

論文の英文要旨

論文題目

A Contrastive Study of Deverbal Compound Nouns in Japanese and Korean: Focusing on the Activity and Semantic Interpretation

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The present dissertation aims to identify the semantic and grammatical conditions for the formation of action nouns in the deverbal compound nouns of Japanese and Korean. To this purpose, this dissertation analyzes five types of deverbal compound nouns from the perspective of activity: the [V+N] (verb + noun), [N+V] (noun + verb), [Pref+V] (prefix + verb), [Ad+V] (adverb + verb), and [A+V] (adjective + verb). First, these five types are classified into two categories: those with activity (i.e., action nouns) and those without activity (i.e., non-action nouns). Second, the deverbal compound nouns are reclassified according to the semantic and grammatical relations between the constituents of the compound nouns. And finally, the nature of activity of each type will be discussed.

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters: Introduction (Chapters 1-2), Discussion (Chapters 3-6), and Conclusion (Chapter 7).

Chapter 1 introduces the objectives, the scope, and the methods of this study and provides an overview of previous studies on deverbal compounds.

Chapter 2 outlines the nominalization of verbs and their activity in both languages, defines the concept of activity in this dissertation based on lexical and grammatical properties, and presents criteria for identifying action nouns.

Chapter 3 compares the [V+N] type in both languages, focusing on differences in activity. In Japanese, the [V+N] type has a transparent meaning, and activity interpretation is possible when its constituents are presumed to be in argument relations as well as modification relations. But in Korean, activity interpretation is impossible because it is observed only in modification relations.

Chapter 4 examines the [N+V] type by classifying it into three subtypes: “subject-predicate,” “object-predicate,” and “adverbial-predicate.” It was found that all three subtypes could indicate activity in Japanese, while only the “object-predicate” and “adverbial-predicate” types could have the meaning of activity in Korean. In particular, in the case of the “adverbial-

predicate” type, activity interpretation is possible only when the argument relation is of the “obligatory adverbial-predicate.” In other words, in Japanese, the activity interpretation is not related to the argument structure within the deverbal compound nouns, but in Korean, it is.

Chapter 5 establishes the “semantic shift hypothesis,” whereby when a semantic shift occurs in a deverbal compound noun, its sense of activity is replaced by a substantial meaning. Also, this chapter presents the principle of action nouns being interpreted as substantive nouns. That is, the meaning of the [N+V] type is interpreted as indicating an argument of the V that is not filled in the deverbal compound noun. Furthermore, this chapter applies the same semantic interpretation principle to non-action nouns with only substantial meaning. In general, deverbal compound nouns could be interpreted as having one of the following substantial meanings: “agent,” “instrument,” “instrument/location,” “theme,” or “result.” Of these, the meaning of “instrument/location” and “theme” emerge only in non-action nouns, and the following element (V) of these is usually a three-place verb. In Japanese, the deverbal compound noun can express activity when the V is a three-place verb, but in Korean, it does not have the meaning of activity; it means only substance. This indicates that in Korean, all internal arguments of V must be filled within the deverbal compound nouns to convey activity, hence this restriction vis-à-vis argument relations in Korean. However, in Japanese, it can have the meaning of activity when the preceding element (N) is interpreted as a “location” but not as a “theme.” Therefore, activity interpretation is possible even when the semantic role of “theme” — the internal argument of the V—is not filled within the deverbal compound nouns.

Chapter 6 observes other types besides the [V+N] and [N+V]: [Pref+V], [Ad+V], and [A+V]. While less productive, they can have the meaning of activity. Of these, the [Pref+V] type cannot be considered deverbal compound nouns with activity because most of its following elements appear as action nouns in both languages. In Japanese, the productivity of the [Ad+V] type is relatively low, but the [A+V] type is very productive and primarily forms action nouns. By contrast, in Korean, the [A+V] type is not productive, yet the [Ad+V] type is productive and mainly expresses activity. The [Ad+V] type in both languages revealed that it expressed activity when the V is unergative, but hardly when the V is unaccusative. The reason this occurs is as follows: for an unaccusative verb, the preceding element is an adverb, so the argument of “theme” cannot be filled within the deverbal compound nouns. Finally, the

Japanese [A+V] type can indicate activity regardless of the type of V. It seems that the Japanese [A+V] type is relatively free from semantic and grammatical constraints.

Chapter 7, the conclusion of this dissertation, summarizes the findings and addresses implications and suggestions for future research. Through the review of various types of deverbal compound nouns, the findings are as follows: for the deverbal compound nouns to have the meaning of activity in Japanese, all internal arguments other than the “theme” (generally an object) of V must be filled within the compound nouns. But in Korean, all internal arguments of the V must be filled within the compound nouns. That is, Japanese compound nouns are relatively free from restrictions on the formation of deverbal compounds, but in Korean, activity can be conveyed when the formation rules of deverbal compounds are generally obeyed: All obligatory arguments (i.e., internal arguments) other than the external argument of the head verb must be satisfied by the non-head in the deverbal compounds (Selkirk 1982; Kageyama 1985; Di Sciullo & Williams 1987). Additionally, examination of the deverbal compound nouns of Japanese and Korean from the new perspective of activity and semantic shift revealed that the type of deverbal compound nouns, as well as semantic and grammatical relations between constituents, especially the type of the verb, is crucial factor in determining the activity of the compound nouns. This study is significant in that it examines the principles of the formation of deverbal compound nouns and their semantic interpretation from the new perspective of activity and semantic shift.