

初期近代英語期における「～するとすぐに」の 意味を持つ時の副詞節を導く接続詞の発達

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要 約

小論は初期近代英語期における「～するとすぐに」の意味を持つ、時の副詞節を導く接続詞の発達を調査・検討したものである。資料として散文テキスト 74 (16 世紀 31, 17 世紀 43) を用いた。明らかにできた点をまとめたものが以下のものである。

16 世紀には、*as soon as*, *as soon as ever*, *so soon as*, *no sooner ~ but/but that/than* (3 種類), *scarce ~ before/but/but that/ere/then/when* (6 種類), *scarcely ~ before/but that/when* (3 種類), *anon as* の計 16 種類が使用されている。その内、使用頻度が高いのは *as soon as* (225 回) と *no sooner ~ but* (58 回) の 2 種類である。一方、17 世紀には、*as soon as*, *as soon as ever*, *so soon as*, *so soon as ever*, *no sooner ~ but/e're/than/when* (4 種類), *scarce ~ that/when* (2 種類), *scarcely ~ before/when* (2 種類), *hardly ~ but/e're/when* (3 種類) の計 15 種類が使用されている。前世紀と同様 *as soon as* (170 回) と *no sooner ~ but* (101 回) の使用頻度が高い。

時制との共起に関しては、*as soon as (ever)*, *so soon as (ever)*, *no sooner* グループの場合、2 世紀を通じて「過去時制」とが最多で、次いで「過去完了」とである。一方、*scarce*, *scarcely* グループでは 2 世紀を通じて、17 世紀に初めて出現した *hardly* グループでも「過去完了」との共起が最多で、「過去時制」との共起が 2 番目に多い。最後に、*anon as* の場合には、わずか 3 例しかなく、決定的なことは云えない。

no sooner, *scarce/scarcely*, *hardly* のいずれかが文ないしは節の先頭に来ると、主語と述部動詞の位置が逆転して倒置が生じる。*no sooner* の場合、16 世紀に 8 回、17 世紀に 23 回倒置を起こしている。*scarce/scarcely* の場合、両世紀共に 6 回ずつ倒置を起こしている。*hardly* の場合には倒置の例は皆無であった。

I

小論は、16世紀と17世紀それぞれの時代における「～するとすぐに」の意味を持つ、時の副詞節を導く接続詞を対象にした2編の拙論に、資料を加味して再検討したものである。このテーマはこれまで歴史言語学の研究者から軽視されてきたため、時代的に広範囲を扱った研究書も論文も殆どなかった。18世紀の相関接続詞に関しては、小野捷博士が『英語時間副詞節の文法』(1984)の中で扱っている。しかしながら、computer corpusが利用できる現代においては資料としては残念ながら不十分である。¹⁾ 初期近代英語期に関係ある文献の一つである、1476年から1776年をカバーしている *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (1999) 第3巻で、Matti Rissanenがこの接続詞に関して言及しているが [p.314], 半ページにも満たない。しかも、対象となった接続詞は *as soon as* と *no sooner ~ but/than* だけであり、史的变化についての記述は「*no sooner ~ but/than* は中期英語期 [the Middle English period] にはなかった」というだけである。²⁾ さらに、*A Grammar of Late Modern English Grammar* (1929) の 'Adverbial Clauses of Time' と題された章の中で、Poutsumaが相関接続詞を扱っているが、³⁾ 史的变化に関する記述は十分とは云い難い。

今回、加味した資料は以下のものである。16世紀では、*Tyndale's New Testament* (1534) の中から *The Gospel of St Matthew*, *The Gospel of St Mark*, *The Gospel of St Luke*, *The Gospel of Saint John*, *The Acts of the Apostles*, *The Epistle of the Apostle St Paul to the Romans*, *The First Epistle of St Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, *The Epistle of St Paul unto the Galatians*, *The Epistle of St Paul to the Ephesians*, *The Epistle of St Paul unto the Philippians*, *The Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians*, *The First Epistle of St Paul unto the Thessalonians*, *The Second Epistle of St Paul to the Thessalonians*, *The First Epistle of St Paul unto Timothy*, *The Second Epistle of St Paul unto Timothy*, *The Epistle of St Paul unto Titus*, *The Epistle of St Paul unto Philemon*, *The First Epistle of St Peter the Apostle*, *The Second Epistle of St Peter*, *The First Epistle of St John the Apostle*, *The Second Epistle*

1) 小野捷『英語時間副詞節の文法』(1984: 14-17, 20-21, 86-89, 465-471) 参照

2) See Rissanen (1999: 314), "4.6.2.3.5 Temporal clauses," *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III 1476-1776*.

3) See Poutsuma (1929: 661-680), "Adverbial Clauses of Time." *A Grammar of Late Modern English*.

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of St John, The Third Epistle of St John, The Epistle of St Paul unto Hebrews, The Epistle of St James, The Epistle of St Jude, The Revelation of St John the Divine である。

次に、17世紀では、Janet Todd が編集した *The Works of Aphra Behn* の第3巻 *The Fair Jilt and Other Short Stories* (1995) の中から、‘Agnes de Castro’ (1688), ‘The Nun’ (1697), ‘The Adventure of the Black Lady’ (1697), ‘The Unfortunate Bride’ (1698), ‘The Dumb Virgin’ (1700), ‘The Unhappy Mistake’ (1698) の6編の短編である。

16世紀から17世紀末までの初期近代英語期における「～するとすぐに」の意味を持つ、時の副詞節を導く接続詞の実態を16世紀と17世紀に分けて、既に明らかにした。今回の目的は2世紀を繋げて、記述・検討することである。そこで、追加した資料と併せて、16世紀のテキストが31、17世紀のテキストが43、計74のテキストを基に、上記の接続詞の初期近代英語期における実態を明らかにしたい。調査したテキストについては、小論の末尾に年代順に挙げている。

初期近代英語で使用されている接続詞の中で、*no sooner* で始まるもの、*scarce* あるいは *scarcely* で始まるもの、*hardly* で始まるものに関しては、*no sooner*, *scarce*, *scarcely*, *hardly* がそれぞれ文や節の先頭に来ると、主語と述部動詞の順序が入れ替わるいわゆる倒置が生じる。⁴⁾ それでも、たまに倒置が起こらないこともある。以下は倒置が生じなかった例である。

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, 14: but scarcely they had taken that into their consideration but that they were suddenly stepped into a delicate green
The Spanish Masquerado, 276: when he was Dictator, then the Spaniards did in *Don Pedro*, thinking that no sooner hee would haue arriued in the English coast, but he would haue written back, as the Romain Monarch did
Pandosto, 251: which no sooner *Pandosto* hearde, but he determined that both Bellaria and the young infant should be burnt with fire.
The Holy War, 144: hardly a week would pass but a banquet must be had betwixt him and them.

Quirk は相関接続詞 *no sooner ~ than* に関して、意味上では *as soon as* の持つ意味に類

4) See Swan (2005: 205), “233 hardly, scarcely and no sooner.” *Practical English Usage*. Third Edition.

似しており、その上「驚き」までも表わすと述べている。⁵⁾

小論において、以下のタイプの用例は分析対象から除外する。

1) ‘as soon as (ever)’, ‘so soon as (ever)’, ‘no sooner ~ than’ を含む節が形容詞や副詞の比較表現の例である場合には、そのような用例は検討対象から除外する。

Rosalynde, 69: Cupid shoots at a rag as soon as at a robe

Eupheus and His England, 306: that hats alter as fast as the turner can turn his block, and hearts as soon as one can turn his back

The Vnfortunate Traveler, 327: He woulde cracke neckes as fast as a cooke cracks egges: a fidler cannot turne his pin so soone as he would turne a man of the ladder.

