

メトニミーによる意味変化と関連性

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Summary:

Meaning Change Through Metonymy and Relevance

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In this paper, I have argued that (1) a Relevance-Theoretic account of metonymy can provide a good tool for explaining both synchronic and diachronic meaning change; (2) Lakovian cognitive semantics is inadequate in many respects; (3) RT can provide several means of extending the individual's conceptual repertoire, and (4) the roles of concept narrowing, concept widening, concept loosening, and concept echoing are also used in language acquisition, borrowing and language change in addition to explaining the pragmatic enrichment by metonymy. In short, the same cognitive mechanisms can be used to account for both synchronic and diachronic change of meaning. Cf. Higashimori and Wilson (1996: 4)

0. Introduction

本稿では metonymy とは linguistic semantics により encode された encoded concepts が例外なく communication で適用される Relevance Theory (=RT) の認知的原則 The Communicative Principle of Relevance により語用論的に豊かにされ、具体的には4つの異なる認知的操作 (i. e. concept narrowing/widening/loosening/echoing) から成り、その結果 communicated (or relevant) concepts ができると説明する立場をとる。

メトニミー²に関する問題は主に以下の3つである。

問題1: The difference between conventionalised and creative metonymy

Conventionalised metonymy (慣習化したメトニミー):

- (1) a. 話し手 (*口・目・顔・頭・人)
b. ぎょうざ一人前 (*後・上・下) なぜ、空間表現を用いて一人分を表すのに「一人前」は良くて「一人後・上・下」は不可なのか。

Creative metonymy (創造的メトニミー):

- (2) 訳あって、黒ラベルしか飲めまへん。
- (3) a. The buses are on strike.
b. Are you the cab parked outside?
c. I want marry a BMW rather than a VW.
- (4) a. I think I (=my watch) 'm running fast.—以下3例は Gerrig (1989: 206-7)
b. A good-natured, superior murmur passed over the potato salad (=people eating the potato salad).
c. As even Tommy says, adults do not tell eights (=eight-year-old children) very much.

なぜ、(2) のようにビールを黒ラベルで表せるのか、(3) a→b→c と創造性が高くなるのか、(4) のように日常会話の中で創造的にどんどん使用できるのか。

問題2: The difference between metonymy and metaphor

- (5) a. 花子はいい喉している。〈メトニミー〉
b. 花子はウグイス (嬢) だ。〈メタファー〉
- (6) a. Mary is a sweet voice. 〈メトニミー〉
b. Mary is a nightingale. 〈メタファー〉
- (7) a. Butterflies are free. — *Time*, Sept 15, 1997 〈メトニミー〉 〈メタファー〉
b. The Naughty Girl Next Door. 〈メトニミー〉 〈メタファー〉
c. He opened his mouth. 〈メトニミー〉 〈メタファー〉 Cf. Goossens (1995)

Cf. Life in the fast lane—the new 16-story JR Kyoto Station—*MDN*, sept 12, 1997

(5a) (5b), (6a) (6b) のようにとてもよく似た考え (thought) をメトニミーでもメタファーでも表せるのか, また (7) のようにメトニミーかメタファーか曖昧なものもある。

問題3: The difference between metonymy and irony

- (8) a. **The fastest gun is walking over there.** <メトニミー> <アイロニー> (へたくそな銃の使い手を指して)
- b. **He wanted to marry a free ticket to the opera.** <メトニミー> <アイロニー> (結婚相手の女性をけなして)

(8) の metonymy と irony のつながりの説明はどのようにするのか。

本稿のおもな目的は以上の3つの問題とともにメトニミーに基づく意味変化を考察し, 共時的のみならず, 通時的な意味変化にも同じ認知的原則で説明できることを関連性理論の枠組みで説明することである。最新の George Lakoff 流の認知意味論 (cognitive semantics) 及び Ronald W.Langacker による認知文法 (cognitive grammar) での意味変化およびプロトタイプの分析の問題点を指摘し, Sperber & Wilson (1986,1995) により提案された関連性理論 (relevance theory) による認知語用論 (cognitive pragmatics) からの分析の方がよりよく説明できることを示すことである。H.P.Grice などによる社会的語用論 (social pragmatics)³ と異なり, RT の人間の頭の中での情報の処理努力 (processing effort) とコンテクスト効果 (contextual effect) により定義される認知的原則に基づく説明は utterance 全体の解釈のゆれをみとめ, その中でどの解釈に至るかを説明するのみでなく, すなわち utterance 全体が暗に伝えたい relevant な interpretation の説明が可能だけでなく, what is said の意味内容, たとえば言語化されたそれぞれの概念のゆれをみとめ, RT の原則でそれぞれの状況の中で使われる relevant な concept の意味の決定もできると主張する, すなわち RT が個々の記号化された概念 (encoded concept) を具体的状況のもとでいかに聞き手が百科辞書的知識と言語表現を使って伝えたい概念 (communicated or relevant concept) にたどりつくかというプロセスの説明が可能である。要するに RT は説明する語用論 (explanatory pragmatic theory) をめざしているのである。

本稿の構成は第1節ではまず共時的にどのような意味変化のデーターがあるかを集め, 次に伝統的な意味変化の説明を概観し, その不十分さを指摘する。第2, 4節で George Lakoff 流や R. W. Langacker 流の最近の認知言語学・認知意味論による意味変化の説明 (すなわち prototype theory に基づく, prototype shift とか prototype split, old prototype から new prototype への変化などによる説明) を概観しそれらの不十分さを指摘する。第3, 5節では RT による metonymy に関する先行研究を概観し, その問題点を指摘し, 代案を提出する。第6,7節で RT による共時的・通時的意味変化の説明を試みる。

1. DATA

本論に入る前に共時的なデーターで一般に意味変化が関わるものと考えられるものをみてみよう

う。

DATA:

(1) COACH: A CLASS OF TRAVEL: AmE the cheapest type of seats on a plane or train:

We flew coach out to Atlanta. — *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (= *LDOCE*) (1995)

<coach が米語では「最も値段のやすい交通手段」の意となるのはなぜか>

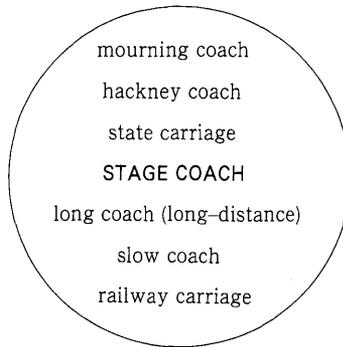
問題 4: Prototype を用いた意味変化の説明と問題点

Prototype shift (COACH の意味変化: 大文字がプロトタイプの意味) — Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 264)

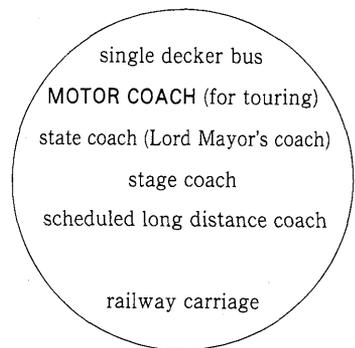
(a) 17th century



(b) 19th century



(c) 20th century



問題はなぜ (a) → (b) → (c) のように意味がつながり・変化したかのプロセスの説明がないこととさらに (1) のような新しい意味で coach が使われるのかを説明する理論が欠けていることである。

(2) BITCH-IN: AmE slang: very good; excellent:

That's a bitchin car! / "We're going to the beach, wanna come?" "Bitchin! Let's go!"
— *LDOCE* (1995)

<bitch-in (g) がなぜ「とてもよい」の意の良い意味に変化したのか>

(3) SNAIL MAIL: Some computer users refer to the postal system as snail mail, because it is very slow in comparison with the system of sending messages electronically from one computer to another by mail. — *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary* (= *COBUILD*) (1995)

<snail がなぜ「かたつむり」の意から「通常のゆっくりした」郵便の意に変化したのか>

(4) Futon: A futon is a piece of furniture which consists of a thin mattress on a low wooden frame which can be used as a bed or folded up to make a chair.
— *COBUILD* (1995)

- : A futon is a type of padded quilt which can be laid on the floor as a bed, or folded up and used as a sofa. —*Collins Today's English Dictionary (=Collins)* (1995)
 - : a flat soft CUSHION used for sleeping on, especially in Japan.—LDOCE (1995)
 - : a Japanese MATTRESS that can be rolled out to make a low bed.—*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (=OALD)* (1995)
 - : A futon is a cloth-filled mattress intended to be used on the floor and rolled up when not in use—*Harrap's Essential English Dictionary (=Harrap's)* (1995)
- 〈1995年に英国で出版された5つの辞書で日本語からの借用語の布団という語の百科辞書の定義の記述をみるとなぜ次のように記述がゆれているのか？英語の futon は「家具の一種で巻いて chair となる」とか「sofa として使う」とか「柔らかい cushion」であるとか「mattress である」とか、「使わないときに巻いておく」ものであるなどというゆれである〉

新聞からのデータ：

- (5) E-money prospects remain uncertain.—*Mainichi Dailey News (=MDN)*, Sep 14, 1997
 〈E-money という語にはじめて出くわした人がどうして 'electronic money' の意と理解できるのか？〉

Cf. Why don't you E that to me?

- (6) UK man is father—3 years after he died

London (AFP-jiji) — A British widow has given birth to her husband's daughter three years after his death, a London hospital disclosed Friday.

The 37-year-old woman was made pregnant with a single sperm cell taken from her husband while he was still alive using a new technique.

The husband, who died from a terminal illness, donated his sperm after giving his written consent for it to be used. It was frozen and stored until his wife decided to try for a baby. A single sperm cell was injected directly into one of her eggs using a new technique called intracytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI).

