

論文の英文要旨 Summary	
論文題目 Title	Argument Extension with <i>lassen</i> and free datives based on “HAVE”-relation between individuals and events: A case study of motion verbs in German
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This study is concerned with two types of argument-extending construction in German, i.e., syntactic causatives with the verb *lassen* and constructions with free datives, and particularly targets verbs of motion. The aims are to address possible interpretations of each construction and to explore the semantic constraints on extension of the verb’s argument structures by introducing a new argument (the agent as subject or the dative participant). Causative constructions with the verb *lassen* (*lassen*-constructions) and constructions with free datives (*dative*-constructions) in change of location contexts can denote a semantically similar meaning: They can both express “unexpected events” initiated by the new argument (e.g., *Ich ließ die Flasche auf den Boden fallen./Die Flasche fiel mir auf den Boden.* ‘The bottle fell and I caused this unintentionally.’). In contrasting these two types of construction, lexical operations that extend the argument structures of verbs are investigated.

This thesis consists of eight chapters, which are summarized as follows.

Chapter 1 introduces the issues with which this research is concerned and provides an outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 addresses the two types of argument-extending construction, i.e., *lassen*-constructions and *dative*-constructions. Firstly, I review the descriptions and usages of *lassen*-constructions in dictionaries and previous works. Secondly, I elaborate the meanings and functions of free datives based on several previous studies. I then remark that free datives are essentially regarded as expressions of “affectedness”

between the predicate verb and the dative argument and therefore cover a wide spectrum of meanings from possessive datives to benefactive/adversative datives. Finally, I point out the semantic similarity between the two types of construction (*lassen*-constructions and dative constructions), providing specific examples of several motion verbs.

Chapter 3 demonstrates the possible interpretations of *lassen*-constructions and dative-constructions with motion verbs. In this chapter, I also summarize several studies of German motion verbs. German motion verbs are mainly divided into two different classes in classical works, that is, verbs that describe active controlled motion by “internal cause” (e.g., *laufen* ‘run’ and *schwimmen* ‘swim’) and verbs that express not-active, uncontrolled motion by “external cause” (e.g., *fallen* ‘fall’). Following the literature review, I discuss certain correlations that exist between the possible interpretations of *lassen*-constructions and dative-constructions and the semantic classes of motion verbs.

Chapter 4 presents the results of research based on examples collected from corpora (Corpora of the Institute of German Language). The main purpose of the research is to examine the correlation between classes of motion verbs and possible interpretations of *lassen*-constructions (“indirect causation,” “intentional causation,” and “unintentional causation”) and dative constructions (the “affectedness” reading and the “potential causation” reading) addressed in Chapter 3, and to explore semantic and syntactic constraints on interpretation. The target of the research is 13 selected motion verbs (*fahren, fallen, fliegen, klettern, kriechen, laufen, reiten, rollen, rudern, rutschen, schwimmen, segeln, springen*) and the total number of examples collected from corpora is 551 (311 *lassen*-constructions and 240 dative-constructions). The results show that motion verb classes are related to interpretations of both types of argument-extending construction: the “intentional/unintentional causation” readings of *lassen*-construction and the “potential causation” reading of dative-constructions are observed only in the “uncontrolled motion” context. A close inspection of results also reveals that the potential interpretations of both constructions are closely related to spatial path arguments (*source, goal, path*), which appear with motion verbs.

Chapter 5 introduces the theoretical background of the following two chapters. The discussions in Chapters 6 and 7 are theoretically based on the “lexical decomposition” approach, which attempts to explore the relationship between lexicon (verb meaning) and grammar (sentence structure) by assuming that verbs are semantically complex and can be decomposed into abstract predicates, such as

BECOME, CAUSE, DO, and so on. This approach is often called “Lexical Semantics” and has focused on the interface between syntax and semantics. In this chapter, I summarize several previous studies from Jackendoff (1990), Pustejovsky (1991), Levin/Rappaport Hovav (1995), and Wunderlich (1997a), which are regarded as important frameworks in this field and introduce the basic predicates used in the lexical decomposition approach.

Chapter 6 deals with the semantic structures of motion verbs in German. Firstly, I review the lexical semantic structures of motion verbs proposed by recent works, which adopt the lexical decomposition approach. Secondly, I discuss the semantic predicates of motion events, and finally, I propose the semantic structures of motion verbs, which correspond to the different classes of motion events denoted by the verbs, i.e., “controlled motion” and “uncontrolled motion.”

Chapter 7 is devoted to the formalization of *lassen*-constructions and dative-constructions with verbs of motion. In the first section of this chapter, I will address the model of lexical operation concerning free datives in German, which extends the argument structure of the base verbs. The second section of this chapter presents the mechanism of argument extension as a composition of semantic predicates, which is adopted in the analysis in the following sections. The third and fourth sections are concerned with the analysis of dative-constructions and *lassen*-constructions. In the fifth section, the results of the analysis in this chapter are summarized. To formalize the dative-constructions with motion verbs, the model of “possessor extension” proposed by Wunderlich (2000) is introduced, by which the possession predicate (POSS) is added as a further complement to the verb. I reconsider this model in order to capture the wide range of meanings of free datives and show that the possible interpretations of dative-constructions can be appropriately obtained by replacing the predicate “POSS,” used for possessive relations between individuals in Wunderlich’s model, with “HAVE” for affect relations between individuals and events. Furthermore, I argue that the “potential causation” reading of dative-constructions with motion verbs is the result of the composition of the base verb’s predicate (CAUSE) and added predicate HAVE. Afterwards, I discuss the formalization of *lassen*-constructions and propose two types of argument-increasing operation: *Lassen*-constructions with motion verbs should be differently analyzed depending on the base verb’s meanings (“controlled motion” or “uncontrolled motion”).

Finally, Chapter 8 presents a summary of this study and offers overall conclusions.