Case-alternation with Japanese adjectives

A cognitive transitive perspective

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SUMMARY

The aim of this thesis is to explain the observed case-alternation occurring with the three Japanese predicates *suki* 'like', *kirai* 'dislike' and *hoshii* 'want' from a Cognitive Linguistic standpoint. These three predicates alternately appear in a construction in which the second nominal receives nominative and accusative marking, with the nominative considered to be the 'standard'. The goal of this thesis is to assess whether the observed 'non-standard' accusative marking on these predicates' second nominals can be accounted for by appealing to the semantic nuances of the sentences in which they occur. More specifically, the hypothesis tested is that the case-alternation can be explained by the predicate-containing sentences taking on an interpretation more closely resembling the experiential category of 'prototypical transitive event'.

The findings which emerged from analyzing the various materials (previous research, language corpora, speaker judgments) seem to provide a relatively strong case for the validity of this hypothesis. In particular, transitivity-related factors such as 'event-likeness', 'object affectedness', 'dynamicity', 'volition' and 'object-likeness' had significant explanatory value in accounting for the use of accusative marking on the predicates' second nominals, although the observed effect was more apparent for the *suki* and *kirai* predicates. The correlations between the presence of these factors and accusative marking were stronger than those found for previously hypothesized causes. Additionally, the empirical analyses hinted at the existence of a 'semantic split', in which the predicates with accusatively marked second nominals express 'feelings', while those with traditional nominatively marked second nominals express 'preferences'. This seems to suggest that the alternation can, to a large extent, be accounted for by a difference in the meaning that the utterer wishes to convey.

The relative success of the hypothesis in accounting for the phenomenon at hand has several important implications. Firstly, it shows the validity of the Cognitive Linguistics approach in accounting for empirical language data, giving particular weight to Ronald W. Langacker's definition of transitivity. Furthermore, I believe that this thesis has led to insights related to the use of accusative marking, both in conjunction with the *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* predicates, and in general. These observations may contribute towards developing a new way of instructing non-native speakers to use such marking in a more 'natural' way.

FOREWORD

First of all, a sincere thank you to my advisor,Tomoko Okazaki Hansen, for all her guidance

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Atashi wa ōji-sama o suki na no desu.
I   TOP   prince-HON **ACC** like   COP NMZ COP.POL

Inochi o jū demo sashiage-ta-i.
life   ACC ten even   give.HON-DESID-PRS
'I love the prince. I would give him my life, ten times over.'

The passage above is taken from the book *Hashire, Melos!* (1940), written by Japanese author Osamu Dazai. Dazai was an extremely influential writer – and is still widely read in Japan today, but this thesis is not about his literary prowess. Rather, I would direct your attention to the first of the two sentences above.

If, like me, you have had the privilege of receiving a formal training in Japanese, you might recognize that something seems a bit off. The nominal adjective (henceforth NA)[1] *suki* 'like' appears here not with the standard nominative case particle *ga*, but rather with an accusative marker *o*.[2] While this non-standard case marking of the nominal could easily be dismissed as a one-off phenomenon – a mistake on the part of the author – a broader look at Japanese literature both pre-dating and following Dazai's book, shows that this phenomenon is perhaps not so uncommon. The following passages are gathered from Ton Satomi's *Anjō-ke no kyōdai* (1931) and Banana Yoshimoto's *Kitchen* (1988):

1) *Anata ga   atashi o   suki da   to   iu   no   wa   ureshi-i.*
     you NOM   I   **ACC** like   COP   COMP say   NMZ   TOP   happy-PRS
     Atashi mo   anata ga   suki   da.
     I   too   you   NOM like   COP
     'I'm happy that you like me. I like you too.'   (Satomi, 1931)

2) *Mikage wa   hontō-ni daidokoro-shigoto o   suki na-n   da   naa.*
     Mikage TOP   really   kitchen-work   **ACC** like COP-NMZ COP PTCL
     'Mikage, you really like kitchen-work, huh.'   (Yoshimoto 1988)

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[1] Nominal adjectives are alternatively named "adjectival nominals" and glossed as "AdjN". A justification for the choice of "nominal adjective" over other terms such as "adjectival nominals", see section 4.1 of Chapter 4.
[2] The peripheral (non-standard) nature of the o-marking can in part be shown by the lack of examples of this form in Japanese-textbooks and reference-grammars (e.g. Banno et al. 2011, 134; Pedersen, Kudo-Hubendick & Vestre, 2017, 210; Makino 1986, 426; Akiyama & Akiyama 2012, 181.)

Additionally, *suki* 'like' is not the only predicate with which such accusative marking can be observed. Most notably, the NA *kirai* 'dislike' and the adjective (henceforth A) *hoshii* 'want' also exhibit a similar pattern. Consider the following examples from Teru Miyamoto's *Umibe no tobira* and Haruki Murakami's *Nejimakitori Kuronikuru*:

> 3) *Efi   wa,   aitsu   o   kirai   dat-ta.*
>   Effy   TOP   him-DER   ACC   dislike COP-PST
>   'Effy disliked him.'   (Miyamoto 1991)

> 4) *Juppun   dake de   i-i   kara   jikan o   hoshii-i no.*
>   ten minutes only INST good-PRS because   time   ACC want-PRS PTCL
>   'Ten minutes is fine, I only want some time.'   (Murakami 1994)

This observation is not limited to written texts, either. Indeed, the phenomenon of the second nominal (henceforth N_2)[3] of As and NAs appearing with accusative marking in spontaneous speech was pointed out by Susumu Kuno as far back as 1973 (Kuno 1973b, 49), and spoken language corpora contain myriad examples of the same phenomenon (see the discussion in Chapter 6). Based on the sheer scope of the phenomenon, it seems unlikely that the case-alternation observed with the three stative predicates is merely a result of mistypings or slips-of-the-tongue. What, then, could cause native speakers of Japanese to choose the non-standard marking over the standard one?

1.2   Research question

At the outset of writing, the aim of this thesis was to elucidate the cause for the case-alternation observed with these three predicates. In considering the previous literature in the field (a review of which can be found in Chapter 5), I adopted the hypothesis that **the choice of case-marker is related to the perceived transitivity (see section 2.4.3 of Chapter 2) of the clause in which it occurs, with a higher degree of transitivity coinciding with a stronger preference for accusative marking**. Additionally, I also came to take up the view that *the prevalence of the case-alternation with the various predicates is, in part, related to the frequency of use of related predicates with similar semantic content* (see section 6.2.5). In addition to attempting to assess the validity of this hypothesis, I also explore a number of other related issues, such as *why the case-alternation occurs with these predicates in*

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[3] For a discussion of the nature of nominals occurring with adjectives and nominal adjectives, see Chapter 5. For the moment, I will simply refer to them as "N_2s" for the sake of simplicity.

particular (sections 4.2.2, 4.4 and 4.5), and *whether or not the alternation is a new phenomenon* (section 5.1).

1.3   Structure of the thesis

As evident from the Table of Contents, this thesis is divided into 8 separate chapters. However, more broad divisions can still be made. Disregarding chapters 1 and 8 (the introductory and the conclusory chapters), the thesis can be roughly split into two parts: *preliminaries* and *analysis*.

The preliminaries – consisting of chapters 2 through 4 – are devoted to providing a foundation upon which to build the analysis conducted in the following chapters. In **Chapter 2**, I present the theoretical framework made use of in the thesis. I also delineate some of the most important concepts relevant to the topic at hand, the most significant of which being the notion of *transitivity*. In **Chapter 3**, I demonstrate the explanatory value of this interpretation of *transitivity* as it pertains to the Japanese language. I make use of examples to illustrate that examining a sentence's similarity to the transitive prototype is a valid way of explaining its syntactic form (distributional features). After the evidence for the validity of the theory from Chapter 2 is presented in Chapter 3, I have devoted **Chapter 4** to situating the three predicates (*suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii*) within the greater scope of the language, as well as looking at how they diverge from their encapsulating word-classes.

In the second part – **the analysis** – encompassing chapters 5 through 7, I examine the case-alternation phenomenon based on the foundation built in the previous part. In **Chapter 5**, I present some of the earlier research done on the case-alternation and related topics. Where applicable, this research is re-interpreted within the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2. **Chapter 6** marks the beginning of the 'empirical' portion of the thesis. In this chapter, I present the methodology and results of a two-part study of two Japanese corpora, in an attempt to assess the validity of the hypothesis put forth above (and during the discussion in chapter 5). In **Chapter 7**, the empirical examinations continue, as I present and analyze the results of an acceptability judgment questionnaire aimed at native speakers. This chapter provides both a chance to re-examine some of the findings from the previous Chapter 6, as well as testing out other factors not possible in the corpus-study.

Lastly, in the final **Chapter 8**, I provide a summary of the findings made in chapters 5, 6 and 7, and attempt to assess the state of the original hypothesis.

1.4   Glossing and translation

To maintain consistency throughout the thesis, all examples (both borrowed and original) are glossed in accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules.[4] Japanese-English translations have been conducted with an emphasis on conveying the nuances of the Japanese versions, while maintaining some degree of intelligibility in English. When directly borrowing examples from other literature, the translations have not been modified unless otherwise stated. As the reader has likely noticed, the three predicate which are the subject of this thesis are glossed in English as the verbs 'like', 'dislike' and 'want', despite belonging to the grammatical classes of adjectives and nominal adjectives. This choice was in part made to adhere to translation norms (e.g. Medium Sized Progressive Japanese-English Dictionary n.d. a,b,c), but also because their semantic content and predicative scope are more similar to these verbs than to, for instance, 'likable', 'dislikable' and 'wantable'. For a discussion of this, see Chapter 4.

1.5   Abbreviations and terminology

A glossary with explanations of relevant terminology – as well as a list of all abbreviations and their definitions – can be found in section 10.1 of the appendix, under the headline "Glossary".

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[4] A full list of these rules can be found at https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php

2 Theoretical Framework

2.0 Purpose of the chapter

Contemporary linguistics consists of a myriad of different fields, each with their own theoretical frameworks and interdisciplinary connections. From formal studies of (primarily) syntax such as Generative Grammar, with its obvious ties to mathematics and predicate logic, to sociolinguistic studies on perceptions about language, to psycholinguists studying the intersection between language and psychology, linguistics is an incredibly broad discipline. Because of this, referring to a bit of research as a "linguistic study" is not particularly enlightening. For this reason, the following chapter is dedicated to delineating the particular linguistic approach made use of in this thesis. In broad terms, the approach taken can be described as a type of Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth CL). The main theoretical framework I employ is Ronald W. Langacker's "Cognitive Grammar", but I also draw on works by a number of scholars within slightly different fields, such as Joan Bybee's Exemplar-based approach (Chapter 6), Prototype theory as put forth by Eleanor Rosch and John R. Taylor, in addition to W.M. Jacobsen's studies of transitivity in Japanese (Chapter 3). References are also made to Croft's Radical Construction Grammar (Chapter 5) and Lakoff and Johnson's metaphor theory.

2.0.1 Structure of the chapter

The chapter is split into two major parts. In the first part – consisting of sections 2.1 through 2.2.5 – I provide a brief overview of the history and common beliefs of Cognitive linguistics, with allusions to other, competing paradigms. More specifically, section 2.1 deals with the emergence of CL, while the following sections assess shared beliefs between CL and formal approaches (2.2.1), the link between grammar and cognition (2.2.2), the nature of grammar (2.2.3), the acquisition of linguistic competence (2.2.4), and the methodological consequences of these beliefs (2.2.5).

In part two, encompassing sections 2.3 through 2.4.3. I provide a deeper discussion of several important concepts related to Cognitive Linguistics, which are essential to understanding the arguments put forth in the thesis' following chapters. More specifically, sections 2.3 and 2.3.1 delineate the dominant view of categories within CL (prototype theory), while the following

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sections are dedicated to applying prototype-theory to subjecthood (2.4.1) and objecthood (2.4.2), discussing the embodied nature of grammar (2.4.3.0) and presenting a prototype for transitivity (2.4.3). Lastly, section 2.5 concerns the relation between physical and mental events, showing how conceptualizations can be extended by means of metaphor and analogy.

2.1   The advent and nature of Cognitive Linguistics

In the greater scope of linguistics, Cognitive Linguistics is a relatively new discipline. It began its development in the late 1970s, but did not fully take form until the publication of George Lakoff's "Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things" and Ronald W. Langacker's "Foundations of Cognitive Grammar Vol. 1" in 1987 (Taylor 2010, 5). Although it mainly started as a study of semantics, Cognitive Linguistics has since been applied in a number of other areas, such as phonology, language acquisition and historical linguistics (Croft 2004, 1). The body of Cognitive Linguistics literature has also undergone a drastic increase in the later years (Langacker 2000, vii). An unfortunate consequence of its relatively late emergence, however, is that Cognitive Linguistics often seems to be defined not by what it *is*, but rather by what it is *not* (Taylor 2010, 3). And what it is not is Generative Grammar.

That is not to say that Cognitive Linguistics isn't a full discipline in its own right, but rather that it cannot escape the comparison with earlier formal theories. In addition to CL-linguists overtly distancing themselves from previous linguistic traditions, many of the important contributions to the paradigm are also characterized by a *polemical streak,* as Taylor (2010, 1) puts it, and this has further spiked the discord between the two linguistic camps. Going through this chapter, the reader will likely notice that I am no better in regards to sidestepping the trap of viewing Cognitive Linguistics 'profiled' against the 'base' of Generative Grammar. However, I do have my reasons for doing so. Firstly, I believe it will make the framework much clearer for readers who have had the privilege of recieving a training in formal theories of grammar theories. Secondly, many of the assumptions held by cognitive linguists become much more easily understandable when contrasted with the assumptions held in approaches such as Generative Grammar.

2.2 Theoretical assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics

The following sub-sections are dedicated to explaining the theoretical assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics, contrasting them with those of Generative Grammar where applicable. It is not meant as an exhaustive list of assumptions, but rather as an introduction to the discipline, along with some topics of particular relevance to the case-alternation discussed in the following chapters.

2.2.1 Shared beliefs – the goal of linguistic study

A fundamental assumption held by most (if not all) linguistic disciplines, is that linguistics is *the study of mental representations of language* (Taylor 2010, 6). Whether they believe these mental representations to be best explained by syntactic trees and deep structures (see Chomsky 1965), exemplars (see Bybee 2006), image schemas (see Langacker, 1987, 1991a, 1991b), or patterns of activation in the brain (see Ahlsén 2006), the common goal of linguistics as a whole is to provide insight into how we understand and use language. Explaining our intuitions about language, as well as certain facts of usage, therefore fall within the scope of most of the disciplines above, despite their theoretical and methodological differences.

2.2.2 The "language organ" – or lack thereof

In regards to Generative and Cognitive linguistics, however, the shared beliefs concerning the ultimate goal of linguistics is about where the similarities end. The first diverging aspect of CL I will discuss is the notion that language is grounded in general cognition. Unlike (many) generativists, who believe in the existence of a *language organ*,[5] innate and separate from other aspects of cognition, cognitive linguists hold that language is subsumed under the same cognitive principles that govern other cognitive processes (Langacker 2008, 8; Croft 2004, 2). Although the configuration of cognitive abilities involved in language-use (i.e. the real-time perception and production of discrete, structured symbolic units) might be unique to language,

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[5] Do note that the nature of this language organ is still up for discussion within GG. Although it is generally conceived of as a more-or-less autonomous system, separate from general cognitive abilities, it is recognized that it is not necessarily anatomically localized and concrete in the same way as the heart or the kidneys (Anderson and Lightfoot 2000, 19)

the cognitive abilities required for language use (e.g. perception, memory and categorization (Langacker 2008, 8)) are not (Croft 2004, 2). This assumption has a number of important consequences. For one, it means that theories about language-use need to be compatible with what we know about the cognitive abilities required. As such, linguistic theorization needs to be unifiable with established 'truths' within psychology and other cognitive sciences. Secondly, it means that language should be exhaustively explainable by referring to established cognitive abilities, and precludes appeals to autonomous linguistic systems, such as those posed by many generativists (see Taylor 2010, 9). Thirdly, it entails that linguistic knowledge is ultimately a type of conceptual structure – a term for the internal structure of thoughts, concepts, images, and mental experience in general (Langacker 1987, 97–98).

2.2.3   Grammar as conceptualization

Another important characteristic of cognitive linguistics is the view that 'grammar is conceptualization' (Croft 2004, 3). What this means is that the conceptual structure brought up in the previous section cannot be accounted for merely by truth-conditional correspondences with the real world, but that things and events need to be *conceptualized* before being expressed linguistically. To more clearly illustrate this, I will borrow an example from Langacker (2008, 44):

Figure 2-1   Construal
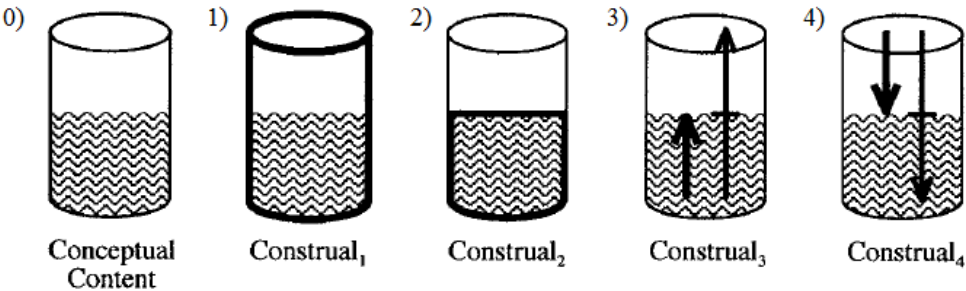
The image-schema 0) on the far left above is meant to describe a conceptualization of a glass container with water taking up about half its volume. We are presumably able – at the conceptual level – to imagine this situation with a relative degree of neutrality. If we attempt to describe the situation linguistically, we might come up with some of the following descriptions: 1) *the glass with water in it*; 2) *the water in the glass*; 3) *the glass is half-full*;

and 4) *the glass is half-empty*. We can see, however, that these ways of describing the object/situation are less neutral: 1) designates the container (the glass); 2) designates the liquid contained by the glass (the water); 3) designates a situation where the water occupies half the potential volume of the glass; and 4) designates a situation in which a 'void' occupies half the potential volume of the glass (Langacker 2008, 43). The different ways in which the situation is *construed* thus yield sentences with differing word-order and word-usage, and hearing the constructed sentences likewise invokes different construals of the situation. Although this example is relatively simple, the argument goes that the same is true for more advanced sentences and grammatical constructions. Different grammatical constructions pertaining to the same entities in the same configuration can nevertheless construe the situation in different ways. In regards to this thesis, and the discussion in the following chapters, one could therefore perhaps consider the sentences in which the predicates appear together with nominatively and accusatively marked NPs to invoke different conceptualizations of the same situation/event (more on this in Chapter 5).

2.2.4   Linguistic knowledge emerges from language use

The idea that language use and language knowledge are interconnected is by no means a novel idea unique to 'modern' cognitive linguistics. In fact, it was proposed by Hermann Paul in *The Principles of the History of Language* all the way back in 1891 (Paul 1891, 15). With the advent of Generative Grammar, however, this idea was more or less abandoned in favor of systems governed by *rules*. Rather than a product of mutual communication and influence, grammar was analyzed as a result of a number of biologically predetermined categories and rules created by an innate language faculty (Diessel 2017, 2). These rules and categories were considered significantly robust and unchanging, and little significance was given to constructions' prevalence and usage-trends (see, for instance, Newmeyer 2003).

Within CL, however, usage is again elevated as a factor which affects constructions and grammar in language. In particular, usage influences the process of *categorization* to a substantial degree. The reasoning goes that categories in language (e.g. semantic categories such as 'bird', or syntactic categories, such as 'noun' or 'relative clause') are created through repeated exposure to similar instantiations of the category, and that a large enough number of novel, peripheral uses may contribute to the restructuring of said category (Langacker 1987,

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70–71; Bybee 2010, 14; Bybee 2006, 719). This topic is addressed in regards to the case-alternation in section 6.2.5 of Chapter 6.

2.2.5 On the scope of valid data

The reduced importance assigned to formal rules of transformation and derivation, as well as the increased significance attributed to usage, also has consequences for what is considered valid data within CL. For one, it increases the scope of data to include not only the most common, rule-adhering constructions, but also peripheral, idiosyncratic phenomena. This is directly opposed to the Generative tradition, which has been aiming for high-level generalizations, and has left idiosyncratic constructions 'out in the cold', in favor of the central 'core' of the language system (Taylor 2010, 7). As such, much of the literature within Generative Grammar has been focused on a relatively small number of central phenomena such as *wh*-movement, anaphors and raising, while a large bulk of the CL-literature has been devoted to examining the properties of individual lexical items and uncommon grammatical constructions (ibid., 12). This also has consequences for CL-scholars' willingness to study emergent and non-standard language use, such as the phenomenon which is the topic of this thesis.

Additionally, the idea that usage shapes conceptualizations of language means that sources of empirical language data, such as language corpora, become increasingly important tools in the study of linguistic phenomena (Bybee 2006, 712). If the frequency of use of a given construction is relevant to that construction's perceived grammaticality, and if large numbers of slightly deviating instantiations of a construction can result in category-reformation, the examination of these frequencies in spontaneous language data naturally becomes more relevant. Additionally, since language is believed to be shaped by mutual communication, it also makes more sense to gather acceptability-data from a larger group of participants, rather than from a single individual. While GG mostly focuses on the competence of single speakers, CL-scholars are often more concerned with how constructions are conventionalized through language-use (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2010), and therefore study trends across populations to a larger extent. It is this consequence of the belief delineated in 2.3.4 that led me to make use of corpus-studies and an acceptability-judgment-questionnaire in this thesis.

2.3 Important concepts within Cognitive Linguistics

The three central beliefs outlined in sections 2.2.2, 2.2.3, and 2.2.4 provide the foundation on which Cognitive Linguistics was built. There are, however, a number of other important assumptions and principles which are emblematic of the CL-approach. These include assumptions about the structure and boundaries of categories, the interface between experience and language, as well as analogy and generalization. In the following sections, I outline some of the tenets of Cognitive Linguistics which are particularly important in regards to the subject of the thesis.

2.3.1 Categorization and prototype-theory

In section 2.2.2, I stated that CL views language-use as an amalgamation of a number of established, central cognitive processes. One of the processes of particular interest is that of *categorization*. Categorization is said to be the most basic phenomenon of cognition, to the extent that some scholars argue that "cognition is categorization" (Harnad 2005, 40). In the classical theory of categorization – which Cognitive linguists often identify as linked to formal approaches to language (Saeed 2016, 356) – categories were thought of as defined by certain necessary and sufficient features. Whether an entity in the world could be defined by a certain word, or whether a word could be defined as a member of a certain category, depended on whether or not the entity/word exhibited all the features associated with the word/category (Saeed 2016, 33). In its strictest sense, it requires all members to display all the properties associated with the category, while no non-member is allowed to have all of these features (Langacker 2004, 132). A word-meaning definition of *bachelor,* for instance, could be based on whether or not an entity exhibits the characteristics [+HUMAN] [+MALE] and [-MARRIED]. In regards to word-category membership, whether a word could be considered a *noun* would depend on the distributional characteristics of that word (Carnie 2013).[6] Note, also, that traditional analyses thus reject semantic categorization of grammatical classes (e.g. nouns) (Jackendoff 1994, 69), in favor of categorization by distributional features (e.g. being able to appear with plural endings) (ibid., 70).

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[6] In English, some of these characteristics include having endings such as *–er/or, -ism, ,-ment* and *-tion;* being able to take the genitive case; having singular and plural forms; and occurring together with a determiner such as *a* or *the*.

Within CL, however, the main model of category structure made use of is that called the *Prototype model of categorization,* or *Prototype theory* (Croft 2004, 77; Aberra 2006, 2). The theoretical work on prototype theory was pioneered by Eleanor Rosch, based on color and form categories in Rosch (1973a) and more generally in Rosch (1978). While this early work mainly pertained to non-linguistic categories, several more recent studies have found evidence for prototype-effects for abstract linguistic constructions (e.g. Taylor 1998, Ibottson et al. 2012). In contrast to the classical, binary view of categorization, the prototype model supposes that the boundary between different categories of words and constructions is gradient, and that words/phrases fit within categories to varying degrees (Langacker 2004, 133). To use a simple example, consider the word *bird*. Rather than defining whether or not a given animal is describable by the word bird by means of truth-conditions such as [+WINGS] [+CAN FLY] [+FEATHERS] [+BEAK], and excluding all entities which do not possess all of these characteristics (e.g. penguins for [-CAN FLY] and kiwis for [-WINGS] and [-CAN FLY]), category-membership is determined by how strongly the animal resembles the *bird*-prototype. A psychology experiment conducted by Rosch (1973b) in which speakers were asked to assess the validity of the statement "X is a bird" revealed that good examples of a category were identified more quickly than others. A figure showing the *prototypicality* of various birds, based on Rosch's findings, is given below (from Aitchison 2003, 56):

Figure 2-2   Bird-prototypicality
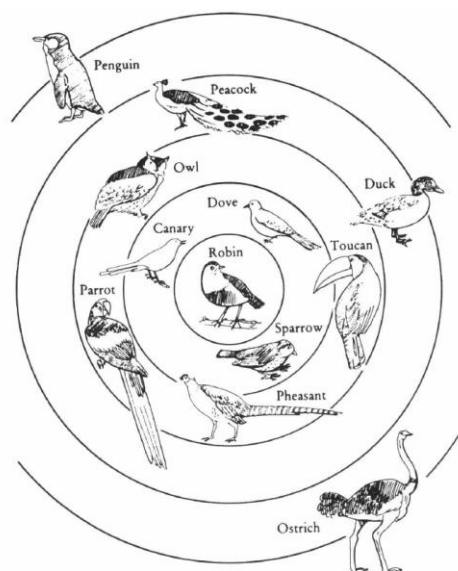
Figure 5.1 Birdiness rankings

Note, however, that category-membership is not to be defined in terms of similarity to the category's prototypical entities as such, but rather by the degree to which they exhibit the

characteristics associated with the prototype (Taylor 2008, 44). Figure 2-2 is not to be interpreted to mean that whether or not an animal is a bird is determined by its resemblance to a robin, but rather implies that the robin is a prototypical example of a bird because it exhibits most of (if not all) of the *bird-like* characteristics. Furthermore, because it is not seen as necessary for all entities defined as birds to exhibit all bird-related characteristics, non-typical birds such as penguins, ostriches and kiwis can also be included without difficulty. This thus accommodates our intuition that these animals are, indeed, birds. Another characteristic of prototype categorization within CL is that belonging to a linguistic category is often defined in regards to semantics rather than syntactic distribution (see, for instance, sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 below).

In addition to taxonomical categories such as birds, several prototypes for linguistic constructions have also been proposed. For instance, Langacker (2008, 104) presents the following prototypical characteristics for nouns: 1) they are physical objects; 2) they primarily reside in space, are bounded and have their own location; 3) they are atemporal, in the sense that they may persist indefinitely; and 4) they are conceptually autonomous, in the sense that they can be conceived independently of participation in a specific event. A prototypical noun, such as *ball*, would exhibit strongly all these characteristics. The noun-status of words which have traditionally been used as examples of the impossibility of semantic part-of-speech classification, such as *explosion*, can be explained by pointing out that the word (unlike its verbal counterpart *explode*) construes the explosion event as an abstract thing (Langacker 2008, 95), which makes it more atemporal and conceptually autonomous.

2.4 Applying prototype-theory

Although the scope of this chapter precludes a complete analysis of the full extent of prototype-theory, suffice it to say that these principles of gradient category-membership and non-binary categorization apply to many other linguistic categories, such as grammatical constructions and word-classes. Due to their particular relevance for the analysis presented in the following chapters, however, I will now detail how prototype-theory applies to three linguistic concepts: *subjecthood*, *objecthood*, and *transitivity*. Since the general tenets of

prototype theory have been explained in 2.3.1, the next sections rather focus on establishing prototypes for the three concepts.[7]

2.4.1 The subject-prototype

Consider the sentence *Jane broke the vase*. Even across the cognitive/generative divide, most (if not all) linguists would likely agree that in this sentence, "Jane" functions as the subject, while "the vase" functions as the object (Langacker 2008, 363). There are, however, great discrepancies in the approaches theorists use to define the subject (Langacker 1991b, 304–305). In regards to characterizing the role of the subject, Langacker (1991b) argues that grammatical structure (e.g. in what order the nominals appear, along with other grammatical behavior) is at best symptomatic of the subject-role, and does not elucidate the features at the core of *subjecthood*. Instead, he claims that the defining feature of subjects is their high degree of *topicality*.[8] Langacker proposes a number of factors related to topicality, the first being that the subject is prototypically an agent, acting as the first mover, so to speak, in the action-chain[9] described by the sentence. In regards to the example above, "Jane" serves as the agent inflicting the change (breaking) on "the vase". A second topicality factor proposed by Langacker is the entity's position on what he refers to as the *empathy hierarchy*, which he describes as "reflect[ing] an egocentric assessment of the various sorts of entities that populate the world" (Langacker 1991b, 306–307). Langacker's empathy-hierarchy is rendered below:

Empathy hierarchy:

  speaker > hearer > human > animal > physical object > abstract entity

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[7] I recognize that what linguistic categories to which I apply prototype-theory might feel somewhat arbitrary to the reader. The reason for *subject*, *object*, and *transitivity* to be examined as closely as they are, is that much of the previous research conducted on the A/NA case alternation (or similar alternations) in various ways discusses or is linked to these concepts. While it would potentially be possible to present the previous research before delineating my theoretical framework (e.g. switching up the order of the chapters), I believe a preliminary understanding of some of these concepts and ideas to be extremely advantageous in making sense of what previous scholars have had to say about the topic. My hope is that, upon reading Chapter 5, the reader will understand and agree with my motivations for structuring the thesis in this particular way.

[8] Note that topicality is often supposed to exist outside the realm of semantics, rather belonging to either *pragmatics* or *discourse*. In Langacker's analysis, topicality is seen as subsumed under semantics, as he rejects traditional semantics/pragmatics-discourse divides (Langacker 1978, 306).

[9] The "action-chain" is a basic model for the concept of a "prototypical action", and involves transfer of energy from one entity (the agent) to another (the patient).

Commonsensically, the highest rated entity on the empathy-hierarchy is the speaker. This is followed by hearer (addressee), other humans, physical objects, and abstract entities. As such, speakers are maximally topical, while abstract entities are minimally topical. The effect that position on the empathy-hierarchy has on subjecthood is evident in the acceptability of sentences like the following:

1) *Watashi wa   inu   o   ot-ta.*
   I   TOP   dog ACC chase-PST
   'I chased the dog.'

2) *Inu   wa   watashi o   ot-ta.*
   dog TOP I   ACC chase-PST
   'The dog chased me.'

3) *Watashi wa   inu   ni   ow-are-ta.*
   I   TOP   dog DAT chase-PASS-PST
   'I was chased by the dog.'

4) ??*Inu   wa   watashi ni   ow-are-ta.*
     dog TOP I   DAT chase-PASS-PST
   'The dog was chased by me.'

While all the active sentences in 1) and 2) are acceptable, the passive in 4) – in which *inu* 'dog' is allotted the subject position and topic-marking – seems somewhat off. The difference between 3) and 4) – and likely what renders 4) somewhat unacceptable – is that 4) does not conform to the hierarchy, but rather selects a less 'empathetic' entity as its subject (Langacker 1991b, 307). The third topicality-factor Langacker posits is that of *definiteness*. This factor is relatively subjective, pertaining to whether the speaker and listener have established *mental contact* (e.g. are directing their attention towards) a specific object. Definiteness is most easily illustrated using examples (sentences 5 and 6 taken from Langacker (1991b, 308)):

5) The lake is in that valley.   **Definite**

6) ??A lake is in that valley.   **indefinite**   (judgment in original)

In 5), the subject is referring to a specific lake, presumably known to both speaker and hearer, while in 6), the "a lake" subject refers to an entity with which the speaker/hearer has not yet established this mental contact, thus the strangeness of the sentence. In English, indefinite subjects are usually avoided by constructions similar to 7):

7) There is a lake in that valley.

Further distinctions of definiteness can be made between proper and common nouns (e.g. "Ronald Langacker" vs. "the author"), between count nouns and mass nouns ("linguist" vs. "water"), and between singular and plural ("example" vs. "examples"), among others.[10]

The last topicality factor Langacker presents is *figure/ground organization*. This is tied to the idea that in relational predications – e.g. predications with more than one conceptual participant – there is always one entity which is focused (Langacker 1978, 231). Thus, the sentences *My cousin resembles Brad Pitt* and *Brad Pitt resembles my cousin* are not strictly synonymous, because the participants are not equally salient in both sentences. If we allow for a small oversimplification, we might say that "my cousin" is the figure in the first example, with "Brad Pitt" being the ground, and that these NPs have opposite roles in the second sentence. A visual representation of a figure/ground relation can be seen by looking at the famous "Rubin-vase" from Edgar Rubin's *Visual Figures* (1967, 30[11]).

Figure 2-3   **Visualization of figure-ground organization**
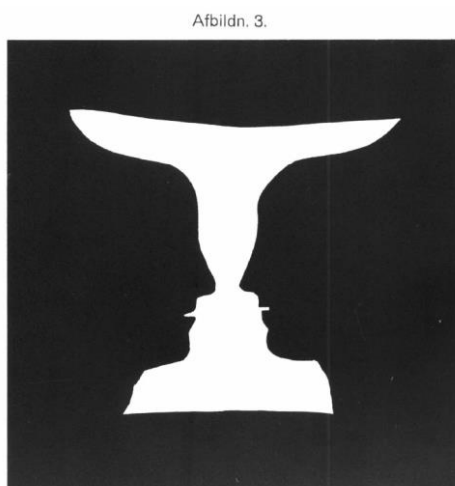
Like the situation described by the sentences involving my cousin and Brad Pitt, the image above can be construed as a *figure* of two faces talking to each other against a white back*ground*, or as a *figure* of a vase against a black back*ground* (Ungerer and Schmid 1996, 157-158; emphasis added). In regards to the connection between figure/ground organization and topicality, it is believed that the *figure* is more topical (Langacker 1991b, 308). Summing up, the four prototypical features for a subject is that it: 1. serves as an agent; 2. is human; 3.

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[10] Unfortunately, determining the definiteness of NPs in Japanese is substantially more difficult than in English, due to the absence of determiners such as *a* and *the*.

[11] Rubin (1967) does not provide page numbers for pages containing figures. Figure 2-3 is located between page 30 and page 31.

is definite; and 4. is a *figure* in the figure-ground relation. In one NP, the prototypical subject is an **agentive, human, definite figure.**

2.4.2   The object-prototype[12]

The first thing to note about objects is that the existence of an object presupposes the existence of a subject (Langacker 1991b, 321). Objects do not appear in clauses in isolation (at least conceptually),[13] but always in conjunction with some type of subject. Because of this, objects are also closely associated with *transitivity* (see section 2.4.3). One way of characterizing objects is to say that they correspond to "the second most prominent clausal participant" (ibid., 321) in a sentence, but this definition does not do much in terms of explaining features typically associated with objects. This note on prominence does, however, lead into Langacker's definition of *objecthood*: "a prototypical object is also salient by virtue of its high ranking on these [topicality] parameters, but in each case it ranks below a prototypical subject" (ibid., 321). In regards to semantic role, the object functions as a patient, strongly associated with the ability to serve as a receiver of energy. The primacy of agent over patient (and thus subject over object) has basis not only in introspection, as Langacker points out that it has also been shown through psychological experimentation (ibid., 322). As for the typical object's position on the empathy hierarchy, Langacker proposes the following model:

Empathy hierarchy (revised)

$[_{AN}$ **human** $>$ animal $_{AN}] > [_{INAN}$ **physical object** $>$ abstract entity $_{INAN}]^{14}$

While, as we established in the previous section, prototypical subjects correspond to items at the top of the hierarchy as a whole, prototypical objects are thought to correspond to items at the top of the inanimate portion of the hierarchy. The emboldened "physical object" is thus thought to be the prototypical empathy-hierarchy location for objects. For a further discussion of this model, see section 6.2.4 of Chapter 6.

When discussing the definiteness of objects, Langacker remarks that they are often definite, but that indefinite objects are both more natural and more frequent than indefinite subjects. Thus, the sentence *Jane was so angry she broke a vase* is perfectly natural (cf. ?A *girl was so*

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[12] In this section, I treat the term "object" as shorthand for "direct object". The discussion thus only pertains to direct objects, and not to indirect ones.

[13] Objects can, however, be the only overt NP in a given clause. For a discussion of this, see Chapter 5.

[14] AN stands for "animate", while "INAN" stands for "inanimate".

angry she broke the vase). However, even when indefinite, objects seem to be specific in most contexts – in the example above, "a vase" likely refers to a specific vase. It would seem that objects rank relatively high, but still below subjects, on the first three topicality factors (i.e. semantic role, empathy-hierarchy ranking and discreteness). In what way, however, should we describe them in regards to figure/ground organization? Since the subject is the most prominent participant in a relational predicate, it naturally takes up the *figure*-role, but simply referring to the object as the *ground* does not seem to match its role as *second most prominent*. Rather, Langacker views the object as "an especially salient facet of the ground, i.e. some entity that stands out from the remainder of the ground as a *secondary figure* when attention is focused on the primary figure" (Langacker 1991b, 323, emphasis in original). In one (albeit slightly convoluted) NP, the prototypical object is a **patient-like, physical inanimate, relatively definite, prominent ground-element.**

2.4.3.0 A small digression – on the embodied nature of grammar

Before we go into the discussion of the transitive prototype, allow me a slight digression to talk about another important assumption of CL: the embodied nature of grammar. In section 2.2.2 above, I discussed the rejection of the existence of a "language organ". In committing to this rejection, one must also reject the idea that grammatical patterns are in any way inherent in biology – at least in the sense that they cannot be innate manifestations of some complex algorithmic language-faculty system. If clause structure and grammar are not simply chosen from a predetermined set of parameters – as in Chomsky's minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995) – how do they emerge and how are they understood? The answer to these questions is that clause structure is "grounded in basic human experience" (Langacker 2008, 355). Through interacting with the world, observing and taking part in events, and generalizing on the basis of these, we "derive some consistent conceptual archetypes" (such as agent, patient, experiencer), and these archetypes "combine in various ways to form more complex conceptualizations" (e.g. prototypical action, prototypical perceptual experience, etc.) (Rice 1987, 72). Insofar as linguistic expressions convey conceptual content (see section 2.2.3) linguistic patterns are also thought to have their basis in these complex conceptualizations. A natural consequence of this is that a change in the conceptualization of an event could lead to a change in the linguistic patterns used to convey that particular event. In relation to the case-alternation discussed in this thesis, this means that a reinterpretation of the predicates'

conceptualization (or the conceptualization of clauses containing the predicates) could potentially provide a rationale for the emergence of a new clause structure pattern (e.g. from NOM-NOM to NOM-ACC). Section 2.4.3 below, then, is dedicated to delineating which conceptual factors are associated with the "prototypical transitive event" conceptualization, which has strong ties to the NOM-ACC-pattern.

2.4.3   Transitivity

Now that I have put forth potential prototypes for subjects and objects, it is time to move onto the third major field to which we will be applying prototype theory – namely *transitivity*. In my view, the most transparent and orderly account of the features/criteria of the prototypically transitive clause is that presented in Langacker (1991b, 302), drawing on works such as Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Rice (1987):

1. It has two participants expressed by overt nominals that function as subject and object.
2. It describes an event (as opposed to a static situation).
3. The event is energetic, relatively brief, and has a well-defined endpoint.
4. The subject and object represent discrete, highly individuated physical entities.
5. These entities already exist when the event occurs (i.e. they are not products of the event).
6. The subject and object are fully distinct and participate in a strongly asymmetrical relationship.
7. The subject's participation is volitional, while that of the object is non-volitional.
8. The subject is the source of the energy, and the object is its target.
9. The object is totally affected by the action.

Although I consider Langacker's phrasing to be relatively straightforward, I will nevertheless err on the side of caution and provide a short explanation of the various criteria. To help illustrate the factors, I present an example of a sentence which conforms closely to the transitive prototype:

8) *John   wa   waza to   bōru   o   nage-ta.*
   John   TOP   intentionally   ball   ACC   throw-PST
   John intentionally threw the ball.

Criterion 1 can be split into two sub-criteria: **Participant Number** and **Participant Role**. **Participant Number** refers to the existence of two participating entities (NPs). In the case of the sentence above, those two participants are *John* and *bōru* (the ball).[15] **Participant Role**,

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then, refers to the extent to which these two NPs conform to the subject and object prototypes presented in the previous two sections. Criterion 2, **Event Likeness**, refers to the construal of the sentence as something that 'takes place', rather than something which just 'exists'. The throwing of the ball by John in 8) is an event, rather than a static situation. Criterion 3, **Dynamicity**,[16] is an amalgamation of Hopper & Thompson's (1980, 252) *Punctuality* and *Kinesis* factors, and pertains to how the event takes place over time, as well the degree to which it involves a transfer of energy. In the sentence above, John throwing the ball involves a transfer of energy from John to the ball; the event is likely over in a second or two, making it relatively brief; and it has a well-defined endpoint as marked by both the conceptual content of the verb "throw" as well as the past-tense inflection. Criterion 4, **Participant Discreteness**, refers to two things: that the participants should represent entities separate from each other (e.g. not involving reflexives), and that the entities are discrete and separate in relation to the ground (e.g. the degree of mental contact discussed in the *definiteness*-section of 2.4.1) (Hopper and Thompson 1980, 252-253). The participants in sentence 8) are discrete both in terms of being two separate entities, and because they are a proper noun (John) and a noun referring to a specific object (*the* ball in English), respectively. Criterion 5, **Pre-existence of Participants**, relates to whether or not the participants existed before the conception of the event. In contrast with sentences such as "I made a sandwich", in which the sandwich did not exist until my action brought it into the world by means of combining ingredients, the entities in sentence 8) above are not products of the *throwing*-event. Criterion 6, **Asymmetry**, concerns the relationship between the two nominals in a given clause. If the relationship is symmetrical, reversing the NPs does not yield a substantially different event-description. This is evident in a previous example from section 2.4.1. *My cousin resembles Brad Pitt*, and *Brad Pitt resembles my cousin* might have nuance-differences, but they both describe a situation in which the two participants resemble each other. Reversing sentence 8) into "The ball threw John", however, describes a radically different (and now nonsensical) event, compared to the original sentence 8. For this reason, we say that the relationship between the NPs in 8) is asymmetrical. Criterion 7, **Volitionality**, pertains to the subject's intentional participation –

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criterion, although it is quite possible that the elements' overt presence make the sentence more transitive than a mere assumed presence.