The fertilized egg was then implanted into her womb and allowed to develop into a foetus. —*MDN*, Aug. 31, 1997

〈この father という語は「もう死んでしまっていて男性で保存してあった精子を提供したにすぎない人」なのになぜ father と呼べるのか？〉

- (7) Tokyo's trash finding home elsewhere. —*MDN*, Sept. 12, 1997 〈HOME の意味はなにか〉

以下の (8) の new Beetle, Pocket Hercules, Mr. Yen, Top of the U. S. A. Mile High City, mad cow, The Ambassador of Jazz, マザーの解釈はどのようになるのか？

- (8) a. Volkswagen announces it will present 'new Beetle' in Jan. —MDN, Aug. 13, 1997
 b. Pocket Hercules lifts third gold. —MDN, July 24, 1996
 c. 'Mr. Yen' may be due for promotion at MOF.
 (Eisaku) Sakakibara, director general of the Ministry of Finance's International Finance Bureau, will become vice minister for international affairs next month. —MDN, June 29, '97
 d. The state of Colorado has the nickname "Top of the U. S. A." because of its elevation. Its capital Denver is known as the "Mile High City." —MDN, Tue, June 24, '97
 e. McDonald's on Thursday lifted its 15-month ban on British beef and said customers appear to be overcoming their fears of "mad cow" disease.—MDN, Sat, June 28, '97
 f. The Ambassador of Jazz—MDN, June 20, 1997 (Sadao Watanabe を指す)
 g. 愛するマザー悼む—『読売新聞』1997. 9. 11 (マザー・テレサを指す)

語形成に関わるデータ :

<複合語の reality, cloning, death, page, ホルモン, カオスなどの意味変化の説明はどうか>

- (9) a. virtual reality
 b. Human cloning—MDN, Tue, June 24, '97
 c. Legalizing brain death—MDN, Sun, April 27, 1997<脳死>
 d. Neil Smith—Home Page—Internet, Personal Home Page
 e. 環境ホルモン
 f. カオス理論
 g. 保健室登校 1万100人—『読売新聞』1997. 9. 11

<派生語の意味はどのように説明するのか>

- (10) netters (internet で用いて, 同じネットワークの仲間を指す) Cf. Listers

<blending による意味変化の説明はどうか>—Cf. Lehrer (1996)

- (11) The "tamagotchi" (an abbreviated translation from the Japanese original "egg watch") is an electronic plastic egg that must be hatched and bathed and fed and entertained and allowed to sleep, all in the proper amount, or else it will—electronically— get grumpy, misbehave and eventually become ill and expire. It's a virtual reality fad based on nurturing more than possessing, on cuddling more than cosseting. And it's a hot commodity that retails worldwide for around US \$20 in those toy stores which actually have some in stock. —MDN, Sept. 7, 1997

(12) Tama WHAT?

Gotch. Tamagotch. It starts out, you see, as an egg on a screen—a virtual egg—which you nurture as maternally as your nature permits. What it hatches into depends on the prenatal care you gave it—a snake maybe, if you begrudged it love.
—MDN, Sun, March 30, 1997

(13) Londongotchi

Two men dressed up as sumo wrestlers hold cages with Tamagotchi toys outside a London shopping center Thursday when the virtual pet game was launched on the British market. —MDN, May 10, 1997

Cf. たまごっち・ベビっち・こどもっち・アダルトっち

広告からのデーター：

(14) 訳あって、黒ラベルしか飲めまへん

Cf. bitter [秋味] /Guinness [キリン・アサヒ] /brew [一番搾り] /ha-ha/chill

体の部分を表す口に関するデーター：

(15) 辛口のワイン / 辛口の批評 Cf. dry/crisp/flat/heavy/sharp wine

(16) a. ちょっと口を開けてください / 口を開けると息子の自慢をする Cf. Goossens (1995)

b. Could you open your mouth a little wider?—*Harrap's* (1995)

(17) Don't look at me—I never opened my mouth. —*Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (=CIDE) (1995) <この open my mouth は informal な用法で 'did not say anything' をなぜ意味するのか>

Cf. 窓から顔を出さないように / Don't put your head out of the window.

首を横に振る / shake one's head

のど自慢 / a sweet voice

目が青い・赤い / He has blue eyes/red eyes/(black eyes.)

足が長い / 太い / 速い / 大きい, 台風で市民の足が乱れる

小説からのデーター：

(18) She [Mom] was a giant egg. Dad was a frying-pan.

—*The Goonies*, p. 94

<先行文：'Look—a couple of years ago my mom and dad got on that big Game Show. Remember, Brand? Mom spent a month makin' those funny costumes. (18) >

(19) I opted for Minnie Four-Eyes.

—*Love Story*, p. 12

<There were two girls working there. One a tall tennis-anyone type, the other a bespectacled mouse type. (19) >

(20) That Italian job your old man gave you for graduation?

—*The Graduate*, p. 7 <‘Say, that’s something out in the garage.’ (20) >

交通事故死した英国のダイアナ妃に関するデーター：

- (21) a. さようならイギリスのバラよ・・・あなたの足跡はイギリスの緑豊かな大地に残るだろう—『朝日新聞』1997. 9. 7 (「イギリスのバラ」は交通事故死したプリンセス・ダイアナを指す)
- b. The recording of “Candle in the Wind,” with lyrics reworked to honor the princess as “England’s Rose,” will be released within a week, with proceeds going to a memorial fund set up to support her favorite charities.
—*MDN*, Sep. 9, 1997
- c. “Spencer’s bitter attack on newspapers will force every editor and every journalist to reflect deeply on the way they conduct themselves,” wrote *the Sun*, Britain’s top-selling...
- d. *The Naughty Girl Next Door*—*Time*, Sept. 15, 1997, p. 50

Metaphor を表すか Metonymy と解釈するか問題のデーター：

- (22) a. **Butterflies** Are Free: Mariah Carey split with her husband and fired her manager. Now she’s ready to fly on her own. —*Time*, Sept. 15, 1997, p. 113
<Butterfly は Mariah Carey の新曲アルバムのタイトル>
- b. **open one’s eyes to...** (=to make someone realize that they had not realized before)

手紙からのデーター：

- (23) To Isao and Megumi, With happy memories of gardens in Oxford and Japan.
Wishing you and your family a very happy Christmas and New Year. From Deirdre.
Cf. Family: def 2. When people talk about their family, they sometimes mean children: couples with large *families*—*COBUILD* (1995)

E-mail からのデーター：

- (24) Dear Isao,
Thanks for your report which is quite informative and useful as it is.
Would you post it on the list? Thanks and cheers, Dan.
—E-mail from Dan Sperber, Wed. 3 Apr '96
- (25) The Linguistic Society of America seeks applicants for the position of **Web** (= World Wide Web) Page Editor. Responsibilities include:
designing and supervising the maintenance of the LSA web site.
—E-mail from LSA, Thu, 29 May '97

コンピューター解説書からのデーター :

(26) Do I need to delete earlier versions of WordPerfect before I install?

—*User's guide, Word Perfect V 6.1*, p. 4

Cf. “Cats,” installed at the Winter Garden Theater since October 7, 1982, is Broadway's cash cow, generating 195 million dollars for the city and state of New York and producing a wider economic impact of three billion dollars. —*MDN*, June 20, 1997

(27) The *Introducing Microsoft Windows 95* book contains common tasks.

—*Introducing Microsoft Windows 95*, p. vii

店の看板からのデーター :

(28) 111 Harvard St. Across from UNM

Breakfast served all day. — Ad

論文からのデーター :

(29) NICE: 19th century 'bad, inappropriate':

You are a nice one to talk.

—Nerlich and Clarke (1992:221)

言語学の書物からのデーター :

(30) COWBOY: In British English, it can mean an incompetent or irresponsible workman or business: cowboy plumbers, cowboy double-glazing firm.

: In American English, it can mean an automobile driver who does not follow the rules of the road or a factory worker who does more than the peace-work norms set by his union or fellow-workers.

— Crystal (1994:138)

以上の共時的データーと以下の通時的データーの両方の意味変化を説明する理論が必要であることと、具体的発話状況の中でそれぞれの意味はどのように決定されているのかを説明する必要がある。

通時的意味変化のデーター :

(31) a. OE *hūsbonða* ('housebound') Cf. *muscle* (mouse)

b. OE *bread* 'piece' 小片・断片 → 'piece of bread' → 'bread'

Cf. パン OE *hlāf* ('loaf') → 13c *bread*

(32) *computer*

17c 'a person employed to make calculations in an observatory, or in surveying at the end of 19c *Engineering* 22 Jan. 1987

→ 'a kind of circular sliderule'

→ 1940s ‘the first electronic computer was developed in the United States for the US Army’.

(33) **install**

16c ‘place in office by seating in a stall or official seat’

→ 18c ‘instate’ ‘place in office’

→ 19c ‘fix in position’ “install a fire place/a telephone”

1994 Do I need to delete earlier versions of WordPerfect before I install?

—*User’s Guide, WordPerfect V 6.1*, p. 4

(34) (Web) **site**

用地・ある事柄のあった場所

→インターネットで情報を見たり, 取り出したり出来るところ

(35) **Web**: WWW (=World Wide Web)

Web 蜘蛛の巣

→ 世界中に網の目のようにひろがったネットワークのニックネーム

(36) **bitter**

12c ‘biting’ ‘cutting’

→ ‘cruel’ ‘harsh’

→ ‘not sweet’ (‘biting to the taste or tongue)

→ ‘bitter wind’ (Shakespeare *As You Like It*)

Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky.

(37) **journey**

French *journée* (*jour*)

13c. ‘a day’s travel’

→ 14c ‘a day’s work’

→ ‘spell of work’

→ Today ‘travel’

(38) **Dutch**

14c ‘German’ (German: Deutch)

→ 16c “Netherlanders’ who spoke a German language’

(39) **fast**

‘firm’ “fast asleep” “hard and fast” “make fast” (secure a ship) <steadfastness of purpose> <determination>

13c ‘rapidly’

16c ‘rapid’

18c ‘dissipated’

'promiscuous' "lives too fast"

(40) fowl (wildfowl)

OE 'bird'

Cf. 1375 Scottish poet John Barbour's poem: *The Bruce*

'the kyng [...] slepit as foul on twist'

(i. e. slept like a bird on a twig)

→ 16c 'a domestic cock or hen'

(41) harvest, autumn

OE 'autumn' (German: *Herbst*)

mid-11c text (*Byrhtferth's Handboc*)

"tha feower timan [the four seasons] were lengten [Lent], sumor, hærfest, & winter."

