

On a Non-volitional Transitive Construction

FiGS 2007

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introduction:transitivity

- Proto-typical transitive
- (i) Mary ga Taro o taoshita.
- NOM ACC push down-pst
- “Mary pushed downTaro.”
- (1) two arguments(agent/object)
- (2) volitionality(agency)
- (3) affectedness(change of state)
- (cf. Jacobsen 1989)

Non-volitional transitives

- 1) shinseki no hito ga taifuu de ie no yane o tobashi ta.
- relative gen man nom typhoon by house gen roof acc blow pst
- "My relative had his roof of his house blown off by the typhoon."

- 2) karera wa kuushuu de kazaidoogu o minna yai ta.
- they top raid by household effects acc all burn pst.
- "They had his all household effects burned out by the raid."
- (cf. Amano 1989)

Research Questions;

- 1. Why doesn't the subject involve volitionality?
- 2. How is this construction made?
- 3. Why are these clauses possible theoretically?

Grammatical Properties (#1)

- (1) possessive restriction
- * kare wa taifuu de yuujin no ie o nagashi ta
- he top typhoon by friend gen house acc wash pst
- “*He had his friend’s house washed away by the
- typhoon.”
- (2) Change of State verbs
- *kare wa kaze de mado o tatai ta
- he top wind by window acc hit pst
- “*He had his window hit by the wind.”

Grammatical Properties (#2)

- (3) a non-volitional subject
- Tanaka wa taifuu de ie no yane o tobashi ta.
- Tanaka top typhoon by house gen roof acc blow pst
- “Tanaka had his roof of his house blown off by the typhoon.”
- (4) resultative state
- --Tanaka wa kajide ie o yai ta (perfective)
- Tanaka top fire by house acc burn perfective-
- “Tanaka had his house burned in the fire.”
- --kare wa korekara sakana o yaku
- he top from now fish o grill
- “He will grill the fish from now.” (usual transitive)

previous studies

- Kageyama(1996) defines the subject of the non-canonical transitive as “an experiencer placed on the unaccusative structure” which is an example of expansion of *schema*.
- Amano(1987) just gives the descriptive analysis by pointing out some properties of the construction.
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Our proposals

- (i) The aspectual interpretation of the predicate is significantly related to a thematic role of *ga*-marked DP (i.e. volitional or non-volitional subject).
- (ii) The possessor restriction is required in assigning a thematic role to the *ga*-marked DP.
- (iii) The *ga*-marked DP is not a subject but a bound topic.

Aspectual Interface Hypothesis

(Tenny 1989)

- The mapping between thematic structure and syntactic structure is governed by aspectual properties.....Only the aspectual part of thematic structure is visible to the syntax.

Aspectual restriction test

- (I) ~te shimau (resultative state)
- --Tanaka wa kajide ie o yai ta (perfective)
- Tanaka top fire by house acc burn perfective-
- “(ok)Tanaka had his house burned in the fire.”
- (ii) ~hajimeru
- --Tanaka wa ie o yaki-hajime ta(inchoative)
- Tanaka top house acc burn begin pst
- “Tanaka began to burn his house.”
- “(bad)Tanaka started to have his house burned.”

Possessive restriction

- Taro ga kaji de ie o yaita
- yaita([+telic]) → ie
- theme
- yaita([+telic]) *→ Taro
- *agent
- “Taro” needs to be assigned its thematic role from somewhere else.

