The Catcher in the RyeにおけるI meanの機能

松井信義

要旨：自然な話し言葉（spontaneous speech）で発せられる言葉標識（discourse marker）は、それ自体は特別な意味を有しないが、話し手（speaker）と聞き手（addressee）が対面して行う言葉のやり取り（face-to-face interaction）において、会話のある種潤滑油（lubricant）として様々な重要な機能を果たす。その種類は、well, yes, no, you know, err, mm, kind of, I mean, okay, just, yeah, uh huh, uh-huh, eh, oops, aha, uh-huh, umlerrm, wow, ha, oah, whoops, really, cor, whoa, aargh, yep, aya, nope, mhm, unu unh, alright, hey, oi, you, now, huh uh, geezigees, you see（Biber et al., 1999）など多岐にわたり、その研究範囲の広さをTannen（1993: 44）は、「To consider all hedges would be a mammoth study in itself」と述べている。

さて、上記のように単一語（single word）を中心に行われる言葉標識の中でも、節形式（clausal form）のI meanは多用される言葉標識の一つである。I meanは、文の有的集結合体である話話（discourse — the use of language in speech and writing so as to produce meaning）の各部分をリンクさせる「つなぎ語」（filler）として機能する。

この文章

キーワード：I mean, 詳述, 正当化, 明確化, 訂正, 資料, 強調

1. はじめに

J. D. Salinger（1919-2010, 今年91才で死去）の代表作であるThe Catcher in the Rye（1951年の作品、1980年12月8日、ジョン・レノンの狂信的なファンで彼をニューヨークの自宅前で撃った犯人の愛読書であったのは有名な話）は、退学という形で高校を追われた個性豊かな主人公（protagonist）ホールデンが、いろいろな体験を通して失敗に満ちた因縁的な大人社会を小悪鬼のように言葉で語ってみせる作風からその理由は十分に納得できる。

2. The Catcher in the RyeにおけるI meanの機能の関係

I meanは、文（sentence）や節（clause）の外側の周辺的要素（peripheral element）として様々な話話的機能を果たす。文頭（initially）、文中（medially）、文尾（finally）に現れる。you knowは文頭、文中、文尾の位置を万効なく現れる（松井, 2008）に比べて、I meanはこの作品での出現場所と数度（文頭96回、文中10回、文尾8回）からもわかるように圧倒的に文頭が多い。

では、I meanが出現する位置と機能とはどのような関係にあるだろうか。先ず、拙稿（2008）においてI meanの機能をその特徴から以下のように分類した：

1 舞鶴工業高等専門学校　人文科学部門　教授

（Schiffrin, 1987）。コープス（Biber et al., 1999: 1096）によれば、会話（100万語あたり）におけるyou knowの出現頻度はI meanより高い（Am. Englishで約2.3倍、Brit. Englishで約1.3倍）。しかしながら、この作品においてはyou knowの15回に比べてI meanは104回（you knowの約7倍）と高頻度が高く逆転現象が起きているが、ホールデンが個性豊かで切れ込みでおさらかに若者言葉で語ってみせる作風からその理由は十分に納得できる。
[1] 話し手が、今述べていることについて詳述しさらに談話を発展させる（The speaker elaborates or expands on something that he or she is saying）
[2] 話し手が、今述べているのの正当性を説明する（The speaker justifies something that he or she is saying）
[3] 話し手が、今述べていることをより明瞭にする（The speaker makes clearer something that he or she is saying）
[4] 話し手が、今述べていることを訂正する（The speaker corrects something that he or she is saying）
[5] 話し手が、次に何を述べたら良いのか躊躇う（The speaker hesitates what he or she is going to say next）

上記に加え、本稿では The Catcher in the Rye に特有な新たな機能 [6] を追加する（詳細は後述する）：

[6] 話し手が、同じ語句を繰り返すことにより今述べていることを強調する（The speaker lays emphasis, by repetition, on what he or she is saying）

そして、出現場所・頻度と機能との関係は次の通りである：

・文頭（Initial）：96回
  [1] Elaboration / Expansion 36回
  [3] Clarification 25回
  [4] (Self-) correction 1回
  [5] Hesitation 1回

・文中（Medial）：0回

・文尾（Final）：8回
  [1] Elaboration / Expansion 0回
  [2] Justification / Explanation 0回
  [3] Clarification 7回
  [4] (Self-) correction 0回
  [5] Hesitation 0回
  [6] Emphasis by repetition 1回


3. I mean の機能

では、The Catcher in the Rye の中で、I mean は具体的にどのような談話機能を果たしているのか、松井（2008）が提案した理論的枠組み（paradigm）に今回新たに加えた機能を含め考察してみることにする。