[16] Although far from an established linguistic term, I have chosen to make use of the term "Dynamicity" to describe Langacker's third criterion. Since this criterion involves several different factors, pertaining to temporal delimitation and energeticness, it is difficult to find one word which encapsulates all of these nuances. I believe, however, that "dynamicity" might suffice, as it encapsulates the energetic (dynamic) nature of the event, as well as commonly being separated from states (e.g. Comrie 1976, 48). The temporal boundedness element is also somewhat present in this term, as dynamic events must have some sort of endpoint, and are usually more brief than states.

and the object's unintentional participation – in the event. In sentence 8), John intentionally participates by throwing the ball, and the ball – presumably – did not intend to be thrown. Note that the subject's intentional participation and the object's unintentional participation do not need to both be present in order to raise the transitivity of a clause. Also, as we shall see in section 3.2.7, the subject's intentional participation seems especially important in regards to Japanese transitives. Criterion 8, **Energy-direction**, refers to the tendency for energy to move from subjects to objects. In sentence 8), the energy-transfer taking place travels from the thrower-subject (John), to the thrown-object (the ball), and not the other way. Lastly, the 9th criterion of **Object Affectedness** concerns whether or not the action initiated by the subject produces a significant change in the object. While not-quite-so-prototypical transitive sentences such as "John saw the ball" also describe an 'action' initiated by John towards the ball, the object (the ball) does not seem to undergo any significant change. In 8), however, the ball undergoes a rapid change in position as a result of being thrown.

2.5   Metaphorical extension to other domains

One thing to note is that many of the features described above (i.e. 2, 3, 5 and 8) to a certain extent only apply to events taking place in the physical domain. Energy-transfer, existence, and, indeed, events in general, are thought to be something that actually take place, consisting of bodies moving around and interacting in the real world. This does not mean, however, that 'mental events', such as those in *Paulo despises Christmas* or *Peter solved the problem* are inherently intransitive. As pointed out in Rice (1978, 79) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 59), nonphysical 'events' such as emotions and experiences are often conceptualized in terms of physical experiences. Metaphorical constructions such as LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (e.g. 'I was *magnetically drawn* to her'), SEEING IS TOUCHING ('Her eyes *picked out* every detail of the pattern') and EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT ('I was *touched* by his remark') (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 49-50, emphasis in original) allow language users to view mental events as being energetic or bringing about an effect in the object. Insofar as this type of conceptualization takes place, it is therefore not necessary for the situation described by a given clause to have any tangible effect in the physical world in order for it to be considered transitive.

2.6   Summary

In this chapter, I have provided some important characteristics of the broader framework utilized in this thesis – Cognitive Linguistics – as well as presented and explained various concepts of particular import to the case-alternation in question. We have seen how cognitive linguists treat topics such as the nature of language, the conceptual basis of grammar, the acquisition of linguistic competence, as well as the scope of valid data for linguistic examinations. To give a very brief summary of these views, Cognitive Linguistics perceives language as a part of general cognition (2.2.2), and treats linguistic and grammatical knowledge as emergent from language-use (2.2.4) and categorized in terms of the construal of mental worlds (2.2.3). These conceptualizations have their basis in real-world experiences as well as metaphorical extensions of real-world events (2.4.3.0 and 2.5). As a consequence of the usage-based theory of linguistic competence, research-methods which examine populations of speakers (e.g. corpus-research and aggregated acceptability-judgment-tasks) have become increasingly valuable ways of gathering data (2.2.5). Additionally, we have seen how (most) cognitive linguists approach categorization, through the examination of prototype-theory. The empirical basis of prototype theory was delineated (2.3.1), and prototype-theory was further examined and applied in regards to subjecthood (2.4.1), objecthood (2.4.2) and transitivity (2.4.3).

3 A transitive prototype for Japanese

3.0   Purpose of the chapter

In the previous chapter, I presented and delineated Langacker's (1991b) transitive prototype, after providing a cognitive basis for categories such as *subject* and *object*. The discussion of the prototype in Chapter 2 was, however, mainly focused on conceptualization, and made little reference to actual linguistic phenomena to provide an empirical basis for the features of said prototype. While I consider the arguments for the features included in the prototype to be relatively sound, I have not yet shown the prototype explaining any features of linguistic expression.[17] This chapter is therefore aimed at demonstrating the explanatory power of the prototype in accounting for the various phenomena of transitive marking in Japanese. In this chapter, I borrow heavily from Wesley M. Jacobsen's (1992; 2016) and Fujimura's (2009) work on Japanese transitivity.

3.0.1   Structure of the chapter

The chapter is split into two major parts, the latter of which being allotted the most space. In the first part – 3.1 – I assess the issue of cross-linguistic coding of transitivity, and explain how Japanese codes transitivity both syntactically and morphologically. In the second major part, containing sections 3.2-3.2.9, I begin with a brief explanation of the form of the arguments used to demonstrate the relevance of the transitivity criteria (3.2), before continuing on to discuss them. The order in which the criteria are discussed is the same as in which they were presented in 2.4.3, namely **participant number/role** (3.2.1), **event likeness** (3.2.2), **dynamicity** (3.2.3), **participant discreteness** (3.2.4), **pre-existence of participants** (3.2.5), **asymmetry** (3.2.6), **volitionality** (3.2.7), **energy direction** (3.2.8) and **object affectedness** (3.2.9).

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[17] That is not to say that the prototype was not originally created based on empirical observations about language – which it very much was – but rather that I have not yet presented any of these observations here.

3.1 Coding of transitivity in Japanese

Although the way transitive clauses are linguistically coded varies greatly cross-linguistically, the transitivity-prototype established in the previous sections is thought to be relatively common across languages. This is due to the fact that it is entrenched in basic cognitive systems common to all humans. This does not mean, however, that all languages are expected to conform to the prototype to the same degree – there are myriad examples of peripheral cases which are considered transitive in one language and intransitive in another. For instance, the concept of ENTITY1 --- POSITIVE FEELINGS --> ENTITY2 is coded as a transitive clause in English (*I like it*), as a source-experiencer (DAT-NOM) clause in OE/EModE (*the lykor (liquor)* [NOM] *liked them* [DAT] *so well*) (Traugott and Trousdale 2013, 70), and as an alternating source-experiencer/transitive construction in Japanese (*Boku wa sore ga/o* [NOM/ACC] *suki da*). Additionally, some languages are stricter than others in regards to which criteria need to be fulfilled for a clause to receive transitive marking. For this reason, this chapter is dedicated to examining the transitive prototype as it pertains to Japanese.

In the previous paragraph, I stated that transitive clauses are coded differently in different languages. In English, transitivity is usually marked by having a noun (the object) directly following the verb without any intervening adverbs or prepositions (Jacobsen 1992, 47). Consider the following sentences:

1) *Misaki ran to John (*Misaki ran John)*   [Intransitive]

2) *Misaki punched John (*Misaki punched to John)*   [Transitive]

Sentence 1 is intransitive, as evidenced by the presence of a preposition 'to' between the verb and the noun, while sentence 2 is transitive due to the noun directly following the verb. As we can see in the parenthesized sentences, removing an element from – or inserting an element into – the space between the verb and the noun yields unacceptable sentences. In Japanese, however, transitivity is not expressed in the ordering or relative position of the various sentence-components. Rather, transitivity is marked by the presence of an accusative marker (*o*) directly after the object-NP, in addition to certain morphological properties of the verb (Jacobsen 1992, 20). These properties are presented (and underlined) in the following sentences:

3) *Misaki   wa   John   o   nagut-ta.*
   Misaki TOP John ACC punch-PST
   'Misaki punched John.'   [Transitive]

4) *Paulo wa John ni nite-iru.*
   Paulo TOP John DAT resemble-PROG
   'Paulo resembles John.'   [Intransitive]

5) *Denki __ tsu-<u>ke</u>-ta.*
   electric light   turn.on-TR-PST
   '(I) turned on the light.'   [Transitive]

6) *Denki __ tsu-i-ta.*
   electric light   turn.on-ITR-PST
   'The light turned on.'   [Intransitive][18]

There is thus both a syntactic aspect (the case marker) and a morphological aspect (verb-morphology) that help identify a clause as transitive. The morphological characteristics of transitivity are not always straight-forward, however, as intransitive/transitive alternations of verb endings follow several different patterns (see, for example, Jacobsen 2016, 22). Additionally, the morphological aspect is only applicable when the predicate of the sentence is a verb, and is therefore not available in the analysis of adjectives and nominal adjectives. The most surefire way of determining the transitive marking of a clause therefore becomes the presence or absence of an accusative *o*-marker on one of the nominal participants.

3.2   Langacker's transitivity criteria and Japanese transitivity research

The following sub-sections are dedicated to examining the significance of Langacker's (1991b) transitivity-criteria in explaining the (in-)transitive marking of predicates and clauses in Japanese. The arguments are primarily made by comparing clauses with intransitively and transitively marked NPs, and arguing how the 9 transitivity criteria might explain the different choice of marking. Additionally, the transitivity factors are also used to explain the canonical transitive marking on sentences which are seemingly very far from the transitive prototype (e.g. peripheral cases).

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[18] Sentences 5) and 6) have had their case-particles (*ga* and *o*, respectively) omitted to illustrate that transitivity can also be expressed by verb-morphology alone. This type of particle-omission is relatively common in casual speech.

3.2.1 Participant number and Participant role in Japanese

Due to the large amount of subject-ellipsis present in Japanese, it is often erroneous to equate the number of overt participants in a sentence with the number of *conceptual* participants in the situation described by the sentence. Although the two sentences below have the same amount of overt NPs, the amount of conceptual NPs is not the same:

7) *Kabin o kowa-shi-ta.*   (2 participants)
   vase   ACC   break-TR-PST
   '(Someone) broke the vase.'

8) *Kabin ga kowa-re-ta.*   (1 participant)
   vase   NOM   break-ITR-PST
   'The vase broke.'

As evident from the English translations, the former sentence involves the tacit presence of an entity which brought about the event, while the latter sentence conceptualizes the event as occurring more or less spontaneously. In this case, the choice of transitive/intransitive marking seems to be dependent on the semantic content of the predicates – while the transitive *kowasu* 'break' presupposes a *causer* of the event, the intransitive *kowareru* 'break' does not. There are, however, cases in which the choice of transitive/intransitive marker seems to be decided not by the predicate's meaning as such, but rather by the number of participants (either overt or covert) present in the clause. This is the case for many Sino-Japanese predicates such as *idō-suru* 'move':

9) *Untenshu ga kuruma o idō-shi-ta.*
   driver   NOM   car   ACC   move-do-PST
   'The driver moved the car.'

10) *Kuruma ga idō-shi-ta.*[19]
    car   NOM   move-do-PST
    'The car moved.'   (Slightly edited from Jacobsen 1992, 5)

The occurrence of alternations such as the one above may receive two interpretations: 1. the predicate *idō-suru* 'move' allows for more than one argument structure, or 2. there are two phonetically identical predicates taking the form *idō-suru*, each with its own meaning. As Jacobsen points out, however, the second interpretation runs counter to our intuitions that they are indeed the same predicate with the same meaning (Jacobsen 1992, 5). This leaves us with

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[19] Note that if the sentence takes the form of *kuruma o idō-shi-ta*, where the *kuruma* 'car' NP is accusatively marked, the verb suddenly profiles a second participant, as the interpretation of this sentence is something like "(I/someone) moved the car". What this implies is that the second participant does not necessarily have to be overtly mentioned in the sentence, as the *o*-marker already triggers the "2 participants interpretation".

option number one, where the predicate allows two different argument structures. In this case, it would seem that what determines the usage of intransitive/transitive marking is the presence or absence of an overt or conceptual second participant, which supports the idea that, in Japanese, two-participant clauses are 'more transitive' than single-participant ones.

The importance of **Participant Role**, or the subject- and object-likeness of the two NPs, can in part be illustrated by the relative unacceptability of transitive sentences with inanimate subjects that rank far down on the empathy hierarchy (see section 2.4.1 of Chapter 2). It is generally accepted that Japanese is less free than, for example, English, when it comes to allowing personified inanimate objects as subjects of transitive sentences. Consider the following two unnatural Japanese examples, whose English translation counterparts are perfectly acceptable:

11) *??Kono   kusuri   wa   anata o   kibun-yoku-sur-u   de-shō.*
    this   medicine TOP   you   ACC   feeling-good-do-PRS   COP-PRSU
    'This medicine will make you feel better.'

12) *??Sūfun   no   aruki   ga   watashi-tachi o   kōen   ni   tsurete-it-ta.*
    a few minutes   GEN   walk   NOM   us   ACC   park   DAT   bring-go-PST
    'A few minutes' walk brought us to the park.' (judgments in original, Tsushima 2011, 31-32)

While the inanimate *kono kusuri* 'this medicine' and the inanimate abstract *sūfun no aruki* 'a few minutes' walk' are acceptable transitive subjects in English, Japanese does not usually allow these kinds of entities in this position. That is not to say that there are no instances of inanimate transitive subjects in Japanese, but rather that Japanese seems generally stricter in allowing these types of subjects (Kunihiro 1967, 100; Chamberlain 1971, 276; Kojima 1988, 192; Kimura 1993, 90; Kashino 2010, 269; Andō 2007, 68).[20] Additionally, Tsunoda (1991 in Ying 2014, 111) showed that transitive sentences in which the object outranks the subject on the empathy hierarchy are often deemed unacceptable, supporting Langacker's (1991b) idea of the subject and object as 'most prominent participant' and 'second most prominent participant', respectively (see section 2.4.2). We can therefore see that the two factors Participant Number and Participant Role seem to apply to Japanese to a large extent.

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[20] For an overview of some acceptable inanimate-subject transitive sentences, see Ying (2014).

3.2.2 Event likeness in Japanese

The link between event-likeness and transitivity in Japanese can be shown by the meanings of transitive/intransitive verbs with the attached progressive *-iru* auxiliary, as well as through observing the case-alternation between plain adjectival forms and adjectival forms with *-garu* auxiliary attachments. Let us first consider the *-iru* progressive. Morphological transitive/intransitive verb-pairs such as *kimeru* 'decide' and *kimaru* 'be decided', along with pairs such as *kowasu* 'break-TR' and *kowareru* 'break-ITR' exhibit different behavior when occurring together with the progressive auxiliary affix *-iru*. Consider the following examples, borrowed from Jacobsen (1992, 176):

13) *Kodomotachi   ga   oni   o   kim-er-u.*
    the children   NOM   it[lit:demon] ACC   decide-TR-PRS
    'The children decide who's it.'

14) *Oni   ga   kim-ar-u*
    it [lit:demon]   NOM   decide-ITR-PRS
    'Who's it is decided.'

15) *Kodomotachi   ga   oni   o   kim-ete-iru.*
    the children   NOM   it[lit:demon] ACC   decide-TR-PROG
    'The children are deciding who's it.'

16) *Oni   ga   kim-atte-iru.*
    it[lit:demon]   NOM   decide-ITR-PROG
    'It is (has been) decided who's it.'

While the plain forms of both the transitive and intransitive verbs can have an event-like interpretation (that 'who's it' is decided, either by an outside causer or spontaneously), only the transitive retains this meaning in the progressive. While the progressive in 15) implies that the children are currently in the *process* of deciding 'who's it', the progressive in 16) simply implies the *state* of 'who's it' being decided. We therefore see that the sentence with the transitive verb preserves its event-like interpretation, while this is less cemented in the intransitive, which takes on a state-like meaning in the progressive.

Additionally, the existence of morphological suffixes such as *-garu* provide some evidence of the link between event-likeness and transitivity. The *-garu* suffix is used when talking about emotional or experiential states as experienced by a third party. Plain forms of adjectives such as *kowai* 'fearful' or desideratives such as *tabetai* 'want to eat' are perfectly acceptable when speaking about oneself, but not so much when used about other people. For this reason, the suffix *-garu* is normally used when one wants to express something like the following:

17) *Ken wa kumo ga kowa-i   Ken wa kumo o kowa-gar-u.
    Ken TOP spider NOM fearful-PRS→   Ken TOP spider ACC scared-3P.EXP-PRS
    'Ken is fearful of spiders'   T1: 'Ken is fearful of spiders'
    (my judgment)   T2: 'Ken shows signs of being fearful of spiders'

Observe that the case-marker associated with the second nominal changes from the nominative *ga* to the accusative *o* with the affixation of the *-garu* suffix. Of course, this could potentially be a syntactic issue of *-garu* being an auxiliary-verb – a class of words which are arguably more susceptible to accusative marking – but a semantic explanation is also possible. As Kuno (1973) points out, the *-garu* suffix does not merely syntactically change the adjective into a verb, but also produces a slightly different nuance, namely "outward manifestation of internal feeling" (ibid., 84). In this case, the choice of accusative marker could also be a consequence of the fact that this type of outward manifestation (e.g. Ken fidgeting nervously as a spider climbs on his desk) resembles an event to a larger degree than the stative interpretation of 'being fearful of spiders'. Given that translation 2 (T2) above is a valid way of interpreting the sentence, the case-alternation phenomenon with *-garu* suffixation seems to support the 'increased event likeness = increased transitivity' claim for Japanese.

3.2.3 Dynamicity in Japanese

Because the dynamicity factor encompasses several different criteria (e.g. energeticness and temporal boundedness), the phenomena I will be using to elucidate its explanatory value in accounting for case-marking in Japanese will not necessarily fulfil both of these criteria at once. Allow me, therefore, to first focus on the temporal boundedness-element. By means of empirical inquiry in the form of asking informants to provide acceptability judgments, Fujimura (1989) found that sentences with predicates with perfective interpretations are more likely to receive accusative case-marking, while those with imperfective interpretations more often tend towards the nominative (Fujimura 2009, 80). Consider these examples:[21]

18) a)   ?*Mikka   de   seeta   o   am-er-u.*
           three days INST sweater ACC knit-POT-PRS
           'I can knit a sweater in three days.'
           ≦
    b)   *Mikka de seeta o ande-shima-er-u.*
           three days INST sweater ACC knit-complete-POT-PRS
           'I can complete knitting a sweater in three days.'

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[21] The ≦ indicates that the latter sentence was preferred by Fujimura's informants.

19) a)　　*Harigami　ga　　hatte-shimai-ta-i.*
　　　　　poster　　NOM　put up-complete-DESID-PRS
　　　　　'I want to finish putting up the poster.'
　　　　　≦
　　b)　　*Harigami　ga　　hatte-mi-ta-i.*
　　　　　poster　　NOM　put.up-try-DESID-PRS
　　　　　'I want to try putting up a poster.'　　　　(judgment in original, Fujimura (2009, 82))

According to Fujimura's informants, the sentences in which the activity described by the predicate was more 'complete' (18b and 19a), were preferred for accusative marking (18b ≧ 18a), while the opposite was true for nominative marking (19a ≦ 19b). Since perfective interpretations arguably have more defined endpoints than imperfective ones, this seems to provide some evidence of the explanatory value of the temporal boundedness aspect of the dynamicity factor. Additionally, Mano (2004), argues that low time-stability (temporal boundedness) is, in addition to participant number, one of the most important characteristics of transitive predicates in Japanese (see the discussion in section 5.3.3).

In regards to the energeticness-element of the dynamicity factor, some of the examples raised in the previous sections might be relevant here as well. The differences in case-marking between the two sentences in 17) are thought to be a product of the sentences' event-likeness, with a higher degree of event-likeness correlating with accusative marking. The situation described by the ACC-marked sentence, however, arguably express situations higher in energeticness than the one marked nominatively. This is because 'showing signs of something' presumably involves more kinetic energy than 'feeling something'.

3.2.4　Participant discreteness in Japanese

At first glance, there does not seem to be any rule which demands that the participants of transitive sentences in Japanese have to be particularly discrete. Consider the following examples:

20)　*Takeshi　wa　jibun　o　　seme-ta.*
　　　Takeshi　TOP　oneself　ACC　blame-PST
　　　'Takeshi blamed himself.'

21)　*Hito　　wa　　kane　o　　hoshi-gar-u.*
　　　people　TOP　money　ACC　want-3P.EXP-PRS
　　　'People want money.'

The existence and acceptability of uncontroversially transitive sentences such as 20 – containing a reflexive object – and 21 – containing two very non-discrete NPs – shows that there is no minimum-value of discreteness required for the assignment of accusative case-marking. This does not entail, however, that the discreteness of the participants does not matter in regards to the transitivity of the clause which contains them. Indeed, according to Fujimura (2009), the discreteness of the participants can affect the choice of case-marker they are assigned. Consider the following examples:

22) ??*Yamada-san   no   musuko   ga   koroshi-ta-i.*
       Mr.Yamada   GEN   son   NOM   kill-DESID-PRS
    'I want to kill Mr. Yamada's son.'

23) *Hito   ga   koroshi-ta-i.*
    person   NOM   kill-DESID-PRS
    'I want to kill someone.'   (judgments in original; ibid., 81)

While desideratives are generally acceptable with both nominative and accusative marking, Fujimura argues that nominative marking is somewhat unnatural when attached to very definite NPs. This explains the judgment that 22) is strange, while 23) is perfectly acceptable. While she does not suggest an alternative marking for 22), it is perhaps fair to assume that she thinks *o*-marking would be more natural (as this is the only feasible alternative). Additionally, she presents two sentences with the same participant-NPs, and seems to argue that the case marker affects how the sentences are interpreted:

24) *Kuruma o   uri-tai.*   (I want to personally sell my own car)
    car   ACC   sell-DESID-PRS

25) *Kuruma ga   uri-tai.*   (I want to sell cars as a profession)
    car   NOM   sell-DESID-PRS   (ibid., 81)

Fujimura suggests that the parenthesized translations on the right are the appropriate interpretations of the sentences on the left. This would seem to indicate that not only do very discrete participants trigger accusative marking, but accusative marking also triggers more discrete interpretations of the participants to which it attaches ('my car' is more discrete than 'cars'). If Fujimura's intuitions on this are to be trusted, there seems to be quite a good case for including participant discreteness as a transitivity-raising factor for Japanese.

3.2.5   Pre-existence of participants in Japanese

Although I have, unfortunately, been unable to find any research suggesting a link between the participants' pre-existence and transitivity, I believe that certain commonsensical observations can help cement this connection. One of these observations is the apparent non-existence of transitive clauses in which the subject is a product of the event. While there exist myriad intransitive predicates describing the 'bringing-about' of their subjects (*dekiru* 'be made', *arawareru* 'appear', *dekiagaru* 'get ready', etc.), transitive predicates expressing 'about-bringing' of the subject are – to my knowledge – nonexistent. This is perhaps obvious, as it is impossible (or at least very difficult) to conceive of an action initiated by a non-existent entity, which also brings about some sort of change in another entity. In regards to the pre-existence of the object, however, the evidence is somewhat less clear. There is no lack of transitive predicates (such as *tsukuru* 'create/make', *hatsumei-suru* 'invent', *yaku* 'bake'), whose objects are arguably products of the event. It should be noted, however, that many of these predicates do not involve the sudden appearance of the object out of thin air, but rather that the object is created through re-structuring other entities into new configurations (e.g. combining ingredients to *yaku* 'bake' a cake, or various electrical components to *tsukuru* 'make' a computer). To the best of my knowledge, there is no transitive verb paralleling intransitives such as *arawareru* 'appear', which is interpretable as something appearing out of nowhere.

3.2.6   Asymmetry in Japanese

Another factor Jacobsen (1992) describes as characteristic of transitive clauses is that the two NPs participate in a highly asymmetrical relationship, where one NP (the subject) dominates the other NP (the object). This is believed to stem from the similarity between this type of asymmetry, and the relationship of dominance of the subject over the object in prototypical transitive events (ibid., 52). This explains the transitivity of certain constructions such as the verb *kakomu* 'surround' in the following sentence:

26) *Jōheki   ga   machi o   kakonde-iru*
    castle.wall   NOM   town   ACC   surround-PROG
    'A castle wall surrounds the town.

Although there is no notion of volition, nor any clear indication of affectedness of the object (see section 3.2.9 below) in the clause above, the predicate nevertheless appears with

accusative marking, something which might be explained by the high degree of asymmetry between the two NPs. One way of assessing this kind of asymmetry of NPs in sentences is to have the NPs switch places and then see whether or not the sentence retains its original meaning. Consider the following examples:

27) *Kanako ga   tomodachi ni   at-ta.*
Kanako NOM friend   DAT meet-PST
'Kanako met a friend.'

28) *Tomodachi ga   Kanako ni   at-ta.*
Friend   NOM Kanako DAT meet-PST
'A friend met Kanako'

29) *Misaki ga   John o   nagut-ta.*
Misaki NOM John ACC punch-PST
'Misaki punched John.'

30) *John ga   Misaki   o   nagut-ta.*
John NOM Misaki   ACC punch-PST
'John punched Misaki.'

While the switching of the NPs in 27/28 results in sentences with nearly identical meaning, save for the perspective from which the event is viewed, switching the NPs in 29/30 radically changes the meaning of the sentence. From this, we can conclude that *au* 'meet' (or at least this case of the predicate) describes a highly symmetrical relationship between the participants, while *naguru* 'punch' profiles a more asymmetrical relation.

3.2.7   Volitionality in Japanese

One of the most important factors for transitivity in Japanese is whether or not the clause contains elements of volition. Japanese is generally stricter than other languages such as English in requiring intentional meaning in transitive expressions (Jacobsen 1992, 49). This might help explain the unacceptability of inanimate entities as subjects in transitive constructions (see 3.2.1), since inanimate entities are conceptually incapable of volitionally acting upon other entities. The unacceptability of (low-volition) sentences like 11) and 12) above might thus provide some support for volition as a transitivity-increasing factor.

Evidence for volition as a transitivity-raising factor can also be found by comparing differently marked predicates. Comparing emotional predicates and perception verbs, Jacobsen argues that the relation between predicates like *miru* 'look at' and *mieru* 'be visible'

is similar to that of *konomu* 'like' and *suki* 'like', glossing them in English as "look at/be visible" and "like (by choice)/like (involuntarily)". The nature of the difference between the predicates – the former of which appear in transitive constructions and the latter (usually) in intransitive ones – is thus one of intentionality; whether or not there is a conscious choice to undergo the action described by the predicate (Jacobsen 1992, 31). Although Jacobsen does not comment upon this himself, it is worth noting that while the A/NAs which are the subject of this thesis exhibit a NOM/ACC case-alternation, their verbal counterparts (*suku* 'like', *kirau* 'hate' and *hossuru* 'want') only appear with the accusative marking. If Jacobsen's analysis of the volitionality of these predicates is correct, it would seem that the more volitional pattern also exhibits a higher degree of transitivity. He further mentions the verbs *matsu* 'wait' and *sagasu* 'look for' as examples of canonically transitive verbs with a high degree of volitionality. Unlike the A/NAs and perceptual verbs such as *mieru* 'see/be visible' and *kikoeru* 'hear/be heard', these highly volitional verbs always appear in canonically transitive patterns (despite exhibiting a very low degree of object-affectedness), suggesting that the notion of the action being a conscious choice correlates well with highly transitive structures.

3.2.8   Energy direction in Japanese

I believe there to be three felicitous ways of assessing the explanatory value of (subject→object) energy direction as a transitivity-increasing factor in Japanese. These all include showing that sentences which imply unidirectional subject→object energy transfer are more likely to be marked transitively than sentences which: 1. imply object→subject energy transfer, 2. imply bilateral (subject→object *and* object→subject) energy transfer, and 3. do not imply energy transfer at all.

One can perhaps say that the directionality of the energy-transfer expressed by most Japanese transitive verbs takes the form [subject→object]. Typical transitive verbs such as *kowasu* 'break-TR', *yaburu* 'rip' and *naguru* 'punch' all involve energy directed from the subject towards the object (e.g *kare wa kabin o kowashita* 'he broke the vase'). If we compare these predicates with other predicates such as *odoroku* 'be surprised' which can also take two participants, we observe a difference in case-marking:

31) *Kare   wa   tomodachi   o   nagut-ta.*
    he   TOP friend   ACC   punch-PST
    'He punched his friend.'

32) *Kare   wa   tomodachi no   kōdō   ni   odoroi-ta.*[22]
    he   TOP friend   GEN behavior DAT be.surprised-PST
    'He was surprised by his friend's behavior.'

We see that while the typical transitive predicate *naguru* 'punch' – which involves subject→object energy transfer – appears with accusative marking, the *odoroku* 'be surprised' predicate assigns the source of the energy (*tomodachi no kōdō* 'friend's behavior') the dative case-marker *ni*. Note that the transitive variant of this predicate (*odorokasu* 'surprise') exhibits canonical transitive marking. There might, however, be some disagreement as to how to conceptualize *odoroku* 'be surprised' sentences. Although the object→subject interpretation might seem plausible, one should also note that it could potentially go the other way (subject→object), if the (indirect) object is conceptualized as a goal, rather than a source (e.g. surpised *at* vs. surprised *by*).[23] For this reason, I will present a second type of construction which expresses object→subject energy transfer: passives. In Japanese, passives are generally formed by 'promoting' the object of a transitive sentence to a subject, and then rendering the original subject as a dative-marked NP:

33) *Misaki wa   John o   nagut-ta.*
    Misaki TOP John ACC punch-PST
    'Misaki punched John.'

34) *John   wa   Misaki ni   nagur-are-ta.*
    John   TOP Misaki DAT   punch-PASS-PST
    'John was punched by Misaki.'

Both of these sentences describe the same 'objective' situation, only differing in regards to construal (particularly in regards to the topicality of the elements) (see sections 2.2.3 and 2.4.1 of Chapter 2). The main difference between the two sentences is that the most prominent entity (the subject) is the *agentive participant* in 33), while the subject is the *patient* in 34). What I would like to point out is that when the subject is changed into a patient (meaning that the energy direction is reversed, so that the source of the energy-transfer is the entity that is not the subject, the case-marker assigned by the verb also changes from accusative to dative, rendering the clause intransitive. If the sentences above are indeed differentiated only by the energy direction (*from* subject vs. *towards* subject), this seems to indicate that transitivity and subject→object energy transfer are closely linked.

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[22] cf. *Kare wa tomodachi o odorokashita* 'He surprised his friend'.

[23] Native speakers consulted in conjunction with this thesis have expressed differing intuitions about the directionality of the energy-transfer expressed by the *odoroku*-verb.

The typical transitive predicates also contrast sharply with predicates like *tatakau* 'fight', which do not imply unidirectional energy-transfer from subject to object (or N$_1$ to N$_2$), but rather *bidirectional energy-transfer*, in the sense that the two NPs attempt to elicit change in the each other:

35) *Kare   wa   kabin   o   kowa-shi-ta.*
    he   TOP   vase   ACC   break-TR-PST
    'He broke the vase'.

36) *Kare   wa   teki   to   tatakat-ta.*
    he   TOP   enemy COM   fight-PST
    'He fought with his enemy.'

Note, here, that while the typical transitive verb *kowasu* 'break' (also *yaburu* 'rip' and *naguru* 'punch') take the accusative case-marker *o*, the more symmetrical *tatakau* 'fight' predicate takes the comitative *to* (*with* in English). A similar phenomenon can be observed in the differences between plain verbs and verbs appearing with the auxiliary *-au* 'V one another' which expresses mutual action. Consider the following sentences:

37) *Kare   wa   kanojo   o   shikkari to   dai-ta.*
    he   TOP   her   ACC   tightly   hold-PST
    'He held her tightly.

38) *Kare   wa   kanojo to   daki-at-ta.*
    he   TOP   her   COM   hold-one.another-PST
    'They (he and she) held each other.'

Once again, we observe that when the energy-transfer is bidirectional rather than unidirectional, the non-transitivity-related *to* case-marker is preferred. This strongly suggests that implied unidirectional energy transfer heightens a clause's transitivity.

3.2.9   Object affectedness in Japanese

The last factor - *object affectedness* – also seems to figure into transitivity in Japanese. To illustrate this, Jacobsen (1992) makes use of the examples *rouka o hashiru* 'run down the hall' and *rouka de hashiru* 'run in the hall' and argues that the conceptual difference in the two sentences is that the object is more completely traversed in the accusatively (*o-*)marked sentence (ibid., 32). According to Jacobsen, the first sentence describes a situation in which the entire corridor is traversed, while in the locatively (*de-*)marked sentence, the subject merely moves from point A to point B *within* the corridor. Although the 'object' in these two

sentences (the corridor) does not appear to be 'affected' by the action in the strictest sense of the word, Jacobsen argues that the transitive marking on the first sentence occurs because it parallels the "'total' affectedness of the object in prototypical cases" (ibid., 33). An apparent conceptual link to the transitive prototype thus seems to increase the transitivity of the clause (c.f. section 2.5 of Chapter 2), even though there seems to be a significant divergence from said prototype.

Additionally, Fujimura (2009) observed that there are differences in the preference for nominative/accusative markings with desideratives, depending on the degree of affectedness of the object. Consider the following examples:

39) *Oya   no   kao   ?ga/o   bunnaguri-ta-i.*
    parents   GEN   face   NOM/ACC   sock-DESID-PRS
    'I want to sock my parents in the face.'

40) *Oya   no   kao   ga/?o   mi-ta-i.*
    parents   GEN   face   NOM/ACC   see-DESID-PRS
    'I want to see my parents' faces'   (judgments in original; ibid., 81)

The object (*oya no kao* 'parents' faces') of the two sentences above is arguably more affected in the former than in the latter, because being punched in the face has a significant higher influence on one than merely being looked at. This, Fujimura argues, has consequences for the choice of case-marker used with the 'object'-NP. While the sentence in which the object is most overly affected (39) is most natural with accusative-marking, the sentence in which the object is less overly affected (40) seems to be most acceptable with the nominative.

Lastly, some auxiliaries such as -*kakaru* 'come at', which de-emphasize object affectedness, seem to lead to differences in object marking. Consider the following sentences:

41) *Boku   wa   kare   o   nagut-ta.*
    I   TOP   him   ACC   punch-PST
    'I punched him.'

42) *Boku wa   kare ni   naguri-kakat-ta.*   *(cf.* Boku wa kare o nagurikakatta)*
    I   TOP him   DAT   punch-come.at-PST   (my judgment)
    'I punched at him.'

The point to be made here is that while the sentence with the plain past verb *nagutta* 'punch' appears with accusative marking, the addition of the auxiliary *kakaru* 'come at' results in dative marking. This is perhaps due to the fact that it is not necessarily implied that the subject (*boku* 'I') was able to make physical contact with – and thereby prompt a change in –

the object (*kare* 'him'), thereby lowering the 'object-affectedness' of the sentence. This also has the same effect in the English versions of the sentences, illustrated by the presence of the preposition 'at' between the verb and the object.

3.3   Summary

In this chapter, we have seen how features of the transitive prototype help explain the accusative marking of the objects of several disparate Japanese predicates. From the discussion above, it would appear that all the transitivity-criteria have some degree of explanatory value in accounting for the various case-marking patterns exhibited by Japanese. While I have not been able to assign any relative weight to the various factors (e.g. stating which ones are the most important), I believe that I have successfully demonstrated that they all seem to have some degree of significance. Although most of the effects are (expectedly) similar to those found in English, there were also some cross-linguistic discrepancies, such as the greater relative importance of *participant role* (manifested in the common unacceptability of inanimate transitive subjects) and *volitionality* in Japanese. I believe this discussion can serve as a foundation on which to base the assessment of transitivity of Japanese sentences with adjectives and nominal adjectives, as I will be doing in Chapters 6 and 7.

4 On the nature of *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii*

4.0 Purpose of the chapter

In the previous chapter, I made use of various examples to illustrate the explanatory power of Langacker's (1991b) transitivity criteria for overt transitive marking in Japanese. This was mainly done by contrasting *verbs* whose NPs appear with various case-markings. In a thesis discussing a phenomenon pertaining to one adjective and two nominal adjectives, it might appear strange that so much time is allotted to discussing verbs. The reason for this, however, is also precisely what makes the phenomenon examined in this thesis so interesting – in languages such as English and Japanese, transitivity is strongly associated with verbs, whereas adjectives and nominal adjectives are usually considered intransitive (Shibatani 2001, 195).[24] Such a statement, however, has little value unless one is familiar with the categories to which it pertains. This chapter is therefore dedicated to providing a short rundown of what exactly characterizes adjectives and nominal adjectives, as well as showing how the three predicates discussed in this thesis significantly diverge from other members of their respective categories. I also make the argument that the distinction between adjectives/nominal adjectives and verbs is not as clear cut as one might originally assume.

4.0.1 Structure of the Chapter

This chapter is separated into three major parts. In the first part, corresponding to section 4.1, I address the terminology used to describe the category of "nominal adjective", making the case that this is the term which best illustrates the category. In the second part, spanning sections 4.2 through 4.2.2, I deal with the semantics of these lexical categories. Here, I demonstrate that there is no significant semantic divide between the two categories (As and NAs) (4.2.1), but make the case that there are significant internal differences between predicates of the same category (e.g. between different NAs) (4.2.2). In the third part – made up of sections 4.3 through 4.5 – I address some other topics related to A/NAs in general, and to the three predicates (*suki, kirai*, and *hoshii*) in particular. I first present the etymological

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[24] Indeed, scholars such as Jackendoff (1977) and van Riemsdijk (1983) believe it to be a universal that adjectives do not assign accusative case (the most robust marker of transitivity in Japanese) to their complements (Yamakido 2005, 37).

origin of the three predicates (4.3), arguing that they are related to transitive verbs, before moving on to discussing their subsumption under the category of "stative predicates" (4.4). Lastly, in section 4.5, I argue that while the prototypical instances of A/NAs are semantically quite different from the prototypical instances of verbs, there are nevertheless cases in which the two categories approximate each other, rendering the boundaries between them fuzzy.

4.1   "Nominal adjectives" or "adjectival nominals"?

Various linguists make use of different terminology in referring to predicates such as *suki* 'like' and *kirai* 'dislike'. Some scholars call them "adjectival nominals" (Shibatani 2001), others "nominal adjectives" (Kuno 1973; Uehara 1998; 2003; Mano 2004; Yamakido 2005), while others still refer to them simply as "adjectives" (Caluianu 2009). As the reader has likely noticed – seeing as the term has been used extensively in the preceding three chapters – I have chosen to follow scholars such as Uehara and Yamakido in making use of the "nominal adjectives" term. I considered the last of the three options above – "adjectives" – to be rather easily dismissible, because it precludes distinguishing predicates like these from 'true adjectives' such as *hoshii* 'want'. The choice between the former two options, however, required somewhat more consideration. However, it is generally the case that, in a given English noun phrase, the lattermost noun is the one allotted the most prominence – a 'food truck' is a type of truck, and not a type of food, and 'desk lamp' describes a type of lamp rather than a type of desk. As such, the term "adjectival nominal" construes the predicates as a type of nominal with adjective-like features, while the term "nominal adjective" construes them as adjectives with noun-like features. In a sense, the choice between these terms is therefore dependent on whether one considers them primarily as nominals, or primarily as adjectives. In regards to semantic aspects, nominal adjectives are more similar to adjectives, in the sense that they usually describe features, properties, or even something akin to processes (see section 4.2.2). Because of this, I have chosen to make use of the "nominal adjective" term here.

4.2 Adjectives and nominal adjectives

In the following sub-sections, I discuss the semantics of these two word-classes. Understanding the semantics of the two classes is essential in following the analysis of the transitivity of the predicates in the following chapters.

4.2.1 Semantics of adjectives and nominal adjectives 1: inter-category comparison

The general view on any semantic difference between As and NAs seems to be that "the conceptual difference between the two is non-existent and that membership of the two categories is arbitrary and not predictable from its meaning" (Uehara 1998, 180). To illustrate this, consider the following list, slightly edited from Yamakido (2005, 25):

	Adjectives		vs.	Nominal adjectives	
a.	*utsukushi-i*	'beautiful'		*kirei-na*	'pretty, clean'
b.	*abuna-i*	'dangerous, risky'		*kiken-na*	'dangerous, risky'
c.	*yasashi-i*	'easy, simple'		*kantan-na*	'easy, simple, brief'
d.	*uma-i*	'good'		*jōzu-na*	'skillfull, good'
e.	*muzukashi-i*	'difficult, hard'		*konnan-na*	'difficult, hard, troublesome'

This table shows no significant systematic difference between the meaning components of the adjectives and the nominal adjectives. Additionally, to further cement the claim that there is no clear semantic divide, I will point out that there exist predicates which can behave both as adjectives and nominal adjectives, without a significant change in meaning. Among these are *ōki-i /ōki-na* 'big', *chiisa-i/chiisa-na* 'small', and *yawaraka-i/yawaraka-na* 'soft'. Although the two word-classes exhibit diverging syntactic patterns, there does not seem to be any significant semantic distinction between the classes as a whole. In regards to the hypothesis tested in this thesis – that the degree of transitivity is a significant factor in the observed case-alternation with the predicates – this means that we should not necessarily expect differences between *hoshii* and *suki* and *kirai* solely on the basis of them being members of different word-classes.

4.2.2 Semantics of adjectives and nominal adjectives 2: intra-category semantic differences

Despite there being no clear-cut semantic divide between adjectives and nominal adjectives, there seems to be a significant difference between the three predicates considered in this thesis, and more typical ones like those provided above. Let me present some examples and clarify what I mean by this:

1) *Ano   hito   wa   kirei   da.*
   that   person   TOP   pretty   COP
   'That person is pretty.'

2) *Ano   kuruma   wa   kakkoi-i.*
   that   car   TOP   cool-PRS
   'That car is cool.'

3) *Boku   wa   ano   hito   ga/?o   suki/kirai   da.*
   I   TOP   that   person   NOM/ACC   like/dislike   COP
   'I like/dislike that person / As for me, that person is likable/dislikable.'

4) *Boku   wa   ano   kuruma   ga/?o   hoshi-i.*
   I   TOP   that   car   NOM/ACC   want-PRS
   'I want that car / As for me, that car is desirable.'