The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia, 75: I spake of the end to which it is directed; which end ends not, no sooner than the life.

The Blazing World, 278: Nay, we might as probably affirm that infinite nature would be as soon destroyed as that one atom could perish

The Holy War, 164: True, this fellow Harmless-Mirth did hang a little in hand, and could not so soon get him a master as the others did

The Commonwealth of Oceana, 91: whereas by virtue of this the tribe is no sooner in the field than in battalia

2) ‘as soon as (ever)’ や ‘no sooner ~ than’ に続くものが単語 1 個だけで、しかも節を構成しない場合には、そのような用例は検討対象から除外する。

The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia, 387: Then was the name of Philoclea gravd in the glass windows, and, by the foolish idolatry of affection, no sooner written than adored; and no sooner adored than pitied

The Commonwealth of Oceana, 98: Thus much for the description of the first day’s work at the muster, which happened (as has been shown) to be done as soon as said

The Fair Jilt, 18: but that was a Thought that did not long perplex her, and which, almost as soon as born, she turn’d to her Advantage:

5) See Quirk et al. (1985: 1080), “Clauses of Time.” *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*.

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3) ‘as soon as might be’, ‘as soon as possibly he cou’d’, ‘so soon as possibly he cou’d’ や ‘as soon as possible’ のような表現が「できる限り早く」の意味で使用されている用例は検討対象から除外する。

The Pilgrim’s Progress, Part II, 321: Now because it was somewhat late, and because the Pilgrims were weary with their Journey, and also made faint with the sight of the Fight, and of the terrible Lyons, therefore they desired as soon as might be, to prepare to go to Rest.

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 296: Xavier kiss’d his hand with a profound reverence, and told him, that he wou’d return to wait on his Majesty, as soon as possibly he cou’d

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 59: But that he might leave nothing upon his conscience, to upbraid him concerning the Socotorins, he engag’d himself solemnly before Almighty God, to return to them, so soon as possibly he cou’d

The Wandring Beauty, 398: which they found so Innocent and Reasonable, that they desir’d her to prepare it as soon as possible, and to make her Application of it withal convenient speed

4) ‘as soon as’ が時の副詞節を導く接続詞として機能していない時は、そのような用例は検討対象から除外する。

The Fair Jilt, 28: She no sooner heard of him, which was as soon as he arriv’d, but she fell in love with his very Name.

II

16 世紀, 17 世紀それぞれの時期に使用されていた「～するとすぐに」の意味を持つ, 時の副詞節を導く接続詞は以下の通りである。各接続詞の括弧の中の数字はその使用回数を表わしている。

16 世紀 :

‘as soon as’ (225), ‘as soon as ever’ (6), ‘so soon as’ (33), ‘no sooner ~ but’ (58), ‘no sooner ~ but that’ (20), ‘no sooner ~ than’ (2), ‘scarce ~ before’ (2), ‘scarce ~ but’ (4), ‘scarce ~ but that’ (1), ‘scarce ~ ere’ (1), ‘scarce ~ then’ (1),

‘scarce ~ when’ (2), ‘scarcely ~ before’ (2), ‘scarcely ~ but that’ (3),
 ‘scarcely ~ when’ (4), ‘anon as ’ (3) [16 種類]

17 世紀 :

‘as soon as’ (170), ‘as soon as ever’ (5), ‘so soon as’ (35), ‘so soon as ever’ (4),
 ‘no sooner ~ but’ (101), ‘no sooner ~ e’re’ (2), ‘no sooner ~ than’ (28),
 ‘no sooner ~ when’ (4), ‘scarce ~ that’ (1), ‘scarce ~ when’ (6),
 ‘scarcely ~ before’ (1), ‘scarcely ~ when’ (12), ‘hardly ~ but’ (1),
 ‘hardly ~ e’re ’ (4), ‘hardly ~ when’ (2) [15 種類]

下記の表 1 は世紀別及び年代別にそれぞれの接続詞が各テキストにおいて使用されている状況を示したものである。数字は該当する接続詞が何回そのテキストで用いられているかを示している。

表 1 世紀別及び年代別各接続詞の分布状況

YEAR TITLE	as soon as	as soon as ever	so soon as	
1526 <i>A Hundred Merry Tales</i>	6	1	0	
?1528 <i>Howleglas</i>	1	0	0	
1530 <i>Tyndale's Old Testament</i>	30	0	0	
1531 <i>The Book named The Governor</i>	8	0	0	
1534 <i>Tyndale's New Testament</i>	67	0	0	
?1535 <i>Tales and Quick Answers</i>	2	0	0	
1550s <i>The Life of Sir Thomas Moore</i>	3	0	0	
1551 <i>Utopia</i>	1	0	0	
1557 <i>The History of King Richard the Third</i>	3	0	0	
1561 <i>The Book of the Courtier</i>	19	0	0	
1567 <i>Merry Tales Made by Master Skelton</i>	2	0	0	

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1579 <i>The Schoole of Abuse</i>	1	1	0	
1580 <i>Euphues and His England</i>	3	0	0	
1583 <i>Selections from the Mirrour of Mirth</i>	0	0	6	
1588 <i>Pandosto</i>	9	0	1	
1590 <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	37	1	2	
1590 <i>Rosalynde</i>	20	0	0	
1591 <i>A Short Treatise of Hunting</i>	0	0	3	
1592 <i>The Blacke Bookes Messenger</i>	4	0	0	
1592 <i>Green's Groats-worth of Wit</i>	1	0	0	
1592 <i>Pierce Penillesse</i>	1	1	0	
1596 <i>A View of the Present State of Ireland</i>	0	0	5	
1597 <i>The Gentle Craft, Part I</i>	0	2	10	
1597 <i>The Famous Historie of Chinon of England</i>	4	0	1	
1598 or 1599 <i>Thomas of Reading</i>	3	0	8	
16世紀小計	225	6	33	
YEAR TITLE	as soon as	as soon as ever	so soon as	so soon as ever
1605 <i>The Advancement of Learning</i>	3	0	0	0
1611 <i>The Holy Bible</i>	49	0	0	0
1625 <i>The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral</i>	2	0	0	0
1651 <i>Leviathan</i>	5	1	0	0
1653; 1661 <i>The Princess Cloria</i>	2	0	0	0
1656 <i>The Commonwealth of Oceana</i>	0	0	3	0

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1660 <i>The Readie & Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealkth</i>	0	0	1	0
1662 <i>The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith</i>	1	0	0	0
1663 <i>The Case of Madam Mary Carleton</i>	5	0	1	0
1666 <i>Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners</i>	1	1	2	0
1666 <i>The Blazing World</i>	7	0	0	0
1675 <i>The Life of Mr. Richard Hooker</i>	1	0	0	0
1675 <i>A Complete Narrative of the Trial of Elizabeth Lillyman</i>	2	0	0	0
1676 <i>The Compleat Angler</i>	1	0	5	2
1678 <i>The Pilgrim's Progress, Part I</i>	2	0	5	0
1682 <i>The Holy War</i>	2	0	2	0
1684 <i>The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II</i>	3	0	3	1
1688 <i>The Life of St. Francis Xavier</i>	16	1	13	1
1688 <i>The Fair Jilt</i>	5	0	0	0
1688 <i>Oroonoko</i>	14	0	0	0
1688 <i>Agnes de Castro</i>	4	0	0	0
1689 <i>The Lucky Mistake</i>	8	0	0	0
1689 <i>The History of the Nun</i>	10	0	0	0
1692 <i>Incognita</i>	9	0	0	0
1697 <i>Memoirs on the Court of the King of Bantam</i>	2	1	0	0
1697 <i>The Nun</i>	5	0	0	0
1697 <i>The Adventure of the Black Lady</i>	1	0	0	0
1698 <i>The Unfortunate Bride</i>	2	0	0	0

