

A Diachronic Study of Negative Concord in English

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1 はじめに

・二重否定 ((1b))

- (1) a. *Mary didn't say nothing to nobody.
b. George DIDn't phone NOBODY yesterday.
= George phoned someone yesterday
(Tubau (2008:111))

→EModE^[1]までは標準的でなく、それ以降に徐々に一般的になった。(中尾・寺島 (1988:180))

・否定呼応

- (2) a. ne mæg nan mon soðre secgan
not can no man more truly speak
'Nobody can speak more truly.'
(Haeberli (1991:58; Bo, 94.8) / Haeberli and Haegeman (1995))

- b. Ic wyrce þa tacnu þe næfre nan man ne geseah ær on nanum lande
I do the miracles that never no man not saw before in no land.
'I will do miracles that no man has ever seen before in any land.'
(Haeberli (1991:58; Exod, 34.10) / Haeberli and Haegeman (1995))

- c. þæt heora nan ne mehte nanes wæpnes gewealdan
that of them none not was able no weapon wield
'that no one of them was able to wield a weapon'
(Mitchell (1989:660, §1596; Or. 194.18) / Haeberli and Haegeman (1995))

→OEから LModEまで観察される。(宇賀治 (2000:316-319))

・Jespersen's cycle の第二段階 *ne V not*

(3)	本動詞のみ	助動詞を伴う
(i) OE	Ic <i>ne</i> secge	Ic <i>ne</i> will secgan
(ii) 初期 ME-15世紀	I <i>ne</i> seye <i>not</i>	I <i>ne</i> will <i>not</i> seyen
(iii) 後期 ME	I say <i>not</i>	I will <i>not</i> say
(iv) 15世紀-初期 ModE	I <i>not</i> say	
(v) 16世紀-	I <i>do not</i> say	
(vi) 17世紀-	I <i>don't</i> say	I <i>won't</i> say

(Jespersen (1917:9-11) / 中尾・寺島(1988:180))

[1] 英語史の一般的な時代区分は以下の通りである。

古英語 (Old English = OE, 700-1150)

中英語 (Middle English = ME, 1151-1500)

初期中英語 (Early Middle English = EME, 1151-1300) 後期中英語 (Late Middle English = LME, 1301-1500)

近代英語 (Modern English = ModE, 1501-1900)

初期近代英語 (Early Modern English = EModE, 1501-1700) 後期近代英語 (Late Modern English = LModE, 1701-1900)

現代英語 (Present-day English = PE, 1901-)

(ii)は、否定呼応の一つの形と考えたほうが妥当である。(伊藤 (2007))
→(ii)も調査・分析の対象とする。

目的

OE, EMEにおいて頻繁に用いられた否定呼応文が、なぜ LME 以降に大きく減少したのかを統語論の観点から明らかにする。

主張

- ・「否定辞がほかの否定表現を c 統御してはならない」という構造上の制約が存在し、LME 以降はこの制約を守る構造が作れなくなつたため、否定呼応文が大きく減少した。
- ・制約を守る構造が作れなくなる背景には、Spec, PolP を占める否定辞の登場と、Pol⁰への動詞移動の消失があった。

2 事実観察

2.1 先行研究

- ・ Mazzon (2004)

(4) OE における否定要素の数ごとの割合 (Mazzon (2004:25, Table 2.2), 一部修正)

Segg	1 Neg.	<i>ne + V/n-V</i>	2 Negs	<i>ne + V + 'not'</i>	3 Negs	4 Negs	5+ Negs
1-48	59	88	32	16	5	2.5	1.5
49-77	90	87	9	18	0.6	0.2	0.2
1-77	69	88	25	17	4	1	1

(5) ME～LModE 半ば(13-18cc.)における否定要素の数ごとの割合 (Mazzon (2004:56, Table 3.1), 一部修正)

Docs	1 Neg.	<i>ne +V / n-V</i>	V + not	2 Negs	<i>ne + V + 'not'</i>	3 Negs	4 Negs	5+ Negs
13-14 cc.	54	20	24	35	26	7	2	2
15 c.	80	2.5	46	14	12	4	1	1
16-18 cc.	86	4	47	11	10	2	0.5	0.5
Poetry	71	10	27	22	16	4	1.5	1.5
Prose	72	7	44	21	27	5	0.5	0.5
Theatre	89	1	54	9	17	1	0.5	0.5
North	84	3	44	12	12	3	0.5	0.5
Celtic	80	7	33	16	12	3	0.5	0.5
E. Midlands	78	4	49	15	10	4	1.5	1.5
W. Midlands	49	36	7	37	22	9	3	2
South & Kent	72	11	46	22	37	4	1	1
Overall	74	9	42	19	20	4	1	1

→否定呼応は、15世紀(ME期末)から減少を始めた。

2.2 コーパス調査

○否定語の統語上の役割に着目して、否定呼応の分布を調査。

- (6)
- a. York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)
 - b. The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition (PPCME2)^[2]
 - c. The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)
 - d. The Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, 2nd edition (PPCMBE2)

(7) *ne + ほかの否定表現*

- a. 否定主語+*ne*

Teos twa **nan mon** *ne* parti from o+der.
 these two no man NEG divides from other
 “No one separates these two from each other.”