3.1 話し手が、今述べていることについて詳述しさらに談話を発展させる（The speaker elaborates or expands on something that he or she is saying）

このI meanは文頭に現れることが多く、今述べていることあるいは今述べたことをさらに発展させる「つながる言葉」の働きがある。この作品では出現回数が36回と最も多くI meanの典型的な機能の一つであると言える（以下、下線・太字・イタリック体は筆者）。先ず、典型的な例を見てみる：

(1) She practically jumped off the bed, and then she waited while I took my shoes off, and then I danced with her for a while. She's really damn good. I don't like people that dance with little kids, because most of the time it looks terrible. I mean if you're out at a restaurant somewhere and you see some old guy take his little kid out on the dance floor …

そして、次の例はI meanを2回、3回、4回と追い討ちをかけるように連続させることで、一連の関連性のある談話を途切ることなく次の段階へと効果的に膨らませている：

(2) … I watched her once from the window when she was crossing over Fifth Avenue to go to the park, and that's what she is, roller-skate skinny. You'd like her. I mean if you tell old Phoebe something, she knows exactly what the hell you're talking about. I mean you can even take her anywhere with you. If you take her to a lousy movie, for instance, she knows it's a lousy movie …

(3) … But what did worry me was the part about how I'd woke up and found him putting me on the head and all. I mean I wondered if just maybe I was wrong about thinking he was making a flitty pass at me. I wondered if maybe he just liked to pat guys on the head when they're asleep. I
mean how can you tell about that stuff for sure? You can’t. I
even started wondering if maybe I should’ve got my bags
and gone back to his house, the way I’d said I would. I mean
I started thinking that even if he was a flit he certainly’d been
very nice to me …

(4) ‘… But what I mean is, lots of times you don’t know
what interests you the most till you start talking about
something that doesn’t interest you most. I mean you can’t
help it sometimes. What I think is, you’re supposed to leave
somebody alone if he’s at least being interesting and he’s
getting all excited about something. I like it when somebody
gets excited about something. It’s nice. You just didn’t know
this teacher, Mr. Vinson. He could drive you crazy
sometimes, him and the goddamn class. I mean he’d keep
telling you to unify and simplify all the time. Some things
you just can’t do that to. I mean you can’t hardly ever
simplify and unify something just because somebody wants
you to. You didn’t know this guy, Mr. Vinson. I mean he
was very intelligent and all, but you could tell he didn’t have
too much brains.’

3.2 話し手が、今述べていることの正当性を説明する
(The speaker justifies something that he or she is saying)
この I mean は、3.1（elaboration / expansion）に次いで
出現頻度が高く、話し手が今述べていることあるいは
述べたことの正当性（justification）・妥当性（validity）
を補足的に説明する機能がある。場合によっては、as,
since などの理由を表す接続詞と置き換えが可能であれ
る：

(5) … I just mean that I used to think about old Spencer
quite a lot, and if you thought about him too much, you
wondered what the heck he was still living for. I mean he
was all stooped over and he had very terrible posture, and, in
class, whenever he dropped a piece of chalk at the
blackboard, some guy in the first row always had to get up
and pick it up and hand it to him …

(6) ‘How old are you?’ I asked her.
‘Old enough to know better,’ she said. She was really witty.
‘Ya got a watch on ya?’ she asked me again, and then she
stood up and pulled her dress over her head.
I certainly felt peculiar when she did that. I mean she did it
so sudden and all. I know you’re supposed to feel pretty sexy
when somebody gets up and pulls their dress over their head,
but I didn’t …

(7) ‘What didn’t you like about it? Can you remember?’
To tell you the truth, it was sort of embarrassing, in a way,
to be talking about Romeo and Juliet with her. I mean that
play gets pretty sexy in some parts, and she was a nun and
all, but she asked me, so I discussed it with her for a while
…

(8) ‘C’mon,’ I said. ‘You feel like dancing?’ I taught her how
to dance and all when she was a tiny little kid. She’s a very
good dancer. I mean I just taught her a few things. She
learned it mostly by herself. You can’t teach somebody how
to really dance.

(9) … Then I watched the phonies for a while. Some guy
next to me was snowing hell out of the babe he was with. He
kept telling her she had aristocratic hands. That killed me.
The other end of the bar was full of flits. They weren’t too
flitty-looking — I mean they didn’t have their hair too long
or anything — but you could tell they were flits anyway.
Finally old Luce showed up.