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1698 <i>The Unfortunate Happy Lady</i>	2	0	0	0
1698 <i>The Wandring Beauty</i>	2	1	0	0
1698 <i>The Unhappy Mistake</i>	3	0	0	0
1700 <i>The Dumb Virgin</i>	1	0	0	0
17世紀小計	170	5	35	4
YEAR TITLE	no sooner ~ but	no sooner ~ but that	no sooner ~ than	
?1528 <i>Howleglas</i>	1	0	0	
1551 <i>Utopia</i>	1	0	0	
1579 <i>The Schoole of Abuse</i>	1	0	0	
1580 <i>Euphues and His England</i>	3	0	0	
1583 <i>Selections from the Mirrour of Mirth</i>	1	0	1	
1588 <i>Pandosto</i>	14	0	0	
1589 <i>The Spanish Masquerado</i>	5	0	0	
1590 <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	5	18	1	
1590 <i>Rosalynde</i>	11	0	0	
1591 <i>Last Fight of the Revenge at Sea</i>	1	0	0	
1592 <i>Kind-Harts Dreame</i>	2	0	0	
1592 <i>The Blacke Bookes Messenger</i>	1	0	0	
1592 <i>Green's Groats-worth of Wit</i>	3	0	0	
1592 <i>Pierce Penillesse</i>	1	0	0	
1594 <i>The Vnfortunate Traveller</i>	2	0	0	
1597 <i>The Gentle Craft, Part I</i>	2	2	0	
1597 <i>The Famous Historie of Chinon of England</i>	2	0	0	

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1598 or 1599 <i>Thomas of Reading</i>	1	0	0	
1600 <i>Kemps nine daies vvonder</i>	1	0	0	
16世紀小計	58	20	2	
YEAR TITLE	no sooner ~ but	no sooner ~ e're	no sooner ~ than	no sooner ~ when
1603 <i>The Wonderfull Yeare</i>	5	0	0	0
1605 <i>The Advancement of Learning</i>	3	0	0	0
1608 <i>Characters of Virtues and Vices</i>	0	0	2	0
1611 <i>The Holy Bible</i>	1	0	0	0
1612 <i>A Map of Virginia</i>	1	0	0	0
1615 <i>A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia</i>	5	0	0	0
1617 <i>Eater hath hang'd Haman</i>	3	0	0	0
1620 <i>Merrie conceited Jests</i>	3	0	0	0
1649 <i>A Voyage to Virginia</i>	8	0	0	0
1653;1661 <i>The Princess Cloria</i>	2	0	0	1
1656 <i>The Commonwealth of Oceana</i>	0	0	7	0
1662 <i>The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith</i>	1	0	0	0
1666 <i>Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners</i>	8	0	0	0
1666 <i>The Blazing World</i>	6	0	0	0
1673 <i>The Momoires of Mary Carleton</i>	2	0	0	0
1675 <i>Bloody News from Chattam</i>	1	0	0	0
1677 <i>Horrid News from St. Martin's</i>	1	0	0	0
1682 <i>The Holy War</i>	3	0	0	0

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1684 <i>The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II</i>	1	0	0	0
1688 <i>The Life of St. Francis Xavier</i>	6	0	12	2
1688 <i>The Fair Jilt</i>	7	0	0	0
1688 <i>Oroonoko</i>	11	0	0	1
1688 <i>Agnes de Castro</i>	2	0	0	0
1689 <i>The Lucky Mistake</i>	12	0	1	0
1689 <i>The History of the Nun</i>	5	0	0	0
1692 <i>Incognita</i>	1	0	0	0
1697 <i>Memoirs on the Court of the King of Bantam</i>	0	0	1	0
1697 <i>The Adventure of the Black Lady</i>	1	0	0	0
1698 <i>The Unfortunate Happy Lady</i>	0	0	1	0
1698 <i>The Wandring Beauty</i>	0	2	1	0
1698 <i>The Unhappy Mistake</i>	0	0	2	0
1700 <i>The Dumb Virgin</i>	1	0	1	0
1700 <i>The last speech and confession of Peter Caesar</i>	1	0	0	0
17世紀小計	101	2	28	4
YEAR TITLE	scarce ~ before	scarce ~ but	scarce ~ but that	scarce ~ ere
1590 <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	1	0	1	0
1590 <i>Rosalynde</i>	1	0	0	1
1592 <i>Green's Groats-worth of Wit</i>	0	2	0	0
1594 <i>The Vnfortunate Traveller</i>	0	2	0	0
16世紀小計	2	4	1	1

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YEAR TITLE	scarce ~ then	scarce ~ when	scarcely ~ before	scarcely ~ but that
1530 <i>Tyndale's Old Testament</i>	1	0	0	0
1589 <i>The Spanish Masquerado</i>	0	0	1	0
1590 <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	0	1	1	3
1592 <i>Pierce Penillesse</i>	0	1	0	0
16世紀小計	1	2	2	3
YEAR TITLE	scarcely ~ when	anon as		
1526 <i>A Hundred Merry Tales</i>	0	1		
1534 <i>Tyndale's New Testament</i>	0	2		
1590 <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	4	0		
16世紀小計	4	3		
YEAR TITLE	scarce ~ that	scarce ~ when	scarcely ~ before	scarcely ~ when
1611 <i>The Holy Bible</i>	1	0	0	0
1653; 1661 <i>The Princess Cloria</i>	0	2	0	0
1688 <i>The Life of St. Francis Xavier</i>	0	0	1	12
1688 <i>Oroonoko</i>	0	1	0	0
1692 <i>Incognita</i>	0	3	0	0
17世紀小計	1	6	1	12
YEAR TITLE	hardly ~ but	hardly ~ e're	hardly ~ when	
1682 <i>The Holy War</i>	1	0	0	
1688 <i>The Life of St. Francis Xavier</i>	0	0	2	
1697 <i>Memoirs on the Court of the King of Bantam</i>	0	1	0	

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1697 <i>The Nun</i>	0	1	0	
1698 <i>The Unfortunate Happy Lady</i>	0	1	0	
1698 <i>The Unhappy Mistake</i>	0	1	0	
17世紀小計	1	4	2	

§ 1. *as soon as (ever) vs. so soon as (ever)*

as soon as (ever) と *so soon as (ever)* は 16 世紀と 17 世紀の両世紀を通じて競合関係にある。それでも、2 世紀に亘って *as soon as* が *so soon as* に対して圧倒的に優勢である。次に、*so soon as ever* は 16 世紀には手元の資料では全く出現しておらず、17 世紀にわずか 4 回使用されているだけである。しかも、1676 年から 1688 年までの短い期間である。*The Complete Angler* (1676) は別にして、残りは宗教的色彩の強い *The Pilgrim's Progress, Part I* (1678), *The Pilgrims Progress, Part II* (1684), *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688) に用いられているという特徴が見られる。