(PPCME2:CMANCRIW-2-M1,II.247.16)

[2] 韻文のテキストである The Ormulum は集計の対象外とした。

b. *ne + 否定目的語*

he *ne* cnawe+d **nan mon.**
 he NEG knows no man
 “He does not know anybody.”

(PPCME2: CMANCRIW-1-M1,II.97.1167)

c. *ne + 否定副詞*

he *ne* gefredde heora swingle **nateshwon**
 he NEG relieved their affliction not at all
 “He did not ease their pain at all.”

(YCOE: coaelive,+ALS_[Martin]:974.6601)

d. *ne + 副詞 not*

he *ne* mei **naut** fulliche wreien him seoluen bute he wrei+ge o+dre.
 He NEG may not fully blame himself without he blames others
 “He may not blame himself completely without blaming others.”

(PPCME2: CMANCRIW-2-M1,II.252.106)

(8) 動詞に編入した *ne + 副詞 not*

But no+teles, he *nade* **nou+gt** duellede half gere in +tis lande.
 but nevertheless he NEG+had not dwelled half year in this land
 “But nevertheless, he had not lived on this land for half a year.”

(PPCME2: CMBRUT3-M3,38.1186)

(9) *not + ほかの否定表現*a. *否定主語 + not*

noman knoweth *not* the cause
 no one knows NEG the cause
 “no one knows the cause”

(PPCME2: CMMANDEV-M3,100.2428)

b. *not+ 否定目的語*

he wol *nat* suffre **noon** **hardnesse**
 he would NEG suffer no hardness
 “he would not endure any hardship”

(PPCME2: CMCTPALS-M3,311.C1.981)

c. *not + 否定副詞*

And thenn our soverayne might *not* **no** **longer** hyde hys maryage,
 and then our sovereign might NEG no longer hide his marriage
 “And then our sovereign might no longer hide his marriage,”

(PPCME2: CMGREGOR-M4,227.2289)

(10) 否定主語 + *ne* + 否定目的語

non *ne* wylne+t ne loue+t **no+ting**
no one NEG wants nor loves nothing
“no one wants or loves anything”

(PPCME2:CMAYENBI-M2,80.1551)

(11) 否定辞(*ne, not*)なし

a. 否定主語

& him **n+anig** wi+dstod.
and him no one offer resistance
“And no one gave him resistance.”

(YCOE: cobede,Bede_1:12.52.23.485)

b. 否定目的語

He tak+t **non** **heede** of his iniurie,
He takes no notice of his injury
“He does not take notice of his injury.”

(PPCME2: CMAELR3-M23,48.693)

(12) 否定語の統語上の役割別の分布^[3]

否定語		01	O2	O3	O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	EModE	LModE
主語	否定辞	1	112	453	92	115	57	8	2	3	2
	主語	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	目的語	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	否定呼応 副詞 (NOT以外)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	副詞 (NOT)	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	動詞	0	29	215	59	41	4	0	1	0	0
	計	1	141	670	151	157	61	8	3	3	3
	単一否定	0	49	109	32	20	10	266	189	668	1056
	%否定呼応	100.00%	74.21%	86.01%	82.51%	88.70%	85.92%	2.92%	1.56%	0.45%	0.28%
目的語	否定辞	0	88	345	84	138	54	42	11	3	2
	主語	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	目的語	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	否定呼応 副詞 (NOT以外)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
	副詞 (NOT)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	動詞	0	20	146	44	44	3	7	0	0	0
	計	0	108	491	128	182	57	50	12	4	3
	単一否定	0	93	228	25	34	4	351	412	1649	2740
	%否定呼応	-	53.73%	68.29%	83.66%	84.26%	93.44%	12.47%	2.83%	0.24%	0.11%
副詞(NOT以外)	否定辞	0	141	551	201	54	9	8	4	5	2
	主語	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	目的語	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
	否定呼応 副詞 (NOT以外)	0	2	12	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	副詞 (NOT)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	動詞	0	28	148	55	5	0	1	0	0	0
	計	0	171	713	262	60	9	10	5	6	3
	単一否定	1	92	291	69	45	12	140	150	826	1036
	%否定呼応	0.00%	65.02%	71.02%	79.15%	57.14%	40.91%	6.67%	3.23%	0.72%	0.29%
副詞(NOT)	否定辞	0	22	33	24	231	449	122	17	0	0
	主語	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	目的語	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	否定呼応 副詞 (NOT以外)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	副詞 (NOT)	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	動詞	0	3	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
	計	0	25	40	31	231	451	122	17	0	0
	単一否定	0	34	11	20	298	162	1905	1761	10259	18970
	%否定呼応	-	42.37%	78.43%	60.78%	43.67%	73.57%	6.02%	0.96%	0.00%	0.00%
動詞	否定辞	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
	主語	0	29	215	59	41	4	0	1	0	0
	目的語	0	20	146	44	44	3	6	0	0	0
	否定呼応 副詞 (NOT以外)	0	28	148	55	11	0	1	0	0	0
	副詞 (NOT)	0	3	5	7	121	50	18	1	0	0
	動詞	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	計	0	80	520	167	219	58	25	2	0	0
	単一否定	4	423	1469	368	344	46	63	17	0	0
	%否定呼応	0.00%	15.90%	26.14%	31.21%	38.90%	55.77%	28.41%	10.53%	-	-
全体	否定呼応	1	525	2434	739	849	636	215	39	13	9
	単一否定	5	691	2108	514	741	234	2725	2529	13402	23802
	%否定呼応	16.67%	43.17%	53.59%	58.98%	53.40%	73.10%	7.31%	1.52%	0.10%	0.04%

