

自然物としての多義構造？ 多義の实在論を擁護してみる

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研究の目的

- 何のためにやるのか？
 - 対照言語学的に見て？
 - 類型論的に見て？
 - 生理学的基盤から見て？

研究の目的

- 広義の「言語(の)知識」
- Cf. 言語知識＝言語の使用を可能にする知識
- 「なんとなく同じ語に感じられる」という母語話者の直観のでどころを明らかにしようと仮説をたてている。
Lakoff & Brugman : (同音異義ではなく) 複数の意義を1つの語がもっていると感じられる。どうして複数の意義が関連しあっていると感じられるのかについて詳細に分析しようとしている

Brugman (1981)

- In the descriptions that follow I am emphatically not claiming that the process of extension is purely synchronic or completely productive. (p.5)
- I am not claiming that the language user goes through a series of image schema transformations from the central sense each time he uses the word *over* in a noncentral sense. (p.12)
- ... I am trying to explicate what it is that makes us feel that the senses are related ... (p.12)

Lakoff (1987)

- Given the range of spatial meanings of *over* and given the metaphors present in the conceptual system that English is based on, it *makes sense* for these words [= *oversee, overlook, look over*] to have these meanings. We are explaining just why it makes sense and what kind of sense it makes. (p.438)

Langacker (1990 [1988])

- Usage-based model
- Critical to the formulation of a usage-based theory is a coherent view of linguistic categorization. A particular model of categorization, the criterial attribute model, has generally been accepted without serious question in the Western intellectual tradition. More recently, the prototype model has been advanced as an alternative with greater claims to cognitive plausibility. My own proposal, the network model, represents a synthesis of prototype theory and categorization based on schemas. (p.266)

Langacker (1990 [1988])

- The network model is conveniently illustrated by the alternate senses of a polysemous lexical item. ... Speakers may very well differ in these respects, and also in the specific set of categorizing relationships they establish between nodes. But although the precise configuration of the network is variable and even indeterminate, the need to postulate some type of network is seemingly beyond dispute; the meanings of a commonly-used lexical item define a complex category, i.e. one that is not reducible to a single structure (node). (p.267)

Langacker (1990 [1988])

vs. monosemy

- A strict reductionist approach would seek maximum economy by posing only a single structure to represent the meaning of a lexical category. However, if our goal is to properly characterize a speaker's knowledge of linguistic convention, any such account is unworkable. (p.268)

vs. homonymy

- Equally deficient is the atomistic approach of treating the individual senses as distinct and unrelated lexical items. The claim of massive homonymy implied by such an analysis is simply unwarranted – it is not by accident, but rather by virtue of intuitively evident semantic relationships, that the meanings are symbolized by the same form. (p.268)

「多義 (polysemy)」と関連する概念

- 同音異義 (homonymy)
- 曖昧性 (ambiguity)
- 単義 (monosemy)
- 漠然性 (vagueness)

Ambiguousかvagueかをはかるテスト

- “logical” test (Quine 1960)

- X and not X
- E.g.) This is the bank but it is not the bank.
- E.g.) I have an aunt but I do not have an aunt.

- “definitional” test (since Aristotle)

- seeking a meaning common to the two

- “linguistic” tests (Lakoff 1970 and others)

- X does/did Z and so does/did Y.
- zeugma

Tuggy (2006[1993]) の分析

- Ambiguity, vaguenessの間にpolysemyをたてる
- 連続体、段階性
- 概念の境界線がはっきりしない(fuzzy)