Tyndale's Old Testament (30 例), *Tyndale's New Testament* (67 例) と *The Holy Bible* (49 例) は全体を通して常に *as soon as* のみを使用している。用例数では、*Tyndale* 訳は *The Holy Bible* の 2 倍近くあるが。

as soon as ever は *as soon as* の強意形 [emphatic form] である。16 世紀では、*A Hundred Merry Tales* (1526) に 1 例, *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579) に 1 例, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) に 1 例, *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) に 1 例, *The Gentle Craft, Part I* (1597) に 2 例, 計 6 例が見られた。一方、17 世紀では、*Leviathan* (1651), *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688) と *Memoirs on the Court of the King of Bantam* (1697) にそれぞれ 1 例, 計 4 例が見られた。次に、*so soon as ever* は *so soon as* の強意形 [emphatic form] である。その 17 世紀の例は、*The Compleat Angler* (1676) に 2 例, *The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II* と *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* に各々 1 例, 計 4 例が見られた。

2 世紀に亘って、*as soon as (ever)* [*as soon as* と *as soon as ever* の例を併せて 16 世紀が 231 例, 17 世紀が 175 例] が *so soon as (ever)* [16 世紀は *so soon as* のみで 33 例, 17 世紀は *so soon as* と *so soon as ever* の例を併せて, 41 例] を大きく凌駕している。*as soon as* はそれぞれの世紀のどの時期にも出現するが、一方 *as soon as ever* は各世紀共に散発的にしか出現しない。*so soon as* は 16 世紀には 1583 年から 1599 年までの世紀末約 20 年間に、一方 17

世紀でも 1656 年から 1688 年までの約 30 年間にのみ散発的に出現している。

16 世紀の *as soon as* の用例数が 17 世紀のそれを大きく上回っている。その理由は *Tyndale's Old Testament* (30 例) と *Tyndale's New Testament* (67 例) の合計が *The Holy Bible* (49 例) のおよそ 2 倍あるからである。なお、各テキストにおける用例数の内訳は次の通りである。

Tyndale's Old Testament:

- 'The First Book of Moses Called Genesis' (19),
- 'The Second Book of Moses Called Exodus' (5)
- 'The Fourth Book of Moses Called Numbers' (4)
- 'The Fifth Book of Moses Called Deuteronomy' (2)

Tyndale's New Testament:

- 'The Gospel of St Matthew' (8)
- 'The Gospel of St Mark' (14)
- 'The Gospel of St Luke' (17)
- 'The Gospel of Saint John' (14)
- 'The Acts of the Apostles' (9)
- 'The First Epistle of St Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians' (1)
- 'The Epistle of St Paul unto the Philippians' (1)
- 'The Epistle of St James' (1)
- 'The Revelation of St John the Divine' (2)

The Holy Bible:

- 'The Gospel According to St. Mark' (4)
- 'The Gospel According to St. Luke' (6)
- 'The Gospel According to St. John' (3)
- 'The Acts of the Apostles' (2)
- 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' (2)
- 'The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis' (3)
- 'The Second Book of Moses, Called Exodus' (2)
- 'The Book of Joshua' (5)
- 'The Book of Judges' (2)
- 'The First Book of Samuel' (4)

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‘The Second Book of Samuel’ (4)

‘The First Book of the Kings’ (4)

‘The Second Book of the Kings’ (3)

‘The Second Book of the Chronicles’ (1)

‘The Book of Psalms’ (2)

‘The Book of the Prophet Isaiah’ (1)

‘The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel’ (1)

as soon as の綴り表記に関して、*OED* は次のようにコメントしている。「15 世紀末から 18 世紀半ばまで、*as* と *soon* は合体した綴りになっている (*assone, assoone, asoone, assoon*)」。⁶⁾ しかしながら、*as soon as* と *asoon as* のそれぞれの例の数を精確に計算するのは難しい。なぜなら、オリジナルの綴りを採用するか、現代英語の綴りを採用するかは個々の編者の方針次第であるから。

OED における *as soon as* の初出例は *South English Ledendary* (c1290) からのものである。⁷⁾ 一方、*so soon as* の *OED* における初出例は *Assump. Virg.* (c1330) からのものである。⁸⁾ 従って、共に ME 期に使用されていたことがわかる。

後期近代英語の文法書の中で、Poutsma が「Shakespeare は専ら *so soon as* を用いており、欽定訳聖書の方は *as soon as* を専ら使用している。18 世紀になると *as soon as* が一般的には決まり文句となっている。19 世紀の始めには、*so soon as* が Shakespeare の言い回しに色濃く染まっていた Walter Scott の影響を受けて、作家たちに好まれた。」とコメントしている。⁹⁾

表 2 は、16 世紀において *as soon as*, *as soon as ever*, *so soon as* の 3 種類の接続詞が「現在時制」、「過去時制」、「現在完了」、「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。また、17 世紀において *as soon as*, *as soon as ever*, *so soon as*, *so soon as ever* の 4 種類の接続詞が「現在時制」、「過去時制」、「現在完了」、「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。全体的には 16 世紀では「過去時制」(115 例, 43.6%)、「過去完了」(88 例, 33.3%) と共起することが多い。17 世紀の場合も、同様に「過去時制」(104 例, 48.6%)、「過去完了」(63 例, 29.4%) と共起することが多い。

6) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *soon*. 4.c.)

7) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *soon*. 4.c.)

8) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *soon*. 4.d.)

9) See Poutsma (1929: 678), “Adverbial Clauses of Time.” *A Grammar of Late Modern English*.

表 2 ‘as soon as/so soon as’ 等の接続詞の時制毎の分布状況

接続詞	時制	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
as soon as		41	100	9	75
as soon as ever		3	3	0	0
so soon as		7	12	1	13
16 世紀小計		51 19.3 %	115 43.6 %	10 3.8 %	88 33.3 %
as soon as		26	87	6	51
as soon as ever		1	4	0	0
so soon as		10	11	2	12
so soon as ever		2	2	0	0
17 世紀小計		39 18.2 %	104 48.6 %	8 3.8 %	63 29.4 %

以下は各接続詞の用例である。

Howleglas, 223: And as soon as Howleglas had turned his back, the hollander took the apple and ate it in a great haste. [past perfect]

Thomas of Reading, 274: and assoone as they were alighted, they were saluted by the Marchants [past perfect]

A Hundred Merry Tales, 117: For every man knoweth what ye will say as soon as ever ye begin, because ye have preached it so oft. [present tense]

The Gentle Craft, Part I, 125: because I will not ouersleepe my selfe, I will for this night lie in my cloathes, so that as soone as euer you call, I will straight be ready [present tense]

Thomas of Reading, 282: Now, as soone as the goodman sawe her, he asked his wife where she had that maiden. [past tense]

Selections from the Mirrour of Mirth, 371: So soon as they were all in, Solomon caused the cover to be set on and glued fast with the glue of Sapience [= wisdom] [past tense]

Oroonoko, 91: *But*, says he, *I would not wish you to approach, for, I am sure, you will be in Love* as soon as you behold her. [present tense]

Leviathan, 649: because after he had Fasted to procure the recovery of his owne child, assoone as he knew it was dead, he called for meate. [past tense]

The Blazing World, 255: and as soon as they had crossed the river they came into

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an island where there were men which had heads, beaks and feathers like wild geese [past perfect]

Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, 64: for as soon as ever the word came in, at first I knew my trouble would be long [past tense]

The Wandring Beauty, 401: Here they were interrupted by the young Lady, to whom she Repeated the Conference betwixt Sir *Christian*, and Prayfast, as soon as ever Sir Christian left the Room. [past tense]

The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II, 318: How now my Boys, do you love to go before when no danger doth approach, and love to come behind so soon as the Lions appear? [present tense]