M2 と M3 における否定呼応の生起頻度に有意差あり。(カイ二乗統計量 = 1671.3 自由度 = 1, p 値 < 0.01, オッズ比 = 34.45)

[3] YCOE と PPCME2 の時代区分は、O1 (-850), O2 (850-950), O3 (950-1050), O4 (1050-1150), M1 (1150-1250), M2 (1250-1350), M3 (1350-1420), M4 (1420-1500)である。

- 否定呼応の減少は、M3 に始まった。

→O2~M2 において頻繁に用いられた否定呼応は、なぜ M3 以降に大きく減少したのか。

3 分析

(13) 否定不定表現は、派生のどの段階においても否定辞 (*ne, not*) に c 統御されてはならない。

(14) c 統御

Node A c(onstituent)-commands node B if neither A nor B dominates the other and the first branching node which dominates A dominates B. (Reinhart (1976:32))

3.1 *ne V (OE~EME)*

NegSbj ne V

(15) Teos twa **nan mon** *ne* parti from o+der.
these two no man NEG divides from other
“No one separates these two from each other.” = (7a)

○OE~EModE 半ば: V-to-T 移動あり。(van Kemenade (1987), Haeberli (2002), Fischer et al. (2000))

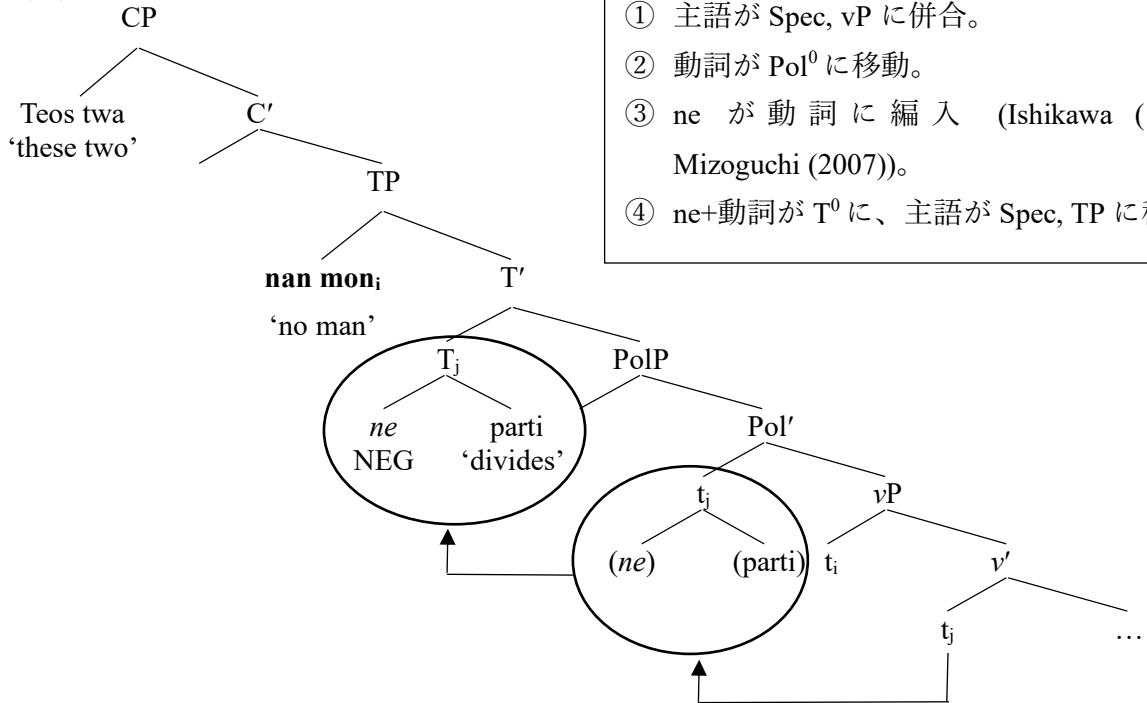
- 動詞移動は Pol^0 を経由する。

(16) 主要部移動制約

Head movement of X to Y cannot “skip” an intervening head Z. (Roberts (2001:113))

