disinclination を表す言語表現の使い分けの 基準について

(On Factors Influencing the Choice of Expressions Pertaining to Disinclination)

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1. はじめに

disinclination とは、subject (主節主語が I の場合は conceptualizer [概念化者]) が命題 p を一時的に「偽」と判断している心的状態(対命題態度) を表す言葉である。

(1) ... an inclination stage (in the epistemic control cycle), where the subject inclines toward a positive or negative judgment (i.e. inclination or disinclination) without yet being able to definitely resolve the matter.

(Langacker (2009: 261): 括弧は筆者加筆)

disinclination (以降、d 表記もある)を表す表現には、以下のようなものがある。

(2) **Disinctination:** doubt, don't {believe / think / suppose / imagine / · · ·}

(Langacker (2009: 316))

disinclination 及び inclination (以降、i 表記 も あ る) が 生 じ る inclination stage は NEG-Raising 現象と密接に関わっている。

(3) Sumnicht (2001) argues persuasively that negative raising is only found with the inclination stage, where the matter is still at issue. (Langacker (2009: 262))

つまり、(2)の述語が主節述語(特に 1 人称 単数現在)として使われた場合の共通点は、 従属節をpと表記した場合、本来の①【pに 対する disinclination(緩和的な否認)】を表 すことに加えて、(多少の例外があるが)、② 【 $\neg p$ に対する inclination(否定命題の緩和 的な主張)】を表すことができる(否定辞繰 り上げ解釈)ということである。

NR 構文の統語論的証左としては、①従属節中の強 NPI(例えば、until)の認可、②特異な付加疑問形成、③主語・助動詞倒置(Horn Clause)をあげることできる。

(4) NR constructions exhibit very peculiar syntactic behaviors. Among the most famous are the licensing of (strong /strict) negative polarity items occurring in the embedded clause, the particular formation of tag questions, and subject-auxiliary inversion. (Mori (2009: 10))

同等の振る舞いをする言語表現として、I don't know that を挙げることができる。

(5) a. I don't know that Santa comes around these parts until Christmas Eve.

(Horn (2014: 191))

- b. I don't know that it's very important, {is it /*do I}? (Cattell (1973:623))
- I don't know that EVER before had all three boys napped simultaneously.

(Horn (2014: 190))

さらに、(6)-(7)のような記述も見られる。

- (6) Both I don't think that P and I'm not sure that P conventionally convey, via SCI, a weak assertion of ¬ P. (Kay (2000: 16))
- (7) I'm not certain that your dog is ill. [non-factive; the dog may not be ill]

(Langacker (2009: 279))

(5)-(7)より、disinclination に関わる述語と して、(8)の述語を加えることができる。

(8) Other Expressions Pertaining to d:

I don't know that, I am not {sure / certain}

(that)

ここで注意すべきは、(9)に示す関係である。

(9) I {don't know that / am not {sure / certain}
(that)} p. ≠ I {know / am {sure / certain}
(that)} ¬ p.

したがって、I {doubt (that) / don't {think / believe /suppose} (that) / I don't know that} p. の【原義】及び【拡張義】は下記のように示すことができる。

(10) I {doubt (that) / don't {think / believe / suppose} (that) / I don't know that} p. の意味:

【原義】disinclination toward p 【拡張義】inclination toward ¬ p

ここで問題となるのが、d/iを表す言語表現がどのように使い分けられているかということである。したがって、本発表の目的は、d/iを表す言語表現の使い分けの基準(選択要因)を明らかにすることである。

2. NEG-Raising 現象に関する認知言語学的 考察

2.1. Langacker (2009)

Langacker (2009)では、i/d(および non-inclination)を(11)のように説明した上で、図 $1\sim3$ を提案している。

(11) One possible outcome is a **positive inclination** (which I will simply call **inclination**). As shown in diagram (b), this results when C₁'s projection of RC₁ (dashed-line ellipse) leads to P's incorporation. The opposite outcome, labeled **disinclination**, is when the projection specifically does not include P. These two possibilities, illustrated by *believe* and *doubt*, are of course instances of capture and avoidance. There is however a third outcome, where mental projection does not result in either. (中略) I will call this **non-inclination**. (Langacker (2009: 315))

inclination

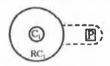


図 1 (Langacker (2009: 315))

disinclination

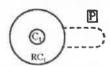


図 2 (ibid.)

non-inclination

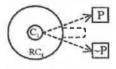


図 3 (ibid.)