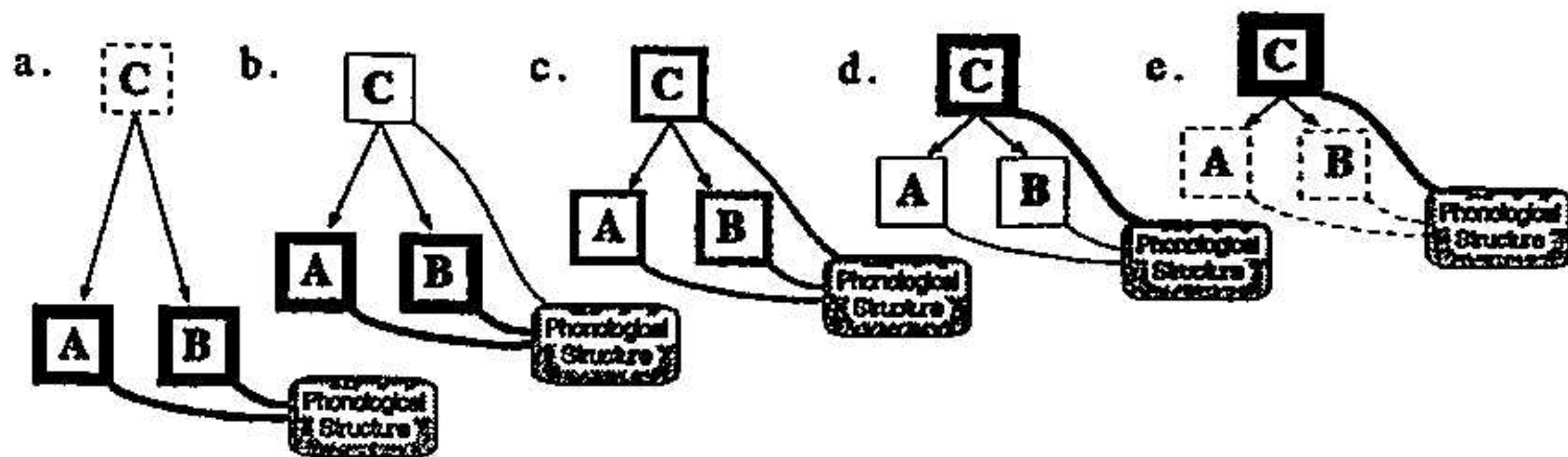


Figure 2. The ambiguity–vagueness cline

Cf. 認知文法の道具立て

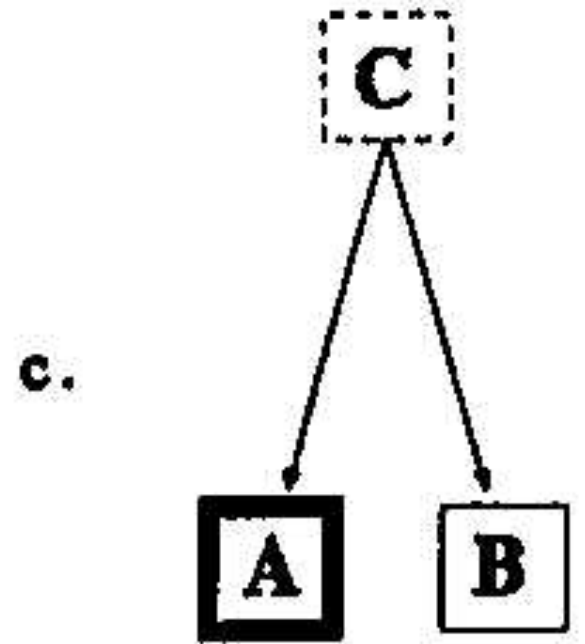
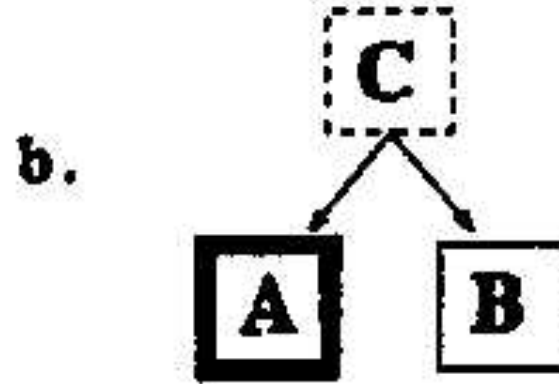
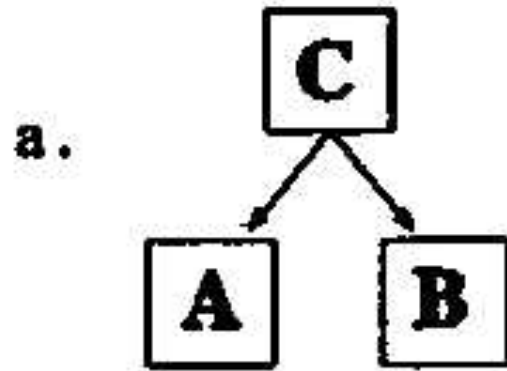