The interpretation of the two first examples is relatively straightforward: the nominal adjective (*kirei* 'pretty') and adjective (*kakkoii* 'cool') describe features of the nominal they follow (*hito* 'person', and *kuruma* 'car', respectively). The predicate thus tells us something about the features of the NP. As for the two latter examples, however, it is more challenging to provide a satisfying explanation of what is going on, as evident from the English translations provided below the originals. While translation norms would support the first translation ("N$_1$ Vs N$_2$"), [25] analyzing Japanese based on how it is translated in English is arguably not a very felicitous approach. While a native English-speaker might utter 3)'s first translation in the same situation as a native Japanese speaker would utter 3), it is not entirely clear that the semantic content is identical between the two. On the other hand, a more 'adjective-like' interpretation in line with the former two examples would perhaps fit the second suggested translation: "As for N$_1$, N$_2$ is A". However, it is not trivially true that this interpretation is correct, either. Whether to interpret the situation as "As for N$_1$, N$_2$ exhibits characteristic A", or, "N$_1$ experiences A about N$_2$ (N$_1$ Vs N$_2$)" is difficult, and although these interpretations might seem similar, they are actually quite different. One could of course argue

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[25] See, for instance, the entries for *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* in the Medium Sized Progressive Japanese-English dictionary (n.d. a,b,c,)

that also other adjectives (such as *kirei* 'pretty' and *kakkoii* 'cool') require an experiencer: beauty is in the eye of the beholder, so to speak. Different people have different experiences of what is beautiful, cool, difficult or dangerous, and objects and situations cannot be described in these ways unless someone experiences them as such. In this scenario, the two former sentences (1 and 2) might also be interpreted as "As for SPEAKER, N₁ exhibits characteristic A". I would argue, however, that there is still a difference between the two former and the two latter examples above. Consider the following exchanges:

5) **Person A:**   *Ano   hito   wa   kirei   da.*
                 that   person TOP   pretty   COP
                 'That person is pretty.'
    Person B: *Iya,   kirei   ja-nai   yo.*
                 no   pretty COP-NEG   PTCL
                 'No, he/she isn't pretty'

6) **Person A:**   *Ano hito   ga/?o   suki/kirai   da.*
                 that person NOM/ACC   like/dislike   COP
                 '(I) like/dislike that person / (As for me,) that person is likable/dislikable.'
    Person B: *??Iya, suki/kirai ja-nai   yo.*
                 no   like/dislike COP-NEG PTCL
                 'No, (you) don't like/dislike that person / No, (as for you,) that person isn't likable/dislikable.'   (my judgments)

While the first exchange seems perfectly natural, the second exchange is somewhat dubious. This is likely because, while 5) only makes overt reference to the characteristics of the first nominal (*ano hito* 'that person'), 6) also describes something about its omitted 'I' subject (here corresponding to the speaker). The negation of Person A's statement in 6) appears strange, because one would not expect Person B to have a clearer understanding of the inner life of Person A, than Person A him-/herself. On the other hand, the negation in 5) is unproblematic, because it is interpreted as Person B challenging Person A's interpretation of the *'objective' world*, and not Person B's *inner world*. Of course, this evidence is not decisive enough to conclude that the predicates *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* are more subjective than, for example, *kirei*, but at the very least, it appears that the experiencer is more prominent in these predicates. The differing degree of prominence of this additional experiencer entity is similar to the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs, in the sense that the former only profiles an entity undergoing a (spontaneous) change (e.g. *kabin ga kowareta* 'the vase broke'), while the latter also profiles a 'causer' who brought about the change in the entity (e.g. *kabin o kowashita* '(he/she) broke the vase'. Insofar as the prominence of the participants is concerned, then, these predicates are arguably more similar to transitive verbs than other members of their word-classes.

4.3   Transitive verbal counterparts

On the subject of transitive verbs, no account of the nature of the three predicates (*suki* 'like'*,* *kirai* 'dislike' and *hoshii* 'want') would be complete without making reference to their transitive verbal counterparts. The three predicates all have corresponding verbs in *suku* 'like', *kirau* 'dislike' and *hossuru* 'want', respectively. Unlike the A/NAs, these predicates typically figure in constructions with canonically transitive marking on their NPs. Although the semantic content of the A/NAs and the verbs is relatively similar (also evidenced by the English glossing above), there are some who argue that there are minute distinctions between them in regards to controllability and volitionality (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3 of Chapter 5). The great amount of overlap in regards to both word-form and semantic content is probably due to the fact that the words are likely etymologically related. Indeed, Uehara (1998, 222), points out that the NAs *suki* and *kirai* are the stem-form of the verbs *suku* and *kirau*, remarking that the stem-form is the minimal way of nominalizing verbs. He further posits that the NAs were originally verbs, became nouns when nominalized by the stem-form, and then changed to NAs from there (ibid., 223-224). The *hoshii-hossuru* connection is somewhat more unclear, but it would seem that in this case the adjective actually preceded the verb. The adjective appears in the Manyōshū and the Ryōiki as early as in the 8th century, whereas the first recorded use of the verb seems to date back to *Iroha Jiruishō* from around the 12th century (JapanKnowledge, n.d.a;b). It should be noted, however, that not all of the verbal predicates are as commonly used as their adjectival variants in modern Japanese. The *suku* 'like' predicate, especially, is increasingly rare in its plain form. This is discussed further in section 6.2.5 of chapter 6.

4.4   A/NAs as stative predicates

In addition to belonging to the syntactic categories of A/NA, the predicates discussed in this thesis are typically subsumed under the semantic category of "stative predicates" (Kuno 1973, 136–137; Jarkey 1999, 197; Shibatani 2001, 312). This category of predicates is typically characterized as expressing situations which persist over longer periods of time, rather than

referring to events which occur at specific temporal locations (Caluianu 2005, 3). This is evident by the fact that they are generally not able to co-occur with time adverbials:[26]

7) ??*Kinō   Tarō wa Maria ga   suki/kirai   dat-ta.*
    yesterday Tarō TOP Maria NOM like/dislike COP-PST
   'Yesterday, Tarō liked Maria.'   (judgment in original, ibid,. 2)

8) ?*Kinō,   boku wa   kodomo ga   hoshi-katta.*
    yesterday I   TOP   children NOM want-PST
   'Yesterday, I wanted children.'   (my judgment)[27]

Although there are no grammatical constraints which prohibit sentences like those above, they are somwehat unacceptable due to the semantics of the predicates. The subsumption of these predicates into the "stative predicates" category entails that they are semantically similar to other stative predicates such as desideratives (e.g. *nomitai* 'want to drink'), potentials (e.g. *nomeru* 'can drink') and perceptual verbs (e.g. *mieru* 'be visible'). What is particularly interesting about this class of predicates is that they appear in *non-canonical* NOM-NOM (TOP-NOM) constructions (ref. 3.2.3 and 3.2.4).

4.5   A/NAs and Verbs

Lastly, I would like to briefly discuss the relationship between A/NAs and verbs. The defining difference between (prototypical) A/NAs and (prototypical) verbs, is that A/NAs describe *properties* (Jacobsen 1992, 120) while verbs describe *processes*. Typical A/NAs such as *utsukushii/kirei* 'beautiful/pretty' describe a property of the NP over which they predicate, while typical verbs such as *kowasu* 'break-TR' and *hashiru* 'run' describe processes undergone by their NP-participants. As such, *kare wa hashitta* 'he ran' describes a process in which the NP (*kare* 'he') undergoes a change in regards to his position in a given space, while '*kanojo wa utsukushikatta/kirei datta* 'she was beautiful' describes a feature that the NP (*kanojo* 'she') possessed at some point in time. The V and A/NA categories can, however, be said to converge, in the sense that non-prototypical instances of both classes can resemble each other. For instance, the A/NAs which are the subject of this thesis might be interpreted as mental *processes* of emotions of the N_1s liking/disliking/wanting 'moving towards' the N_2.

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[26] Note, however, that this only applies to time-adverbials which express a relatively short time-interval. The predicates are perfectly acceptable with time-expressions such as *kōkō-jidai* 'in high school' and *kodomo no toki* 'when I was a child'.

[27] The acceptability of this sentence does, however, depend on the nature of the N_2, as a sentence such as *kinō, boku wa chokoreeto ga hoshikatta* 'Yesterday, I wanted some chocolate' is significantly more acceptable.

On the other hand, certain types of verbs, such as potentials, perceptual verbs and stative verbs (e.g. *dekiru* 'be able to', the aforementioned *mieru* 'be visible', and *wakaru* 'to understand') might receive a property-like interpretation. Additionally, the progressive versions of more traditionally active verbs (e.g. *yotteiru* 'to get drunk-PROG' and *shindeiru* 'to die-PROG') can potentially also be interpreted as describing features of their nominals (in part evidenced by the fact that they can be glossed in English as the adjectives 'drunk' and 'dead'). In regards to conceptualization, therefore, we see that the boundary between the two categories is somewhat fuzzy. If syntactic phenomena such as case-marking are dependent on conceptualization – as argued in 2.2.3 – belonging to the A/NA-category should therefore not necessarily preclude transitive interpretations and transitive marking.

4.6   Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a brief description of some aspects of adjectives and nominal adjectives. As we have seen, there appears to be no clear semantic divide between adjectives and nominal adjectives (4.2.1). The meanings of predicates such as *abunai* 'dangerous, risky' and *kiken na* 'dangerous, risky' seem relatively similar despite belonging to different word-categories. Additionally, the (relatively) large amount of predicates which are able to function as both adjectives and nominal adjectives (e.g. *yawaraka-i/yawaraka na* 'soft') also help cement the similarity between As and NAs. In spite of the similarity between the word-classes, however, there are significant differences between different predicates within the same class, most notably in regards to the prominence of the *experiencer* participant. While the predicates which are the topic of this thesis (*suki* 'like', *kirai* 'dislike' and *hoshii* 'want') strongly profile two entities – an entity doing the liking/disliking/wanting, and an entity being liked/disliked/wanted – this first entity (the experiencer) is invoked to a much lesser extent in predicates such as *kirei* 'pretty' and *utsukushii* 'beautiful', which can possibly be interpreted as somewhat more 'objective' characterizations of the nominals over which they predicate. The semantic features of these three predicates seem, therefore, to be closer (than other A/NAs) to those of transitive verbs. These features, and their similarity to the transitive prototype, are more thoroughly explored in the next chapter. Lastly, I argued that the semantic distinction between A/NAs and verbs is not completely clear-cut, and demonstrated how the boundary between the two exhibits fuzziness-tendencies.

5 Previous research

5.0   Purpose of the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the previous research conducted on both the NOM-ACC case-alternation, as well as the nature of the three predicates with which it occurs (*suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii*). Although the primary intention of the chapter is to present previous views, these views are also discussed and considered in regard to the hypothesis (research question) presented in Chapter 1. The chapter spans nearly 70 years of research, providing both a historical overview and a broad range of interpretations of the motivation for the case-alternation. The chapter is also intended to provide features and phenomena to be examined in the empirical studies in the following two chapters.

5.0.1   Structure of the Chapter

The chapter is separated into four different parts. In the first part, corresponding to section 5.1, I provide evidence that the case-alternation which is the topic of this thesis is not a completely novel phenomenon, with observed instances dating back several hundred years. In part two, encompassing sections 5.2 through 5.2.4, I discuss the most prominent generative studies conducted on the A/NAs in question, presenting the views of Tokieda (5.2.1), Kuno (5.2.2), and Shibatani (5.2.3). After this, I devote the third part – spanning sections 5.3 through 5.3.3 – to the analyses of more cognitively inclined scholars, addressing both the semantic nature of the predicates, and the observed case-alternation. The analyses presented are those of Makino (5.3.1), Jarkey (5.3.2), and Mano (5.3.3). In the final part, covering sections 5.4 and 5.4.1, I present one of the few empirical studies conducted on the case-alternation, namely that of Caluianu (2009).

5.1   Spread and use of the case-alternation

Before diving into the previous research conducted on the predicates and their case-alternation, I would like to provide a brief overview of the usage of accusatively marked N_2s with these predicates. In one of the earliest publications, Susumu Kuno (1973b, 49) remarks

that sentences where NAs occur with accusative marking are beginning to be used by the younger generation of Japanese speakers, and consequently does not devote much space to discussing the alternation. Additionally, Shibatani (1975, 478) also has the impression that these forms are more commonly used by younger people than those over 30. Indeed, the belief that accusative marking on adjectives and nominal adjectives is limited to the speech of younger generations seems to have been relatively prominent (Jarkey 1999, 200). While it might potentially be true that younger speakers use these forms more freely, it is wrong to assume that the case-alternation is a novel phenomenon. In fact, Shibatani (1978, 231) points out that accusative N_2s with predicates such as *hoshii* 'want' have been documented as far back as 1632, and presents sentences with both nominatively and accusatively marked N_2s from the Tokugawa period:

1) *Aa kane   ga   hyaku   ryō   hoshi-i.*
   ah   money   NOM   hundred   ryō[28]   want-PRS
   'Ah, I wish I had a hundred ryō.'

2) *Oume   o   hoshi-i   bakari de, ...*
   Oume   ACC   want-PRS   only   COP
   'I only want Oume.'   (Shibatani 1978, 231-232)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are also several instances of accusatively marked NPs with *suki* and *kirai* in contemporary literature, as well as in literature from the Shōwa-period. Additionally, looking at the corpus data to be analyzed in the following chapter reveals that the average age of users of accusative marking with these predicates is well over 50.[29] While older people might be overrepresented in this dataset, due to the sentences being gathered from books, it at least reveals that the use of accusatively marked N_2s with these types of stative predicates is not limited to younger speakers.

5.2   Generative analyses

Although I am working within the greater discipline of Cognitive Linguistics (as outlined in Chapter 2) in this thesis, no account of the previous research on this topic would be complete without looking at the foundation built by generative grammarians. Despite the fact that generativists and cognitivists interpret data in different ways, it is important to recognize that

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[28] Historical Japanese currency used before the adoption of the Yen.
[29] Note that age is only available for half of the BCCWJ-data set (e.g. the sentences gathered from literature) as the online forum data does not provide age of utterer/writer.

scholars such as Tokieda, Kuno, and Shibatani made meaningful contributions in gathering data and shedding light on several different phenomena. Additionally, analysing the data and arguments put forth by these scholars by applying a CL-framework can lead to new insight. The following sub-sections have therefore been dedicated to reviewing some of the most influential work on this topic made by those working within various varieties of Generative Grammar.

5.2.1   Tokieda (1941)

As early as in 1941, Tokieda observed that certain predicates such as *hoshii* differ semantically from other adjectives (Tokieda 1990, 374). Tokieda pointed out that while most adjectives tend to describe attributes of their NPs, these predicates rather represent subjective feelings of one NP aimed towards the other. Let us consider the following examples, slightly altered from Kuno (1973a), contrasting the two former with the two latter:

3) *Watashi*   *wa*   *kono*   *hon*   *no*   *suji*   *ga*   *omoshiro-i.*
   I   TOP   this   book   GEN   plot   NOM   interesting-PRS
   'I am fond of (find interesting) the plot of this book.'

4) *Kono*   *hon*   *no*   *suji*   *ga*   *omoshiro-i.*
   this   book   GEN   plot   NOM   interesting-PRS
   'It is the plot of this story that it interesting.'

5) *Watashi*   *wa*   *okane*   *ga*   *hoshi-i.*
   I   TOP   money   NOM   want-PRS
   'I want money.'

6) *Okane*   *ga*   *hoshii-i.*
   money   NOM   want-PRS
   '(I) want money.'   (Kuno 1973a, 91-92)

We see that *omoshiroi* 'interesting' can be interpreted as expressing subjective feelings towards the NP in 3, but in sentence 4, *omoshiroi* 'interesting' is rather describing an attribute of the book's plot. In contrast, *hoshii* 'want' implies subjective feelings towards the NP in both cases, and the interpretation of *only* describing a feature of the NP is not available. Although this contrast might not be one hundred percent clear, since the feature of 'interesting' also conceptually (although perhaps not overtly) implies someone to experience the interesting-*ness*, one could easily present another predicate, such as *atsui* 'hot' or *aoi* 'blue', for which an objective standard does actually exist (e.g. the presence/absence of thermal motion, a certain wavelength of light). Sentences such as *taiyō ga atsui* 'the sun is hot', for

instance, clearly describe a feature of the NP more than those such as *okane ga hoshii* '(I) want money' do. The consequence of this observation is perhaps that whether or not these adjectives express subjective feelings of objective characteristics is a question of *degree,* rather than a black/white distinction. In this context, the conclusion is that predicates such as *hoshii* (and *suki* and *kirai*) exist on the subjective end of this spectrum.

5.2.2 Kuno (1973a)

Like Tokieda, Kuno (1973a) also contrasts these predicates with other adjectives and nominal adjectives, but does so based on syntactic features rather than the interpretation of the predicates themselves. Kuno observes that the sentences in which these predicates appear most often contain two overt TOP/NOM-marked NPs, and attempts to analyze the function of these nominals. Although there are several constructions in Japanese where A/NAs appear with more than one TOP/NOM marked NP – notably the 'double subject construction' – Kuno argues that the predicates in question (*suki* and *hoshii* in Kuno's analysis) exhibit characteristics different from that of these other predicates. Notably, the sentences become elliptical with the removal of one of the NPs. Consider the following sentences:

7) *Bunmeikoku   ga   dansei no   heikin-jumyō   ga   mijika-i.*
   civilized.countries NOM   male   GEN average-life.span NOM short-PRS
   'It is the civilized countries that males' average life-span is short in.'
   (Double subject construction)

8) *Watakushi ga   eiga   ga   suki   desu.*
   I   NOM   movie NOM like   COP.POL
   'I like movies.'

9) *Dansei no   heikin-jumyō   ga   mijika-i.*
   male   GEN   average-life.span NOM   short-PRS
   'It is the males' average life-span that is short.'

10) *Eiga   ga   suki   desu.*
    movies NOM   like   COP
    '(I) like movies.'   (Kuno 1973a, 80)

Kuno points out that while the double subject construction in 7) yields a perfectly acceptable sentence even when the first NP (*bunmeikoku* 'civilized countries') is removed (sentence 9), the sentence with *suki* 'like' in 8) yields an incomplete elliptical sentence when the *watakushi* 'I' subject is removed (sentence 10).[30] This is evident from the English translation, as

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[30] This intuition is shared by Mano (2004, 10).

sentence 10) is still interpreted as "[missing NP] likes movies".[31] Although the type of examples used are very similar to those of Tokieda, Kuno's argument is built on the obligatory inclusion of two arguments (in this case TOP/NOM-marked NPs), and not on the subjective or objective interpretation of the predicates. Based on this analysis, Kuno refers to these particular predicates (*suki, kirai, hoshii* and *kowai* 'scary/fearful'), as "transitive adjectives and nominal adjectives" (Kuno 1973a, 82). He further goes on to state that the nominal particle *ga* is used for marking objects of stative predicates, and argues that the reason why we observe "non-canonical marking" (e.g. *ga* instead of *o*) is that these predicates express states and not actions. Based on this, it would seem that the NOM/ACC case-alternation observed with these predicates could be caused by the predicates' interpretation becoming less state-like and more event-like, as the accusative *o* marks the object of non-stative verbs. Indeed, Kuno himself comments on the fact that some derivations of these predicates – notably the *garu* forms[32] – occur exclusively with the accusative:

11) *John   wa   eiga   o/*ga   mita-gat-ta.*
    John   TOP movie ACC/*NOM   watch-3P.EXP-PST
    'John showed a sign of being anxious to see movies.'   (judgment in original, Kuno 1973, 84)

Kuno attributes this phenomenon to the fact that the addition of the -*garu* suffix changes the meaning of the adjective from an internal feeling into "outward manifestation of internal feeling" (Kuno 1973, 84). As such, the reason for the change in case-particle could be attributed to the heightened event-likeness of the sentence. Within Kuno's framework, the case-alternation which is the subject of this thesis does not seem so strange. If A/NAs are indeed transitive, and the particle *ga* is used to mark objects of transitive stative predicates, a more event-like interpretation of the predicates in question would logically entail that they are given the regular accusative transitivity-marker *o*. It would then simply be a case of previously irregularly-marked transitive predicates shifting to the regular marking.

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[31] Missing subjects usually default to the speaker, which is the reason for the (I) appearing in the translation of sentence 10.
[32] See section 3.2.2 of chapter 3.

5.2.3 Shibatani (2001 and 1978) (Generative/Cognitive)[33]

Shibatani (2001) seems to agree with Tokieda's (1941) and Kuno's (1973a) classifications of predicates such as *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* as deviating from the normal, canonical constructions of Japanese, and points out that predicates expressing psychological states often figure in non-canonical patterns cross-linguistically (Shibatani 2001, 311-312). He disagrees with both Kuno and Tokieda, however, in regard to the transitive[34] analysis of the A/NAs. Stating that he is "advancing the commonsensical hypothesis that adjectives and adjectival nominals are intransitive" (ibid., 325), Shibatani aims to show how these predicates are simply a special form of intransitive predication. His main argument is built around the claim that the N_2 functions not as an object, but rather that both NPs are subjects. To illustrate this difference in view, Kuno's, Tokieda's and Shibatani's analyses of sentences with this type of predicate are rendered below:

12) *Boku ga   eiga   ga   suki da.*
    I   NOM   movie NOM like   COP
    'I like movies.'

13) [*Boku ga   eiga   ga   suki da*]
    SUBJ   OBJECTIVE[35]   PRED   **(Tokieda)[36]**

14) [*Boku ga   eiga   ga   suki da*]
    SUBJ   OBJ   PRED   **(Kuno)**

15) [*Boku ga   eiga   ga   suki da*]
    Large SUBJ   Small SUBJ   PRED   **(Shibatani)**

Shibatani demonstrates the subject-likeness of the N_2 through showing that it exhibits several characteristics traditionally associated with subjects. Among these are the ability to trigger honorification, and the ability to antecede the reflexive pronoun *jibun* 'oneself'. He further states that the construction above is just a version of the double subject construction with which Kuno contrasted it, arguing that the elliptical nature of sentences such as 10) above is caused by the semantics of the predicates, in that they express subjective rather than objective

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[33] Shibatani began his career within the Generative framework, but his later research has taken on a more Cognitive tack. The articles which I am discussing here, however, seem to skew towards the Generative end of the spectrum, considering they mainly revolve around distributional features and diagnostics-tests.

[34] It is debatable whether Tokieda's (1941) analysis really conceives of the A/NAs as transitive, seeing as the term used is OBJECTIVE, rather than OBJECT. See the footnote below.

[35] In Tokieda's analysis, OBJECTIVE case (*taishō-kaku*) is used in sentences expressing psychological conditions, and is assigned to the element which elicits the emotional reaction undergone by the subject (Tokieda 1990, 374). Shibatani interprets this as an "object (goal) towards which subjective feelings are directed" (Shibatani 2001, 315)

[36] Tokieda does not explicitly mention the *suki*-predicate in his analysis – instead focusing on *hoshii* – but the observations made readily carry over to this predicate.

features. For Shibatani, the NP (*eiga* 'movie') in 10) functions as a subject, while the N$_1$ included in 8) specifies a domain in which 10) is true (Shibatani 2001, 332). He shows that the same tendency is present in traditional examples of the double subject construction:

16) *Zō   ga/wa   hana ga   naga-i.*
   elephant   NOM/TOP nose NOM   long-PRS
   'The elephant's nose is long / elephants have long noses'   (Shibatani 2001, 329)

17) *Ai   ga/wa   ano hito   ga   suki da.*
   Ai   NOM/TOP   that person   NOM   like   COP
   'Ai likes that person.'   (ibid., 337)

18) *Hana ga/wa   naga-i.*
   nose   NOM/TOP   long-PRS
   'A nose is long.'   (ibid., 330)

19) *??Ano hito   wa/ga   suki da.*
   that person   NOM/TOP   like COP
   'Like that person'[37]   (judgment in original, ibid., 337)

According to Shibatani, the sentences in 18) and 19) are not ungrammatical, but the strangeness is rather a consequence of the sentences' truth-values. Because not all noses are long, and because not everyone likes 'that person', the sentences in 18) and 19) require a domain in which their propositions hold true. In the case of 16) and 17), this domain is limited to *zō* 'elephants' and *Ai* 'Ai', respectively.

If we adhere to Shibatani's intransitive interpretation of the A/NAs, the reason for the case-alternation becomes less clear. If the predicates in question are intransitive, and merely predicate over the second subject-nominal – with the first specifying the domain in which the predication takes place – it is strange that such a subject should suddenly receive marking traditionally associated with objects. Shibatani briefly mentions the NOM/ACC alternation observed with *suki*, however, and speculates that this particular NA might be "couched in the canonical framework" (Shibatani 2001, 314). It is somewhat unclear what exactly Shibatani means by this, but it is worth noting that he – in contrasting the A/NAs with their verbal counterparts – mentions that the canonical constructions more often contain a larger degree of control or volitionality (ibid., 352). If the *suki* predicate is indeed "couched in the canonical framework", perhaps this means that it exhibits some of these same volitional characteristics. Shibatani does mention, however, that it is difficult to pinpoint a difference between nominatively and accusatively marked instances of *suki* (ibid., 315).

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[37] The translation here is more of a literal interpretation, rather than what a native-speaker would likely interpret them to mean.

In an earlier work (Shibatani 1978), Shibatani mentiones the NOM-ACC alternation in regard to a phenomenon he calls *ga-o-conversion*. In this article, he argues that the substitution of *o* for *ga* is part of a perceptual strategy to avoid ambiguity, and points out that *o*-marked objects are particularly common in sentences in which the object and the verb are separated by other elements, such as adverbials (ibid. 470). His claim is that an NP followed by a *ga* particle marks the beginning of a 'sentential clause', and that this can sometimes lead to perceived unacceptability of grammatically sound sentences such as the one below:

20) ??*Boku   ga   sushi ga   kimi   to   issho-ni   tabe-ta-i.*
     I   NOM   sushi NOM   you   COM   together-DAT eat-DESID-PRS
     'I want to eat sushi with you.'   (judgment in original, Shibatani 1975, 470)

The idea, then, is that ga-o-conversion is a tool to avoid such ambiguity – by substituting *o* for *ga*, the misleading analysis is avoided and the sentence becomes more natural:

21) *Boku   ga   sushi o   kimi to   issho-ni   tabe-ta-i.*
     I   NOM   sushi ACC   you   COM   together-DAT eat-DESID-PRS
     'I want to eat sushi with you.'   (my judgment)

While this theory seems to explain certain occurrences of the NOM-ACC pattern, it does not readily account for all (or even most) instances of the pattern. The explanatory value of this theory is assessed in the questionnaire of chapter 7 (particularly section 7.2.5).

5.3   Cognitive analyses

Having surveyed the most important generative analyses pertaining to these particular predicates, I now move on to examining some of the research conducted within the cognitive tradition.

5.3.1   Makino (1996)

In a similar vein to Shibatani (2001), Makino (1996) argues that the second NP in sentences such as 12) is indeed a subject. He aims to show this by appealing to the rule that the *ga* marking of subjects in dependent clauses can usually be interchanged with the genitive *no*, while this substitution is not typically acceptable with objects. Consider the following

examples, where 22) is a sentence with a subordinate subject, 23) is a sentence with an object, and 24) is a subordinate clause with *suki* and an N₂:

22) *Furansu ga/no   okonat-ta   kaku-jikken wa   tsuyoku hihan-sare-ta.*
    France   NOM/GEN conduct-PAST nuclear-test TOP strongly criticize-PASS-PAST
    'The nuclear test which France conducted was strongly criticized.'

23) *Boku   ga   shōsetsu   o/*no   kai-ta   riyū   wa   toku-ni   na-i.*
    I   NOM novel   ACC/GEN write-PAST reason TOP especially exist-NEG-PRS
    'There's no particular reason why I wrote (this) novel.'

24) *Dōryō   no   Yoshikawa   ga/no   suki   na   kanojo.*
    colleague GEN   Yoshikawa   NOM/GEN   like   COP   girl
    'The girl who likes my colleague Yoshikawa.'

As we can see, the nominative marking on the N₂ associated with *suki* is exchangeable with the genitive *no*, leading Makino to conclude that it is a subject (Makino 1996, 98). Unlike Shibatani, however, Makino believes there to be a semantic difference between nominatively and accusatively marked instances of these types of predicates. He argues that sentences in which the second NP (N₂) is nominatively marked exhibit a greater degree of spontaneity, and avers that sentences like 25) below are especially unacceptable with accusative marking:

25) *Boku   wa   kimi ga/?o   suki de   suki de   tamaranai-n-desu.*
    I   TOP you   NOM/ACC   like   COP like   COP unbearable-NMZ-COP
    'I like you so much I cannot bear it.'   (Judgment in original, Makino 1996, 99)

In the sentence above, the repetition of the NA *suki* and the inclusion of the adjective *tamaranai* 'unbearable' increase the spontaneity of the situation described by the sentence, and this leads speakers to prefer the nominative *ga* over the accusative *o* (Makino 1996, 99).

5.3.2   Jarkey (1999)

At odds with the interpretations of Shibatani and Makino above, Jarkey (1999) argues for a more straightforwardly transitive interpretation of sentences with predicates such as *suki*, seemingly based off Kuno's (1973a) analysis. Jarkey considers the NA-predicates in conjunction with stative verbs and other derivatives, such as *-tai* desideratives and potential forms, and argues that the case-alternation observed with these predicates is a direct consequence of the transitivity of the clauses in which they occur. In Shibatani's analysis above, these non-canonical constructions were interpreted as a special case of the intransitive double-subject construction, but in Jarkey's framework, it rather seems like they are a special

case of canonical *transitive* construction. The nominative marking most commonly associated with these predicates is not a result of their derivation from double-subject constructions, but rather a consequence of their clauses' generally low transitivity-values (Jarkey 1999, 206-207). Because clauses involving these predicates exhibit so few of the conceptual characteristics associated with transitivity, they are generally not marked as canonical transitive constructions despite containing two arguments (NPs). According to Jarkey: "in stative clauses which in some way exhibit more of the features of transitivity, the object[38] is more likely to be marked accusatively; in stative clauses which exhibit fewer of such features, the object is more likely to be marked nominatively" (ibid., 207). Jarkey also points out that the variance in case-marker is not likely to be motivated by any single transitivity-related factor, but rather by the combination of several different factors. It is also worth noting that Jarkey does not preclude other, syntax-related, factors as playing a part in accounting for the case-alternation. Factors such as distance between the object and the predicate, as well as the historical origin (e.g. native vs. Sino-Japanese) of the predicate are also believed to influence the choice of case-marker.

Although Jarkey's main hypothesis is that the case-alternation can be accounted for by looking at the existence of transitivity-raising factors, she believes some of these factors to be more influential than others. In particular, the three factors 1) 'the nature of the predicate'; 2) 'the degree of intention or control exhibited by the subject'; and 3) 'the degree of individuation of the object' are thought to be important, with 1 and 2 being the most significant factors (Jarkey 1999, 212). Because the first factor pertains to differences between different predicates, and not between clauses with the same predicates, it will not be examined in detail here. The two other factors, however, are tied to the NOM/ACC alternation 'within' predicates, and therefore warrant a closer look. As for the second factor, 'the degree of intention or control exhibited by the subject', Jarkey argues that accusative marking is more preferable the more volition is expressed by the clause in which it figures. She uses examples from two novels by Shinichi Hoshi (1971), and asserts that the choice of accusative marking with the *suki*-predicate in these cases can be explained by looking at the intentional nature of the 'actions'. The accusative marking is invoked by this intentional nature, despite there being

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[38] The term 'object' is kept in direct quotations, but the NPs in question are referred to as N_2s in the remaining discussion. This is because there is still a significant amount of controversy surrounding the correct term for the second NPs of *suki/kirai/hoshii*-clauses, of which an exhaustive discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis.

no overt intention-raising morpheme in the clauses (Jarkey 1999, 218).[39] This argument is also strengthened by showing that similar stative predicates exhibit the same tendencies. For desiderative predicates, which exhibit a case-alternation to the A/NAs, Jarkey presents the following examples:

26) *Okashi   o/?ga   kai-ta-i.*
    sweets   ACC/NOM   buy-DESID-PRS
    'I want to buy some sweets.'

27) *Okashi   ?o/ga   tabe-ta-i.*
    sweets   ACC/NOM   eat-DESID-PRS
    'I want to eat some sweets.'   (judgments in original, Jarkey (1999, 207)

Jarkey's argument is that while 27) simply expresses a "spontaneous feeling of desire", 26) refers not only to the feeling of wanting to purchase sweets, but also an intention to actually do so. This would mean that 26) contains a more marked presence of volition, leading to a higher acceptability of the accusative marking. Jarkey also provides similar examples for potential forms of verbs.

In regard to the third factor, Jarkey argues that accusative marking seems to be associated with more individuated, definite NPs (e.g. *anata* 'you', and *kono chansu* 'this chance'), while nominatively marked NPs are more often less specific and individuated (e.g. *tema* 'trouble', and *daiteitaku* '(a) large residence'). Although the number of sentences used to make this argument is relatively low (12), the accusative-marking+individuated-NP correlation seems to be relatively clear within the data.

5.3.3   Mano (2004)

Working within Radical Construction Grammar, as advocated by Croft (2001), Mano (2004) suggests that non-canonical constructions (in which these predicates figure), occupy a sort of liminal category between intransitive and transitive constructions. She argues that the differences between non-canonical constructions and the canonical transitive/intransitive constructions can be expressed by appealing to the concept of *conceptual space*. She presents a two dimensional model, with "time stability (*jikanteki-jizokusei*)" and "amount of prominent participants (*takuritsu-shita sanyosha no kazu*)" as the two axes, and argues that these are the

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[39] Due to the length of the sentences, as well as the large amount of contextual information needed to show the reasoning behind Jarkey's inferences, the examples have been omitted here. For readers interested in the details of the analysis, I refer to pages 216–219 of Jarkey (1999).

main variables explaining the differences between the various constructions. She further points out that most non-canonical constructions are state-like (which is typical for intransitives), but also contain 2 prominent participants (which is typical for transitive constructions) (Mano 2004, 8). This results in the following distribution:

Figure 5-1   Conceptual space of non-canonical constructions

Time-stability Number of prominent participants	LOW← Time Stability →HIGH			
	Event			State
2		Psychological state (V) NOM-ACC	Psychological state （A/ NA ） **NOM-NOM**	Possession (possession・ability) **DAT-NOM** Judgment (necessity)
			Psychological state （A/ NA ） **DAT-NOM**	Judgment **DAT-NOM**
		NOM Stative intransitive sentence		
1				

What separates the non-canonical constructions from transitive ones is thus the stability of the event/state expressed by the construction. She also notes that there is a large overlap between predicates which undergo the NOM-ACC alternation, and predicates which yield elliptical sentences when one of the NPs is omitted (similar to Kuno's view). Mano further makes use of Givon's (1984) argument that emotional expressions express *temporary states*, and are as such less time-stable than expressions of possession (e.g. *aru* 'be', *dekiru* 'be able to', *jōzu* 'skillful') and judgments (e.g. *muzukashii* 'difficult', *kantan* 'easy'). This is backed up by the fact that they are more acceptable together with expressions like *isshun* 'for a moment' (Mano 2004, 16). It follows from the lower time-stability of these expressions that they are closer to events, and thus also closer to the transitive prototype (Mano 2004, 16). In line with Shibatani, she also supposes that the main difference between the verbal and adjectival versions of the predicates (e.g. between *kirau* and *kirai*) is that the verbal counterparts contain an element of controllability (*seigyo-kanō*), and argues that speakers make use of the verbal versions when they wish to express this nuance (Mano 2004, 17).

5.4   Previous empirical studies

The analyses presented above are mainly based on the intuitive linguistic knowledge of the writers. They make use of their own acceptability judgments, and their personal interpretation of nominatively/accusatively marked sentences. This section is devoted to examining one of the few existing empirical studies – Caluianu (2009) – pertaining to the case alternation observed with A/NAs.

5.4.1   Caluianu (2009)

Drawing on both scholars within the Generative and Cognitive tradition, Caluianu (2009) performs one of the first empirical studies on the case-alternation with nominal adjectives. Her paper is based on the observations made by several of the scholars above, including Shibatani, Makino and Mano. Caluianu's study is separated into three parts: 1. a small preliminary survey of the acceptability of the NOM-ACC construction with a nominal adjective, 2. an online survey using the Google search-engine, and 3. a survey involving the passive forms of *kirau* 'dislike (verb)' and *suku* 'like (verb)' in addition to a follow-up of this. I will now briefly discuss all three parts in succession.

The preliminary survey consisted of the author asking 9 university professors about their intuitions regarding the grammaticality of the NOM-ACC construction with *suki*. The results of this small study seem to suggest that there is a great deal of disagreement as to the grammaticality of the construction: 4/9 reported it to be grammatical, 4/9 to be ungrammatical, and 1/9 refrained from making judgment. In all cases where the construction was perceived to be ungrammatical, the participants suggested replacing the accusative marker with a nominative one (e.g. *o* with *ga*), or substituting the NAs with a corresponding verb (e.g. *suki da* with *suku*) (Caluianu 2009, 233-234).

The online survey, performed by counting the frequency of various case-marker+predicate configurations, and then surveying the 100 first usage-examples, also revealed some significant tendencies. In particular, the survey showed correlations between case-marker and the two factors of *participant animacy* and *type of configuration* (e.g. whether the predicate occurred at the end of the sentence or pre-nominally). In regard to animacy, Caluianu found that accusative marking is more strongly preferred (for *suki* and *kirai*, but not for *hoshii*) when the N_2 is higher on the animacy hierarchy. This tendency, which potentially suggests a less

transitive interpretation of the clauses, due to the high animacy of the direct object (see sections 2.4.2 and 6.2.4), might be partially explained by another finding Caluianu makes: Accusatively marked predicates (especially in inchoative forms, see section 6.2.2 of Chapter 6) more commonly express *feelings*, while nominatively marked predicates more commonly express *preferences*. Compare the following examples:

28) *Neko   wa   kudamono   ga   suki.*
    cat   TOP fruit   NOM like
    'Cats like fruit.'

29) *Tanin   o   suki ni   nat-ta(ri)…*
    other.people ACC like DAT become-PST
    'Beginning to like other people…'   (slightly edited from Caluianu 2009, 236-237)

While sentence 28 above expresses the cat's *preference* for fruit, sentence 29 expresses the (non-overt) subject's *feelings* towards the *tanin* 'other people' NP. Caluianu suggests that this distribution might be a sign that the two different constructions involve different senses of the predicate (Caluianu 2009, 246). This would then mean that the predicates have undergone (or are undergoing) a semantic split, in which the different constructions take on slightly different meanings. This particular finding is examined in more detail in sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 of Chapter 6.

Another interesting observation Caluianu makes in regard to the *suki*-predicate is the increase in frequency of its NOM-ACC-pattern. A Google-search for this predicate in its NOM-NOM and NOM-ACC patterns conducted in July 2004 revealed the numbers 2,980,000 (for NOM-NOM) and 331,000 (for NOM-ACC) However, the same search conducted three years later in 2007, yielded the numbers 3,230,000 and 2,420,000, respectively (Caluianu 2009, 254). What this means is that while there was an increase of about 8.4% for the NOM-NOM-pattern, the NOM-ACC-pattern saw an increase of incredible 731.1%. While Caluianu does not specify exactly how she conducted these searches, and points out that the increases might be due in part to improvements in software-technology, the difference in the relative growth of the numbers is nevertheless staggering.

The last major section of Caluianu's article deals with what she calls the "Passive Survey". The underlying motivation for this is the hypothesis that the NOM/ACC alternation can be explained by an association between the A/NAs and the passive form of these predicates' verbal equivalents. Caluianu therefore conducted an experiment in which she presented native speakers with sentences involving the passive forms of the verbs *suku* and *kirau* (*sukareru*

and *kirawareru*, respectively), and asked them to provide the corresponding active versions. In regard to the results, constructions involving the verbs *kirau* and *suku* accounted for 78% and 22% of the answers, respectively. Additionally, adjectives were used in 9.9% of the *kirawareru*-passives and 45.5% of the *sukareru*-passives. Of these adjectival-constructions, 22% (for *kirai*) and 37% (for *suki*) exhibited the NOM-ACC-pattern. However, Caluianu found no correlation between preference for adjective constructions and the NOM-ACC pattern – on the contrary, in the cases where many speakers chose to make us of the adjectives in writing the active sentence, the NPs were more prone to be marked nominatively. This effect is evident in Figure 2 below (Caluianu 2009, 244):[40]

Figure 5-2   Proportion of adjectival constructions
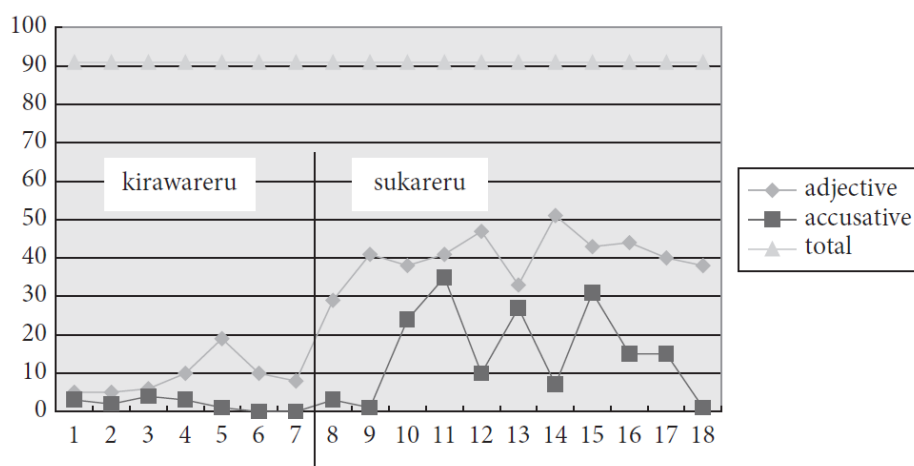
Here, we can clearly see that the sentences which showed a high preference for adjectives (for instance 9, 12 and 14) also have significantly lower amounts of accusative markings, while some sentences in which less respondents made use of adjectives (such as 13, and to some extent 11) had a corresponding higher preference for ACC-marking. As Caluianu points out, this seems to go against the hypothesis that the association with the passive-forms is (partly) responsible for the prevalence of the NOM-ACC construction (Caluianu 2009, 245)

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[40] The numbers on the X-axis refer to the sentence-number (e.g. sentence #7 has the value 7), while the Y-axis describes the percentage of answers.

