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―― 研究論文 ――

Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands－

自画像の裏側

山﨑　麻由美

SYNOPSIS

Mary Seacole (1805-1881), a Creole woman, managed a hotel for soldiers on the front lines of the Crimean War (1854-1856) whilst simultaneously caring for the wounded British forces.　She called the British soldiers her 'sons', and they spoke of their 'mother' with love.　Based on her autobiography *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands* (1857), it appears that the reason she was so popular during the Crimean War was that she attempted to adopt British values.　At the same time, in contrast to the cultural standards for women during the Victorian era, her life had two distinct elements: she was both a motherly figure in her volunteer nursing efforts and an ambitious manager in her hotel business.　However, both of these aspects were welcomed in her unique wartime environment.　She became a heroine of the Crimea, but this was only possible because her activities were on the battlefield, far away from England.

序

1856 年 8 月 25 日にロンドンの Royal Surrey Gardens でクリミア戦争

（1854-1856）に従軍した下士官たちを称えるための祝宴が催された。できたばかりの音楽堂でのディナーに 2,000 もの隊が参加し（Robinson 156）、その宴会を見ようと 20,000 人を下らない一般人が詰めかけていたという。その見物人の中に Mrs Seacole がいるのを見つけた兵士達は "rapturous enthusiasm" で彼女に喝采を送っただけでなく、実際に担ぎ上げて庭園を回り始めたので、2 人の体格のいい巡査が止めに入らなければ、彼女は行き過ぎた好意に悩まされたことだろうと翌日のタイムズ紙は報じている（*Times* 26 Aug, 1856）。

　この "Mrs Seacole" とは、クリミア半島の戦地で、イギリス軍の兵士や将校たちに Mother Seacole として親しまれていた Mary Seacole (1805-1881) である。彼女の知名度は当時非常に高く、彼女が 1857 年に著した自伝 *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands* （以下、本稿では *Wonderful Adventures* とする）の売れ行きも好調で、初版は 8 か月で完売し、上梓の 1 年後には重版が出された（Robinson 174）。

　彼女はクリミア戦争中、戦地 Balaclava からわずか 2 マイルの Spring Hill で亡夫の遠戚にあたる Thomas Day と共に British Hotel を経営していた。ところが戦争終結と同時に British Hotel は経営的に破綻をきたし、Seacole らの帰国後に、負債を巡って裁判沙汰になる（Robinson 60）。Mrs Seacole の経済的窮状を知った Da Meritis なる人物から、タイムズ紙に投書が寄せられたのは 1856 年 11 月 24 日である。Da Meritis は戦地で彼女から受けた恩への感謝の気持ちを表すことを呼びかけ、自ら 20 ポン

ドの寄付を申し出ている。この投書を皮切りに、同様の申し出がタイムズ紙の紙面に現れ、Seacole Fund が立ちあがる。冒頭の Royal Surrey Gardens の音楽堂で 1857 年 7 月 27 日から 7 月 30 日までの 4 日間、Seacole Fund を募る目的の音楽会が開かれたのである。この催しも非常に盛況で音楽堂に入りきれなかった人の数は何百人にものぼったという（*Times* 30 July, 1857）。

　Mary Seacole に対するこのイギリス民衆の熱狂はどこから来ているのだろうか。自称 "Crimean heroine" (VIII 71) はクリミア戦争前には無名に等しかった。その彼女が戦時中、Mother Seacole として兵士達に慕われ、知名度を上げていくのである。前述の Da Meritis は投書の中で次のように問いかけている。"While the benevolent deeds of Florence Nightingale are being handed down to posterity with blessings and imperishable renown, are the humbler actions of Mrs. Seacole to be entirely forgotten…?"　Seacole の知名度は当時 "A lady with a lamp" (Longfellow)と謳われた Nightingale に比肩していたのである。Seacole は戦地で Nightingale 同様の看護者と認知されていたのだ。加えて彼女は兵士達の母親的な存在とみなされていた。Seacole 自身、*Wonderful Adventures* で次のように述べている。"I must solicit my readers' attention to the position I held in the camp as doctress, nurse, and 'mother'."（XIII 110）

　しかし、Seacole が Nightingale と大きく違っていたことが二点ある。まず、Seacole が一民間人として戦地に赴いたことである。彼女は Nightingale

率いる国家から派遣された看護婦団の一員ではなかった。しかも Seacole は看護に専念していたわけではなく、クリミアで British Hotel を経営していたのである。もう一点は、彼女が Jamaica 生まれの Creole であったことである。この二点の Nightingale との違いは、Seacole 像を捉える際の鍵となる。Creole だった彼女が「イギリス兵達の母」になり得たのはなぜなのか。また、nurse であることと従軍商人(sutler) とみなされることにどう折り合いをつけようとしていたのか。そこには人種の問題と共に、ヴィクトリア朝の女性として相反する二つの顔 ― 息子達を癒す家庭的な母親であり、一方では self-made の起業家 ― が自伝の中に見え隠れしている。クリミアでの自分を nurse であり mother であるとしたい Seacole にとって、Creole であり従軍商人であったという事実は声高に語りたくないことだった。*Wonderful Adventures* で彼女が作り上げたかった Seacole 像と表裏をなしているものを読み解いていくことで当時の彼女の人気の理由とその本質が明らかにしていきたい。

１．生い立ちと人種の問題

　イギリス植民地ジャマイカ出身の Seacole がイギリス兵たちを「息子達」と捉えた背景はどのようなものだろうか。彼女の母親は Creole で boarding-house を営む傍ら、"admirable doctress"として将校やその妻たちを診ていたという(I 11-12)。ここでいう doctress とは医学を修めた「女医」ではなく、薬草などを用いて傷病者の手当てをしていた「治療者」のこ

とである。父親はスコットランドの由緒ある家系の軍人だったという。Seacole が父親について述べているのは *Wonderful Adventures* の第 1 章の冒頭の一文のみである。そのため彼女が父親の顔を見たことがないのではないか、そもそも両親は法的な結婚をしていたのか、という疑問が当然わいてくる。実際 Kerr によると、ジャマイカの下宿屋の大半が現地の女性によって経営されていた理由は、彼女たち白人男性の愛人たちから資金を出してもらっていたからだという(Kerr 202)。しかも彼女たちはそれぞれの下宿屋で食事、設備などに独自のサービスを打ち出していた。Seacole の母親のような"doctress"も珍しいものではなく、兵士や水兵たちに治療を施していたという(Kerr 204)。ここで Seacole の生き方を考察する上で重要なことは、実際の関わり合いがほとんどなかったにもかかわらず、自分の父親の血筋に誇りをもっていていたということである。*Wonderful Adventures* で彼女は自分の中に軍人であった父親の"good Scotch blood" が流れていて、自分が野営を好むのも、活発で行動力があり"lazy Creole"でないのもみなその血筋のなせる業だと述べている (I 11)。彼女はそのことを実際触れ回ってもいたらしい。クリミア戦争の従軍画家の William Simpson (1823-1899) は彼の自伝の中で Seacole がスコットランドの血筋について誇らしげに語ったことを次のように覚えていた。"I must say that she [Seacole] did not look like it, but the old lady spoke proudly of this point in her genealogy" (Simpson 57) また母親も Creole だったので、Seacole 自身はいわゆる"white Creole"だったと考えられる。white Creole は

ヨーロッパの白人と同じ価値観や財力をもっていた。Anthony Trollope は 1858 年に滞在したジャマイカのキングストンで泊まった宿の女主人が偶然 Seacole の妹だったという経験をする。彼はその時のキングストンの印象を"utter disgrace"（Trollope 14）だと決めつけ、ヨーロッパ人や white Creoles はキングストンを嫌って住まず、田舎に邸宅を構えているのだと述べている(Trollope 17)。母親が Creole で父親がスコットランド人であった Seacole の意識はヨーロッパの白人達と同じだったと考えられる。

　彼女の生い立ちを見ていくと、Creole の Seacole がイギリス兵を「息子」と呼ぶことに何の障壁も矛盾も感じていなかったことが理解できる。なぜなら、自分の経歴はイギリス人同様と断じても良いほど素性の正しいものだからである。父親はスコットランド人の軍人である。夫の Mr Seacole は白人であり、Viscount Nelson (1758-1806)の名付け子という立派な人物である(Robinson 30-33)。夫は病弱で、彼女の手厚い看護の甲斐もなく結婚後 8 年ほどで亡くなってしまうが、彼女は生涯寡婦を貫く。そして British Hotel の共同経営者は、夫の遠縁にあたる Thomas Day である。素性も身持ちも正しい white Creole の女性で、医術の知識も技量も備え、治療者としての経験もある Seacole がクリミア戦争でイギリス人に与して"my own 'sons '" (VIII 70) を助けたいと思い立つのは自然の流れだったのだろう。

　Seacole はイギリス人に近い思いを抱いていたが、イギリス人が彼女を自分たちの同胞だと受け止めていたかというと必ずしもそうではない。

本人の耳に入らないところで、彼女の肌は"deeply-shaded"とみなされ、"a colored woman"や"a mulatto woman"と呼ばれ、中にはあからさまに"a black woman"と呼ばれもしているのだ。彼女と戦地で親しく付き合いのあった著名な料理人 Soyer ですら Seacole に"La Mère Noire"というあだ名をつけていたのである(Soyer 154)。Seacole はイギリス人から差別を受けた経験はなかったのだろうか。イギリスの奴隷貿易は 1807 年に廃止され、1838 年に奴隷制度廃止となった。その間の 1831 年にジャマイカは奴隷たちの大きな反乱を経験している。Seacole が 26 歳の年である。しかし *Wonderful Adventures* には、ジャマイカでの奴隷についてはひとことも触れられていない。彼女自身が白人を父親に持つ Creole であったために奴隷にされる恐れもなかったからだろうか。しかし、Seacole が生まれた 1805 年の奴隷売買のリストを見ると、ジャマイカでは白人医師の監督の下で働かせるための medical slaves が存在していたのである。Creole の"Doctor man"、"Midwife"、"Nurse for Children"、などの項目で年齢や健康状態によって値段がつけられる生々しい現実があったのである。(Sheridan 92-93)

　Paquet は Seacole が Creole の自分と"the excited nigger cooks"や"good-for-nothing black cooks"とは明らかに違うとしながらも"antislavery position"を取り続けたと述べている（Paquet 58）。確かに Seacole は次のように明言している。

I have a few shades of deeper brown upon my skin which shows me related
– and I am proud of the relationship – to those poor mortals whom you once
held enslaved, and whose bodies America still owns.   And having this
bond, and knowing what slavery is; having seen with my eyes and heard
with my ears proof positive enough of its horrors – let others affect to doubt
them if they will…. (II 21)

しかしここで読者を戸惑わせるのは、他でもない Seacole の言葉である。
彼女が抗議の矛先を向けているのはアメリカの奴隷制度である。イギリ
スからの差別は全く受けなかったというのだろうか。また奴隷の同胞で
あるとみなされることに Seacole が誇りを抱いていたとは思えないので
ある。彼女が肌の色ということを非常に意識していたことは *Wonderful
Adventures* の随所に現れている。まず、自身にまつわるエピソードとして
18 歳の時に初めてロンドンを訪れた時の鮮明な記憶のひとつを挙げてい
る。彼女と連れの女性はロンドンの通りで粗野な少年たちに肌の色のこ
とで揶揄されて困ったという。しかしそれは自分のせいではなく、連れ
の女性の肌の色が非常に黒かったためであると言い切っている。Seacole
は自分のことを "I am only a little brown—a few shades duskier than the
brunettes whom you all admire so much" (I 13) と表現し、自分は揶揄の対象
ではなかったというのである。これと対極をなすエピソードがイタリア
のゴルゴナ島でのアメリカ人たちとのやり取りに現れる。時期について

は明らかになっていないが、恐らく Seacole が 30 歳半ばの 1843 年頃と
推測される。彼女の弟のホテルでアメリカの独立記念日の宴が催された
時に、酔っぱらった一人のアメリカ人が彼女への乾杯の音頭をとる。その
の男に Seacole を貶めようとする悪意はなかったのだろうが、南北戦争以
前の事である。彼のスピーチは無礼なもので、Seacole を "a yaller woman"
として、彼女の肌の色について長々と述べ、"… if we could bleach her by
any means we would —, and thus make her as acceptable in any company as she
deserves to be"とまで言う。そして締めくくりが「Aunty Seacole へ乾杯！」
である。Seacole は自分の肌の色について不躾な言われ方をしたことにも
年配の黒人女性に使われる "Aunty"と呼びかけられたことに対しても怒
りで煮えたぎる思いだったろう。彼女はこう切り返している。"… I don't
altogether appreciate your friend's kind wishes with respect to my
complexion….and as to his offer of bleaching me, I should, even if it were
practicable, decline it without any thanks."(VI 49) この時、彼女がスピーチの
中で "If it [my complexion] had been as dark as any nigger's"と述べているこ
とに注目したい。彼女の認識では自分の肌の色は黒人のようではなく「ブ
ルネットより少し色黒なだけ」だったのだろう。