The Compleat Angler, 279: Come then, follow me, and so soon as we have din'd; we will down again to the little House [present perfect]

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 329: So soon as he was come on shore, he visited the sick in the Town-Hospitals [past perfect]

The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II, 366: So thither they came; and he called at the Door, and the old Man within knew his Tongue so soon as ever he heard it; so he opened, and they all came in. [past tense]

§2. *no sooner ~ but* vs. *no sooner ~ than*

no sooner ~ but と *no sooner ~ than* は本来競合関係にある。しかしながら、16世紀に関しては前者(58)は *no sooner ~ but that* (20) を加えると、78例となり、後者はわずか2例しかなく、両者は競合関係にあるとは云い難い。それでも、17世紀になると、前者が101例に対し、後者が28例と大幅に増加する結果、両者の競合関係が漸く成立する。とはいえ、*no sooner ~ but* が *no sooner ~ than* に対して圧倒的に優勢である。Poutsuma が *A Grammar of Late Modern English* の「時の副詞節」の中で、初期近代英語では *than* の代わりに *but* が頻繁に使用されたと述べている。¹⁰⁾ このコメントからこの時期には *no sooner ~ but* が優勢を誇っていたことが納得できる。

16世紀においては、*no sooner ~ but* の用例は世紀の前半では *Howleglas* (?1528) に1例見られるだけである。後半になると1551年から1600年まで18のテキストに満遍なく現われている。一方、*no sooner ~ but that* の用例に関しては、*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) に18例、*The Gentle Craft*, Part I (1597) に2例見られるだけである。さらに、*no*

10) See Poutsuma (1929: 665), "Adverbial Clauses of Time." *A Grammar of Late Modern English*.

sooner ~ than の用例は *Selections from the Mirroure of Mirth* (1583) と *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) に各 1 例現れる。

次いで、17 世紀には、no sooner ~ but の用例は 1603 年から 1700 年までの 27 のテキストに万遍なく見られる。no sooner ~ e're の用例は *The Wandring Beauty* (1698) に 2 回現れるだけである。no sooner ~ than の用例は世紀の前半では *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608) に 2 例使われている。後半には、*The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) に 2 例、*The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688) に 12 例、*The Lucky Mistake* (1689)、*The Unfortunate Happy Lady* (1698) と *The Wandring Beauty* (1698) に各 1 例ずつ、*The Unhappy Mistake* (1698) に 2 例、*The Dumb Virgin* (1700) に 1 例と散発的に生じている。no sooner ~ when の用例は世紀の前半には皆無である。後半には散発的に見られ、*The Princess Cloria* (1653; 1661) に 1 例、*The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688) に 2 例、そして *Oroonoko* (1688) に 1 例使われている。

Olga Fisher は、1066 年から 1476 年までを対象にした *The Cambridge History of the English Language* 第 2 巻の中で、初期近代英語期以前の時代における no sooner ~ than の存在に関して、「no sooner ~ than は中期英語 [Middle English] には見られない」と述べている。¹¹⁾ さらに、Rissanen が「no sooner ~ than の初出例は Helsinki Corpus では 1600 年頃のものである」と述べており、¹²⁾ 表 1 の 1583 年、1590 年の例は僅かとは云え、それより以前の例と云う事ができる。

否定の副詞句 no sooner が文や節の先頭に来ると、主語と述部動詞の位置が入れ替わり倒置が生じる。手元の資料では、16 世紀に 8 例、17 世紀に 23 例倒置が生じている。その内訳を示すと、16 世紀では、*The Spanish Masquerado* (1589)、*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590)、*Greene's Groats-worth of Wit* (1592)、*The Famous Historie of Chinon of England* (1597) に各 1 例、*Rosalynde* (1590) と *Kind-Harts Dreame* (1592) に各 2 例ある。一方、17 世紀では、*The Memoires of Mary Carleton* (1673)、*Bloody News from Chattam* (1675)、*The Unfortunate Happy Lady* (1698)、*The last speech and confession of Peter Caesar* (1700) に各 1 例、*The Princess Cloria* (1653; 1661)、*The Holy War* (1682)、*The Unhappy Mistake* (1698) に各 2 例、*A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615) と *The*

11) See Fisher (1992: 355), "4.6.3.4. Temporal clauses." *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume II 1066–1476*.

12) See Rissanen (1999: 314), "4.6.2.3.5 Temporal clauses," *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III 1476–1776*.

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Blazing World (1666) に各 3 例, *A Voyage to Virginia* (1649) に 7 例ある。

表 3 は, 16 世紀において *no sooner ~ but*, *no sooner ~ but that*, *no sooner ~ than* の 3 種類の接続詞が「現在時制」, 「過去時制」, 「現在完了」, 「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。また, 17 世紀において *no sooner ~ but*, *no sooner ~ e're*, *no sooner ~ than*, *no sooner ~ when* の 4 種類の接続詞が「現在時制」, 「過去時制」, 「現在完了」, 「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。全体的には 16 世紀では「過去時制」(39 例, 48.7%), 「過去完了」(28 例, 35%) と共起することが多い。17 世紀でも同じように, 「過去時制」(72 例, 53.4%), 「過去完了」(57 例, 42.2%) と共起することが多い。

表 3 ‘no sooner’ で始まる接続詞の時制毎の分布状況

接続詞	時制	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
<i>no sooner ~ but</i>		8	30	2	18
<i>no sooner ~ but that</i>		3	7	0	10
<i>no sooner ~ than</i>		0	2	0	0
16 世紀小計		11 13.8%	39 48.7%	2 2.5%	28 35%
<i>no sooner ~ but</i>		3	51	1	46
<i>no sooner ~ e're</i>		0	2	0	0
<i>no sooner ~ than</i>		0	18	2	8
<i>no sooner ~ when</i>		0	1	0	3
17 世紀小計		3 2.2%	72 53.4%	3 2.2%	57 42.2%

以下は各接続詞の用例である。

Howleglas, 234: That is truth, for a woman is no sooner angry but she is worse than the devil. [present tense and ? surprise]

Euphues and His England, 348: Philautus no sooner entered his chamber but he read her letter [past tense]

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, 288: he saw the word no sooner out of Zelmane's mouth, but that there were some shouts of joy [past tense and surprise]

The Gentle Craft, Part I, 102: but they had no sooner shaken off their dropping wet garments on the shore, but that they were assaulted by a sort of monstrous men [past perfect]

Selections from the Mirrour of Mirth, 372: But it was no sooner open than the

devils, you may be sure, strived to get out by the heaps—making such a noise and cry that the king and all his people was so amazed with fear that they fell down as dead. [past tense and surprise]

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, 172: The excelling Pyrocles was no sooner delivered [= released] by the king's servants to a place of liberty than he bent his wit and courage [past tense]

A Voyage to Virginia, 37: no sooner is the water poured into the powder, but it rises again white and creamish [present tense, inversion, and ? surprise]

The Blazing World, 304: No sooner had the Empress declared her mind, but the spirits immediately disappeared out of her sight [past perfect aspect, inversion, and ? surprise]

The Wandring Beauty, 402: The Table was no sooner clear'd, and a Loyal Health or two gone round, e're Sir *Christian* ask'd his young Amorous Guest to take a Walk with him in the Gardens [past tense]

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 30: As for *Bobadilla*, he was no sooner come to Rome, than he fell Sick of a continued Feaver [past perfect]

The Commonwealth of Oceana, 170: And Venice having possessed herself of a great part of Italy by her purse, was no sooner in defence of it put to the trial of arms than she lost all in one battle. [past tense , and ? surprise]