5.5   Summary

It is worth noting that while the generative studies are mostly focused on determining the transitivity/intransitivity of the constructions, the studies in the cognitive camp are more concerned with determining *how* transitive the constructions are. This reflects the dichotomous/gradient distinction between Generative and Cognitive linguistics (see section 2.3.1 of chapter 2). Within the Generative camp, there is a significant disagreement about the nature of the second nominals of the clauses in which the A/NAs figure. While some scholars analyze this construction as a type of offshoot of the canonical transitive construction (e.g. (Tokieda and Kuno), others view it as a special case of the double-nominative construction (e.g. Shibatani). This divide is perhaps fitting, as the constructions themselves exhibit both canonical transitive *o*-marking and the traditionally subject-associated *ga*-marking. Additionally, the various generative and cognitive scholars have different hypotheses for the motivation behind the case-alternation, but many of these show some similarities. Some of the main issues are discussed in the two sections below.

5.5.1   The predicative nature of A/NAs

One of the points of contention for the various scholars is the predicative scope of the A/NAs. While most of the scholars above seem to believe that *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* do not merely predicate over their immediately preceding nominal (e.g. the N_2), but also over the first nominal (e.g. the N_1), Shibatani argues that the N_1 merely provides a domain in which the A/NAs predication over N_1 holds true. I believe that the way one views the predicates' predication strongly ties into the semantic content one assigns to them, and will attempt to elucidate this with an example:

30) *Misaki   wa   Tarō ga/o   suki da.*
    Misaki TOP Tarō NOM/ACC like   COP
    T1: 'When it comes to Misaki, Tarō is likable.'
    T2: 'Misaki likes Tarō.'

Following Shibatani's analysis, Translation 1 above is perhaps the most correct way of rendering the situation described by sentence 30. The NA predicates over Tarō (e.g. it describes a feature of Tarō), and the N_1 is a large subject which specifies the domain in which this holds true (e.g. for Misaki). In most of the other analyses, however, the predicate is perceived as predicating over both Misaki *and* Tarō, where Misaki is the subject and Tarō is

the 'object'. In this case, it is less a matter of the *suki*-predicate denoting a *feature* of Tarō, but more so a matter of Misaki experiencing an emotion *towards* Tarō (illustrated in Translation 2). Seeing as this thesis falls within the scope of cognitive linguistics, where categories such as *subject* and *object* are gradient concepts, I do not see a need to make decisive statements as to which of these analyses is 'correct'. I will say, however, that I personally find the *emotional* analysis somewhat more convincing (see the discussion in section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4).

5.5.2 Potential reasons for the case-alternation

Although the scholars whose work was discussed above are working within very different theoretical frameworks and disagree on many fronts, there seems to be some degree of consensus in the hypotheses behind the case alternation. In Kuno's (1973a) analysis, the NOM-marking on the A/NAs N2s is explained by their stative quality. Additionally, the difference between the transitive *-garu* forms (which take accusative marking) and the adjectives is that the former exhibits "outward manifestation of internal feeling" (Kuno 1973a, 84), which arguably makes them closer to the transitive prototype.[41] Despite his disagreements with Kuno, Shibatani (2001) seems to make the argument that certain NAs (particularly *suki*) are coached in the canonical transitive-framework, and perhaps suggests that the most important feature lacking in the NAs is the presence of "volition". Although he does not overtly comment on this, it is possible that this means that more intentional interpretations would lead to a greater preference for canonical (NOM-ACC) marking. Makino (1996) has similar intuitions about this, arguing that NOM-NOM patterns are more common when the sentence exhibits a greater degree of spontaneity. By extension, the NOM-ACC pattern could potentially be motivated by an increasingly volitional interpretation. Jarkey (1999) argues that the case-alternation is a consequence of the varying transitivity of the clauses containing the predicates, highlighting the predicate's nature (e.g. origin, derivedness), intention, and object-individuation as the main factors. Since all the predicates discussed in this thesis are underived and of Japanese origin (as opposed to Sino-Japanese words), the two latter factors are most relevant to this particular alternation. Mano (2001) largely agrees with Jarkey regarding the claim of the transitivity of the predicate-containing clauses, but rather

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[41] Do note that Kuno does not refer to any 'transitive prototype' in his book, and that this is my personal extension of his analysis.

sees the predicates location in the "conceptual space" as the most important factor in assessing the transitivity of said clauses. She argues that two features – *time stability* and *amount of prominent participants* – are the main explanatory variables for the transitivity of a clause, and argues that predicates such as *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* occupy a sort of liminal category in this mental space. Lastly, Caluianu argues that the case-alternation (at least for the *suki* and *kirai* predicates) is partly motivated by a semantic split, in which the accusatively marked versions of the predicates describe *(romantic) feelings*, while the nominatively marked versions express *preferences*. While this is merely conjecture, one could perhaps argue that the (romantic) feelings sense might be somewhat closer to the transitive prototype than the *preferences* sense. Because of the existence of conceptual metaphors such as LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (see section 2.5), it might be possible that these situations are more strongly associated with the prototype. Caluianu's other hypothesis – that the case-alternation is partly motivated by the association between the adjectives and the passives of their verbal counterparts – does not seem to have been supported by the data. Summing up, we see that most of the researchers emphasize either event-likeness (non-state-likeness or lack of time-stability) or volitionality (intentionality, controllability) as the motivation for accusative case-marking. These are both factors closely associated with *transitivity* (see section 2.4.3). The working hypothesis of this thesis is therefore in line with the findings of previous examinations – that the NOM/ACC alternation is associated with the degree of transitivity of the predicate-containing clause. This hypothesis is tested in the two following chapters (6 and 7).

6 The corpus studies

6.0 Purpose of the studies

The purpose of these corpus studies is to empirically test the transitivity-hypothesis presented in the introduction and discussed in the previous chapter. The main hypothesis which will be tested is that the case-alternation correlates with increasingly transitive interpretations of the predicates' clauses. I will therefore be looking for the presence of the transitivity criteria presented in section 2.4.3 (and explored in Chapter 3), and comparing their presence/absence between instantiations of the predicates with nominatively and accusatively marked NPs. Additionally, I aim to examine the predicates' frequency of use.

6.0.1 Structure of the chapter

The chapter is split into three major parts. The first part, consisting of sections 6.1 through 6.1.3.1, is devoted to a number of preliminaries, including a presentation of the corpora (6.1.1), a justification of why I chose these corpora in particular (6.1.1.1), some of the shortcomings of the corpora (6.1.1.2), an overview of the tools made use of in conducting the analysis (6.1.2), and a description of the method of analysis for both the statistical and in-depth analyses (6.1.3 through 6.1.3.2). The second part – the statistical analysis – comprises sections 6.2 through 6.2.5. With the exception of 6.2.5, all subsections are committed to presenting and analyzing the data gathered from the corpus. Section 6.2.5, however, is used to present a plausible explanation for the prevalence of the *suki*-predicate in the analysis. Lastly, in the third major part – encompassing sections 6.3 through 6.3.3 – I present and discuss the in-depth sentence analysis conducted on the corpora. Section 6.3.1 contains an explanation of the findings, while sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 are used to examine the findings from the two corpora, and looking at the possibility of a semantic split in regards to the *suki* and *kirai* predicates.

6.1 Methodology

In the following sub-sections (6.1.1 through 6.1.3.2) I present the sources of the data, and the methods applied to retrieve and analyze said data.

6.1.1   Corpora used

For my analysis I chose to make use of two separate corpora, namely the "Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese" (henceforth BCCWJ) and the "Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese" (henceforth CSJ). Both of these corpora are distributed by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (henceforth NINJAL). As evident from the names of the corpora, BCCWJ is a written-language corpus, while CSJ is a spoken-language corpus. BCCWJ contains randomly selected data from a wide variety of sources, such as books, magazines, newspapers, internet forums and legal documents, totaling approximately 104.3 million words (NINJAL, n.d.)[42]. On the other hand, CSJ was developed by NINJAL in a joint effort with the National Institute of Information and Communications technology (NICT) and the Tokyo Institute of Technology, and consists of 658 hours of speech-recordings (the majority of which are monologues) made by these institutes (Maekawa, Kikuchi and Tsukahara 2004, 19). After being transcribed into written text, the word-count totals about 7.5 million words.

6.1.1.1 Choice of corpora

There are several reasons why I chose to make use of these corpora. Allow me first to explain my reasoning for choosing BCCWJ. BCCWJ is the first 100 million words balanced corpus for written Japanese. Although corpora with a larger total word-count exist, these are mainly created through automatic internet-crawling, and therefore contain less reliable information about word-usage and 'part of speech'-classifications (e.g. what word-class words belong to).[43] Additionally, the data for the BCCWJ has been gathered through randomization from several different sources, in order to maximize the representativeness of the data. A study conducted by Maekawa et al. concluded that the corpus contains a higher degree of textual diversity than other corpora previously used for linguistic studies of Japanese (Maekawa et al. 2014, 370). The BCCWJ is therefore well suited to providing an overview of the prominence and usage-frequency of the predicates and patterns which are the subject of this thesis.

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[42] For a more in-depth look on how the data-selection process was conducted, see
https://www.ninjal.ac.jp/english/database/type/corpora/
[43] It is also worth noting that these corpora are prone to not accurately represent the prevalence of constructions, as there seems to be several sites with the same phrase/sentence repeated over and over, upwards of 50 times. In an internet-crawling corpus, these would all be counted individually, leading to significant biases in the data. See, for instance, NINJAL's "Web Japanese Corpus", http://pj.ninjal.ac.jp/corpus_center/nwjc/

The other corpus I have made use of – CSJ – was originally envisioned to be the sole corpus on which I would base these studies. Due to the limited amount of data available, however, I decided that it would be best to also include the BCCWJ. There are two, interconnected, reasons why I wanted CSJ to be the base of the study: 1. Spoken language is generally less restricted by normative grammar-rules; and 2. CSJ is the largest available spoken language corpus of Japanese. Additionally, the transcription of CSJ involved a standardization of kanji-usage, which makes it significantly easier to conduct searches and retrieve the data (e.g. one does not have to search for both 「好き *suki*」 and 「すき *suki*」 in order to find all the instantiations of *suki*) (Maekawa, Kikuchi and Tsukahara 2004, 2). Although, as mentioned in the previous section, the main source of data for CSJ comes from monologues, the creators of the corpus also recorded dialogues and reading data from a selection of the monologue-contributors, in order to provide a comparison for the monologue-data (and presumably to control for biases in the data) (ibid., 2).

6.1.1.2 Weaknesses of the corpora

Although the corpora used here were deemed to be the most appropriate for the study at hand, they do have their methodological weaknesses. For the sake of transparency, and to avoid unwarranted generalizations, I will here briefly outline the problems present in the two corpora.

Let us first consider the BCCWJ. Although the BCCWJ is a balanced corpus, which contains materials from a wide variety of sources, the temporal spectrum from which these materials hail is somewhat more limited. The oldest data included dates back to 1971 (although some of this was re-publishings of books which were written much earlier), with the newest having been gathered in 2008. While some material-categories – including books, legal documents and national diet-recordings – contain data from a span as large as 30 years (1976-2005), much of the data gathered from the internet stems from a singular year (such as 2005 or 2008). Because this study is – to some degree – intended to reflect current linguistic trends, a balanced corpus which also contains data for the period 2008-2019 would have been ideal, but unfortunately I have been unable to procure such a database.

The CSJ suffers from many of the same problems that the BCCWJ does. The CSJ was created between 1999 and 2003, a span of merely 4 years. Although an impressive feat on the part of

the creators, this also means that all data contained in the corpus was gathered during this time-frame. As such, the corpus has a very synchronic nature, capturing the linguistic trends within that specific time-frame.[44] Ideally, one would therefore prefer a corpus with data gathered more closely to the time of conducting this study (2018). Additionally, although the word-count of the CSJ is impressive in its own right, studying peripheral phenomena (such as the case-alternation which is the topic of this thesis) in a *relatively* small corpus likely means getting a limited amount of results, and therefore somewhat weakens the reliability of any statistical analysis. For this reason, the statistical searches conducted in section 6.2 and its subsections have been limited to the larger BCCWJ.

6.1.2   Tools of analysis

The main tool of analysis used for the corpora were the two concordancers Shōnagon (for BCCWJ) and Chūnagon (for CSJ). These concordancers allow one to count the amount of – and retrieve a list of – all cases of a given word or phrase. In addition to allowing searches for specific phrases, they also have a function to only include instantiations in which a second given phrase or word occurs within 40 (10, 20, 30, 50, 100, 200 or 300 for Chūnagon) characters of the first phrase. The concordancers also provide linguistic data – such as origin, birth-year/age of speaker, gender of speaker, (as well as morphological information in the case of Chūnagon) – for all instantiations listed, enabling comparisons based on these factors.

Additionally, some analysis of the *suki*-predicate was done in the lexical profiling system NINJAL-LWP for BCCWJ (henceforth NLB), as this allows for counting PRED+NOUN and PRED+COP combinations, among other things. Due to the way NLB indexes words, however, it proved impossible to conduct the same counting on the *kirai* and *hoshii* predicates. This is because NLB does not contain a separate entry for *kirai* (only for *girai*, a post-nominal suffix which creates compounds with the meaning of 'hatred for NOUN'), and because the entry for *hoshii* was conflated with the entry for the transitive verb *hoshi-garu* 'want-3P.EXP'.

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[44] Note that, to the extent that one wants to gather the data oneself, it would be very difficult to construct a spoken-language corpus which reviews past linguistic trends (such as BCCWJ does for written language), as this would require the project being conducted over several decades.

6.1.3   Method of analysis

The corpus-analysis was conducted in two separate ways: an examination of the frequency of the predicates with certain other parts of speech (henceforth PoS) (e.g. nouns, verbs, etc.), and an in-depth analysis of the presence of transitivity factors for a selected set of sentences from the corpora. The following two sub-sections deal with the selection and method of these two analyses.

6.1.3.1   Searches and statistical analysis

The searches to be presented in section 6.2 were conducted on the BCCWJ, by means of the concordancer Shōnagon and the lexical profiling system NLB. I first made searches of phrases such as *o kirai* 'ACC dislike' and *ga kirai* 'NOM dislike', counting the number of occurrences of these phrases. Because these searches capture more than simply all sentences with the three predicates where the N_2 is accusatively or nominatively marked, several additional searches were conducted of phrases such as *o sukikatte* 'ACC as one pleases', *o kiraimasu* 'ACC hate' (*kirau*(verb)+*masu*), and *boku ga hoshii no wa..* 'what I (N_1) want is..'. The amount of such occurrences was then subtracted from the total amounts yielded in the first round of searches. After this, searches were conducted of compound-phrases such as *suki ni-/kirai ni-/hoshiku-naru* 'PRED-become' and of cases in which various parts of speech (see below) occurred within 40 characters of 'NOM PRED' or 'ACC PRED'. In cases where manual confirmation of the relevance of the compound phrases or PRED+PoS combinations was possible (e.g. when the results did not number in the thousands), all instantiations were examined individually.

6.1.3.2   In-depth sentence analysis

Although some transitivity-factors are easily determined by looking at the presence of certain PoS or at PRED+PRED constructions, not all factors are as easily assessable. In addition to the quantitative analysis presented in the previous section and conducted in the following section, I therefore chose to also conduct a more qualitative examination of sentences with nominatively/accusatively marked N_2s. 50 sentences for each case-marking+PRED combination were randomly selected from the BCCWJ (in addition to as many as could be

gathered from CSJ), and analyzed in terms of the following transitivity-factors: 1. Participant number, 2. Subject-likeness, 3. Object-likeness, 4. Event likeness/temporal boundedness, 5. Participant discreteness, 6. Volition, and 7. Object affectedness (ref. section 2.4.3). The various sentences were given scores on the various factors, ranging from -1 to 1, where -1 is *transitivity-reducing* and 1 is *transitivity-increasing*, with 0 being neutral. Depending on the factor, scores such as -0.5, 0.25, and 0,75 were also given. These scores were presented as is, but also compounded into a single *transitivity-value*. Both the individual scores and the compounded transitivity-value score were then compared between predicates with nominatively and accusatively marked N_2s.

6.2   Searches and statistical analysis

Before going into sentence-analysis, I carried out searches of the various predicates with different case-marking and contextual elements. The searches were conducted exclusively on the BCCWJ, due to the relative size of this corpus over CSJ. Searches for different kanji/kana-variations of *suki*, *kirai* and *hoshii*/*hoshiku* with nominative marking (「が好き/がすき」, 「が嫌い/がきらい」 and 「が欲しい/がほしい/が欲しく/がほしく」) in BCCWJ yielded 6923, 910, and 2704 results, respectively. However, after removing instances in which the marking was on N_1 rather than N_2 (e.g. *watashi **ga** suki na no wa.*. 'what I (N_1) like is..'), and instances in which the predicates figured in a different construction (e.g. *sukikirai* 'preferences', *sukikatte* 'as one pleases', *hoshii mama ni suru* 'to do as one pleases'), I was left with 6771, 901 and 2667.[45] In contrast, searches for the predicates with accusative marking yielded the amounts 1104, 289, and 215 (adjusted to 1028, 146 and 115). A table of these findings, with the percentage of NOM- and ACC-marked instances, is given below. From these findings, it is evident that the standard nominative marking is still the most prevalent.

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[45] For a full list of what type of instances (and how many of each) were removed, see section 10.2.1 of the appendix.

Table 6-1   Distribution of NOM/ACC-marked NPs with the predicates

Case-marking PRED	NOM	ACC	Total
suki	6771 (86,81%)	1028 (13,19%)	7799 (100%)
kirai	901 (85,89%)	146 (14,11%)	1035 (100%)
hoshii	2667 (95,87%)	115 (4,13%)	2782 (100%)

Additionally, searches were made for specific constructions, such as the inchoative PRED+*nar-* / PRED+*nare-* (*nar-* being the base of the verb *naru* 'become', and *nare-* being the base of its potential form), and the occurrence of the predicates together with certain other parts of speech.[46] The first two searches were done to investigate the presence of PoS express varying degrees of absence/presence of volition end event-likeness. Based on the discussion in Chapter 5, as well as section 3.2.7 of Chapter 3, one would expect there to be a higher (percentage-adjusted) occurrence of high-volition/event-likeness PoS with accusative marking and a higher occurrence of low-volition/event-likeness PoS with the nominative. Lastly, some searches were conducted to investigate the effect of the nature of the case-marked second nominals (N_2). The results of these searches are rendered and analyzed below (for an explanation of the parenthesized numbers, see section 6.2.1 below):

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[46] All sentences which turned up in the search were read and examined, in order to confirm that the PoS belonged to the predicate in question, and not to another predicate within the sentence. As an example, the following sentence was not included under the "doryoku"-tab, as the *doryoku* is simply part of N_2, and does not pertain to the *suki*-predicate:

Soshite	*watashi*	*wa*	*josei*	*to*	*tomoni*	*kawar-o-u*	*to*	*doryoku-sur-u*	*dansei*
also	I	TOP	woman	with	together	change-VOL-PRS	COMP	effort-do-PRS	men

ga	*suki*	*da.*
NOM	like	COP

'Also, I like men who make an effort to change together with the woman.'

Table 6-2   PRED+*nar-* & PRED+*nare-*

PoS PRED	*Nar-* 'become'	*Nar-*+POT (*Nare-*)'can become'	Total
NOM-*suki*	204 (3,01)	26 (0,38)	230 (3,39)
NOM-*kirai*	63 (7,09)	0 (0,00)	63 (7,09)
NOM-*hoshii*	194 (7,19)	0 (0,00)	194 (7,19)
ACC-*suki*	511 (49,71)	45 (4,38)	556 (54,09)
ACC-*kirai*	50 (34,25)	3 (2,05)	53 (36,3)
ACC-*hoshii*	4 (3,48)	0 (0,00)	4 (3,48)

Table 6-3   PRED+*nar-* inflection[47]

Naru-inflection PRED	-POT -NEG -VOL -DESID (*naru*)	-POT +NEG -VOL -DESID (*naranai*)	+POT -NEG -VOL -DESID (*nareru*)	+POT +NEG -VOL -DESID (*narenai*)	-POT -NEG +VOL -DESID (*narō*)	-POT +-NEG -VOL +DESID (*naritai/ naritagaru/ naritakunai*)
NOM-suki	36 (0,53)	0 (0,00)	5 (0,07)	11 (0,16)	0 (0,00)	1 (0,01)
NOM-kirai	8 (0,89)	3 (0,33)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)
NOM-hoshii	77 (2,89)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	1 (0,04)	0 (0,00)
ACC-suki	162 (15,76)	4 (0,39)	11 (1,07)	13 (1,26)	12 (1,17)	4 (0,39)
ACC-kirai	15 (10,27)	4 (2,74)	1 (0,68)	2 (1,37)	0 (0,00)	2 (1,37)
ACC-hoshii	2 (1,74)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)

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[47] The meaning of the various inflectional forms are roughly as follows (from left to right): become; don't become; can become; can't become; let's become; want to become.

6.2.1 Note on the tables

The tables above show the number of occurrences of the various PRED+PoS combinations, in addition to some features of the predicates or the predicates' N_2s. As mentioned earlier, the corpus contains significantly more instances of predicates with nominatively marked NPs than accusatively marked ones. If there were no correlation between case-marker and occurrence with these various parts of speech, one would therefore expect the nominative version of *suki* to have 6.59 (6771/1028, see Table 6-1) times more occurrences (with all the PoS) than the accusative, with the numbers for *kirai* and *hoshii* expected at 6.17 (901/146) and 23.19 (2667/115), respectively. To more readily provide a basis for interpreting the data, the percentages of the total amount of occurrences which contain the PoS in question are therefore given in parentheses beneath the absolute number. The formula for this calculation is given as:

([amount of occurrences with PoS-X] ÷ [total amount of occurrences]) × 100

Additionally, PoS+PRED combinations which did not provide any base for comparison (e.g. the cases where there are no results for neither nominatively nor accusatively marked predicates) have been greyed out to make the table more readable. For readers who prefer – and are familiar with – incidence rate ratios, additional tables can be found in the appendix (section 10.2.2).

6.2.2 Consideration of Tables 6-2 & 6-3

Let us first consider Tables 6-2 and 6-3. To start with, the PRED+*nar-/nare-* combinations seem to make up a significantly larger portion of the absolute amount of sentences for both *suki* and *kirai* with accusative marking (556/1028, 63/146 – compare with 230/6771, 63/901 for nominative marking). *Hoshii*, however, displays an opposite pattern in which *nar-/nare-* occurs almost exclusively with nominatively marked instantiations. Additionally, there seems to be differences in the occurrence with various forms of the *naru*-predicate. While all of the adjectives/nominal adjectives appear compatible with the plain form present-tense *naru*, *hoshii* does not occur with any other inflectional forms of the predicate, be they $_{+NEG}$, $_{+POT}$, $_{+POT\&+NEG}$, and only occurs once (nominatively marked) with $_{+VOL}$. Due to the small amount of data, it is unfortunately not possible to provide a significant comparison between the

accusatively and nominatively marked *hoshii* instances, but the two nominal adjectives provide somewhat more basis for discussion.

Contrary to *hoshii*, the two nominal adjectives seem compatible with all *nar-* inflections (except kirai not appearing with $_{+VOL}$). If all inflections of *nar-* are considered together, we find that *suki* and *kirai* appear with the *nar-* predicate 715 (9,17% of total [7799, see Table 6-1]) and 113 (10,92% of total) times, respectively, something which seems to indicate that this construction is relatively common. This is understandable, as the real-life occurrences of the *meaning* of the nominal adjectives (e.g. that someone likes/dislikes someone/something) necessarily have to begin somewhere. It is therefore natural that construction which expresses this *beginning* should arise and become prominent.

Before I properly begin the comparison between nominatively and accusatively marked predicates, allow me to point out some things in relation to the distribution of *nar-/nare-* inflections. Firstly, the fact that the majority of the PRED+*nar-* constructions have the *nar-* in plain form (e.g. not potential, volitional) (see Table 6-3) is to be expected, as plain-forms generally have higher rates of occurrence than potentials and volitional forms. Additionally, the fact that there seems to be more positively-inflected plain-forms than negatively inflected ones also mirrors the data for other verbs, which exhibit a higher frequency of positively inflected instantiations than negatively inflected ones.[48]

6.2.2.1 PRED+*nar-/nare-*: NOM/ACC comparison (*suki* and *kirai*)

What immediately strikes one as one examines Table 6-2 above is that the amount of instances of accusatively marked NAs together with *nar-* inflections is significantly larger than (statistically) expected. As mentioned earlier, the two NAs occur with *nar-* 715 and 113 times, respectively, and based on the absolute number of the predicates' occurrences, one would expect the NOM/ACC distribution to be 621/94 (86.81%/13.19%) for *suki* and 97/16 (85.9%/14.1%) for *kirai* (see Table 6-1). Contrasting these with the actual numbers – 204/511 (28.5%/71.5%) and 63/50 (55.8%/44.2%) – indicates that there is indeed a correlation

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[48] To give some examples, consider the following comparisons of the frequency of positive/negative and plain/potential/volitional instantiations of the verbs *nomu* 'drink', *asobu* 'play', and *otosu* 'drop', taken from BCCWJ:

nomu/nomanai:	3714 / 463	*nomu/nomeru/nomō*:	3714/ 376 / 253
asobu/asobanai:	1571 / 55	*asobu/asoberu/asobō:*	1571/ 305 / 294
otosu/otosanai:	1657 / 146	*otosu/otoseru/otosō:*	1657/ 75 / 90

between case-marking and PRED+*nar-* combinations. Because we do not have access to the minds of the people who wrote the sentences, it is not possible to straightforwardly determine why they chose to use the non-standard ACC-marking over the standard NOM-marking, but we can make an attempt to explain the unexpected distribution:

One of the plausible explanations for the high rate of accusative marking on the predicates when they appear in conjunction with *nar-*, is that the verb makes the sentence more event-like (Fujimura 2009, 96). Because *suki*, and *kirai* are stative predicates, they generally express scenarios in which something lasts a long period of time. With the introduction of *nar-*, however, the meaning of what is described shifts from a state to an instantaneous (or at least short) inchoative *process* expressing change. As such, the introduction of *nar-* makes the sentence closer to the transitive prototype presented in 2.4.3, and this allows the speaker/writer to assign accusative case to the N_2.

The presence of *nar-* does not only make the sentences more conceptually transitive through changing the aspect of the event from stative to inchoative, however, as many of the *nar-* variations also introduce an element of volition to the instantiations of the NAs. If we consider the combination of the predicates with the volitional form *narō* 'let's become; I will (intention) become' (Table 6-3), we find that all occurrences (although it only occurs with *suki*, perhaps due to its limited prevalence) carry the accusative marking. Because *-narō* is arguably the most overt marker of volition (being the volitional form), it makes sense that it should be associated with canonical transitive marking. Additionally, the rate of occurrence of accusative marking with sentences containing the volitional PoS *naritai* 'want to become' (and its variations) is significantly higher than that of nominative marking (ACCsuki: 0,39, ACCkirai 1,37 vs NOMsuki 0,01and NOMkirai 0,0). Another variation of the *nar-* predicate which arguably holds more volitionality than the plain form in some circumstances is the potential. Because it is not as straightforwardly understandable why this would be the case, allow me to illustrate using a few examples:

1) *Kodomo no toki wa yasai ga nigate dat-ta ga, saikin suki*
   child   GEN time TOP vegetables NOM bad at COP-PST   NOM recently like
   ni nat-ta.
   DAT become-PST
   'When I was a child I disliked vegetables, but recently I've begun to like them.'

2) *Kodomo no toki wa yasai ga nigate dat-ta ga, saikin suki*
child GEN time TOP vegetables NOM bad at COP-PAST NOM recently like
ni nar-e-ta.
DAT become-POT-PST
'When I was a child I disliked vegetables, but recently I've managed to start liking them.'

As evident from the English translations, the potential examples imply a larger extent of effort on the part of the N_1. While in 1, the subject simply started to like something they did not like before, sentence 2 implies that they have made a conscious effort to change their preferences, and were successful in said endeavor. Nakano (2008) seems to share this intuition – she writes that, generally, only intention-verbs (*ishidōshi*) can occur in potential form. *naru* is usually considered a non-intention verb (*muishidōshi*), and should therefore not exhibit a potential form. However, if the agentivity of the clause is raised, the verb may be acceptable in the potential (Nakano 2008, 11). This entails that in the cases where potential verbs of *naru* do occur, they do so because of an increased nuance of agentivity in the clause.

The data, however, does not seem to show significant blanket differences in the distribution of PRED+*nar-* and PRED+*nare-* combinations. Although the results show a larger percentage of accusatively marked PRED+*nare*-combinations for *kirai* at first glance, the amount of instantiations (3) is perhaps too low to be deemed significantly different from the PRED+*nar*-combinations. Also, the results for *suki* actually indicate a weaker preference for accusatively marked N_2s with the potential than with the plain form (63.38% for potentials and 71.46% for plain forms). This might suggest one of three things: 1. the amount of data is not significantly large; 2. the potential is not considered as volitional as previously assumed, or there are other features of the potential that have not been taken into account; 3. the preference for accusatively marked N_2s with *PRED+nar-* combinations is motivated by other factors than volition.

In regards to possibility 2, it is perhaps worth pointing out that although the potential form of the *nar-* predicate can exhibit more volitional qualities than the plain-form, it often does so at the expense of the inchoateness which characterizes the other *nar-* inflections. This is because potentials – particularly the present-tense forms – typically express *states* rather than *actions* (Kawabata 2015, 46). Consider the following examples:

3) *Chanto renshū-sur-eba, daredemo jōzu ni nar-u.*
properly practice-do-COND whoever good DAT become-PRS
'If one practices properly, anyone gets good.'

4) *Chanto   renshū-sur-eba,   daredemo jōzu ni   nar-er-u.*
   properly practice-do-COND whoever   good DAT become-POT-PRS
   'If one practices properly, anyone is able to get good.'

As evident from the English translations, there is a subtle difference in the prepositions described by the two sentences. While 3) describes the result of the practice as an *event* in which the person 'gets good', 4) simply describes the person's *ability* to 'get good'. Since 'being able to undergo a change' is arguably less event like than 'undergoing a change', the present-tense form of the predicate appears to lose some of the inchoateness present in the plain-form. This fact may help explain the weaker preference for potential *nar-* forms with accusative marking.

Table 6-4   PRED+PoS₊VOLITION & PRED+PoS₋VOLITION

PoS PRED	+VOLITION			-VOLITION	
	doryoku 'effort'	*ganbatte* 'to do one's best'	*-deite +kure-* 'be X as a favor to N₂'	*nazeka-* 'for some reason'	*-shikata ga nai* 'so X N₁ can't help it'
NOM-suki	2 (0,03)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	8 (0,12)	7 (0,10)
NOM-kirai	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	1 (0,11)	3 (0,33)
NOM-hoshii	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	1 (0,04)	7 (0,26)
ACC-suki	5 (0,49)	1 (0,1)	14 (1,36)	1 (0,1)	0 (0,00)
ACC-kirai	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)
ACC-hoshii	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)

6.2.3 Consideration of Table 6-4

While the previous two sections were devoted exclusively to the predicates in combination with the verb *nar-* 'become', I will here deal with the predicates in conjunction with other parts of speech. The PoS discussed here are similar to *nar-* in the sense that they also bring varying degrees of volition to the sentences, but differ in the fact that they do not change the syntactic category of the A/NAs. Before going into the analysis, I will briefly explain the

meaning of these PoS, and justify why I have chosen to analyze these particular PRED+PoS combinations.

The first two PoS I will be analyzing are *doryoku* 'effort' and *ganbatte* 'to do one's best'. The volitional quality of these two PoS is perhaps obvious: they both refer to a conscious choice to exert oneself towards a certain goal. Sentences in which these appear in relation to – and in close proximity of – the predicates would therefore likely motivate a more intentional interpretation. On the other side of the volitionality-spectrum, we have the two PoS *nazeka* 'for some reason' and *~shikata ga nai* 'can't be helped'. *Nazeka* implies that the speaker is unsure of the cause for the action (in this case the state of liking/disliking/wanting) taking place, and in the context of emotional predicates, this leads to a less intentional reading. This is because experiencing emotions towards something without knowing the reason, logically entails that one did not *intend* to experience said emotions. *Nazeka* precludes a volitional reading of the predicates because one cannot intend to like/dislike/want something without knowing the reason for the liking/disliking/wanting. While *nazeka* functions as an adverb preceding the main predicate, *~shikata ga nai* functions as a separate clause immediately following the conjunctive form of the predicate (e.g. *kare ga suki de shikata ga nai* 'I like him so much I can't help it').

Another co-occurrence which has been examined is the combination of the predicates and the giving-and-receiving form of the verb *iru* 'to be'. These combinations take the shape of PRED+*de-ite-kure-* and indicate that the N$_1$ *intentionally* performs the action for the sake of the N$_2$:

5) *Kare wa   ima   totemo yasashi-i shi watashi dake o   suki de-ite-kure-mas-u.*
   he   TOP now   very   kind-PRS and me   only ACC like COP-be-give-POL-PRS
   'He is very kind now, and he (does me the favor of) only likes me.'

Obviously, the person who performs the action (or exhibits the state, if you will) which the predicate describes is not the person assessing the intentionality of said action. The person who attributes the volition is the target of the feelings described by the predicate, but is also, however, the person who constructs the sentence. As such, it is the speaker/writer's interpretation of the situation which influences the choice of case-marker. It is therefore expected that the presence of this phrase should strongly increase the transitivity of the sentence.

6.2.3.1 PRED+PoS$_{+VOLITION}$/PoS$_{-VOLITION}$: NOM/ACC comparison

Unfortunately, the searches conducted of combinations of PRED+PoS$_{+VOLITION}$/ PRED+PoS$_{-VOL}$ did not yield as many results as originally hoped. This leads to some issues in regards to determining the significance and/or the reliability of the comparison, as it is not wholly unlikely that some of the tendencies are due to chance. In addition, most of the combinations only yielded data for the predicate *suki* 'like', most likely due to its high relative frequency, compared with the two other predicates.[49] Despite these shortcomings of the data, I will nevertheless give a brief overview and discussion of the findings:

I would first like to point out a tendency in the entire data-set: although the numbers are small, there seems to be a slight correlation between the volitionality of the PoS, and the occurrence together with accusatively marked predicates. In the case of *suki,* 90.90% (20/22) of the instantiations of the PoS$_{+VOLITION}$ occurred with accusative marking on the predicate, while the predicate was nominatively marked 93,75% (15/16) of the time when a PoS$_{-VOLITION}$ was present. Looking at the percentages, we see that the first 4 columns (with $_{+VOLITION}$ PoS) account for a larger relative portion of the accusative N$_2$ predicates for *suki*, while the last two columns (with $_{-VOL}$ PoS) account for a larger portion of the nominatively N$_2$-marked predicates. The most obvious difference is the combination of *suki+deite-kure*, where 100% of the occurrences (14 total) of this combination contain accusatively marked N$_2$s. Conversely, we see that predicates with nominatively marked N$_2$s account for 100% of the PRED+PoS$_{-VOLITION}$ combinations for *kirai* and *hoshii*, with accusatively N$_2$-marked *suki* only appearing once in conjunction with *nazeka* 'for some reason'. Due to the very low number of total occurrences, however, it is not possible to determine whether this is due to PoS$_{-VOLITION}$ blocking the accusative marking of N$_2$, or whether it is simply statistical, owing to the greater usage-frequency of nominatively marked N$_2$s. Despite the relatively low number of instantiations, however, the fact that there seems to be a correlation between volition-raising PoS and accusative marking across the board, does perhaps indicate a certain link between intention and case-marker.

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[49] It is also possible that the prevalence of *suki*+PoS$_{+VOLITION}$ combinations is due to the semantic features of this predicate, as it is perhaps more likely that someone would intentionally attempt to like something/someone, than attempt to dislike/want someone/something.

Table 6-5   The nature of the N$_2$

PoS / PRED	Verbal N$_2$ (VERB no ga PRED)	NOUN+*hou ga* 'NOUN **side of comparison**'	VERB+*hou ga* 'NMZ **side of comparison**'	*hou ga* (total) '**side of comparison**'
NOM-suki	683 (10,09)	80 (1,18)	285 (4,21)	365 (5,39)
NOM-kirai	84 (9,32)	1 (0,11)	2 (0,22)	3 (0,33)
NOM-hoshii	N/A	0 (0,00)	3 (0,11)	3 (0,11)
ACC-suki	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	2 (0,19)	2 (0,19)
ACC-kirai	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	1 (0,68)	1 (0,68)
ACC-hoshii	N/A	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)	0 (0,00)

6.2.4   Consideration of Table 6-5

While tables 6-2, 6-3 and 6-4 consisted of PoS which – in one way or another – increased the volitionality or affected the state-/event-likeness of the sentences, Table 6-5 is aimed at examining the effect of the nature of the sentences' N$_2$s. Based on the discussion in Langacker (1991b), the transitivity of a given sentence changes based on the object-likeness of the sentence's object.[50] Langacker argues that this is closely linked to the empathy hierarchy (see section 2.5.2), suggesting that object is prototypically ranked fairly high on the hierarchy, but lower than that of a prototypical subject. Langacker acknowledges, however, that the picture is somewhat more complicated, and provides the following model:

Empathy hierarchy (edited)

[$_{AN}$ **human** > animal $_{AN}$] > [$_{INAN}$ **physical object** > abstract entity $_{INAN}$][51]

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[50] In this case the N$_2$. For the object-status of N$_2$, see Chapter 3.
[51] 'AN' stands for "animate", while 'INAN' stands for "inanimate".

Because animacy is associated with the ability to serve as an energy-source, subjects and objects are naturally associated with the upper and lower portion of the hierarchy, respectively. Additionally, Langacker claims that "the prototypical value of each grammatical relation is the highest-ranked element within its own sector" (Langacker 1991b, 322). This element is marked in bold above. This analysis seems to suggest the following model for object-likeness:

Object-likeness:

physical object > abstract entity > animal > human[52]

What I would like to focus on here, however, is the *abstract entity*-category. Although the most common elements of this category might be, for instance, concepts such as "freedom" and "music", the category would also contain more types of entities than this. Given that this model is exhaustive, one of the types of entities which have to be subsumed under this category is that of nominalized verbs. An example of such a nominalized verb in a sentence is given below:

6) *Watashi wa **aruku no** ga suki da.*
    I   TOP walk NMZ NOM like COP
    'I like **to walk**.'

Here, the second nominal (object, in case of the English translation) *aruku no* 'to walk' is a nominalized verb. For lack of a different category, we would have to place this type of nominal under the *abstract entity* category. This is problematic, however, because *physical objects* are arguably less similar to these types of nominalized verb entities, than they are to animate entities such as *humans*. If we assume the object-likeness of an entity is determined by how closely it resembles the prototypical object (i.e. the *physical object*) (see section 2.3.1), it would appear that this particular subgroup of *abstract entity* is indeed less object-like than the *humans*, which sit at the top of the empathy hierarchy. Indeed, in discussing the English infinitive and participles (which are quite similar to nominalized verbs in Japanese), Langacker points out that these "non-finite verb forms" only serve to make the relation described by the verb *atemporal*, while their base is still very much a *process* (Langacker 1991a, 82). Processes (albeit atemporal) are arguably less tangible and discrete, and more distant from the physical object prototype. In light of this, I propose that the following model better captures these intuitions:

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[52] Alternatively, the animal / human categories could be switched, as Langacker does not mention whether the higher members of the animate-category are more object-like than the lower members.

Object-likeness (revised):

> physical object > abstract entity > animal > human > atemporal process

If this model is correct, it would be reasonable to assume that the presence of atemporal process N_2s (i.e. nominalized verbs) would decrease the overall transitivity of the clause (as the N_2 becomes less object-like), and thus preclude accusative marking. The first column of Table 6-5, labeled "Verbal N_2" attempts to capture the NOM/ACC distribution of such abstract verbal entity N_2s.

Additionally, following both Langacker's and the revised model above, the second, third and fourth columns examine the presence of the post-verbal / post-nominal element *hou ga* 'side (of comparison)' as the N_2 of *suki/kirai/hoshii* clauses. The presence of this element changes the interpretation of the sentence in the way the following examples suggest:

7) *Watashi   wa   keeki   ga/o   suki   da.*
   I   TOP   cake   NOM/ACC   like   COP
   'I like cake.'

8) *Watashi   wa   keeki   no   hou   ga/o   suki   da.*
   I   TOP   cake   GEN   side   NOM/ACC   like   COP
   'I prefer cake (rather than something else) [I prefer the cake-side of the comparison]'

Since the base sentence (7) refers to the target of the liking as a physical entity, while the *hou ga* sentence (8) refers to the target of the liking as one side of a comparison, the N_2 in 7) is perhaps more similar to the prototypical *physical object* than the N_2 in 8). If there is a correlation between object-likeness and transitivity – and between transitivity and accusative marking – we would expect there to be few instances of *hou ga* N_2s with accusatively marked predicates.

6.2.4.1 The nature of N_2: NOM/ACC comparison

In regard to table 6-5, we see that nominalized verbal N_2s occur a total of 683 times (10.09% of total) with nominatively marked *suki*, and 84 times (9.32% of total) with nominatively marked *kirai*. In contrast to this, there were no occurrences of accusatively marked *suki/kirai* with this type of verbal N_2. Additionally, we see that the N_2+*hou ga* pattern is significantly more prevalent with nominatively marked *suki* (NOM: 5.39%; ACC: 0.19%). *Kirai*, on the other hand, exhibits a slightly higher preference for N_2s followed by *hou ga* for accusatively

marked predicates (0.68% for ACC vs. 0.33% for NOM), but the total number of occurrences (4) is likely to low to determine whether this preference is significant. Similarly to *suki*, *hoshii* shows a preference for nominative marking when the N_2 is anteceded by *hou ga* (0.11% vs. 0.00%), but the amount of cases is too low to draw any proper conclusions. The only properly robust data, therefore, is that of *suki*, which suggests that *hou ga*-marked N_2s are perhaps more prevalent when the predicate is nominatively marked. From this discussion, it appears that there is perhaps a connection between object-likeness and accusative marking, or at least a negative correlation between accusative marking and very non-object-like N_2s. The effect of the nature of the N_2 on the acceptability of accusative marking will be further examined in the questionnaire in Chapter 7.

6.2.5   On frequency and existing constructions (a possible explanation for the productivity of *suki*)

Before proceeding to the second part of the corpus study – the in-depth sentence analysis – I would like to touch on the fact that many of the tendencies observed above seem stronger for the *suki*-predicate than for the other two. *Suki* has the largest amount of PoS+PRED combinations out of the three, and also seems to be the predicate with the strongest disposition for accusative marking in various constructions. Although it is difficult (or perhaps impossible) to provide an exhaustive explanation of the reasons for this, I will highlight two factors which might help in explaining this observation: frequency and the existence of similar constructions.