1526 Tindale's Bible 'the gathering of crops' "The hervest is greate"

(42) spring, lent

OE Lent 'place of rising' 'place where stream begins'

16c spring 'a length of coiled metal'

(43) very

13c 'true'

15c 'extremely' Adj/Adv/*Noun

1448 'Vere hartely [sincerely] your, Molyns' (*Paston Letters*)

(44) bird

OE 'young bird'

1600 Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird [i. e. the Duke of York's son]

1593 Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Part 3 'young woman'

(45) black/colored person/negro/nigger

まぐる

次に伝統的意味論による意味変化の扱いをみてみよう：

(46) あらたに・あたらしい

うつくし (かわいい) → (美しい)

ありがたい (めったにない) → (感謝したい)

意味の転移：holiday 聖なる日 (なので仕事をしない) → (聖なる日なので) 仕事をしない日

SPECIALIZATION (or NARROWING): def. A lexeme becomes more specialized in meaning. -Crystal (1994:138)

(47) a. OE *dēor* 'deer' (けもの・動物) → (鹿) Cf. animal 'breathing creature' Latin:

anima 'breath'

- b. OE hund hound (犬) → (獵犬)
- c. OE mete (meat) 'food' (食物) → (肉) Cf. 'meat and drink'
- d. OE steorfan starve (死ぬ) → 16c (餓死する)
Cf. 花 → 桜
- e. OE fugol: ('any bird') → Mod.E. fowl ('cocks, hens, chickens') —Ungerer & Schmid (1996:260)
- f. 13c ENGINE 'contrivance' → 'mechanical contrivance' → 'mechanical source of power' —Crystal
- g. story: → 'an afternoon television soap opera' —Eble (1979:218)
Cf. OF estorie → 13c story 'historical account' → 14c 'recital of events' → 'entertaining narrative' →
- h. pusher: 'a salesperson' → 'one who sells marijuana or drugs'
- i. grass/the weed: 'common culprits in the garden' → 'the plant Cannabis sativa, marijuana'

GENERALIZATION (or EXTENSION): A lexeme widens its meaning. —Crystal

- (48) a. いろいろな (colorful) → (various)
- b. plant (若枝 → 植物)
 - c. pipe (笛) → (管)
 - d. ME car(r)ien 車で運ぶ (by the wagon) → Mod. E. 運ぶ
 - e. OE bryd: ('young bird') → Mod. E. bird ('any bird') —U&S
 - f. Office: 'in the religious field' → 'a more general, secular range of meanings'
 - g. Jeans: 'a style of cotton trousers' → 'casual attire' —Eble (1979:217)

AMERIOLATION: def. A lexeme develops a positive sense of approval.

- (49) a. 13c. minister (a servant 召使い) → (大臣) Cf. 'minister of religion/minister of state'
- b. OE prættig (pretty) ('crafty, wily' ずるい) → 14c 'clever, ingenious' → 'fine' 'brave' → (きれい)
 - c. 14c fond (foolish, silly 愚かな) → (愛情深い)
 - d. Lean: 'amanciation' → 'athleticism and good looks'
 - e. Bitching: What a bitching girl! → 'good looking' — Eble (1979:219)

PEJORATION (or DETERIORATION): def. A lexeme develops a negative sense of disapproval. —Crystal

- (50) a. 14c undertaker 'helper' 引受人 → 葬儀屋
- b. 12c maid ('girl' 乙女) → (お手伝いさん)
 - c. 13c seely (silly) ('happy, blessed' 幸せな) → 'innocent, helpless' → (愚かな)

- d. **Cowboy:** cowboy plumbers (BrE) : → ‘an incompetent or irresponsible workman or business’
(AmE) : → ‘an automobile driver who does not follow the rules of the road’
- e. **cosmic:** → ‘fashionable’
”She’s wearing those platform shoes just to be cosmic.” — Eble (1979:219)
- f. **future:** → ‘an unattractive male’

FIGURATIVE USE (METAPHOR)

- (51) a. **ground** (地面) → (根拠)
- b. **way** (道) → (方法)
- c. **branch** (枝) → (支店)
- d. **ME, Mod. E bird** → 17th cent.: bird (‘prisoner’) — U&S

FIGURATIVE USE (METONYMY)

- (52) a. **dam** (ダム) → (ダムの水)
- b. **go upstairs** (二階へあがる) → (寝る)
- c. **wash hands** (手を洗う) → (トイレに行く)
- d. “A beer... is called a brew because of the process of manufacture, a chill because of its serving temprature, or a ha-ha because of the pleasure of drinking it.”
— Eble (1979:219)

FIGURATIVE USE (SYNECDOCHE) :

- (53) a. **bread** (パン) → (食物)
- b. **gold** (金) → (富)
- c. **a television set:** → ‘a tube’ — Eble (1979:220)

SUBSTITUTION (SEMANTIC SHIFT)

- (54) 17th cent. **coach** (‘horse-drawn carriage’) → 20th cent.: **coach** (‘motor coach’) — U&S

伝統的意味論による意味変化は時間軸に沿って意味の変化を羅列するのみで、その変化の原因は共時的な変化にも同一の規則が使われているのかも不明だし、それぞれの語の意味変化のつながりの説明が明示的にされていないので、不十分であるし、具体的な例は語レベルのものに限られ、発話のなかで具体的状況のもとでの解釈についてはなにも説明できないので不十分である。

2. Lakoff 流の認知意味論による Metonymy 分析からでてきた問題点の指摘

2. 1. Metonymy という用語の表す中身は 1 種類か。1 つの domain 内の 2 つのものの mapping という認知モデルとする分析でよいのか。広告などの non-verbal なもの (‘mute’ metonymy) や、speech act metonymy など中身が一人歩きして、拡大しているのではないか？

2. 2. Metonymy と Metaphor の区別はどうするのか、どちらがより認知的に basic か

意見1 : metonymy と metaphor はともに cognitive models に同じ認知的レベルで意味の拡張に作用するもの

Lakoff (1987a:65) propositional models. Four other types of cognitive models are now being investigated within cognitive linguistics. These are: image-schematic, metaphoric, metonymic, and symbolic models. . . . Cognitive models in general are used to structure and make sense of our experience, and each element in such a model can correspond to a category of mind.

Lakoff (1987b)

p. 77 Metonymy is one of the basic characteristics of cognition.

p. 78 Given an ICM (=Idealized Cognitive Models) with some background condition (e. g. institutions are located in places), there is a “stand for” relation that may hold between two elements A and B, such that one element of the ICM, B, may stand for another element a. In this case, B = the place and A = the institution. We will refer to such ICMs containing *stand for* relations metonymic models.

p. 84 In general, a metonymic model has the following characteristics:

(a) There is a “target” concept A to be understood for some purpose in some context.

(b) There is a conceptual structure containing both A and another concept B.

(c) B is either part of A or closely associated with it in that conceptual structure. Typically, a choice of B will uniquely determine A, within that conceptual structure.

(d) Compared to A, B is either easier to understand, easier to remember, easier to recognize, or more immediately useful for the given purpose in the given context.

p. 85 (e) A metonymic model is a model of how A and B are related in a conceptual structure; the relationship is specified by a function from B to A.

Cf. Croft (1993:364) metaphor: ‘domain mapping’

metonymy: ‘domain highlighting’

Cf. Lakoff and Turner (1989:103)

metonymy: “an entity in a schema is taken as standing for one other entity in the same schema, or for the schema as a whole”

意見2 : すべての metaphor の根底に metonymy がより basic な認知的なものとして存在するのは問題あり

Taylor (1995:139)

If it were the case that metaphor were grounded, ultimately, in metonymy, then we would have gone a long way towards solving the ‘theoretical puzzle’ of

similarity. There are, however, numerous instances of metaphor which cannot reasonably be reduced to contiguity. Particularly recalcitrant are instances of a subcategory of metaphor, synaesthesia. Synaesthesia involves the mapping of one sensory domain onto another. Examples include **loud** colour (where an attribute of the auditory domain is mapped onto the visual domain), **sweet** music (which maps a gustatory sensation onto the auditory domain), and **black** mood (colour transferred to an emotional state). It is doubtful whether attributes of these different domains get associated through metonymy. Neither is it plausible to propose metonymy as the basis for a mapping of the vertical dimension onto sensations of pitch (the **high** notes on a piano) and smell (the meat smells **high**).

意見3：すべての metaphor の根底に metonymy がより basic な認知的なものとして存在する

Barcelona (forthcoming)

A more careful analysis of these metaphors could reveal a metonymic basis.

A large number of conventional metaphorical mappings seem to be dependent on a conceptually prior metonymic mapping.

Barcelona (1997)

〈CAUSE FOR EFFECT〉 metonymies

the effects of an emotion (e.g. sadness) stand for the emotion itself

the behavioral effect 'drooping bodily posture' stand for its cause (sadness)

(55) 'Mary had a long face' (with drooping facial muscles)

METAPHORS: 〈SADNESS IS DOWN〉 METAPHOR

(56) a. 'John really feels down'

b. 'I'm in low spirits'

the target and source domains have to be understood metonymically for the metaphor to be possible.

Radden (1997)

'A salient (physical) member of a category stands for a whole category': Metonymy

(57) a. PROPERTIES ARE PHYSICAL PROPERTIES: Metaphor (e. g. big discovery)

b. COMMUNICATION IS LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION: Metaphor (e. g. The people should have a say on the treaty.)

c. HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY: Metaphor (e. g. Her death hurt him.)

'A salient subtype of a category stands for the whole category': Metonymy

(58) ACTING IS MOVING.: Metaphor (e. g. What's your next move?)