3.3 話し手が、今述べていることをより明瞭にする
(The speaker makes clearer something that he or she is
saying)
この機能の I mean は、頻度的に 3.2（justification /
explanation）と同程度に高く出現する傾向がある。3.1
(elaboration / expansion) の機能との違いは微妙な部分
もあるが、決定的な相違は、3.1 が話題を次の段階へ発
展させるべく前段の単なる詳述であるのに対して、3.3
は明らかに前述の内容（の不明瞭さ）をより明確にす
る働きがある。なお、本作品でも 8 個のうち 7 個がそ
うであるように、I mean が文尾に出現すれば通常
clarification として機能する。それに関して、Carter &
McCarthy (2006:108) は次のように述べている：

… When I mean occurs at the end of a sequence, it usually
indicates that the immediately preceding statement is a
clarification.

そして、直前の発話内容（の不明瞭さ）をより明確
にする方法は、以下の通り様々である。

3.3.1 より明確にするために言い換えをする（The
speaker makes a paraphrase for more precision）
この I mean は、前段を受けてその発話内容をさらに
明確にする場合で、in other words や that is（to say）で
置き換えることも可能である：

(10) Some things are hard to remember. I’m thinking now of
when Stradlater got back from his date with Jane. *I mean* I can’t remember exactly what I was doing when I heard his goddam stupid footsteps coming down the corridor. I probably was still looking out the window, but I swear I can’t remember …

(11) … My hand still hurts me once in a while, when it rains and all, and I can’t make a real fist any more — not a tight one, *I mean* but outside of that I don’t care much …

また、内容をより明確にすべく 2 回、3 回と追い討ちをかけるように *I mean* を連続させる場合もある:

(12) … Or if you’re in the back seat of somebody’s car, there’s always somebody’s date in the front seat — some girl, *I mean* — that always wants to know what’s going on all over the whole goddam car. *I mean* some girl in front keeps turning around to see what the hell’s going on …

(13) ‘Did you ever get fed up?’ I said. *I mean* did you ever get scared that everything was going to go lousy unless you did something? *I mean* do you like school, and all that stuff?’

‘It’s a terrific bore.’

*I mean* do you hate it? I know it’s a terrific bore, but do you hate it, is what I mean?’

‘Well, I don’t exactly hate it. You always have to —’

3.3.2 より明確にするために補足的な説明を加える (The speaker adds a supplementary explanation for more precision)

これは、話し手が前段の発話内容をより明確にするために補足的に説明を加え、話話を次の段階へと自然に進展させている:

(14) ‘Yes. Sure,’ I said. I did, too. ‘But you’re wrong about that hating business. *I mean* about hating football players and all. You really are. I don’t hate too many guys. What I may do, I may hate them for a little while …

(15) … For one thing, I figured I ought to get some breakfast. I wasn’t at all hungry, but I figured I ought at least eat something. *I mean* at least get something with some vitamins in it. So I started walking way over east, where the pretty cheap restaurants are, because I didn’t want to spend a lot of dough.

(16) … The thing is, most of the time when you’re coming pretty close to doing with a girl — a girl that isn’t a prostitute or anything. *I mean* — she keeps telling you to stop. The trouble with me is, I stop. Most guys don’t. I can’t help …

(17) ‘The clavichord?’ I said. ‘Well, actually, it’s in the spinal canal. *I mean* it’s quite a ways down in the spinal canal.’

‘Yeah?’ she said. ‘That’s tough.’ Then she sat down on my goddam lap. ‘You’re cute.’

また、全く新しい情報を補足して発話内容を clarify することもある:

(18) … In a way, it was sort of depressing, too, because you kept wondering what the hell would happen to all of them. When they got out of school and college, *I mean*. You figured most of them would probably marry dopey guys …

3.3.3 より明確にするために後方照応を用いる (The speaker employs a cataphoric device for more precision)

これは実際の会話においてしばしば起こりうることで、話し手が聞き手にできるだけ早く情報を提供したりと思うあまり、先ずとりあえず ‘that’（代名詞）、‘there’（副詞）と発する。そして直後に具体的な内容を述べる:

(19) … Guys that are very mean. Guys that never read books. Guys that are very boring. — But I have to be careful about that. *I mean* about calling certain guys bores. I don’t understand boring guys. I really don’t …

(20) I sat there for about a half-hour after he left. *I mean* I just sat in my chair, not doing anything. I kept thinking about Jane, and about Stradlater having a date with her and all …

ところで、上記の二例は、次の例のような照応先が後続する要素にある、所謂「後方照応」（cataphora）と呼ばれるものに類似している点で、この ‘that’, ‘there’ を「後方照応語」（cataphor）（ようなもの）と見なすことができる:

