

The Catcher in the Rye における I mean の機能

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要旨：自然な話し言葉 (spontaneous speech) で無意識に発せられる談話標識 (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, uhler, eh, oops, aha, uhler, umlerm, wow, ha, ooh, whoops, really, cor, whoa, aargh, yep, aya, nope, mhm, unh unh, alright, hey, oi, you, now, huh uh, geezgees, you see (Biber et al., 1999) など枚挙に遑がなく、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) を中心に多岐にわたる談話標識の中で、節形式 (clausal form) の I mean は多用される談話標識の一つである。I mean は、文の有機的集合体である談話 (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) として機能すると同時に、談話をスムーズに膨らませ漸進させる上で貴重な手助けをする。加えて、‘I’ と ‘mean’ が合わせ持つ文字通りの意味から極めて「話し手志向」(speaker-oriented) の談話標識であり、会話において聞き手の注意を話し手の方に引き付けておく「引き付け役」(floorholder) (Wales, 1989:131) としても機能する。では、この小論において I mean が The Catcher in the Rye の中でどのように効果的に機能しているか考察してみることにする。

キーワード：I mean, 詳述, 正当化, 明確化, 訂正, 躊躇, 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欺瞞に満ちた因習的な大人社会を小気味良い若者言葉で痛烈に批判する作品で、当時の口語英語の特徴を調べる上で貴重な資料を提供してくれる。

この作品は全編を通して主人公ホールデンが自分の目線で、自ら語って聞かせるスタイルなので、I mean の出現頻度が高くなると推測できる。I mean と相補関係にありしばしば議論の引き合いに出される談話標識に you know があるが、you know の第一義的な機能は、話し手と聞き手が今話題になっていること (what is being said or asserted or referred to) について共有知識

(shared knowledge) があるかどうかをモニターすることにあり、you know は I mean と異なり「聞き手志向」(addressee-oriented) と「話し手志向」(speaker-oriented) の二つの要素が微妙に混在している談話標識である

(Schiffrin, 1987)。コーパス (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) と極端に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な切り口で軽妙に若者言葉で語って聞か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 の出現場所と機能の関係

談話標識は、文 (sentence) や節 (clause) の外側の周辺の要素 (peripheral element) として様々な談話的機能を果たし、文頭 (initially)、文中 (medially)、文尾 (finally) に出現する。you know は文頭、文中、文尾の位置に万遍なく現れる (松井, 2008) のに比べて、I mean はこの作品での出現場所と度数 (文頭 96 回、文中 0 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のだろうか。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：

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[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、今述べていること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・頻数と機能との関係は次の通りである :

・文頭 (Initial) : 9 6 回

[1']	Elaboration / Expansion	3 6 回
[2']	Justification / Explanation	2 5 回
[3']	Clarification	2 5 回
[4']	(Self-) correction	1 回
[5']	Hesitation	1 回
[6']	Emphasis by repetition	8 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

上記の出現場所と頻数からわかるように、*I mean* は文頭に現れることが圧倒的に多く、機能も [1'] Elaboration / Expansion, [2'] Justification / Explanation そして [3'] Clarification が大部分を占めているが、この作品に特有な [6'] Emphasis も文頭に出現する傾向がある。また、文尾の場合は [3'] Clarification が一番多い。ところで、*I mean* が文中に現れる頻度数が低い (当作品では 0 回) のは、「話し手志向」と「聞き手志向」が微妙に混在する *you know* (基本的に、話し手が聞き手との shared knowledge を意識しながら談話を展

開させるので、途中で *you know* が必然的に「つなぎ語」として使用されることが多くなる) に比べ *I mean* は極めて「話し手志向」の談話標識で、話し手は途中で聞き手との shared knowledge を考慮する必要がなく (それ故、文中での出現頻数が低い)、*I mean* を前段の「つなぎ語」として文頭に置いて談話を次のステップへと展開させるのである。

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「つなぎ語」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れ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 patting 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 goddam 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 などの理由を表わす接続詞と置き換えが可能である：

(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 が談話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 例のうち 7 例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、談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いと思うあまり、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) (のようなもの) 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る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* において特徴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で、機能としては同じ語句の繰り返し（場合によっては複数回の執拗な繰り返し）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、欺瞞に満ちた大人中心の社会 (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る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 in 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話であるが、同じフレーズを執拗に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、新たに別な語（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 余分な語句を削り核にな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 4.3.3 とは全く反対のパターンで、修飾語句を全て削ぎ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 より強意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)

これはより強意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 Caulfield. 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 matinees going on Sunday.

3.6 話し手が、次に何を述べたらよいか躊躇う (The speaker hesitates what he or she is going to say next)

「躊躇標識」(hesitation marker) として機能するこの *I mean* は、少しポーズが入り途切れるが、話し手がさらに談話を継続したいと思っている合図でもある。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述しさらに談話を発展させる (2) 話し手が、今述べていることの正当性を説明する (3) 話し手が、今述べ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か躊躇う。この中で、特に (4) はこの作品特有の機能で、多分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える。

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談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。

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FUNCTIONS OF I MEAN IN THE CATCHER IN THE RYE

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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*