　このエピソードの後、Seacole は差別にまつわるさらに二つの出来事に
ついて語っている。一つ目は彼女が当事者ではなかったが、奴隷を苛む
若いアメリカ人の女性についてである。まだ幼さの残る女奴隷をひどく
鞭打っただけでなく、その奴隷の子どもを楯にとって身体的にも精神的

にも自分に縛り付けておいた"vicious"な性格の女として描かれている(VI 52-53)。二つ目のエピソードは Seacole の体験談である。アメリカ籍の客船内で彼女は婦人客達からあからさまに" 'Guess a nigger woman don't go along with us in this saloon,' said one.　'I never travelled with a nigger yet, and I expect I shan't begin now,' said another…" (VI 56) と同席を拒絶されたばかりか、連れていた召使の少女は船上の子ども達に唾を吐きかけられるという狼藉を働かれたため、下船を余儀なくされる。その後、イギリスの蒸気船に載って無事にキングストンに戻ることができたという。

　しかしこれらは、アメリカ人との出来事である。イギリス人とのエピソードは若い頃にロンドンで子ども達にからかわれたというものだけである。しかもそのエピソードを彼女は自分の肌がイギリス人とそれほど変わらないということを示すために描いている。親しかった Soyer にさえ、"La Mère Noire と呼ばれていたのである。全く差別を経験していないとは考えられない。この件での彼女の沈黙に関して推察できる理由は、「イギリス人読者の意に添うため」ということである。それは *Wonderful Adventures* の販売促進のための方便の一つであり、彼女の商売の手腕が発揮された点でもあった。一見大らかで含むところなどないような *Wonderful Adventures* の中でイギリス人の人種問題について Seacole の計算が働いていると感じられる場面がある。それは作品中もっとも印象に残る場面に仕上がっている。彼女は Nightingale の看護師団に志願して、面接で落とされた時の場面を劇的に描いているのである。冬の冷たい霧

の夕暮れにロンドンの通りで、失意の Seacole は涙を流しながら天に向か
って助けを乞うのである。彼女は次のように疑問を投げかける。"Was it
possible that American prejudices against colour had some root here?　Did these
ladies shrink from accepting my aid because my blood flowed beneath a
somewhat duskier skin than theirs?" (VIII 73-74) 彼女が自分のために涙を流
すのはこの時だけである。クリミアで傷ついた兵士達を救いたいという
申し出が拒否され、面談者 Mrs H.の顔にはっきりと「空きがあったとし
ても、選ばれないだろう」を書いてあったという。Seacole がイギリス人
の差別を初めて意識したとする場面が Nightingale の看護師団に選ばれな
かったというのは意図的と言わざるを得ない。Seacole は具体的に誰かを
非難しているわけではないが、この場面から読者が受ける印象は、
Nightingale 側の冷淡さであり人種差別である。しかし、Seacole は
Nightingale を直接誹謗するような余計なことはひと言も書いていない。
この場面から分かることは、Seacole がイギリス人からの差別を感じてい
なかったわけではないことと、しかしそれを天下の Nightingale を直接非
難することでイギリス人読者に背を向けられないようにするという彼女
の計算高さである。

2　読者獲得のために

　人はどのような時に自分の人生を振り返り、語りたいと考えるのだろ
うか。そこには様々な理由があるだろうが、Seacole が *Wonderful*

Adventures を書いた目的は経済的困窮状態からの脱却を目指すことだったと思われる。British Hotel の経営がクリミア戦争終結とともに破綻した彼女と共同経営者の Day は、無一文どころか債務を抱え破産裁判所に出廷するような状態だった。それを知った者達の呼びかけで、Seacole Fund 設立の動きが出てくるのは前述の通りである。しかし、強い意志、"will powerful enough to find a way to carry out my wishes" (I 11) をもつ彼女自身がその事態に甘んじていたわけではないだろう。彼女に自伝執筆を勧めた人物がいたのか、Seacole が自ら考えついたことだったかは不明である。しかし自伝の執筆は収入を得るために元本が要らない最適な手段だった。

　Wonderful Adventures を一読すると、この自伝には読者を獲得するための仕掛けがいくつも織り込まれている事に気づく。まず、出版までの速さである。彼女が自分の名声と人気が記憶に新しい内に出版しようと考えたのはごく自然の成り行きだっただろう。クリミア戦争終結の 1 年後の 1857 年の出版は時宜を得た出版だった。*Wonderful Adventures* を書評で取り上げた新聞社の内、*Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* の紹介を見てみよう。"This little book places within the reach of almost every one the narrative of a kind and good woman. 　We are all familiar with the name of 'Mother Seacole', …. And few English eyes can read without tears her tales of the terrible campaign in the Crimea." （*Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 3 Sep. 1857）この好意的な書評は Seacole の意に添い、自伝にとって何よりの宣伝となったことだろう。次に Seacole が振るった手腕は時の有名人達を登場させたことであ

る。前書きは W.H Russell (1820-1907) が引き受けている。彼はタイムズ紙の特派員として従軍し、本国の人々は彼の記事によってクリミア戦争の実情を知ることとなった。クリミア戦争の特派員として名の知れた彼に前書を頼んだことで箔をつけたいとする彼女の期待が透けて見える。Seacole は戦地で彼と顔なじみであり、*Wonderful Adventures* の本文中にも彼の手になる記事を引用している。"Mrs Seacole…has pitched her abode…and here she doctors and cures all manner of men with extraordinary success.   She is always in attendance near the battle-field to aid the wounded, and has earned many a poor fellow's blessings." (XIII 117)。さらに Seacole が登場させた有名人達は、Seacol Fund 設立に骨を折ってくれた 14 人で、彼女は彼らへ感謝の言葉で締めくくっている。そこに名を連ねているのはヴィクトリア女王のいとこ Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar や Duke of Wellington を始め、いずれもクリミア戦争で名を知られた人物である。そして Seacole はリストの筆頭の Major-General Lord Rokeby (1798-1883) に *Wonderful Adventures* を献じている。

　この自伝のもう一つの特徴は、Seacole の無邪気なまでの自己肯定である。*Wonderful Adventures of Mrs Seacole in Many Lands* というタイトルからして、自信の表れだと言えるだろう。ためらいもなく"Wonderful"という形容詞をつけていること、また"Many Lands" は少々過剰広告気味でないかと思われる。クリミア戦争が終わってイギリスに戻るまでに Seacole は、"I…took the opportunity of seeing more of men and manners in yet other lands"

(Conclusion 169)と記述しているが、どこの国へ立ち寄ったかはひと言も触れられていない。彼女が本当に書きたかった部分は第 8 章から最後の第 19 章までのクリミアでの出来事であることは明らかである。それに至る 7 章に亘って、ジャマイカを出てキューバ、ハイチ、パナマ、ヌエバ・グラナダ、クリミア、ロンドンを訪れたことが書かれている。それらの章では自分の生い立ち、doctress としての腕前、アメリカ人から受けた人種差別、泥棒騒動、コレラの流行などが語られている。当時の一人の女性としては経験しえない出来事に遭遇しているが、それぞれは"wonderful adventures"と呼べるような華々しいものではなく、むしろクリミアに旅立つまでの長い前置き、自己紹介のような印象を受ける(Paquet 68)。

　Wonderful Adventures ではクリミア戦争のことがハイライトであることは、疑うべくもない。各章のタイトルを見てみると、当時の小説によくある長いもので、その章のハイライトを拾っていくスタイルとなっている。例えば第 1 章では"My Birth and Parentage—Early Tastes and Travels—Marriage, and Widowhood" となっており、章によってはその項目は 14 にも及ぶ。しかし第 13 章は"My Work in Crimea"であり、第 14 章は"My Customers at the British Hotel"と例外的に簡潔である。この 2 つの内、第 13 章は「この章で細々したことを書き連ねるのは非常に気が進まない」という意味合いの言葉で始まっている。自慢話に聞こえるのが不本意だということだが、その難題の解決策として彼女は自分に寄せられた数々の手紙や賛辞を引用し、他人の口から語ってもらうとしている。この方法

で彼女は謙虚を装いつつも、他人の証言によって自分がいかに doctress と
しても nurse としても兵士達の役に立ち、mother として慕われていたか
を読者に示すことに成功している。第 14 章では British Hotel の日常が描
かれている。客から商品から、印象に残ったエピソードなどである。
Seacole は章の最後を自分の一日を紹介することで終える。そこで彼女は
自分のホテルでは午後 8 時以降は何も売らないというルールを設けてい
ることを述べている。彼女は自分のホテルがいかにきちんとしていたか、
いかがわしい所ではなかったということを世間に知らせる必要があった
からである。ヴィクトリア朝の価値観としては、respectable であることが
何よりも求められたからである。

3 mother と self-made woman

　nurse や mother としての「癒す者」の顔と British Hotel の「経営者」の
顔は Seacole の中で矛盾なく存在していたのだろうか。nurse として国家
からクリミアへ派遣される望みが絶たれた悲劇的な場面の翌朝、彼女は
すっかり立ち直り、自費でクリミアへ赴こうという新しい計画を立てる。
何があってもクリミアでイギリス兵の助けとなろうと決意を固めた
Seacole に天啓のように閃いたことがあった。" … should I not open an hotel
for invalids in the Crimea in my own way? " (VIII 74)　彼女はたちまちのう
ちに British Hotel 宣伝のカードを作り、友人知人に配る。そのカードには
ホテル設立の意図として" …to establish a mess table and comfortable quarters

for sick and convalescent officers"と印刷されていた。しかも Seacole 達の出発は 1855 年 1 月 15 日、ホテルの完成は夏になったが、ともかくも戦地からわずか 2 マイルの地 Spring Hill で開業にこぎつけたのであった。将校たちからその品ぞろえに "… you might get everything at Mother Seacole's, from an anchor down to a needle" (XII 102) と賞賛されたという。British Hotel という立派な名前であるが、大規模で豪華なものを想像してはいけない。1 エーカーという広い敷地内に兵隊たちの簡易食堂、厩舎、Seacole 達の住居などと共に建つホテルと広い倉庫は鉄でできていた。そこは宿泊所というより、主に酒食を供する場所であった。Seacole がビジネスにも熱心だったことを窺い知ることのエピソードを Soyer が記している。初対面の Soyer に経営で利益を出すにはどうすれば良いかの相談を持ち掛けたのである。Seacole は宿泊用のベッドを入れたい意向だったようだが、Soyer はそれよりも食品や酒類をどっさり仕入れることだと親切に助言している (Soyer 143)。傷病兵の看護のことだけを考えてはいられない事情としてはホテル設立に多額の資金をつぎ込んでいたということもあるだろう。800 ポンドをくだらない額で (XII 101)、現代の金額に換算するとおよそ 33,000 ポンドになるという（Robinson 111）。British Hotel の商品は非常に値段が高かったが、客は不平も言わず払っていたという（Blackwood 262）。

　Seacole は"inclination to rove"があると自ら認めて、人から"a female Ulysses"と呼ばれるほど旅に出ていたが (I 11)、彼女は決して見分を広め

る優雅な旅を楽しんでいたわけではない。生来の商売好きだったようで
あり、彼女は行った先々で商いに手を染めている。クリミア戦争時の
British Hotel は実は 2 代目で、以前パナマでも British Hotel を経営してい
たのだ。彼女が若い頃から self-made の人物であったことは疑いもない。
「自分の望みを実現する強い意志」（I 11）を持つ女性だったのだ。ただ
し、Seacole は *Hard Times* の Mr Bounderby のように経済的に成功したわ
けではない。この"female Ulysses"は一所で腰を据えてのし上がろうとい
う野心は希薄だったのだろう。Midgley は Seacole を"a new type of middle
class Englishwoman not identified with the domestic sphere, but with paid work—
a type that accords with the feminist ideal…." (Midgley 145) としているが、
Seacole 自身は自分が"feminist"だと言われるのは心外に思うのではない
だろうか。Seacole の中に存在していた self-made woman 気質は、ヴィク
トリア朝の理想であった「家庭の天使」の対極にあたるものである。彼
女にとっては、負傷者を治療し看護することはビジネスではなく、「母」
としての無償の愛情を表すべきものだった。そのため彼女はホテルの宣
伝カードでも自分のビジネスの部分を強調しないようにしていたのだろ
う。彼女の中では British Hotel はあくまでも「安らぎを与える場」と考え
ていたのだ。

　Wonderful Adventures 中で Seacole は理想とする母であり治療者である
とする自画像を読者に示そうとしているが、実際の彼女に対する評価は
どうだったのだろうか。Russell は *Wonderful Adventures* の前書きの終盤で

彼女の従軍商人(sutler)の一面に触れ、“She is the first who has redeemed the name of 'sutler' from the suspicion of worthlessness, mercenary baseness, and plunder” (Preface) と書いている。Seacole がこれを褒め言葉と受け止めたとは思えない評価である。しかし実際のところ、彼女のホテルが繁盛していたのは、元気な将校たちが客だったためであり、療養所として病人であふれかえっていたわけではないのである。