* They are good, these apples.
* Who is she — the woman over there standing by the gate?
* Where is it — the new dress you bought for me yesterday?
* A : Which one is it?  
  B : What are you talking about?  
  A : The gate. The connecting flight to New York. What’s the number?  
  B : It’s 25 A.
3.4 話し手が、同じ語句を繰り返し発すことにより今述べていることを特に強調する（The speaker lays a special emphasis on what he or she is saying by repeating the same phrase）

これは同じフレーズをつなぐI mean で、The Catcher in the Ryeにおいて従来的に現れる傾向がある。この作品では,(24)のサリーによるもの以外は全て主人公ホールデンが発したもの、機械としては同じ語句の繰り返し（場合によっては複数回の繰り返し）による強調と考えることができる。しかし、同時にこの繰り返し表現は、欺瞞に満ちた大中心の社会(deceptive adult-centered society)に強く反抗し、精神的に不安定で心理的にやや屈折した状態にあるホールデンの病的な言動(pathological behavior)の現れだとも言えるのではないだろうか。同じフレーズを繰り返し発することによって内容を強く主張する強調のI mean は、下記の通りいろいろなバリエーションがある。

3.4.1 全く同じ語句を繰り返すことにより強調する（The speaker lays a special emphasis on what he or she is saying by repeating exactly the same phrase）

これはまさに文字通りの繰り返し(literal repetition)で、I mean をつなぎ語として全く同じフレーズを繰り返し発すことにより強調する：

(21) I didn’t say anything for a while. I was thinking.
  ‘Supposing I went to your father and had him psychoanalyze me and all,’ I said. ‘What would he do to me? I mean what would he do to me?’
  ‘He wouldn’t do a goddam thing to you. He’d simply talk to you, and you’d talk to him, for God’s sake …’

(22) ‘… He didn’t stick to the point too much, and they were always yelling “Digression!” at him. It was terrible, because in the first place, he was a very nervous guy — I mean he was a very nervous guy — and his lips were always shaking whenever it was his time to make a speech, and you could hardly hear him …’

(23) ‘… I hated them once a while — I admit it — but it doesn’t last too long, is what I mean. After a while, if I didn’t see them, if they didn’t come in the room, or if I didn’t see them in the dining-room for a couple of meals, I sort of missed them. I mean I sort of missed them.’
  Mr. Antolini didn’t say anything for a while …

3.4.2 全く同じ語句を何回も繰り返すことにより強調する（The speaker lays a special emphasis on what he or she is saying by repeating exactly the same phrase more than once）

これはホールデンのガールフレンドのサリーによる発言であるが、同じフレーズを繰り返すことでサリーの心中(言いたいことに対する強い思い)を察することができる：

(24) Then all of a sudden, out of a clear blue sky, old Sally said, ‘Look, I have to know. Are you or aren’t you coming over to help me trim the tree Christmas Eve? I have to know.’ She was still being snotty on account of her ankles when she was skating.
  ‘I wrote you I would. You’ve asked me that about twenty times. Sure, I am.’
  ‘I mean I have to know,’ she said. She started looking all around the goddam room.

3.4.3 新たに語句を追加して繰り返すことにより強調する（The speaker lays a special emphasis on what he or she is saying by repeating the phrase, adding another word）

これは単に同じ語句を繰り返すのではなく、新たに別の語（句）を追加して更なる強調の効果を狙っている:

(25) Old Phoebe didn’t say anything. When she can’t think of anything to say, she doesn’t say a goddam word.
  ‘Anyway, I like it now.’ I said. ‘I mean right now. Sitting here with you and just chewing the fat and horsing —’

3.4.4 余分な語句を削り落とる部分のみを繰り返すことにより強調する（The speaker lays a special emphasis on what he or she is saying by repeating only the core part, leaving out the other less important words）

これは3.3.3とは全く反対のパターンで、修飾語句を削り落とし核になる語句のみを繰り返すことで、逆に強調の効果を上げるという一つのレトリックだと言える:

(26) The funny part was, though, we were the worst skaters on the whole goddam rink. I mean the worst. And there were some lulus, too. Old Sally’s ankles kept bending in till they were practically on the ice. They not only looked stupid as hell, but they probably hurt like hell, too …

(27) ... They said they were going to get up early to see the first show at Radio City Music Hall. I tried to get them to stick around for a while, but they wouldn’t. So we said good-bye and all. I told them I’d look them up in Seattle.
sometime, if I ever got there, but I doubt if I ever will. Look them up. I mean.