The Princess Cloria, 232: No sooner was the unhandsome beast dislodged [= drive out of its den] from his darksome habitation, when every person well-horsed endeavoured to show his own skill and his courser's vigour [past tense , inversion, and ? surprise]

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 238: But they were no sooner got out to Sea again, when they drew Lotts the third time, to know, whether the *Junk* shou'd return safely from *Japan to Malacca*. [past perfect and ? surprise]

§ 3. scarce or scarcely で始まる接続詞

16世紀においては、否定の副詞 *scarce* で始まるものが6種類、否定の副詞 *scarcely* で始まるものが3種類使用されている。一方、17世紀では、否定の副詞 *scarce* で始まるものが2種類、否定の副詞 *scarcely* で始まるものが2種類使用されている。現代英語まで生き延びている *scarcely* ~ *before* と *scarcely* ~ *when* の2種類は共に16世紀、17世紀の両世紀にその例が見られる。

否定の副詞 *scarce* あるいは *scarcely* が文や節の先頭に来ると主語と述部動詞の位置が入れ替わる倒置が生じる。手元の資料では、16世紀において6回倒置が生じている。即ち、*scarce ~ before* と *scarce ~ but* がそれぞれ1例ずつ、*scarcely ~ but that* と *scarcely ~ when* がそれぞれ2例ずつである。次に、17世紀において6回倒置が生じている。即ち、*scarce ~ when* と *scarcely ~ when* でそれぞれ3例ずつである。

OED における *scarce ~ when* の初出例は1513年 Douglas の *AEneis* からのものである。¹³⁾ さらに、*scarce ~ but* の初出例は1548年 Hall の *Chronicle, Henry VI* からのものである。¹⁴⁾ *scarcely ~ before* の *OED* における初出例は1766年 Goldsmith の *Vicar of Wakefield* からのもので、¹⁵⁾ 一方、*scarcely ~ when* の初出例は1875年 Jowett の *Plato* からのものである。¹⁶⁾ *scarce* で始まる2種類の接続詞の用例は *OED* の初出例の方が古く、手元の資料における *scarce ~ but* の初出例は *Green's Groats-worth of Wit* (1592) で、一方 *scarce ~ when* の初出例は *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) からのものである。*scarcely* で始まる2種類の接続詞では手元の資料からの方がずっと古く、*scarcely ~ before* の初出例は *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589) からのもので、一方 *scarcely ~ when* の初出例は *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) からのものである。

表4は、16世紀において *scarce* あるいは *scarcely* で始まる9種類の接続詞が「現在時制」、「過去時制」、「現在完了」、「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。また、17世紀において *scarce* あるいは *scarcely* で始まる4種類の接続詞が「現在時制」、「過去時制」、「現在完了」、「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。全体的には、16世紀では「過去完了」(13例, 65%)、「過去時制」(6例, 30%)と共起することが多い。また、17世紀でも同様に「過去完了」(15例, 75%)、「過去時制」(4例, 20%)と共起することが多い。

表4 'scarce or scarcely' で始まる接続詞の時制毎の分布状況

接続詞	時制	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
<i>scarce ~ before</i>		0	1	0	1
<i>scarce ~ but</i>		0	0	0	4
<i>scarce ~ but that</i>		0	0	0	1

13) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *scarce* B 2.c.)

14) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *scarcely* 2.c.)

15) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *scarcely* 2.c.)

16) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *scarcely* 2.c.)

scarce ~ ere	0	0	0	1
scarce ~ then	0	0	0	1
scarce ~ when	0	0	0	2
scarcely ~ before	0	0	1	1
scarcely ~ but that	0	2	0	1
scarcely ~ when	0	3	0	1
16 世紀小計	0	6 30 %	1 5 %	13 65 %
scarce ~ that	0	0	0	1
scarce ~ when	0	1	0	5
scarcely ~ before	0	0	1	0
scarcely ~ when	0	3	0	9
17 世紀小計	0	4 20 %	1 5 %	15 75 %

以下は各接続詞の用例である。

Rosalynde, 28: Scarce had Rosalynde ended her madrigal, before Torismond came in with his daughter Alinda and many of the peers of France [past perfect and inversion]

The Vnfortunate Traveller, 326: Scarce had I propounded [= propose] these articles vnto him, but he was beginning his blasphemous abiurations [= renunciation] [past perfect and inversion]

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, 63: for he had travelled scarce a day's journey out of my country, but that not far from this place he overtook Amphialus, and by and by called him to fight with him, protesting that one of them two should die. [past perfect]

Rosalynde, 15: The words of Saladyne were but spurs to a free horse, for he had scarce uttered them, ere Rosader took him in his arms [past perfect and ? surprise]

Tyndale's Old Testament, The First Book of Moses Called Genesis, 46: As soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father: then came Esau his brother from his hunting [past perfect]

Pierce Penilesse, 163: Two hungry turnes had I scarce fetcht in this wast gallery, when I was encountred by a neat pedantical [= absurdly learned] fellow, in forme of a Cittizen [past perfect, inversion and ? surprise]

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The Spanish Masquerado, 261: that some Popes haue scarcely liued 2 daies, nay some one day: before they haue bene made away by the Cardinals [present perfect]

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, 227: Basilius heard scarcely half her answer out but that he turned away and ran with all the speed his body would suffer him towards his daughter Philoclea [past tense]

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, 107: scarcely, think I, had I spoken these words when the ladies came forth [past perfect and inversion]

The Holy Bible, Genesis, 27/30: And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, that Esau his brother came in from his hunting. [past perfect and ? surprise]

Oroonoko, 61: He had scarce arriv'd at his Seventeenth Year, when fighting by his Side, the General was kill'd with an Arrow in his Eye, which the Prince *Oroonoko* (for so was this gallant *Moor* call'd) very narrowly avoided [past perfect and ? surprise]

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 297: we scarcely have begun to live, before death comes on [present perfect]

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 138: Scarcely had the Saint begun his Prayer, when the Sky began to be overcast with Clouds, and by that time he had ended it, there fell down Rain in great abundance, which lasted so long, 'till they had made a plentiful provision of water. [past perfect, inversion and surprise]

§ 4. hardly で始まる接続詞

否定の副詞 *hardly* で始まる相関接続詞には, *hardly* ~ *but*, *hardly* ~ *e're*, *hardly* ~ *when* の 3 種類がある。e're は before の古形 [archaic form] で現代英語では廃れている。これらの相関接続詞は 17 世紀末に初めて登場する。

hardly ~ *but* の用例は *The Holy War* (1682) の 1 例のみで, *hardly* ~ *e're* の用例は *Memoirs on the Court of the King of Bantam* (1697), *The Nun* (1697), *The Unfortunate Happy Lady* (1698) と *The Unhappy Mistake* (1698) の Aphra Behn の 4 短編に各 1 例ずつ見られる。*hardly* ~ *when* の用例は *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688) に 2 例ある。

否定の副詞 *hardly* が文や節の先頭に来ると, *no sooner*, *scarce* や *scarcely* が文や節の先頭に来た時と同様に, 主語と述部動詞の位置が入れ替わる倒置が生じるのだが, 手元の資料に

は *hardly* が先頭に来ている例が皆無なので、当然倒置は生じていない。

OED における *hardly* の項目には、相関接続詞としての機能に関する説明は一切ない。しかしながら、相関接続詞としての *hardly* ~ *when* の初出例と思えるものがあり、それは Steele の *Tatler* (1710) からのもので、¹⁷⁾ 以下がその例である。従って、17 世紀のテキストからの例はこれより古いものと云える。