そして、主節否定が従属節否定の意味を有するようになる認知的メカニズムを(12)の

ように説明している。

(12) (21) a. I don't {believe / think / suppose /...} she can trust him.

b. I {believe / think / suppose /...} she can't trust him.

··· To account for the rough equivalence of (21)a-b, all we need say is that the negation in (21)a affects the polarity of the inclination, changing it from (positive) inclination (capture) to disinclination (avoidance). That is, it affects the direction of C₁'s mental projection of RC₁, the result being that it does not reach P (the case of inclination) but instead reaches alternative (~P). On that interpretation (21)a is "logically" equivalent to (21)b, which specifies a positive inclination toward ~P. The expressions represent ways of construing alternate conceiving and portraying) the same (Langacker (2009: 317)) situation.

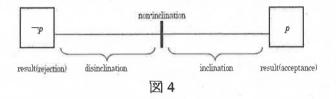
2.2. Mori (2009)

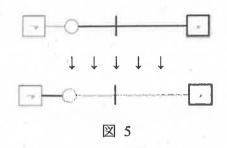
Mori (2009)では、NEG-Raising 現象を(13) のように説明し、図 4~9 を提案している。

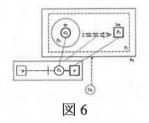
phenomenon is cognitively motivated by a shift of focus (profile shift) from the recognition of the distance between the main subject (C₁) and the positive proposition p to that of the distance between C₁ and its negative counterpart ¬ p on the scale of the psychological distance between C₁ and p/¬ p, and that the profile shift is a cognitive basis leading to a pragmatic inference like the following: the subject's disinclination toward p may/must be caused by his inclination toward ¬ p,

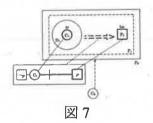
i.e. the subject's inclination toward $\neg p$ may/must block his inclination toward p. (中略) In addition, we have proposed that the shift from D-mode cognition to I-mode cognition, *that*-deletion and the Reducing Effect play crucial roles in the development

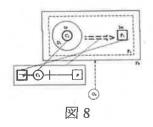
of *I don't* {think/believe/suppose} to an epistemic marker that indicates the speaker's positive judgment (inclination) toward ¬p. (Mori (2009: 233))











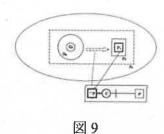


図 4: Propositional Attitude and Psychological Distance (Mori (2009: 118)の改訂版)

⊠ 5: Profile Shift on Psychological Distance Scale (Mori (2009: 119))

図 6: C₁'s i toward p (Mori (2009: 119))

図 7: C₁'s d toward p (Mori (2009: 119))

 \boxtimes 8: C₁'s i toward $\neg p$ [via profile shift] (Mori (2009: 120))

図 9: C₀'s i toward ¬p [epistemic marker] (Mori (2009: 132))

3. I don't {believe / think / suppose} (that) の使い分けの基準

Wierzbicka (2006)では、I {believe / think / suppose} (inclination の表現)には、confidence の違いがあることが指摘されている。

(14) If we compare it with *I suppose*, *I believe* sounds more confident. If we compare it with *I think*, *I believe* also sounds more confident, although the difference is not as sharp as in the case of *I suppose*.

(Wierzbicka (2006: 214))

(15) The component "I don't say I know" explains why *I believe* sounds more confident than *I suppose*: *I suppose* implied "I don't know," whereas *I believe* implies only "I don't say I know."