According to Bybee (2006), the frequency of a given construction greatly affects the grammaticalization of said construction. In Bybee's model, language is organized into constructions clustered around what are called *exemplars*. These exemplars are, in a sense, the prototypical members of the construction, around which the other members are grouped. Exemplars are created through contact with language, but are therefore also subject to change if the language-user comes into contact with large amounts of opposing linguistic stimuli. If a member of a certain construction starts being used in a slightly different way, and this usage becomes prevalent enough, the member might break out and create a whole new construction. The example Bybee uses to illustrate this is that of 'be going to', which was originally part of a larger construction expressing purpose, together with verbs such as 'travel', 'journey', and 'return'. In this use, the sentence "I am going to meet him", roughly meant "I am moving

from point A to point B, in order to accomplish meeting him". The verb 'go', however, became gradually more frequent, moving away from its source construction and created a new construction, such as in "I am going to [gonna] go to the store", which expressed *intention* and *future* (Bybee 2006, 719).

Perhaps one could similarly hypothesize a change for the case-alternation of the A/NAs discussed in this thesis, where they were the member of a paradigm "N_1 TOP N_2 NOM A/NA" with the rough meaning of "As for N_1, N_2 exhibits A/NA". One of the more frequent members of this construction – *suki* – then appears in a slightly different construction "N_1 TOP/NOM N_2 ACC *suki*", and as this pattern becomes more frequent, it gradually moves away from the aforementioned paradigm and takes on new pragmatic connotations (see the end of section 6.3.2 below).

The second factor – which might actually help explain both the higher frequency of *suki*, and the distributional differences between the predicates – is the (non-)existence of similar constructions. As mentioned in section 4.3, these predicates all have verbal counterparts in *suku* 'to like', *kirau* 'to dislike' and *hossuru* 'to want', respectively. The prevalence and acceptability of these verbal counterparts, however, is not equal. Searches in the BCCWJ reveal 72 instances of *suku*, 421 instances of *kirau*, and 190 instances of *hossuru*. Additionally, the survey conducted by Caluianu (2009) revealed that, when asked to provide the corresponding active form for the passive version of the verbs (*sukareru* and *kirawareru*), speakers were less inclined to answer *suku* than *kirau* (Caluianu 2009, 243). The presence of existing constructions could, of course, facilitate the shift in case-marker for similar constructions, but could also preclude it. If the case-alternation has semantic motivations (e.g. that the accusative provides a different – more transitive – nuance than the nominative), the presence of another widely-used predicate (e.g. the verbal *suku* 'like') with this very nuance means that speakers have no need of a new construction (ACC-marking with *suki*). If this is indeed the case, the low frequency (and acceptability) of *suku* could help explain the relative prevalence of *suki* with accusative marking. Of course, any number of other underlying variables could also contribute to the prevalence of *suki*+PoS combinations, and for this reason I will avoid making any decisive conclusions as to the reason for the distributional differences between the predicates.

6.3   In-depth sentence-analysis

Although section 6.2 and its subsections uncovered a number of differences between the instantiations of the predicates with nominatively and accusatively marked NPs, not all of the transitivity factors presented in 6.1.3.2 are as easily assessed with corpus-searches and frequency-counting. As such, this section is devoted to uncovering the presence or absence of these factors in *suki-, kirai- and hoshii*-sentences containing NOM- and ACC-marked NPs. 50 sentences were selected from the BCCWJ for each predicate/case-marker combination – 25 from internet-sources, and 25 from literary sources (yielding a total number of 300 sentences). The internet-sentences were selected randomly from the 2005 and 2008 scans of "Yahoo! Chiebukurō" and "Yahoo! Blog", and the literary-sentences were selected randomly from books published after the year 2000.

There are several reasons for this particular selection, one of which is the lack of accusatively marked *hoshii* sentences – precluding using only web-sources, or limiting the publishing-year to a more recent year. There are, however, also advantages to using several types of sources, because they have different strengths and weaknesses. Sentences gathered from the internet are, on the one hand, expected to reflect the least regulated and most spontaneous use of the language, making it easier for speakers/writers to ignore prescriptive grammar rules. They are, however, also likely the sentences constructed with the least amount of thought, and any tendencies observed from this data are therefore likely to represent the speakers' subconscious use of language. Books, on the other hand, have the problems/benefits reversed: They are more likely to adhere to prescriptive language-norms (seeing as they are usually proofread before published), but any non-standard constructions that *do* end up making it into the finished product are more likely to be *deliberately* put there. Selecting half the sentences from each of these sources would – in a best case scenario – result in a good balance between spontaneous and deliberate use of case-marking. In addition to the sentences from BCCWJ, as many sentences as possible were retrieved and analyzed from the CSJ, but due to the lack of a substantial amount of ACC-*kirai* sentences, this predicate was omitted from the analysis.

6.3.1   Explanation of findings

The in-depth analysis was conducted by examining sentences in which NOM/ACC-marked predicates appeared, and then allotting them scores on 7 transitivity-factors. The scores

ranged from -1 to 1, where -1 implies the presence a markedly *intransitive* element, while 1 implies the presence of a markedly *transitive* one. The score of 0 was given when there was no noticeable transitivity-decreasing or transitivity-raising element present. The score-system is rendered in the two tables below.

Table 6-6(1) Score-system for transitivity-factors (1/2)

Participant number[53]	Subject-likeness	Object-likeness	Event likeness/temporal boundedness
	-1 = abstract	-1 = verbal atemporal	-1 = long
		-0,5 = process-conceptual	
0 = one	0 = inanimate	0 = human	0 = unknown
		0,25 = koto-human[54]	
	0,5 = non-human	0,5 = non-human	0,5 = shorter
		0,75 = inanimate conceptual	
1 = two	1 = human	1 = inanimate	1 = short

Table 6-6(2) Score-system for transitivity-factors (2/2)

Participant discreteness	Volitional element	Object affectedness
-1 = non-discrete	-1 = very non-volitional	
	-0,5 = slightly non-volitional	
0 = unknown	0 = unknown	0 = unknown
0,5 = semi-discrete	0,5 = slightly volitional	
1 = fully discrete	1 = very volitional	1 = affected

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[53] Note that 'Participant Number' here refers to the amount of overt participants in the clause. All sentences with the A/NAs are expected to 'have' two participants due to their semantic nature, but not all sentences overtly express both participants.

[54] This particular category of N$_2$s consists of NP in the form of [human] *no koto*, which literally translates to "things about [human]". This is a relatively common construction in sentences expressing emotions about other people, and serves to give the sentence a somewhat *softer* nuance. Additionally, expressions such as [human] no subete (everything about [human]) have been allotted the same score as the koto-sentences.

The reader will likely notice that some of the factors have larger ranges and more values than others – for instance, participant number, object affectedness and event-likeness only have values from 0 to 1. This is because there were no sentences in the data which overtly expressed a participant number lower than 2, no sentences which overtly specified non-affectedness of the object, and no sentences which overtly implied that there was no transfer of energy. An observant reader will likely also notice that the 7 factors presented here do not directly correspond to Langacker's (1991b) 9 transitivity-criteria (c.f. sections 2.4.3). Notably, criterion 1 (Participant Number/Role) has been split into the three criteria "Participant number", "Subject-likeness" and "Object-likeness". This is due to practical constraints, as it is difficult to assign a single numerical value to a factor which pertains to the number of participants, as well as to the subject-/object-likeness of both of these participants. Additionally, factors 5, 6, and 8 (Pre-existence of participants, Asymmetry, and Energy-direction) have been omitted entirely. This is due to the fact that the predicates in question (*suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii*) are not conceptually able to vary in regards to these factors. The predicates do not describe any entities coming into being (precluding 5), they express asymmetrical relations (precluding 6), and to the extent that they express energy-transfer, this is likely always unidirectional from subject to object/N_2 (precluding 8). Lastly, the "temporal boundedness"-sub-factor of the "Dynamicity" criteria has been considered together with the "Event likeness" criteria, and the "Energeticness"-sub-factor has not been tested for.

Because it might still be somewhat unclear how exactly the analysis was conducted, allow me to present a couple of examples:

9) *Demo, kuyashiku-temo,   ore wa Masato o   kirai ni   wa*
   but   regrettable-even.though I   TOP Masato ACC dislike DAT TOP
   nar-e-na-katta.
   become-POT-NEG-PST
   'But, although I regret it, I couldn't seem to dislike Masato.'

Participant number	Subject-likeness	Object-likeness	Event likeness / temp. bound.	Participant discreteness	Volitional element	Object affectedness
1	1	0	0,5	1	1	0

Sentence 9 is given the above scores for the 7 transitivity-factors. There are two overt participants (*ore* 'I' and *Masato* 'Masato'), yielding a "Participant number"-score of 1. Both the subject and the object/N₂ are human, resulting in "Subject-likeness" and "Object-likeness" scores of 1 and 0, respectively. The situation is given a somewhat more event-like interpretation by the fact that the sentence is given in the past tense, and that it contains the verb *naru* 'become'. However, the verb is also in the negative, which means that it does not fully describe something which actually 'took place'. Therefore, the sentence has been given an "Event-likeness"-score of 0,5. The two participants (*ore* 'I' and *Masato* 'Masato') are maximally distinct and discrete, yielding a "Participant discreteness"-score of 1. The sentence also implies a large degree of volition, both due to the included *naru* 'become' verb being in the potential, and due to the presence of the phrase *kuyashikutemo* 'although (I) regret it'. Because of this, the sentence has been given a "Volitional element"-score of 1. Lastly, the 'object' (*Masato* 'Masato') does not seem to be significantly affected by the situation described, yielding an "Object-affectedness"-score of 0.

In order to provide a comparison, a prototypically transitive clause is provided and analyzed below:

10) *Misaki   wa   bōru   o   nage-ta.*
    Misaki   TOP   ball   ACC   throw-PST
    'Misaki threw the ball.'

There are two overt NPs in sentence 10 (*Misaki* 'Misaki' and *bōru* 'the ball'); The subject is human while the object is inanimate and physical; The event is relatively brief; The participants are maximally distinct; There is a clear presence of volition due to the semantics of the verb (throwing is a conscious, intentional action); And the object (*bōru* 'the ball') is affected in that it changes position. This yields a perfect score on all the transitivity-criteria:

Participant number	Subject-likeness	Object-likeness	Event likeness / temp. bound.	Participant discreteness	Volitional element	Object affectedness
1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Now that I have provided some background for interpreting the numbers, I will present the results of the analysis. These are rendered in Tables 6-7 and 6-8 below:[55][56]

Table 6-7   **Transitivity-factor values (BCCWJ)**

Factor PRED	Participant number	Subject-likeness	Object-likeness	Event likeness / temp bound.	Participant discreteness	Volitional element	Object-affectedness	TOTAL
NOM-*suki*	0,68	0,99	0,28	0,02	0,99	0	0	2,96
NOM-*kirai*	0,58	1	0,25	0,08	0,88	-0,03	0,01	2,77
NOM-*hoshii*	0,38	1	0,69	0,01	0,99	0,01	0	3,08
ACC-*suki*	0,5	1	0,13	0,45	0,96	0,09	0,02	3,15
ACC-*kirai*	0,44	1	0,29	0,27	0,91	0,14	0,03	3,06
ACC-*hoshii*	0,62	0,99	0,57	0,07	1	-0,01	0	3,24

Table 6-8   **Transitivity-factor values (CSJ)**

Factor PRED	Participant number	Subject-likeness	Object-likeness	Event likeness / temp bound.	Participant discreteness	Volitional element	Object-affectedness	TOTAL
NOM-*suki* (N=36)	0,47	1	0,35	0	0,99	-0,03	0	2,78
NOM-*hoshii* (N=10)	0,1	1	0,48	0	1	0	0	2,68
ACC-*suki* (N=36)	0,69	0,99	0,21	0,26	0,89	0,10	0,08	3,22
ACC-*hoshii* (N=10)	0,3	1	0,73	0,1	1	0	0	3,13

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[55] The numbers in Tables 6-7 and 6-8 are the averages of the scores of all sentences. As such, they are given as [sum of all sentences] ÷ [amount of sentences].

[56] All sentences, and their scores, can be found in sections 10.2.3 and 10.2.4 in the appendix.

6.3.2   Consideration of Table 6-7

Before going into the various transitivity-factors, I would like to begin by directing the reader's attention to the transitivity-aggregate score (created by combining the scores for all factors) in the column of the far right of Table 6-7. Although perhaps not as prominent as expected, there appears to be a tendency in which the accusatively marked versions of the predicates are 'more transitive'. The differences between the nominatively and accusatively marked predicates are 0,19 points for *suki*, 0,29 points for *kirai*, and 0,16 points for *hoshii*.

Since the total value only gives us a broad overview of the transitivity of the predicates, let us now have a look at the individual factors. First, there are a number of factors in which the nominatively and accusatively marked predicates do not show any significant differences. The values in the factors **Subject-likeness, Participant discreteness**, and **Object affectedness**, do not vary much between accusatively and nominatively marked predicates, indicating that these factors perhaps do not have much explanatory power in accounting for the choice of case-marker. Additionally, there is a slight difference in the **Participant number**-factor, but this difference is not consistent for all the predicates (with the score being lower for accusatively marked *suki* and *kirai*, and higher for accusatively marked *hoshii*).

However, some of the factors do appear to exhibit significant differences. Notably, the sentences in which *suki* and *kirai* appear with accusative marking contain a greater amount of **volitional elements** than when the same predicates appear in the nominative (0,09 and 0,14, vs. 0 and -0,03). Additionally, the values on the **Event-likeness/temporal boundedness**-factor are very different for the differently marked versions of the predicates. While the values for the nominatively marked *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii* are relatively low (0,02; 0,08; 0,01), the same values for the accusatively marked *suki* and *kirai* are significantly higher (0,45 and 0,27), with *hoshii* at 0,07. It would therefore seem that these two factors might play a part in the choice of case-marking, at least when it comes to the NAs (e.g. *suki* and *kirai*).[57]

As for the last factor of **Object likeness**, there appears to be a slight tendency for more object-like N$_2$s with accusatively marked *kirai*, while the opposite is true for the *suki* and *hoshii* predicates. Consistent with the findings in section 6.2.4, there were more very un-

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[57] It should be noted, however, that the high values on both the "Volitional element" and "Event likeness/temporal boundedness" factors mainly come from sentences in which the predicates appear with the inchoative *naru* 'become'. It is not, however, the case that the high values stem directly from the inchoative, as these sentences often contain other elements, such as *jiyū-jizai* 'freely, with full control' as well as *tame ni* 'in order to', which also contribute to increasing the value of the transitivity factors.

object-like N_2s with 'nominatively marked' *suki* (7/50 sentences), but a number of the nominatively marked sentences also contained very object-like N_2s (15/50). The 'accusatively marked' version of the predicate, however, occurs almost exclusively with human N_2s (41/50). This phenomenon is similar in regards to *kirai*, where there were 9 very un-object-like N_2s with nominative marking (and 0 with accusative marking), while most of the accusatively marked N_2s were humans (36/50). In accordance with the claim put forth by Caluianu (2009), it would appear that, while the standard nominative use of the predicate is most often used to express preference for things (e.g. liking a type of food or activity), the accusatively marked predicates mainly describe something akin to the notion of romantic love (e.g. expressing romantic feelings of N_1 towards N_2). Consider Table 6-9 below:

Table 6-9   *suki*-**nuances (BCCWJ)**

Nuance / Pred	Romantic love/feeling	Preference
NOM-*suki*	22%	78%
ACC-*suki*	80%	20%

This might suggest, as mentioned in Caluianu (2009, 238), that the predicate might be undergoing a semantic split, in which two separate – but interrelated – senses of the predicate emerge. This also seems to provide some backing for the claim that the ACC-marked *suki* is becoming its own construction, as suggested in section 6.2.5 above. A similar type of tendency – albeit somewhat weaker – can be found for *kirai,* where 34 of 50 sentences with accusative marking describe dislike aimed at people, while only 17 of the nominatively-marked sentences do so:

Table 6-10   *kirai*-**nuances (BCCWJ)**

Target Pred	Person/feeling	Thing
NOM-*suki*	34%	66%
ACC-*suki*	68%	32%

6.3.3   Consideration of Table 6-8

If we look at the transitivity-aggregate scores for the data from CSJ, we see that the difference between predicates with NOM-/ACC-marked NPs is even greater than what was found in the BCCWJ-data. Accusatively marked *suki*-sentences have a transitivity-aggregate score 0,44 points higher than that of nominatively marked sentences, with the difference for *hoshii* being 0,45 points. As with the BCCWJ-data, the factors which vary the most between NOM/ACC marking are **Volitional element** (for *suki*) and **Event likeness/temporal boundedness** (for both). The values for **Volitional element** are more or less the same as the ones from Table 6-10 (NOMsuki: -0,03 (0,0); ACCsuki: 0,1 (0,9)), and the data also shows a relatively strong correlation between higher values on the **Event likeness/temporal boundedness**-factor and accusative marking for both *suki* and *hoshii*. The *suki*-sentences from CSJ also showed the same increasing tendency for accusative marking (from 5.6% to 44.4%) when the clause expresses (romantic) feelings towards another person. This is rendered in the table below:

Table 6-11   *suki*-**nuances (CSJ)**

Nuance Pred	Romantic love/feeling	Preference
NOM-*suki*	5,6%	94,4%
ACC-*suki*	44,4%	65,6%

All in all, it would seem that the results are more or less robust over the two corpora.

6.4   Summary

In this chapter, I used language corpora to examine the presence of transitivity-factors for predicates with NOM- and ACC-marked NPs. The data seems to suggest that the preference for accusatively marked N_2s with these predicates is linked to cases in which the predicates function together with certain verbs such as *naru* and *(de)-iru*. As such, the alternation seems to be somewhat dependent on certain syntactic features. Looking at the nature of these PRED+VERB combinations reveals, however, that they are also strongly tied to prototypical transitive features such as **event-likeness** and **volitionality** (despite the verbs in question not being transitive themselves). Additionally, the in-depth analysis in section 6.3 and its subsections revealed a correlation between certain transitivity-factors – notably **volition** and **event-likeness** – and accusative marking. This correlation seems to hold true both for spoken-language and written-language corpora. Lastly, it was discovered that, in the case of *suki* and *kirai*, there is perhaps some evidence of a semantic split where accusatively marked predicates express emotions aimed at humans, rather than preferences for things. It should be noted that the findings made in this chapter hold the strongest for the *suki*-predicate, perhaps due to this predicate's relatively high frequency. Since corpus-based studies only assess the presence of a given construction, and not its acceptability, many of these findings will be re-examined in the questionnaire in the next chapter.

7 Questionnaire

7.0   Purpose of the questionnaire

In essence, the purpose of this questionnaire is to re-examine the findings which arose from the corpus studies in Chapter 6, in addition to testing for factors which were not testable in these studies. Although spontaneous, naturalistic corpus data can provide positive proof for the existence of a construction, it cannot provide negative proof for the non-existence of one. In addition, the fact that utterances are found in spontaneous language data does not tell us how speakers feel about these utterances. People make mistakes, both in spoken and written language, and because of this, it is problematic to draw conclusions based solely on spontaneous recordings of speech/text. In this study, I asked native speakers to assess the acceptability of sentences which, to varying degrees, exhibit the transitivity features discussed in 2.4.3. The elicited values of sentences deemed neutral in the various (transitivity-related) factors were then compared with the values of the sentences which exhibited the factors in question. The comparison between these two groups of sentences will – hopefully – yield some insight into which factors matter and which do not.

7.0.1   Structure of the chapter

The chapter can be roughly separated into two parts. Part one, encompassing sections 7.1 through 7.1.5, consists of an explanation of various facets of the study. In sections 7.1.1 through 7.1.2.6, I provide an overview of which transitivity-related factors will be tested, in addition to showing just how I intend to test for them. After this, I present some non-transitivity-related factors which are also tested in the study (7.1.3). Lastly, sections 7.1.4 and 7.1.5 deal with the methodology of the study, and the distribution of participants, respectively. In part two – consisting of sections 7.2 through 7.2.5 – I examine the results of the study. First, I assess group variation (7.2.1), before presenting the results for the neutral control-sentences (7.2.2). Then, I analyse the results for the transitivity-related factors (7.2.3 and 7.2.4), before moving on to those not related to transitivity (7.2.5). Section 7.2.6 contains a summary of the findings of the study.

7.1 Preliminaries

The following sub-sections deal with the process leading up to the creation of the questionnaire, and the methodology of the study.

7.1.1 Factors not tested

To begin with, I would like to clarify which transitivity-factors I will be testing. Recalling Langacker's transitive prototype (Langacker 1991b, 302), we have 9 transitivity-increasing criteria:[58] **participant number (participant role)**, **event-likeness**, **dynamicity**, **discreteness of participants**, **pre-existence of participants**, **asymmetry**, **volition**, **energy-direction** and **object-affectedness** (see section 2.4.3). Ideally, the optimal questionnaire would test for all of these factors, but due to both spatial and logistical constraints, some factors have had to be omitted. For instance, testing for **asymmetry** without contrasting the A/NAs with a more symmetrical predicate (such as *niru* 'resemble') is very difficult, and attempting to compare acceptability scores between the predicates and other verbs/adjectives would likely raise more questions than it answers.

As mentioned in section 2.5, the A/NAs dealt with in this thesis might be conceived of as involving a sort of mental energy transfer through metaphorical extensions such as EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT and LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE. These extensions allow mental events to be interpreted in regard to the physical world. However, assessing the existence and directionality of this transfer within the participants' conceptualization of the situation is arguably not possible with this test-format. Therefore, **energy-direction** is not treated by this particular questionnaire.

Additionally, the factor of **pre-existence of participants** is not treated. Although it might be possible to create a test-sentence in which it is clear that the N_2 arises from the event (for example with the A/NAs in attributive use, together with the verb *dekiru* 'appear')[59], it is

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[58] 'transitivity factor' and 'transitivity criteria' both refer back to Langacker's prototype. In broad terms, 'transitivity criteria' is used when referring to the conceptual prototype, while 'transitivity factors' is used when examining the presence/absence of these criteria in the test-items.

[59] As an example, consider the following sentence:

Misaki	*wa*	*suki*	*na*	*hito*	*ga*	*deki-ta.*
Misaki	TOP	like	COP	person	NOM	appeared-PST

'A person appeared whom Misaki likes / Misaki began to like someone'

uncertain whether or not the 'arising' would be perceived as linked to the A/NA in question. Therefore, I have chosen to omit tests for this factor.

Lastly, the *energeticness* aspect of the **dynamicity** criterion will not be examined, due to the difficulty of creating test-items with differing interpretations of the presence of (metaphorically extended) kinetic energy, while using the same predicates. For the purpose of this chapter, we can more or less equate the **dynamicity** factor with its sub-factor of **temporal boundedness**.

7.1.2   Transitivity-related factors

The remaining 6 factors, however, will all be tested in various ways. In the following subsections I attempt to explain which sentences test for which factors, in addition to how they do so. The test items are given throughout the text of this chapter, and can also be found (complete with their kanji/kana version, in the appendix (section 10.3.1)). Before presenting the various transitivity-factors and test-items, I present the control-sentences here, to give the reader an opportunity to contrast the test-items with the control-sentences her-/himself:[60]

1) *Boku   wa   Misaki   ga   suki   da.*
   I   TOP   Misaki   NOM   like   COP
   'I like Misaki.'

2) *Tashika-ni   kakkoi-i   kedo, watashi wa   Tarō   ga   kirai   da.*
   certainly   handsome-PRS   but   I   TOP Tarō   NOM   dislike COP
   'He's certainly handsome, but I dislike Tarō.'

3) *Watashi   wa   atarashi-i   seetaa   ga   hoshi-i.*
   I   TOP   new-PRS   sweater   NOM   want-PRS
   'I want a new sweater.'

4) *Boku   wa   Misaki   o   suki   da.*
   I   TOP   Misaki   ACC   like   COP
   'I like Misaki.'

5) *Tashika-ni   kakkoi-i   kedo, watashi wa   Tarō   o   kirai   da.*
   certainly   handsome-PRS   but   I   TOP Tarō   ACC   dislike COP
   'He's certainly handsome, but I dislike Tarō.'

6) *Watashi   wa   atarashi-i   seetaa   o   hoshi-i.*
   I   TOP   new-PRS   sweater   ACC   want-PRS
   'I want a new sweater.'

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[60] The control-sentences are intended to be 'neutral' in the various transitivity-factors, in the sense that any added elements are not thought to increase/decrease the sentences' perceived transitivity.

7) *Watashi wa yoku hito o suki ni nar-u.*
   I   TOP often people ACC like DAT become-PRS
   'I often grow to like people.'

8) *Watashi wa hito o kirai ni nar-u koto ga ō-i.*
   I   TOP people ACC dislike DAT become-PRS NMZ NOM a.lot-PRS
   'I often grow to dislike people.'

9) *Boku wa denshi-kiki no CM o mi-ru to, itsumo sono shōhin*
   I   TOP electronics GEN commercial ACC see-PRS COMP always that product
   o hoshi-ku-nar-u.
   ACC want-ADZ-become-PRS
   'Whenever I see commercials for electronics, I always end up wanting the products.'

7.1.2.1 Participant number and participant role

Although it might appear to be the most easily testable factor at first glance, the effect of **participant number** is actually rather difficult to assess. Japanese exhibits a large degree of pronoun ellipsis, in which the pronouns are absent from the utterance or text, but still conceptually present. The pronouns are usually derivable from the context, and in instances where there is no obvious contextual subject, the inferred subject usually defaults to the speaker. This means that presenting an example where the subject is removed is not radically different from presenting the same example with an 'I'-subject.[61] Bearing this in mind, I have nevertheless attempted to assess the effect of participant number in two ways. The first is to introduce the reflexive pronoun *jibun* 'oneself' (see 10, 11), and comparing this with the control-sentences.[62] This renders the sentence fully reflexive, as the N_1 and the N_2 correspond to the same entity. The second is to simply compare sentences with overt subjects (e.g. 4, 5, 6) to sentences with no/an inferred subject (e.g. 12, 13, 14). Additionally, the significance of **participant role** (e.g. subject- and object-likeness) will be tested in examples 15-19, which have been created based on the empathy-hierarchy (see 6.2.4). If sentences 15-17 – with subjects lower than humans on the hierarchy – are deemed less acceptable with accusative marking, it would indicate that sentences in which the role of the participants is further from

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[61] Note that the N_2 is not removable from the example either, as this leads the subject (N_1) to be perceived as the N_2, and the creation of a new subject. See:
Misaki wa/ga Tarō ga/o kirai da.
'Misaki hates Tarō.'

Misaki wa/ga Ø Ø kirai da.
'(I) hate Misaki.'
[62] The *hoshii*-predicate is omitted from this assessment because it is difficult to create a semantically sound sentence with *hoshii* in which the N_1 and N_2 correspond to the same entity.

the transitive prototype are negatively associated with the case-alternation. Additionally, sentences 18 and 19 have been included to examine whether very non-object like N₂s affect the judged acceptability of the sentences.

Participant number (1/2 – full reflexive)

10) *Mawari   ni   iroiro   okor-are-ru   kedo, watashi wa   jibun   o   suki da.*
    surroundings DAT   various   scold-PASS-PRS but   I   TOP   oneself ACC   like COP
     'I often get scolded by people around me, but I like myself.'

11) *Tomodachi ni   kii-ta   hanashi da   kedo, Haruki wa   jibun   o   kirai*
    friend   DAT   hear-PST   story   COP   but   Haruki TOP oneself ACC   dislike
    rashi-i.
    seem-PRS
    'I heard this from my friend, but it seems like Haruki dislikes himself.'

Participant number (2/2 – overt)

12) *Itsumo   yasashi-ku-shite-kure-ru   kara   Haruki o   suki da.*
    always   nice-ADZ-do-give-PRS   because   Haruki ACC   like COP
    'I like Haruki because he is always nice to me.'

13) *Itsumo benkyō-shite-iru toki ni   jama   o   sur-u   kara,   otōto   o*
    always study-do-PROG   time DAT bother ACC   do-PRS because younger-brother ACC
    kirai   da.
    dislike COP
    'I dislike my brother, because he always bothers me while I'm studying.'

14) *Haruki wa   mattaku deeto ni   tsurete-itte-kure-na-i   kara,   atarashi-i kareshi*
    Haruki TOP   at.all   date DAT bring-go-give-NEG-PRS   because   new-PRS   boyfriend
    o   hoshi-i.
    ACC   want-PRS
    'Haruki never takes me on dates, so I want a new boyfriend.'

Participant role (1/2 – subject animacy)

15) *Watashi wa   kihonteki-ni   dōbutsu ni   kiraw-are-ru   taipu   da kedo,*
    I   TOP   fundamentally animals DAT dislike-PASS-PRS type.of.person COP but
    Shōta no   inu   wa   watashi o   suki da.
    Shōta GEN   dog   TOP   I   ACC   like COP
    'I'm the type of person who is usually disliked by animals, but Shōta's dog likes me.'

16) *Saru   wa   iroiro   na   doubutsu to   naka   ga   waru-i   ga,*
    monkey   TOP   various   COP   animals   COMP   relation NOM bad-PRS   but
    toku-ni   inu   o   kirai   da.
    especially dogs ACC   dislike COP
    'Monkeys are on bad terms with many animals, but they especially dislike dogs.'

17) *Inu   wa   nani-yori-mo esa   o   hoshi-i kara,   tabemono sae*
    dogs   TOP above.all.else (animal.)food ACC want-PRS because food   only
    ataer-eba kantan-ni nakayoku nar-er-u
    give-COND easily   friendly   become-POT-PRS
    'Dogs want food above all else, so as long as you give them food, you can easily befriend them.'

Participant role (2/2 – object animacy)

18) *Watashi   wa   fantajii no   hon   o   yom-u   no   o   suki da.*
    I   TOP fantasy GEN book ACC read-PRS NMZ ACC like   COP
    'I like reading fantasy-books.'

19) *Boku   wa   futsukayoi ga   hido-i kara,   osake o   nom-u   no   o   kirai*
    I   TOP hangover   NOM bad-PRS because alcohol ACC drink-PRS NMZ ACC dislike
    da.
    COP
    'I dislike drinking alcohol, because I get really bad hangovers.'

7.1.2.2 Event likeness

Event likeness, on the other hand, is tested by introducing the verb *naru* 'become' to the sentence. One can see that in sentences like 20, 21 and 22, the situation described is more dynamic and involves a *change*. Higher acceptability-ratings of accusatively marked test-items such as these would therefore help cement the transitivity-associated event-likeness factor as an important component in accounting for the case-alternation. However, the choice to involve another verb and (syntactically) demoting the A/NAs to adverbs – and subsequently using these results to make generalizations about the A/NAs – might, understandably, raise some criticism. While this is a valid concern, and one I will be keeping in mind while analysing the results, I would nevertheless like to raise a defence to this objection. I imagine the most immediate criticism of this choice to be that when one demotes the A/NAs to adverbs and includes another verb, the accusative particle on the second nominal is supposed to be assigned by the verb, and not by the A/NAs (now Advs). If we look at the case-marking patterns with A/NA+V combinations, however, we see that the verb does not seem to decide the choice of case-particle on the second nominal. Consider the following examples:

Misaki   wa   se   ga   taka-i.
Misaki   TOP   height NOM tall-PRS
'Misaki is tall (Misaki's height is high).'

*Misaki   wa   se   ga/*o   taka-ku   nat-ta.*
Misaki   TOP   height NOM/ACC   tall-ADZ   become-PST
'Misaki's became tall (Misaki's height became high).'

> *Misaki*   *wa*   *Tarō*   *ga/o*   *kirai*   *da.*
> Misaki   TOP   Tarō   NOM/ACC   hate   COP
> 'Misaki dislikes Tarō.'
>
> *Misaki*   *wa*   *Tarō*   *ga/o*   *kirai*   *ni*   *nat-ta.*
> Misaki   TOP   Tarō   NOM/ACC   hate   DAT   become-PST
> 'Misaki began to hate Tarō / Misaki grew to hate Tarō.'

By looking at these examples, one can see that it is the adverbialized NA, and not the introduced verb, that governs the case-marking on the second nominal, and that the introduction of *naru* 'become' does not *syntactically* influence the case-marking. I argue, therefore, that any difference in acceptability judgments found between the original and *naru*-appended sentences should be interpreted as being due to semantic differences in *event-conceptualization*.

> 20) *Misaki   no   kimono-sugata   o   mi-ta   totan, Haruki wa   kanojo o   suki*
>   Misaki GEN dressed.in.kimono ACC see-PST instant Haruki TOP her   ACC like
>   *ni   nat-ta.*
>   DAT become-PST
>   'When he saw Misaki dressed in a kimono, Haruki fell for her.'
>
> 21) *Suki   na   kashu ga   sekuhara   de   taiho-sare-ta   to   kii-ta*
>   like   COP singer NOM sexual.harassment INST arrest-do.PASS-PST COMP hear-PST
>   *toki, Misaki   wa   kare o   kirai   ni   nat-ta.*
>   time Misaki TOP him ACC dislike DAT become-PST
>   'When Misaki heard that the singer she liked was arrested for sexual harassment, she begun to dislike him.'
>
> 22) *Shingata   no   keitai   ni   wa   furonto-kamera ga   futatsu tsuite-iru   no*
>   new.model GEN cellphone DAT TOP front-camera   NOM two   attach-PROG NMZ
>   *o   shiri, boku wa   sore o   hoshi-ku-nat-ta.*
>   ACC learn   I   TOP that ACC want-ADZ-become-PST
>   'When I learned that the new cellphone has two front-cameras, I began to want it.'

7.1.2.3 Dynamicity (temporal boundedness)

Dynamicity is another transitivity-factor that will be tested in several ways. For one, the aforementioned examples 20, 21 and 22 will, in addition to testing the **event-likeness**, also assess event-duration. Which of the two factors account for potential differences in judgments is hard to determine, however, and therefore I have introduced another way of gauging the effect of dynamicity. The way in which I have attempted to do this is by using sentences 23, 24 and 25, in which the situation described by the predicates is presented in past-tense along with a time-restricting adverbial. Higher acceptability scores of accusatively-marked predicates in this group may therefore indicate that event-briefness and the existence of a

defined endpoint – both closely associated with transitivity – help account for the phenomenon of accusative marking.

23) *Ima wa tsumarana-i hito da to omo-u ga, ichinensei no toki, watashi*
    now TOP boring-PRS person COP COMP think-PRS NOM freshman GEN time I
    wa kare o suki dat-ta.
    TOP him ACC like COP-PST
    'Now I think he is a boring person, but I liked him when I was a freshman.'

24) *Kodomo no toki wa yasai o kirai dat-ta ga, ima wa mainichi*
    child GEN time TOP vegetables ACC dislike COP-PST NOM now TOP every.day
    takusan tabete-iru.
    a.lot eat-PROG
    'When I was a child I disliked vegetables, but now I eat a lot of them every day.'

25) *Kōkō-jidai wa gucchi no kaban o hoshi-katta kedo, ima wa sonna*
    high-school period TOP Gucci GEN bag ACC want-PST but now TOP that.kind
    no nante doudemo-ii to omotte-ki-ta.
    NMZ such.as indifferent COMP think-come-PST
    'In my high school days I wanted Gucci-bags, but now I couldn't care less about those kinds of things.'

7.1.2.4 Participant discreteness

Another factor which will be gauged in two ways is that of **participant discreteness**. Firstly, the discreteness of participants will be tested along with **participant number** in test-items 7 and 8, where both the N_1 and the N_2 represent the same entity though reflexive constructions. Secondly, semi-reflexive test-items will be presented in which the N_2-entity is more-or-less part of the N_1-entity, as in sentences 26 and 27.[63] If these prove to be less acceptable with accusative marking it is reasonable to conclude that discreteness matters in regard to the observed alternation. When interpreting the results of this however, it is important to be mindful of the fact that there is a certain amount of overlap with **participant role** here, as the sentences with less discrete entities such as *ashi* 'legs' and *yōshi* 'appearance' also – on the whole – contain more object-like second nominals. The second aspect of discreteness, namely *definiteness*, is not tested here, as the lack of a definite marker in Japanese makes it difficult to create sentences which are identical except for the definiteness of the NPs.

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[63] The *hoshii*-predicate is omitted from this assessment because it is difficult to create a semantically sound sentence with *hoshii* in which the N_1 and N_2 correspond to more or less the same entity.

26) *Donna   tokoro   ga   jiman   ka   to   i-u   shitsumon   ni   taishite,*
    what kind   spot   NOM   pride   Q   COMP say-PRS question   DAT   in.regard.to
    sono moderu wa   "watashi wa   toku-ni   jibun   no   ashi o   suki da" to
    that model TOP   I   TOP   especially oneself GEN legs ACC like COP COMP
    katat-ta.
    tell-PST
    'In response to a question about what body-part she was most happy with, the model answered "I'm particularly fond of my legs".'

27) *Itsumo minna   ni   "utsukushi-i"   to   iwar-er-u   kedo, watashi wa   jibun*
    always everyone   DAT   beautiful-PRS   COMP say-PASS-PRS but   I   TOP   oneself
    no   yōshi   o   kirai   da.
    GEN   appearance ACC dislike COP
    'Everyone always tells me that I'm beautiful, but I dislike my own appearance.'

7.1.2.5 Volition

The influence of **volition** – perhaps expected to be one of the most important contributing factors to the acceptability of accusative-marked A/NA-sentences – will be thoroughly tested in several different ways. In one group of sentences – 28-30 – I have adverbialized the A/NAs and employed the potential of the verb *naru* 'become', to imbue the test-sentences with a higher degree of overt intention.[64] These sentences also feature adverbs such as *doushitemo* 'no matter what (I) do' and *nakanaka* 'not readily' to invoke an even more volitional interpretation. In addition to this, another group of sentences – 31, 32 and 33 – contain features such as *-tai wake janakatta no ni* 'although (I) didn't want to become -', *keredo* 'but' and *nazeka* 'for some reason', which create a *less* volitional interpretation. The less acceptable this last group of sentences is deemed, the more important volition will appear as an explanatory factor.

Volition (1/2 –positive volition)

28) Watashi wa   ganbatte,   yatto   mukashi kirai   dat-ta   yasai   o   suki
    I   TOP   endeavor   finally   formerly dislike COP-PST vegetables ACC like
    ni   nar-e-ta.
    DAT become-POT-PST
    'I made an effort, and finally began to like the vegetables I had previously hated.'

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[64] Ideally, I would have like to use the positive potential form of the *naru* predicate for all sentences, but due to the meaning of the predicates (especially *kirai*) it is difficult to conceive of a situation in which such a sentence is pragmatically possible.

29) *Donna   hido-i   koto   o   sarete-mo,   boku   wa   ano ko   o   kirai   ni*
what kind cruel-PRS things ACC do.PASS-even   I   TOP   that girl ACC dislike   DAT
nar-e-na-i.
become-POT-NEG-PRS
'No matter what cruel things I am subjected to (by her), I can't seem to hate that girl.'

30) *Daikazoku   ga   i-i   to   i-u   tsuma   no   kimochi o*
large family   NOM   good-PRS COMP   say-PRS wife   GEN   feelings ACC
rikai-shi-yō   to   ganbatte-wa-mi-ta   ga, boku   wa   nakanaka kodomo
understand-do-VOL COMP   perservere-EMPH-try-PST but I   TOP   not.readily children
o   hoshi-ku-nar-e-na-i
ACC want-ADZ-become-POT-NEG-PRS
'I've tried my best to understand the feelings of my wife who wants a large family, but I can't really seem to start wanting children.'

Volition (2/2 – negative volition)

31) *Betsu-ni   suki ni   nari-ta-katta   wake ja-nai   keredo, watashi wa   kare*
particularly like DAT   become-DESID-PST   case COP-NEG   but   I   TOP   him
o   suki da.
ACC   like   COP
'It's not like I particularly wanted to like him, but I do.'

32) *Itsumo yasashi-ku-shite-kure-ru   keredo, watashi wa   nazeka   ano   hito   o*
always   nice-ADZ-do-give-PRS   but   I   TOP   for.some.reason that   person   ACC
kirai   da.
dislike COP
'He is always nice to me, but for some reason I dislike that person.'

33) *Watashi wa   kono butsuyokushakai   ga   iya   da   keredo, nazeka*
I   TOP   this   materialistic.society NOM   detestable   COP but   for.some.reason
shingata   no   keitai   o   hoshi-i.
new.model GEN   mobile.phone   ACC   want-PRS
'Even though I detest this materialistic society, I for some reason find myself wanting a new phone.'

7.1.2.6   Object affectedness

The last transitivity-related factor which will be tested in this questionnaire is that of **object affectedness**. This will be tested by providing sentences in which the N_2 clearly undergoes some physical or mental change as a consequence of the action taking place. It is, however, difficult to conceive of actions with the A/NAs meaning having physical consequences on the receiving participant, which will mean that any sentence which implies this will be particularly low in imagery (see section 7.1.4 below). Therefore, I have chosen to add information which suggests a mental affectedness of the N_2 to the sentences. The sentences in

question are sentences 34 and 35.[65] They contain phrases such as *kimochi warui* 'makes me sick' and *shokku o uketa* '(I) was shocked', which are presented as direct consequences of the liking and disliking.

34) *Tarō ga   watashi o   suki da   nante, kimochi-waru-i yo.*
     Tarō NOM I   ACC like COP such.as disgusting-PRS PTCL
     'Tarō liking me makes me sick.'

35) *Misaki ga   boku o   kirai da   to   kii-ta   toki, sugoku shokku o*
     Misaki NOM I   ACC dislike COP COMP hear-PST time very   shock   ACC
     uke-ta.
     incur-PST
     'I was shocked when I heard that Misaki dislikes me.'

7.1.3 Non-transitivity related factors

In the introduction to this thesis, I explained that I aim to explain the possibility and cause of the case-alternation observed with the A/NAs in question. Therefore, any analysis that ignores non-semantic factors (such as parsing, and language-norms), would be incomplete. Because of this, I have chosen to add a few test-items which reaffirm the previous claims made by Shibatani (1978) (see section 5.2.3) regarding **ambiguity reduction**, as well as the effect of degree of **formality/politeness**.

Ambiguity reduction as a factor is tested by providing test-items in which a large amount of elements appear between the N$_2$ and the A/NA. The idea is that if reduction of ambiguity is one of the driving factors behind the case-alternation, the sentences with many elements between the accusatively-marked N$_2$ and the verb should be deemed more acceptable, since the accusative particle helps clarify the syntactic role of the N$_2$. The sentences used to test this are those of 36, 37 and 38:

36) *Boku wa   Misaki o   kono yo   no   dono   onna-no-ko yori-mo   suki   da.*
     I   TOP Misaki ACC this   world GEN whichever girl   rather-than like COP
     'I like Misaki more than any other girl in the world.'