○*ne* は動詞に編入する。(van Kemenade (1985:79), Fischer (1992:281), Ishikawa (1995:203), Mizoguchi (2007:59))

(17)



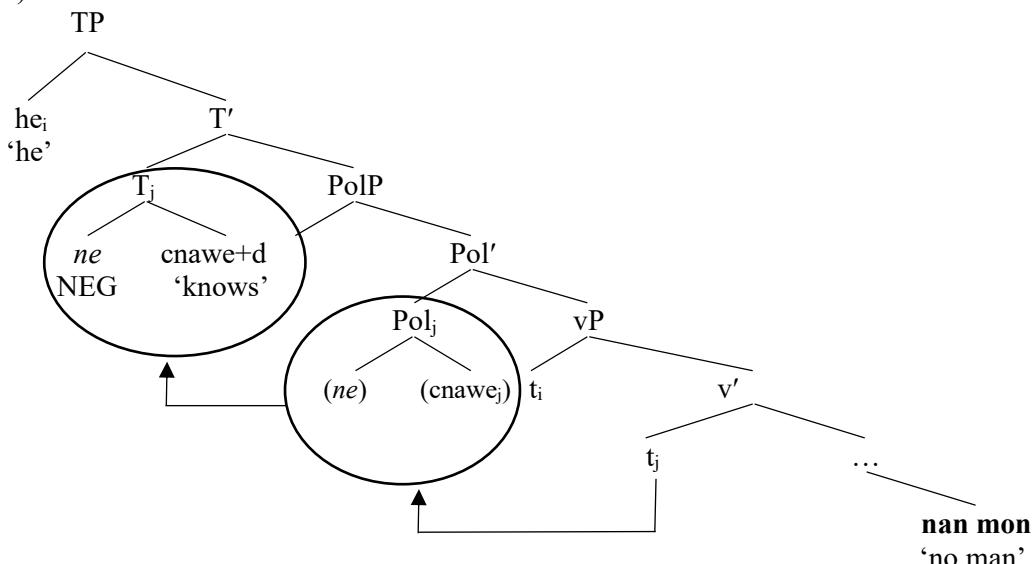
→否定辞 ne が否定主語 nan mon の痕跡を c 統御せず、(13)の制約に違反しない。

ne V NegObj

- (18) he ne cnawe+d **nan mon.**
 he NEG knows no man
 “He does not know anybody.”

= (7b)

(19)



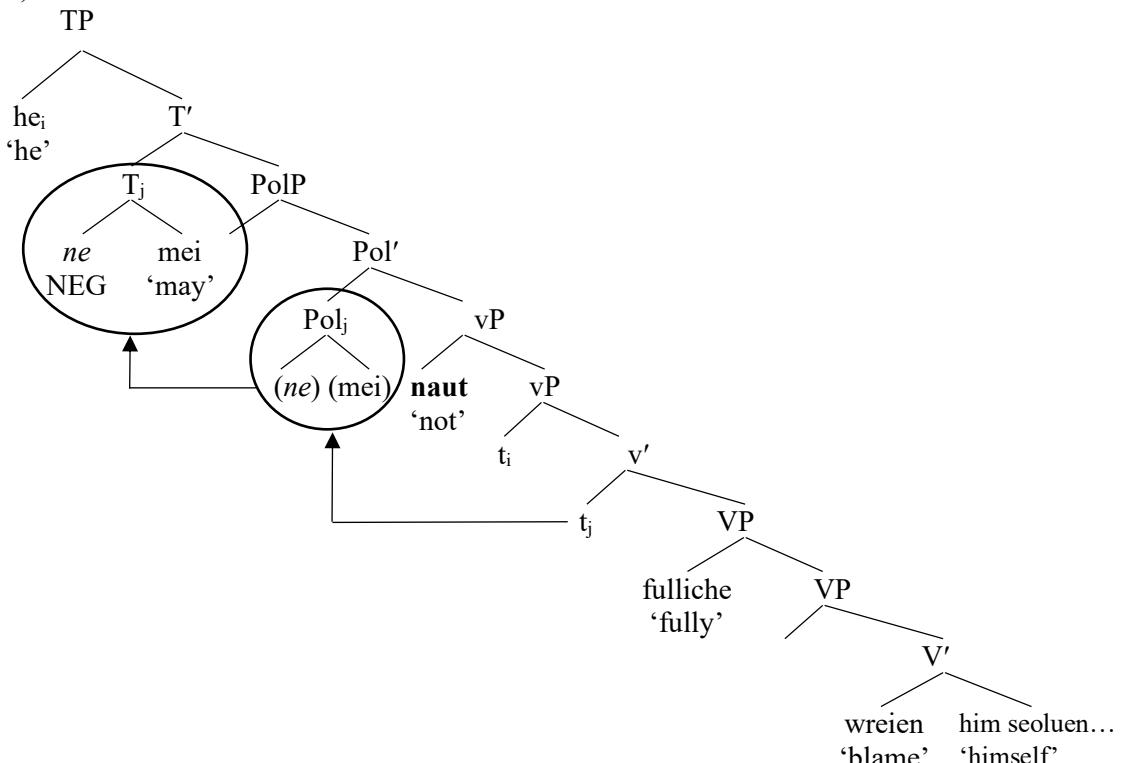
→否定辞 ne が否定目的語 nan mon を c 統御せず、(13)の制約に違反しない。