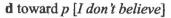
(Wierzbicka (2006: 215))

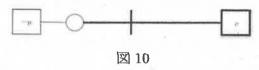
このことから、I don't {believe / think / suppose...} (that) p は、I(p に対する) disinclination / $(\neg p$ に対する) inclination I に

おける概念化者(話者)の confidence の度合いに応じて、使い分けがされていると推測することができる。

(16) confidence の度合い:

(16)は、心理的距離尺度(Mori 2009)上では、 図 10~13 のように図示される。

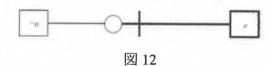




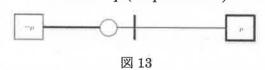
i toward $\neg p$ (via profile shift)



d toward p [I don't suppose]



i toward $\neg p$ (via profile shift)



4. I don't know that と I doubt (that) の 使い分けの基準

毛利(1980)では、I know that p に関して、(17)のように説明している。

(17) I know that p は、命題 p と言語外世界の チェックをして、事実確認を経ている、 つまり、客観的裏づけがある。

(毛利 (1980: 202))

上記の指摘が正しいとすると、I don't know that p には、p に incline するだけの証拠・根拠がないということになる。この心的状態は、p に対する disinclination($\neg p$ に対する inclination)を誘発する(消極的な disinclination/inclination)。

(18) T. POLING: ... I don't know that she had a mitochondrial disorder prior to July 19th of 2000. I had no evidence of it in any biological tests.

(CNN LARRY KING LIVE, 2008/03/06)

(19) WECHT: I doubt that they will release that information at this time, because they may want to wait for DNA, which is another thing we could talk about.

(CNN TALKBACK LIVE, 2002/05/22)

(20)では、I don't know that p と I doubt that p が but で連結している。

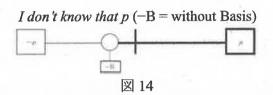
(20) Mark Henderson looked somewhat startled, obviously unused to such bluntness. He retained his smile, but it became a trifle forced. "I don't know that I can make you happy, Captain, but I doubt that you'll be bored. It concerned two of your men, Detective Starsky and Detective Huchinson."

(William Blinn, Starsky and Hutch)

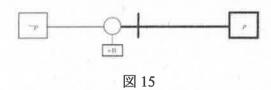
I doubt (that) に関して、but による連結を勘案すると、直後の (Because) It concerned two of your men, Detective Starsky and Detective Huchinson を根拠として、p に対する disinclination (¬pに対する inclination) を表明している (積極的な disinclination / inclination) と考えられる。この心的態度は、I doubt pの semantic components (Wierzbicka (2006: 260)) の一つである、[I say this because

I want to say what I think when I think about it] に通じるものである。

以上のことから、I don't know that p は、話者がp に incline できるだけの根拠 (Basis)を持っていないと認識している場合(図 14)に、他方、I doubt (that) p は、話者がp に対して decline する($\neg p$ に incline する)だけの根拠を持っていると認識している場合(図 15)に、用いられると予測できる。



I doubt (that) p + B = with Basis



5. I don't think (that) と I doubt (that) の 使い分けの基準

話者は、p に対して disinclination (あるいは $\neg p$ への inclination) の対命題態度を取る場合、その判断材料 (根拠) を有しているはずである (I don't know that p に関しては、前節を参照のこと)。

Aikhenvald (2004: 64)では、evidentiality に 寄与する推量に、inference (知覚に基づく推量) と assumption (知識に基づく推量) の 2 種類があるとされている (一般的に、前者の方が、confidence との親和性が高い)。

(21) The domain of 'inference' is subdivided differently in different systems. A major distinction appears to exist between an inferred evidential covering inferences made on the basis of visible or tangible results, and an assumed evidential

involving general knowledge and assumption based on reasoning.

(Aikhenvald (2004: 64))

例えば、I don't think / I doubt の場合、(22) / (23) のような実例がヒットする。

(22) BUCHANAN: ... and why is it, in your judgment, that the American people by almost two to one believe NAFTA was failure?

MATSUI: <u>I don't think</u> that poll is necessarily accurate because I've <u>seen</u> other polls that indicate the American public slightly favors the NAFTA.

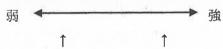
(CNN CROSSFIRE, 1997/11/06)

(23) STUART TAYLOR: I doubt a grand jury member would do that, because grand jurors <u>tend to</u> do what the prosecutors ask them to with very rare exceptions.