Figure 1. Schemas and elaborations

“linguistic” test

X does/did Z and so does/did Y.

ambiguity

- I went to the bank and so did Bill.
(銀行 / 土手)

vagueness

- I have an aunt and so does Bill.
(父方のおば / 母方のおば)

“linguistic” test

X does/did Z and so does/did Y. Polysemyの場合

- I have been painting and so has Jane.

- i. painting a portrait in oils on canvas
- ii. painting a landscape with watercolors on paper
- v. painting a decorative border on an interior wall
- vii. painting the exterior of a house primarily to preserve it
- x. painting stripes on a parking lot or roadway by driving a paint-spraying machine
- xi. applying makeup to the face

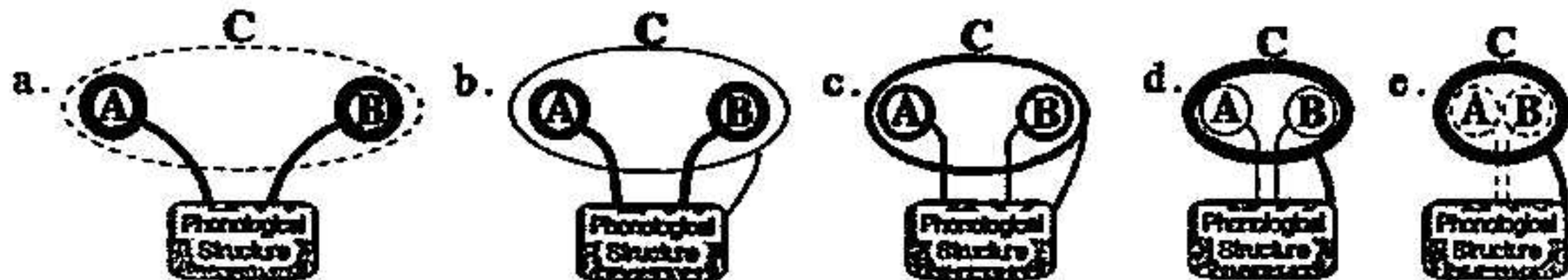


Figure 3. The ambiguity–vagueness cline showing extensionality of semantic structures

