

論文の英文要旨	
論文題目	Study on Japanese transitive and intransitive constructions based on a conceptualization of the two-party relationship between an entity and its location
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This study aims to analyze the phenomenon of alternation between transitive and intransitive sentences in modern Japanese from the perspective of a conceptualization of the two-party relationship between an entity and its location. It reveals the existence and generation mechanism of transitive constructions that cannot be perceived simply from the perspective of the relationship between two entities.

The conventional perspective provides a way to construe an event based on a causal chain schema. It can explain how inchoative alternation occurs in (1a-b), but cannot explain such alternation as is shown in (2a-b).

- (1) a. Taro (x) ga koppu (y) o watta. (Taro broke a glass.)  
b. Koppu (y) ga wareta. (A glass broke.)
- (2) a. Yanagi no ki (z) ni me (y) ga deta. (Buds appeared on the willow.)  
b. Yanagi no ki (z) ga me (y) o dashita. (A willow tree came into bud.)

Table 1

	Event(causal chain)	Meaning and construction
(1) a	$x \Rightarrow y \rightarrow y'$	[A] cause-change of state of theme; transitive construction
(1) b	$y \rightarrow y'$	[B] change of state of theme; intransitive construction
(2) a	$- /z \rightarrow y/z$	[B] change of state of theme; intransitive construction
(2) b	$- /z \rightarrow y/z$	[C] ?

Note: double arrow ( $\Rightarrow$ ) and single arrow ( $\rightarrow$ ) indicate causation and change of state respectively.  $y/z$  indicates “y exists in z.”

As shown in Table 1, events (1a) and (1b) are represented by [A] and [B] respectively. However, (2a-b) cannot be considered in parallel to (1). Both sentences

represent the change of state of ‘-/z’ into ‘y/z’. The alternation in (2) can be said to be due to the difference in construal: whether the focus is on an entity (y) (i.e. - /z →  $\boxed{y}/z$ ) or its location (z) (i.e. -  $\boxed{z}$  → y/ $\boxed{z}$ ). This paper calls the construction to fill in [C] in Table 1 a “location-focused transitive construction” meaning change of state of location, and demonstrates that this kind of constructions appears in a variety of Japanese transitive sentences. The paper is structured as follows.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of previous literature relating to intransitive and transitive verbs and their constructions. The chapter points out the lack of consideration of [C] type constructions, while presenting the stance of the present paper.

Chapter 3 explains the theoretical frameworks necessary to analyze the syntax of [C] type constructions. The basic concepts in the relationship between an entity and its location are EXIST and POSSESS. POSSESS is semantically defined as a notion converted from EXIST by the construal whereby a location is characterized by the presence of an entity. The paper then proposes a cognitive model by which events are construed from the receiver’s point of view, with the notion of POSSESS as a kind of template by which to construe the events. The paper states that [C] type constructions are the outcome of the construal following this template.

Chapter 4 explores [C] type constructions from two perspectives on the basis of the cognitive model proposed. One concerns the expansion of the notion of possession. This “dynamic possession” is where the notion of possession is used as a template to construe a dynamic event such as OCCUR, MOVE, or CHANGE OF STATE. The second perspective regards to the scope of the focus within the construed event, and is classified into three types (type I, II and III). The transitive sentences discussed are shown below.

- (3) possessive (stative)
- Sensô wa bakudaina hiyô o yôsuru.  
(The war needs vast expenditures.)
- (4) possessive (dynamic) (the terms shown on the left represent causal events)
- a. OCCUR > Sono ki wa me o fuku. [type I]  
(The tree comes into bud.)
  - b. DISAPPEAR > Kare wa yaruki o kaku. [type I]  
(He lacks motivation.)

- c. STAY > Machi wa mukashi no omokage o nokosu. [type I]  
(The town looks just as it did in the old days.)
- d. MOVE > Jishaku ga satetsu o tsukete iru [type I]  
(The magnet has iron sand stuck to it.)
- e. CAUSE-MOVE > Sono heya wa saishin no AV-kiki o sonaete iru. [type II]  
(The room is fitted with the latest audiovisual equipment.)
- f. CAUSE-MOVE > Tarô<sub>i</sub> wa kao<sub>i</sub> ni sumi o tsukete iru. [type III]  
(Taro has put black ink on his face.)

The notion of possession is extended to construe the state and the change of state of things. The transitive sentences shown in (5) are also analyzed as [C] type constructions. Type I&II is introduced as the construal whereby the giver's viewpoint and receiver's viewpoint meet.

- (5) CHANGE OF STATE >
- a. Sono ki wa chichû ni fukaku ne o hatta. [type I]  
(The tree set its roots deep into the ground.)
- b. Hanako wa rinka kara deta kaji de jitaku o zenshō shita. [type I&II]  
(Hanako's house got burned down in a fire that started in the house next door.)
- c. Jirô wa ani ni nagurarete maeba o otta. [type II]  
(Jiro was hit by his brother and had his front teeth broken.)

Also discussed are motion verb constructions in which the accusative case is used to indicate the location. The paper proposes another location-focused notion besides POSSESS, OCCUPY. As shown in (6) both POSSESS and OCCUPY are converted notions from EXIST. The notion of OCCUPY explains the mechanism by which the exceptional predications such as “seki o kawaru” (change seats), “sigoto o owaru” (finish work) and “kotae o machigau” (give the wrong answer) are generated into transitive constructions while preserving intransitive verb forms.

- (6) a. Entity(y) EXIST in Loc (z) . → a'. Loc(z) POSSESS Entity(y).
- b. Entity(y) EXIST in Loc (z) . → b'. Entity(y) OCCUPY Loc(z).

Note: A box stands for the word given salience in the event.

Analysis extends to what Sato (1994) called “Kaizai-sei no hyoogen” or intervenient transitive sentences as seen in (7) below, and the paper concludes that these

constructions are generated by a kind of fusion of the two ways of construing an event; one is through the causal chain model and the other is through the template of dynamic possession.

- (7) Taro wa byooin de chuusha o shita. (Note: Taro is undergoer)  
 (Taro got a shot at hospital.)

By extending the two-party relationship between an entity and its location to the relationship between an event and its location, syntactic voice also comes within the scope of the study. This paper proposes another cognitive model to generate the sentences involving syntactic voice such as spontaneous, potential, passive, causative and benefactive constructions, and exceptional sentences like (7) are properly positioned in this new cognitive model.

Chapter 5 deals with the other types of [C] type constructions, which have been categorized by Levin(1993) as SWARM alternation and SPRAY/LOAD alternation, and uncover the unique nature of these alternations in Japanese and the cause of this uniqueness.. The final topics to be analyzed are three-place transfer verb predicates and the variation in their constructions as shown in Table 2. The significance of the notions of POSSESS and OCCUPY is reaffirmed when considering the acceptability of sentences.

Table 2

Construction	Transferred object			Related Notion
	Tool	Locatum	Normal object	
X ga Z o Y de V	✓	✓	NO	POSSESS (z-y)
X ga Y o Z ni V	NO	✓	✓	MOVE (y)
Z ga Y o V(-te iru)	NO	✓(?)	✓	POSSESS (z-y)
Y ga Z o V	✓	✓	NO	OCCUPY(y-z)
Verbs	Oou (cover)	Mitasu (fill)	Tsukeru (attach)	

Chapter 6 summarizes all types of location-focused transitive constructions ([C] type constructions), while establishing the significance of the conceptualization of the two-party relationship between an entity and its location. This paper will surely contribute not only to the study of transitive/intransitive alternation but also to the study of the entire system of voice in Japanese.