ne V not

- (20) he *ne* mei **naut** fulliche wreien him seoluen bute he wrei+ge o+dre.
 he NEG may not fully blame himself without he blames others
 “He may not blame himself completely without blaming others.” = (7d)

・副詞の **not**: vP に付加する。

(21)



- (22) But no+teles, he *nade* **nou+gt** duellede half gere in +tis lande.
 But nevertheless he NEG+had not dwelled half year in this land
 “But nevertheless, he had not lived on this land for half a year.”

(= (8))

3.2 V not (LME~EModE 半ば)**NegSbj V not**

- (23) **noman** knoweth *not* the cause
 no one knows not the cause
 “no one knows the cause”

= (9a)

・V not の *not*: 否定辞として再分析され PolP の構成要素となり、Pol⁰ と Spec, PolP のどちらかを占めるようになる。(Frisch (1997:43-48), Mizoguchi (2007:65-67))

(24) Pol⁰

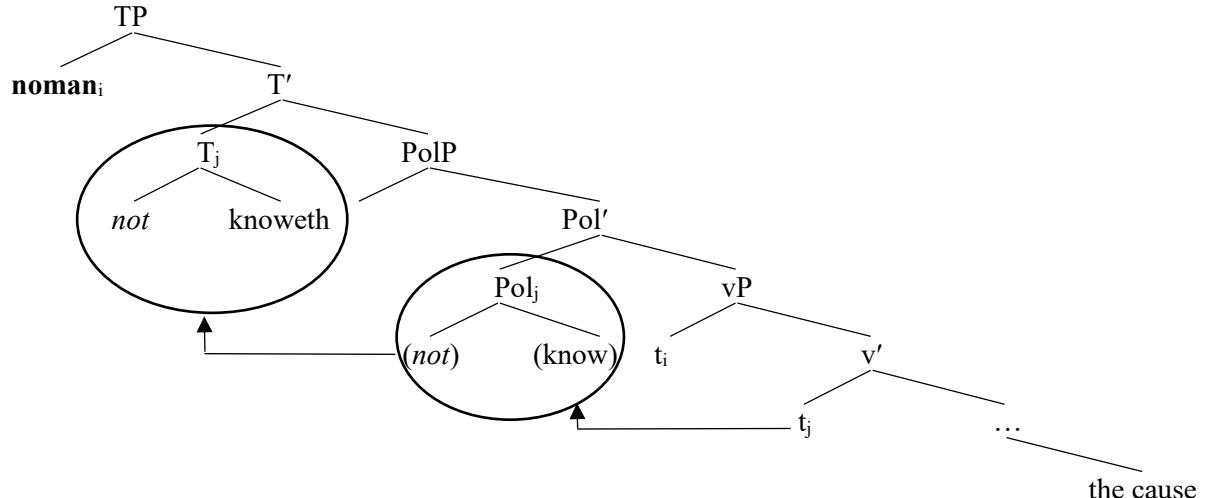
- [Am *not*] I lord and king of the cuntre?
 “Aren’t I lord and king of the country?”

(Digby Plays, 100/Frisch (1997:44))

- (25) Spec, PolP
 [Wyll] he *not* com here?
 "Won't he come near?"

