

## の の し り 語 (epithets) の 文 法

山 田 政 美

Masayoshi YAMADA\*

A Grammar of Epithets

〇 いわゆる四文字語 (four-letter words) の意味用法について明確に記述されるようになったのは最近のことで、*OED Supplement* (1972) がこの範疇に入る語を収録したことからそのタブーが解かれ、一般辞書が収録するようになった。<sup>1)</sup> 同辞書の編集主幹 R. W. Burchfield はこの間の事情を次のように述べている：

In 1957, when I undertook the preparation of the new *Supplement to t'e Oxford English Dictionary*, my own view and that of most of those whom I consulted, including Dr C. T. Onions, was that the time had not yet come for the inclusion of the taboo-words *cunt* and *fuck* in general dictionaries of English. ...

The outcome of all this is that these two ancient words, "once considered too gross and vulgar to be given countenance in the decent environment of a dictionary, now appear with full supporting evidence along with a wide range of colloquial and coarse expressions referring to sexual and excretory functions" (Introduction to *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume I, 1972). <sup>2)</sup>

山田 (1972 : 45-50) ではすでに *fuck* と  *fucking* について考察しているが、本論では *shit*, *shitting* をも含めて、本来の性的/生理的機能に関する意味用法を越えた、ののしり語としての意味用法について明らかにしたい。

### 1 Fuck you<sup>3)</sup>

命令文 (imperative) に関する論考は多いが、一般に命令文には主語の名詞句が顕現していないが、それが2人称の *you* であることについての統語的裏付けが検討されてきた。<sup>4)</sup> 例えば、

- |              |   |                    |
|--------------|---|--------------------|
| (1)          | } | *myself.           |
|              |   | <i>yourself.</i>   |
|              |   | *himself.          |
| Please shave |   | *herself.          |
|              |   | *ourselves.        |
|              |   | <i>yourselves.</i> |
|              |   | *themselves.       |

[再帰代名詞 (reflexive pronoun) は主語と同一指示的 (coreferential) である]

- (2) a. \*Don't lose my way home.  
*Don't lose your way home.*  
 \*Don't lose her way home.
- b. I lost my way home.  
 \*I lost your way home.  
 \*I lost her way home.
- c. \*You lost my way home.  
*You lost your way home.*  
 \*You lost her way home.
- d. \*She lost my way home.  
 \*She lost your way home.  
*She lost her way home.*

[主語の名詞句との一致を要求する、慣用句中の所有代名詞の存在]

そこで、例えば *Shave yourself* の成立過程はほぼ次のようになるとされる (Culicover 1976 : 149) :

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Input     | <i>you</i> VP [ <i>shave you</i> ]                        |
| Reflexive | <i>you</i> VP [ <i>shave yourself</i> ]                   |
|           | <i>you</i> Deletion . $\phi$ VP [ <i>shave yourself</i> ] |

ところが、これを *Fuck you* に適用しようとするとき困難が生ずる。

- (3) Joe pulled back as if she had spit at him.  
 'Fuck you. Fuck your hopes.' —Patrick Mann,  
*Dog Day Afternoon*, p. 145. <sup>5)</sup>

\*島根大学教育学部英語科教育 (英語学) 研究室

Fuck you はあっても、例えば次の例は成り立たない。6)

(4) \*Assert you. cf. Assert yourself.

命令文が matrix に埋め込まれ、あるいは種々の adjuncts と共起する例は次のように観察できる：

(5) I said to close the door.

(6) Don't close the door.

(7) Do close the door.

(8) Please close the door.

(9) Close the door, won't you?

(10) Go close the door.

(11) Close the door or I'll take away your teddy-bear.

(12) Close the door and I'll give you a dollar.

しかし、次のような用法は認められない：7)

(13) \*I said to fuck you.

(14) \*Don't fuck you.

(15) \*Do fuck you.

(16) \*Please fuck you.

(17) \*Fuck you, won't you?

(18) \*Go fuck you.

(19) \*Fuck you or I'll take away your teddy-bear.

(20) \*Fuck you and I'll give you a dollar.