'CAUSE-EFFECT': Metonymy

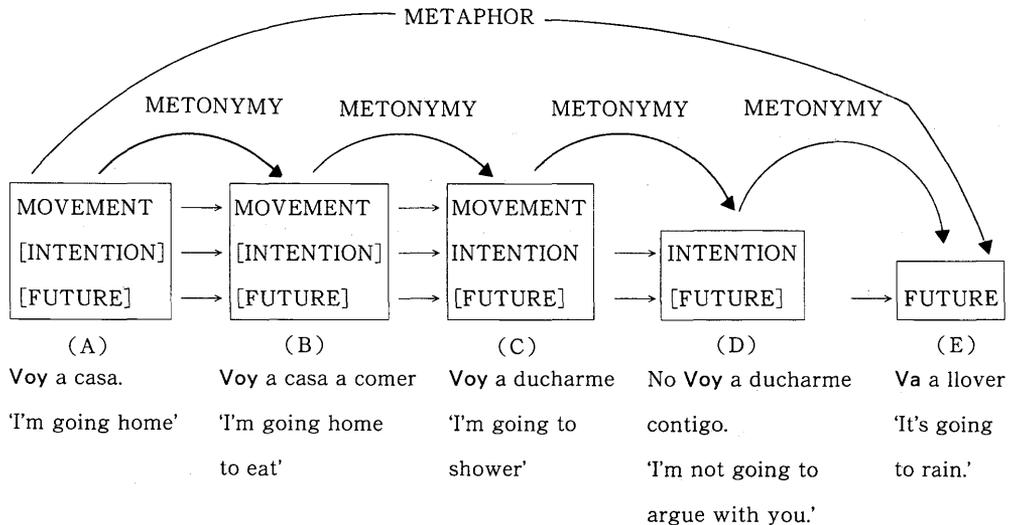
(59) UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING: Metaphor (e. g. I see your point.)

IDEAS ARE PERCEPTIONS: Metaphor

Garachana and Hilferty (1997) はスペイン語の GO-future の文法化を次のように

(A) → (E) の変化は metaphor でその根底にある, (A) → (B), (B) → (C), (C) → (D), (D) → (E) のそれぞれの変化は metonymy によると説明している。

(60)



意見 4 : すべての概念 (metonymy も含めて) の根底に metaphor がより basic な認知的なものとして存在する

Lakoff and Johnson (1997)

08-1 : Whatever abstract ideas we have—about science, mathematics, art, God, or death—are possible by metaphor. Metaphorical thought is not in itself either good or bad. It both makes possible an abstract understanding or reality, and it necessarily hides aspects of reality.

Since a great many of our most basic concepts are metaphorical, much of our knowledge is conceptualized and framed in terms of metaphorical concepts.

3. Relevance Theory (=RT) からでてきた metonymy 研究の問題点の指摘

3. 1. Creativity の違いの説明が必要《Lakoff 流では説明不可》

(61) The buses are on strike.

(62) Are you the cab parked outside?

(63) I want marry a BMW rather than a VW.

また (64) (65) にあるように日常言語の中でどんどん新たに metonymy が作られる《Lakoff 流の記憶したプロトタイプの知識を用いる分析ではこのような ad hoc な概念の形成を説明できないのではないか》。

(64) 訳あって、黒ラベルしか飲めまへん。

(65) a. I think I (=my watch) 'm running fast. —以下 3 例は Gerrig (1989:206-7)

b. A good-natured, superior murmur passed over the potato salad (=people eating the potato salad).

c. As even Tommy says, adults do not tell eights (=eight-year-old children) very much.

3. 2. Metonymy と Irony の接点の説明が必要《Lakoff 流で irony はどう扱うのか不明》

The difference between metonymy and irony

(66) a. The fastest gun is walking over there. <メトニミー> <アイロニー>

b. He wanted to marry a free ticket to the opera. <メトニミー> <アイロニー>

3. 3. Metonymy と Metaphor がとてもよく似た考え (thought) を伝達できるのはなぜか

(67) a. 花子はいいい喉している。<メトニミー>

b. 花子はウグイス (嬢) だ。<メタファー>

(68) a. Mary is a sweet voice. <メトニミー>

b. Mary is a nightingale. <メタファー>

(69) a. Butterflies are free. — *Time*, Sept 15, 1997 <メトニミー> <メタファー>

b. The Naughty Girl Next Door. <メトニミー> <メタファー>

c. He opened his mouth. <メトニミー> <メタファー>

Cf. Life in the fast lane—the new 16-story JR Kyoto Station—*MDN*, sept 12, 1997

また (69) のように一見するとメトニミーかメタファーか曖昧なものもある。

4. Lakoff 流認知意味論に対する問題点

4. 1. Papafragou (1995) による認知意味論に対する問題点の指摘

(a) As a result of the confused division of labour between cognitive and social aspects of metonymy, the status and role of many 'metonymic concepts' is highly dubious. — p. 147

(b) some inconsistencies in the list of metonymic concepts cited in Lakoff & Johnson (1980:38). One the one hand, their examples include such diverse concepts as PART FOR WHOLE and INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE; it is at least arguable that the first is cognitively more basic and can subsume a number of other metonymic concepts in its scope. — p. 147

(c) the instantiations of a single metonymic concept do not always form a natural class. the concept: OBJECT USED FOR USER <Cf. Leite (1994:) Traditional metonymy:

PART FOR PART: ACTOR FRAME: INSTRUMENT FOR ACTOR (AGENT?): The sax has the flu and can't perform.>

- (70) a. The buses are on strike.
b. Are you the cab parked outside?
c. I wouldn't marry a Mercedes but I could live with a Volvo.

If metonymies that are captured by a particular metonymic function were interpreted on the basis of this function, there should be no difference in the comprehension of (70a-c) above. This obviously leaves the question of the increasing creativity of the utterances unanswered.

- (d) Why can't we postulate a metonymic concept VEHICLE FOR DRIVER to explain the uses above.
(e) this approach would result in a long and unexplanatory list of isolated metonymies.
(f) associationist models largely ignore problems of interpretation by pushing them off onto the conceptual structure itself. — p. 148
(g) they are unable to handle really creative, one-off metonymies uses. — p. 148

4. 2. Prototype theory の問題点

4. 2. 1. Prototype theory の主張

- (a) Concepts have a prototype structure; the prototype is either a collection of characteristic attributes or the best example (or examples) of the concept.
(b) Category boundaries are fuzzy or unclear; what is and is not a member of the category is ill-defined; so some members of the category may slip into other categories (e. g. tomatoes as fruit or vegetables)
(c) There is no delimiting set of necessary and sufficient attributes, determining category membership.
(d) Instances of a concept can be ranged in terms of their typicality.
(e) Category membership is determined by the similarity of an object's attributes to the category's prototype. — Eysenck and Keane (1990:264)

4. 2. 2. Prototype view of word meaning の問題点

- (a) not all concepts have prototype characteristics (e. g. a rule, a belief, an instinct)
(b) incomplete as an account of the sort of knowledge people have about concepts
(c) the prototype view does not explain why categories cohere
— Eysenck and Keane (1990:269)
(d) Does family resemblance predict typicality?
(e) conceptual combination (e.g. a pet fish)

Cf. The internal structure of categories is studied primarily in terms of prototype theory.

—Geeraerts (1995:114-5)

Cf. a radial category comprises a number of distinct senses of a linguistic unit, whilst prototype categories in the narrow sense are monosemous. — Taylor (1995:261)

Cf. 'prototype categories' (1つの中心意味), 'family resemblance categories' (中心意味不明), Lakoff (1987)'s 'radial categories' (多義的な意味)

Cf. a linguistic category is typically complex: it is best characterized as a network of semantic, phonological, or symbolic structures, usually centered on a **prototype**, connected by relationships of elaboration and extension. Generally, for instance, the alternate senses of a lexical item form a complex category (polysemy). — Langacker (1995a:107) [強調は筆者による]

4. 2. 3. 心理言語学実験結果による prototype の存在への疑い

Barsalou (1987) は以下の3つのカテゴリーについて実験をした。

common taxonomic categories (birds, fruit, furniture)

goal-derived categories (things to eat on a diet, places to vacation, birthday presents)

ad hoc categories (things that could fall on your head, ways to escape being killed by the Mafia)

結果は異なった個人間のテストでも予想よりプロトタイプ的一致は低かったし、同一の個人に時間をずらしてテストしたプロトタイプの結果もどんどん低くなるし、絵を見たりして、プロトタイプのランキングをつける実験と具体的なプロトタイプの度合いの例をあげる実験では結果がかなり異なっていた。すなわち、多くの人に均一に概念を理解するときに前もって持っている(記憶している)というプロトタイプの存在は、疑わしいので、Langacker, Lakoff 達の理論の背景の1つが疑わしいのではないか。プロトタイプとは人間の知識を表すには単純すぎるのではないか。

BETWEEN-SUBJECT AGREEMENT TEST の結果:

- (a) early experiments on prototypicality reported a very high agreement between subjects on typicality rankings: over .9
- (b) Agreement between subjects on all three types of concepts averages at .5— a substantially lower result
- (c) these results were obtained from fairly homogeneous populations of experimental subjects (American undergraduates) and with less homogeneous populations, between subject agreement might be expected to drop.
- (d) 'Across individuals, graded structure is relatively unstable.'

WITHIN-SUBJECT AGREEMENT TEST の結果:

- (a) the stability of a given person's typicality rankings over time
- (b) he expected to find agreement at the level of .9 or higher.
- (c) What he found was an average of .75.
- (d) he showed that an agreement of .92 was reached if subjects were re-tested after an

hour's delay; this fell to .87 if the delay was one day, and to around .80 at delays of two and four weeks.

- (e) The greatest instability was among the middle-ranking members of a category, and the greatest stability was in most and least typical members.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS CAN ALTER TYPICALITY RANKINGS:

ANIMAL: (milking という状況でのプロトタイプ): cow, goat

ANIMAL: (riding という状況でのプロトタイプ): horse, mule

FINDINGS OF THESE EXPERIMENTS:

- (i) the full range of prototypicality effects are not best explained by assuming that prototypes are stored ready-made in encyclopedic entries.
- (ii) It would require a very large number of prototypes for each category.
- (iii) It is extremely unlikely that American undergraduates have constructed ready-made prototypes for the 40 categories they were tested on from the Chinese point of view, the American point of view, the housewife's point of view and so on.
- (iv) The ability to generate typicality judgments for novel categories such as things that could fall on your head can't really be explained in terms of memorised prototypes.
- (v) The disagreement between results of typicality gradings and results of listing experiments suggests that no single prototypical account will work.