1710 STEELE *Tatler* No. 19 I had hardly entered the Room, when I was accosted by Mr. Thomas Dogget.

表 5 は、17 世紀における *hardly* で始まる 3 種類の接続詞が「現在時制」、「過去時制」、「現在完了」、「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。手元の資料の用例数が少ないので決定的なことは云えないが、それでも全体的には「過去時制」(2 例, 28.6%) よりも「過去完了」(5 例, 71.4%) と共起する方が多い。

表 5 'hardly' で始まる接続詞の時制毎の分布状況

接続詞	時制	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
hardly ~ but		0	1	0	0
hardly ~ e're		0	0	0	4
hardly ~ when		0	1	0	1
小計		0	2 28.6%	0	5 71.4%

以下は各接続詞の用例である。

The Holy War, 144: The Prince would now also feast them, and be with them continually: hardly a week would pass but a banquet must be had betwixt him and them. [past tense]

The Nun, 307: Don *Henrique* had hardly made an end of his Narration, e're [= before] a Servant came hastily to give *Richardo* notice [past perfect and ? surprise]

The Life of St. Francis Xavier, 175: Having the Wind for them, and coming down the River, they were carry'd with such swiftness, that *Deza* was hardly got aboard the Admiral, when he heard their Drums, and their yelling shouts, which

17) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *hardly* 7.)

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re-echo'd from the Shores, and neighbouring Mountains. [past perfect and surprise]

§5. anon as

anon as は中期英語 [Middle English] からの名残りで、手元の資料でも *Tyndale's New Testament* (1534) 以降のテキストでは全く使用されていない。OED に拠れば、*anon as* は 'once that, immediately as, as soon as ever' を意味し、その初出例は *Piers Plowman B-text* (1377) からのものである。¹⁸⁾

表6は、接続詞 *anon as* が「現在時制」、「過去時制」、「現在完了」、「過去完了」のどの時制と共起するかを示したものである。「現在時制」と共起している1例と「過去時制」と共起している2例の計3例しかないので、決定的なことは云えない。

表6 接続詞 'anon as' の時制毎の分布状況

接続詞	時制	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
anon as		1 33%	2 67%	0	0

以下はこの接続詞の用例である。

A Hundred Merry Tales, 100: Anon as this gentle saw him, he bad him go with him into the City and he should be sped [= taken care of] anon. [past tense]

The Gospel of St Mark, 66: and anon as trouble and persecution ariseth for the word's sake, they fall immediately. [present tense]

The Gospel of Saint John, 138: And anon as he went on his way, his servants met him, and told him saying: thy child liveth. [past tense]

III

これまで16世紀と17世紀、即ち、初期近代英語期における「～するとすぐに」の意味を有し、「時の副詞節を導く接続詞の発達」を調査・検討してきた。そのための資料として合計74(16世紀31, 17世紀43)の散文テキストを用いた。明らかにできたことをまとめると次のようになる。

18) See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition. on CD-ROM. (s.v. *anon* †4. †b.)

16世紀には、‘as soon as’や‘so soon as’等3種類、‘no sooner ~ but’や‘no sooner ~ than’等3種類、‘scarce ~ before’、‘scarce ~ when’、‘scarcely ~ before’や‘scarcely ~ when’など9種類、それに‘anon as’の計16種類の接続詞が使用されている。使用頻度が高いのは‘as soon as’(225回)と‘no sooner ~ but’(58回)の2種類である。17世紀になると、‘as soon as’や‘so soon as’等4種類、‘no sooner ~ but’や‘no sooner ~ than’等4種類、‘scarce ~ when’、‘scarcely ~ before’や‘scarcely ~ when’等4種類、それに‘hardly ~ e’re’や‘hardly ~ when’等3種類の計15種類が用いられている。使用頻度が高いのは前世紀同様、‘as soon as’(170回)と‘no sooner ~ but’(101回)の2種類である。

時制との共起関係では、‘as soon as’や‘so soon as’等ならびに‘no sooner’グループの場合、2世紀共に「過去時制」とが最多で、次いで「過去完了」とである。他方、‘scarce’や‘scarcely’のグループの場合は2世紀共に、17世紀に出現した‘hardly’グループの場合も、共に「過去完了」とが最多で、次いで「過去時制」とである。16世紀初期まで使用されていた‘anon as’の場合は、3例しかないので決定的なことは云えない。

‘no sooner’、‘scarce’、‘scarcely’や‘hardly’のいずれかが文ないしは節の先頭に来ると主語と述部動詞の位置が逆転して倒置構造が生じる。‘no sooner’の場合、16世紀では8例、17世紀では23例が倒置を起こしている。‘scarce’や‘scarcely’の場合、両世紀共に6例ずつ倒置が見られる。‘hardly’の場合、倒置の例は皆無であった。

Texts Examined

16th century:

- 1) 1526 ‘A Hundred Merry Tales’ *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Ed. by P. M. Zall. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, pp. 64-150.
- 2) ?1528 ‘Howleglas’ *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Ed. by P. M. Zall. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, pp. 156-237.
- 3) 1530 *Tyndale’s Old Testament*. Trans. by William Tyndale. New Haven and London: Yale U. P., 1992. pp. 15-304.
- 4) 1531 Sir Thomas Elyot. *The Book named The Governor*. Ed. by S. E. Lehmborg. New York: Dutton, 1975. Rep. of 1962. pp. 1-241.
- 5) 1534 *Tyndale’s New Testament*. Trans. by William Tyndale. New Haven and London: Yale U. P., 1989. pp. 21-390.
- 6) 1535 ‘Tales and Quick Answers’ *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the*