ところで、

(21) Fuck Lyndon Johnson. 8)

は、

(21)' =admonition to copulate with Lyndon Johnson⇒fuck<sub>1</sub><sup>9)</sup>

(21)'' =epithet indicating disapproval of that individual⇒fuck<sub>2</sub>

の2通りの読みが可能である。ところが (13)–(20) までの表現にある fuck you の代わりに (21) を挿入した場合には (21)' の読みを条件に成立する。この読みは、NP[+human, male] の場合にはより容易である。

(22) Joe sat there, enjoying her embarrassment. He liked throwing her off base. He was supposed to get up like a good little soldier? Fuck her. (p. 16)

(23) 'The language,' Marge chimed in. 'I got young gir—'

'Fuck the young girls,' Littlejoe cut in. (p. 169)

それ以外では (21)'' の読みが普通である：

(24) 'You folks're still around.'

For the first time in several hours, Sam's mouth turned up slightly at one corner, in what

was for him a bit of a smile. 'Fuck 'em.' (p. 201)

(25) 'That man. That armed bandit.'

'Fuck 'im,' Augie muttered. (p. 8)

この fuck<sub>1</sub> と fuck<sub>2</sub> には、

(26) Fuck the irregular verbs.

(27) \*John fucked these irregular verbs.

のような共起制限 (co-occurrence restriction) の相違が認められる以外に、fuck<sub>2</sub> には、

(28) \*Fuck seven irregular verbs.

(29) \*Fuck any irregular verb.

から分かるように determiner は definite であるか general でなければならない。10) さらに、fuck<sub>2</sub> は、

(30) \*Fuck you by midnight.

のように adverbial elements との共起は不可である。

これまで観察してきたところだけでも fuck<sub>2</sub> は通常の動詞として分類することは困難で、Quasi-verb と考える案が提出された (Quang Phuc Dong 1966).

Utterance → {Sentence  
Epithet 11}

Epithet → Quasi-verb + NP

Quasi-verb → {fuck<sub>2</sub>  
shit on  
etc.}

次に、

(31) Damn Lyndon Johnson.

を見ると、深層主語には God があり、これが delete されたという仮説が提案される。しかし、

(32) Damn God.

のような表現が容認可能であり、

(33) \*Damn Himself.

が非文であること、などからこの提案は受け入れられない。12) 同様に、

(34) Fuck God.

(35) Shit on God.

は成立しても、

(36) \*Fuck Himself.

(37) \*Shit on Himself.

は成立しない。

(38) Fuck<sub>2</sub>

Damn

To hell with

Shit on

Hooray for

etc.

+ NP

では declarative/interrogative/imperative などの読みは持たないで、NP で表わされている対象に対する話

し手の態度を表わし、したがって話し手がこの場合の NP を特定していることから *determiner* もその種のものである (cf. (28), (29))。コンテクストから特に NP を明示する必要がない、あるいは単に話し手の態度を伝えることで十分である場合には、

- (39) Fuck!  
 (40) Damn!  
 (41) Shit!  
 (42) Hooray!

で起こる。

(43) Marge frowned. 'I told you, I have young girls back here.'

'Fuck!' Joe yapped. 'Shit! Piss!' He drew a breath and tried to hang cool. (p. 128)

## 2 fucking

2.1 まず、次のような統語的特性に留意したい。

- (1) That's too bad.  
 (2) That's no good.

の強意表現として、

- (3) \*That's too *very* bad.  
 (4) \*That's no *really* good.

は成立しないが、

- (5) That's too *fucking* bad.  
 (6) That's no *damn* good.