Cf. The substance of the criticism appears to be that prototype theory fails to constrain, in a principled way, the range of possible senses that a lexical item may have; that, consequently, prototype accounts tend to be purely descriptive, rather than explanatory, in that they merely list the various senses, rather than deriving them from general principles—Taylor (1995:269)

4. 2. 4. 状況（時間や場所の情報など）をどのようにプロトタイプに組み込み、実際の解釈にもちいるか

- (71) a. As I worked in the garden, a bird perched on my fork.
b. Birds wheeled above the waves.
c. A bird, high in the sky, invisible, sang its pure song.
d. At Christmas, the bird was underdone.
e. Birds chattered under the eaves.
f. Birds perched on the telephone wires. —Wilson (1990)

<<(71a) の bird は庭に来て、くわにとまれるような種類の鳥だし、b では波の上を飛び回る海鳥だし、c. では空高く舞い上がり、鳴く鳥だし、d. ではクリスマスにさっと焼かれる種類の鳥だし e. では軒下でぴーちく鳴く鳥だし、f では電線にとまれる鳥の種類となるので、bird のプロトタイプを1つだけ考えるような理論では説明できない。要するに時間や場

所などが異なると違ったプロトタイプを計算できる必要がある)

Cf. cognitive grammar explicitly denies the existence of any sharp or specific boundary between pragmatic and linguistic considerations. —Langacker (1995a:106)

Cf. Pragmatics is the study of the general cognitive principles and abilities involved in utterance interpretation, and of their cognitive effects. —Wilson and Sperber (1994:85)

Cf. The Goal of Pragmatic Theory is to explain how utterances are understood.

An adequate pragmatic theory has to explain

- i. what proposition the speaker intended to say
- ii. What propositions the speaker intended to implicate
- iii. What attitude (e. g. humorous effect) the speaker intended to express to what was said and implied.

Cf. The Principle of Relevance

RT では聞き手の発話理解は人間の頭の中央処理系で行われ、そこでは metonymy などの encoded concepts を聞き手が communication の中で理解するためには、計算してコンテキスト効果がでるような百科辞書的知識を memory の中からコンテキストとして選び出し、自然言語がもつ未決定性 (underdeterminacy) ・曖昧さ (ambiguity) を取り除き、よりはっきりした情報として語用論的に豊かにし (pragmatic enrichment), communicated (or relevant) concepts として、最終的には理解すると説明する。すなわち、すべての発話・概念も RT では多くの解釈の可能性を持つと考え、その揺れを最終的にコントロールして、1つのある発話・概念として理解するには例外なくすべての場合に認知語用論的の原則、すなわち、The Second (or communicative) Principle of Relevance < Every ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance. —Sperber and Wilson (1995:155–63, 260–66) > が適用されると説明する。

4. 2. 5. 個人間 (特に聞き手) の知識のゆれ・新たな百科辞書的知識の獲得をどのように説明するのか

Language. . . is seen as a repository of world knowledge, a structured collection of meaningful categories that help us deal with new experiences and store information about old ones.

—Geeraerts (1995:113)

(72) Futon: A futon is a piece of furniture which consists of a thin mattress on a low wooden frame which can be used as a bed or folded up to make a chair. —*COBUILD* (1995)

: A futon is a type of padded quilt which can be laid on the floor as a bed, or folded up and used as a sofa. —*Collins Today's English Dictionary (=Collins)* (1995)

- : a flat soft CUSHION used for sleeping on, especially in Japan. —*LDOCE* (1995)
- : a Japanese MATTRESS that can be rolled out to make a low bed. —*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (=OALD)* (1995)
- : A futon is a cloth-filled mattress intended to be used on the floor and rolled up when not in use—*Harrap's Essential English Dictionary (=Harrap's)* (1995)

〈1995年に英国で出版された5つの辞書で日本語からの借用語の布団という語の百科辞書的定義の記述をみるとなぜ次のように記述にゆれているのか？英語の futon は「家具の一種で巻いて chair となる」とか「sofa として使う」とか「柔らかい cushion」であるとか「mattress である」とか、「使わないときに巻いておく」ものであるなどというゆれである〉

4. 2. 6. 人間の知識 (cf.culture) はいかにして獲得されるのか。もともとあるものとは何か。
- (a) The term experiential realism emphasizes what experientialism shares with objectivism:
 - i) a commitment to the existence of the real world,
 - ii) a recognition that reality places constraints on concepts,
 - iii) a conception of truth that goes beyond mere internal coherence, and
 - iv) a commitment to the existence of stable knowledge of the world. —Lakoff (1987b:xv)
 - (b) experientialism (the view that human reason is determined by our organic embodiment and by our individual and collective experiences) —Geeraerts (1995:113)
 - (c) cognitive linguistics tends to reject the generative idea that there are genetically determined restrictions on the formal structure of natural language that constitute the cognitive anchoring point for language acquisition.—Geeraerts (1995:113)

Cf. Sperber (1996)

- a) Each culture is characterised by a different system of concepts. (p. 67)
- b) I assume that we have an innate disposition to develop concepts according to certain schemas. We have different schemas for different domains: our concepts of living kinds tend to be taxonomic; our concepts of artefacts tend to be characterized in terms of functions; our concepts of colour tend to be centred on focal hues; and so on. Concepts which conform to these schemas are easily internalized and remembered. Let us call them basic concepts. A large body of basic concepts is found in every language. . . . individual concept formation and therefore cultural variability, are indeed governed by innate schemas and dispositions. (p. 69)
- c) Humans can mentally represent not just environmental and somatic facts, but also some of their own mental states, representations and processes. The human internal representation system—the language of thought, to use Jerry Fodor's expression

(Fodor 1975)—can serve as its own metalanguage.

This meta-representational ability... is essential to human acquisition of knowledge.
(p. 71)

d) meta-representational abilities allow humans to process information which they do not fully understand, information for which they are not able at the time to provide a well-formed representation. (p. 71)

cf. these larger conceptual structures (that combine more specific categories/metaphor research) are studied in their relationship to their cultural environment. . . (cultural models)—Geeraerts (1995:115)

4. 2. 7. Prototype を用いた意味変化の説明と問題点

4. 2. 7. 1. Prototype shift (COACH の意味変化 : 大文字がプロトタイプの意味) —Ungerer and Schmid (1996:264)

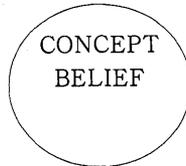
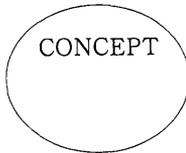
4. 2. 7. 2. Prototype split (IDEA の場合 : 大文字がプロトタイプの意味) —Ungerer and Schmid (1996 : 267)

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| (73) IDEA = CONCEPT | (a) The <i>idea</i> of truth is hard to grasp |
| IDEA = BELIEF | (b) The <i>idea</i> that the earth is a disc has been refuted. |
| IDEA = AIM | (c) The <i>idea</i> is to put all cards on the table. |
| IDEA = INSPIRATION | (d) And then he had a brilliant <i>idea</i> . |

(a) 1430-1770

(b) 1770-1830

(c) 1830 and later



4. 2. 7. 3. From old prototype to new prototype (FAIR の場合) —Nerlich and Clarke (1992 : 217)

- (74) 700 beautiful
1175 free from blemish, pure
1205 favourable, benign
1340 free from bias, equitable
1551 light, as opposed to dark
1860 pretty good, passable

4. 2. 7. 4. 4. From old network of polysemy (or radial category) to new network of polysemy (or radial category) (BUREAU の場合) —Nerlich and Clarke (1992:210)

(75)

- 12th century coase woolen cloth (burel)
- 13th century cloth covering tables or counters
- 14th century counting table
- 15th century writing table
- 17th century room containing the table
people working in the room
department
agency

Cf. Cabinet Legislative Bureau Director—*MDN*, Sept. 12, 1997

4. 2. 7. 5. drift1 (=metonymy + generalization) + drift 2 (specialization (+metonymy)) (PANEL の場合) —Nerlich and Clarke (1992:212)

(76)

4. 2. 7. 6. From bad meaning to good meaning (and from good to bad meaning) (NICE の場合) —Nerlich and Clarke (1992:220-1)

(77) 14th century 1) 'foolish'

2) 'wanton, lascivious'

3) 'strange, rare'

4) 'tender, effeminate'

15th century 5) 'coy, reserved, diffident'

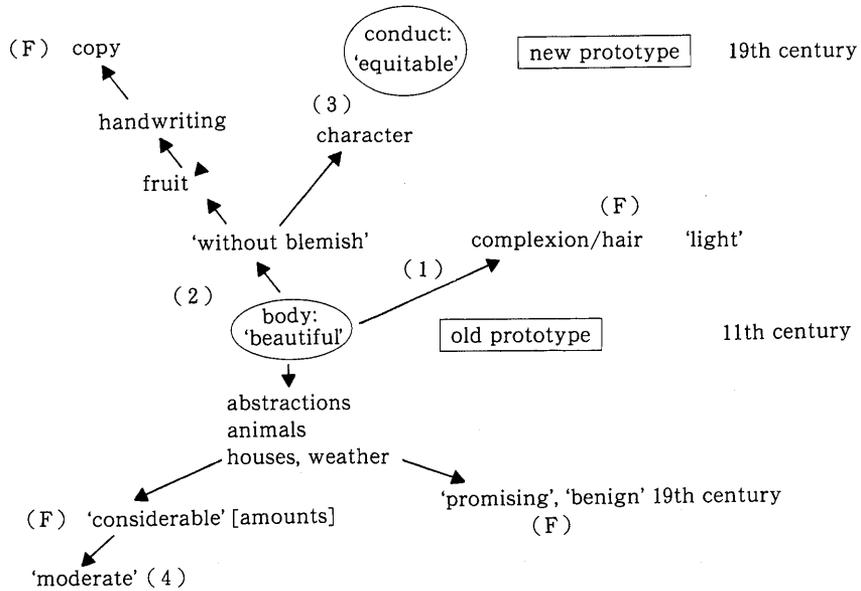
16th century 6) 'showing fastidious, particular, finical taste', 'dainty, redefined' (of people)

7) 'requiring or involving great precision and delicacy, (of things)

18th century 8) 'pleasing, pleasurable, agreeable' (only acknowledged in dic. in 1934)

19th century 9) 'bad, inappropriate' "You're a nice one to talk"

