

言語学

(1) 「窓が開けてある」と「窓が開いている」ではどのように意味が異なるかを説明しなさい。

(2) 英語 *some, any* のような語を不定代名詞 (*indefinite pronoun*), *which, what* のような語を疑問代名詞 (*interrogative pronoun*) という。いくつかの言語で、疑問代名詞がそのまま不定代名詞として用いられることが知られている。この現象に関する次の英文を読んで、下の設問に答えなさい。なお出題の都合上、本文は一部中略している。

Since it cannot be shown that bare interrogatives as indefinites are diachronically^{a)} derived from interrogatives, we are well advised to look for synchronic functional similarities that justify the systematic polysemy.^{b)} Such functional similarities are not hard to come by; it is clear that the sentences (382a) and (382b) have a lot in common.

(382a) Someone stole my bike.

(382b) Who stole my bike?

(中略) In indefinites such as (382a), the speaker either does not know who stole the bike or does not want the hearer to know who stole it. In interrogatives such as (382b), the speaker does not know who stole the bike either, but here she or he wants the hearer to supply the missing information.

Given this common meaning element, one might suspect that an interrogative-indefinite pronoun could actually be vague rather than polysemous. Indeed, Dixon (1980) reports that speakers of Australian languages will often translate a sentence with an interrogative-indefinite pronoun as in (383), suggesting that it is simultaneously an indefinite specification, and a request for further information.

(383) Someone stole my bike—who did it?

But vagueness at the utterance level is not the general case—in most languages, it seems, sentences containing interrogative-indefinite pronouns are clearly either interrogative or indefinite.

Another way of formulating the similarity between (382a) and (382b) is to say that (382a) is presupposed by (382b) (Lyons 1977), so in a way the indefinite meaning is contained in the interrogative meaning. Attempting to account for the formal relationship between interrogatives and indefinites found in many languages, Lyons suggests that the interrogative variant of (382a), the polar question^{c)} (384), might also be construed as a parametric question,^{d)} presupposing (382a) and expecting the hearer to respond by supplying a value for ‘someone’.

(384) Someone stole my bike?

(中略) In this line of reasoning, interrogatives are derived from indefinites. It is therefore natural to ask whether the formal similarities between interrogatives and indefinites can perhaps be explained (even if only partially) by a diachronic change from an indefinite to an interrogative pronoun. Such a change was

indeed posited speculatively by several linguists several decades ago. This hypothesis is interesting, but it must be rejected. There is no positive evidence for it, although it should be quite easy to find such evidence: there should be plenty of languages whose interrogative-indefinite pronouns go back etymologically to generic ontological-category^{e)} nouns or to the numeral ‘one’. These are the sources of indefinites in many languages, and we would expect cases where such indefinites become interrogatives. Furthermore, we would expect at least some of the numerous indefinites consisting of root plus indefiniteness marker to become interrogative pronouns, but we never observe any traces of such earlier indefiniteness markers in interrogatives. What we find, instead, is that, in language family after language family, interrogative pronouns prove resistant to etymological analysis. In fact, interrogative pronouns are among the slowest-changing elements in any language. (中略) So interrogative-indefinite pronouns can neither go back to interrogative pronouns in a well-understood way nor go back to indefinite pronouns in the way just sketched. We can only conclude that somehow the functional similarity between them which was noted above must be responsible for the systematic polysemy.

(Martin Haspelmath, *Indefinite Pronouns*, 1997 から)

- a) diachronically : 通時的に
- b) polysemy 多義性
- c) polar question : yes や no で返答される疑問文
- d) parametric question : what, who などの疑問詞による疑問文
- e) ontological-category : 存在論的範疇を表す

(a) 例文 (382a) と (382b) はどのような点で共通していると筆者は指摘しているか, 本文に基づいてまとめなさい。

(b) 波線を引いた箇所で言及されている, 疑問代名詞が不定代名詞から生じたという考えにどのような問題があるかを簡潔に述べなさい。必要であれば自分の考えや例を加えても構いません。

【以上】