は成立する。

2.2 一般に同意されているように、単語はそれらの構成要素の順序が固定しており、休止 (pause) とか他の要素の挿入とかによって中断することはできない (cf. Adams 1973: 7-8)。ところが、多音節語のある部分へ感情的な強意語 (*intensifier*) が割り込む現象、つまり *interfixing* (挿入辞の挿入) の際に *fucking* が観察できる。13)

通例第1強勢の前で起こる: *al-Y-mighty (almighty)*, *disa-X-greeable (disagreeable)* など。次例を参照されたい:

- (7) It's *auto-fucking-matic*.  
 (8) \*I ate at the *áuto-fucking-mat*.  
 (9) He's a snob because he's *diplo-bloody-matic*.  
 (10) \*He's a snob because he's *diplo-bloody-mat*. [Tina Bopp]

しかし、第2強勢、第3強勢の前であっても、挿入辞を挿入した後にそれが第1強勢に移行する可能性があればこの現象が起こる: *handi-X-cáp (hándicáp)*, *any-X-*

*thing (anything)* など。次例を参照されたい:

(11) He's the *vice-fucking-président*.

(12) \*He doesn't get to live in the *White fucking House*. [Tina Bopp]

また、強勢を持つことのない接尾辞の前では起こらない:

- \**impossbloodyible*, \**impossibloodyible* (しかし *imbloodypossible*);  
 \**disagreeadamnable*, \**disagreeadamnable* (しかし *disadamngreeable*) など。

連語 (collocation) の場合にも語の挿入現象が起こり、*interposing* (語の挿入) として *interfixing* と区別する。連語の形式により以下のように分類できる:

- (i) 副詞+形容詞: *brand X new*  
 (ii) 形容詞/決定詞+名詞: *at long X last* 14)  
 (iii) 前置詞+名詞: *of X course*  
 (iv) 動詞+不変化詞: *hurry X up*  
 (v) 助動詞+動詞: *don't X forget*  
 (vi) 後置修飾語 *else* の前: *everybody X else*  
 (vii) *wh-*語の後: *What X do you want?*

さらに、次のタイプがある:

(viii) 数詞+名詞: 15)

(13) He braked at a lighted corner telephone booth, listened to the dial tone, dropped a dime — *thirty fucking cents* left for the night — and phoned Tina's father. (p. 35)

(14) 'Baby, we got every scrap of cash this joint's holding.'

'*Four fucking gees?*' (p. 87)

(15) 'I don't think I ever heard anybody level with me in *ten fucking years*,' Joe went on, more to himself than either Moretti or Lana. (p. 183)

(ix) 副詞+形容詞 (cf. 2. 1):

(16) As if you could earn Littlejoe's rep without being something pretty *fucking* imaginative. (p. 128)

(17) 'If you didn't collect the cash yet, it's too *fucking* late now,' Littlejoe said. (p. 141)

(x) 分離不定詞: 16)

(18) Not enough for anything. Standing next to a bank, but he didn't have enough to *fucking* live and breathe and get through this hot night. (p. 34)

(xi) 慣用表現:

(19) 'So?'

'Whadya mean so?'

'So *fucking what?*' (p. 149)

(20) 'You don't have to worry about Littlejoe. He won't kill anybody. He takes out his entire insane hostility on me. Nobody but *yours fucking truly.*' (p. 175)

(21) '*Fucking ay right* I did.' (p. 80)

(22) 'You want to be paid for...'

'*Fucking ay right, dum dum.*' p.(128)[<*Fucking A+Right*]

### 2.3 ところで,

(23) Drown that *fucking* cat!

があるからといっても, 対応する関係節はない:

(24) \*Drown that cat which fuck!

また, 埋め込み文に *fucking* が用いられて,

(25) John says that his landlord is a *fucking* scoutmaster.

とあっても, これは話し手が scoutmaster に対する態度を示しているのであって John の態度を示すものではない。話し手が disapprove する態度表明であることは,

(26) Shut the *fucking* door, {will you? }  
{\*won't you? }

で *won't you?* が politeness/deference の観点から不適切であることから予測できる。

2.4 *fucking* が *bloody* とほぼ同様の振る舞いをし, 名詞に前置することはすでに記述されているとおりでである。17) もっとも, 名詞に関して言えば, 次の例で見るようにその種類に関係なく用いられる:

(27) *Fucking sincerity* will get you nowhere.