(CNN LARRY KING LIVE, 1998/07/01)

以上の考察から、【(話者が認識する)判断材料(根拠)と判断の結びつきの強弱】一強弱の度合いは、同一話者、同一根拠であっても、発話時における根拠(の強弱)の捉え方で変化する一が、選択基準に関与している可能性が高いと考えられる

(24) confidence の強弱との相関:



assumption inference

- I don't think: inference, (assumption)
- O I doubt: assumption
- 6. Counterexamples に対する語用論的説明(25)-(27) ((26)-(27)は『否認』のコンテクスト下での使用) はいわゆる反例である。

- (25) I would recommend this class to anyone. It was straight forward, organized, and I thought that the labs were actually very interesting, rather than confusing. I had a bit of trouble remembering test due dates but I appreciated that homework was due on an easy schedule. I don't know that I have any recommended changes for you because I think you have run your class very fairly. (Student Comments) (http://home.miracosta.edu/jturbeville/online %20student%20comments.htm)
- (26) CALLER: Hi, Anne Marie, I have a question to you: what really attracted you? His looks, his power, or his wealth? KING: I don't know that he is wealthy that is I don't think he is. ROBINSON: I don't believe he is, no.

(CNN LARRY KING LIVE, 2001/07/13)

(27) Ms. IFILL: ...How is that more orderly? Mr. McLARTY: Well, Gwen, first, I don't know that I said -- and I don't believe I did -- that it was more orderly than the prior selection process... Ms. IFILL: Oh, it wasn't?

(CBS FaceNation, 1994/05/15)

こうした反例に対して、(28)を提案する。

(28) Politeness Strategy (FTA の軽減):

The use of expressions pertaining to weaker {disinclination/inclination}

⇒ The use of expressions pertaining to stronger {disinclination/inclination}

『否認』はいわゆる FTA であり、その軽減として、まず「弱い否認の表現」を用い、相手の反応(顔の表情等)次第で、(本意に近い)「より強い否認の表現」の使用に移行する方略を取るという見立てである。

上記の方略の妥当性を補強する実例とし

て(29)-(30)(いずれも『否認』のコンテクスト下での使用)を挙げる。

(29) CALLER: ...Maybe health-wise, I could do some things that could prevent it.
PHILLIPS: <u>I don't know whether</u> it can <u>-I don't think</u> at this point that it can be prevented.

(CNN LARRY KING LIVE, 2002/09/20)

(30) NOVAK: ... His campaign manager. Joe Trippi, predicts that the doctor will leave the DNC before 2008 to run for president again... What about what Joe Trippi says? BEGALA: I don't know whether Governor Dean is going to run. He says he's not.

(CNN CROSSFIRE, 2005/02/09)

I don't know whether の方が、I don't know that よりも、「より弱い否認の表現」であり、(28) の方略の一環に位置付けることができる。

以上の考察から、包括的には、下記の confidence の尺度における位置を基軸に、使 い分けが行われる方向に機能変化(語彙的意 味の漂白)していると予想することができる。

(31) confidence の度合い:

弱 ← I don't know whether — I don't know that — I doubt (that) — I don't suppose (that) — I don't think (that) — I don't believe (that) → 強

7. おわりに

本発表の目的は、I doubt (that) p, I don't $\{\text{think/believe/suppose}\}$ (that) p, I don't know that p 等の disinclination を表す言語表現の使い分けの基準を探ることであった。

先行研究を元に、{p/¬p} に対する {disinclination/inclination} 段階時における①【confidence の強弱】、②【根拠の有無】、③【間接証拠性としての inference, assumption

との親和性】の3つの選択要因を想定し、その想定に妥当性があることを例証した。

反例の存在に関しては、語用論の観点ー 【confidence の強弱】を基軸とした FTA の軽減を意図した言語使用の観点ーから説明可能であることを論じた。

文代名詞(so/it)との共起環境も含め、さらなる精緻化については、今後の課題としたい。

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(付記) 実例(18)(19)(22)(23)(26)(29)(30)は、インターネットの CNN.com — Transcripts のサイト(https://transcripts.cnn.com/)から、掲載 transcripts をダウンロードして自主作成した CNN Transcripts Corpus (1996-2010)を KWIC 検索して得られたものである。実例(27)は、The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)の検索により得られたものである。