37) *Watashi wa   Tarō o,   ninenmae   ni   fur-arete   irai,   zutto*
     I   TOP Tarō ACC two.years.ago DAT dump-PASS since the.whole.time
     kirai   da.
     dislike COP
     'I've disliked Tarō ever since he dumped me two years ago.'

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[65] Because the objects of *hoshii* clauses are most commonly non-humans, it is difficult to provide a plausible sentence which expresses (emotional) object affectedness with this predicate. Object affectedness is therefore only assessed in regards to *suki* and *kirai*.

38) *Boku wa mazu zeitaku-shi-ta-i ga, kanojo wa kodomo o, ōki*
    I   TOP first.of.all luxury-do-DESID-PRS but girlfriend TOP children ACC large
    na ie yori-mo, taka-i kuruma yori-mo, hoshi-i rashi-i
    COP house rather-than expensive-PRS car   rather-than want-PRS seem-PRS
    'I firstly want to live in luxury, but my girlfriend seems to want children more than a large house or an expensive car.'

On the other hand, a higher degree of **formality/politeness** might be expected to result in lower acceptability ratings. This is due to the accusative marking still being considered non-standard (see section 1.1) and because formal language may pose higher requirements in regard to correctness, barring use of slang-expressions etc.. Lower ratings of the more formal sentences 39-44, would therefore indicate that correctness and formality contribute to halting the case-alternation.

Politeness (1/2 – polite)

39) *Haruki wa Hanako o suki desu.*
    Haruki TOP Hanako ACC like COP.POL
    'Haruki likes Hanako.'

40) *Tomodachi no hanashi ni yoru to, Haruki wa Tarō o kirai desu.*
    friend   GEN story DAT according COMP Haruki TOP Tarō ACC dislike COP.POL
    'According to my friend, Haruki dislikes Tarō.'

41) *Watashi wa atarashi-i seetaa o hoshi-i desu*
    I   TOP new-PRS sweater ACC want-PRS COP.POL
    'I want a new sweater.'

Politeness (2/2 – superpolite)

42) *Watashi wa ano kata o suki de-gozaimasu.*
    I   TOP that person.POL ACC like COP-SUPERPOL
    'I like that person.'

43) *Itsumo waru-i koto bakari shite-iru node, watashi wa ano hito o*
    always bad-PRS things only do-PROG because.POL I   TOP that person ACC
    kirai de-gozaimasu.
    dislike COP-SUPERPOL
    'I dislike him/her, because he/she only does bad things.'

44) Daikazoku ni akogarete-ori-masu node, watashi wa takusan no
    large family DAT admire-PROG;HUMB-POL because.POL I   TOP many GEN
    kodomo o hoshū-gozaimasu.
    children ACC want-SUPERPOL
    'I want many children because I look up to large families.'

7.1.4 Methodology

The participants were asked to rate the acceptability of the sentences on a Likert Scale from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 5 (completely acceptable). Two base-sentences – corresponding to 1 (sentence B) and 5 (sentence A) on the scale – were provided to the participants at the beginning of the task.[66] These sentences' (un)acceptability was assessed beforehand by native speakers not participating in the study. Participants were also asked to provide their gender, age, academic year, and place of birth/place of longest residence in Japan, but no other personal information (e.g. names) was collected.

In addition, several measures were put into place in order to avoid potential sources of error in the data. To combat the effects of satiation, the order of sentences were randomized for each participant. Participants were also asked to disclose whether or not they had a background in linguistics. Additionally, participants were explicitly instructed to rate *acceptability*, rather than *grammaticality*. They were asked to rate the sentences based on whether or not they would sound natural if uttered by, for example, a friend, and not based on whether or not they conform to formal grammar rules. In order to avoid skewing based on the level of imagery in the sentences, the sentences were provided with context, in order to make the situations as easily imaginable as possible.

Another choice I have made in regard to the creation of the test-items, is to avoid using sentences which would likely have been deemed unacceptable regardless of the non-standard choice of case-particle (barring, of course, the base sentence B mentioned two paragraphs above). Sentences in which other elements than the case particle feel out of place would yield lower acceptability-ratings in general, and would thus void any comparison between them and the control sentences (sentences 1-9). All the sentences have therefore been confirmed to be fully acceptable with the nominative case-particle *ga*.[67] These assessments were, like those of the base-sentences, made beforehand by native speakers not participating in the study.

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[66] All sentences can be found in section 10.3 in the appendix.
[67] The only exceptions being those which contain the verb *naru* 'become', as they are often deemed unacceptable with the *ga*-particle.

7.1.5   Distribution of participants

The participants of the study belong to two groups, the first being current or previous Japanese exchange students at the University of Oslo, Norway, and the second being Japanese people living in Norway enrolled at Norwegian language schools. The majority of participants belong to the former of the two. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 38, with the majority of the participants (approximately 90%) below the age of 28 – the average being 24. The rate of female respondents was rather high, with the ratio of women/men being 29/8. The participants' place of birth (and longest permanent residence) ranged all the way from Hokkaidō to Kyūshū, with the most represented regions being Hokkaidō (N=4), Kantō (N=9), Chūbu (N=4) and Kinki (N=15). Lastly, the majority of the participants (N=18) reported that they had previously taken linguistics-classes, but only 4/37 had majors related to linguistics. There were 0 linguistics-majors, and 15 participants who have had no experience with linguistics. In addition to this distribution, it is important to keep in mind that all the respondents have had experiences of living/studying abroad, and that they therefore make up a (relatively) restricted group of individuals. Although this might mean that the results are not completely representative for the population as a whole, they nevertheless represent the intuitions of a group of native speakers. With all this in mind, I will now present and discuss the results of the questionnaire.

7.2   Results

The following sub-sections are devoted to presenting and analyzing the results of the study.

7.2.1   Group variation

Although the purpose of this study is to find unifying tendencies within a certain population of native speakers, and not to differentiate linguistic behavior on the basis of other variables, I would like to briefly touch on some of the differences within the various groups of participants included in the study.

On the whole, the male participants rated the test-items as less acceptable than their female counterparts, with the average score for all sentences being 2,75 for male participants and 3,24 for female participants. This is perhaps natural, as women are generally thought to be at

the forefront of leading linguistic change (Labov 2001, 280-283; Shin 2013, 136). In 4 cases, the difference between male and female participants exceeded 1 point, whereas other sentences were less contested, yielding a difference of under 0,1 point. It is interesting to note, however, that 3/4 of the test-items which exhibited a gender-difference over 1 point included the *suki*-predicate, indicating that this is perhaps the largest point of contention.

In regard to the factor of previous experience with linguistics, the acceptability judgments of the various groups seem to be relatively similar. The average of the acceptability judgments for all sentences was 2,95 for those with no linguistic experience, 3,25 for those who had previously taken classes in linguistics, and 3,24 for those who reported themselves as majoring in a field somewhat related to linguistics. Although there is a slight difference between the groups, this is not significant enough to draw any definite conclusions about the relation between linguistic training and perceived acceptability.

As for regional differences,[68] there were some differences across regions with more than one participant. The average acceptability value of all test-items was 3,64 (N=4) for Hokkaidō, 3,08 (P=9) for Kantō, 3,13 for Chūbu (P=4) and 3,01 (P=15) for Kinki. The difference between the participants from Hokkaido and the other regions is noticeable, perhaps yielding some hints about the effect of dialectical variation on the acceptability of *suki- kirai-* and *hoshii*-sentences with accusatively marked N_2s.

In regard to age, there seems to be a slight negative correlation between age and judged acceptability. The average score given by participants born between 1980 and 1990 (N=5) was 2,83, the average score given by those born between 1991 and 1995 (N=10) was 3,20, and the average score given by those born between 1995 and 1999 (N=22) was 3,22. This seems to indicate that younger speakers are more accepting of NOM-ACC patterns with *suki*, *kirai*, and *hoshii*. Whether this is due to the age of the speaker, or their birth year (e.g. whether it is due to slight generational differences or merely speaker-maturity), however, is unclear.

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[68] Referring to 'where one has lived the longest'. There was only one participant who reported differing values for 'place of birth' and 'where one has lived the longest', so these analyses have not been conducted separately.

7.2.2 Control-sentences

Table 7-1   Average acceptability-values for control-sentences[69]

Variable Predicate	Control NOM-NOM (α)	Control NOM-ACC (β)	Control NOM-ACC-naru (γ)
suki	5 m=5, M=5	2,54 m=2, M=2	4,78 m=5, M=5
kirai	4,81 m=5, M=5	2,49 m=2, M=2	4,92 m=5, M=5
hoshii	4,97 m=5, M=5	2,35 m=2, M=1	3,89 m=4, M=5

Beginning with the assessment of the control sentences, the test-items exhibiting the NOM-NOM pattern (sentences 1-3) accrued (nearly) perfect acceptability scores (avg: *suki*: 5; *kirai*: 4,81; *hoshii*: 4,97). On the other hand, the test-items exhibiting the NOM-ACC pattern showed markedly lower scores (avg: *suki*: 2,54; *kirai*: 2,49; *hoshii*: 2,35). While the NOM-NOM construction appears to be fully acceptable among almost all speakers, the NOM-ACC construction therefore seems to lie somewhere between total unacceptability and total acceptability, leaning towards the lower end of the spectrum. The perception of the NOM-ACC construction as peripheral and non-standard therefore seems to be in accordance with the intuitions of native speakers (Shibatani 1991, 301). In regard to the control-sentences with *naru* 'become', it seems that the NOM-ACC pattern rises drastically in acceptability when combined with this verb.

In order to elucidate the effects of the presence/absence of transitivity related elements in the subsequent sentences, I will be comparing them all to the NOM-ACC control-sentences. For the sake of brevity, these control-sentences (4-6) will henceforth be glossed as β*suki*, β*kirai* and β*hoshii*. In the case of test-items containing the verb *naru* along with other transitivity increasing factors, these will be contrasted both with the β-versions, as well as with the NOM-ACC-*naru* control-sentences (7-9), which will henceforth be referred to as γ*suki*, γ*kirai*, and γ*hoshii*. To increase readability, these values have been re-rendered under every subsequent table.

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[69] m=median, M=mode

7.2.3 Transitivity-factors (1/2)[70]

Table 7-2   Average acceptability values for transitivity factors (1/2)[71]

Variable Predicate	Participant number (reflexive) (-)	Participant number (overt) (-)	Participant role (Subject animacy) (-)	Participant role (Object animacy) (-)	Event Likeness (+)
suki	2,54 m=2, M=2	2,38 m=2, M=1	3,81 m=4, M=5	2 m=2, M=2	4,81 m=5, M=5
kirai	3,76 m=5, M=5	2,19 m=2, M=1	2,08 m=2, M=1	2,22 m=2, M=1	3,41 m=4, M=5
hoshii	N/A	2,19 m=2, M=1	3,46 m=4, M=5	N/A	3,92 m=4, M=5
βsuki=2,54	**βkirai=2,49**	**βhoshii=2,35**	**γsuki=4,78**	**γkirai=4,92**	**γhoshii=3,89**

In regard to **Participant number** (sentences 10-14), the results were rather mixed. We see that while the sentences with a lower amount of overt participants (12-14) expectedly yielded somewhat lower average acceptability-scores (-0,16[72]; -0,30; -0,16), those with reflexive subjects (10-11) actually yielded similar (±0,00 for *suki*) or drastically higher (+1,27 for *kirai*) ratings compared with the β-sentences. Moreover, both the median and the mean for sentence 11 were 5, indicating a relatively significant divide in the judgments of the speakers. The only discernable difference between sentences 10 and 11 (apart from the differing predicates, of course) is the presence of the word *rashii* 'seems like' after the *kirai*-predicate. If this is indeed the cause of the discrepancy, it is a surprising one, as such words would normally be assumed to decrease transitivity, rather than increase it. However, it might be possible that this sentence could have received a similar interpretation to the *garu*-suffixed sentences discussed in 5.2.2, in which it describes outward manifestation of internal feelings. Without access to the minds of the respondents, however, this remains a simple conjecture.

Moving on to **Participant role** (15-19), we see similarly diverging results. As indicated by the parenthesized (-)s, the test-items were expected to yield lower average values. The sentences with non-prototypical objects (18 and 19) received lower ratings (-0,54; -0,27),

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[70] The separation of the discussion into two parts is not thematic, but has rather been made in order to improve readability, and to avoid having to refer back several pages.

[71] The parenthesized (+) and (-) indicate the expected effect of the added elements on the sentences' acceptability. As such, the values of factors marked with (-) were expected to be lower than those of the β-sentences, while the values of factors marked with (+) were expected to be higher than those of the β-sentences.

[72] value=[participant number (overt)]-[βsuki] = 2,38-2,54 = -0,16. The other calculations follow the same pattern.

which corresponds well to the relative lack of such items in the corpora analyzed in the previous chapter. The results for the test-items with non-prototypical subjects (animal subjects), however, show a different trend. Surprisingly, the effect on the judgments were +1,27 for *suki*, -0,41 for *kirai*, and +1,11 for *hoshii*. This result is particularly interesting because it seems to go against both the hypothesis that subjects higher on the empathy hierarchy increase transitivity, and the idea that the accusatively marked *suki*-instantiations are partly driven by the semantic split discussed in 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, since animals are arguably less capable of romantic feelings than humans.

Let us proceed to the first factor expected to yield higher acceptability-scores than the control-sentences, namely **Event likeness** (20-22). Although the effect was not equally large between all predicates, the change is nevertheless significant, with an increase of +2,27 for *suki*, +0,92 for *kirai*, and +1,57 for *hoshii*. This seems to indicate that accusative marking on the N_2 of these predicates becomes more natural when the situation described is more event-like, but that the size of this change is contingent on the sentences' main predicate (e.g. higher for *suki*- and *hoshii*-sentences than for *kirai*-sentences). However, in comparing these test-items with the γ-sentences, we actually find that items 20-22 yielded similar (*suki*: +0,03, *hoshii*: +0,03) or lower (*kirai*: -1,51) scores. This seems to indicate that the effect that the added adverbial clauses – which were inserted to express a sense of instantaneousness and change – had negligible or negative results on overall acceptability. In regard to the lack of change (e.g. *suki* and *hoshii*) this might simply be because the interpretation is not significantly more event like in 20 and 22, than in γ*suki* and γ*hoshii*, or there might be other factors of the sentences which counteract the effect of the aforementioned adverbial clauses. Explaining the lower acceptability of 21 (the *kirai*-sentence) with respect to its γ-counterpart, however, is somewhat more difficult, and I do not have a satisfying theory at this time. Do not forget, however, that even though the event-like test-items do not compare favorably with their γ-counterparts, they nevertheless exhibit a significantly higher degree of acceptability than the β-sentences.

7.2.4 Transitivity-factors (2/2)

Table 7-3 **Average acceptability values for transitivity factors (2/2)**

Variable Predicate	Dynamicity (endpoint) (+)	Participant discreteness (-)	Pos-Volition (+)	Neg-Volition (-)	Object affectedness (+)
suki	3,78 m=4, M=5	2,41 m=2, M=2	4,46 m=5, M=5	2,51 m=2, M=2	4,86 m=5, M=5
kirai	3,05 m=3, M=5	2,16 m=2, M=1	4,95 m=5, M=5	2,86 m=2, M=3	4,57 m=5, M=5
hoshii	3,38 m=4, M=5	N/A	4,30 m=5, M=5	2,68 m=3, M=3	N/A

βsuki=2,54   βkirai=2,49   βhoshii=2,35   γsuki=4,78   γkirai=4,92   γhoshii=3,89

The test-items with increased **Dynamicity** (in this case **temporal boundedness**), also accrued higher scores than the control-sentences, although the effect was not as marked as in the event-likeness sentences. Subtracting the control-scores from those of sentences 23 through 25 – which expressed the event as finished and temporally bounded – yields the net positive values of +1,24 for *suki*, +0,56 for *kirai* and +1,03 for *hoshii*. In all cases, the mean response was 5 'totally acceptable'. It would seem, then, that clauses in which the endpoint of the situation described by the stative predicate is clearly defined, native speakers are more likely to accept accusative marking on the N_2. As with the event-likeness factor, however, it seems like the observable effect is strongest in regard to the *suki*-predicate, and weakest in regard to the *kirai*-predicate.

Moving on to **Participant discreteness** (26 and 27), we see that the test-items with a lesser degree of discreteness (manifested in semi-reflexive N_2s such as *ashi* 'legs' and *yōshi* 'appearance') were deemed less acceptable by the participants. The observed difference between the β-sentences and sentences 26 and 27 is -0,13 for *suki* and -0,33 for *kirai*. Interestingly, these scores are lower than those of sentences 10 and 11, which contained fully reflexive N_2s (in the form of *jibun* 'oneself'). This is somewhat counterintuitive, because semi-reflexive N_2s are arguably more discrete than completely reflexive N_2s in reference to the N_1. Note, however, that this seems to conform to the tendency that human N_2s are more preferable with the NOM-ACC-pattern, perhaps due to the aforementioned semantic split.

As mentioned in the discussion above, the next factor, **Volitionality**, was expected to be one of the most important components in accounting for the acceptability of instantiations of the

predicates with ACC-marked N_2s. The results, however, are somewhat mixed. The inclusion of information which induce a more volitional interpretation in sentences 28-30 led to acceptability-increases of +1,92 for *suki*, +2,46 for *kirai*, and +1,95 for *hoshii*. Out of all the examined factors, an increase of volitionality led to the largest positive change in the acceptability of *kirai* and *hoshii*-sentences, in addition to a significant boost of the acceptability of the *suki*-sentence. However, these test-items also contain the verb *naru*, and must therefore also be compared with the γ-sentences. In doing so, the observed tendency is significantly less strong: the *hoshii*-sentence compares favorably (+0,41), the *kirai*-sentence seems largely identical (+0,03) and the *suki*-sentence actually appears less acceptable than its γ-counterpart (-0,32). Once again, it is difficult to assess whether it is the added volitionality, or the presence of the *naru*-verb, which leads to the sentences' increased acceptability. The effect of the volitional elements on the sentences' acceptability is further put into question by the judgments on the sentences with volitionality-decreasing elements. These sentences (31-33) contained elements which suggested that the situations described by the predicates were not initiated by the subject, but despite this, they yielded similar or positive values when compared with the β-sentences. The net-score of these sentences was -0,03 for *suki*, +0,37 for *kirai*, and +0,33 for *hoshii*. While the fact that sentences with less volitional interpretations did not seem to produce overall lower scores than the β-sentences does not *directly* prove that the observed change in sentences 28-31 was not caused by the volitional elements, it does suggest that volitionality is not as important as previously assumed.

Lastly, I will examine the results for the **Object-affectedness** factor. In sentences 32 and 33, the speaker – corresponding to the N_2 – expresses distaste or surprise as a result of the situation described by the predicate, which is arguably the closest one can get to these predicates eliciting change in their N_2s. Looking at the average scores for these sentences' acceptability, we observe a clear change: +2,32 for *suki* and +2,08 for *kirai*. These sentences do not contain the *naru*-predicate, meaning that this is the largest observed change where the NAs are not adverbialized and accompanied by a verb. This is perhaps the clearest indication that the acceptability of the predicate-containing clauses benefits from an interpretation closer to the transitive prototype. Note, however, that this evidence only applies to the *suki* and *kirai* predicates.

7.2.5 Non-transitivity related factors

Table 7-4   Average acceptability values for non-transitivity related factors

Variable	Distance	Politeness	Super-politeness
Predicate	(+)	(-)	(-)
suki	4,03 m=5, M=5	2,73 m=3, M=1	2,27 m=2, M=1
kirai	2,92 m=3, M=2	2,62 m=2, M=1	1,92 m=1, M=1
hoshii	3,22 m=3, M=2	2,54 m=2, M=1	2,59 m=2, M=1

βsuki=2,54 βkirai=2,49 βhoshii=2,35 γsuki=4,78 γkirai=4,92 γhoshii=3,89

Finally, I will now present the results for the non-transitivity related factors of distance and politeness/formality. Although somewhat mixed, there seems to be some validity to the claim that an increased **Distance** between the N_2 and the predicate strengthen the acceptability of *suki/kirai/hoshii* sentences in the NOM-ACC-pattern. The observed change for sentences 34 through 36 was +1,49 for *suki*, +0,43 for *kirai*, and +0,87 for *hoshii*. This suggests that the addition of adverbial elements between N_2 and predicate has some effect, but that this effect is not equally large for all predicates.

Pertaining to the **Politeness** and **Super-politeness** factors, the results are even more heterogeneous. In fact, the addition of **polite** forms such as the copula *desu* yielded average acceptability-judgments higher than the β-sentences for all predicates, with an increase of +0,19, +0,13, and +0,19, respectively. Do note, however, that the mean score for these judgments was 1, indicating that there was much variation in the participants' judgments. However, the addition of **superpolite** elements such as the copula *de-gozaimasu* seems to have had an effect *somewhat* more in line with our expectations: -0,27 for *suki*, -0,57 for *kirai* and +0,24 for *hoshii*. It would seem, then, that if there indeed is an effect of the inclusion of formal elements on the acceptability of sentences with NOM-ACC case-marking, it is relatively small and only detectable when extreme instances of these elements are present.

7.3   Summary

Despite some unexpected numbers, I would argue that the results point in favor of a moderate optimism in regard to the validity of the hypothesis that there is a connection between similarity to the transitive prototype and the acceptability of *suki/kirai/hoshii*-sentences with the NOM-ACC-pattern. The observations which support this are that, compared to the β-sentences:

1. Very **non-object-like N₂s** elicited **lower** acceptability scores
2. More **event-like** test-items yielded **significantly higher** acceptability scores
3. Sentences with **semi-reflexive N₂s** yielded **lower** acceptability scores
4. More **dynamic (temporally bounded)** test-items produced **higher** acceptability scores
5. More **affected 'objects' (N₂s)** yielded **significantly higher** acceptability scores.

As for the evidence that goes against the hypothesis, we see that, compared to the β-sentences:

1. Sentences with **reflexive N₂s** yielded **similar or higher** acceptability-judgments
2. **Subject-likeness** produced **mixed results**
3. Test-items with **volition-decreasing elements** yielded **higher** scores for 2/3 predicates.

While it would seem that there are only two more reasons *for* the hypothesis than *against* it, I would argue that the arguments in favor of the hypothesis are stronger (in that the effect is larger) and more consistent (in that there is less variation between predicates). Additionally, it seems that the transitivity-hypothesis holds more explanatory value than 'syntactic' theories about the alternation relating to factors such as distance, as evidenced by the relative size of the effect of the transitivity-related factors in comparison with the non-transitivity-related factors. While much of the increased acceptability might be accounted for by 'syntactic' changes, such as the addition of the *naru*-verb, this does not necessarily imply that the increase is strictly based on formal criteria. This is because it is undoubtedly true that the inclusion of such elements leads to a more *transitive* interpretation, and this semantic and conceptual change cannot be separated from its structure.

I would like to point out, however, that, due to both variation and lack of testability, the conclusion does not hold equally true for all predicates. Due to constraints of meaning, the *hoshii*-predicate was not examined with regard to all the same factors as the two other predicates, most notably concerning **Participant number**, **Object-likeness**, **Discreteness** and **Object-affectedness**. Additionally, there was a great deal of variation among the predicates with reference to some of the different factors, particularly when it comes to **Participant**

number and **Subject-likeness**. Admittedly, some of this variation might be due to certain test-items containing unrelated elements which could have impacted the interpretation of the sentences.

8 Conclusion

8.1   The goal of the thesis

The goal of this thesis was to uncover the cause for the NOM-ACC-alternation observed with the three predicates *suki* 'like', *kirai* 'dislike', and *hoshii* 'want'. During my preliminary research, I realized that a completely exhaustive examination of causes (including conceptual, syntactic, phonological, and social) would likely lead to a thesis which greatly exceeded the prescribed page-count, and that an attempt to orient myself in all of these fields over the span of merely a year would likely hurt the quality of the analysis. For these reasons, I decided to focus on one branch of linguistics – namely Cognitive Linguistics – and to conduct the research from this viewpoint. In examining the previous literature, I found that the (to my eyes) most reasonable explanation of the alternation was related to the notion of transitivity. From there, an idea began to take form, eventually resulting in the hypothesis presented in the introduction, and re-rendered below:

H_1: The choice of case-marker is related to the perceived transitivity of the clause in which it occurs, with a higher degree of transitivity coinciding with a stronger preference for accusative marking.

In order to provide testable features, "transitivity" was operationalized in terms of the following factors and sub-factors, following Langacker (1991b):

1. Participant number
2. Participant role
        a. Subject-likeness
        b. Object-likeness
3. Event-likeness
4. Dynamicity
        a. Energeticness
        b. Temporal boundedness[73]
5. Participant-discreteness
6. Pre-existence of participants
7. Asymmetry
8. Volition
9. Energy-direction
10. Object affectedness

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[73] "Temporal boundedness" was assessed together with "Event-likeness" in the in-depth corpus study.

Which of these factors were tested for varied between the corpus and questionnaire-studies, due to methodological (and semantic) limitations. In the corpus studies, the distribution of sentences in the NOM-NOM and NOM-ACC patterns was examined in regard to the presence/absence of these factors, and in the questionnaire, these factors were intentionally included/excluded, in order to see the effect this had on the sentences' acceptability. Due to the nature of conceptual transitivity (see chapter 2) it was not necessarily expected that all factors would correlate positively with accusative marking, and it was neither assumed that they should all 'matter' equally much.

8.2   Previous research

The hypothesis received ample support in the examination of previous research in Chapter 5. Despite the scholars whose work was discussed making use of radically different frameworks, their theories and findings regarding the reason for the case-alternation (or the reason for the choice of case-marker, anyway) all conform well to the notion that transitivity plays a role. In addition to obvious appeals to concepts related to transitivity (e.g. Makino (5.3.1), Jarkey (5.3.2) and Mano (5.3.3)), those working within more syntax-focused linguistics (i.e. Tokieda (5.2.1), Kuno (5.2.2) and Shibatani (5.2.3)) also made observations which – directly or indirectly – support the transitivity-hypothesis. From the analysis of the previous research, the most important factors facilitating the case-alternation seemed to be:

1. An increased event-likeness (and non-state-likeness) of the clause
2. The presence of volition in the clause

These are both factors strongly associated with transitivity, providing support for the hypothesis.

8.3   The corpus-studies

The statistical corpus-analysis revealed that two of the predicates (*suki* and *kirai*) were preferentially associated with accusative marking when they occurred together with the inchoative verb *naru* (to become). This co-occurrence renders the situation more event-like. The *suki*-predicate also preferred accusative marking when appearing together with adverbs which trigger a more volitional interpretation. Additionally, it revealed that for *suki* and *kirai*,

accusative marking is often avoided when the N_2 takes the form of a nominalized verb, which arguably lowers the transitivity of the sentences due to a decreased object-likeness. The data also hints at other types of very non-object-like N_2s (such as those anteceded by *hou ga* 'side (of comparison)' being less common with accusative marking, but due to the relative lack of data, this claim is not as strong.

The in-depth sentence analysis conducted on the two corpora also provided support for the hypothesis. The "transitivity-aggregate"-score, created by combining scores for all transitivity-related factors, turned out to – on average – be higher for instantiations of the predicate where the N_2 was accusatively marked for all predicates. While some transitivity-related factors showed no significant difference (in particular "Participant discreteness", "Object affectedness", "Subject-likeness" and "Dynamicity (energeticness)"), others did show significant distinctions between nominatively and accusatively marked instantiations. Notably, sentences which contained elements of volition accounted for a larger portion the *suki* and *kirai* predicates with accusative marking, compared to their counterparts with nominative marking. Additionally, more "event-like" (and temporally bounded) sentences also accounted for a larger portion of the sentences with the NOM-ACC pattern for all predicates, compared to those in the NOM-NOM pattern. Lastly, the occurrence of accusative marking negatively correlated with the presence of very non-object-like N_2s (for *suki* and *kirai*).

8.4   The questionnaire

The acceptability-judgment questionnaire of Chapter 7 also produced results which reinforce the hypothesis. Notably, the acceptability of the test-items was positively affected when the sentences: 1. had more event-like interpretations; 2. were more dynamic (temporally bounded), and 3. had more affected 'objects' (N_2s) (for *suki* and *kirai*). Additionally, acceptability of *suki* and *kirai* was negatively influenced by non-object-like nominalized verbal N_2s. Contrary to the hypothesis, however, the questionnaire did reveal that test-items with non-discrete (reflexive) NPs, in addition to *kirai* and *hoshii*-test-items with decreased volition, were deemed more acceptable than their neutral base-sentences. Additionally, the "subject-likeness" test items produced mixed results. I will point out, however, that the findings supporting the hypothesis are significantly stronger than those which go against it.

8.5   Common elements

Looking back at the results, we see that the most common factor across the studies seems to be that of "Event-likeness". In all examinations, event-likeness was preferentially associated with accusative marking. The presence/absence of volitional elements – which was hypothesized by previous scholars to be a significant factor in the NOM-ACC alternation – does not, however, seem to be as pivotal as previously assumed. While the corpus-studies showed a positive correlation between the presence of volitional elements and accusative marking for *suki* and *kirai* (and a negative correlation between their absence and accusative marking for *suki*), the acceptability-judgment questionnaire produced somewhat different results. While it is true that sentences containing volitional elements were given higher scores than the NOM-ACC control-sentences, they did not compare as favorably to the control-sentences with the *naru*-predicate (which the volitional sentences also contained). Additionally, the questionnaire-results seem to indicate that a presence of volition-decreasing elements does not decrease overall acceptability of sentences with accusative marking for *kirai* and *hoshii*. On the hypothesis-positive side, however, we also see that the NOM-ACC pattern was negatively associated with very non-object-like N_2s, indicating that these types of N_2s to some extent preclude accusative marking. Furthermore, the questionnaire suggests that the two factors of "object-affectedness" (for *suki* and *kirai*) and "temporal boundedness" (for all predicates) influence the acceptability of sentences with accusative marking.

8.6   State of the hypothesis

Seen as a whole, I would argue that the results make the case for a moderate optimism in regards to the validity of the transitivity-hypothesis. By this, I mean that they seem to indicate a relatively strong correlation between the occurrence of the NOM-ACC pattern, and certain factors related to conceptual transitivity. While not all factors seem to have the same significance, some – such as *event-likeness*, *object-affectedness*, *object-likeness* and (to a certain extent) *volition* – arguably seem to influence choice and acceptability of accusative marking. Some other factors, such as *dynamicity (temporal boundedness)* also showed a correlation in the studies where it was assessed.

8.7 Other findings

Over the course of the thesis, I have also touched on various other potential factors facilitating the choice of accusative marking with these predicates. One of these is that a greater distance between the N_2 and the predicate seems to result in a greater acceptability of accusative marking on said N_2. This is likely in part motivated by parsing-constraints, as hypothesized in Shibatani (1978). Do note, however, that this effect seems to be significantly weaker than the effects of many of the 'transitivity-related' factors discussed above. Furthermore, there appears to be a link between the prevalence of the predicates' verbal counterparts, and their productivity in regard to appearing in new constructions (6.2.5). In particular, the *suki* predicate – whose verbal counterpart *suku* is the rarest of all the verbal predicates – appears to be significantly more productive than the other two predicates. Lastly, the results of the in-depth corpus study suggest that there is some validity in Caluianu's (2009) claim that the predicates *suki* and *kirai* are subject to a sort of *semantic split*, in which the NOM-ACC pattern is preferentially associated with (romantic) feelings, while the NOM-NOM pattern is preferentially associated with preferences. While this observation might seem to be separate from the transitivity-hypothesis, it is quite possible that the (*romantic) feelings* sense of the predicates are more closely associated with the transitive prototype due to conceptual metaphors such as LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE and EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT (see section 2.5). If this is indeed the case, this serves to strengthen the validity of the transitivity-hypothesis.

8.8 Closing remarks

Seeing as most of the previous research conducted on this topic has either been mainly introspective (e.g. Makino (1996); Jarkey (1999) and Mano (2004)), or been unsuccessful in finding a 'unique factor' responsible for the phenomenon (e.g. Caluianu (2009)), I believe that the transitivity-hypothesis is the most plausible and empirically sound theory of the cause of the case-alternation. Coupled with the *semantic split*-factor put forth by Caluaniu (2009) (which might even be related to the transitivity-hypothesis), and the parsing-constraints suggested by Shibatani (1978), I believe that we have come a long way in regard to accounting for the phenomenon.

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10   Appendices

10.1   Appendix 1 – Glossary

10.1.1 What is the glossary?

This glossary has been appended to the thesis for two purposes:

1. To provide readers not privy to linguistic jargon with short easy-to-understand explanations of the linguistic terminology made use of in the thesis.
2. To serve as a quick way to look up abbreviations and terms made use of in the thesis.

The structure of the glossary is split into two major sections. **10.1.2** contains a list of all abbreviations made use of in the thesis, together with explanations for the abbreviated terms when applicable. **10.1.3** is a list of non-abbreviated linguistic (or thesis-specific) terminology, along with short explanations of the terms. Do note that the explanations for linguistic terminology are far from exhaustive, as such an endeavor would likely result in a glossary far exceeding the page-number of the actual thesis. The definitions are rather intended to be sufficiently detailed as to allow the reader to understand how they are used in the context of the thesis.

10.1.2 Abbreviations

?   <u>Slightly unacceptable</u>: Indicates that the following sentence is slightly unacceptable.

??   <u>Considerably unacceptable</u>: Indicates that the following sentence is considerably unacceptable.

*   <u>Unacceptable</u>: Indicates that the following sentence is very/completely unacceptable.

3P.EXP   <u>Third-person experiential</u>: Auxiliary used to describe feelings and internal states of a third party.

ACC   <u>Accusative case</u>: A grammatical case typically used to mark the direct object of a transitive verb, and also the N_2 of the predicates discussed in the thesis. Takes the form of *o* in Japanese.

A: <u>Adjective</u>: See the discussion in Chapter 4.

ADZ   <u>Adverbializer</u>: An affix which transforms other parts of speech into adverbs. The affix '-ly' in English can be interpreted as an adverbializer (e.g. beautiful (A) → beautifully (Adv)).

BCCWJ	Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese: the written-language corpus which forms the base for most of the analysis in the chapter.
CL	Cognitive Linguistics: A branch of linguistics which views language-comprehension and language-production as a part of general cognition. For more details, see chapter 2.
COM	Comitative case: A grammatical case that indicates accompaniment (e.g. together with). Takes the form of *to* in Japanese.
COMP	Complementizer: A word (or morpheme) which marks an embedded clause. An example of a complementizer in English is the *that* in '*He said that she likes cake*'.Takes the form of *to* in Japanese.
COND	Conditional mood: A grammatical mood used to express a proposition that is dependent on a certain condition. Commonly realized by the word 'if' in English.
COP	Copula: An auxiliary used with parts of speech which cannot stand alone. The copula used in English is *be*, while the Japanese copula is *da*. Like the English copula, the Japanese copula has several inflections, such as *de* and *ja*. In attributive adjectival clauses, the copulate takes the form *na*.
CSJ	Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese: A spoken-language corpus used to supplement the analysis in the chapter.
DAT	Dative case: A grammatical case typically used to mark indirect objects. Takes the form of *ni* in Japanese.
DER	Derogatory: Signifies an expression which displays a critical or disrespectful attitude.
DESID	Desiderative mood: A grammatical mood with the rough meaning of "wanting to do X". Japanese has two main desiderative forms, *-tai* and *-tagaru*, both of which attach to verb stems.
EModE	Early Modern English: The historical variety of English spoken from the late 15th century to the mid-to-late 17th century.
EMPH	Emphasis: Used to stress the importance or value of a given statement.
FORM	Formal: Indicates that the expression belongs to a style of writing/speaking characterized by more technical and conservative vocabulary.
GEN	Genitive case: grammatical case typically used to mark possession. Takes the form of *no* in Japanese.
GG	Generative Grammar: A branch of linguistics which views grammar as a system of rules which generate all grammatical sentences (and no ungrammatical ones) in a given language. For more information, see chapter 2.
HUMB	Humble: Expressing a low or modest estimate of the social position of the speaker, in reference to the listener.
INCH	Inchoative: A verb-aspect which refers to the beginning of a state. An example of an inchoative suffix in English is the '-en' in verbs such as "darken".
INST	Instrumental: A grammatical case typically used to indicate an instrument by use of which the subject accomplishes an action. Takes the form of *de* in Japanese.

LOC	Locative case: A grammatical case which indicates a location at which something takes place. Takes the form of *de* in Japanese.
LPS	Lexical Profiling System: A system which enables the user to retrieve a list of occurrences of a given word or phrase, regardless of orthographic form.
N_1	First nominal: The first nominal (noun, pronoun, or nominalized phrase) to appear in a sentence.
N_2	Second nominal: The second nominal (noun, pronoun, or nominalized phrase) to appear in a sentence.
NA	Nominal adjective: See the discussion in Chapter 4.
NEG	Negative: Indicates that a verb or copula is negatively inflected (e.g. *don't run* in comparison with *run*). Negative inflection is typically marked by the presence of -(a)nai directly after the predicate or the copula of a copular predicate.
NMZ	Nominalizer: A word or morpheme used to create nouns out of phrases or other parts of speech. Similar to the English suffix -ing, as in 'run' → 'running'. Takes the form of either *no*, *n,* or *koto* in Japanese.
NOM	Nominative case: A grammatical case that is typically used to mark the subject of a verb or the predicate of a noun. Takes the form of *ga* in Japanese.
NP	Noun phrase: A word or group of words containing a noun, and functioning as a subject, object, or as the object of a preposition. Two examples in English are "cat" and "the man over there".
OE	Old English: The earliest historical form of the English language. Spoken in England and some areas of Scotland during the early Middle Ages.
PASS	Passive voice: A form of a verb in which the subject undergoes the action described by the verb. An example of passive voice in English is the sentence "He was punched".
POL	Polite: Used to indicate respect and/or consideration for the listener.
PoS	Part of speech: Categories in which words are assigned based on their syntactic functions. Examples of parts of speech are nouns, verbs, prepositions, conjunction, etc.
POT	Potential form: A verb-conjugation expressing the ability to do something (e.g. *run* → *be able to* run). Typically created by adding *-(ra)reru* or *-eru* to the end of verbs, or *dekiru* to the end of Sino-Japanese compounds.
PRED	Predicate: The main verb or adjective of a sentence. The predicate generally describes something about the subject. Two examples of predicates used in this chapter are *suki (da)* 'like', and *naru* 'become'.
PRS	Present tense: Indicates that a verb or copula is inflected in the present tense.
PRSU	Presumption: Indicates that the clause involves an assumption of the state of a given situation or outcome.
PST	Past tense: Indicates that a verb or copula is inflected in the past tense.
PTCL	Particle: (particularly sentence-final particles) Indicates a particle whose meaning is not straightforwardly interpretable. Particles can, for instance, indicate assertion or emphasis.

Q	Question marker: Indicates that a given sentence is a question. Takes the form of *ka* in Japanese.
SUPERPOL	Superpolite: Used to indicate a great degree of respect and/or consideration for the listener.
TOP	Topic marker: A grammatical particle used to mark the topic of a sentence (e.g. what the sentence is about). Often confused with NOM, but can be used for a wider array of words or phrases.
V	Verb: A word used to describe an action, event, or state. Unlike, for example, nouns, conceptualizing a verb usually requires the inclusion of other elements, such as a subject. Verbs are associated with certain inflectional paradigms, and their plain form usually ends in *-u* in Japanese.
Ø	Omission: Indicates that an element has been omitted from a given sentence.
+VOL	Volitional form: A verb conjugation expressing the intention to do the action described by the verb (*e.g. run → let's run*). Typically created by adding *-yō* or *-rō* to the verb-stem.
+VOLITION	Positive volition: Indicates overt presence of intentionality in a given word.
-VOLITION	Negative volition: Indicates the overt absence of intentionality in a given word.

10.1.3 Linguistic terminology

Acceptability	A measure of whether or not a sentence is permissible by native speakers of the language it is expressed in. Can also be defined as the degree of "naturalness" exhibited by the clause. Not to be confused with "Grammaticality", as clauses can be acceptable without being grammatical, and vice versa.
Accusative	See 'ACC'
Affix	An affix is a morpheme (see Morphology) that attaches to a word-stem to form a new word or word-form. They generally do not appear on their own, but rather only in conjunction with other words. Examples of affixes in English are the plural *-s* and *-ness*, which derives nouns from adjectives (e.g. rude → rude-ness).
Agent	The entity in a clause which functions as the initiator or cause of the event taking place. The agent is determined semantically, by means of examining the relation between the various entities and the predicate. In the sentence "Mike kicked the ball", "Mike" functions as the initiator of the kicking-action, and is thus the agent.
Animacy	Animacy is a semantic feature denoting an entity's sentience, as well as whether or not it is alive. Humans are more *animate* than animals (because we are more sentient), while animals are in turn more *animate* than physical objects (because they are more *alive*, and able to move around freely).
Aspect	A grammatical category that describes the *temporal constituency* of a given situation (e.g. how an event takes place) (Comrie 1976, 5). In contrast to *tense*, which describes the temporal location of an event in respect to another situation (e.g the moment of speaking), aspect pertains to how the event takes place over time. The difference

between the sentences "John read the book" and "John was reading the book" is one of aspect, where the former sentence simply implies that a certain action took place, while the latter places us into the middle of the "reading-situation".

Attributive use When an adjective is used pre-nominally. English example: 'A beautiful girl'.

Auxiliary An auxiliary (also called auxiliary verb) is a verb which combines with other verbs, and serves to express aspect, mood, tense, etc. Examples of auxiliaries in English are *do* in "do you want tea?" and *has* in "he has lost everything". An example of an auxiliary in Japanese is -(*te*)*iru* (-ing) in "*kare wa waratteiru* 'he is laughing'".

Canonical (of a linguistic construction): Being able to de described by a given linguistic framework. Constructions can be deemed "non-canonical" by virtue of being ungrammatical, or simply because the framework is unable to analyze them properly. Adjectives appearing with accusative marking is an example of a *non-canonical* construction, because such a construction is not expected in the grammar.

