| 論文の英文要旨 | |
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| 論文題目 | Syntax and Semantics of Preceding Objects in Chinese Resultative Constructions |
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　　This paper attempts, through empirical research using corpus examples, to demonstrate the syntactic restrictions and lexical motivations for the phenomenon in modern Chinese whereby the "Verb + Resultative Complement" (henceforth, "V1V2") construction is furthermore accompanied by an object, focusing on cases where it appears in a preceding position.

　　The V1V2 construction in Chinese expresses an event structure between an action and its result along a continuous temporal axis. The "action" is expressed by the verb, and the "result" of the change of the patient brought about by the action is expressed by the complement. This "action-result" expresses a complex telic event and is a structure encompassing the full process from start to finish. The event expressed by "action-result" is a causative one, whereby the agent (x) acts upon the patient (y), the patient (y) changes, and eventually exists in some state (z) (or some position). Expressions with transitive verbs position x as subject and y as object. Expressions with intransitive verbs position y as subject. However, in intransitive verb expressions in Chinese resultative constructions, the action part expressing the cause of the resulting state is not deleted syntactically, and y, which undergoes the change, is placed at the start of the V1V2 construction.

　　This paper focuses on the result of the action, and considers the phenomenon whereby y, which undergoes the change, appears at the start of the V1V2 construction, based on the "decausativization" advocated by Kageyama (1996). In particular, basic data are presented which are necessary to analyze factors related to the ease with which intransitive verb expressions can be used in the V1V2 construction as well as the connection between the active participation of the agent and the backgrounding of the agent from the perspective of the change of state of the object and the involvement of the agent. A framework for and the results of analysis are provided.

This paper consists of 7 chapters in total. A summary of each chapter is provided below.

Chapter I gives an overview based on previous research of the phenomenon covered by this paper, whereby the object appears in front of the V1V2 construction, and furthermore the agent is not expressed. In addition, an overview is given of the meanings and structure of the V1V2 construction based on the findings of previous research. Then, the problems left for the current paper to solve are provided.

Chapter II introduces the theoretical framework based on previous research and shows the direction of analysis this paper adopts.

First introduced are Langacker's (1991) "Action Chain" and Croft's (1991) "Causal Chain", which as part of an event perception schema view the connection between participants as an energy transfer.

Furthermore, from the perspective of Kageyama's (1996) lexical rules of "decausativization" restricting the agent, this paper takes the view that this shows parallels with the "deagentivization" whereby the agent is backgrounded in in Chinese resultative complement sentences.

Next, the paper addresses the aspectual characteristics of the V1V2 construction as a whole, pointing out that V1 does not contribute to the aspectual characteristics of V1V2, the whole construction's aspect being established by the resultative complement V2. Instantaneousness and duration, the foci of this paper, are stated to be dependent on the scale of V2.

Finally, reference is made to occasions when a transitive expression cannot be changed to an intransitive one and a passive expression is used. Though a telic V2, an event expresses completion, the resultant state is foregrounded and the process of change or action leading up to the result is necessarily backgrounded. However, in V1V2s where action and result exist simultaneously alongside one another, importance is placed on the state agent and the state or means of the V1 action initiated by the agent, rather than on the result. As a result, an intransitive expression is not permitted and in some cases a passive marker is attached. This phenomenon too is approached from the perspective of the necessity of the agent.

Chapter III explores whether or not there is a relationship between active participation by the agent and the ease of using an intransitive expression, from the perspective of change

of state. Furthermore, while confirming the types of change of state, analysis is made of the types amenable to intransitive expressions and the underlying causes.