Semantic Change: The word FAIR



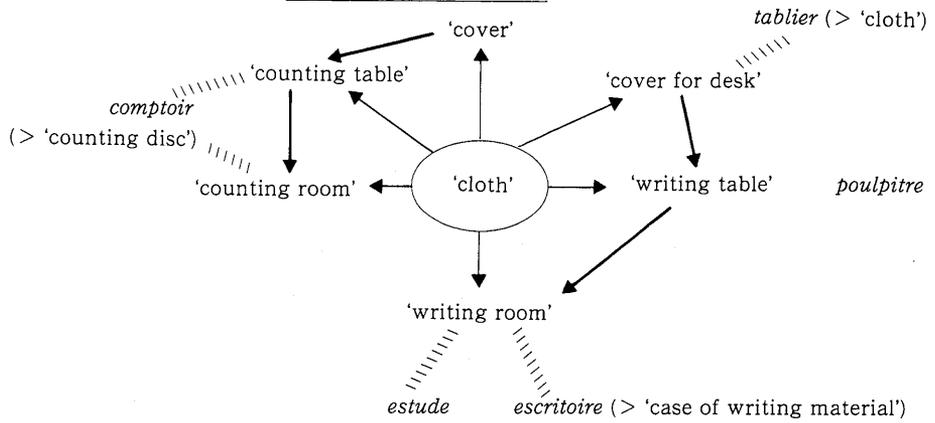
- (F) = fossilized expressions
- (1) metonymy: part - whole
- (2) inference: what is beautiful is unblemished
- (3) metaphor: concrete - abstract
- (4) weakening

OLD PROTOTYPE: 'beautiful' - mainly of women (face, figure, hair, etc.)
 based on inference: women display physical beauty
 (ousted by synonyms: *nice*, *pretty*, etc.)

NEW PROTOTYPE: 'equitable' 'honest', etc. - mainly of men and what they do (*fair play*)
 based on inference: men display moral beauty

Semantic Change: The word BUREAU

Old network of polysemy (15th century)

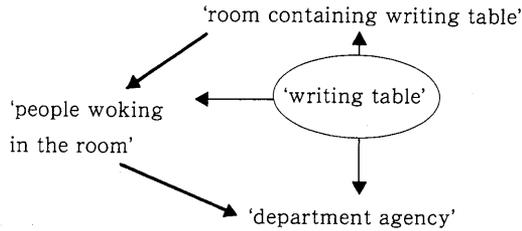


→ = metonymical transfers

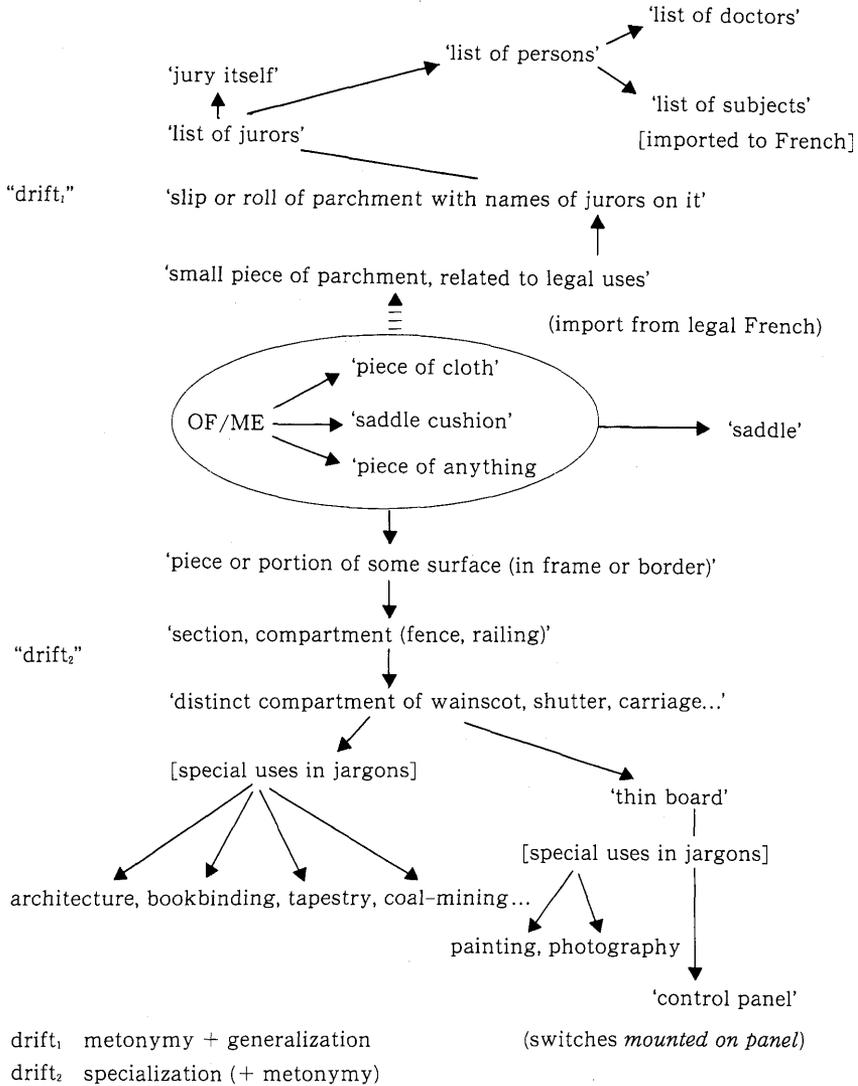
→ = polysemic 'radiation' outward from original meaning of *burel* - 'coarse cloth'

..... = competing synonyms some of which have metonymical sources themselves (as indicated in brackets)

New network of polysemy (19th century)



Semantic Change: The word PANEL



<<問題点のまとめ>> :

- a) Prototypeに基づく認知意味論・認知言語学は実験結果などから、プロトタイプが存在が疑わしいことと、多くの metonymy に基づく意味変化の出発点と変化後の意味を metonymic model で結びつけるだけで、具体的状況のなかでゆれる解釈からどれを選ぶとか複合語 (petfish) などの意味の変化を扱えないなど、多くの問題を抱えている。さらに、metaphor より metonymy の方が、認知的により基本的なものであるという意見も前提として metonymy を均質な1つの mapping と考えているところに問題がある。また共感覚的メタファーや垂直方向の空間を示す high などがにおいを表すなどの場合はやはり、その根底に metonymy を考えることが、難しいし、Lakoff 達の分析では、どこまでももともと人間の中であり、どこからが経験により、形成されるのかが不明である。

b) また Langacker は Metonymy: An expression that normally designates one entity is used instead to designate another, associated entity. The former serves as a reference point for purposes of evoking the latter. Efficient reference to the target is thus achieved while allowing the more salient of the associated entities to be the one that is coded explicitly.

In metonymy, an expression's usual referent (i.e. its profile) is invoked as a reference point to establish mental contact with its intended referent (the target). To serve this purpose effectively, R has to be salient with respect to T. Certain principles of cognitive salience generally hold: human > non-human; whole > part; concrete > abstract; visible > non-visible; etc.

—Langacker (1995b:2-3)

この Saliency-based explanation の問題は同じビールをみても味 (bitter・秋味), ラベル (黒ラベル) 製造元 (キリン・アサヒ・サントリー), 醸造方法 (生, 一番搾り, brew), 入れもの (中ジョッキ), 温度 (chill), 飲んで楽しいもの (ha-ha) など様々な要因でメトニミー的に呼ぶので, 何が salient になるかを定める手段がないと, 単に部分と全体なら全体が, 具体と抽象では具体が, 目で見えるものと目で見えないものでは見えるものの方がより salient という階層だけでは説明できないので不十分である。

4. 2. 8. その他の問題:

4. 2. 8. 1. 認知的 (cognitive) とは何か (cognitive linguistics の cognitive とは何か)

Cognitive linguistics is an approach to the analysis of natural language that focuses on language as an instrument for organizing, processing, and conveying information.—Geeraerts (1995:111)

Cognitive linguistics is the study of language in its cognitive function, where cognitive refers to the crucial role of intermediate informational structures in our encounters with the world. (p. 112)

4. 2. 8. 2. Metonymy の表現を生み出す認知的動機付けは何か

Every expression and every symbolic unit imposes a particular construal on the content it invokes. —Langacker (1995a:108-9) —perspective/objectivity, subjectivity/prominence/profiling——

5. RT による metonymy の先行研究とその問題点

5. 1. RT とメトニミー

本稿では metonymy とは linguistic semantics により encode された encoded concepts が例外なく communication で適用される RT の認知的原則 The Communicative Principle of Relevance により語用論的に豊かにされ, 具体的には 4 つの異なる認知的操作 (i. e. concept narrowing/widening/loosening/echoing) から成り, その結果 communicated concepts が

できると説明する立場をとる。RT の基本的考え方について少し概観する。

5. 2. The Framework of Relevance Theory

Utterances containing Metonymic expressions:

↓ Linguistic semantics

Logical form (Encoded Concepts)

↓ Pragmatic Enrichment (Principle of Relevance) : Concept narrowing, concept widening, concept loosening, concept echoing

Fully propositional form (Communicated or Relevant Concepts)

↓ Real semantics or semantics of mental representations

Truth conditions

According to the classical view of concepts, concepts form discrete, all-or-none categories. The classical view is often combined with a decompositionist approach to word meaning, which is rejected by many relevance theorists in favour of a more Fodorian view.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) treats concepts as consisting of lexical, logical and encyclopaedic entries. Not all the encyclopaedic information at our disposal is accessed in interpreting an utterance on a given occasion. The Communicative Principle of Relevance is a good tool for determining which set of assumptions will be assembled for a given concept on a given occasion.

5. 3. RT の基本的考え方

- A) RT can provide several means of extending the individual's conceptual repertoire.
Cf. Higashimori and Wilson (1996)
- B) All simple monosyllabic concepts are innate. (Cf. Sperber 1996:67-70, Jerry Fodor)
- C) The meaning of a word such as 'mouth' and '□' is an irreducible (i. e. holistic) concept.
- D) Concepts are psychological entities at a fairly abstract level and conceived of as consisting of a label or address with three entries: logical, encyclopedic and lexical.
- E) When a concept appears in a logical form being processed, access is given to the various types of information stored in memory at that address.
- F) The context is understood as a set of assumptions that the individual holds and the context in which an utterance is processed is not given in advance but chosen by the criterion of consistency with the principle of relevance. i. e. hearers select the context in which the utterance processed yields adequate contextual effects for no unjustifiable processing effort.