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- Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Ed. by P. M. Zall. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, pp. 246–322.
- 7) 1550s *The Life of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte*. EETS. OS. 197. Ed. by Elsie V. Hitchcock. London: Oxford U. P., 1958. Rep. of 1935. pp. 5–104.
 - 8) 1551 Thomas More. *Utopia*. Trans. by Ralph Robinson. New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1992. Rep. of 1910. pp. 13–137.
 - 9) 1557 Thomas More. *The History of King Richard the Third*.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/r3.html> >
 - 10) 1561 Sir Thomas Hoby. *The Book of the Courtier*.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/courtier/courtier.html> >
 - 11) 1567 ‘Merry Tales . . . Made by Master Skelton’ *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Ed. by P. M. Zall. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, pp. 327–348.
 - 12) 1579 Stephen Gosson. *The Schoole of Abuse*.
< <http://darkwing.edu/%7Erbear/gosson1.html> >
 - 13) 1580 John Lyly. ‘Eupheus and His England.’ *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit Euphues & His England*. Ed. by Morris W. Croll and Harry Clemons. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. Rep. of 1916. pp. 205–462.
 - 14) 1582 *The Assertion of King Arthure*. trans. by Richard Robinson. Ed. by William Edward Mead. EETSOS 165. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971. Rep. of 1925. pp. 17–90.
 - 15) 1583 ‘Selections from the Mirrour of Mirth’ *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Ed. by P. M. Zall. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, pp. 353–390.
 - 16) 1588 Robert Greene. ‘Pandosto: The Triumph of Time.’ *Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, M.A.* Vol. IV. Ed. by Alexander B. Grosart. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. pp. 233–317.
 - 17) 1589 Robert Greene. ‘The Spanish Masquerado.’ *Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, M.A.* Vol. V. Ed. by Alexander B. Grosart. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. pp. 247–288.
 - 18) 1590 Sir Philip Sidney. *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia*. (The New Arcadia). Ed. by Victor Skretkovicz. New York: Oxford U. P., 1987. pp. 3–465.
 - 19) 1590 Thomas Lodge. *Rosalynde, or Euphues Golden Legacie*. Ed. by W. W. Greg. London: Chatto and Windus, Publishers, 1907. 1–165.
 - 20) 1591 Sir Walter Raleigh. *Last Fight of the Revenge at Sea*.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/raleigh1.html> >
 - 21) 1591 Thomas Cockaine. *A Short Treatise of Hunting*.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/hunting/cockaine.html> >
 - 22) 1592 Robert Greene. ‘Greens, Groats-worth of Wit.’ *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, M.A.* Vol. XII Ed. by Alexander B. Grosart. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. pp. 103–150.
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- & Russell, 1964, pp. 9–37.
- 24) 1592 Henrie Chettle. *Kind-Harts Dreame*.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/kind.html> >
- 25) 1592 Thomas Nashe. *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Devil*.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/nashe1.html> >
- 26) 1594 Thomas Nashe. ‘The Vnfortunate Traueller.’ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*. Vol. II. Ed. by Ronald McKerrow. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958. pp. 209–328.
- 27) 1596 Edmund Spenser. ‘A View of the Present State of Ireland.’ *The Works of Edmund Spenser*. A Variorum Edition. Vol. 10. Ed. by Rudolf Gottfried et al. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966. Rep. of 1949. pp. 43–231.
- 28) 1597 Christopher Middleton. *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England*. Ed. by William Edward Mead EETS. OS. 165 New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971. Rep. of 1925. pp. 5–68.
- 29) 1597 Thomas Deloney. ‘The Gentle Craft, Part I’ *The Novels of Thomas Deloney*. Ed. by Merritt E. Lawlis. Bloomington: Indiana U. P., 1961. pp. 93–169.
- 30) 1598 or 1599 Thomas Deloney. ‘Thomas of Reading’ *The Novels of Thomas Deloney*. Ed. by Merritt E. Lawlis. Bloomington: Indiana U. P., 1961. pp. 269–343.
- 31) 1600 William Kemp. Nine daies vvonder.
< <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/kemp.html> >

17th century:

- 1) 1603 Thomas Dekker. *The Wonderfull Yeare. 1603*.
<http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/yeare.html>
- 2) 1605 Francis Bacon. *The Advancement of Learning*.
<http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/adv1.htm>
- 3) 1608 Joseph Hall. *Characters of Virtues and Vices*.
<http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/%7Erbear/hallch.htm>
- 4) 1611 *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments Authorized King James Version*. London: Oxford U. P., pp. 1–1039.
- 5) 1612 John Smith. *A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion*.
<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbn/toccer-new?id=J1008.xml&images=/images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public>
- 6) 1615 Ralphe Hamor. *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*.
<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbn/toccer-new?id=J1104.xml&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public>
- 7) 1617 Ester Sawernam. *Ester hath hang’d Haman*.
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- 8) 1620 George Peele. *Merrie conceited Jestes*.
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- 9) 1625 Francis Bacon. *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral*. Ed. by Brian Vickers. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1999. pp. 3–133.
- 10) 1649 Colonel Norwood. *A Voyage to Virginia*.
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- 13) 1656 James Harrington. *The Commonwealth of Oceana*.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/2/8/0/2801/2801-8.txt>.
- 14) 1660 John Milton. *The Readie & Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*.
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- 15) 1662 *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith*.
<http://www.crimeculture.com/earlyunderworlds/Contents/Cutpurse.html>
- 16) 1663 *The Case of Madam Mary Carleton*.
<http://www.crimeculture.com/earlyunderworlds/Contents/MaryCarleton.3.html>
- 17) 1666 John Bunyan. 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners.' *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners and The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come*. Ed. by Roger Sharrock. London: Oxford U. P., 1966. pp.7-105.
- 18) 1666 Margaret Cavendish (Duchess of Newcastle). 'The Blazing World.' *An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction*. Ed. by Paul Salzman. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2001. pp.253-348.
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- 20) 1675 *Bloody News from Chattam*.
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- 32) 1689 Aphra Behn 'The Lucky Mistake.' *The Works of Aphra Behn*. Volume 3. *The Fair Jilt and Other Short Stories*. Ed. by Janet Todd. Columbus: Ohio State U. P., 1995. pp.167-203.
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- 34) 1692 William Congreve. 'Incognita.' *An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction*. Ed. by Paul Salzman. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2001. pp.475-525.
- 35) 1697 Aphra Behn. 'Memoirs on the Court of the King of Bantam.' *The Works of Aphra Behn*. Volume 3. *The Fair Jilt and Other Short Stories*. Ed. by Janet Todd. Columbus: Ohio State U. P., 1995. pp.275-291.
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Summary

The Development of Conjunctions
Introducing an Adverbial Clause of Time
in the Early Modern English Period

The purpose of this paper is to clarify what kinds of conjunctions are used in the Early Modern English period when narrating two actions or events that occur sequentially in the adverbial clause of time. For that purpose, I examined 74 prose texts (31 texts in the 16th century and 43 texts in the 17th century) that extend over the period from 1526 until 1700 as a corpus for my investigation.

Sixteenth century has 16 kinds of conjunctions, while seventeenth century has 15 kinds of conjunctions. Throughout the Early Modern English period ‘as soon as’ and ‘no sooner ~ but’ are more dominant than others. In the 16th century ‘as soon as’ occurs 225 times, while ‘no sooner ~ but’ occurs 58 times. In the 17th century ‘as soon as’ occurs 170 times, while ‘no sooner ~ but’ occurs 101 times.

During the Early Modern English period ‘as soon as (ever)’ and ‘so soon as (ever)’ compete against each other. Nevertheless, ‘as soon as (ever)’ is much more dominant than ‘so soon as (ever)’ throughout the period. In the 17th century ‘no sooner ~ than’ begins to compete against ‘no sooner ~ but’, though the 16th century saw two instances of ‘no sooner ~ than.’ ‘Scarce’ is followed by *before*, *but*, *but that*, *ere*, *then*, or *when*, while ‘scarcely’ is followed by *before*, *but that* or *when* in the 16th-century English. In the 17th century ‘scarce’ is followed by either *that* or *when*, whereas ‘scarcely’ is followed by either *before* or *when*. Before or after the year 1690 the conjunctions that start with ‘hardly’ begin to appear at last. ‘Hardly’ is followed by either *but*, or *e’re* or *when*. In the early 16th century archaic ‘anon as’ is still used, though we find only three instances.

Concerning ‘as soon as (ever),’ ‘so soon as (ever),’ and conjunctions starting with ‘no sooner,’ they co-occur with past tense most frequently, while the co-occurrence with past perfect shows the second highest frequency. Regarding conjunctions starting with either ‘scarce,’ or ‘scarcely’ or ‘hardly,’ on the other hand, they co-

occur with past perfect most frequently, whereas the co-occurrence with past tense indicates the second highest frequency. Finally, with regard to archaic 'anon as,' it is difficult to say which tense is most preferred in the co-occurrence with this conjunction because its instance occurs no more than three times.

When any one of 'no sooner/scarce/scarcely/hardly' is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence, inverted word order takes place between the subject and the verb. Concerning 'no sooner' group, the 16th century saw 8 instances, while the 17th century saw 23 instances. Regarding 'scarce or scarcely' group, both the 16th and the 17th centuries saw 6 instances each. With regard to 'hardly' group inverted word order never occurred.