First, resultative complements collected for the purposes of this paper were checked to confirm the properties of the change involved in the change of state expressed, with a focus on analysis of the "BE AT-z "section of the Lexical Conceptual Structure from the perspective of the telicity of the V1V2 structure. Next, checking the actual distribution of intransitive expressions in a sample of 146 occurrences of V1V2 revealed that depending on the type of change, the ease of using intransitive expressions differed. Specifically, in cases of the EXISTENT type, where an object changed from non-existence to existence, or an object was used to produce a finished product, intransitive expressions were preferred. In contrast, in cases of the DISAPPEARED type, where an object changed from existence to non-existence, or change from a normal state to dysfunction, it was easier to use passive expressions. One characteristic of the types that favor intransitive expressions is "creation/production", whereby something is produced through an action. For example, in creation events, which are typically considered to be difficult to be expressed with intransitive expressions because of the necessity for active participation by the agent, it was observed that in cases where particular tools or finishes are specified in detail, there is a tendency in Chinese for intransitive expressions to be preferred. This fact shows that Chinese can be distinguished from languages like Japanese and English, in which intransitive expressions are difficult to use in creation events. For this reason, it is not necessarily possible to reach the conclusion that in Chinese, active participation by the agent makes backgrounding of the agent more difficult. The reason that intransitive expressions are allowed in creation events in Chinese is thought to be because V1's resultative predicate V2 expresses the final state of the theme and emphasizes that a finished product comes about at the time of completion of the event.

An event in which a finished product comes to completion as a result of some preparation necessitates an agent, so it cannot be said that active participation by the agent prevents backgrounding of the agent. Rather, it can be considered that active participation by the agent in V1V2 makes it easier for intransitive expressions to be selected. In order to make this point clearer, the following chapter will consider the issue from a different perspective.

Chapter IV continues observation from the perspective of the engagement of the agent

with change events. The extent of the engagement of the agent in the change event and the backgrounding of the agent are examined from their aspectual characteristics and are tested through the introduction of quantitative analysis.

First, the relationship between the theme, passively undergoing change due to the existence of an agent or external forces, and the event that causes change, is defined. Considering the extent to which the agent participates in the event, the view can be taken that events can be divided into the following three types. The first is events where the agent plays a decisive role. In this case, realization of change is due not to internal properties but to the agent or outside forces, and so the agent must be participating completely from start until the result is achieved. The second type is where internal properties are involved. Change of state is affected somewhat by internal properties, but fundamentally, is due to the agent or outside forces. The third type is change events mainly caused by internal properties. Realization of a change of state is mainly due to internal properties, and while the agent is only involved at the initial stage, the backgrounded presence of the agent's intervention is a necessary premise. The three types above show a hierarchy in the ease of backgrounding the agent based on Lexical Conceptual Structure. However, the use of intransitive expressions in creation events particular to Chinese has the agent participating until the end. The above hierarchy of agent backgrounding based on the Lexical Conceptual Structure does not necessarily valid for Chinese, and further validation from data is required.

Next, focusing on the aspectual characteristics of the three types of event above, a sample of 178 V1V2 constructions were used to estimate the makeup of their population. The aim was to show statistically the relation between the participation of the agent and the ease of backgrounding the agent. Multivariate analysis was conducted with five items. As a result, the "agent participates from beginning to end" type displayed the highest ratio. The two test items using the temporal expressions expressing completeness "in X time" and "take/spend X time" had ratios of 66.9% and 63.4% respectively. This included a large number of creation type V1V2s, so it can be said that in change events, backgrounding of the agent is easier in the type with greater participation. Furthermore, this kind of event type was far and away greatest in number. The ease of backgrounding the agent means that there is a tendency when describing the state of an action to focus attention on the completed product arising as the

result of that action. This is supported by the characterization of Chinese as a "result focused" language (Tai 1984, 2003).

By contrast, there are examples of the same V1V2 construction where, depending on the theme, only transitive uses are possible. This chapter claims that this difference lies in the participation of body parts of the agent and in the changing object's unboundedness.

Chapter V shows the accompanying causes of easy use of intransitive expressions through collocation patterns between elements of the sentence.