(79) B: He can recite a poem now. — Walton (1991)

〈A1: Has Freddie learnt anything new in his English class recently?〉

〈B1: Freddie has the ability to recite a poem now.〉

〈A2: When are you finally going to let Freddie entertain us?〉

〈B2: Freddie is permitted to recite a poem now〉 — Walton (1991:335)

〈助動詞 can を含む (76B) の同一の発話がなぜ (A1) のあとでは (B1) の能力の解釈となり、(A2) のあとでは (B2) の許可の解釈となるかの説明が必要である〉

Cf. Groefsema (1992:124)

Basic meaning of CAN:

p is compatible with the set of all propositions which have a bearing on p.

(where p is the proposition expressed by the rest of the utterance).

Utterance: He can recite a poem now.

↓

Logical form:

[_p x recite a poem at time y] is compatible with the set of all propositions which have a bearing on p.

↓

Pragmatic Enrichment

〈If someone performs an action/ability, they have the ability to perform that action/ability〉

↓

Implication:

x has the ability to recite a poem at time y. ('an ability interpretation')

Cf. Sweetser (1990): root modal CAN (行為者がその行為を可能にしている) → metaphorical mapping 「現実世界の物理的力」 → 「心的世界の前提の力」 → epistemic modal CAN (前提の力が話し手の結論付けを可能・不可能にしている)

p. 59 My claim, then, is that an epistemic modality is metaphorically viewed as that real-world modality which is its closest parallel in force-dynamic structure.

Cf. Langacker (1995b): grounding, subjectification

can 本動詞 (主語があることを行うのに必要とされる知識や心的能力をもっていることを表す)

本動詞の主体化 1

本動詞の主体化 2

(80) a. 残りの「ダニ」をいかに退治するか

<長島監督巨人に残る一週刊誌のタイトル>

b. 私の先生はカバでした。

<こういうタイトルでお話される今日のゲストは動物園の園長さんの... さんです。— NHK ラジオ番組から>

G) Processing effort depends on

- i. the form in which information is processed
- ii. the accessibility of the context (i.e. the size of the context)
- iii. the frequency of the word

H) Cognitive (or contextual) effects are

- i. strengthening an existing assumption
- ii. contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption
- iii. combining with an existing assumption to yield contextual implications

I) The First, or Cognitive Principle of Relevance (Based on evolutionary argument):

Human cognition is geared to the maximisation of relevance (i.e. the greatest possible cognitive effects for the smallest possible processing effort)

J) The Second, or Communicative, Principle of Relevance: Every utterance creates a presumption of its own optimal relevance.

K) Optimal relevance of utterance

An utterance is optimally relevant to an addressee iff:

- i. it is relevant enough to be worth the addressee's processing effort;
- ii. it is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences.

L) Relevance-theoretic assumptions about figurative utterances are

- i. The meaning of literal, loose and figurative utterances is constructed in the same way: by using the indications provided by the utterance as a starting point, following a path of least processing effort in the construction process, and stopping when expected relevance is achieved.
- ii. Literal, loose and figurative utterances differ not only in the kind of meanings they have, but in the relative parts played by the speaker and hearer in determining them. (cf. interpretive vs. descriptive use, conceptual vs. procedural meaning, echoic/loose use)

M) Presumption of Optimal Relevance:

- i. The ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it;
- ii. The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences. — Sperber and Wilson (1995:270)

N) Resemblance (類似性)に基づく interpretive use (解釈的用法)が発話理解の出発点であり、言語外のものをありのままに表す descriptive use (記述的用法)は類似性100%の特殊例にすぎない。

Loose use is the norm of utterance: The proposition expressed by an utterance resembles a thought of the speaker's as long as the two have implications in common—and the more implications they have in common, the greater the resemblance will be. Identity (i.e. literal meaning) is a special case of resemblance. According to RT, the norm is loose talk, since the loose interpretation is easier to recover than the literal one.

O) On the relevance view there are two types of semantics:

linguistic semantics which has to do with the mapping of linguistic expressions onto concepts & real semantics which assigns truth conditions to the proposition expressed by an utterance in a particular context. — Cf. objectivist view of meaning (Lakoff 1987b:xii.-xiv)

P) (Cognitive) Pragmatics:

These two levels are mediated by pragmatic derivation of content.

Q) Concepts are psychological entities at a fairly abstract level and conceived of as consisting of a label or address with three entries: logical, encyclopaedic and lexical.

R) When a concept appears in a logical form being processed, access is given to the various types of information stored in memory at that address.

S) The context is understood as a set of assumptions that the individual holds and the context in which an utterance is processed is not given in advance but chosen by the criterion of consistency with the principle of relevance, i.e. hearers select the context in which the utterance processed yields adequate contextual effects for no unjustifiable effort.

T) The Communicative (or Second) Principle of Relevance:

Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance.—Sperber and Wilson (1995:155-163, 260-266)

U) Presumption of Optimal Relevance

(a) The ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it;

(b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences.

5. 4. Papafragou (1995)

Metonymic expressions involve the (implicit) echoic use of concepts and they are instances of naming (rather than direct referring).

(a) metonymy is a variety of echoic use—p. 141

- (b) metonymy is not a natural class but rather a continuum of cases; they include novel, one-off uses, conventionalised metonymies that have entered the lexicon—p. 141
- (c) metonymic expressions are a variety of echoic use and correspond to instances of naming (rather than to more straightforward instances of referring) —p.153
- (d) **The piano** is in a bad mood.
 → The person that could appropriately be called ‘the piano’ is in a bad mood <at time x>. —p. 158
- (e) In the case of metonymy, the propositional form of the utterance is a literal interpretation of the thought it purports to express.
- (f) This thought, however, is complex to the extent that it contains an echoic concept. —Cf. metarepresentational use of language—p. 158
- (g) metonymy contributes to the explicatures of the utterance—p. 159
- (h) The latter (=denominal verbs) range from one-off uses (“I **porched** the newspaper”) to cases that have entered the lexicon (“I **hoovered** my room”) forming a continuum parallel to the metonymies I examine. Arguably denominal verbs also belong to the echoic use of language.—p.172

5. 5. Papafragou (1996a) Cf. Carston (1996:80)

she recognised that echoic use is too narrow to cover all metonymies and instead employs the concept of interpretive (or loose) use of a concept, though the interpretation relation in the case of metonymy is not one of resemblance, as in the case of metaphor, but one of association (or accessibility), in relevance-theoretic terms, between elements of encyclopedic knowledge.

5. 6. Papagragou (1996b)

It is an entirely uncontroversial claim that metonymy may result in semantic change (see Ullman 1962:218). The relevant phenomenon is traditionally called ‘catachresis’: that is, use of an inappropriate term in order to fill a vocabulary gap. Good examples are provided by the French words *bureau* (‘clothe covering a piece of furniture’ → ‘desk’ → ‘work place/business including a number of desks’ → ‘group running a business’ – which in sessions meets round a writing table etc.) and *greve* (‘bank of Seine’ → ‘spot on Seine’s bank where unemployed workers met’ → ‘act of stopping work’ –strike). Semantic metonymies in English include spoon, orange, tongue etc. (see Ruhl 1989:97) Metonymic semantic change flows directly from

- i) the proposal concerning semantic change caused by the interpretive use of concepts (see Sperber and Wilson 1983:69–70), and
- ii) the naming function of novel metonymies.

5. 7. Carston (1996)

(81) a. The wilting violet has finally left.

Here the description 'the wilting violet' is being used to refer to a particular woman (JJ). Although Papafragou does not say so, I assume that the final propositional form of the utterance is something like (3), where the individual (de re) concept of JJ and the loosened descriptive concept 'wilting violet' both appear.

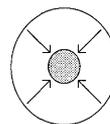
(81) b. JJ (wilting violet) has finally left.

6. RT による新たな metonymy に基づく意味変化の説明

6. 1. Four types of ad hoc concept construction

6. 1. 1. Concept narrowing is defined as follows:

- (i) If an encoded concept X (e. g. eye) is in a category and has some encyclopedic assumptions, then the communicated (or relevant) concept Y is in the category and a subset of the encyclopedic assumptions.
- (ii) X and Y belong to the same category.
- (iii) We cannot say 'X is sort of Y'.



E. g. a typical x:a typical enforces a narrowing (or strengthening/enriching) of the concept encoded by the word it modifies. —Cf. Itani (1995:92).

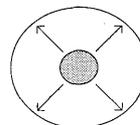
(82) a. Tom is a typical **bachelor**.

b. He wears **rabbit**.—Carston (1996:63)

"there is a subset relation between the extension of the concept actually communicated in these examples and the extension of the lexical concept from which it has been derived. . . where L is the extension of the lexical concept and C' is the extension of the narrowed ad hoc concept, the relevant concept in each case."

6. 1. 2. Concept widening is defined as follows:

- (i) If the communicated concept Y is in a category, then the encoded concept X (e.g. eye) is in the category.
- (ii) X and Y belong to the same category.
- (iii) We cannot say 'Y is sort of X'

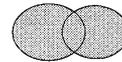


6. 1. 3. Concept loosening is defined as follows:

- (i) The denotations of the encoded concept X and the communicated concept Y intersect.
- (ii) X and Y belong to the different categories.
- (iii) We can say 'X is sort of Y'
- (iv) Y stands in a relation of 'association' (or accessibility) with X.

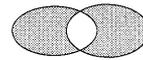
E. g. sort of x: sort of indicates that the word that it modifies is to be interpreted loosely.

(83) a. Tom is sort of a bachelor. —Itani (1995:89–90)



b. The room is rectangular. —Carston (1996:75)

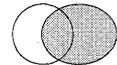
“The extension of the loosened concept would . . . include some cases of strict rectangles while excluding others”



c. Where’s my plastic duck?

“in the ‘plastic duck’ cases the property of belonging to a biological species is dropped” p.76

“there is actually no extensional overlap of the two concepts” p.75



d. I love bald man.