<div align="center">結び</div>

Creole の Seacole はイギリス兵達を“sons”と呼び、彼らからは“Mother Seacole”と呼ばれていたが、それはクリミア半島というイギリスから遠く離れた土地だからこそできたことであり、戦場という混乱した場所だったため、自らが望むような形で実現したのである。Seacole がイギリスでは「母親」として受け入れられたかどうかは疑問である。彼女はきちんとした服装を心がけていたが、好みの服は「黄色のドレスと赤いリボンのついた青いボンネット」(X 79: 88)であった。50 歳という年齢の寡婦が身につけるには派手な色合いであり、Lord Raglan の葬儀にもボンネットに派手な色合いのリボンをつけて出席したとあっては(Simpson 57)、イギリス人には受け入れられないことだったのではないだろうか。Seacole は戦場という特殊な環境でこそ Mother Seacole であり、heroine になり得たのである。

　イギリスへ戻ると破産という現実を突きつけられたのも、非常に象徴

的である。魔法が夜中の 12 時にとけたように、戦争が終わるとイギリス
では無一文の Creole に戻ったのである。このことは彼女自身も自覚して
おり、イギリスに戻った今、至る所で声をかけられると述べ、"Now, would
all this have happened if I had returned to England a rich woman? Surely not."
(Conclusion 170) と述べている。彼女の魔法はクリミア戦争終結よりも少
し長く続いた。彼女が亡くなるまで、彼女を直接知るイギリスの「息子
達」は彼女を支援していたからである。しかし、死後、Seacole は急速に
世間から忘れられていくのである。

　Wonderful Adventures の中で Seacole は理想とする自画像を nurse、sons、
mother といったキーワードを使い、言葉を尽くして読者に示そうとして
いる。実際は Seacole に対する世間の評価はどうだったのだろうか。彼女
を mother や nurse と捉えるか sutler と捉えるかで、彼女の評価は大きく
変わる。大方の兵士達は死と隣り合わせの戦場で、ひと時でも British
Hotel で暖かい家庭の団欒を味わったのだろう。そして気の良い女主人を
"Mother Seacole"と抵抗もなく呼べたのだろう。また砲火をくぐり抜け、
傷病兵のもとに駆け付けることも、手当てを施すこともあった彼女は確
かに「母」と呼ぶにふさわしい存在だったのだろう。しかし Nightingale
は違った。傷病兵の看護という目的のためだけにクリミアに赴いた彼女
の目に Seacole は胡散臭く映っていたのだ。「燃やすこと」という指示を
つけた Sir Harry Verney 宛ての私信で彼女は非常に辛辣に Seacole を評し
ている。Seacole はクリミア戦争中に「売春宿」に似たものを経営してい

たというのである。"She kept—I will not call it a 'bad house' but something not very unlike it—in the Crimean War. She was very kind to the men &, what is more, to the Officers--& did some good--& made many drunk…" そして彼女と自分の看護婦たちが交わらないように気をつけていたという。だが、Nightingale も Seacole の影響力の大きさを無視できなかったのである。彼女は続けてこう書いている。"You will understand that any 'rivalry' between the 'Seacole' & the 'Nightingale' 'Establishment[s]' was very much to be averted--. I conclude (&believe) that respectable Officers were entirely ignorant of what I…could not help knowing as a Matron & Chaperone & Mother of the Army" (Appendix 180)

　結局のところ Seacole の等身大の姿は彼女と戦地で親しくしていた画家の Simpson の次の言葉に言い表されているように思われる。"Mrs Seacole, an elderly mulatto woman from Jamaica, was a well-known character in the Crimia, all the soldiers and sailors knew her.　She had a taste for nursing and doctoring, but she added to this a business as a sutler…. She was a nice, good creature, and every one liked her." (Simpson 57)

クリミアの戦地で Seacole は丹念に理想の自画像を作り上げ、兵士たちには母であり治療者でありヒロインであるその自画像を受け入れてもらうことに成功した。しかしそこは戦場であり、かつクリミアという遠い地だったために彼らは疑いもなく受け入れたのである。しかし帰国してから書かれた *Wonderful Adventures* には彼女が語りたかった姿だけではな

く、相反する Seacole 像 ― 植民地の Creole でありながらイギリス人の母親であろうとしたこと、家庭的な母親でありながら self-made businesswoman でもあったこと ― を読み取ることが出来るのである。

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On Exceptional Verb Movement in Present-Day English*

Takuya Inui

SYNOPSIS

This paper deals with verb movement (V-movement) in Present-Day English (PDE). The standard assumption is that, in contrast to auxiliaries, PDE does not permit movement of lexical verbs beyond the maximal verb-phrase in indicative clauses. However, there is an ample number of attested examples in which the lexical verbs do seem to have overt movement even in PDE; I will refer to these as 'Exceptional Verb Movement' (EVM) cases. In this paper, I will argue that EVM is truly exceptional: it is invariably triggered by non-morpho-syntactic requirements such as phonology or pragmatics, rather than by strictly grammatical requirements (feature-driven movement). I also present some quantitative data to validate how much productive EVM can be found in PDE contexts.

1. Introduction: Theoretical Background

The morpho-syntactic property of verb movement (V-movement) has been discussed in many previous studies (Pollock 1989; Chomsky 1991, 1995; Rohrbacher 1999; Roberts 1993, 2007; Radford 2004). V-movement is the description given by generative researchers to structural contexts in which lexical verbs are displaced from their base-generated position within the verb-phrase (VP or vP) to a higher position in (tensed) clauses. In Present-Day English (PDE), V-movement is restricted in the cases of negative clauses,

(negative) imperatives, and interrogatives, and *do*-support takes the place of lexical V-movement. The relevant examples are shown in (1).

(1) a. I <u>don't</u> / <u>do not eat</u> natto. (Negation)

    b. *I <u>eat not</u> natto. / *I <u>not eat</u> natto.

(2) a. <u>Don't</u> / <u>Do not enter</u> that building alone. (Imperative)

    b. *<u>Enter not</u> that building alone. / *<u>Not enter</u> that building alone.

(3) a. <u>Do you worry</u> about the weather? (*Yes-No* Question)

    b. *<u>Worry you</u> about the weather?

    c. When <u>did you watch</u> the movie? (*Wh*-Question)

    d. *When <u>watched you</u> the movie?

As all of the examples in (1) – (3) show, the lexical verbs cannot move from the *in situ* position to higher positions in the clause; instead, a dummy element *do* must be inserted there (*do*-support). The examples in (1) show that unsupported lexical verbs are grammatically unacceptable in tensed negative clauses. Instead, *do* must be inserted before *not* or the contracted form *n't* must attach to *do* to form *don't* (1b). This is also true of the negative imperative in (2); an unsupported lexical verb cannot appear before or after *not* in the sentence-initial position (2b) and *do*-support is obligatory as in (2a). Even in (*Yes-No* and *Wh*-) questions, as in (3), verbs cannot move at all (3b, d) and *do*-support is obligatorily activated before clausal subjects (3a, c).

       In contrast to lexical verbs, tensed auxiliaries show obligatory movement in the above contexts, as illustrated by the examples in (4).

(4) a. I <u>am not</u> laughing at you.

    b. Where <u>have you</u> been all this time?

In (4a), the aspectual auxiliary *be* (progressive) moves from a lower position to a higher position (before *not*) with inflection for present tense; in this case, *do*-support is not activated (e.g. **I do not/don't be laughing at you*). This movement has been called 'V-to-T(ense) movement' (see Pollock 1989; Chomsky 1991, 1995; Adger 2003, Radford 2004). In (4b), the finite aspectual *have* moves before the subject; this movement has been termed as 'Subject-Auxiliary Inversion (SAI)' or 'T-to-C(omp) movement.' In this case, *do*-support is impossible (e.g. **Where do you have been all this time?*).[1]

      Having seen that PDE lexical verbs undergo neither V-to-T nor T-to-C movement whereas auxiliaries do, we can turn to the cross-linguistic and historical examples. In fact, V-movement displays crosslinguistic and historical variations; in particular, English used to have the lexical V-movement in earlier stages.

(5) French:

    a.   Jean (ne) <u>voit pas</u> Marie.

    a'. *John <u>sees not</u> Mary.

    b.   Jean <u>voit-t-il</u> Marie? / <u>Voit-t-il</u> Marie?

    b'. *John <u>sees he</u> Mary? / *<u>Sees he</u> Mary?

  German:

    c.   <u>Trinken Sie</u> Kaffee?

    c'. *<u>Drink you</u> coffee?

Dutch:

  d.   Wanneer <u>ga jij</u> naar huis?

  d'. *When <u>go you</u> home?

The crosslinguistic evidence shown in (5) from Romance and Germanic languages, such as French (5a, b), German (5c), and Dutch (5d), show V-movement in negation and interrogative contexts in opposition to PDE – see English direct translations in (5a', b', c', and d').

(6) Early Modern English:

  a.   <u>Saw you</u> my master?   (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I, i)

  b.   <u>Speakest thou</u> in sober meaning?   (*As You Like It*, V, ii)

  c.   <u>Know you</u> not the cause? (*The Taming of the Shrew*, IV, ii)

                (Radford 2004: 162)

The Early Modern English (EModE) examples (6) from Shakespeare obviously show that lexical verbs were able to move (in questions), at least at the Early Modern period. What these examples suggest is that English language lost the property of V-movement at a certain period. In sum, it is assumed from the crosslinguistic and historical evidence in (5) and (6) that English is a language that changed from one that *had* lexical V-movement just like other contemporary languages (Germanics and Romances) into one that *no* lexical V-movement in the diachronic course.

      Then how do we account for the synchronic, diachronic, and crosslinguistic facts with respect to the possibility of V-movement in the

generative framework? Rohrbacher (1999) is a noteworthy study on V-movement in terms of the morphosyntactic analysis. In his work, Rohrbacher relates the distributional difference of lexical verbs among languages (mainly between English and other Germanic languages) to the difference in the morphological agreement paradigm. He proposes the *Rich Agreement Hypothesis* (RAH), given as follows:

(7) *Rich Agreement Hypothesis* (RAH)

"A language has V to I raising if and only if in at least one number of one tense of the regular verb paradigm(s), the person features [1st] and [2nd] are both distinctively marked." (Rohrbacher 1999: 116)

According to the RAH, the syntactic distinction between the language with V-movement (V to I raising in his term) and one without it is determined by whether the language has the distinctive person features. The RAH is exemplified in the paradigms in Table 1. Table 1 displays verbal agreement paradigms for present tense inflections in contemporary written French and English, with the examples of *chanter* ('to sing') and *sing* respectively. In French, there are distinctive types of inflections corresponding to each person and number feature but English lacks most of verbal inflections, except for the third person singular (*sing-**s***).

	French *chanter* ('to sing')	English *sing*
1st singular	je chant-**e**	I sing

2nd singular	tu chant-**es**	you sing-ø
3rd singular	il chante-ø	he/she sing-**s**
1st plural	nous chant-**ons**	we sing-ø
2nd plural	vous chant-**ez**	you sing-ø
3rd plural	ils chant-**ent**	they sing-ø

Table 1: Agreement Paradigms between French and English (e.g. 'sing'
in Present)

Notice here that French distinctively marks the first person and second person plural forms (*nous chant-**ons*** vs. *vous chant-**ez***) whereas English does not (*we sing-ø* vs. *you sing-ø*).[2] Thus, the French data are consistent with the RAH: French has V-movement due to the distinctively-marked person features between the first and second one as seen above. In addition, the RAH explains the English case: PDE has no V-movement because there is no distinction in the first and second person inflection. While Rohrbacher seems to succeed in accounting for why French shows lexical V-movement while PDE does not, he fails to explain cases in which *V-movement occurs in spite of the absence of rich agreement paradigms* (e.g. Swedish). This shows the limitation of the RAH because of its 'bi-conditional' requirement ('V-to-T ≡ rich agreement'). What is worse, Rohrbacher's statement in (7) would be insufficient because it does not explain why French shows V-movement even though the inflectional paradigm of French is 'poorer' than that of Italian (see fn. 2).

Roberts (2007) proposes within the Principles and Parameters approach (PP) that whether lexical V-movement occurs in one language and

does not in others can be 'parameterized' in the grammar: the *V-movement parameter*. Under this proposal, Roberts classifies languages into one with V-movement and others without it as follows:

(8) [+ V-movement]: French, Italian, German, EModE, …

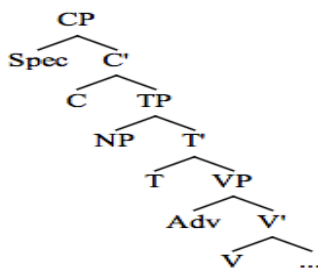[– V-movement]: Swedish, Norwegian, PDE, …[3]

The theoretical motivation of Roberts' proposal is the condition stating *if (finite) V is marked with person agreement in all simple tenses, this expresses a positive value for the V-to-T parameter* (*op. cit.*: 245). This condition seems identical to RAH advocated by Rohrbacher (1999) but this is a 'one-conditional' one ('rich agreement > V-to-T'). Hence, Roberts fails to explain the case where *rich agreement is shown in spite of no V-movement*. In fact, Roberts' proposal to large extent shares with Rohrbacher's idea that person agreement plays an important role in distinguishing the languages having V-movement (e.g. French, Italian, German, etc.) from those not having it (e.g. Swedish, Norwegian, etc.). Nevertheless, how person agreement triggers V-movement in some languages and not in others remains ambiguous, at least in Roberts' statement above. Hence, neither Rohrbacher nor Roberts provides any satisfactory explanation for how the morphological property (i.e. inflectional agreement) is related to the syntactic phenomenon (i.e. the presence or absence of V-movement).