When occurring with adverbs that cause increased agent participation, such as agent volition or the manner of V1, intransitive expressions are difficult to use, and specifying the manner of an action makes it more difficult background the agent. On the other hand, while instruments, methods and materials express the active participation by the agent in the event, even if they are expressed syntactically, intransitive expressions can be used without problems. This shows that collocation with manner adverbs and with instruments exhibits a clear tendency, and that there is a tendency for instruments in particular to be favored. In the actual data, there are examples where manner adverbials and instruments appear together. This is a phenomenon whereby the occurrence of manner adverbials means that intransitive expressions, which do not typically occur, are acceptable in collocation with instruments. From this phenomenon, it can be concluded that instruments are seen as elements that become the focus of some kind of technological concern when the agent creates something, and as such backgrounding of the agent is not inhibited by occurrence with an instrument.

When occurring with constituents modifying facets of a change such as degree or quantity, focus is placed on the change of state of the theme, so intransitive verb expressions can be used easily. On the other hand, when occurring with adverbs like "Yi kou qi (一口气)" (in an instant) it is difficult to determine whether viewpoint is on the "resultant state of an action" or on the "manner of an action", so there are difficulties when using intransitive verb expressions.

Furthermore, this chapter observes that intransitive verb expressions become easier to use through collocation with causal clauses. From the fact that intransitive verb expressions in resultative complement sentences occur and appear syntactically with causal clauses expressing a cause or reason, it is clear that collocation with causal clauses does not suppress

the event of the external argument. This kind of event expressing a cause is introduced by the resultative complement V2. From this it is clear that in V1V2, V2 and not V1 contributes to the selection of an external argument.

Chapter VI covers intransitive verb expressions and their peripheral constituents in resultative complement sentences, and shows the syntactic characteristics and conditions on use of peripheral intransitive verb expressions. This chapter first conducts analysis of *"Da (打) V2"* as representative of the V1V2 construction. From the results of analysis, this paper claims that V1 *"Da(打)"* loses its original lexical meaning and does not expresses a concrete action by the agent, and thus the abstracted action becomes easier to background.

Next, the chapter takes up the peripheral example of *"Chang-hong (唱红)* (sing and become popular)". The intransitive use of the V1V2 construction *"Chang-hong (唱红)"* is expressed, with conditions, in the syntactic form "Subject + Verb + Resultative complement + Object". This requires collocation with a location argument, and lexically, the argument structure (Theme, Location) is necessary. This kind of locative noun phrase is not required by the lexical meaning of, *"Chang-hong (唱红)"* but by taking a locative argument, the event as a whole takes on the aspectual characteristics of duration and iteration. This kind of intransitive usage with an accompanying locative argument is conditional on a "pervasive state". The "Subject + Verb + Resultative complement + Object" schema can be analyzed as fundamentally being projected onto the "pervasive state" of the location. In this way, the acceptability of intransitive verb expressions accompanied by is supported by metonymic meaning extension.

What is common between the V1V2 structures *"Da(打)V2"* and *"Chang-hong (唱红)"* is that V1 is comparatively devoid of meaning and that V1V2 is undergoing lexicalization. By comparing with other V1V2 constructions, it can be seen that through the loss of lexical meaning in V1, backgrounding of the agent becomes easier.

Chapter VII summarizes this paper's findings.

This paper considered the meaning and structure of the phenomenon of preceding objects in Chinese resultative constructions from the perspective of Lexical Conceptual Structure. In particular, it approached the question from the time of the appearance of an object having undergone a change of state, and made clear the following two points. First,

backgrounding of the agent has the characteristic of appearing as the undergoing of construction as part of a perfective event. Second, backgrounding of the agent tends to occur in those events in which the agent plays a decisive role. The reason for this that Chinese takes the perspective of the Theme undergoing change, and basically takes the perspective of a "BE AT-z" type language (result type language).

At the end of this paper, the tables below are affixed as an appendix.

Appendix I : Aspectual characteristics tests

Appendix II : Lists of resultative complements and transitive and intransitive expressions found in resultative complement constructions (for Japanese, Chinese and Korean)