 1952, FIC)  
b. He reached for **a half-finished can of beer** he'd set on a shady flagstone. (COHA, 2002, FIC)

• beer が主要部の場合、形容詞は、(i)ビールの量、(ii)ビールの状態、(iii)ビールを飲む動作・事象の様態を表す。

- (15) a. Moreover, he did not believe that **a single glass of beer** would have produced such an effect upon him, and so he strongly suspected the truth ... (COHA, 1897, FIC)  
 b. The bread and cheese, and **a small bottle of beer**, which Richard and William had brought for their day's supplies, ... (COHA, 1848, NF)  
 c. ... this boy [...] drunk **a whole bottle of beer**. (COHA, 1931, FIC)
- (16) a. Luigi brought **a cold bottle of beer** to me. I quaffed it peacefully ... (COHA, 1950, FIC)  
 b. Antonio sets **a fresh bottle of beer** before Ramn. (COHA, 1954, FIC)
- (17) a. I think I'd drink **a second glass of beer** sometimes, but I can't drink wine ... (COHA, 1902, FIC)  
 b. I was right in here, taking **a last glass of beer**, before any of them guys went and told you. (COHA, 1920, MAG)  
 c. "... Yes," said Hillman, ordering **a second can of beer**, ... (COHA, 1965, FIC)

#### 4.2 a/an Adj beer に見られる意味的特徴

kind/sort/brand	unit	total
69	101	170

• beer が種類を表す場合、形容詞はビールの具体的な種類を表す。

- (18) a. **A light beer**, well flavored with hops, is an aid to digestion, ... (COHA, 1880, NF)  
 b. If he uses **a bitter beer**, Piferoen likes to sweeten the dish ... (COHA, 1997, NEWS)  
 c. ... he stopped in at the Halfway House because they had **a draft beer** he liked ... (COHA, 1945, FIC)

• beer が単位を表す場合、形容詞は、(i)ビールの種類、(ii)ビールの状態、(iii)ビールを飲む動作、事象の様態を表す。

- (19) a. "How about **a root beer**, or something?" he asked loudly. (COHA, 1945, FIC)  
 b. He was drinking **a Coors Beer** from the bottle ... (COHA, 1972, MAG)  
 c. "The passenger next to me was enjoying his Scotch while I sipped **a Star beer**,... (COHA, 2003, FIC)
- (20) a. We decided that while we waited we should have **a cold beer**. (COHA, 1950, FIC)  
 b. They had chatted a little, [...] sitting in the shade of an acacia and drinking **a lukewarm beer**. (COHA, 1955, FIC)
- (21) a. Let's all go to the trailer and have **a quick beer**. (COHA, 1970, FIC)  
 b. ... he'd turn on the sprinkler and have **a slow beer** and take a shower ... (COHA, 1990, FIC)
- (22) a. She cheerfully came to the table with hire and downed three whiskeys while he was having **a final beer**. (COHA, 1966, FIC)

- b. I ordered **a second beer** and looked around the place. (COHA, 1971, FIC)
- (23) ... figuring he could enjoy **a second beer** before anyone in the restaurant bothered to take note of him. (COHA, 2008, FIC)

#### 4.3 a/an Adj cup of coffee に見られる意味的特徴

cup	coffee	total
42	200	242

• a cup が種類を表す場合、形容詞は入れ物の素材、状態を表す。

- (24) a. Then he drew **a paper cup of coffee** and handed it to the pilot. (COHA, 1953, FIC)
- b. ... Frank hands Hub **a styrofoam cup of coffee**. (COHA, 1988, FIC)
- (25) ... , a servant placed **a small cup of coffee** at his elbow, and he lit a cigar and looked about him. (COHA, 1899, FIC)

• coffee が主要部の場合、形容詞は、(i)カップの素材、(ii)コーヒーの量、(iii) コーヒーの状態、(iv)コーヒーの品質、(v)コーヒーを飲む動作、事象の様態を表す。