“the extension of bald* concept would include all the entities which fall within the extension of the lexical concept bald, i. e. all the hairless entities and a further group which depart to some degree or other from complete hairlessness but which are relevantly low on hair.” p. 76

6. 1. 4. Concept echoing is defined as follows:

(i) An encoded concept X is echoic or attributive/quotational in that it represents what others are referring to (=Y) when they use the word (Cf. nickname, naming).

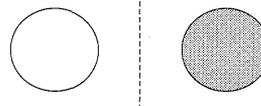
(ii) An echoic concept is interpretive in that it denotes not a description of a state of affairs in the world but a representation of another representation, i.e. meta-representational.

E. g. *Technically*: metarepresentational comment

Technically changes the status of the representation to an attributive (=echoic) interpretive one (i. e. attribution is to some technical or defining criterion). —Itani (1995:102)

(84) A bat is technically a mammal.

Four different types of Metonymy:



Descriptive use based on referring

I) Metonymy based on Concept Narrowing (descriptive use)

II) Metonymy based on Concept Widening (descriptive use)

Interpretive use based on Association/Acceptability

III) Metonymy based on Concept Loosening (loose use) <Cf. METAPHOR>

IV) Metonymy based on Concept echoing (echoic use) <Cf. IRONY>

6. 2. Ironical use of NICE

Papafragou (1996:187)

irony is defined as a case of interpretive use which (a) has to remain implicit, and (b) communicates an attitude of dissociation from the interpretive material. . . . Metonymy is also a subvariety of interpretive use. If a metonymic expression meets conditions (a) and

(b), the theory predicts that it will be interpreted ironically.

Wilson & Sperber (1988:137)

Irony: B echoes A's utterance with a dissociative attitude.

6. 3. Descriptive use of metonymy

6. 3. 1. CONCEPT NARROWING based on referring

Concept narrowing + metonymy の例:

(85) UTTERANCE: He has blue eyes.

LOGICAL FORM: x has blue eyes. (ENCODED CONCEPT)

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS (Hearer's encyclopedic knowledge)

(a) If x is an eye, then an iris is in the eye.

(b) If x is an eye, then a white of the eye is in the eye.

(c) If x is an eye, then it is covered with an eyelid.

(d) If someone has a black eye, then the area around the eye has turned dark because he was hit by a blow.

Non-demonstrative inference (central system in our brain) (Communicative principle of relevance)

(85) + Encyclopedic knowledge (a) → (85a') John Smith has blue <irises>.

(以下 < > は COMMUNICATED CONCEPT を表す)

Cf. His nose is running. <鼻水がたれている>

Cf. He wears rabbit. <rabbit の fur を指す>

6. 3. 2. CONCEPT WIDENING based on referring

(86) He has black eyes. <目の回りに隈ができている>

(86) + (d) → (86') Bill Taylor has <an area around his eye which has turned dark because he was hit by a blow.> COMMUNICATED CONCEPT

6. 4. Interpretive use of metonymy

6. 4. 1. CONCEPT LOOSENING based on association

(87) UTTERANCE: Here's my new flatmate. (a newly acquired cat を指して)

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS:

(a) If x is a flatmate, then x is a human being. (ONE OF DEFINING CHARACTERS)

(b) If x is a flatmate, then x is a good partner.

(c) If x is a flatmate, then x is a reliable partner.

(d) If x is a cat, then x is not a human being. (Visual perception からの情報)

CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATION (weak implicatures)

(87) + (b) → Here's my new and <good partner> .

(87) + (c) → Here's my new and <reliable partner> .

(=Here is a new cat that could loosely be called my flatmate.)

6. 4. 2. CONCEPT ECHOING based on association

(88) UTTERANCE: Where's 'the piano'?

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS:

(a) People normally call Kentaro Haneda the piano.

(b) If x is the piano, it is one of musical instruments.

CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATION:

(88) + (a) → Where's <Kentaro Haneda who could appropriately be called the piano> ?

7. Diachronic meaning change

7. 1. Descriptive use of metonymy

7. 1. 1. CONCEPT NARROWING based on referring

(89) fowl (wildfowl) (鳥→家禽)

OE 'the kyng [. . .] slepit as foul on twist' (i. e. slept like a bird on a twig)

16c 'a domestic cock or hen'

UTTERANCE CONTAINING 'FOWL' (89)

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS:

(a) A domestic cock or hen is part of a fowl.

(b) A robin is part of a fowl.

(c) A duck is part of a fowl.

CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATION : (89) fowl+ (a) → a domestic cock or hen

以下 (90) も同様に説明が可能。

(90) harvest (秋→収穫) autumn

OE 'autumn' (German: *Herbst*)

1526 Tindale's Bible 'the gathering of crops' : " The **hervest** is greate"

7. 1. 2. CONCEPT WIDENING based on referring

(91) journey (1日の旅→長い旅)

French *journée* (*jour*)

13c. 'a day's travel'

14c 'a day's work'

'spell of work'

today '(a long) travel'

UTTERANCE containing journey: (91)

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS:

(a) A day's travel is part of a long travel.

(b) A travel is a hard work.

CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATION: (91) journey + (a) → a long travel.

同様に (92) も色という一つの特徴で、ある人種全体を表すことで説明できる。

(92) black/colored person/negro/nigger (黒→黒人)

まぐろ (黒→黒い色をした魚)

7. 2. Interpretive use of metonymy

7. 2. 1. CONCEPT LOOSENING based on association

(93) bird (ひな鳥→若い女性)

bird OE 'young bird'

Today (BrE) 'young woman'—Robert Chapman *American Slang*

UTTERANCE containing bird: (93)

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS:

(a) If x is a bird, then x is not a human being. (ONE OF DEFINING CHARACTERS)

(b) If x is a bird, then x is very cute.

(c) If x is very cute, then x can be a young woman.

CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATION: (93) bird + (b) (c) → a young woman

以下 (94) - (100) も同様な説明が可能。

(94) computer (天文台で計算する人→計算する機械)

(95) install (教会などの長椅子に座る→コンピューターのハードディスクにソフトを覚え込ませること)

(96) (Web) site (用地・ある事柄のあった場所→インターネットで情報を見たり、取り出したり出来る所)

(97) bitter (かみつく→舌にかみつく味 (苦い味))

(98) Dutch ('German' → 'Netherlanders' (who spoke a German language))

(99) fast (しっかりとくっついている→速い)

(100) very (ほんとうの→とても)

7. 2. 2. CONCEPT ECHOING based on association

(101) Web: WWW (=World Wide Web) (蜘蛛の巣→世界中に網の目のように広がったネットワークのニックネーム)

UTTERANCE containing web: (101)

CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS:

(a) A web is a net of thin threads made by a spider to catch insects (ONE OF

DEFINING CHARACTERS)

(b) People call world wide web WEB.

(c) WEB is a system which links documents and pictures into an information database that is stored in computers in many different parts of the world.

CONTEXTUAL IMPLICATION: (101) web+ (a) → WORLD WIDE WEB

8. Conclusion

本稿はメトニミーに基づく意味変化を考察し、共時的のみならず、通時的な意味変化にも同じ認知的原則で説明できることを関連性理論の枠組みで説明できることを示した。George Lakoff 流の認知意味論 (cognitive semantics) 及び Ronald W. Langacker による認知文法 (cognitive grammar) での意味変化およびプロトタイプの問題点を指摘し、Sperber & Wilson (1986, 1995) により提案された関連性理論による認知語用論 (cognitive pragmatics) からの分析の方がよりよく説明できることを示した。

日本語の布団が英語に借用された場合にも、まず concept echoing で百科辞書的意味内容が決まらないが、日本語との内容に違いが生じるのは第2ステップとして concept loosening が働くからと説明できる。また子供の第一言語の習得においても「ママ」という語が、concept echoing により、導入され、意味内容は時間とともに導入され、最初<女性全体>を指して使っていたのが<自分の母親>のみを指すように concept narrowing が起こるし、また、<食べ物>を指すようになるのは concept loosening の働きによるものと説明可能である。その他スラングや婉曲表現の意味の説明に大いに役立つ理論と思われる。Cf. Higashimori and Wilson (1996:116)

NOTES

1. 本稿は1997年7月2日に神戸女学院大学研究所主催の英文学専攻部会で Special Lecture で話し、5th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference (ICLC97) (Amsterdam にて) で発表した際のコメントなどを参考に加筆修正したものである
2. 本稿ではおもに nominal metonymy を扱い、以下のような verbal metonymy も時に扱う。
 - (i) Yaohan files for bankruptcy. —MDN, Sept. 19, 1997
 - (ii) Typhoon headed for Kanto region.
3. Gricean Pragmatics は社会的語用論 (social pragmatics) であり、RT のように what is said の部分には全く関心がなく、おもに社会的規則を違反すれば、implicatures が生ずるとするものであり、metonymy も metaphor, irony と同様に4つの Maxims のどれかの違反により生ずると説明する。認知言語学の多くの理論と同様に記述的妥当性は満たそうとするが、すなわち、True なことを言えという Quality の maxim を違反すれば、crown が何の計算も説明もなしに<王様>の意味になるという説明である。問題は Grice による、社会的語用論 (social pragmatics) では communication における発話解釈の原理は社会的なもので、すなわち協調の原理 (Co-operative Principle) に基づき、話し手・聞き手が前もって分かっている goal にむかって (mutually-accepted purpose or direction), 文字どうりの意味 (what is said) から、暗に伝えたい意味 (what is implicated) を4つの Maxims (quality, quantity, relation, manner) に違反すると述べるにとどまり、RT で示すような頭の中での演算や知識を用いた説明などなく、詳しい計算もなくすぐに別の意味が出てくるというものである。communication をはじめる前に

すでに話し手・聞き手の共通の goal が分かっているということや（実際は何も分かっていないのが普通）、Maxim 自体の定義そのものが厳密さを欠くため実際に適用することはきわめて困難であり（何が relevant か定義できていないのに Be relevant. であれという Maxim of Relation の中身は全く不明）、metonymy, metaphor, irony などは自然に身につく、自発的なものにもかかわらず、特殊な例外的なもので特別の訓練などないと理解できないと分析することなどである。

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