Alternatively, Chomsky (1995), Adger (2003), and Radford (2004) account for the possibility and impossibility of lexical V-movement in terms of 'strength and weakness of features.' Chomsky (1995) suggests

within the Minimalist Program (MP) that every head movement is driven by *feature checking* and the strong feature must attract a certain lexical element to where the feature sits. Thus, the lexical verbs move from V to T in order to check some features – *phi*-features (person, number, gender) including the V-feature in the MP. Within Chomsky's framework, languages other than English – for example, French – contain the strong Verb feature (V-feature) in T to attract the lexical verb from V across negation (or adverbs) whereas English (PDE) contains the weak V-feature in T that is not able to attract it. Furthermore, Radford (2004: 163-4) adopts Chomsky's feature strength and weakness into the analysis of EModE. From the fact, as we have seen in (6), that EModE had V-movement like French, Radford assumes that EModE had the strong V-features in T while PDE has not, or has the weak V-feature.

Here, let us consider the clausal structure in which V-movement occurs; I will represent the simplest structure below.

(9) Clause Structure (roughly based on Radford (2004: 159))

```
              CP
            /    \
         Spec    C'
               /    \
              C     TP
                  /    \
                NP      T'
                      /    \
                     T      VP
                          /    \
                        Adv     V'
                              /    \
                             V     ...
```

In the structure, the lexical verb moves from V to T across negation (*not*) (or other adverbs) that is assumed to be in [Spec, VP] and, further, to C in

questions in French and EModE. In PDE, this operation is restricted only to auxiliary movement. In the T head, there are features including Tense (past or non-past) and *phi*-features (number, person, gender), which can be parameterized as whether T has the strong or weak features. In addition, the C head may contain Q-features to trigger head movement from T to C in interrogative contexts. In negative and interrogative contexts in English, *do*-support is obligatorily triggered; *do* is considered to be inserted directly in T to support Tense features and moves to C or directly in C to satisfy Q-features as a last resort element (cf. Chomsky 1991, 1995).

2.   Data and Discussions

In the previous section, we reviewed theoretical background on V-movement in the generative literature. The traditional study has focused on morphosyntactic analyses; in particular, on the relationship between agreement paradigms and presence or absence of verb-raising. As to this relation, PDE does not bear on the agreement paradigms because it lacks almost all verbal inflections except for *-s* compared to the early stages of English (EModE). Thus, it is natural to expect that PDE should not have V-movement across *not* in negations or the sentential subject in questions. However, this expectation seems to fail to explain the following examples.

(10) a. though I *know not* what you are   (*Twinkle, twinkle, little star*)

   b. *Cast not* pearls before swine.   (*The Bible, Matthew* 7.6)

   c. *Ask not* what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for

      your country.   (*John F. Kennedy*)

The main question arising from these examples is whether the lexical verbs are able to move from V to T (or further to C) or not.[4] Since all of the examples is attested and retrieved from PDE, we are required to account for why the lexical verbs seem to move from their *in situ* position; in particular, why they appear in front of *not* in negations as in (10a-c). I shall claim that V-movement in these cases is generally exceptional: it is triggered not by purely morpho-syntactic requirements such as features or parameters but by non-morpho-syntactic ones such as phonology, pragmatics, or stylistic reasons.

First, let us consider phonological or 'prosodic' requirement of V-movement for the example (10a). This example is retrieved from the famous nursery-rhyme *Twinkle, twinkle, little star*. Needless to say, rhythm – or sometimes referred to as 'meter' – plays a crucial role in singing a song. If we take rhythm to be a phonological feature in grammatical theories, it perhaps affects the syntactic structure itself. Bearing this in mind, observe again the example (for convenience, I put stress on words to clarify the meter).

(10) a. thóugh I knów not whát you áre

In this example, the words *though*, *know*, *what*, and *are* can have stress on the first vowels if we consider that this example has the (trochaic) meter like *S-W-S-W-S-W-S* (i.e. *S* for 'strong' and *W* for 'weak'). Since this example is from a song in which rhythm is more important than canonical word-order is, it can be assumed that the placement of the verb *know* before *not* is triggered for the reason of meter. In other words, the phonological feature gives rise to

V-movement in this example since if V-movement does not occur and *do*-support is triggered, e.g. *though I do not know what you are*, the meter would be broken, e.g. *thóugh I do nót knów whát you áre* (*S-W-W-S-S-S-W-S*). This analysis can be adapted to the pattern of non-emphatic *do* (affirmative *do*) which is often found in EModE, as the examples in (11) illustrate.

(11) a. Whére éyes <u>did</u> ónce inhábit   (*Shakespeare*; from *Richard III*)

b. Rough wíndes <u>do</u> sháke the dárling búds of Máie

(*ibid*.; from *Sonnet 18*)

It can be observed in these examples that the affirmative *do* (*did* or *do*) does not bear strong stress. To keep iambic pentameter, *do* might be used in these sentences (c.f. Roberts 1993); if this observation is correct we can assume that this usage of *do* is caused not by a morpho-syntactic requirement but by a prosodic one. Consequently, both V-movement of *know* in (10a) and presence of affirmative *do* in (11) are driven to harmonize with rhythm or prosody of each sentence.

Second, let us consider the examples of (10b, c). These examples are a representative of negative imperatives without *do*-support against the standard structure with it.

(10) b. *Cast not* pearls before swine.

c. *Ask not* what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for ....

Each example of (10b) and (10c) is taken from a proverb and a speech given

by John F. Kennedy respectively. It is observed that the verbs *cast* and *ask* appear in the sentence-initial position before *not* in the negative imperative structure. *Do* must be exerted in negative imperative cases, e.g. *Do not/ Don't cast pearls before swine* for (10b) or *Do not/ Don't ask what your country can do for you…* for (10c). But John F. Kennedy, for example, uses the non-*do*-supported negative imperative sentence in his speech. Here, I will, to take the verbs to move from V to a higher position, claim that V-movement in these examples is given rise to not by syntactic requirement but by stylistic or 'contextual' requirement.[4] In fact, the examples in which the latter requirement seems influential can be found in a large amount of literature and proverbs.

Varga (2005) observes a large number of examples of lexical verb movement from various repertoires of literature in the Late Modern English (LModE) period. Some relevant instances are shown in (12).

(12) a. I <u>closed not</u> my eyes that night.

(Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* 1816: 47)

    b. Why <u>hesitates my Pamela</u>?   (Oscar Wilde, *Pamela* 1740: 190)

    c. <u>Tell me not</u> that I am too late.   (Jane Austen, *Persuasion* 1818: 205)

In LModE, the negative construction has shown V-movement to T or C even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the agreement paradigm of verbs had already overtly disappeared. Varga (2005: 264-5) takes V-movement in the EModE and LModE periods to be a 'residue' of the old version of it and notes that Roberts (1993) and Rohrbacher (1999) disregard

such residual V-movement as an 'extra-grammatical phenomenon' in a more 'literary style' like Shakespeare and *the Authorized version of St. James Bible 1611*, both of which maintain archaism of the language. Since the speakers in those periods used two types of negative, interrogative, and imperative constructions, i.e. one with *do*-support and the other without *do*-support, in written and spoken contexts, it can be concluded, following Varga (p. 280), that there was a 'competition' between these two constructions; as a consequence, the former construction survives until today and is used productively but the latter remains only in archaism but has not completely disappeared from the grammar. If this assumption is correct, we can regard V-movement in the examples of (10b, c) as residual archaism, which is triggered by non-syntactic contextual considerations.[5] Furthermore, this analysis also applies to that of the following examples from *the Bible* and proverbs.

(13) a. Judge not, that you not be judged   (*Matthew* 7)

　　　b. Forgive them; for they know not what they do   (*Luke* 23)

(14) a. Wake not a sleeping lion.

　　　b. Love your neighbor, yet pull not down your fence.

　　　c. Although the sun shines leave not your cloak at home.

If one individual speaker can use two different constructions in his/her grammar, for example, in the case of negative imperatives, one construction with *do*-support is driven thoroughly by the morpho-syntactic requirement such as the feature-checking process and the other construction without it can

be derived by other requirements or can merely be taken to be a 'fixed expression'; namely, the construction of $V + not$ in negative imperatives is frozen. In particular, the examples from *The Bible* must be archaic because the word-order is largely based on one in the King James Version even in the present-day context. However, there is no theoretical issue here if they are unproductive in PDE.[6]

3. The Quantitative Data

        In the previous section, we observed some irregular constructions of V-movement, one with *do*-support and the other without it, and argued that V-movement in these is exerted by non-syntactic requirement. In this section, I present some quantitative data to examine how the observed constructions above are productively used in PDE. I conducted a set of *Google* string searches for the period from 1900 to 2000. I also made use of the search engine *Google Books Ngram Viewer* to examine the historical developments for particular kinds of string searches; in these searches, the time line is extended and measured from '1800' to 2000.[7]

3.1 *Negative declaratives*

        As argued in the previous sections, in negative declarative contexts in PDE, *do*-support is required to support tense across negation. In certain contexts, *do* is nevertheless not favored; instead, verb movement is preferred, which is what we call EVM in this paper. To begin with, we will see productive structures without *do* in negative declarative cases in PDE. I did a quantitative search to see how much the *know not* patterns are

instantiated in the present day with some complement types and to compare those structures with the structures with *do*-support. The results are shown below.

Subject	know not + what	know not + how	know not + why	know not + the
I	1,320/13,580 (10.6%)	485/9,585 (5.3%)	139/2,379 (6.2%)	1,970/18,870 (11.4%)
You	676/7,036 (10.6%)	14/4,104 (0.3%)	9/792 (1.1%)	1,420/11,520 (14.0%)
He	125/2,765 (4.7%)	44/1,944 (2.3%)	8/400 (2.0%)	91/4,541 (2.0%)
She	38/1,098 (3.6%)	2/769 (0.3%)	2/155 (1.3%)	6/1,656 (0.4%)
They	1,050/11,000 (10.6%)	30/8,940 (0.3%)	11/1,331 (0.8%)	777/18,077 (4.5%)

Table 2: The figuring counts of know not *patterns*

Subject	do not know + what	do not know + how	do not know + why	do not know + the
I	12,500/13,580 (89.4%)	9,100/9,585 (94.7%)	2,240/2,379 (93.8%)	16,900/18,870 (88.6%)
You	6,360/7,036 (89.4%)	4,090/4,104 (99.7%)	783/792 (98.9%)	10,100/11,520 (86.0%)

He	2,640/2,765	1,900/1,944	392/400	4,450/4,541
	(95.3%)	(97.7%)	(98.0%)	(98.0%)
She	1,060/1,098	767/769	153/155	1,650/1,656
	(96.4%)	(99.7%)	(98.7%)	(99.6%)
They	9,950/11,000	8,910/8,940	1,320/1,331	17,300/18,077
	(89.4%)	(99.7%)	(99.2%)	(95.5%)

Table 3: The figuring counts of do not know *patterns*[8]

Table 2 above records the number of hits for different combinations of subjects (*I*, *you*, *he*, *she*, and *they*) + *know not* patterns with some complements (*what*, *how*, *why*, and *the*) in present negative declarative contexts. One may expect that negative patterns without *do*-support are neither grammatical nor acceptable in PDE; hence, there is less (or no) occurrence of them. However, this expectation was only partly supported; it is true that the patterns with *do* are (much) more productive than those without it in all over the patterns but some cases – in particular, when the subject is *I*, *you*, and *they* in the *know not what* and *know not the* patterns – show frequency over 10%. Here, I focus on the *I know not* patterns for the sake of convenience.

Given the standard assumption about *do*-support, the frequency of this pattern (10.6%) should not be overlooked since if the assumption is correct and generalized to all of the negative structures there should not be a quantitative difference from other patterns: see, for example, *I know not how* (5.3%). Although the reality is quite striking, it is hard to account for this difference under a given syntactic theory.[9] For the meantime, this quantitative

difference suggests that negative declaratives lacking *do*-support seem more productive – even if such clauses would be ungrammatical in the standard viewpoint – than we have expected even in PDE, as found in the newspaper in today's speech.

