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2016年度 東京大学 朝日講座「守るべきもの、変えるべきもの」

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“文法”に意味はあるのか？

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1. はじめに：「意味はあるのか？」の2つの意味

- (1) 言語（母語または外国語）を習得する（適切に使えるようになる）ために「文法」を身につけることに意味はあるのか？
- (2) 「文法」の知識の単位に（語彙と同じく）それぞれ意味はあるのか？

2. 生成文法（generative grammar）と認知言語学（cognitive linguistics）における「文法（grammar）」

共通の目標：言語の知識（knowledge of language）の解明

暗示的知識（implicit knowledge）を明示的（explicit）に
言語の知識と他の知識や能力との関係および文法と意味との関係が争点
獲得と起源・進化も視野に：コミュニケーションの位置づけが争点

語彙（lexicon）と文法（grammar）：

語彙項目（lexical items ≈ fixed expressions）の集合としての語彙と語彙項目をいくつか結合して複合的な表現（典型的な文がその代表）を産出し、またそうした表現を理解することを可能にする仕組み---語彙項目の組み合わせ方のパターンの集合---としての文法

Grammar is traditionally subdivided into two different but interrelated areas of study—**morphology** and **syntax**. Morphology is the study of how words are formed out of smaller units (called **morphemes**), and so addresses questions such as ‘What are the component morphemes of a word like *antidisestablishmentarianism*, and what is the nature of the morphological operations by which they are combined together to form the overall word?’ Syntax is the study of the way in which phrases and sentences are structured out of words,

and so addresses questions like ‘What is the structure of a sentence like *What’s the president doing?* and what is the nature of the grammatical operations by which its component words are combined together to form the overall sentence structure? (Radford 2004: 1)

It is not the case that every possible meaning that can be expressed is correlated with a unique, unanalyzable gesture, be it oral or manual. Rather, each language has a stock of meaning-bearing elements and different ways of combining them to express different meanings, and these ways of combining them are themselves meaningful. The two English sentences *Chris gave the notebook to Dana* and *Dana gave the notebook to Chris* contain exactly the same meaning-bearing elements, i.e. words, but they have different meanings because the words are combined differently in them. These different combinations fall into the realm of syntax; the two sentences differ not in terms of the words in them but rather in terms of their syntax. (Van Valin 2001: 1)

3. 対立する文法観

3.1. 意味から自律した文法 (autonomous syntax)

Syntax is independent from semantics and phonology, in the sense that syntactic units, categories, functions are not identifiable in semantic or phonological terms. (Huddleston 1976: 33)

It seems to me fair to conclude that although there are, no doubt, systematic form-meaning connections, nevertheless the theory of formal grammar has an internal integrity and has its distinct structures and properties ... It seems to me reasonable to adopt the working hypothesis that the structures of formal grammar are generated independently, and that these structures are associated with semantic interpretations by principles and rules of a broader semiotic theory. (Chomsky 1977: 56-57)

Meaning is a notoriously difficult notion to pin down. If it can be shown that meaning and related notions do play a central role in linguistic analysis, then its results and conclusions become subject to all of the doubts and obscurities that plague the study of meaning, and a serious blow is struck at the foundations of linguistic theory. (Chomsky 1955: 141)

3.2. 記号体系の一環としての文法 (symbolic grammar)

Grammar is inherently symbolic; only units with both semantic and phonological import are required for its proper characterization. (Langacker 1991: 516)

Meaning is what language is all about; the analyst who ignores it to concentrate solely on matters of form severely impoverishes the natural and necessary subject matter of the discipline and ultimately distorts the character of the phenomena described. But it is not enough to agree that meaning is important if this results, say, merely in positing a separate semantic “component,” treating grammar separately as an autonomous entity. I contend that grammar itself, i.e. patterns for grouping morphemes into progressively larger configurations, is inherently symbolic and hence meaningful. Thus it makes no more sense to posit separate grammatical and semantic components than it does to divide a dictionary into two components, one listing lexical forms and the other listing lexical meanings. Grammar is simply the structuring and symbolization of semantic content; for a linguistic theory to be regarded as natural and illuminating, it must handle meaning organically rather than prosthetically. (Langacker 1987: 12)

I will argue ... that **grammar is meaningful**. This is so in two respects. For one thing, the elements of grammar—like vocabulary items—have meanings in their own right. Additionally, grammar allows us to construct and symbolize the more elaborate meanings of complex expressions (like phrases, clauses, and sentences). It is thus an essential aspect of the conceptual apparatus through which we apprehend and engage the world. And instead of being a distinct and self-contained cognitive system, grammar is not only an integral part of cognition but also a key to understanding it. (Langacker 2008: 3-4)

4. 捉え方 (construal) の重要性

[T]he meaning of an expression is not determined in any unique or mechanical way from the nature of the objective situation it describes. The same situation can be described by a variety of semantically distinct expressions that embody different ways of construing or structuring it. Our ability to impose alternate structurings on a conceived phenomenon is fundamental to lexical and grammatical variability. (Langacker 1987: 107)

Grammar (like lexicon) embodies conventional **imagery**. By this I mean that it structures a scene in a particular way for purposes of linguistic expression, emphasizing certain facets of it at the expense of others, viewing it from a certain perspective, or construing it in terms of a certain metaphor. Two roughly synonymous sentences with the same content words but different grammatical structures—including, in particular, sentences generally analyzed as being transformationally related—are claimed instead to be semantically distinct by virtue of their different grammatical organization per se.