[abstract noun]

(28) He was full of *fucking arsenic.* [mass noun]

(29) 'Shut up!' Joe shouted into the phone, 'Will you for once shut your *fucking mouth* and listen?' (p. 198) [count noun]

(30) 'The *fucking Wells Fargo* don't deliver till tomorrow.' (p. 88) [proper noun]

(31) 'He's standing there right now like a *fucking peeping tom*, getting off his rocks watching you do his dirty work for him.' (p. 182) [compound noun]

2.5 話し手によっては次の文は synonymous である:

(32) a. Hamlet is a *fucking* hard party to play.

b. Hamlet is a hard *fucking* part to play.

しかし, a) では *hard* を, b) では NP 全体, あるいは *part* のみに強調を与えるもの, と解釈する話し手もいる:

(32) a'. That part is *fucking* hard to play.

b'. It's hard to play that *fucking* part right.

2.6 *fucking* を表わす特殊な書記形式については山田 (1983) を参照されたい。新しい用例を追加しておく:

(33) Angelo Martelli had driven his cab up to the front of the school and parked it smack in the middle of the street, blocking all traffic heading east. On the top of the Checker, he'd rigged a couple of public address speakers, powerful mothers, and from these speakers was pouring Bruno's music, loud enough to wake the dead in Trinity Churchyard sixty blocks downtown. Behind the cab, cars and trucks were shrieking angrily as fists pounded on horns. Drivers were cursing and yelling for Angelo to move that # \$ \* & % # \$ cab before I come over there and rip your face out, you # \$ \* & ( % % & & # \$ !!!—Leonore Fleischer, *Fame*

### 3 shit

(1) *Shit on* Lyndon Johnson.

が,

(2) *Fuck<sub>2</sub>* Lyndon Johnson.

と synonymous な表現となることには異論はない。ところが(1)は, 実際には2重にあいまいである。そのあいまいさは次のように強勢の違いにより示差的にすることができると思われる (cf. Quang Phuc Dong 1966):

(3) *Shít* on the cárpet. (= *Fuck<sub>2</sub>* the carpet.)

(4) *Shít* on the cárpet. (= Defecate on the carpet.)

(4) は,

(5) Where shall I *shit*?

に対応する場合である。

この *Shit on* NP の形式が単純に *Shit!* のような形で現われる可能性については, verb-plus-preposition units では前置詞は動詞の素性の一部であり, 分節化 (segmentalization) 変形によって名詞に付加された

ものと考えればよい (Lakoff 1965), 18)

(6) 'Shit,' Augie grumbled. (p. 9)

(7) Two cops were trying to hold Flo, who was struggling to get free. 'Aw, *shit!*' Joe yelled. (p. 191)

(8) 'Shit again,' Augie twisted the dial to 5, and once more the man in the light shirt was arguing with the detectives in the hat. (p. 9)

(9) 'Shit and shit again! It's him!' (p. 9)

話し手の態度を表わす表現形式であるこの種の言語形式にその機能を最も端的に發揮させるためには文頭に位置させることである。そこで、

(i) *Shit*+S

(i)' *Shit*, +S

のような用例が頻繁に現われる：

(10) 'Lana won't love you tonight,' the chubby man murmured,

'*Shit* she won't.' (p. 23)

(11) 'You'll see.'

'*Shit* I'll see.' (p. 51)

(12) 'Sam's asleep. Come back tomorrow, man.'

'*Shit* he's sleeping. I gotta talk to him.' (p. 54)

(13) 'Can I leave you gentlemen and ladies now?' the driver asked,

'*Shit* you can, man.' (p. 214)

(14) 'Every president is a thief. Every prime minister and king is a crook.'

'*Shit* they're crooks. Jack Kennedy wasn't no crook. ...' (p. 66)

多くの場合、前の発話を受けてその内容を繰り返した表現、つまり echo statement とでも呼んでよい表現と共起する点が際立っている。この特徴は (i)' では観察できないと思われる：

(15) Joe's voice went up slightly with excitement. 'Shit, the whole country's watching this, right?' (p. 125)

(16) Was that serious? *Shit*, it was to laugh. (p. 120)

(17) She was as phony as the rest of them, ... She'd sort of molded herself into being that way, and, boy, she could show the real women a trick or two, huh? A trick or two in the 'gimme' department? *Shit*, yes. (p. 190)