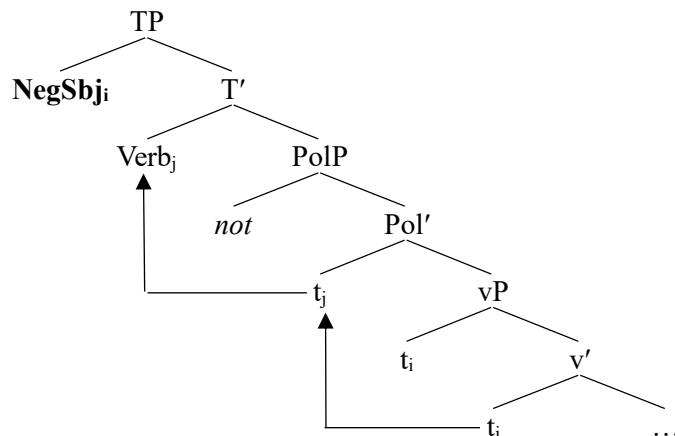
(Mankind, 162/Frisch (1997:44))

- (26) *not* が Pol⁰ を占める→否定呼応可能



*NegSbj V *not*

- (27) *not* が Spec, PolP を占める→否定呼応不可能



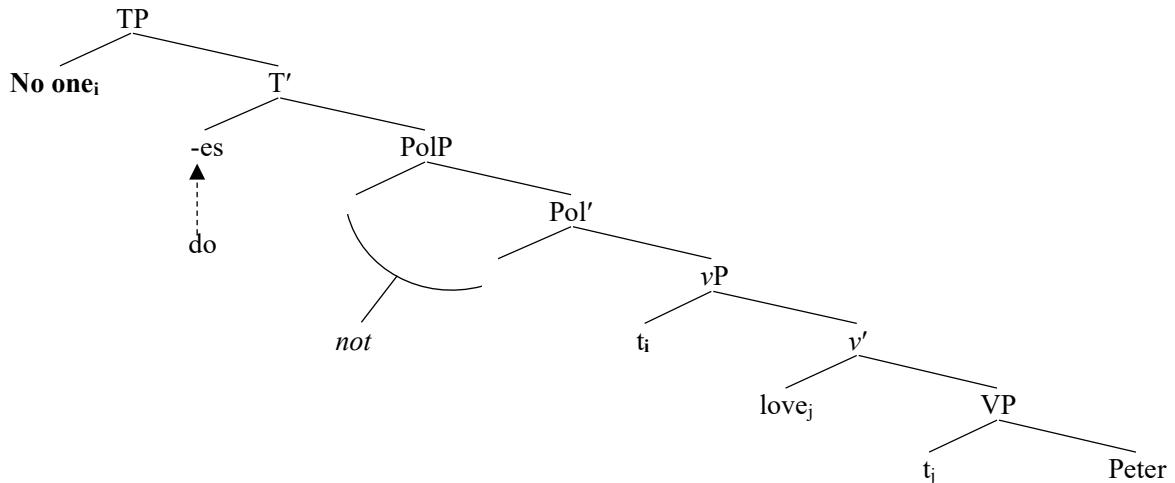
→否定辞 *not* が否定主語の痕跡を c 統御し、(13)の制約に違反する。

3.3 EModE 半ば～PE (do not V)

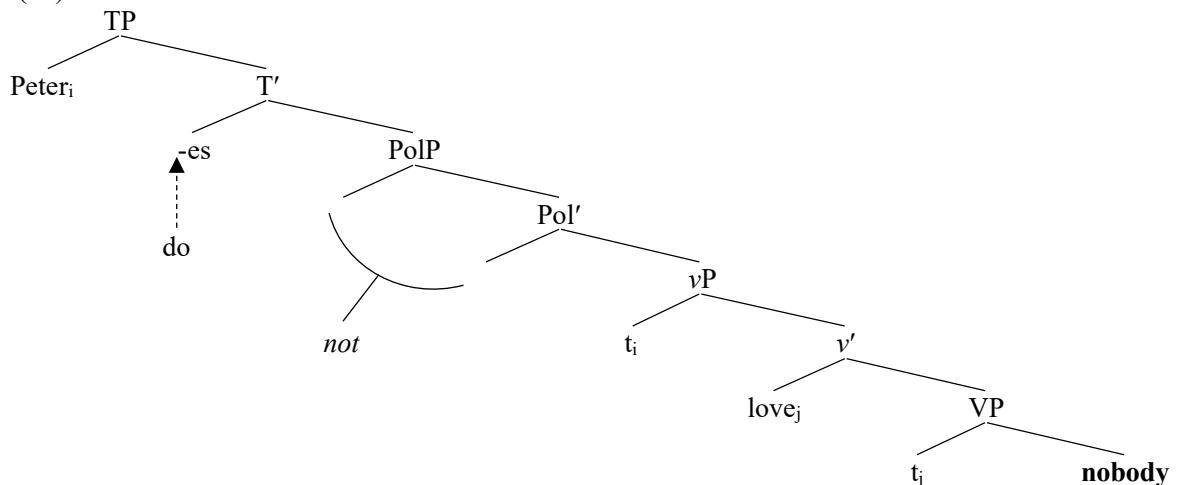
NegSbj do not V

- (28) * No one does *not* love Peter.