Case-marking A term for the linguistic assignment of roles to nouns within a clause. By looking at the case-markers, one can often discern what role a given NP plays in the clause. In Japanese, the nominative case-marker *ga* typically assigns an agent/subject-role to the NP to which it attaches, while the case-marker *o* typically assigns a patient/object-role to the NP to which it is attached. Different languages mark case in different ways (see 3.1).

Closed class A grammatical class of words which limited membership. Closed-class categories do not readily accept new words as members. Examples of closed classes in English are prepositions, conjunctions and auxiliary verbs. For the opposite, see "Open class"

Cohortative A grammatical verb-mood which expresses mutual encouragement. An example is the Japanese *hanas-ō*, which roughly translates to "let's talk".

Concordancer A computer program which constructs a *concordance* – a list of all the instances of a given word or phrase, together with its immediate context.

Conjunctive A form of a verb or copula which allows it to be connected to other predicates or clauses. The conjunctive is typically created by adding a variation of the morpheme *-te* to the verb, or by leaving the verb in its stem-form. The conjunctive form of the copula *da* is *de*.

Construal A term for our ability to portray and conceive of situations in various different ways. The two widely-known expressions "the glass is half-full" and "the glass is half-empty" are examples of the same situation being construed in different ways. For a discussion, see section 2.3.3.

Definiteness A characteristic of clausal participants pertaining to whether or not it refers to a *specific* object, and whether not the speaker/hearer are successful in establishing mental contact with the participant. The NP "the man" is more definite than the NP "men", both in terms of referring to a specific man, as well as the implication that both speaker and hearer are familiar with and successful in establishing mental contact with it.

Dependent clause A clause which provides a sentence with additional information, but which cannot stand on its own. In the sentence "I don't like Mike, because he is mean", the clause

"because he is mean" is a dependent clause, adding the information of a 'reason' to the main clause "I don't like Mike". While "I don't like Mike" can stand as a sentence on its own, "because he is mean" cannot.

Derivation   The process of forming a new word from an existing word, most often by the addition of an affix. An example is the derivation of the noun *coolness* from the adjective *cool* by means of the *-ness* affix.

Desiderative   See 'DESID'

Direct object   A noun phrase denoting an entity which is the recipient of the action described by a transitive verb. In the sentence "John kicked the ball", the NP "the ball" is the direct object which receives the "kick"-action.

Discreteness   A characteristic of clausal participants involving both degree of 'Definiteness' and 'Individuation'.

Ellipsis   The omission of one or more words from a clause. In Japanese, the subject is often omitted when referring to the speaker.

Experiencer   A thematic relation describing an entity which undergoes some sort of situation or sensation, which often has no conceivable agent. In the sentence "He was scared of the dog", "he" can be said to be an experiencer.

Figure-ground organization   A type of conceptual grouping used to distinguish focused objects from their background. For a discussion, see section 2.5.1.

Genitive   See 'GEN'

Grammaticality   A measure of whether or not a given clause conforms to prescriptive grammar norms. Not to be confused with "Acceptability", as clauses can be grammatical without being acceptable, and vice versa.

Honorification   A term for the encoding of certain social relations into linguistic expression. Honorification is used to elevate the status of the entity to which it applies. Some English examples are *Mr.* and *Your Honor*. The honorifics-system in Japanese is significantly richer than that of English.

Inchoative   See INCH

Individuation   A characteristic of clausal participants which both pertains to their distinctness from each other (e.g. of agent and patient), as well as the participant's distinctness from its own background.

Intransitive   A feature of clauses or predicates pertaining to the relationship between the clause's/predicate's participants. Typically, intransitive clauses only have one participant.

Image schema   Schematized patterns of activity, which are abstracted from everyday interaction with the world. These abstract schemas are then used to conceptualize more complex activities. An example is that the concept enter can be expressed as a combination of the images schemas *object*, *source-path-goal*, and *container-content*. For a more in-depth look, see Langacker (2008, 31-36).

Imperative   A grammatical mood expressing a command or request. The English "Be quiet!" is an example of an imperative. In Japanese, verbs have an imperative conjugation-form constructed by adding *-yo*, *-ro* or *-e* to the verb-stem.

Locative   See 'LOC'

Median   The value separating the lower half of a data sample from the higher half. Often described as the "middle number" in a data set, the median is less sensitive than the average in regards to the presence of very small or very large values.

Metonymy   A phenomenon in which one entity is used as a stand-in for another, associated, entity. In the expression "England decided to leave the EU", the entity "England" represents the people who live in England, and not the geographical entity itself.

Mode   The value that appears most often in a set of data.

Morphology   The study of words, including how words are formed and how they relate to other words in the same language. Morphology is the linguistic discipline most concerned with topics such as word-roots and affixes.

Nominative   See 'NOM'

Non-canonical marking   Case-marking of NPs which is not straightforwardly explainable by appealing to current linguistic frameworks. In Japanese, dative/nominative marking on objects is an example of non-canonical marking.

Open class   A grammatical class of words which readily accepts new members. The word-classes *nouns* and *verbs* often accept new members, particularly in response to new technology, as evident by neologisms such as "hashtag" and "to google".

Patient   The entity in a clause which functions as the receiver/target/undergoer of the event taking place. The patient is determined semantically, by means of examining the relation between the various entities and the predicate. In the sentence "Mike kicked the ball", "the ball" functions as the target/receiver of the kicking-action, and is thus the patient.

Pragmatics   The study of how context contributes to linguistic meaning. Includes such topics as 'implicature' and 'speech act theory'. Some linguists, such as Ronald Langacker, reject a clear-cut pragmatics/semantics-divide.

Predicate   See 'PRED'

Reflexive   A pronoun that refers back to a preceding NP in the clause. In the sentence "Mike blamed himself", the reflexive pronoun "himself" refers back to the NP "Mike". The most common reflexive pronoun in Japanese is *jibun* 'oneself'.

Semantics   The study of meaning in language. Semantics can be further split into *logical semantics*, which deals with the relationship between linguistic expressions and real/imagined worlds, and *lexical semantics*, concerned with the analysis of word-meanings and the relationship between words. Some linguists, such as Ronald Langacker, reject a clear-cut semantics/pragmatics-divide.

Subordinate clause   See "Dependent Clause"

Subordinate subject   A subject within a subordinate (dependent) clause.

Suffix   An affix that attaches to the end of a word. An English example is the -en which attaches to adjectives such as *soft* and *hard* to form the verbs *soften* and *harden*.

Syntax   The study of the rules, principles and processes that govern sentences' structure in a given language. Word-order is an example of a basic syntactic feature. In Generative Grammar, syntax is often thought to be an autonomous system, while Cognitive Linguists usually argue that syntax is greatly affected by, for instance, semantics.

Tense   A category which expresses the time of the situation expressed by the clause, in reference to the moment of speaking. Usually expressed through conjugation, the tense of a verb/adjective usually expresses whether the event 'has taken place', 'will take place', 'is taking place', etc.

Transitive   A feature of clauses or predicates pertaining to the relationship between the clause's/predicate's participants. Typically, transitive clauses contain two or more participants. For a further discussion, see 2.4.3.

10.2   Appendix 2 – The corpus study

10.2.1 Calculation of total amount of *suki, kirai,* and *hoshii* instantiations

Numbers yielded in primary search:

NOM *suki* – 6923

NOM *kirai* – 910

NOM *hoshii* – 2704

ACC *suki* – 1104

ACC *kirai* – 289

ACC *hoshii* – 215

Removed instances by reason-for-removal:

Case-marker on N$_1$

NOM *suki* – 97

NOM *kirai* – 9

NOM *hoshii* – 37

Compounds (sukikatte, sukihōdai, sukikirai)

NOM *suki* – 29

ACC *suki* – 14

Case-marker referring to different verb (*suki ni suru, suki na dake V, suki na you ni V, suki ni sase, hoshii mama ni*)

NOM *suki* – 26

ACC *suki* – 70

ACC *hoshii* – 100

Predicate in verbal form

10.2.2 Incidence rate ratios for searches and statistical analysis

Incidence rate ratios provide us with a way to compare the number of occurences of the various PRED+PoS/verb combinations, while accounting for the large difference between the amounts of sentences with NOM/ACC marked N$_2$s. The ratios are given as

IRR: ([PRED(ACC)+PoS/verb occurrences] ÷ [PRED(ACC) occurences]) ÷

([PRED(NOM)+PoS/verb occurrences] ÷ [PRED(NOM) occurences])

The numbers thus give us an indication of the relative occurrence of these combinations between ACC- and NOM-marked predicates. A number such as 10 indicates that PRED(ACC)+PoS-X occurences account for 10 times more of the total PRED(ACC) occurences than PRED(NOM)+PoS-X occurences do for the total PRED(NOM) occurences.

Table 6-2A PRED+*nar-* & PRED+*nare-* **(Incidence Risk Ratios)**

PoS PRED	*Nar-* 'become'	*Nar-*+POT 'can become'
ACC-suki	16,50	11,40
ACC-kirai	4,90	∞
ACC-hoshii	0,48	N/A

Table 6-3A PRED+*nar-* inflection   **(Incidence Risk Ratios)**

PoS PRED	POT -NEG -VOL -DESID (naru)	-POT +NEG -VOL -DESID (naranai)	+POT -NEG -VOL -DESID (nareru)	+POT +NEG -VOL -DESID (narenai)	-POT -NEG +VOL -DESID (narō)	-POT +-NEG -VOL +DESID (naritai/naritagaru/ naritakunai)
ACC-suki	29,64	∞	14,49	7,78	∞	39
ACC-kirai	11,57	8,23	∞	∞	∞	∞
ACC-hoshii	0,60	N/A	N/A	N/A	-∞	N/A

Table 6-4A PRED+PoS$_{+VOLITION}$ & PRED+PoS$_{-VOLITION}$ **(Incidence Risk Ratios)**

PoS	+VOLITION				-VOLITION	
PRED	doryoku	doushitemo -naru	ganbatte	deite + kureru/ kurenai/moraeru	nazeka-	V+shikata ga nai
ACC-suki	16,47	2,20	∞	∞	0,82	-∞
ACC-kirai	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-∞	-∞
ACC-hoshii	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-∞	-∞

Table 6-5A **The nature of the N$_2$ (Incidence Risk Ratios)**

PoS / PRED	Verbal N$_2$ (VERB no ga PRED)	NOUN+*hou ga* 'NOUN **side of comparison**'	VERB+*hou ga* 'NMZ **side of comparison**'	*hou ga* (total) '**side of comparison**'
ACC-suki	0	0,05	0,05	0,04
ACC-kirai	-∞	3,09	2,06	-∞
ACC-hoshii	N/A	-∞	-∞	N/A

10.2.3   Sentences used in in-depth analysis (BCCWJ)[74]

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈	NUM	SUB	OBJ	EVE	DIS	VOL	AFF	ROM	執筆者	生年代	性別	タイトル	出版年
く聴く）声優を教えてください。＞＞グラロデ、おのでぃ。０５３．声優以外で、あなた	が好き	なミュージシャンを教えてください。＞＞ＵＶＥＲ 、福山雅治０５４．カラオケでは、	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
またまコンビニに寄った時にこのパンを探していたらしく、なぜ？と聞くと、「このパン	が好き	なんだけど、コレ東京じゃ売ってないのよ」ええーっ！　このパン全国区じゃないの？	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
とＡＮＡ、乗り心地が違うと感じた事ないですか．．．？個人的にはＡＮＡの飛行機の方	が好き	ですが．．．↑一番上の方。　ＪＲＡって・・・・・。　もしかして騎手？　やはり馬の	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
姿が美しい人はよく眺めてますよ。いやらしい気持ちは全くないです。ただ、美しいもの	が好き	なだけ。おしゃれな人よりは、顔が整ってる人のほうが見ごたえあるかなぁ。	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ッションを真似して困ります。（体重は１００キロ以上あります）私はフェミニン系の服	が好き	です。フリルやリボンが控えめについているような、上品な感じのものを着ています。ス	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
イチロー右翼なのがイチロー自分に厳しいのがイチローカレーが好きなのがイチロー挑戦	が好き	なのがイチロー打撃不振を装うのがイチロー叩かれてもゴロを出すのがイチローヒットが	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ところにしか、行かなくなっちゃった訳です。もしかすると、私がガムサイパン、ハワイ	が好き	なのは、それが原因かも。コンビニが無いところなんて、考えられません。　ただ、カニ	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
みの日は家族とちゃんと３食食べますハムとチーズのオムレツ、やっぱハマチャンは玉子	が好き	ですねーそれとソーセージ食パンが１枚残ってたので、ピザトースト足りない分はパンを	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
また、「目が見える」ということを理解できるのでしょうか？ヘレン・**ケラーは、赤い服**	が好き	だった。色は、その文化が名づけたもの。概念的には理解されます。というか概念的に理	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
あなたのこと好きですよ。」という態度をとってくれたらすごくうれしいし、私もその人	が好き	になります。男女関係なくそうです。	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
す☆どんなメイクが好きですか？肌は黒い方がいいの？それともしろ？ナチュラルメイク	が好き	です！！肌は、白い方がいいです！	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

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[74] Abbreviations: NUM = Participant number, SUB = Subject animacy, OBJ = Object animacy, EVE = Event likeness/temporal boundedness, DIS = Participant discreteness, VOL = Volitional element, AFF: Object affectedness, ROM = Romantic love nuance

んなのがありますか？私は、「２０世紀少年」「デスノート」「カイジ」こんな系統の本	が好き	なんですが、オススメがあったら教えてください＾＾頭脳戦が好きですか？「マスターキ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ね。私は自然食のお店で知ってから、家でもしたいな～と思いつつ、父が白飯以外のご飯	が好き	ではないので平時には無理なごはん。親がいない旅行中にここぞと好きなだけ炊けるのが	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
うちの王子は「かぼちゃ」	が好き	です。＜ちなみにパパは嫌いみたい（殿方カボチャ嫌いな人多いね）、スムヨメは大好物	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
チャン（めдめ）　◎ガンダム語録ガンダム語録カレンダーカイさん、僕はあなたの全部	が好き	と言うわけじゃありません。でも、今日まで一緒にやってきた仲間じゃないですか　（b	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
チューでチーズラザニア、嫁がつわりのころにね（＾＾；じゃーん、嫁は味噌汁にちくわ	が好き	ですねたっぷり野菜のみぞれあんかけ・・・そうめん；￣ロ￣）！！右のやつと違うやん	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
・。隊士も近藤、土方、沖田をはじめとして割と個性がはっきりとわかれていて「私は誰	が好き	」などと感情移入しやすいのかもしれません。そう考えると高杉の奇兵隊は地味～に見え	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
人に「お前本当に胸ちいさいな」としみじみいわれます…やっぱり男の人は胸が大きい人	が好き	？ちなみに私はA～Bの間です。オレはとってもちいさいのが好きですよ。大きいのが嫌	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
家庭でも可能でしょうか？私はおでんの白滝、こんにゃく、笹竹（北海道だけかしら？）	が好き	で、毎日でも食べたいんですけどもし煮返して使えるのならいちいち、おでんを作ること	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ーブルテレビで放送したりとか情報お待ちしてます・ああ、懐かしい。オープニングの歌	が好き	だったなぁ。レンタルビデオはあったような記憶がある。ケーブルではやってないと思う	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
会にも現れているみたいです。まあ、自分はというと、昔っから、そう、スポーツ系の車	が好き	だからちょっと興味からは外れてしまう傾向だからというのもあってか３年近くはオート	1	1	1	0	1	0	-0,5	0			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
がとても良かった"と所感をいったし李敏求会員は"ガールフレンドがキム・ジュヒョク	が好き	で，応募したがトウモロコシを投資したやりがいがあった"という所感を明らかにした。	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ューかい？と言われそうだけど、鍋やきうどんをチョイス。ふーふー言いながら食べるの	が好き	なのです。かやくご飯がつく定食でお願いしました。わりとしっかり待って登場した鍋や	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!ブログ	2008
空全体がピンク色になる夕焼け	が好き	で、写真に撮りたいと思っています。昼間の気温や天気から夕焼けがどのようになるかあ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
バラの香り	が好き	でコロン、石鹸を利用しています。いずれも資生堂のばら園です。ところが、ボディ用の	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0			Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

あると思うけど。女1え、どういうことですか。渡辺女性だって、地位とお金を持った男	が好き	でしょう。女2そういえば、前回も地位やお金になびく女性は多い、と。渡辺お金はもち	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	渡辺淳一|著	1930	男	懲りない男と反省しない女	2005
女が気に入っていた一枚だったのか。並木が入っているからではなく、彼女は自分の表情	が好き	だったのでとっておいたのではないか。　道原は理枝の住所録に一色武文の名があるのが	1	1	0,75	0	0,5	0	0	0	梓林太郎|著	1930	男	尾瀬ヶ原殺人事件	2005
こに入ってみよう」と宮原氏に声を掛けた。そこは浪花節の寄席であった。「私は浪花節	が好き	だから、付き合ってくれよ」と言われたので宮原氏も中に入っていった。自分の有名人ぶ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	小桧山六郎|著;福島民友新聞社|編	1940	男	素顔の野口英世	2005
態と与えたら、ほとんどが水分のある方を食べるそうだ。飼い主たちは犬はドライフード	が好き	だと思っているが、本質的には好きなはずがないと浦元さんは言う。　「自然界ではあん	1	0,5	1	0	1	0	0	0	坂本徹也|著	1950	男	ペットフードで健康になる	2005
ろしてくださった。坂戸さんのお話をしている姿を見て，坂戸さんは本当に人と話すこと	が好き	な方なのだなと思った。司書にぴったりの方だと思った。忙しい中，私の質問に丁寧にい	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	神立春樹|著	1930	男	大学図書館の在り方を追って	2005
おられたという。　「人間の位とか、そんなことを何もかも忘れて楽しまれる宮さまの姿	が好き	だった。根付は魂の世界、心の世界。作り上げたら世に残る。ぼろぼろの材料を運んで来	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	1	高円宮殿下伝記刊行委員会|編			高円宮憲仁親王	2005
て授業に参加するかを表すもっとも分かりやすい指標かもしれない。子どもたちに「授業	が好き	」と言ってもらえるような授業にするというのは、先生たちにとっても分かりやすい目標	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	金子郁容|編著			学校評価	2005
ル市庁出納課に勤めています。　趣味はカラオケ。特にヒョン・チョルの演歌を歌うこと	が好き	です。　特技は潜水。家のお風呂で、記録を日々更新中です。　...と、...以上こんな感じ	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	ノ・ヘヨン，チョル・ヘダイ，キム・スンス|脚本;和佐田道子|著	1960	女	英語完全征服	2005
ことではなくて、どの女性が票を一番多く集めるのか当てるゲームなんです。僕はこの女	が好き	じゃないけど、周りの人は、きっと彼女が美人だと思うだろうな、と考えてその人に投票	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	小林よしのり，西部邁|著	1950/1930	男/ 男	本日の雑談	2005
た。こうした人たちやその家族の家に立ち寄って、物語や自分のその日の経験談を話すの	が好き	でした。コンコードだけでなく、旅先の宿泊場所でもそうでした。ある時などは、旅先の	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	ヘンリー・デイヴィッド・ソロー|著;山口晃|訳	1940	男	一市民の反抗	2005
大智さんは...聖司さんにも、真雪にも...みんなにやさしい）　分け隔てないおおらかな彼	が好き	なくせに、ひがんだようなことを考えてしまう。そんな自分を瀬里は強く嫌悪しつつ、そ	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	崎谷はるひ|著			耳をすませばかすかな海	2005
ね」　グラブマンの仕事の世界は崩壊しつつあったにもかかわらず、カトラーはよほど彼	が好き	だったようだ。シティグループでは、グラブマンはワールドコムとグローバル・クロッシ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	チャールズ・ガスパリーノ|著;田村勝省|訳	1960/1940	男/ 男	投資家よ、騙されるな！ウォール街欺瞞の血筋	2005
の趣味に合わない作家があっても、仕方ないですよ。でもよくしたもので、そういう作家	が好き	な人も大勢おられる。寿司屋が軒を列ねていて、どの店も適当に繁盛しているのと同じで	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	柴辻政彦，米澤有恒|著	1930/1940	男/ 男	哲学する芸術	2005

前文脈	好き	後文脈									著者	生年	性別	タイトル	年
のよね」　「かっこいいんじゃないよ」　「そう？」　「赤いからなっちゃんは丸ノ内線	が好き	なんだよ。とってもとっても好きなんだよ、赤いから」　「帰ったら歯がいて寝るのよ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	盛田隆二|著	1950	男	ラスト・ワルツ	2005
は，子どもが好きでありさえすれば，保育者になれるのでしょうか。皆さんはなぜ子ども	が好き	なのでしょう。その回答はさまざまであると思いますが，問題は，子どもが好きな理由が	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	石垣恵美子，北川明|編著	1960	女	はじめて学ぶ幼児教育	2005
仕上げに近くのバーでカラオケを楽しむこともある。私は特にエルビス・プレスリーの歌	が好き	だ（小泉首相もエルビスのファンらしいが）。週末には、ひとみの職場の同僚とよく釣り	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	チャールズ・R.ジェンキンス|著;伊藤真|訳	1940/1960	男/男	告白	2005
な人たちの〈手先〉になるって言うんですかっ？」　「言ってなかったか？　俺はヤクザ	が好き	なんだ。バカな偽善をやらねえからな」　「一」頭から冷水を浴びせられたような気がし	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	海冬レイジ|著			バクト！	2005
いる。　六月に入るとアガパンサスの花茎が急に伸び、尖端に青い花が開く。　「この花	が好き	です」　と、言った久乃木のことは、千澄は決して忘れることはなかった。とりわけ毎年	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	土屋明子|著		女	風光るサバンナ	2005
た。彼らは、天井からワサワサ降りてきて、アキラを取り囲んだ。　アキラは、あまり虫	が好き	ではなかった。特に足の多いやつは苦手で、ムカデなどは絵で見ただけで鳥はだがたつ。	1	1	0,5	0	1	0	0	0	いとうひろし|作	1950	男	あぶくアキラのあわの旅	2005
レックのコメントは、父ホリオンを前にして少し面白かった。　「僕はヒクソンの闘い方	が好き	なんだ。アグレッシブに上のポジションを求めて攻め込んでいく...そんな闘いのできるフ	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0		/ 1960	/ 男	Real fight!	2005
った。　「君に言っときたいことがあってね」　「なんですか？」　「本当は、君のこと	が好き	だったんだ」　と、桐原は言った。「でも、もちろん中学生の君とつきあうわけにもいか	0	1	0,25	0	1	0	0,5	1	赤川次郎|作;三村久美子|絵	1940	男	恋占い	2005
国のソウルに住んでいます．１３歳です．弟が１人います．コンピュータゲームをするの	が好き	です．アンディさんについて教えて下さい．お手紙を下さい．ナミより）　現在，初等学	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	河合忠仁，鄭正雄，中西美惠，林桂子，吉川靖弘|著;崔陽植|訳	1940	男	日本の学校英語教育はどこへ行くの？	2005
放な生活も幕を閉じることになった。アンデルセンは、そこで泳いだり、森を散歩するの	が好き	だった。くだらない話をしたり、いきなり無計画に羽目を外したお祝いごとをするのが楽	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	アリソン・プリンス|著;立原えりか|監修;黒田俊也|監訳;小林淳子，籠宮史子，坂田和代，島田智紀|訳	/	女/	ハンス・クリスチャン・アンデルセン哀しき道化	2005
ンボがいることを発見して笑顔になる―というパターンが多かった。　人前で目立つこと	が好き	ではないぼくだが、今回は違った。多くの人が見ているのは、耕うん機であり、サンボな	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	斉藤政喜|著	1960	男	シェルパ斉藤の犬と旅に出よう	2005
をする。その中を、田村は肋木のかげに逃げているような少年であった。　父親は引越し	が好き	で、田村が覚えているだけでも一五、六回ある。父親の商売がうまくいって「松風屋のぼ	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0	高谷清|著	1930	男	異質の光	2005
したことだから、恋人が選んだことだから、と諦められるのは、自分がそんなに恋人のこと	を好き	じゃないってことですか? いろいろ頑張ってみるけど、結局は「なるようにしかならない	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

	を好き		1	1	0	0	1	0,5	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
りCます。こんな自分がいやなのですが、それでもまた寂しさと喪失感を埋めるために誰か	を好き	になってしまいます。恋していなくても平気な人になりたいです。どうすれば恋していな	1	1	0	0	1	0,5	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
・・・　３３　相手との出会いから、好きになるまでの期間は？　＜一目惚れ３４　相手	を好き	だと認識したのはどんな事がきっかけですか？＜可愛い顔・・・　３５　出会いから交際	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
てはいけないのっていう不倫肯定派の人いますが、その人の妻または夫がその人以外の人	を好き	になってもいいのかなって思います、そういう人に限って自分のパートナーの不倫は許さ	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
女性の方に質問。昔好きだった人とメールや電話で話をしているうちにまたその人	を好き	になることってありませんか？昔好きだったんだから好きになる事は簡単でしょうね。性	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
します！！財布、腕時計、パスケース、名刺入れ等の小物はどうですか？彼自身がタバコ	を好き	だとしても、体に害を与える物を贈る事はどうかと思います。	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
り人の言うことを気にしすぎないようにした方がいいかもしれません。まずは自分で自分	を好き	になって、自分に自信を持つ事です。性格の善し悪しではありませんよ・・・	1	1	0	0	-1	0	0,5	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
私は独身です。子供が３人いて、旦那と別居中の４０歳の人	を好き	になりました。彼女、旦那との離婚を考えているようです。（ちなみに、彼女とは、学生	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
、いろんな人に言い寄られるってパターンですが、少年漫画って大体は、いろんな女の子	を好き	で、いろんな女の子に迫られる、ってパターンですよね。あれは何でなんでしょう？本能	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
あたって毎回喧嘩して、言い合いで、どことなく気まずい雰囲気になってきています。彼	を好き	だけど、前ほど価値観も共通点も会話も心の満たされも少なくなってしまいました。婚約	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
レゼントを貰ったら、どう感じますか？素直になったらいいですよ。あなたが彼女のこと	を好き	なのだったらそれでいいじゃないですか？お酒の勢いもあったけど、あげたかったから買	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
との恋愛がうまくいかなくなったらあなたは仕事も失うことになるワケですから。彼の事	を好き	になるのはいいですし、お付き合いするのも流れかと思いますが恋愛と仕事は分けて考え	0	1	0,25	0	1	0,5	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
きになることはそうそう何度もあることではありません。他の誰かをずっと好きでいる人	を好き	になったあなたは今、きっと素敵な恋をしているのだと思います。そんな限りある貴重な	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
」を言わない、言えないというではないか。　　情けないことである。８　自由自在に人	を好き	になることができるのは、若い人の特権ですよ。	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,5	1				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
自分が好きな人が相手も自分	を好き	っていうのはある意味の奇跡でしょうか？一目ぼれ同士なら奇跡でしょうが、好きになっ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

みたいです。あと、友達に勝手に同級生の女子が好きって決め付けられて、俺がその女子	を好き	だと知ったら、「泣く」とか「怒る」とかいってます。恋愛感情はないのですが。俺はシ	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ャンル押さえてる人ってなかなかいないんですか？僕は結構スゴイと思ったのですが。曲	を好き	になるのにジャンルは関係ない。って考え方じゃないですか？私もジャンルや言葉関係な	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
昔、凄く好きな人いたけど、実らなかった。。。良い思い出を胸にしまい、今の旦那さん	を好き	になり、結婚しました。	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ことは、相手に迷惑がかかることなんですか？以前質問して、フラれたのにそれでも相手	を好き	でいることはあまりよくないという回答が多かったです。私は彼が一番好きだし、友人と	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
もう報われないとわかっているのに諦められない時、「なぜ人間は人	を好き	になるのか」といつも考えてしまいます。人を好きになったばかりの時やうまくいってる	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
しょうかね？普通の顔に生まれたかった；；自分に自信を持つことですね！後ろ向きな人	を好き	になる人は少ないかと思いますよ…。理想も低いと言わず…あなたが好きになった人でし	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ないと思っていた。　しかし、気付いたときには、もう好きになっていた。セランの何処	を好き	になったのか、自分でも分からなかった。　誰の頭上にも等しく降り注ぐ、陽光のような	0	1	0,25	0	1	-0,5	1	1				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ね。振られたヒトの感じを追い続けてるのかもね～！！でも、それだったら、今好きな人	を好き	な意味がないと思います☆そんな事にこだわることは無駄です。今を楽しく。	0	1	0	0	1	-0,5	0	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
れているようで嫌です。皆さんはどう思われますか？女の子は異性を意識する前に、同性	を好き	になってしまいがちですの。女子高でありがちですね。友達はまだその状態ではないか・	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
彼がいるのに年下の男の子のこと	を好き	になってしまいました。そう思ってからは彼とHするのが気持ち悪くなってしまいました	0	1	0,25	0	1	-0,5	1	1				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
いきが多い。最初は日本文化にとまどい反発しても、時間が経つにつれて、だんだん日本	を好き	になっていく。だがその日本びいきも度が過ぎると、社員が迷惑することがある。Ｋ氏が	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	0	大宮　知信(著)	1940	男	ウチの社長は外国人	2005
おまえが大好きだよ」女　「あたしなんか、男から見たらただの売春婦よ」男　「売春婦	を好き	になっちゃいけないって法律でもあるのか？」女「そりゃ、自由だけどさ」雑音。何か	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	Ｔ・ジェファーソン・パーカー(著)/ 澁谷比佐子(訳)	1950/1940	男/ 女	レッド・ライト	2005
冷静な目で見つめ直してみると…。　「あれ？どうしてあんな人（ちょっと失礼ですが）	を好き	になったりしたんだろう？」なんて考えること、ありませんか？　この原因には二つあり	0	1	0	0	1	-0,5	1	1	ゆうき　ゆう(著)	1970	男	「ひと言」で相手の心をつかむ恋愛術	2005
すごく「惚れにくく」育ってしまっています。　すなわち「誰かに好かれる」のも「誰か	を好き	になる」のも、決して自然に起こることではないのです。　この不必要なほどに高度な文	0	1	0	0	1	0,5	0,5	1	ゆうき　ゆう(著)	1970	男	「ひと言」で相手の心をつかむ恋愛術	2005

左文脈		右文脈									著者	生年	性別	書名	年
人を好きになる方法。人	を好き	になる方法。 ここでのテーマは、人を好きになる方法。 よく、恋人がいなかったり、	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,5	1	ゆうき ゆう(著)	1970	男	「ひと言」で相手の心をつかむ恋愛術	2005
、あなたの気持ちを開いていくこと。 「いい男がいない」 「私は、簡単には人のこと	を好き	になれない」 そんなふうに閉じた気持ちを、少しでいいから開けてくださいね。恋のキ	1	1	0,25	0	1	0,5	0,5	1	ゆうき ゆう(著)	1970	男	「ひと言」で相手の心をつかむ恋愛術	2005
ルに教科書やノートを広げた。 「今どのへんやってるのかな。ああ...微分積分ね、数学	を好き	になるか嫌いになるかの分岐点だな。ここで躓くと、高校数学がまったく駄目になる」	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	0	鹿住 槙(著)		女	半熟たまごのレジスタンス	2005
にうまくいくほうが珍しいので、初めのうちは、さまざまなことが起きます。そして自分	を好き	になってくれると信じていた彼からメールがこなくなった時点で、「どうして私だけが」	1	1	0	0	1	0,5	0,5	1	キャシー天野(著)		女	恋愛革命運命の人に出会う25日間	2005
んだ。いまから考えてみると、それが比呂美さんを読んだ最初だったんだねえ。岡田史子	を好き	な詩人の女の子、うん、それだけで気に入ってしまうなあ。それで比呂美さんと会うよう	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	高橋 源一郎(著)	1950	男	読むそばから忘れていっても	2005
彼を怒らせることになっても、断った方がいいと私のすべての直感が告げていた一作品	を好き	になれなかったらどうする? いやもっと悪いことに、理解できなかったとしたら? 彼	0	1	1	0	1	0,5	0,5	0	ジョン・カルショー(著)/ 山崎 浩太郎(訳)	1920/1960	男/ 男	レコードはまっすぐに	2005
、楽しいときを」 「どんなことが楽しかった?」ぼくはフローラの腕をさすった。「人	を好き	になる気持ちまで、しまいこんでた? 「あたしを、そんな冷たい人間みたいにいわな	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	ドナ・ジョー・ナポリ(著)/ 金原 瑞人(著)/ 小林 みき(訳)/ 金原 瑞人(訳)	1940/1950/1960/1950	女/ 男/ 女/ 男	クレイジー・ジャック	2005
かな希望が、穴のあいた風船みたいに急速にしぼんだ。ミッチが次から次へと新しい女性	を好き	になるのは知っていたが、こんなに意地の悪い男だったとは。いったいどうして、自分が	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	バーバラ・ハネイ(著)/ 木内 重子(訳)	/	/	南十字星に抱かれて	2005
作家が好きだったので議論もしたが、いまはそのとき話題になった作家の名や、なぜ彼ら	を好き	だったかさえ忘れてしまった。 ともかく、彼はたいへんな読書家だった。わたしたちが	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	ホセ・アギラール(著)/ 訳者不明	/	男/	ゲバラ	2005
た。女好きなのは男の欠点じゃない。もしも女好きじゃない男の人だったら、女だって彼	を好き	になったりしないだろう。 浮気にしたって、私自身もかつて恋人を裏切った。これは人	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	衛 慧(著)/ 泉 京鹿(訳)	1970/1970	女/ 女	ブッダと結婚	2005
た稀有な作品だったと思います。 第1回から放送を見ていた僕が本当にウルトラクイズ	を好き	になったのは、第3回放映時の中学三年生のときでした。この頃から番組に出場したいと	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	0	夙夜 健(著)	1960	男	「ウルトラクイズ」はどこにある?	2005
しても、だからといって先生が危険な犯罪者ということにはなりませんよ。ひとの奥さん	を好き	になるまともな市民はいくらでもいますからね。」 「でも、自分を殺そうとしているっ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	アガサ・クリスティー(著)/ 茅野 美ど里(訳)	1890/1950	女/ 女	なぜエヴァンズにいわない?	2004
も持っていそうで(もしくはハードMか)ちょっと警戒したくなる。ばっさり一言 江角	を好き	な男ってダッチワイフ持ってそう もしくはハードMとか弟よりも人間らしいが、弟より	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	倉田 真由美(著)	1970	女	くらたま切り捨て御免!	2004

前文脈	語	後文脈									著者	生年	性別	書名	年
んとも言えない、どうしていいかわからない気持ちに駆られてしまう。 こんなにも誰か	を好き	になったことがなかったから、恥ずかしい気持ちが先に立ち、喜怒哀楽の普通の感情のよ	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	六堂 葉月(著)			ケダモノは甘く招く	2004
になる 本をちぎったり、パラパラめくるだけに興味をもっているように見える子も、本	を好き	になる可能性をもっています。自閉性障害児の子どもなどは、パラパラとページをめくる	1	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	0	西田 清(著)	1930	男	AD/HD・LDの発達と保育・教育	2004
でも」わたし 「でも、パブロが好きだったのなら?」おばあちゃん 「パブロがあたし	を好き	だったのよ!」わたし 「で、おばあちゃんはふたりめのだんなさんが好きだった?」お	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	エルヴェ・ジャウエン(著)/ 小野 ゆり子(訳)	1940/1950	男/女	おばあちゃんの記憶	2004
番好きなことをして稼げる幸せ者ならいざしらず、そうでないなら自分のやっていること	を好き	になろう、そうすれば楽しみながら稼げるから、って。クロスビー、スティルス&ナッシ	0	1	-1	0	1	1	0,5	0	チャールズ・R・デッカー(著)/ レスリー・A・ヤークス(著)/ 有賀 裕子(訳)	1950/1950/	/女/女	ビーンズ!	2004
いいなと思っていても、好感を持たれていないなと思うと、好感を持ってくれそうな女性	を好き	になっていきます。 それはいけないことではありません。 それができるから、ストー	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	中谷 彰宏(著)	1950	男	ハッピーな女性の「恋愛力」	2004
ころが、同じく足に障害を持つ柏木という友人は不敵だ。「俺にはこのごろ、内飜足の男	を好き	になる女が、カンでちゃんとわかるようになった」と障害を逆手に取り、女の同情心を誘	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	山口 照美(著)		女	日本・名著のあらすじ	2004
役にも立たない。この男性についてもっと知りたいという気持ちはあるが、私はやはり彼	を好き	になれない。ラヴデイは日誌を閉じて立ちあがった。 「トーストを食べてしまったほう	1	1	0	0	1	0,5	0,5	1	ベティ・ニールズ(著)/ 和香 ちか子(訳)	/	/	幸せへの航海	2004
はないが、O型一蟹座人間は秘密の恋を好む傾向がある。なぜか人妻と結ばれたり妻帯者	を好き	になったり、いわゆる道ならぬ恋をする確率が高いのだ。おそらくこの型の人の内面に、	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	流 智明(著)	1900	男	ズバリ当たる「血液型」+「星占い」	2004
「大丈夫!」との事 ホント、この国って恐ろしい... 当然ですが、オイラはパチモン	が嫌い	なんで何も購入してませんがだまってそのままお店に置いといたらわからなくて買ってい	1	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ラフト おいおい!それは映画の観すぎだよw 映画では、元消防士が犯人で、火災の火	が嫌い	なやつ・・・とかいう推理で、 インパクトはありましたが、不正解です。 珍回答 そ	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
は長靴でないと歩けないという辺り、同じ市でも文化の違いを感じます。(長靴の閉塞感	が嫌い	である。冬でも草履で出歩くためしもやけになる。)この晴れ間、大事にしなくては。	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
のはもったいないと思うのですが、理由を教えてください。 金銭的な問題 ただ飛行機	が嫌い	興味がない 等いろいろあるとおもいますが・・・・旦那さん曰く「外人は何考えてる	0	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
男性で ポテトサラダ フランスパン	が嫌い	な人にあったことがないのですが嫌いな人いますか?そしてその理由は?好きな人の理由	1	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

ですが 将来はペットショップで働きたいです。高校にはあまり行きたくないです。勉強	が嫌い	だから・・・。ペットショップで働くには どんな学校へ行くのですか？専門学校とかあ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
んか？人が好きと言う人って案外図々しくて、押し付けがましい人が多いと思います。人	が嫌い	と言う人って神経の細やかな傷つきやすい人だと思います。本当は優しいんですよ。その	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ういうところで出会いを求める行為自体が嫌い。そういうのに頼ってしまう安易な考え方	が嫌い	です。	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ですが、美味しいですか？個人的にココナッツが一番好きです。すご〜く甘いです。匂い	が嫌い	じゃなきゃ美味しいと思えるかも。クリームソーダは賛否が分かれるようですね。私はそ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
というか、乗り気ではないような表情をしてるときがあります。鈴木氏は本当は食べるの	が嫌い	なのでしょうか？最近やせてきた気がする。ダイエットしてるんじゃない？	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
なくてチャラすぎない感じの、どんな体型が好き？うは一（＊´Д｀）な人←どんな体型	が嫌い	？これカなの立場てきに言ってい一の？wそりゃピz（ｒｙ←どんな髪型の人が好き？え	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
い一線です。美味しそうにお酒を飲む人はうらやましいほどである。けっして酒飲み全て	が嫌い	なのではありません。安い酒でも高い酒でも美味しそうに飲める人はうらやましい。	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
風呂です！２匹ともお風呂は嫌いじゃないので楽ちん（´∀｀）ノそのあとのドライヤー	が嫌い	なので格闘しながらどうにかこうにか。。なにせ素人がやるのでお風呂に入れて乾かすと	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
セックスレスの夫婦は子供	が嫌い	ということですか？セックスレスの夫婦は大抵の場合アクメが無いか、性交不能者だから	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
分で全部（家事）やり、普通にしていました。というのは母（実の）が人の面倒を見るの	が嫌い	な人で、一切お産の時は何も手伝ってくれなかったんです。そういう母だと思ってました	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
っちゃいます。（笑）「トラウマがあって近づかれるのは苦手なんだ」とか適当に。相手	が嫌い	な訳ではなく、自分に問題があるんですというのをアピールすると角が立たないです。も	0	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
し荒れました。やる気がないのは、その事も関係があるのだと思います。このままの自分	が嫌い	って思うけど人生投げやり・・9月で１８歳。このままどんどん歳をとって死んで行くの	0	1	0	0	-1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
人の女性って何で冬でもサンダル（パンプス）をはいてる人がいるのでしょうか？ブーツ	が嫌い	だと言う人もいるみたいですよ。例えば、О脚だと似合わないブーツとかもあります。洋	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
トヨタ車	が嫌い	だと言う人がいますが何故ですか？プリウスなんて世界の最先端の技術でいいと思うけど	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

この件に関して、皆様のご意見を賜りたく存じます。似てますよねぇ！旦那は山川恵里佳	が嫌い	だから認めないけど絶対似てると思います！！	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ウスケらしい。困った男に捕まったね。歳は私とあまりかわらない４１歳だと。彼女は彼	が嫌い	だから今すぐにでも別れたい。でも、子供がなく。この子は彼との子供ではない。彼女は	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
れてもらえそうも無くてそのとき茶毘にふしたのだ。考えてみればそれから　物を持つの	が嫌い	になったのかもしれない。この手で葬ってしまうのなら最初から持たないほうがなどと考	0	1	-1	0	1	0	1				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
昼なのか分からなくて食べたことだけ思い出す．仕事が立ち込めている時間にはよれるの	が嫌い	でナッスルはしなくなる．あれ，とてもクールするという話か? 別に魅力ない．ある人々	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
私は知恵袋で回答するの	が嫌い	です。何故かと言うと、せっかくいろいろ考えて書いても回答すると削除されているとき	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
は「すいません」なんだそうで。どちらが正しいのですか? 私「すいません」という言葉	が嫌い	でした。すまないと思うなら「すみません」と言ってほしかった。でも、日本人の人間性	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
なしにです。　これでは文章力がつくはずがありません。むしろ、子どもは文章を書くの	が嫌い	になるばかりです。　「書く力」と「読む力」は表裏の関係です。一方の力がつけば、も	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0,5	樋口　裕一(著)	1950	男	書く力が伸びる!	2005
、何に対しても優しくなれない、嫌味で最低な人間に変わってしまいました。そんな自分	が嫌い	でたまらないのに、どうすることもできませんでした。　事件から二か月が過ぎ、花菜の	0	1	0	0	-1	-1	-0,5	塚本　有紀(著)	1960	女	いつまでも花菜を抱きしめていたい	2005
早く終了したようだ。　羽田を離陸したのは、それから三十分後だった。鈴谷は、飛行機	が嫌い	だ。鉄の塊が空中を飛ぶということが、どうしても非現実的に思えてならない。加えて、	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	梶尾　真治(著)	1940	男	この胸いっぱいの愛を	2005
でも、日曜日は行くのだ。　どんなことにしろ、一度決めたことを、健太郎は変更するの	が嫌い	である。予定を変更せざるをえないとき、それがどんなささいなものであろうと、彼の内	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0	小池　昌代(著)	1950	女	ルーガ	2005
たほうが楽、ということになり、夫婦対立の原因となるかもしれません。　しかし、料理	が嫌い	なほうが、ともかくも半分は夕食の準備をするだけでも、相手にとっては時間の余裕がで	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	鷲田　小彌太(著)	1940	男	大事なことだけを考える技術	2005
てみた。鏡　髪を切りました。だけどわたしは鏡を見ません。澄ましこんだ自分を見るの	が嫌い	なのです。また、いつも人に見せるような、あのニマーとした笑いや、ギュッと目をつむ	0	1	-1	0	-1	0	0	木藤　亜也(著)	1960	女	１リットルの涙	2005
人のほとんどはそんなことは知らなかっただろう。見に行きたかったけど、ぼくは人ごみ	が嫌い	なので行かなかった。でも『べしゃりぶりん』は毎週聞いてますよ。■今後の傾向◆皐月	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	上戸　ともひこ(著)		男	週末の2日間で生活する男の馬券術	2005
いっぺんのおつき合い以上はする気がない」とはっきり言う人もいる。もっと積極的に姑	が嫌い	だ、ひどい目にあっている、と訴える人も、相変わらず少なくない。　母親にとって息子	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	香山　リカ(著)	1960	女	<雅子さま>はあなたと一緒に泣い	2005