(15)   I ask you because I *know not whom else* to ask this: …

        (*The Washington Post*, Live Chat, Oct. 20, 2016)[10]

        Then, let us see how extent the figuring counts illustrated in Table 2 and 3 are changed from a diachronic perspective. As Varga (2005) observes, LModE (1700 – 1900) shows finite lexical verb movement, a remnant of the preceding stage of English (i.e. EModE) in certain contexts. Here, I will show the quantitative data of the occurrence of *know not* patterns and that of *do not know* patterns with some complements with the first person singular subject during 1800 and 2000. Figures 1 and 2 show the figuring counts of the former patterns and those of the latter patterns, respectively.
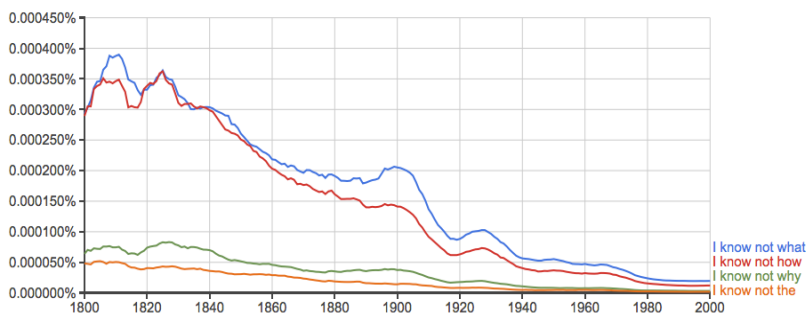
Figure 1: Historical change of know not *patterns from 1800 to 2000*
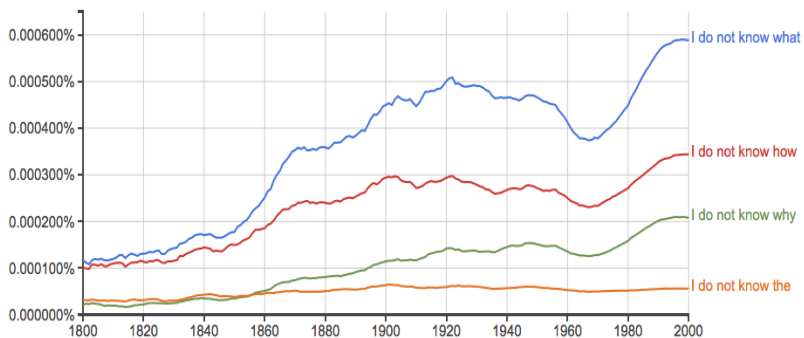
Figure 2: Historical change of do not know *declarative patterns from 1800 to 2000*

As Figure 1 displays, *know not* patterns have been decreasingly used from 1800 to the present and show no (or small) activity, nearly zero, with all of the complement types in 2000. Compared to the PDE period, the LModE period shows quite productive use of the *know not* patterns as the previous studies confirm. Notice, however, that the *know not why* and *the* patterns exhibit considerable differences from the *know not what* and *how* patterns even in LModE; see the *y*-axis in 1800 in Figure 1. At the time of 1800, the incidence of the former (approximately) is six times as productive as that of the latter. Such a difference can also be found in the structures with *do*-support in PDE as Figure 2 shows. These records suggest that there can be some 'predicate effect' in the grammar. According to, for example, the general rule of *do*-support in negatives in PDE, it must be inserted in all tensed clauses in the negative contexts regardless of any complement that the verb takes. However, the quantitative results do not confirm that *do*-support

operated in that way in PDE. This is more clearly illustrated in Figure 3 below (since there is a percentile difference in the *y*-axes between Figure 1 and 2; see the maximum percentage in each (0.000450% vs. 0.000600%)).
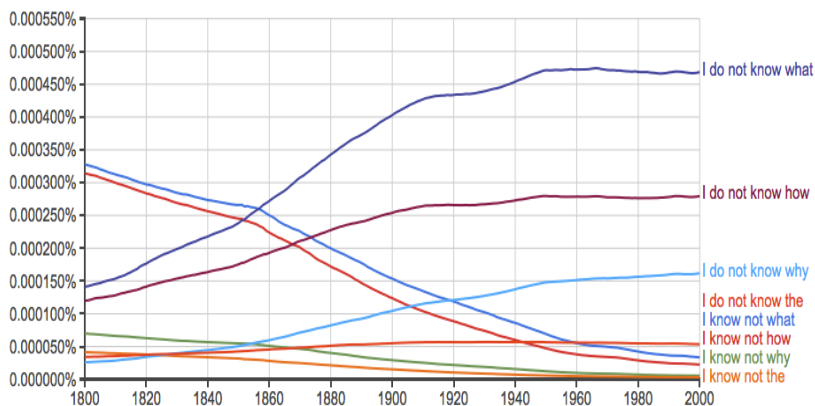
Figure 3: Historical changes of the integrated patterns (Fig. 1 + Fig. 2)

Figure 3 illustrates the integrated results of the calculations confirmed in Figure 1 and 2. In particular, notice that the *I do not know the* pattern is as less as all of the patterns with *do*-support in PDE (ca. 2000). As shown in Figure 2 too, the *I do not know what*/*how*/*why* patterns obtain a relatively higher activity than the *I do not know the* pattern does (even though there are certain differences among them). More interestingly, Figure 2 shows us that there are (quantitative) cross-overs in the structures between verb movement and *do*-support in certain periods. To take one example, the crossover in the *what*-complement cases clearly occurs around 1860. If language change is sudden, then we could take the period of 1860 to be the

transitional one when the grammar of *do*-support has 'won' to that of verb movement in the competition (Kroch 2000). From a parametric perspective, that period might be the one when the parameter change occurred or the parametric-resetting almost completed.

However, the above explanation is dubious because we cannot exclude the possibility that such (parametric) change is restricted to certain types of the subject (person, number, gender) or certain verbal types (manner of speaking verb, mental-state verb). Thus, I did two pieces of additional search and the results are shown in Figures 4 and 5 below.
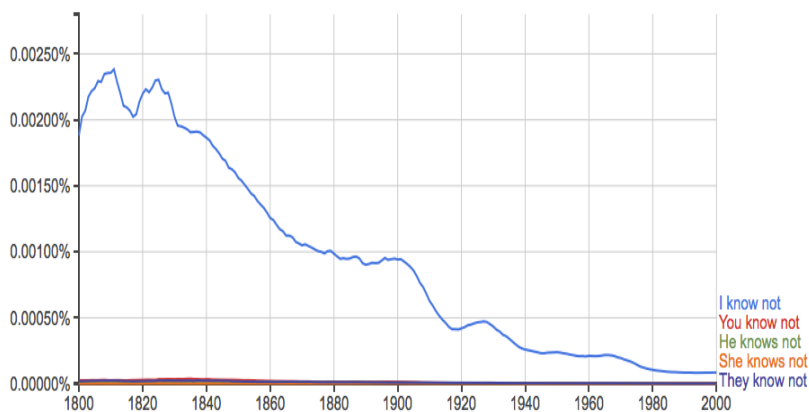
Figure 4: Historical change of know not *patterns with some subjects from 1800 to 2000*
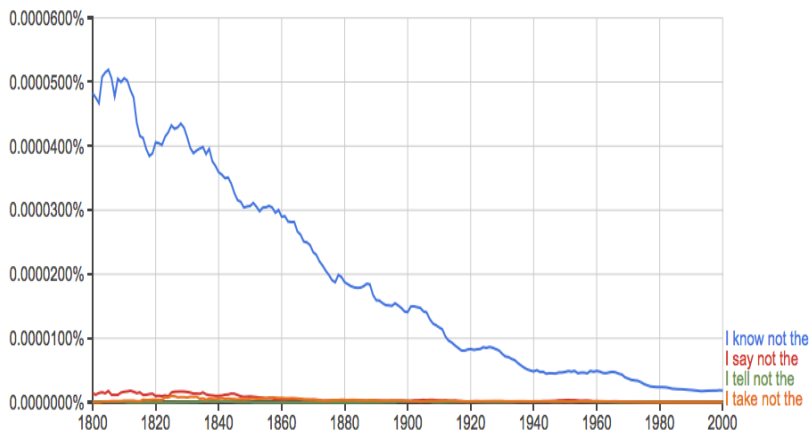
Figure 5: Historical change of V + not *patterns with some verbs from 1800 to 2000*

First, Figure 4 shows the *know not* patterns with some subject types. It is obvious from the result that only *I know not* patterns were active in any period from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Second, Figure 5 indicates that only *I know not the* patterns were instantiated in any period (though small instances of *I say not* pattern are attested in the early nineteenth century) regardless of any verbal types (*say*, *tell*, *take*).[11] From these two results, it is natural to conclude that the "*I-know-not*" construction is an idiomatic phrase in the sense that this pattern shows synchronically and diachronically outstanding results compared to other patterns (V + *not*). However, the sequence of V + *not* appears more frequently with *that*-complements as Figure 6 shows below.
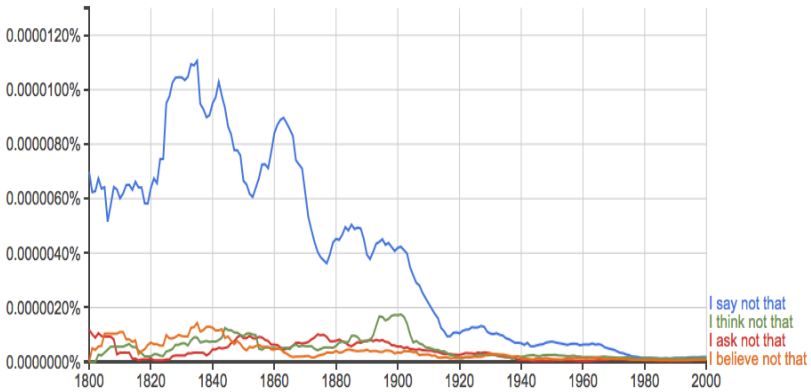
Figure 6: Historical change of V + not *patterns with* that-*complements*

(including complementizer and definite pronoun) from 1800 to 2000

It is clear in Figure 6 that every pattern of V + *not that* shows no activity (close to zero) in 2000. This indicates that the declarative pattern of V + *not* with *that* as the complement in PDE shows no predicate effect on the rate irrespective of verbal type: *cf.* Figure 5. Here, I conclude that the constructions where the verb precedes *not* in PDE can be the example of EVM in terms of being derived independently from the syntactic reason, i.e. a prosodic or an archaic reason. Nevertheless, all of the quantitative data indicated in Figure 1 – 6 represent that the V + *not* patterns in negative declaratives are unproductive in PDE except for the cases of *I know not*.

3.2 *Negative imperatives*

wh-words	*Ask not* + pred.	*Say not* + pred.	*Take not* + pred.
what	282 (91.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
why	8 (2.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
how	10 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
where	3 (1.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
when	1 (0.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
who	1 (0.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
the	5 (1.6%)	22 (100.0%)	34 (100.0%)
Total	310 (100%)	22 (100%)	34 (100%)

Table 4: The figuring counts of V + not *with some types of predicate in negative imperatives*

Table 4 displays the frequency of occurrence of V + *not* patterns in negative imperative cases in PDE taking various types of predicate. As is expected, negative imperative cases with *do* are much productive than those without it, no matter what type of predicate they take.[12] The *Google* string search tells us that *say not wh*-words and *take not wh*-words imperative patterns in PDE obtain no hit except for *the*-complement patterns. (Although we can get some results of the string V + *not* with *the*-complements, examples in *Google* are overall taken from *the Bible* or its relevant phrases.) I will provide some attested examples here.

(16)   *Ask not how* we shall love from now, It's written in the stars …
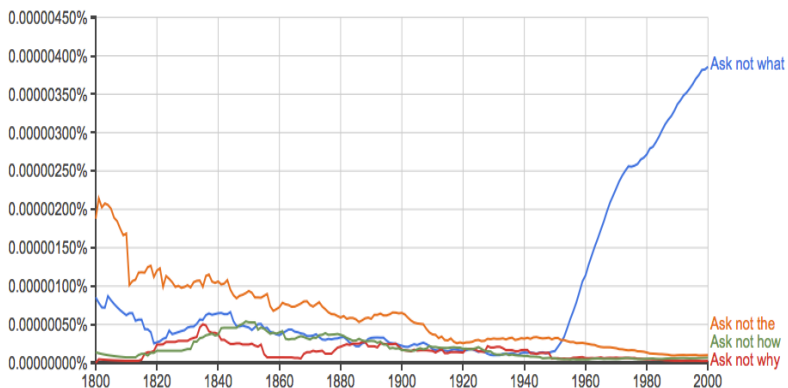   *Ask not if* my heart beats as yours, The moon should tell you so,

> *Ask not when* strolling hand in hand, Through poppies in a filed, (*Ask not*, Lulu Gee, Dan Lake's *Our First Encore*, 2011. Author House, p. 214)

(17)   a. *Ask not who* can afford Piedmontese white truffles.

(*Independent*, Dec. 1996)

b. *Ask not where* your destination is.

(*The birth of doctrines from the decline of Tao*)

c. *Ask not why* you do this or what it's for, You'll be explained

later   (Alexander Shaumyan, January 25, 1998)[13]

It is interesting here that *ask not* patterns show much frequent occurrence than other verbal types do; in particular, with *what*-complement. This can also be observed in the diachronic quantitative data: see Figure 7. As Figure 7 shows, *ask not* imperative patterns do not indicate any complement effect on incidences in 2000. Interestingly, the use of *ask not what* pattern has started sporadically use since 1960 but it is merely assumed that people have 'imitated' such phrase – 'Ask not what XP can do for YP' – delivered by John F. Kennedy in 1959. Thus, it is natural to assume that *ask not what* patterns are an 'outlier' or an idiomatic phrase in the grammar: this is not purely syntactically derived.