・do not V の *not*: ModEにおいては Pol⁰ と Spec, PolP のいずれかを占め、PEにおいては Pol⁰ を占める。
 (Mizoguchi (2007:69-70))

(29) V-to-T 移動の消失 → *not* の構造上の位置に関わらず否定呼応不可能→否定辞 *not* が否定主語 **no one** の痕跡を c 統御し、(13)の制約に違反する。**do not V NegObj**(30) * Peter does *not* love **nobody**.

(31)

→否定辞 *not* が否定目的語 **nobody** を c 統御し、(13)の制約に違反する。

4. まとめ

○2節

- ・否定呼応文の減少は M3 に始まった。

○3節

- ・否定辞と否定不定表現から成る否定呼応の消失は、両者の構造関係に関する制約により説明可能。

○今後の課題

- ・現代英語にみられる否定呼応文にも動詞移動が関わっていることを支持する証拠を探す。
- ・否定辞が否定不定表現を統御してはいけない理由を考える。

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Appendix 1

① 否定辞と否定不定表現から成る否定呼応文を探す検索式

query: ([1]NEG hassister [2]NP*)
AND ([1]NEG idoms !honyanya)
AND ([2]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms
\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|
na+gt|na+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancré|nandei|nane|
nanes|nanes-weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|hansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|
|nawicht|nawiht|nawit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|
|nohht|noht|noman|non|none|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)
AND NOT ([2]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

query: ([1]NEG hassister [2]NP*)
AND ([1]NEG idoms !honyanya)
AND ([2]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([2]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms [4]*Q*)
AND NOT ([3]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([4]*Q* idoms
na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

query: ([1]NEG hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP*)
AND ([1]NEG idoms !honyanya)
AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms na*|no*)

query: ([1]NEG pres [2]NEG)
AND ([1]NEG hassister [2]NEG)
AND ([1]NEG idoms !nyanyanya)
AND ([2]NEG idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]NEG idoms !nyanyanya)

AND ([1]NEG hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP*)

AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [3]*NEG*)

AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)

AND ([3]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]NEG hassister [2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO*)

AND ([1]NEG idoms !nyanyanya)

AND ([2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !honyanya)

②否定表現が単独で否定を表す文を探す検索式

query: ([1]NEG idoms !nyanyanya)

AND NOT ([1]NEG hassister [2]NEG)

③否定表現を一つ以上含む文を全て探す検索式

query: ([1]NP* idoms [2]*Q*)

AND ([2]*Q* idoms

\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancre|nandei|nane|nanes|nanes-
weis|nani+g|Nammon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|na-
wit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
ne|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

query: ([1]NP* idoms [2]*Q*)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([2]*Q* idoms [3]*Q*)

AND NOT ([2]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([3]*Q* idoms

na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [2]*Q*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([2]*Q* idoms na*|no*)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [2]*NEG*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)
AND ([2]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)

query: (NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !honyanya)

④2つの否定不定表現から成る否定呼応文を探す検索式

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]NP*)
AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms
\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancre|nandei|nane|names|names-
weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|na-
wit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
ne|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)
AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([2]NP* idoms [4]*Q*)
AND ([4]*Q* idoms
\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancre|nandei|nane|names|names-
weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|naw-
it|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
e|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)
AND NOT ([2]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]NP*)

AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)

AND ([3]*Q* idoms

\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancre|nandei|nane|nanes|nanes-
weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|na-

wit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
ne|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([2]NP* idoms [4]*Q*)

AND NOT ([2]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([4]*Q* idoms [5]*Q*)

AND NOT ([4]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([5]*Q* idoms

na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP*)

AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)

AND ([3]*Q* idoms

\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancre|nandei|nane|nanes|nanes-
weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|na-

wit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
ne|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [4]*Q*)

AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)

AND ([4]*Q* idoms na*|no*)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP*)
AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms
\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancré|nandei|nane|nanes|nanes-
weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|na-
wit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
ne|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)
AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [4]*NEG*)
AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)
AND ([4]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO*)
AND NOT ([1]NP* hassister NEG)
AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms
\$na+gt|\$na+tor|\$nan|\$nanum|n+anes|n+anig|n+anigne|n+anne|na|na+der|na+dor|na+gt|n
a+ting|naht|namare|namon|nan|nan+ding|nan+ting|Nanancré|nandei|nane|nanes|nanes-
weis|nani+g|Nanmon|nanne|nanon|nanre|nansweis|nantale|nanum|nauht|naut|nawicht|nawih
t|na-
wit|nawt|ne|nenne|no|no+der|no+ding|no+ting|no+tyng|Nobody|nohht|noht|noman|non|no
ne|noo|noon|not|nothing|nothyng|nou+der|nou+gt|now+der)
AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]NP*)
AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms [4]*Q*)
AND NOT ([3]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([4]*Q* idoms
na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)
AND ([2]NP* idoms [5]*Q*)
AND NOT ([2]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([5]*Q* idoms [6]*Q*)