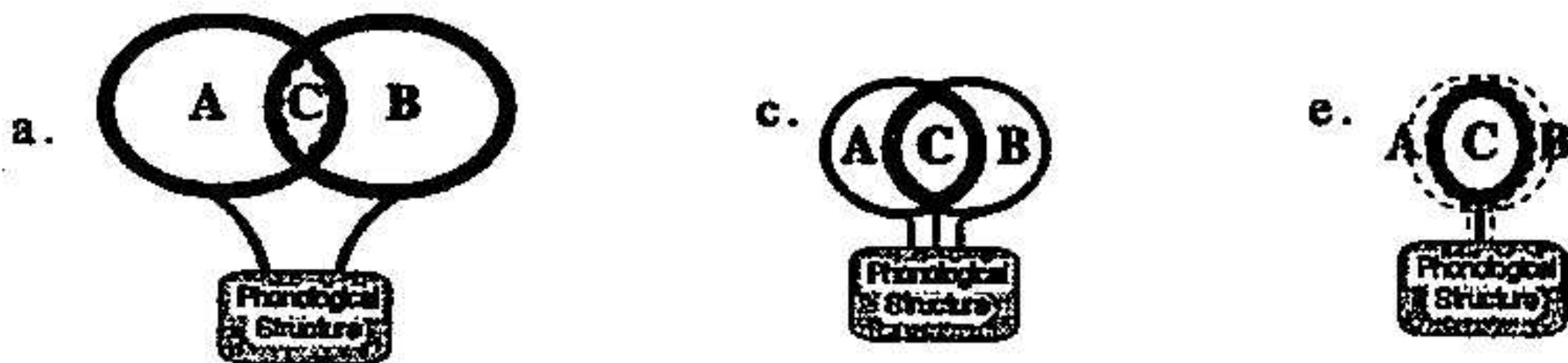


Figure 4. The ambiguity–vagueness cline showing extent of semantic structures

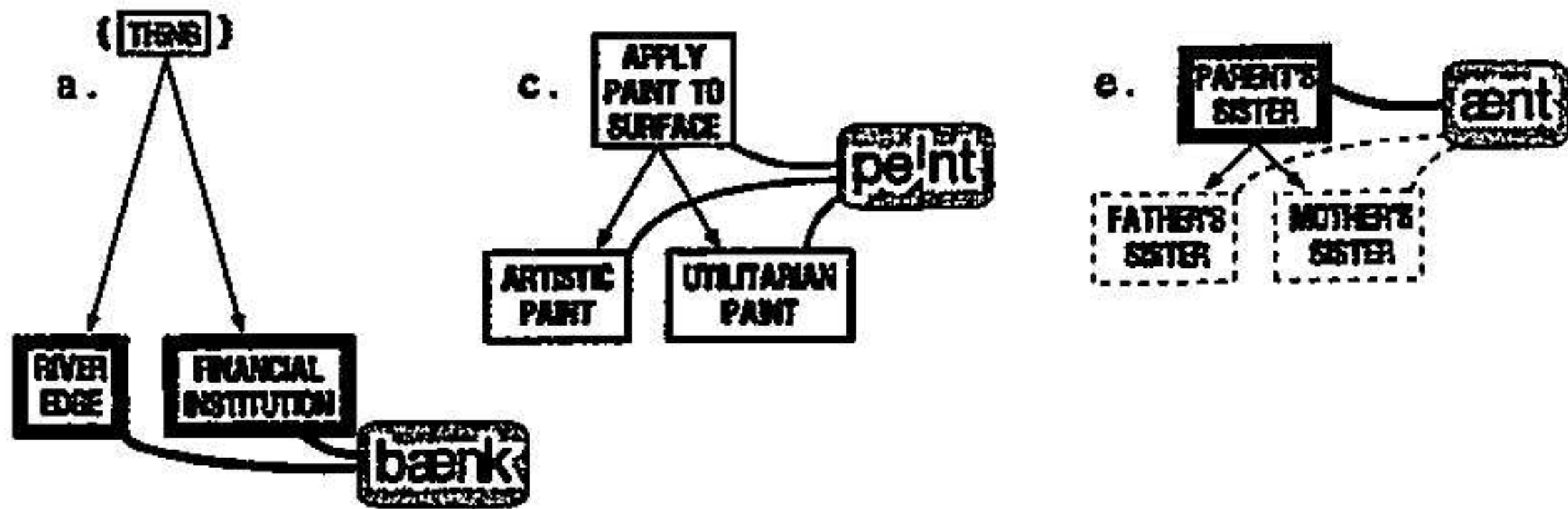


Figure 5. Typical examples along the ambiguity–vagueness cline

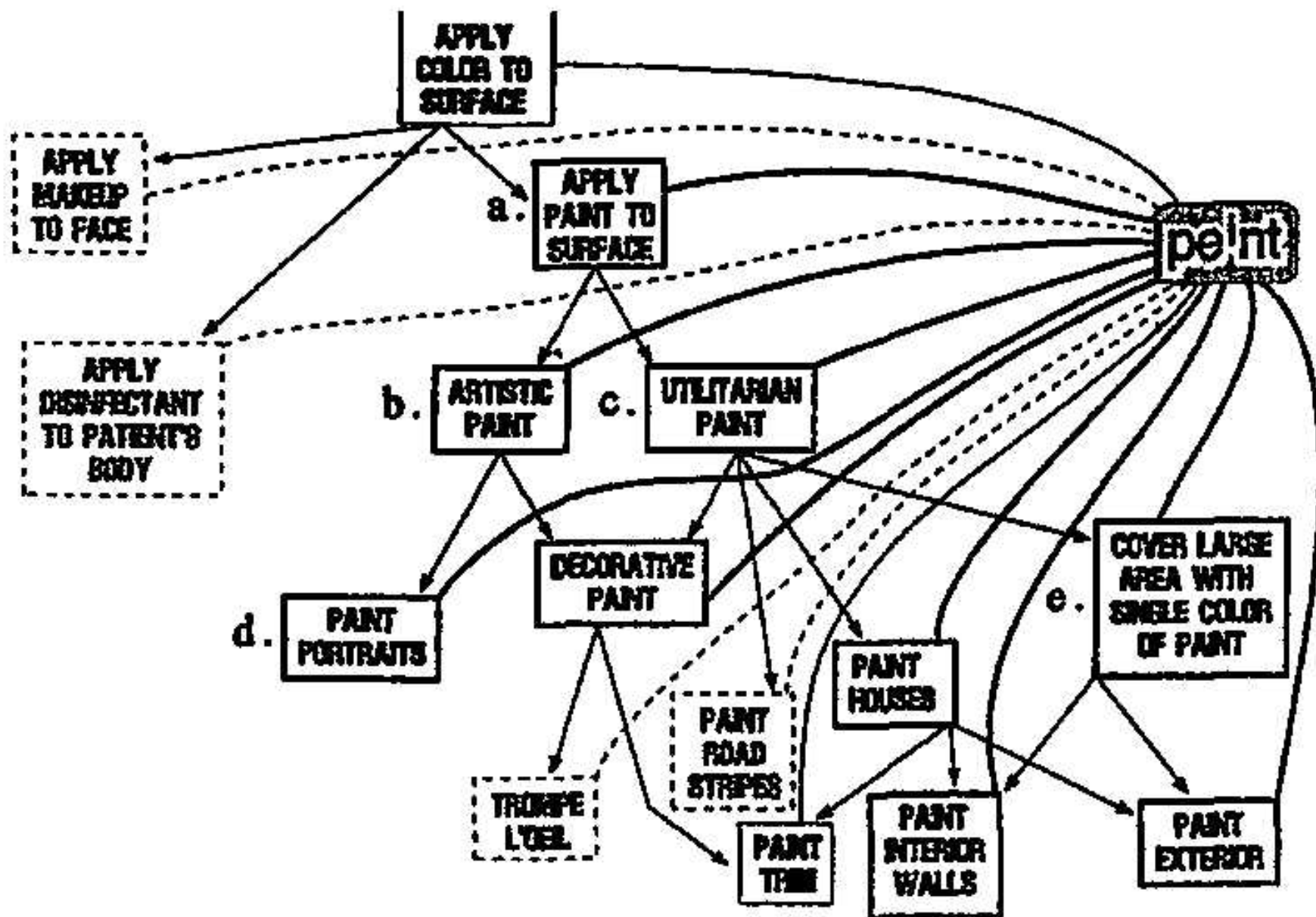


Figure 6. Paint

佐藤信夫(1984)

- ある意味的存在の《多義性》が見いだされたばあい、その意義は、とりもなおさずその多義性が何のためらいもなく《一義性》として通用するような意味界—意味空間—を発見した、ということにほかならない。言いかえれば、分析的に検出された多義性の真の意義は、ほかならぬそれが一義性だという事実にある。…それは「多義性」あるいは「両義性」という用語＝概念のごく穏当な意味であつた。(pp.119-120)

類としての〇〇人(〇〇語母語話者)