Figure 7: Historical change of ask not *imperative patterns from 1800 to*
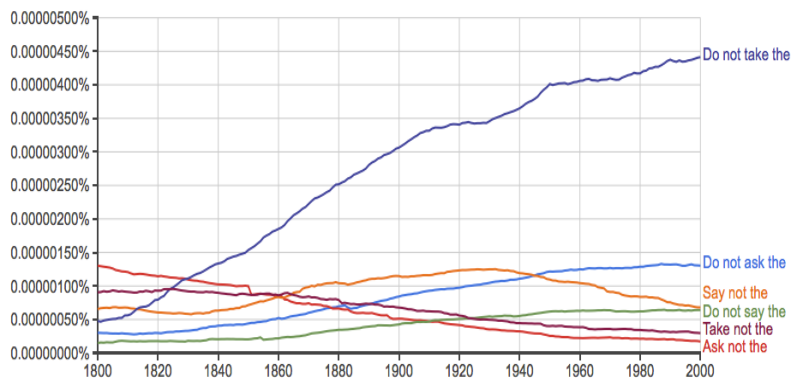
2000

Figure 8: Historical change of V + not *and* Do not *+ V imperative patterns*

with some verbs from 1800 to 2000

Figure 8 illustrates the usage ratio of V + *not* and *do not* + V patterns, including other cases where other verbs were used, in the negative imperative contexts. The result seems quite surprising to us because in PDE the former

pattern which appears ungrammatical for the reason that *do* is not used even in the negative imperative structure is more highly productive than the latter pattern. In Figure 8, we can find some crossovers – the period when some structure changes quantitatively from one to another – between structures with *do* and those without it. For example, the pattern of *do not take the* has surpassed that of *take not the* around 1825. How do we interpret such crossovers within the generative framework? As I mentioned in Section 2, it is plausible to assume that the imperative patterns of V + *not* in PDE should be formed by the extra-grammatical, or stylistic reason. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that verb moves from V to C across *not* from the quantitative research. Thus, I mention for the time being that this pattern of verb movement is the alternative to that of *do*-support; more importantly, verb movement in (affirmative and negative) imperative clauses is not the example of EVM in PDE.[14]

The fact that the *ask not what* patterns in negative imperatives mark the highest incidence in Figure 7 compared to other cases could be assumed that the pattern is borrowed from Kennedy's speech (*Ask not what your country can do for you*). This assumption is reinforced by the remarkable frequency of this pattern (i.e. 282 out of 310 in total ≈ 91.0%) illustrated in Table 4 above. Thus, we could say that this pattern is a fixed expression or an idiomatic phrase in PDE.

4. Conclusions and Remaining Problems

In this paper, we have dealt with the EVM constructions in PDE where the lexical V-movement seems to occur instead of *do*-support

irrespective with the morpho-syntactic conditions such as rich agreement morphology in verbal inflections, strong or weak verb-features, and parameters. The examples that we have mainly analyzed are those in (10). To conclude this paper, I claim that V-movement in these examples is due to by non-morpho-syntactic requirements – namely, phonology, contextual effect, or lexical property – not by the above-mentioned conditions. Furthermore, some pieces of quantitative data shown in Section 3 indicate how productively the EVM constructions as attested in (10) are used in PDE; however, none of the results suggests that such constructions are productive in the PDE contexts, at least except for *I know not what* or *ask not what*.

The future research is expected to expand and analyze empirical data for the EVM constructions in a more wide-ranged varieties of the verb type. It is more interesting to observe from a diachronic perspective how the constructions with the lexical V-movement have been replaced by those with *do*-support in most varieties of verb class (Roberts 1993, 2007). In this respect, Nakao and Koma (1990: 75) note that *care*, *know*, *mistake*, *come*, *do*, *hear*, and *say* resist introduction of *do*-support even after it has become quite obligatory in the particular contexts and some verbs such as *know*, *care*, and *doubt* remain the V-movement construction – a 'residual' V-movement in the Varga's term – even in PDE. From this, it is considered that the examples of (10a, b, and c) are the residual construction of the EModE or LModE period and that V-movement in those constructions remain as 'optionality' to *do*-support (hence the co-occurrence of V-movement from V to T and *do*-insertion in T) in the grammar or I-language.

Notes

[1] Negative imperatives show an irregular feature with respect to *do*-support: this is not found in the declarative or interrogative clause as mentioned above. However, this is not surprising here. Or rather, the cases of affirmative imperatives are more problematic compared to the declarative cases.

(i)   He *is being* noisy at this room.

(ii)   *Be* quiet at this room.

This contrast indicates that copular *be* is not the same item as auxiliary *be*. In addition, the affirmative imperative cases incur the possibility that both lexical and auxiliary verbs can move to a higher position in the clause. Given the idea of EVM in this paper, it is clear that this movement is not exceptional at all. This possibility is left open as a future issue.

[2] My reviewer points out, however, that the French first plural form *nous chantons* is usually substituted by a more simplistic one, *on chante* in an informal speech. Notice here that the morpho-phonemic distinction between (*on*) *chante* and (*vous*) *chantez* will be blurred: contra (*nous*) *chantons* and (*vous*) *chantez*. If (*on*) *chante* is more

frequently used in a daily conversation than (*nous*) *chantons*, then the learner would not be able to distinguish the first and second person form by each morpho-phonemic property. Therefore, the explanation for presence of V-movement in French based on the statement of (7) will be incorrect.

[3] Note here that Swedish and Norwegian do have lexical V-movement to 'C' because they have Verb Second (V2) property. Thus, the classification of [– V-movement] here means that *there is no V-to-T movement* in these languages. The question is whether the lexical verb detours 'T' on the way to C in line with *Head Movement Constraint* (HMC), according to which head movement should be operated in a successive-cyclic manner. If the statement above that Swedish and Norwegian do not show V-to-T movement is correct even if there *is* V-movement to C, then how is the V2 phenomenon explained in accordance with HMC? This remains open here. I would like to thank a reviewer for bringing up this issue.

[4] One reviewer claims that this inversion is strictly ungrammatical, but that grammaticality is 'overridden' by lexical/stylistic facts in this case.

[5] A reviewer argues that if they are archaisms, they are not generated by the grammar; thus, there is no "V-movement" at all.

[6] Here, we can find some interesting examples from (echo) *why*-questions in PDE.

(i)   a. <u>Why worry</u> about Europe when you can pop to the moon?

(*Independent*)

       b. <u>Why go</u> to work when work can come to you?   (*The Irish Times*)

       c. <u>Why leave</u> it to Norway and Argentina, … and Montenegro?

(*The Guardian*)

(Sources: (ia)   http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/the-investigatory-

powers-bill-questions-camerons-claim-to-a-liberal-agenda-in-this-years-queens-a7036696.html. (ib) http://www.irishtimes.com/business/work/wake-up-call-why-offices-are-still-needed-in-the-digital-age-1.2619079.
(ic)http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/06/education-conflict-uk-stand-up-to-save-education-from-bullets-and-bombs.)

One may claim that the (non-finite) lexical verbs seem to show V-movement from V to C, namely, the EVM cases like (10). The central question here is whether the verbs move from inside VP to outside or not, namely, whether T-to-C movement occurs there as well as other *wh*-questions or not. I shall claim that the constructions of *why + V* (or *why not + V*) are derived not by T-to-C movement but by the idiosyncratic property of *why* itself compared to other *wh*-words (*what*, *where*, *who*, and *when*). In this respect, Duffield (2014: 63) observes that "*why* and *why not* are able to combine with virtually <u>any type of predicate phrase</u> in discourse to generate a kind of echo-question [emphasis: IT]" with the following examples as in (ii) in opposition to other *wh*-phrases as in (iii).

(ii)   a. Why (not) *Wednesday*?! (NP)

          b. Why *blue*? Why not *red*? (AP)

          c. Why (only) *inside* the building? Why not *outside* as well? (PP)

          d. Why *or*? Why not *and*? (Conj)

(iii)   a. *Who spend time with? (*who*)

          b. *What eat every day to stay healthy? (*what*)

          c. *When see your parents? (*when*)

          d. *Where send your money? (*where*)

As the examples of (ii) show, *why* or *why not* can take nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and conjunctions in addition to a non-finite verb phrase as in (i). However, this cannot be seen in other *wh*-phrase structures as in (iii). If these observations are correct, then we can exclude the possibility that the verbs move from V to C in (i) since there is no empirical evidence – even if the examples in (i) are grammatical and productive – for such movement. Hence, it is possible to consider that V-movement in (i) is the result of a separate adjunction operation in contrast with one in other *wh*-questions with *do*-support, and, consequently, that *why* (or *why not*) bears a special lexical property which other *wh*-words do not. Thus, one may expect that the *why* + V patterns are a fixed – or, so to speak, an 'idiomatic' phrase – construction in the grammar.

As mentioned above, *why* + V sequence cannot be a direct evidence for verb movement (V-to-C). In a purely syntactic rule, *wh*-questions (except for *wh*-subject questions) require *do*-support to satisfy the certain features (Tense-/Q-features) but *why*-questions do not. Nevertheless, it is implausible to conclude that *why*-questions without *do* show EVM in PDE because this does not exclude the possibility that *why* directly takes VP as a predicate. i.e. [$_{CP}$ *why* [$_{VP}$ V]]. Or rather, it is plausible to argue that *why* + V patterns in PDE do not show EVM at all. Yet, they are interesting phenomena with respect to the irregular formation of *wh*-questions in the grammar. See Duffield (2014) for a further discussion.

One audience member points out that the inverted question form "*Says who*?" can be one of the irregular forms of *wh*-questions; I would like to thank him for raising this question. Basically, *says who* is independently spelt out from any complement to express anger or surprising of the speaker but we can find the case which takes the *that*-complement; I show one of the examples below:

(iv)   <u>Says who that</u> this is an appropriate matter of decisions to be

made in that kind of forum? (John Foster, *After Sustainability: Daniel,*

Hope, Retrieval, London: Routledge, 2015, p. 205)

Here, I merely mention that *says who* (*that*) would be an idiomatic phrase, which is

not derived from V-movement of *says* to elsewhere in the structure.

[7] See the following page for more detailed information about it:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_Ngram_Viewer.

[8] The percentile figures in these tables were calculated as follows. The frequency of *I*

know not what was 10.6% (1,320 out of 13,580 in total ≈ 10.6%), illustrated in Table

2, and that of *I do not know what* was 89.4% (12,500 out of 13,580 in total ≈ 89.4%),

shown in Table 3.

[9] Notice, too, that there is a subject-orientated difference between *I* and *he*/*she* in the

know not what patterns: 4.7% for *he* in *he knows not what* and 3.6% for *she* in *she*

knows not what. Some sociolinguistic factor may be relevant to this difference (i.e. a

gender effect); the subject-oriented difference is more remarkable in the *he*/*she knows*

not the patterns (2.0% and 0.4% respectively) compared to the *I know not the* patterns

(11.4%).

[10] Source: https://live.washingtonpost.com/web-hostess-161020.html. Accessed on

10/31, 2016.

[11] In every stage of English, the sequence of V + *not* except for that of *know not* shows

considerably les frequency. To take one example, the sequence of *take not the* can be

found in the following example:

(i)   so that perhaps *I take not* the right meaning of the request, and so make an

answer to no purpose, (John M Brown, *Brief Sketch of the First Settlement of the County of Schoharie by the Germans*, 1823).

[12] The negative imperative clause itself is usually realized as *don't* + V patterns instead of *do* + *not* + V patterns in the spoken style; the later case is used in emphatic negative imperatives.

[13] Sources:

(17a)   http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/food-for-the-gods-its-all-in-the-pheromones-1312575.html. Accessed on 02/11/ 2016.

(17b)

http://oshosearch.net/Convert/Articles_Osho/The_Way_of_Tao_Volume_2/Osho-The-Way-of-Tao-Volume-2-00000018.html. Accessed on 02/11/2016.

(17c) http://www.shaumyan.com/clinton.html. Accessed on 02/11/2016.

[14] In a more syntactic perspective, the interesting question can be posed to whether the lexical verb moves from V to C in affirmative imperatives (e.g. *Go outside!*). The possibility of such movement is confirmed by the particular dialect of Belfast English:

(i)   *Go you* home.   (Henry 1995: 67)

(ii)   *Read you* it to me.   (*ibid*.: 72)

In these examples, if we assume that the subject occupies [Spec, IP/TP], then it is plausible to take the verbs to move to C.

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On Two Types of Present of Futurity and their Aspectual Difference

Kazukuni Sado

Synopsis

In this study, we aim to clarify the aspectual difference between two major grammatical constructions of present of futurity. Both simple present and the present in the present are employed to express future time. After exploring the aspect in English, these two types of expressions are compared in terms of aspect. Although both constructions express future, imperfectivity is observed in the present in the present whereas the other kinds of aspect such as perfective or habitual are found in simple present of futurity.

1. Introduction

When we communicate in a language, how do we interpret that an event in an utterance takes place in the future? The most obvious clue is adverbials of the future such as "tomorrow" or "next year" in addition to the context. Although Klein(2009:43) describes it as "largely redundant", many languages have grammaticialized expression to mark time, which we call "tense." Tense and time adverbials are often used in combination to express time.