- (26) Douglas nodded, drank **a tin cup of coffee**, and then unsaddled the Moose. (COHA, 1922, FIC)
- (27) He was up before day; smoked a single pipe; swallowed **a single cup of coffee** ... (COHA, 1864, MAG)
- (28) a. We [...] telling the old man to have us **a hot cup of coffee** at daylight, ... (COHA, 1867, FIC)
- b. "Why doesn't your mother make **a fresh cup of coffee**?" Elizabeth Eliza started with surprise. (COHA, 1898, FIC)
- (29) a. **A strong cup of coffee** I am sure will do me good. (COHA, 1859, FIC)
- b. People who prepare their own food may unconsciously adjust to a gradual loss in sensitivity by brewing **a stronger cup of coffee** or adding more seasoning to foods. (COHA, 1999, MAG)
- (30) a. She had poured out **a delicious cup of coffee**, ... (COHA, 1898, FIC)
- b. **A good cup of coffee** is a good thing, especially on a cold morning ... (COHA, 1872, NEWS)
- c. ... and I think we can get **a decent cup of coffee**. (COHA, 1952, MAG)
- (31) a. I took **a hasty cup of coffee**, and [and: SK] weary, ... (COHA, 1835, NF)
- b. Chelsea poured **a quick cup of coffee** and gulped half of it down. (COHA, 2009, FIC)
- c. He poured **a third cup of coffee** for me. (COHA, 1958, FIC)
- (32) a. ... he pitched his tent, and was sipping **a comfortable cup of coffee**, ... (COHA, 1849, NF)
- b. She sat down opposite him, [...], and poured herself **a convivial cup of coffee**. (COHA, 1932, FIC)
- (33) a. There she found Moses, still half dressed, having **a thoughtful cup of coffee** (he was thinking continually, but nothing clear resulted). (COHA, 1964, FIC)
- b. A very relieved Melva and she were alone in the kitchen, having **a secret cup of coffee** together, ... (COHA, 1974, FIC)

- (34) a. ... the social worker was having **a midmorning cup of coffee** with a counselor when she heard. (COHA, 1955, MAG)
- b. David dumped the contents of the mailbag onto the table, [...], nervously sipping **a morning cup of coffee**. (COHA, 1986, FIC)

#### 4.4 a/an Adj coffee に見られる意味的特徴

kind/sort/brand	unit	total
13	21	34

• coffee が種類を表す場合、形容詞はコーヒーの品質を表す。

- (35) a. ... you've discovered **a delicious coffee** you can enjoy morning, noon and night... (COHA, 1933, MAG)
- b. Indigo Hill sounds like **a great coffee**. (COHA, 1987, FIC)
- c. "What is this place doing out here?" he asked, incredulous to find **a gourmet-quality coffee** ... (COHA, 2005, FIC)

• coffee が単位を表す場合、形容詞は、(i)コーヒーの種類、(ii)コーヒーの量、(iii)コーヒーを飲む動作、事象の様態を表す。

- (36) a. Mindy idly turns the pages of Vogue magazine, smokes a cigarette, and alternately sips **a cognac and a black coffee**. (COHA, 1977, FIC)
- b. Herr Bueller sat there sipping **a bitter coffee**. (COHA, 1982, FIC)
- (37) ... and we'll have **a cup coffee** together. (COHA, 1912, FIC)
- cf. Just right. Just right. I don't even want **another cuppa coffee**. (COHA, 1951, FIC)
- (38) Finally, they had **a quick coffee** while Chub took care of the check. (COHA, 1984, FIC)
- (39) As he sipped **a morning coffee** with two other "outside men" in Dubrow' s, ... (COHA, 1984, NEWS)

#### 5. 説明

◎ a {glass/bottle/can} of と beer との間の統語的・意味的關係が、a cup of coffee に比べて弱い為、a beer を用いて個体化の単位を表している。

- a glass が多く使われ始める時代について
- 各名詞句における形容詞の修飾対象について

- (40) i. beer: [a {glass/bottle/can} [of beer]] > [[a {glass/bottle/can} of] beer] > [[a {glass/bottle/can} of] beer]
- Adj: a glass/bottle/can                      Adj: a glass/bottle/can                      Adj: beer
- Adj: beer → a glass/bottle/can
- ii. coffee: [a cup [of coffee]] > [[a cup of] coffee] > [[a cup of] coffee]
- Adj: a cup                                      Adj: a cup                                      Adj: coffee
- Adj: coffee → a cup

(41) i. beer: [a {glass/bottle/can}{of beer}] > [[a {glass/bottle/can} of] beer] > [[a {glass/bottle/can}of] beer]  
be, reach for, ... bring, set, take, ... be, use, ...  
drink, ... drink, sip, have, order, ...

ii. coffee: [a cup [of coffee]] > [[a cup of] coffee] > [[a **cup of**] coffee]

draw, place, hand, ... drink, have, ... discover, find, ...

make, brew, pour, ... order, sip, have, ...

take, have, ...

Dixon (2005: 465)