3.4.5 より強調的な語句に置き換えて繰り返すことに
より強調する（The speaker lays a special emphasis on
what he or she is saying by repeating the phrase, partly
substituting the words with stronger meanings for the
words with less strong meanings）

これはより強調的な語句に置き換えることによって、
前段の内容をさらに強調する効果を狙っていると言える。

(28) I started thinking how old Phoebe would feel if I got
pneumonia and died. It was a childish way to think, but I
couldn’t stop myself. She’d feel pretty bad if something like
that happens. She likes me a lot. I mean she’s quite fond of
me. She really is. Anyway, I couldn’t get that off my mind ...

(29) ‘Holden!’ she said right away. She put her arms around
my neck and all. She’s very affectionate. I mean she’s quite
affectionate, for a child. Sometimes she’s even too
affectionate.

3.5 話し手自身が、今述べていることを訂正する（The
speaker himself or herself corrects something that he or
she is saying）

このI mean は、話し手が今述べていることを自ら修正する「自己修正標識」(self-correction marker)として
機能する。この作品では文頭 (initial position) に一回出現
しているだけで、この機能のI mean は使用頻度が極
めて低いと言える。

(30) ‘Holden Caufield. How are ya?’
‘Holden! I’m fine! How are you?’
‘Swell. Listen. How are ya, anyway? I mean how’s
school?’
‘Fine,’ she said. ‘I mean — you know.’
‘Swell. Well, listen. I was wondering if you were busy
today. It’s Sunday, but there’s always one or two mates
going on Sunday.

3.6 話し手が、次に何を述べたらよいのか踏襲（The
speaker hesitates what he or she is going to say next）

「踏襲標識」(hesitation marker) として機能するこの
I mean は、少しボーズが入る切れるが、話し手がさ
らに談話を継続したいと思っている合図である。そ
れに関して Biber et al. (1999: 1092) は、次のように述べ
ている：

... its main function is to enable the speaker to hesitate, i.e.
to pause in the middle of a message, while signaling the wish
to continue speaking ...

この作品の中では、上記3.5（self-correction）と同じよ
うに文頭に1回現れているだけで使用頻度がとても
低い、では、実際どのように使われているのか見てみ
ることにする：

(31) ‘I didn’t have too much difficulty at Elkton Hills,’ I told
him. ‘I didn’t exactly flunk out or anything. I just quit, sort
of.’
‘Why, may I ask?’
‘Why? Oh, well, it’s a long story, sir. I mean it’s pretty
complicated.’ I didn’t feel like going into the whole thing
with him.

4. 最後に

以上、The Catcher in the Rye の作品を通して、談話標
識 I mean には次のような機能があることを論証した：
(1) 話し手が、今述べていることについて詳細さ
らに談話を展開させる（2）話し手が、今述べている
cの正当性を説明する（3）話し手が、今述べて
ていることをより明確にする（4）話し手が、同じ語句を
繰り返し発することにより今述べていることを特に強
調する（5）話し手が、今述べていることを訂正する
（6）話し手が、次に何を述べたらよいのか踏襲する。

この中で、特に(4) はこの作品特有の機能で、多少
に主人公ホールデンの病的な心理面を反映したもので
あると言う。

最後に、I mean は ‘I’ と ‘mean’ の構成要素から容
易に理解できるように極めて話し手志向の語話標識で
あるのは言うまでもないが、同時に話し手と聞き手の
相互作用の枠組みの中で聞き手の注意を促し、「副産
物」(byproduct: an unintended but inevitable secondary
result) として聞き手に対して今話題になっていること
について判断・評価を求めている点において、聞き手
志向であるとも言える。

使用テキスト:
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**FUNCTIONS OF *I MEAN* IN THE CATCHER IN THE RYE**

Nobuyoshi MATSUI

**ABSTRACT**: *I mean* is one of the most common discourse markers in informal spoken language, and seems to have very little information value, not conveying any literal meaning. However, it acts significantly as one of the fillers to link segments of the discourse to each other in face-to-face conversation. It is loosely connected to the main clause, serving to construct a discourse which is an organic aggregate of the sentences and also serving as a kind of floorholder (Wales, 1989: 131) to keep drawing the speaker’s attention to the addressee in the development of the discourse. Then, what concrete functions does the discourse marker *I mean* have? This paper treats the functional properties of *I mean*, paying my special attention to *The Catcher in the Rye*. Since language is the product of mental activities, conveying meaning at a variety of levels at the same time, it would be possible for *I mean* to have more than one function at once. And also, prosodic features should be taken into consideration, simultaneously with the linguistic expression, in order that we may have a better understanding of the functions of *I mean*. Therefore, it should be noted that the paradigm proposed in this paper is only the theoretically feasible hypothesis of the functions of *I mean*.

**Key Words**: *I mean, elaboration, justification, clarification, (self-)correction, hesitation, emphasis*