(1) I'll phone you tonight.   Swan (1995:209)

In (1), the future markers are "will" and "tonight."   Although English has grammaticalized markers of the future, there are instances that do not employ them.

(2) The plane lands at 8:40.   Kreidler (2014:111)

The question regarding (2) is, although the expression has an adverbial of time that is taken to refer to the future, why is the use of future maker replaced by the use of the present tense? I introduced this usage in Sado (2016:106) as an example of what Huddleston and Pullum (2002:134) call the "futurate." Their "futurate" is a present tense "used for future time situations." Therefore they note that "the clause must involve something that can be assumed to be known already in the present." They are known in that they are used for cyclic "occurrence in nature that can be scientifically calculated," or the future situations "have already been arranged or scheduled by human agency" or "the consequence of the condition being fulfilled is inevitable or already decided." Either way, it is an example of inconsistency between meaning and form. The form originally employed to express the present is used as a means of expressing the future. Sado (2016) therefore treated it as a case of grammatical metaphor as in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:665). However, there is another kind of "futurate" I did not deal with. See example

(3) below that is from Declerck (1991:92). Example (4) is from the British National Corpus (BNC). The British National Consortium and Shogakukan provide many useful examples online.[1]

(3) I'm staying at the Gardner's next week.

(4) I'm watching the news in a little while.

Huddleston and Pullum include this type of "present in present" in their category of "futurate," too.   The aim of this paper is to clarify aspectual differences between two expressions, that is, simple present[2] and present in present that describe the future event. Before we explore the issue of the aspect, we have to be convinced that English has a future tense, which some writers reject, recognizing only the past and present (or non-past) tense.

2. Future tense

2.1 On the validity of future tense

It seems necessary, first of all, to reconsider not only what "future" tense is but also the concept of "tense" in general. Comrie's (1985:9) definition of tense as a "grammaticalised expression of location in time" is somewhat puzzling when applied to the future tense. The term "location" would mean the opposite direction of the past tense from the present moment on the time line. Sado (2016:101) casts doubt on the location of the future tense as the "mirror image" of the past tense. As the events in the past and present are

already facts, they express realis mood. The events described by future tenses have not happened at the time of utterance and, therefore, express the irrealis mood. Comrie (1985:43) admits that there is controversy "as to whether such a category is justified in linguistic theory." In English, the past tense is expressed by inflection, whereas the expression of the future is periphrastic in that modal auxiliaries are involved. This has led some writers such as Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Biber et al. (1999), and Paler (1979) to reject future as a kind of tense, at least in English. However, our stance is that the periphrasticity of the expression and the idiosyncrasy of its meaning of speculation are not sufficient reasons to reject the future tense. Since our position is that English has the future tense, it seems no longer appropriate to adhere to the term "futurate" in our discussion as Sado(2016) did. The term should be replaced by "present in futurity," to refer to all present tense forms that are employed to express events in the future. We need an overview of the rich and complicated future expressions of English before we focus on this main issue of this study.

2.2 Expressions of the future and their tense structure

In addition to the use of the auxiliary verb "will," we saw in example (1) above, Leech (1987:56) gives the most important way of expressing future: "be going to" + infinitive, present progressive, simple present, and "will/shall" + progressive.

(5) The parcel is going to arrive tomorrow.

(6) The parcel is arriving tomorrow.

(7) The parcel arrives tomorrow.

(8) The parcel will be arriving tomorrow.

If we apply Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014:401–403) recursive tense system, three of these types of expressions have complex tense.   Example (5) is the "future in the present," (8) is the "present in the future," and (6) is the "present in the present."   These are all complex tenses; they all have secondary tenses in addition to the primary ones. Future is secondary in (5) and primary in (8). Either way, these two constructions involve the form of the "future tense" in the verbal group. On the other hand, example (7) has simple present tense but as the time adverbial shows, the event takes place in the future. Also note that the example of the present in the present (6), as well as (3) and (4) above, describe future events, although they are, interestingly enough, doubly present. The latter two, as opposed to the former, do not have the form of future. As far as the form is concerned, we can say that the use of "will/shall" in (1) is the simplest marker of the future tense.

2.3 Future tense and the grammatical metaphor

Sado(2016:108ff) treats examples of present of futurity as a case of Halliday and Matthiessen's(2014) grammatical metaphor. This concept is defined in Thompson(2004:223) as "the expression of a meaning through a

lexico-grammatical form that originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning." For instance, nouns usually express things, verbs are for processes, and adjectives are for qualities. This, however, is not always the case. In deverbal nouns such as "development", "proctection", and "discovery," processes are realized as nouns, which as we have noted, usually express things. These realizations are said to be metaphorical as opposed to congruent. In other words, grammatical metaphor is an inconsistency between forms and meanings. In the case of present of futurity, its form is present while its meaning is future. In this study, we focus on the aspectual differences between (6) and (7), which are both metaphorical. This naturally brings us to the discussion of what aspect is.

3. Tense and aspect

3.1 Definition of aspect

As we had an overview of the issues of future tense and grammatical metaphor, we need to shift the attention to the issue of aspect before we begin a detailed discussion of the tense system. Comrie (1976:3) defines aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporary constituency of a situation." Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:215) define it as a "temporal perspective" and Griffiths (2006:100) explains it as "time profiles." Although it seems obvious that aspect deals with time, we must be careful not to confuse it with tense. Klein (2009:40) notes that they "should be independent from each other." The choice of tense is, as Bache (2008:22) notes, independent of

aspect. Unlike tense, "aspect does not locate events in time" (Griffiths 2006:106). English has no fully grammaticalized expression of aspect, unlike some Slavic languages. As far as English language is concerned, aspect is often expressed by wordings or forms in the verbal group and the adjunct inside the clause. The main function of the gerund-participle after the finite verb is to mark the secondary tense. However, we must not forget that choice can be multifunctional. Just as a nominal group in a clause can be a Subject, Theme, and Actor at the same time in different dimensions in the meaning, it is possible for a gerund-participle to express more than one meaning including secondary tense and aspect. Let us now consider how this "different way of viewing" subcategorizes aspect in English.

3.2 Perfective aspect

The most striking choice in the system of aspect is between the perfective and imperfective. In the case of the perfective aspect, "the whole situation is presented as a single unanalyzable whole" and "without reference to any internal temporal structure" (Comrie 1976:3). See examples (9) and (10) below.

(9) He wrote a novel several years ago.   Leech and Svartvik (2002:74)

(10) I'll read a book on the subject.   Declerck (1991:56)

None of these example focus on the stages in decision making, writing novels,

or reading. The normal interpretation would be that the novel was completed in (9) and the speaker intends to read the whole book in (10). Distinctions among the beginning, middle, and end are backgrounded.

3.3 Imperfective aspect

The imperfective, in Comrie's (1976:76) words, "looks at the situation from inside" and offers, according to Bache (2008:108), "an internal situational focus."

A typical example of the imperfective in English would be, as Declerck (1991:56) notes, "the focus on the middle of the situation." See example (11) from Leech and Svartvik (2002:74).

(11) He was writing a novel several years ago.

Their explanation says that this utterance implicates "but I don't know whether he finished or not," whereas (9) means that "he finished it." This subtype of aspect, in Griffiths' (2006:103) words, "downplays the onset and ignores the end of an event" and expresses "something on going, in progress" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:117). Following many writers, we shall call this usage as the "progressive" aspect.

However, we must be careful that the progressive is not synonymous with the imperfective. In some cases, the middle and end of the event is backgrounded and the beginning is in focus, as in examples (11) and (12)

below.

(12) It started to rain heavily.   Kashino (1999:107)

(13) She began to cry.   Declerck (1991:56)

In these examples, as Declerck explains, "the situation is represented as just beginning" and he calls this the "ingressive" aspect.[3] Also note examples (14) and (15), whose verbal group focuses on the end of the event.

(14) I finished typing the report just minutes before it was due.

                                        Kashino (1999:108)

(15) They have stopped working.   Declerck (1991:56)

Declerck (1991:56) calls these the "terminative" aspect. Note that in (14), typing the report has been completed, whereas (15) suggests that the work stopped before it was completed. What is important here is that only "the end of the situation" is mentioned, rather than the completion, whereas the use of perfective aspect would mean that the goal was achieved.

It is evident from the examples we have seen above that English needs two verbs to express ingressive. This could mean that they are bi-clausal and not parallel with examples of the progressive. The same goes for examples we have seen in terminative. (It is generally known, however, that terminative meaning can be expressed by phrasal verbs like "eat up.")

We can observe another difference between the perfective and imperfective is that only the latter has the subcategories ingressive, progressive, and terminative. However, this does not mean that aspect is just an issue of perfectiveness. There are examples that belong to neither of these aspects.

3.4 Habitual aspect

The issue of aspect is further complicated by another category. Consider the use of the simple present, as in example (16).

(16) He drinks decaffeinated coffee nowadays.

Griffiths (2006:100–101) explains that in (16), "there are recurring instances of him drinking decaffeinated coffee." In Kreidler's (2014:112,120) more general explanation, the expression expresses "action distributed over several occasions," "with no implication about the beginning or end of these actions." This explanation may tempt us to treat this instance as a kind of imperfective aspect but we must treat it with caution. As long as each occasion of the event is concerned, the situation is presented as a single whole and, therefore, it seems like a subtype of the perfective aspect. It seems plausible, following some writers, to treat this as another type of aspect, namely, the habitual aspect.

At this stage, we can establish that aspect is divided into habituality and

perfectiveness, which in turn are subdivided into the perfective and imperfective. The imperfective is further divided into ingressive, progressive, and terminative, as we have seen above.

3.5 Aspect and state

Nevertheless, we must be careful to not regard aspect as obligatory in all verbal groups. Verbal groups with certain kinds of meaning do not seem to allow aspectuality. See examples (17) and (18) below:

(17) He hates me.   Carter and McCarthy (2006:924)

(18) Ellen needed a dictionary.   Kreidler (2014:110)

The verbs in these examples express states, which, according to Comrie (1976:13), "continue as before unless changed." Therefore, as Hofmann (1993:140) notes, "a state does not have a natural point of termination." This lack of termination or completion may tempt us to treat state as a kind of imperfective aspect but there is a striking difference between them. Imperfectivity presupposes that the process has stages such as beginning, middle, and end. One of the stages is focused whereas others are backgrounded or ignored. States, on the other hand, have no ends to be backgrounded. In Kreidler's (2014:110) words, it is "a situation that consists of homogeneous parts" and Hofmann (1993:141) goes so far as to say that "they are like ordinary adjectives in describing a state." Bache (2008:114)

labels stativity as [-ASPECTUAL] in his analysis.

It seems plausible not to include stativity in the system of aspect in the grammar of English. For a verbal group to be aspective, it must be non-stative. As far as the aspect is concerned, the first choice is stative vs. aspective, which in turn leads to a choice between habituality and perfectiveness.

4. The secondary present

4.1 Primary tense vs. secondary tense

The difference between the two major types of present of futurity is a presence or lack of the secondary present. Let us consider how the primary and secondary tenses differ. Halliday and Matthiessen's tense system, as we suggested earlier in Section 2.2, is recursive. They call the first one as "the primary tense" and all the other tenses that follow it as "the secondary tenses." The primary tense takes the head position and is also deictic "relative to the speech event" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014:398–399). In Comrie's (1985:14) more general terms, the primary tense takes the speech situation or "here and now" as the deictic center. Saeed (1997:115) also notes that the reference point for these tenses is usually the act of speaking.

The secondary tenses, on the other hand, "express past, present or future relative to the time selected in the previous tense" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014:399). Let us consider the two types of secondary past, future and present, in turn.

4.2 Secondary past and secondary future

Examples (19) – (21) below have the past in the present.

(19) I've just finished my homework (so I can go out and play).

Egawa (1991:235)

(20) She has lost her money.   Swan (1995:430)

(21) Now some rolls I put in the oven for dinner have burned!   BNC

We can imagine that a child going outside to play in example (19), a woman being upset in (20), and different food being served at dinner in place of the burnt rolls in (21). In all these cases, past events affect the present situation; in other words, these clauses give explanations for the current situation. Our interpretation of Halliday and Matthiessen's (2014) view is that the speaker's view shifts from the present to the past. Opinions may vary about the shift of the speaker's view in the past in the present. Some may find it more natural to see a shift from the past to the present. However, to argue this point would carry us too far from the purpose of this paper.

Let us leave the secondary past and turn to the issue of the secondary future. See examples (22) and (23) representing the future in the present below.

(22) I'm going to stay at home and write letters.   (Leech 1987:59)

(23) I'm going to take them to court and sue them.   BNC

This kind of secondary future is employed to convey the "future fulfillment of the present" (Jackson 1990:91) or "future of the present intention" (Leech 1987:59). Intentions and plans are of the present moment, whose view is shifted to the future when the action will be carried out.

In both cases, secondary tenses shift the tense toward the past or the future from the primary ones. Speculations on the status quo shift the focus from the present to the past or the intention or decision made at the time of utterance affects the future.

4.3 Secondary present

What then does the secondary present do? It obviously shifts the focus neither toward the future nor toward the past. The best explanation would be that it emphasizes the preceding tense and shortens the time span. This is most evident in the present in the future.