Consider the rule of Dative Shift, which supposedly derives sentences like (13)(b) from underlying structures like (13)(a).

(13) (a) *He sent a letter to Susan.*

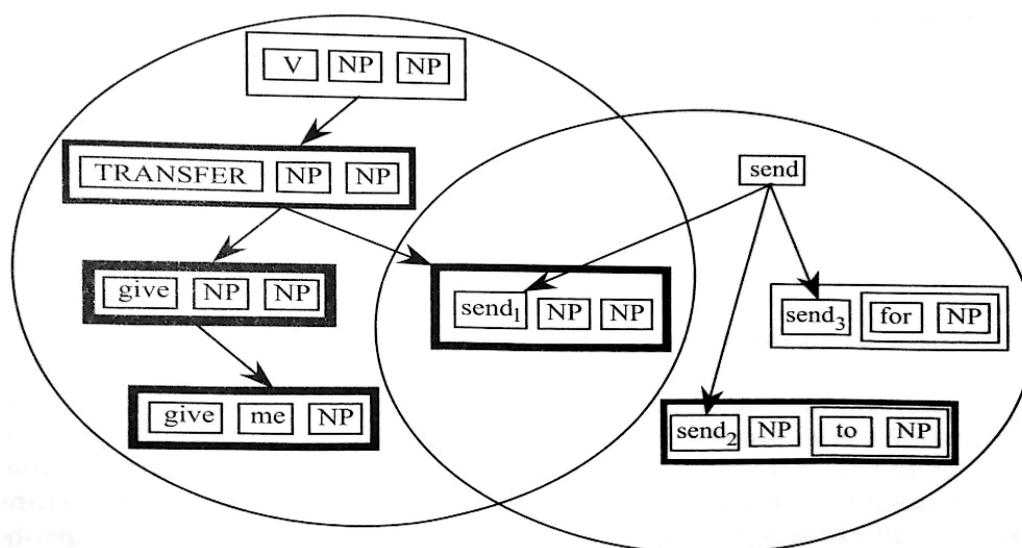
(b) *He sent Susan a letter.*

These sentences have the same truth value and can be used interchangeably to describe the same event, but I suggest that they nevertheless differ semantically ... Because (13)(a) employs the preposition *to*, it emphasizes the path traversed by the letter with Susan as goal. By contrast, (13) (b) emphasizes the resulting state in which Susan possesses the letter; I will assume that this possessive relationship is symbolized by the juxtaposition and linear order of *Susan* and *a letter*. I do not claim that the notion of a path is lacking in (13)(b), or the notion of possession in (13)(a): both are present to some degree in each sentence. Instead I claim that the relative **salience** of these notions differs in the two examples owing to their respective symbolization by *to* and by the juxtaposition of nominals. The differences in grammatical structure therefore highlight one facet of the conceived situation at the expense of another; I will say that the two sentences present the scene through different **images** ... (Langacker 1987: 39)

5. 語彙と文法の連続性：用法基盤モデル

All linguistic units are abstracted from usage events, i.e. actual occurrences of language use in their full phonetic detail and contextual understanding. This comes about by reinforcement of recurring commonalities, properties or configurations of properties shared by a number of usage events and apparent at a certain level of schematicity. Specific details which do not recur in this fashion fail to be reinforced and therefore “filtered out” as units

emerge in usage. Depending on factors such as type and token frequency, abstraction can be carried to any degree supported by the data. More schematic units may therefore coexist with more specific units in which they are immanent, resulting in schematic hierarchies. Depending on what recurs and what is filtered out, schematization proceeds in different directions, each pertaining to a particular facet of the organization of instantiating structures. Because the same structure is often categorized in multiple ways, schematic hierarchies intersect. (Langacker 2005: 144-145)



(Langacker 2005: 145, Fig.16)

The question of whether a verb which regularly occurs in a particular construction has a meaning appropriate for that construction tacitly presupposes that lexemes have meanings independently of the constructions in which they occur, and conversely, that constructions exist independently of the elements that occur in them. I believe this is the wrong way to look at things. In a usage-based perspective, both lexical items and constructions represent abstractions from expressions in which they are immanent and indissociable, as suggested by diagrams like [the figure above]. In some cases the abstraction may be carried far enough that a construction with no specific lexical content, or a lexeme divorced from any particular structural frame, achieves some cognitive status. To the extent that this happens, the constructional schema or the lexical unit is nonetheless connected to (and immanent in) the more specific assemblies from which it emerges. When a lexeme's occurrence in a particular construction constitutes a conventional linguistic unit, it is therefore pointless to ask whether it "has" the appropriate meaning. How could it not? (Langacker 2005: 154)

グループワークテーマ

外国語学習（または教育）においてどのような文法をどういう仕方で学べば（または教えれば）よいのだろうか？母語の文法を学ぶ（教える）意味はあるのだろうか？

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