

論文の英文要旨 Abstract	
論文題目 Title	A corpus-based study of the prefix <i>ter-</i> in Indonesian
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This dissertation aims to present a corpus-based analysis of the prefix *ter-* in Indonesian. The prefix *ter-* has various functions, such as forming a passive sentence in the case of a verb base or a superlative expression in the case of an adjective base. Although a few previous studies on the prefix *ter-* exist, especially on its polysemy, two main issues remain unaddressed.

-There is no consideration of the description of the prefix *ter-* and the definition of its function based on the actual language use.

-Although the meanings and functions that are considered representative were studied, the relationships with the other functions have not been discussed.

In response to these concerns, this dissertation addresses the following five points through an analysis based on the corpus data.

1. Reviewing of the previous studies and presenting a proposal for a discriminative semantic classification of the prefix *ter-* based on example sentences from the corpus.
2. Providing a consistent explanation for the multiple meanings of the prefix *ter-*.
3. Showing that the above explanation for the prefix *ter-* can predict the presence or absence of semantic restriction and syntactic alternation.
4. Clarifying the factors that contribute to the omission of the preposition *oleh*, which marks the agent in passive sentences with the prefix *ter-*.
5. Explaining the relationship between the prefix *ter-* in passive sentences and the prefix *ter-* forming the superlative.

Chapter 2 reclassifies the meaning of the prefix *ter-*. Although various classifications of the meaning assigned by the prefix *ter-* exist, they have often been arbitrary in each of the previous studies. Therefore, this chapter examines each previous research and identifies its problems. Then, by examining the examples from the corpus, a discriminative definition is established, and a semantic system of the prefix *ter-* is proposed.

In Chapter 3, based on the classifications established in Chapter 2, I clarify the

following three points: the process by which each meaning is expressed (Section 3.3), the factors that determine the presence or absence of syntactic alternation (Section 3.4), and the relationship with the suffix *-kan* (Section 3.5). Specifically, I model the analysis of the prefix *ter-* as a “*naru*” expression (Ikegami 1981) in terms of the event structure and explain the phenomenon by regarding it as a synthesis of the event structure of the base. In other words, the explanation for the cases that could not be explained or were treated as exceptions in the prior studies is owing to the different ways in which the event structure of the prefix is synthesized according to the meaning of the base.

Chapter 4 discusses the choice of agent marking when the prefix *ter-* forms a passive sentence. In Indonesian passive sentences, there are two main ways of marking the agent: the preposition *oleh*, which corresponds to the English *by*, and the zero type, in which there is no explicit marking. Previous research has assumed that the choice of these agent markings is made in the other passive sentence marker, the prefix *di-*, and that only *oleh* marking is acceptable in the prefix *ter-*. However, actual examples reveal that the preposition *oleh* is omitted in several passive sentences where the prefix *ter-* is used. Therefore, I investigated the actual occurrences of *oleh* and zero markings and clarified the differences between the two forms through a logistic regression analysis based on a generalized linear mixed model. The variables considered are the animacy of the agent and patient, the number of words of the agent, and the meaning of the effect on the patient. The noteworthy results of the analysis asserted the following findings.

-If the verb has a strong “influence from the agent on the patient,” then *oleh* is more likely to appear whereas if it is weak, zero is more likely to appear.

- *Oleh* is more likely to be expressed when the agent is animate than when it is inanimate.

-The bias in the type of nouns of the agent that co-occur with the verb influences the choice of the agent marking.

-In some cases, *oleh* and zero are used interchangeably to eliminate the semantic ambiguity with the other constructions.

Chapter 5 discusses the usage of the prefix *ter-* as the superlative. Prior research has suggested that the superlative prefix *ter-* is derived by an analogy with the meaning of completion when the prefix *ter-* is attached to a verbal base. However, this analysis suffers from a lack of research material and concrete evidence. By examining examples from a diachronic corpus, it was found that the prefix *ter-* was originally a marker for “change to the state of being represented by a base.” Based on this analysis, I discuss the difference between the prefix *ter-* and the synonymous form *paling*, which denotes the superlative. Previous studies have found no difference between the prefix *ter-* and *paling*. In contrast, this paper points out that the prefix *ter-* is easily associated with adjectives that indicate a change of state and argues that this is derived from the

meaning of the prefix *ter-* in Classical Malay.

The overall findings of this paper suggest two points. First, this dissertation demonstrates that it is not sufficient to set up an abstract schema-like concept to use a certain affix, but it is necessary to assume more detailed knowledge. More specifically, by maintaining the abstract schema of the prefix *ter-* but focusing on the detail of the meaning of the base, it is possible to explain the trends and conditions of semantic representation. Second, it is indicated that a consistent explanation can be given for the behavior of the prefix *ter-* by considering the meaning of the base to be arbitrarily determined by the speaker, rather than something inherent in the verb. This perspective avoids creating numerous rules for the various behaviors of the prefix *ter-*. In the future, it is expected that the analysis of the prefix *ter-* presented in this paper will be used as a basis for contrastive research with the other affixes as well as for the study of the other polysemic affixes based on the above approaches.