次の例は慣用句が下敷きとなっている：

(18) 'Cut the shit, man,' Sam said. His teeth

had started to chatter faintly. 'Cut the talk. Let's move. Otherwise this kid dies.' (p. 211)

(19) 'Joe, she's out. Let her stay out.' 'Cut the shit!' (p. 156)

[<cut+NP/cut it (out)] cf. 小西 (1981: 208)。

(20) 'Joe, for shit's sake, Joe.' Sam muttered in a tight undertone. 'Let's move it, Joe. Move it.' (p. 208)

(21) 'Let's for shit's sake go.' (p. 207)

[<for...s sake]

(22) 'That's just what we are,' somebody yelled back at him, 'up shit creek without us president.' (p. 66)

[<be up the creek without a paddle (どうしていいか分からないほど) ひどく困っている]

#### 4 shitting

この語の使用は極めて限られている。*fucking* との交替が自由ではないという点が *shit on* と *fuck* の場合とは異なっている。また、

(1) He's a *shitting* prick. [*prick*, 'oaf']

(2) He's a *fucking* ass-hole. [*ass-hole*, 'contemptible person']

は成立するが、

(3) \*He's a *shitting* ass-hole.

(4) \*He's a *fucking* prick.

は成立しない。恐らく本来の動詞として *shit* と *fuck* が持つ anatomical な読みが *shit/ass-hole*, *fuck/prick* の間で生じ、したがって He<sub>≠</sub>ass-hole, He<sub>≠</sub>prick は成立しない。*ass-hole* も *prick* も [+human] の読みを要求する、話し手が意図した disapprove を表わす表現としても不適となるためであろう。

#### Notes :

1) **Fuck** Both as a verb and as a noun, this most common and explicit of all sexual words is at least two centuries old. What is new and indeed revolutionary is the extent to which the term has been allowed out of hiding during the past thirty years or so. It is now used without any noticeable hesitation or timidity by the kind of people, especially women and girls, who would at one time have been appalled at the thought of uttering it. Much of its former strength and forbidden magic has now departed from it, to the

point at which it is almost a flat technical term, like 'walk' or 'eat'.

Like the underground press, feminist publications have made deliberate and frequent use of blunt sexual terms in order to shock conventional opinion and to emphasize their attitude of enlightened frankness in these matters. So we have, as a matter of course :

'Wendy, the "easy" girl, without quite realising it, gets fucked at a party.' [*Spare Rib*, April 1975]

The compounds of this all-purpose word are increasingly numerous and widely used, although most of them appear to pass out of fashion within a few years. (Hudson 1983 : 109-110)

2) "Four-letter words and the OED," *Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 13, 1972, p. 1233.

3) 「くたばれ／ばかな／」など。強意のののしり語 (curse) で, *Damn you!* よりも強い。ときに, *Fuck you, Charlie!* など。 (cf. Flexner 1976 : 158-159)。

4) このことは直観的にも認められていた。例えば, Jespersen (1933 : §15.4.2), Sweet (1891 : 111), Poutsma (1929, I : 998) など。あるいは, すでに Katz and Postal (1964 : 74ff), Thorne (1966 : 69-77) など。簡潔には大塚・中島 (1982), 今井・中島 (1978) など。

5) Mayflower 版 (1975)。以下例文は主にこの小説から引用するが, この小説にはののしり語がふんだんに用いられている。後に Al Pacino 主演で映画化された。作者は元 US Army Intelligence agent で "He has a worldwide contacts with the underworld and with law enforcement authorities." と紹介されている。

6) ところが *Fuck yourself* はある :

(1) "*Fuck yourself*," said Brody. "You can stay here, for all I care."—P. Benchley, *Jaws*

(2) "*Fuck yourself*," said Quint. "I'll charter a boat and follow you."—*Ibid.*

恐らく, "for emphasis instead of nonreflexive *you* as object of a preposition or direct or indirect object of a verb" (*Web*<sup>3</sup>, s. v. **yourself**, 1a) が手掛かりとなろう。

7) cf. Quang Phuc Dong (1966).