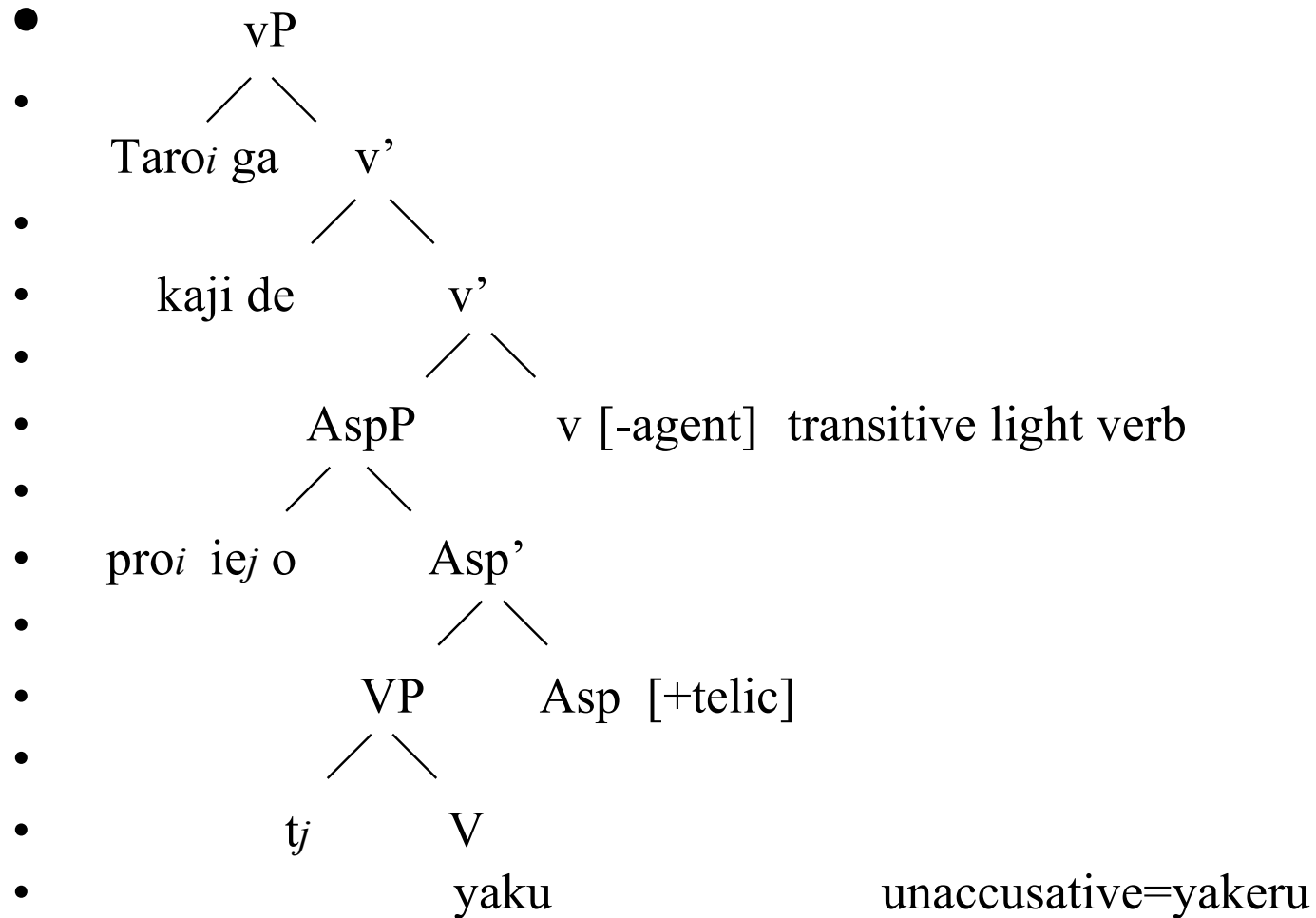
Possessive restriction/theta-sharing

- Taro_i ga ie_i o yaita([+telic])
- The transitive verb cannot assign two theta-roles to the arguments if it is specified as [+telic].(They become unaccusatives)
- (i) yaita →ie (theme)
- (ii) ie_i (theme) →Taro_i (theme) (Taro>ie)
- [thematic transfer]

The bound topic;

- *Taro* is not “the subject” but “the topic” which is bounded by another DP (i.e. the object)
- This explains why the possessive restriction is observed whenever the clause is understood as a non-canonical transitive.

Lexical-syntactic structure (cf. Travis 1992)



Summary(1)

- 1. RQ:Mismach :transitive but non-agentivity
- 2. Properites
- (1)The possessive structure provides an thematic role to the bound topic.
- (2)A change of state verb involves unaccusative part.
- (3)The non-volitional subject is caused by resultative state

Summary(2)

- 3. Account/ consequences
 - (1) Aspectual Interface Hypothesis is supported.
 - (2) The lexical syntactic structure is able to give an account for the non-volitional transitive.
(ie.transitivity light v + unaccusative v with the inner Aspect Phrase)

similar expressions: adversative causative

They have the same restrictions; possessive/resultative state reading with unaccusative verb+*sase*

(1) Taro wa ashi o suber ase ta T

• Taro top foot acc slip cause pst

• Taro had his foot slipped.

(2) Taro wa musuko o jiko de shin ase ta

Taro top son acc accident by die cause

• Taro had his son killed by the accident.

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