(24) I'll be seeing you next week.   Quirk et al. (1985:210)

(25) He's also on the Synod and he'll be voting no.   BNC

Quirk et al. (1985:210) note that this kind of combination of tense has a "special implication that the action will take place 'as a matter of course' in the future."

Saeed (1997:117) points out that "the past and future progressive can be used to provide a background activity against which another event occurs."

See his example in (26) below.

(26) She was hiding the money when the doorbell rang.

In the past and present, and especially in the case of the present in the present, the narrowing of the time span is obvious and expresses an event that occurs right in front of the speaker. A speaker would say the utterance in (27), from Declerck (1991:157), while seeing the woman's activity in person or on TV.

(27) The woman is baking a cake.

Among the secondary tenses, the meaning of the secondary present seems idiosyncratic. Our question is how this idiosyncrasy of the meaning relates to aspect.

4.4 Realizations of aspect in the use of secondary tense

4.4.1 Aspectual contrast and tense

We need to revisit the issue of the relation between tense and aspect. We have already noted in Section 3.1 that they are independent choices. Comrie (1976:121) suggests that "in combination with past tense there is usually in languages a tendency for the perfective aspect to be unmarked, while with present tense the tendency is for imperfective aspect to be unmarked." Later

development in the research led Klein (2009:40) to claim that "the same aspectual contrast could be found in all tenses." We shall see below what kinds of aspect we can find in examples of both simple and complex tense.

4.4.2 Simple past

    Comrie's association of the past tense with the perfective aspect is unsatisfactory in that it is too general and is limited to the simple tenses. Let us compare the examples we have seen so far and some more. It is true in the example (9) of the simple past, its aspect is perfective. However, note that example (28) below is a case of habit in the past.

(28) We walked a great deal in my boyhood.   Sinclair (1990:250)

Habitual aspect can also be marked by "used to." Note that (29) below and (18) in Section 3.5 express a state in the past.

(29) In those days, I looked young and handsome.   Leech (1989:343)

A clause with simple past can be not only the perfective but also habitual or even stative, depending on the sense of the verb and/or the context. We shall see in the next section that aspectual choices in the clauses with present tense are just as complicated.

4.4.3 Simple present

The aspectual interpretation of most clauses with the simple present is not all imperfective, as we have already seen in examples (16) and (17) in Section 3, where we discussed the habitual aspect and state. In addition to these cases of state and habit, we can even find examples of the perfective. See examples (30) and (31) below.

(30) I hereby declare you Mayor of Casterbridge.   Levinson (1983:232)

(31) I promise that I shall be there.   Leech (1983:176)

In (30), the event takes place at the moment of the utterance and the addressees become the mayor. The act of promise itself is made at the moment of uttering (31), although the action in the projected clause is performed in the future. It is natural to regard these performatives as perfective. It is a fact that the simple present could be habitual or perfective or not even aspective (i.e., stative). This makes us treat the simple present as more neutral in terms of aspect than in Comrie's view. As far as simple tenses are concerned, Comrie's generalization on the tense–aspect relation is open to objection. This leads us to support Klein's view we have seen above, as long as "all tenses" mean the choices of primary tenses in any verbal group, instead of all 36 combinations of primary and secondary tenses in Halliday's recursive system. Nor does the view necessarily apply to tenses used metaphorically. Before we analyze present of futurity we need to observe

examples of secondary tense in general.

4.5 Secondary present and aspect

Imperfective aspect is most commonly observed when the secondary present is employed in the verbal group. In addition to (27) in Section 4.3, see examples (32) and (33) below.

(32) These men are building a house in the forest.　　　Declerck (1991:167)

(33) The engine is stopping.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　ibid

When the time span of the process is narrowed down, it is no doubt likely to accompany imperfectivity. However, we must note that many other examples of secondary present does not show any imperfective–progressive aspect.

Examples (34) and (35) are from Declerck (1991:160) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002:167) .

(34) Chris is getting up at 6 o'clock every day this week to have a run in the park.

(35) I'm reading novels instead of watching TV these days.

(36) She is cycling to work this week.

Declerck presents these utterances as an example of the progressive that "express a temporary habit, i.e., it can represent a situation as typical of (e.g.,

repeating itself over) a period of limited duration." Although the habit may be temporary, these cases definitely belong to the habitual aspect.

Let us see a further example from Biber et al. (1991:471).

(37) Chris is living there now.

Biber et al. explain that "the progressive expresses the meaning of a temporary state that exists for a period of time." Despite its temporariness, it is stative.

We can observe meanings other than the progressive in the use of the secondary present. Even though they are temporary, interpretations of habitual aspect or even state are possible.

It may be worth pointing out, in passing, that the secondary present can express the emotion or attitude of the speaker. In example (38) by Huddleston and Pullum (2002:170), as they note, the secondary present "adds an element of tentativeness."

(38) I'm hoping you can help me.

Moreover, temporary habit, as they suggest, may implicate "an emotive overtone, usually of disapproval" or an "unpredictable recurrence of the subsituation—typically, but not necessarily, an undesirable one."

(39) He's always losing his temper.   Huddleston and Pullum (2002:166)

Many writers show further usages or implicatures of the secondary present but to argue this point would take us too far away from the purpose of this paper. Having analyzed the aspect of the present in the present in non-metaphorical, congruent usage, we have now laid the ground for the discussion on the aspect in the clause with the present of futurity in Section 5.

5. On the co-occurrence of present of futurity and aspect types

   As we have already seen in the introduction and Section 2.2, present of futurity has two types in terms of its temporal structure. We can observe the simple present, as in (2) and (7) and the present in the present, as in (3) and (6). Based on the analysis of tense and aspect we have worked on so far, we finally seek to clarify the aspectual difference between clauses with these two types.

   On the basis of analysis in Sado (2016), we need to consider usages of the simple present of futurity in detail. As we have seen in introduction of this study, Huddleston and Pullum's (2002:132) definition of their "futurate" is that they "can be assumed to be known already in the present" or, in Leech's (1987:65) words, "future as a fact." Let us consider in what way they are "known" or judged as "facts."

(40) The plane leaves for Ankara at eight o'clock tonight.

Quirk et al. (1985:182)

(41) Flight 106 takes off at 11:45 pm.   Declerck (1991:92)

(42) Next year, White Sunday falls on 11 May.   ibid

The events of the future in examples (40) and (41) are known at the moment of the utterance because, as I noted in the previous study, they are schedules. Public transportation services are usually provided according to a schedule that lasts for a certain period of time such as a year or half a year. Each event starts, is in motion, and completed, and the same event is repeated many times. This is a typical case of the habitual aspect we saw in Section 3.4. Example (42) is stative because the calendar will not change in our lifetime (unless, of course, it is replaced by a totally different calendar). The "known fact" has been derived from the inherent quality of the state and habit, which usually lasts into the future.

In Section 3 and section 4.4.3, we saw that in the congruent use of the tense system, clauses with simple present could be stative, habitual, or perfective. While the imperfective aspect is most commonly found in the verbal group of present in present, the form can be used to convey a temporary state or habit, which in a way seems to be contradictory considering their basic concept.

However, we shall see that the situation is quite different when the expressions are used metaphorically. We recognize a much more co-

occurrence with imperfectivity. Quirk et al. (1985:215), citing examples (43) and (44) below, describes it as "future arising from present arrangement, plan or programme."

(43) The orchestra is playing a Mozart symphony after this.
(44) I'm taking the children to the zoo (on Saturday).

Leech (1987:62) points out the difference between these expressions and "be going to" (the future in the present) saying that "it is not a present intention or cause, but rather a present arrangement." Hoffman (1993:129) notes that it "has set things in motion." In other words, while "be going to" is an ingressive, the verbal group of the clause expresses the beginning and middle of the process when use of the present in the present is metaphorical. Example (45) shows the difference between "intention" and "arrangement."

(45) I'd like to have a game of billiard with you, but I'm taking Mary out for dinner.

Leech (1987:63) explains that "an arrangement is something already predetermined in the past, regardless of how the speaker feels now" and further notes that this "could be uttered with some reluctance by someone who now regrets the arrangement." This interpretation is impossible with the future in the present.

We must also note that the endpoint of the process is backgrounded. This view is supported by Declerck (1991:92) who claims that "it refers to a present plan which may possibly be altered." The simple present, on the other hand, as he points out, "denotes a plan or arrangement that is regarded as unalterable." Leech (1987:66) agrees with Declerck in this respect and gives the following examples.

(46) We start for Istanbul tonight.
(47) I get a lump sum when I retire at sixty-five.
(48) Chancellor makes his budget speech tomorrow afternoon.

The planner undoubtedly hopes the plan to be carried out. The present in the present in (43)–(45) and the simple present (46)–(48) share this hope. However, it is also true, as we suggested in Section 2.1, that no one is sure of the future. In my view, the difference is the speaker's guarantee or confidence about the achievement. Especially in the case of (45), the speaker may still hope that "taking Mary out for dinner" will be canceled. This means that the endpoint of the process is backgrounded, which is an evidence of the imperfective aspect. As far as the expression of the plan is concerned, we can conclude that the aspect is imperfective in these examples of present in present, whereas the simple present have perfective interpretation.

We have made an observation in the aspectual difference in the two major types of the present of futurity. A clause with metaphorical simple

present could also be, just like congruent ones, stative, habitual, or even perfective (for plans, but not for performatives), whereas for those with the present in the present, imperfective interpretation is appropriate.

5. Conclusion

We have explored the relations between the two major types of present of futurity and have discovered that clause with these kinds of tense have difference in the realization of aspect. Furthermore, we have found out that the literal or congruent uses of the present in present show wide range of choices of aspect and choice of state while metaphorical ones show strong preference to imperfectivity. On the other hand, the simple present, metaphorical or not, expresses other kinds of aspect or elements that are not even aspective.

Present of futurity is an interesting phenomenon in that the language speaker chooses not to use the existing lexico-grammatical marker of the future. Further research on metaphorical structures from many angles will shed light on the rich tense system of English.

Notes

*This study is based on my presentation at the 32nd conference of Konan English Literary Society held at Konan University on September 17th 2016.   I wish to express my gratitude to the audience at the conference for their questions and useful comments.

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2. As far as the metaphorical future is concerned, there are two types of simple present. One appears in both independent and dependent clause, whereas in some cases, the simple present is limited in dependent clauses. The simple present here refers to the former. As for the latter case, see Sado (2016)

3. There is no agreement as to what to call this type of aspect among writers or even within the same book. Declerck (1999:56) suggests the names including "inceptive" or "inchoative" for this type of aspect. The same goes for the terminative aspect, which he suggests labeling "egressive" and which Kashino (1999:107) calls "effective."

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甲南英文学会規約

第 1 条 名称　本会は、甲南英文学会と称し、事務局は、甲南大学文学部英語英米文学科に置く。

第 2 条 目的　本会は、会員のイギリス文学・アメリカ文学・英語学の研究を促進し、会員間の親睦を図ることをその目的とする。

第 3 条 事業　本会は、その目的を達成するために次の事業を行う。

1. 研究発表会および講演会
2. 機関誌『甲南英文学』の発行
3. 役員会が必要としたその他の事業

第 4 条 組織　本会は、つぎの会員を以て組織する。

1. 一般会員
   イ．甲南大学大学院人文科学研究科（英語英米文学専攻）の修士課程の在籍者、学位取得者、および博士課程・博士後期課程の在籍者、学位取得者または単位修得者
   ロ．甲南大学大学院人文科学研究科（英語英米文学専攻）および甲南大学文学部英語英米文学科の専任教員
   ハ．上記イ、ロ以外の者で、本会の会員の推薦により、役員会の承認を受けた者
2. 名誉会員　本会の発展に著しく貢献した者
3. 賛助会員

第 5 条 役員　本会に次の役員を置く。会長 1 名、副会長 1 名、評議員若干名、会計 2 名、会計監査 2 名、大会準備委員長 1 名、編集委員長 1 名、幹事 2 名。

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3. 会長、副会長は、役員会の推薦を経て、総会の承認によってこれを決定する。
4. 評議員は、第 4 条第 1 項イ、ロによって定められた会員の互選によってこれを選出する。
5. 会計、会計監査、大会準備委員長、編集委員長、幹事は、会長の推薦を経て、総会の承認によってこれを決定する。
6. 会長は、本会を代表し、会務を統括する。
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10. 会計監査は、財務執行状況を監査する。

11. 大会準備委員長は、大会準備委員会を代表する。

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第6条 会計　会計年度は4月1日から翌年3月31日までとする。なお、会計報告は、総会の承認を得るものとする。

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第9条 大会準備委員会　第3条第1項に定められた事業を企画し実施する。

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第10条 編集委員会　第3条第2項に定められた事業を企画し実施する。

　　　2. 編集委員は、編集委員長の推薦を経て会長がこれを委嘱する。定員は、イギリス文学・アメリカ文学・英語学から若干名とする。編集委員長は、特別に専門委員を委嘱することができる。

第11条 顧問　本会に顧問を置くことができる。

本規約は、昭和58年12月9日より実施する。

この規約は、昭和62年5月31日に改訂。

この規約は、平成7年7月1日に改訂。

この規約は、平成11年6月26日に改訂。

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