8) 今日, いささかスキャンダルめいた話を耳にすると, この用例も興味深い (cf. 板坂元 (1981), 『アメリカン・リポート』読売新聞社, p. 153)。

9) この語法については, クレア・山田 (1981), 山田 (1982 : 45-47), Munç Wang (1971) などを参照されたい。Quang Phuc Dong (1966) はこれらの動詞を asymmetric joint action predicate (非相称的接合行為述語) と呼ぶ。

10) ただし, 次の表現は成立する :

(1) Fuck seven old ladies by midnight, or I'll take away your teddy-bear.

(2) Fuck any old lady you see.

11) Epithet は conjoin 可能だが Quasi-verb は不可 :

(1) Fuck Lyndon Johnson and shit on Mao Tse Tung.

(2) \*Fuck and shit on Lyndon Johnson.

12) *goddamn* の振る舞いも同様である :

(1) Goddamn God.

(2) \*Goddamn Himself.

13) 修辞学では tmesis (複合語分割; 切離) と呼んできた現象。この問題については全面的に山田 (1981) を参照されたい。

14) 次の例を参照 :

(1) 'Big *fucking* deal.' (p. 137)

(2) 'I'll show you who's in good *fucking* faith, Boyle. You bank people choose. Pick one.' (p. 142)

(3) 'This is your lucky *fucking* day, Leroy. Come on.' (p. 142)

(4) Any minute some *fucking* pizza wagon would show up. (p. 130)

15) これは Tina Bopp の観察とは異なる :

Normally *fucking* follows numbers, but it precedes names. When a number is an integral part of a name, like the *Three Bears*, *Seven Dwarfs*, etc., the whole name includes the number. This also applies to times and sums of money :

(a) I waited until {fucking 4 o'clock } in the morning.  
{\*4 fucking o'clock }

(b) You didn't give me {any fucking ten }  
{? \*any ten fucking }  
dollars, but I won't pay ten fucking dollars for it.

16) *fucking* が動詞と共起する例はこの他にもある :

(1) I'm not technically good, but I can make it *fucking* howl and move. (John Lennon, *Rolling*

Stone 1-21-1971, p. 41)

(2) He *fucking* went home instead of waiting.

(3) He can't *fucking* (well) make it today.

(4) He *fucking* (well) can't make it today.

(5) I'm not going to wait *fucking* (well) today.

[以上 Tina Bopp]

(6) Michael: Nicky, don't you *fucking* do this to me, you *fucking*...

(7) Jimmy: What do you *fucking* know?

(8) I mean, look what he *fuckin'* did.

[以上 Mochida]

なお, *fuckin'* の書記形式に注目したい。ちなみに,

U Pani Shud (1971) は次のような記述を示す:

Raving McDonald (personal communication) has pointed out in the worksheets to the *Dialect Atlas of North Eastern American Rest-Rooms (Series Major: Howard Johnson's Restaurants and Esso Stations; Pt. I: Men's Rooms; Vol. 1. Connecticut and Rhode Island from Norwalk to Providence)* that the forms with *fucking* really only arise on the New England littoral. Elsewhere the rule

[ŋ]→[n]/fucki\_

is in effect.

17) *fucking* と *bloody, shitting, damn* との間に意味的な相違はないとされる (Tina Bopp 1971):

a. The *fucking* dog knocked over the *fucking* garbage can.

b. The  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{bloody} \\ \textit{shitting} \\ \textit{damn} \end{array} \right\}$  dog knocked over the

*fucking* garbage can.

また Jespersen (1934) を参照。

**N. B. 1** *fucking* を表わす, アメリカ英語での特殊な書記形式については山田 (1983) を参照されたい。最近では, 堀内克明氏の指摘がある (堀内1983)。

**N. B. 2** さらに次の用例を参照されたい:

(1) 'It would've worked except the *motherfucking* money wasn't here the way it was supposed to be.' (p. 128)

(2) Lyndon Baines *mother-fucking* Johnson was no worse than Tricky *piss-face* Dicky.

(3) Spiro *shit-head* Agnew is the name of a venereal disease.

18) また Postal (1966)。

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