AND NOT ([5]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([6]*Q* idoms

na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP*)

AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([3]*Q* idoms [4]*Q*)

AND NOT ([3]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([4]*Q* idoms

na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [5]*Q*)

AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)

AND ([5]*Q* idoms na*|no*)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP*)

AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([3]*Q* idoms [4]*Q*)

AND NOT ([3]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([4]*Q* idoms

na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [5]*NEG*)

AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)

AND ([5]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]NP* hassister [2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO*)

AND ([1]NP* idoms [3]*Q*)

AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([3]*Q* idoms [4]*Q*)

AND NOT ([3]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

AND ([4]*Q* idoms

na|na+gt|namare|nammor|nammore|namoore|namore|nan|nanmore|no|nohht|nomo|nomore|
non|none)

AND ([2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP*)
AND ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms na*|no*)
AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [4]*Q*)
AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([4]*Q* idoms na*|no*)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP*)
AND ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms na*|no*)
AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [4]*NEG*)
AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)
AND ([4]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* hassister
[2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* hassister NEG)
AND ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms na*|no*)
AND ([2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP*)
AND ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [3]*NEG*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)
AND ([3]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)
AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [4]*NEG*)
AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)
AND ([4]*NEG* idoms !nyanyanya)

query: ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* hassister
[2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* hassister NEG)
AND ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms [3]*NEG*)
AND NOT ([1]ADJP*|ADVP*|NP*|PP* idoms *Q*|NEG+CONJ)
AND ([3]*NEG* idoms !honyanya)
AND ([2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !nyanyanya)

query: ([1]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* hassister
[2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO*)
AND ([1]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !nyanyanya)
AND ([2]NEG+MD*|NEG+AX*|NEG+HV*|NEG+BE*|NEG+VB*|NEG+DO* idoms !honyanya)

⑤具体的な語彙を探すための検索式

query: (NEG hassister [1]NP*)
AND ([1]NP* idoms [2]*Q*)
AND ([2]*Q* idoms !honyanya)
AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)

query: (NEG hassister [1]NP*)
AND ([1]NP* idoms [2]*Q*)
AND NOT ([1]NP* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([2]*Q* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([2]*Q* idoms WQ|CP-QUE*|QTP)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms !honyanya)

query: ([1]NEG hassister [2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP*)
AND ([1]NEG idoms !honyanya)
AND ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms [3]*Q*)
AND NOT ([2]ADJP*|ADVP*|QP* idoms CP-QUE-SUB)
AND ([3]*Q* idoms !nyanyanya)

Appendix 2

方言別にみた否定呼応文の分布

方言区分		O1	O2	O3	O4	M1	M2	M3	M4
South	否定呼応		281	1145	63	108		126	11
	単一		551	2608	203	124		1321	1091
	%否定呼応		33.77%	30.51%	23.68%	46.55%		8.71%	1.00%
Central	否定呼応	0	0			553		28	5
	単一	0	1			867		599	456
	%否定呼応	-	0.00%			38.94%		4.47%	1.08%
North	否定呼応							39	9
	単一							390	694
	%否定呼応							9.09%	1.28%
South (Home Counties)	否定呼応	1	0		9	17	638	0	0
	単一	5	0		21	53	323	20	0
	%否定呼応	16.67%	-		30.00%	24.29%	66.39%	0.00%	-
South/Central	否定呼応			21	173			10	1
	単一			57	389			722	412
	%否定呼応			26.92%	30.78%			1.37%	0.24%
South/Central&North	否定呼応		35	74					
	単一		185	182					
	%否定呼応		15.91%	28.91%					
South/Central/North	否定呼応							14	
	単一							64	
	%否定呼応							17.95%	
South/Unknown	否定呼応			25	81				
	単一			68	118				
	%否定呼応			26.88%	40.70%				
Central/Unknown	否定呼応			0	0				
	単一			4	0				
	%否定呼応			0.00%	-				
記載なし	否定呼応		60	151	87			0	
	単一		122	287	127			162	
	%否定呼応		32.97%	34.47%	40.65%			0.00%	
全体	否定呼応	1	376	1416	413	678	638	203	40
	単一	5	859	3206	858	1044	323	3052	2879
	%否定呼応	16.67%	30.45%	30.64%	32.49%	39.37%	66.39%	6.24%	1.37%

(斜線：当該時代に当該方言で書かれたテキストが使用したコーパスに収録されていないことを表す。)