										著者	生年	性別	タイトル	年
													ている	
ということは忘れてください。私はあの子をいつも厄介に思っていましたし、あの子も私	が嫌い	だった。私にとっても、あの子が死んでくれて、よかったのかもしれない」彼女は顔をゆ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	ジョセフィン・ベル(著)/ 上杉 真理(訳)	1890/1950	女/女	断崖は見ていた	2005
場所は嫌いか?」 岡部を捜しながら、おれは訊いた。 「こういうところで働く女たち	が嫌い	なのよ」 メイの声は氷のように冷たかった。店の外でリタに向けたのと同じ種類の声だ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	馳 星周(著)	1960	男	マンゴー・レイン	2005
ことを、そのときだけは今までと同じように「昴」と呼んでいた。「和眞さんは僕のこと	が嫌い	なんだ。僕よりもこの家の方が大事なんだ」（やれやれ...） 昴は拗ねだし、俺は内心苦	1	1	0,25	0,5	1	0	0	宮川 ゆうこ(著)			執事は夜に嘘をつく!	2005
もいなかったのだろうが、フィレモンとの旅路の後よりどっと疲れが出た。私は心底暗闇	が嫌い	だ。あの夜、詩神の丘で起きたことが忘れられず、追っ手の足音が耳から離れなかった。	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	マーガレット・ドゥーディ(著)/ 左近司 彩子(訳)/ 左近司 祥子(訳)	1930/1970/1930	女/女/女	哲人アリストテレスの殺人推理	2005
ノートを閉じて袋にしまい、木立のなかを歩きはじめた。雨の気配がする。ハンターは雨	が嫌い	だった。雨が降るといやな記憶がよみがえる。 ルークはポーチに駆けこんだ。脇腹が差	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	ダイナ・マコール(著)/ 皆川 孝子(訳)	/	/女	月影のレクイエム	2005
文化はいいなあとか、アメリカに対する憧れをもっている。 中東のムスリムもアメリカ	が嫌い	なことになっていますが、実際によく聞いてみると、アメリカの文化は大好きで、コーラ	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	橋爪 大三郎(著)	1940	男	アメリカの行動原理	2005
、その先生の授業を子供が好きになるんですよ。逆に先生が嫌われると、その先生の授業	が嫌い	になって子供は勉強をしなくなるんですよ。だから、一人一人が百点をとれる問題を出し	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	1	内海 正彦(著)	1930	男	自然から学んだお爺ちゃんの知恵袋	2005
るのですか?」 「夫は、エレベーターをいっさい使いません。エレベーターというもの	が嫌い	なんです。あんな狭いところに密閉されることに我慢できないと言っていました」 「し	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	村上 春樹(著)	1940	男	東京奇譚集	2005
ませんが、コツは本当に素直に見て、素直に感じ、素直に表現するということです。相手	が嫌い	だ、というような雑念が入っていると、これは見えてきません。あなたも自然体ではない	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	村松 恒平(著)	1950	男	秘伝	2005
ていてくれよ。ありゃあ、骨っぽいところのある野郎でな、俺は好きなんだが、向うで俺	が嫌い	だそうだ」 中沢は、喉で乾いた笑い声をたてた。私は、きちんと膝をそろえ、その上	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	矢作 俊彦(著)	1950	男	リンゴォ・キッドの休日	2005
きっとナガンのことだ。ミンジャの朝鮮人参を気に入ってくれたのか、それとも情報部長	が嫌い	なだけなのかはわからない。だが、なんの気まぐれかナガンのことを調べてくれたのだ。	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	中村 祐介(著)	1970	男	大統領の理髪師	2005
、甘いお菓子とスルメがあったら、スルメのほうを食べるような子だったんだよ。甘い物	が嫌い	なわけじゃないんだろうけど、好んで食べるほどでもない。見た目は、生クリームとかフ	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	鹿住 槇(著)		女	半熟たまごのレジスタンス	2005
の調子が悪くて断ったとしましょう。「えっ、今日はダメなの?」「どうして?」「オレ	が嫌い	になったのか?」 必ず理由をチェックされます。女性はいちいち説明するのが苦痛に	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	安奈 泉(著)		女	1ヵ月以内に「いいこと」がたくさ	2005

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										著者	年	性別	ん降ってくる法則	
に行き、そこでユニティと会った。待っている間、ユニティは、ヒトラーはムッソリーニ	が嫌い	だが、近く予定されているムッソリーニのドイツ訪問については、他国に独伊枢軸を示す	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	メアリー・S・ラベル(著)/ 大城 光子(訳)/ 粟野 真紀子(訳)	1940/ / 1950	女/ 女/ 女	ミットフォード家の娘たち	2005
。 たとえば、夫婦が日替わりで食事を分担する家庭があるとしましょう。一方が、料理	が嫌い	なため、ほとんどをレディーメード（できあい）のものですます、としたらどうでしょう	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	鷲田 小彌太(著)	1940	男	大事なことだけを考える技術	2005
るけれど庶民性もあり魅力的だった自由が丘はもうどこにも無くて、むしろ好きだった町	が嫌い	になりそうでとても悲しかった。 「だけど昔から住み慣れた自由が丘...青山は遠い気が	0	1	0,75	0	1	-0,5	0,5	高橋 みどり(著)	1950	女	ひさしぶりの引越し	2005
いるのだわ...。春菜は内心ほくそ笑んだ。彼の雰囲気は不気味でも、春菜は見られること	が嫌い	ではない。ウエイトレスになりたてのころは、たまらなく恥ずかしかった客の視線が、今	1	1	-1	0	1	0	0	桐葉 揺(著)	1940		濡れる制服美女	2005
女性は男性（嫌いでない）から遊びに誘われたりするのは嬉しいのでしょうか? 相手	を嫌い	でないなら、誘われた場所によるかも。前から行きたかったお店とか美味しいお店とか連	0	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
こんなに人	を嫌い	になることができるんだねー。本当、君大ッ嫌い★笑なんで気づかないかなー。まあいい	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
蔑を感じることもあった。相手のマイナス面ばかり心の中であげて自分の辛い寂しい思い	を嫌い	になることで誤魔化そうともした。 でも、私は弱かったりずるかったり、そういうあの	0	1	0,75	0	0,5	1	0,5				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
思いますけどこの質問者ってどう思いますか??あたしは今、３０才の男ですが、モー娘	を嫌い	とか言ってるあんたはなんかぶっ殺したいんですよね。同じ質問者でも、あなたの場合、	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
たは、何でも多数派の意見が優先される今の社会に反発を感じていませんか? 「紫色」	を嫌い	だと感じたあなたは、少数グループに属しているようです。他人と共有・共感を図ろうと	1	1	1	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
出会って、その年の内に結婚して、すぐに子供にも恵まれ、幸せなはずですが。。。夫	を嫌い	みたいです。運命だなんて、思い込んで一緒になって、後悔することになるなんて、思っ	0	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
だから心底嫌いになれない。喧嘩して再会した時、自然と笑顔で二人歩みよった時、恋人	を嫌い	になれない自分に気づきましたね。あなたもそうなんじゃないでしょうか?	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,5				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
みのもんたさん	を嫌い	な人は多いようですが、朝ズバッ! っていう番組を見てたら、視聴者の心をつかむ術を心	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
くても、常にさまざまな情報が自然に耳に入ってくる環境の中にいませんか? 「青色」	を嫌い	だと感じたあなたは、常に情報に振り回されている傾向にあります。そのため、他人と思	1	1	1	0	1	-0,5	0,5				Yahoo!ブログ	2008

	を嫌い														
私なら数時間で復活ですよ！１回ちょっと時間に遅れたぐらいで、そんな簡単に好きな人	を嫌い	になんかなれません！あとはちゃんと明日素直に「ごめん」って言うことだと思います。	0	1	0	0	1	-0,5	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
彼女より、仕事は当然ですが、時には趣味を優先される事に耐えられますか。決して女性	を嫌い	では無いし、いやむしろ好きなんですけど、何よりもって気持ちにはならないんですよ。	0	1	0	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ぽよよん」としている女性を好きになるようになりました。それでも、仕事が出来る女性	を嫌い	になった訳ではないです。今まで興味が湧かなかったタイプの女性にも心が動くようにな	0	1	0	0	1	0	1					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
の数週間のうちで、何の進展もなかったので娘は付き合いを辞めました。その男の子の事	を嫌い	ではなかったので、付き合う事を決めたようでしたが、ときめく事もなく、相手からのア	0	1	0,25	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
＞私も彼もひどいですよね？ その通りです。どちらの家族をも裏切っているんです。自分	を嫌い	になる事なく、今すぐ不倫を解消し、それが出来た自分を誇りに思って下さい。	0	1	0	0	-1	0	0,5					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
どれだけ深かっただろうか。だけど、あのときは自分で自分を止められなかった。あんた	を嫌い	なあたしが被ってた仮面を外した瞬間だった。ごめんね。	1	1	0	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
を嫌がります。幼稚園に行ってからますますひどくなったような気がします。周りに野菜	を嫌い	な子が多いのでその影響でしょうか？ トマトの酸味がいやというのは、味覚からいえば普	1	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
じ列に加わってあげる必要なんてどこにもないのです。いい人だなぁーって思ってた自分	を嫌い	にだけはならないようにしてください。	0	1	0	0	-1	1	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
定したくなるものですか？ なんだか否定ばかりされて気分悪いし受け入れたくない程、私	を嫌い	なのかな？ と思ったので距離を置こうと連絡しないでいても、向こうの方から頻繁に連絡	0	1	0	0,5	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ナナを食べさせては？ と回答がありましたが勿論食べさせてみました。でも拒否。バナナ	を嫌い	な子なんてめずらしいですよね。麺類も小麦（あと卵と大豆もです）アレルギーのためス	1	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
アメリカ人はカナダ人	を嫌い	っていうふうに聞いた覚えがあります。もし正しければそれは何故なんでしょうか？ 嫌い	1	1	0	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ていて家に帰れば忙しいし、そんなことしているよりも眠りたいと思ってます。主人の事	を嫌い	ではありませんが、家の事を手伝ってくれなくて、私ばかりがえらい思いしてるような気	0	1	0,25	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
どなたの詩が好きですの。」「アレクサンドロ・プーシキンの詩です。といっても彼の詩	を嫌い	なロシア人はいませんがね。」「私も大好きです。」プーシキンの話は二人の間でしばら	1	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
イトビタクナイ…スパイクを履くのも嫌っ！ タータンを見るのも嫌っ！ やっと、陸上競技	を嫌い	になることができました。これで、陸上競技を続ける理由は無くなりました。もう少しの	0	1	0,75	0	1	1	1					Yahoo!ブログ	2008

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前文脈	キー	後文脈								著者	生年	性別	出典	年
今までは、自分が嫌いな人	を嫌い	と思うだけでそっぽを向いていたけどそーじゃなくてその人をしっかり見つめて自分は改	1	1	0	0	1	0	-0,5				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
続くかわかんないけど旦那っちは怖い思いさせて教えるのは…とかヘルメットをかぶる俺	を嫌い	になったらどうする…とか心配は色々あるようですがこれをきっかけに少しずつ言い聞か	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ました。一度結婚したら一生、別れられなくなってしまったのです。 もし結魂した男性	を嫌い	になってしまった場合、ナシ族の女性たちは実家に帰ることができました。母系社会のし	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	実著者不明			殉情物語	2005
はなんということなしに言った。 「どういう意味？」私の顔は沈んだ。 「ほら、女性	を嫌い	な男なんているわけがないだろう？」Ｍｕｊｕは私を笑わせるようなしぐさをした。 私	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	衛 慧(著)/ 泉 京鹿(訳)	1970/1970	女/女	ブッダと結婚	2005
の調査と比べると、日本に好感を持っている人は一七・三ポイントも落ち込む一方、日本	を嫌い	な人が二・六ポイント増加している。またアメリカ人、ドイツ人、ロシア人に比べ、中国	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	莫 邦富(著)	1950	男	日中はなぜわかり合えないのか	2005
んなことを言っていました。 「私には、嫌いな人がいないんです」 実際に、彼のこと	を嫌い	だった人というのも、ほとんどいないのではないでしょうか。 大事なのは、あなたの気	0	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	ゆうき ゆう(著)	1970	男	「ひと言」で相手の心をつかむ恋愛術	2005
がする。それか、答えるのが面倒だと、首を傾げて分からない振りをしていた。 私が母	を嫌い	だった理由は、いくつかある。いや、それは嘘だ。訂正しよう。たくさんある。 私は、	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	小山田 歩美(著)	1980	女	ひまわり	2005
の言動に翻弄されっぱなしだった。 ホント、悔しい。 でも、悔しくても、オレは正登	を嫌い	にはなれなかった。 「竜生はどう責任取ってほしいの？」 「ど、どうって…」 「言	1	1	0	0	1	1	0,5	水島 忍(著)		女	ガラスの森のキスで目覚めて	2005
頭の片隅では、彼女と別れてしまうかもしれないなぁと感じています。真由美さんのこと	を嫌い	になったわけではないのですが、すべてにおいてパワー不足なのです。 「私のこと、忘	0	1	0,25	0	1	0	0,5	七宮 昴(著)/ 金森 藍加(著)	/ 1960	女/女	正しい占いのすすめ	2005
とは意味がないんじゃないだろうか、と結論づけようとしていたところだった。 でも彼	を嫌い	になったわけでもないし、彼に何かしてほしいことがあるわけでもなく、信吾と何を話し	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	江藤 あおい(著)		女	できる女できた女できない女	2004
」「環境」、そして「方法」すべてにおいて劣った状態幼少期から英語を教えても、英語	を嫌い	や英語コンプレックスにさせるだけだと英語教育に対する私たちの思いこみの危うさを訴	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	小西 行郎(著)	1940	男	早期教育と脳	2004
ックホルム・シンドローム」とは、自分の命を握っている人や物事（征服者や脅威など）	を嫌い	になるよりも好きになるほうが生き残れる確率が高くなることを直感的に悟り、自分の心	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	日原 広一(著)	1950	男	芸術的商品開発力	2004
8指導者の豊かな読み語り 「読めるようになったのだから、自分で読みなさい」は、本	を嫌い	な子に。「読めるのだから、自分で読みなさい」と言って突き放してしまうと、子どもた	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	西田 清(著)	1930	男	AD/HD・LDの発達と保育・教育	2004
は好きになった男に本当のことを言わなかったこと。もし真実を言ったら彼が彼女のこと	を嫌い	になるのが恐かったから、それで彼女はすべてを放棄してしまった。」（Ｔｈｅ Ｐｌａ	1	1	0,25	1	1	0	0,5	谷林 真理子(著)	1940	女	アメリカ女性演劇クロニクルズ	2004

										著者		性別	書名	年
われた場合の耐性も非常に弱く，全人格を否定されたかのように受け止め，批判する相手	を嫌い	になったりすることさえあります。　前述したイギリス人のクラスメートたちは，幼少の	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	若林　茂則(著)	1960	男	英語習得の「常識」「非常識」	2004
大好き状態」の恋が成就した時、つまり相手が本気でこちらを向いてくれた途端に、相手	を嫌い	になったり終わったりしたケースがよくありました。　相手に「食事でも行きませんか…	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	山田　邦子(著)	1960	女	邦子の「しあわせ」哲学	2003
。さすがにライマン先生のお眼鏡にかなっただけのことはある。おそらく森君とて、常女	を嫌い	な理由はないと思うが…」　森も内心、常女のことが気になってならなかった。だが政局	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	森本　貞子(著)	1920	女	秋霖譜	2003
た。電話の向こうでジーンは言った。「『ローマの休日』を見てきたわよ。あなたのこと	を嫌い	になりたかったのだけれども、正直に言うと、私ではあんなに上手にはできなかったと思	0	1	0,25	0	1	1	0,5	アレグザンダー・ウォーカー(著)/ 斎藤 静代(訳)	1930/1950	男/ 女	オードリー	2003
らいう。「これがどういう意味かわかる？」　「なに？」　「まず第一に、またジョシュ	を嫌い	にならなきゃならないってことだよ。そして第二に」―ここで、長いため息をつく―「ぼ	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,5	ジェーン・グリーン(著)/ 小林 理子(訳)	1960/1940	女/ 女	もっとハッピー・エンディング	2003
で一番の宝物なんだだから　その思い出を辛い思い出にはしないでねそれと雨が降った日	を嫌い	にならないで僕は雨が降っているときの音とそのときのにおいが好きなんだ何よりも雨が	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	黒澤　あお(著)	1970		パステル・カラー	2003
を忘れてはいけない。　普通、あなたが招待を断りたいと思うのは、招待してくれた相手	を嫌い	だからではない。その催し自体に気が乗らないか、あるいはタイミング、場所その他の要	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	コニー・ハッチ(著)/ パティ・ブレイトマン(著)/ 東山 紘久(訳)	/ 1950/1940	女/ 女/ 男	断る！技術	2003
思う楽しい事や辛い事勇気を出さないといけない時や涙を流す時人を好きになることや人	を嫌い	になることももっとたくさんあるけど君なら大丈夫うまく乗り越えていけるよ　きっとねだ	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	黒澤　あお(著)	1970		パステル・カラー	2003
二人はおなじような大きな鼾をかいていた（鼾がうるさくて眠れないのも、自分が四老媽	を嫌い	になった原因のひとつだと、四老爺は言ったものだ）が、それが耳に入った途端に、あや	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	莫　言(著)/ 吉田 富夫(訳)	1950/1930	男/ 男	至福のとき	2002
らずっとそうでした。ぼくが知らずにハリーを怒らせたのか、それともハリーがぼくの顔	を嫌い	だったのか、わからないけど、ぼくたちはほんとに中が悪く、一度ハリーにプレハブ小屋	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	アレックス・シアラー(著)/ 金原 瑞人(訳)	1940/1950	男/ 男	青空のむこう	2002
れる気じゃなかったの」　「嫁にって、お前、俺ァまだ三ン下で―」　「長さん、あたし	を嫌い	？」　「いきなりそんなことをいわれたって」　「じゃあ、あの晩、あたしを好きで抱い	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	阿佐田　哲也(著)	1920	男	次郎長放浪記	2002
にそれがみんなを幸せにするのか、私は幸せになれるのか、今大きく悩んでいます。日本	を嫌い	になりたくないし、人生に焦りたくない。ジョンと静かに生きていくことも大事。でも	0	1	0,75	0	1	1	0,5	辻　仁成(著)	1950	男	愛と永遠の青い空	2002
分のやることに不安を持っているということを感じながらも、だからといってその奥さん	を嫌い	になるわけでもない。この夫婦は例外的にものすごくしあわせな夫婦だと思います、バル	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	髙村　薫(著)/ 鹿島 茂(著)	1950/1940	女/ 男	バルザックを読む	2002
那の目を盗んで？ 昨年以上のコンサートに行きたい	が欲し	、なんて欲は言いません。ただ、姿が近くでみれた	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008

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左文脈	表現	右文脈												出典	年
な。彼の「お手振り」、「ファンサ」	い	らそれでいいの。だからいっぱいコン													
夫が罪を受けて行かねばならない遠い道筋を、手繰り寄せて畳んで焼き滅ぼす天の劫火	が欲しい	という名歌である。 本書は１２名の万葉学者の年次別・テーマ別に分担執筆した越の万	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
いです／笑）私的には、質問者の事後報告が聞きたい質問がたまにあるので、事後報告欄	が欲しい	な、と。やはり 削除に関してですかね・・・くさい物にはふたを・・と言いますがまさ	0	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
？そんな夫の子供がほしいのですか？ もし、その夫の子供じゃなくて、純粋に自分の子供	が欲しい	なら新しい道を考えてもいいと思います。夫が子供を欲しがっていないなら尚更です。バ	0	1	0	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
彼氏	が欲しい	です。なかなか出会う場がありません。昔のようにナンパされる事もほとんどなくなりま	0	1	0	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ールは危険なので必ず火から離して使ってくださいね！少しサッパリ目になるので保湿力	が欲しい	と思ったらグリセリンなどを入れてもいいと思いますよ。（＾－＾）	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ルナットを楽々緩める物はありますか？ トラックもらくらくにしたい・・・・力が強いの	が欲しい	なら電動よりエアーがいいですよ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ラブストーリーで、何度見ても飽きないようなＤＶＤ	が欲しい	んですが、ファッションなども参考になるようなのがあったら、教えて下さい。ん〜〜や	0	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
じ、「（自殺の動機や参考人聴取には）心当たりがない。知事の職務で右近氏のサポート	が欲しい	と思い、（参事登用の）人事を行った。（不正は）あり得ないと思う」と説明。西松建設	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
）イイネ！！望遠側で使う事が多く、広角側はそんなに多用しないので、次は望遠側の玉	が欲しい	ですねぇ・・・（ °д°）ホスィ...	0	1	1	0	1	0	-0,5					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
地図自体も必要があるとは思わなかったです。※ただ、大都市の地下鉄の図だけは...最新	が欲しい	とは思います。 特にベルリンは未だに工事してますからしょっちゅう変わるんです＾＾	0	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!ブログ	2008
クリスマスプレゼント彼氏に何をあげようか悩んでます。身にまとう物	が欲しい	と言ってたのですが女性の方なら彼に何をあげますか？男性の方なら何が欲しいですか？	0	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
×です。似たような状況のときに私は元彼に「今サンダルが無いからどうしてもサンダル	が欲しい	」と言われ３０００円のサンダルを一緒に買いに行きました。気を使ってくれたのでしょ	1	1	1	0	1	-0,5	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
われても考えられないので、ならば会うのはやめたほうがよいか」私、「ならばチャンス	が欲しい	、友達になろう」彼。その後、そういった話は一切せずに世間話を主にしています。私が	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
シンクロの選手が鼻に付けている、洗濯ばさみみた	が欲し	のですがお店に売ってますか？ちなみに名前はなん	0	1	1	0	1	0	0					Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

いな物	い	ていう物ですか？ ノーズクリップとい											
出させてくれたり出してくれる猫耳のお姉さん（女の子、お兄さん、男の子）ならどっち	**が欲しい**	ですか? ドラえもんがいいんだけど、大山のぶ代の声がいやだ。	0	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
。レバレッジ系の本を読んで勉強し、自分が変わった気になっただけでは全くダメ。 金	**が欲しい**	なら金に関する行動を始めよう。掃除をはじめたり、玄関をキレイにしたり、自転車に切	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
もなのを買いたい…それでも安めの、六万円ぐらいの（σ・Д・）σ!！そのまえにお金	**が欲しい**	！！！笑	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ありません亡くなった先輩は笑みを浮かべていたそうですご両親は　バイクに乗った写真	**が欲しい**	と言われたそうです本人がバイクを楽しんで生きたから　なのか・・・・**わたしには　と**	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
混ざっていると解釈してきましたが、どうなのでしょうか? 付け加えますが、「ミックス	**が欲しい**	」「雑種が欲しい」などという質問に回答するための知識としての質問です。まずは結論	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
一人っ子の方に質問です。歳が１０歳以上離れていても弟か妹	**が欲しい**	ですか? 私には９歳になる子がいますが二人目がなかなか出来ません。歳が離れた兄弟は	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
るまで続きます。話を聞いてもらいたいだけ、ということはありうるのですか? 私は意見	**が欲しい**	人間なので、意見を言ったら反論されて、もうどうすればいいのかわかりません。そうい	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
日産ＴＩＩＤＡ	**が欲しい**	のですが、実際乗っている方どうですか? １．５Ｍを希望しています。燃費等も分かれば	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
今ドコモの携帯を使用してます。新しい携帯	**が欲しい**	と思ってお店に行ったのですが、何がいいのかが分からず諦めて帰ってきました。ＦＯＭ	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
「インプラント」を行うことに・・・・簡単な方は**土台となるチタン！！（僕はチタコン**	**が欲しい**	ぞ）を骨に挿入、難しい方は・・・**土台を作るため**に骨を移植してからという結構な手術	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
なる夢は、ポスト＆ビームでガレージを作ること。そして　「子供が成長して自分の部屋	**が欲しい**	と言い出したら、一緒に作りたいですね」広いキッチンには一流メーカーのシステムキッ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	実著者不明			自分でつくるキットハウス	2005
。❖恋愛運、人間関係運　中旬以降交際運が好調。**元気で明るい人がモテるので、出会い**	**が欲しい**	人は元気で明るいあなたを演出しましょう。フリーの人はこの時期にお付き合いを始めた	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	小林　祥晃(著)	1940	男	誕生月でわかるDr.コバの風水大開運	2005
いうものだった。　浦元さんは言う。　「最初に考えたのは、ユーザーが『こういうもの	**が欲しい**	』と言ってきたときに、できるだけ対応できないものかなと思ったわけです。セミ・オー	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	坂本　徹也(著)	1950	男	ペットフードで健康になる	2005

	が欲しい									著者	生年	性別	タイトル	
ね。「節約」している人が変わり者みたいに見られていたときでした。 でも、私は「家	が欲しい	」という夢を持ったから、「節約」が楽しかった。だって、「節約」すればお金が貯まる	1	1	1	0	1	0	-0,5	丸山　晴美(著)/ 横田　濱夫(著)	1970/1950	女/ 男	明るい節約生活入門	2005
山さんの本を読んで、なるほど、ぼくはまだ甘いなと痛感させられた次第です。私は「家	が欲しい	」と思ったんです丸山　私は「節約」についてこれまでいろいろ語ったり、原稿を書いた	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	丸山　晴美(著)/ 横田　濱夫(著)	1970/1950	女/ 男	明るい節約生活入門	2005
の吉方位である東南、南西、北西方位へ。人間関係運を上げたい、お付き合いにメリハリ	が欲しい	人は東南方位に、家内安全を願うなら南西方位や北西方位です。初詣前には年賀状のチェ	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	小林　祥晃(著)	1940	男	誕生月でわかるDr.コバの風水大開運	2005
買えないのでは？別荘向けのローンはあるの？ A購入する場合には、資金計画には余裕	が欲しい	ところ。でも住宅金融公庫、民間ともに、別荘購入向けのローンがあります。定住目的で	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	実著者不明			リゾート暮らし	2005
優れた相場師を探すために広告まで作成した。そこには、「私の考え出した相場の奥義書	が欲しい	人には安く譲る。そして、ここに書かれた法則より、多少でも大きく利益を出せる売買方	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	鳥山　隆一(著)	1960	男	カリスマ最強株投資法	2005
話ししようと思っています。 と言うのは、自分が浪費がちな生活をしていたのに、「家	が欲しい	」という夢を持って「節約」を始めたら、自分の人生が１８０度変わったという経験があ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	丸山　晴美(著)/ 横田　濱夫(著)	1970/1950	女/ 男	明るい節約生活入門	2005
ど、猫のポーズ別に掲載されている。画像サイズは５種類用意してある。高画質の猫画像	が欲しい	人はこのサイトへどうぞ。インターネットナンバー５６５６-７０２８対応キャリアい	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	実著者不明			I love ケータイ待画&着メロDX	2005
「ほりんふ」の顧客には獣医さんも多いが、彼らの機能的に使えるクッキータイプのもの	が欲しい	という要望に応えて、関節炎の子用にコンドロイチン入りのクッキーなども出した。他に	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	坂本　徹也(著)	1950	男	ペットフードで健康になる	2005
取らなくてはならない。効果的なサービスの提供には、気配り、気づきが必要になる。水	が欲しい	と頼まれる前に気づき、さっと提供することができれば、顧客は満足する。期待を上回る	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	小山　周三(著)	1940	男	サービス経営戦略	2005
。そんな目的で、日本へきたわけではないわ。わかるでしょう？」 「…昔の仲間の情報	が欲しい	？」 「話の飲み込みが早い人は好きよ。教えてちょうだい、あの子たちの居場所を」	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	本沢　みなみ(著)	1970	女	黒の狙撃手	2005
ふたりは、同じ大学に入って、よりいっそう関係を深めていった。キースは彼女のすべて	が欲しい	と思ったが、彼女は結婚するまで純潔を守りたいと言って聞かなかった。その後、ふたり	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	Merritt, Jackie.(著)/ 氏家　真智子(訳)	/	/ 女	億万長者の策略	2005
して定着させたい。 特定の宗教、政治の力を借りることなく、自らの力で立ち、歩く場	が欲しい	。 若い人を育てたい。シニアの愉しみにもしてもらいたい。 原理を合理的な動きで美	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	原　笙子(著)	1930	女	やっぱり「不良」でした	2005
「そういう煩悩を絶て。心を絶て」と、お釈迦さまは言いました。「あれが欲しい、これ	が欲しい	。あれがしたい、これがしたい」、その煩悩をなくせば、四苦八苦がなくなりますよ、と	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	瀬戸内　寂聴(著)	1920	女	寂聴人は愛なしでは生きられない	2005
ているとは思えませんよね。Ｆｒｏｍ：ｓｈａｂｏ	が欲しい	んだと思います。紙切れ１枚、たったその一言でも	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	田村　毅(著)	1950	男	癒しのメーリング	2005

										著者	年	性	出典	年
nしゃぽんです。私はたぶんその確証	い	確証があればきっと満足、安心出来る											リスト	
ると、二三日午後九時ごろ、三〇代くらいの男性から「練炭で魚を焼きたいので、着火剤	が欲しい	」との相談を店員が受けた。「魚なら木炭のほうがいいですよ」とアドバイスしたが、男	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	渋井 哲也(著)	1960	男	男女七人ネット心中	2005
の瞳に力がみなぎってきた。 「わかってるよ。優樹とキャッチボールできるくらいの庭	が欲しい	ね」 「どこに建てるの?」 「実家の近くに適当な土地があるんだよ」 「今日、これ	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	平井 光明(著)	1950	男	愛と奇跡を信じて	2005
岡は彼の古巣・西鉄を倒す「刃」にしたのである。《西鉄に負けて考えたのは、一発屋	が欲しい	ということと、現有勢力をもっと生かすために、すぐ役に立つ、打てる選手を補強しよう	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	立石 泰則(著)	1950	男	魔術師	2005
理せずできちゃった、という感じです。 ２２歳のときはフリーターをやっていて、「家	が欲しい	」という夢に出会ってしまったんです。家を買う頭金を貯めるには貯金をしなければなら	0	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	丸山 晴美(著)/ 横田 濱夫(著)	1970/1950	女/ 男	明るい節約生活入門	2005
いけれど、買いたいものが見つからない。何を見ても"欲しい"と感じない。 「物欲」	が欲しい	と願うくらい、今のアリスには欲しい物がない。やりたいことも、夢も希望もない。	0	1	0,75	0	1	1	0	穂高 巴里(著)		女	花雪の降る場所で	2005
!」って怒る私と、好きな男が思わず手を伸ばしたくなるような、プリンプリンしたお尻	が欲しい	と思ってる私の両方を良しとするようなリブをやりたい。そう思いましたが集団として動	1	1	1	0	0,5	0	0	加納 実紀代(著)/ 田中 美津(著)	1940/1940	女/ 女	かけがえのない、大したことのない私	2005
にいかがわしさを感じるほうだから。健全というのは、他の人よりか少しでも大きい饅頭	が欲しい	という気持を自分が持っているのに、そういう自分に気がつかない人たちが持てるような	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	加納 実紀代(著)/ 田中 美津(著)	1940/1940	女/ 女	かけがえのない、大したことのない私	2005
りです。夫がいてくれていたら、こんなことにはならなかったのに。生きている間にお金	が欲しい	」と金さんは語った。 金さんは犬をたくさん飼っていた。私が訪ねた時も、縁の下から	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	太田 康男(著)	1960	男	海のむこうのヒロシマ・ナガサキ	2005
１月に生まれた子犬	を欲しい	という人に上げたのですが、その人はろくに世話しない、その上虐待しているようです、	1	1	0,5	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
同じ商品が１００円ショップで売ってたとしても、入札者は「２５０円出してもその商品	を欲しい	」と思ったのです。ですのでその人にとっては２５０円の価値のものであるのです。買う	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ラスガーデンて、どんな系のファッションですか? 値段は高めですか? 彼女がジャケット	を欲しい	と言ってます。安カワ神戸系? カジュアルだと思いますね。参考まで↓	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
たくなって、お菓子の暴食をしている。少しでもいいから、肉や魚を食べてると、お菓子	を欲しい	とは思わない。・・・ちゃんとした食生活って、やっぱり必要なんだね。	0	1	1	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
きました」とかいう連絡がありません。もしや、ありがた迷惑かも...と思い、「お下がり	を欲しい	という友達がいるから、いる物だけ持って帰って。残りはその人にあげるから。」と母に	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005

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。無断転載、勿論ＮＧです。転載した記事を見て、ブログのお友達が素材やブログパーツ	を欲しい	と申し出た場合は、転載元からと伝えてください。素材を大切に取り扱って下さってい	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
～安心』なのかな？！よく分からないですけど・・・（苦笑）、でももし彼が、私の下着	を欲しい	って言ったら、あげないかもしらないね、でも～嬉しいです。２１才♀	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
産は８０億を下らないという金持ちです。その彼が身寄りが無いために老後を考えて養女	を欲しい	と考えていたのでした。俵は彼女が働く高級サウナに相庭を連れてきて合わせます。最初	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
みは相当のもので、３日間寝込みました。痛み止めも２本も入れました。そろそろ二人目	を欲しい	と思うようになりましたが、あの痛みにまた耐える自信がなくて、自然分娩で産んでみた	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
急募だった求人を見て、登録面接をしましたら、翌日中に就業可能かお返事	を欲しい	と言われました。条件的にはとても良いと思います。ただ、年齢的に（３０歳）今、無理	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
落札者から領収書	を欲しい	とメールもらいました。個人出品なのですが、どうすればよいでしょうか？領収書買った	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
ざと桑田を先発にして勝たせて機嫌をとらせようというもくろみですか? たぶん星野さん	を欲しい	がための貢物みたいなものでしょう。桑田先発の時点で９５％阪神の勝ちは決まりますも	0	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
彼女さんがバイブ	を欲しい	って要求されたら、買ってあげますか喜んでプレゼントします。お礼は下さい。「マック	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
働き始めても最初は１人暮らしがやっていけるほどお金をもらえません。親にはもうお金	を欲しい	とは言いたくないのですが、援助してもらえるならして欲しい気持ちはあります。自分で	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
●願望（探求と実現）　ーーー上手に期待することを学びましょう。自分が何	を欲しい	かを完全に知ることが出発点です。よく掘り下げて考えてみる必要があります、自分に正	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
歳男がこの先一生セックスなしで自慰行為だけで生きていけるものなのでしょうか? 子供	を欲しい	と迫ってみてはどうでしょうか? 子づくりが嫌だとは言えないでしょうから・・・	0	1	0	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
うちの子はなんでも欲しがります。ニンテンドーＤＳを買ったばかりなのに、ＰＳＰ	を欲しい	といいます。「我慢づよい子」にするにはどうしつけすればいいのでしょう? 将来、生活	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
高河ゆんさんの「アーシアン」の結末はどうなったのですか? 昔はまっていたので完結版	を欲しい	のですが、ずいぶん昔の作品なので迷っています。ネタばれお願いします! 完結版揃える	0	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
心すると６人組男性グループ神話のメンバーになった。　音楽をしていると単独レーベル	をほしい	という計画をたてて、その夢をかなえた。　そして今は後輩養成という巨大な目標をたて	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008

前文	表現	後文								著者	生年	性	出典	年
父が麻雀ソフト	をほしい	みたいです。あまり値段が高くなくておすすめなソフトがあったらおしえてください。ネ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
と指摘されましたがその通りです。彼と出会ってから彼のことしか考えられず、彼の子供	をほしい	と願い、以前借金で問題が起こったときもいつか治ってくれるのではと考えていました。	0	1	0	0	1	-0,5	-0,5				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
では国会が大騒ぎ（衆議院の決議）だと言っていました。私は、1万2千円プラス8千円	をほしい	です。と、言っておきます。欲しくなくて、ほかに使ってくれという方が多いそうですが	1	1	1	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!ブログ	2008
ですが労災は保険証を使用しての治療になるのでしょうか？派遣元の責任者に何度も連絡	をほしい	と頼んでいるにも関わらず連絡がなく困っています。今回の怪我の為に休んだ分というも	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0,5				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
るのは、老人たち。私は現在20で、なぜか陶器好きなのでいいますが骨董品みたいなの	をほしい	方はあまりおすすめではありません。普段使う食器などがほしい方。は行く価値がありま	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
？やはり双眼鏡があった方がいいですか？よろしくお願いします。実際に行った方の感想	をほしい	です。座席表はチェックさせて頂いてます。ＰＤＦではピンとこないのでよろしくお願い	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0				Yahoo!知恵袋	2005
で枠を作ったお手製フィルターをレンズに付けて写真を楽しむ親を見ていた。私が望遠鏡	を欲しい	とせがむと、新聞紙を丸めて中を黒く塗り、凸レンズと凹レンズを組み合わせ、望遠鏡を	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	田村　彰英(著)	1940	男	スローカメラの休日	2005
少し欲を言いますると、通俗に過ぎて、もう少し深みが欲しい、あるいは格調の高いもの	を欲しい	が、そういう点はこれはあくまでも私の、いわゆる欲を言うているのであって、一応とに	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	安岡　正篤(著)	1890	男	人生の五計	2005
さなチョコレートの箱を指差して、八箱をギフト用にラッピングし、それぞれに手提げ袋	を欲しい	と伝えたいようだ。店員は注文の品は分かったのだが、そこから先の手話にまごついてい	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	ささき　やすえ(著)		女	桜横浜恋模様	2004
とができるという点だ。インターネットでの通信販売は、製品情報を見た顧客がその製品	を欲しい	と思ったら、すぐその場で注文できる。従来のカタログ販売やテレビショッピングだと、	1	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	片山　又一郎(著)	1940	男	マーケティングの基礎知識	2004
ホールデンは、激しく動揺した。　その瞬間まで、ホールデンは自分がどんなにルシンダ	を欲しい	と思っているかに気づかなかった。　「そんな気持になったことがあるのかい？」　ルシ	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	マギー・シェイン(著)/ 村上　あずさ(訳)	/	/ 女	冷たい億万長者	2004
は、私の気持ちは分からない」　私は寂しさを抱えて、夜の街に佇んだ。「オヤジが愛人	を欲しい	と思うのは、たぶんこういう時なんだろうなぁ...」ただたんにセックスの相手が欲しい	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	横森　理香(著)	1960	女	ワルツ	2004
ないか、いま電話で話していたところなんだが、『週刊ズームイン』が、是非、この写真	を欲しい	って言ってるんだよ。とにかく、見てくれ...」　そう言って、津村社長は、例の二枚の写	1	0,5	1	0	1	0	0	和久　峻三(著)	1930	男	京都時代祭り殺人事件	2004
げて、お客を連れて来ない時の、父の晩酌相手をさせられていた。　兄がボクサーの仔犬	を欲しい	と言って、貰ってきてみたら、成犬のように大きくて、誰も近づくことができずに返しに	1	1	0,5	0	1	0	0	黒澤　和子(著)	1950	女	パパ、黒澤明	2004

左文脈	KWIC	右文脈								著者	生年	性	書名	年
強くなり、長持ちするようになります。　私の研究室でも、研究のために解剖したカラス	を欲しい	という農家に提供することがありますが、いずれも防腐処置（後述）をしているので、長	1	1	0,5	0	1	0	0	杉田　昭栄(著)	1950	男	カラス	2004
〇〇円を払いました。　さて、この場合、契約はいつ成立したのでしょう。あなたが大根	を欲しい	と言った時でしょうか。それとも、八百屋さんが「あいよ」と言った時でしょうか。はた	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	寺村　淳(著)	1960	男	これで納得！契約の基本	2004
ることがある。こういう類のことをすべてソーシャル・スキルという。　あるいは、返事	を欲しい	と言いながら、返信用の切手も封筒も入れない人がいる。そういうのはソーシャル・スキ	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	國分　康孝(著)	1930	男	生活にいかすカウンセリング心理学	2003
の辺は気っぷの張った旦那衆が多い。石さんにも稼いでもらえると思うんだ」　常吉が金	を欲しい	のは確かだが、実際に困れば兄の吉兵衛に借りられるので、御幸山鎌太郎がほんとに二十	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	結城　昌治(著)	1920	男	大江戸犯科帖	2003
は商品をなんとかつくりあげても、それを欲している人がどこにいるのか、どれほどの量	を欲しい	のか、また、どの程度の値段であれば買ってくれるのか。Ｇという元手でＷという商品を	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	寺岡　寛(著)	1950	男	スモールビジネスの経営学	2003
カウンセラーをされたと、証言したりしない?」「しません。いまは理恵のほうが先生	を欲しい	んだもん。...理恵が、先生を欲しくなっているの」ソファの背凭れに背を深く預け、か	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	北沢　拓也(著)	1940	男	愛宴の人妻	2002
前に進みでた。獲物に忍び寄る、大きな体と金色に光る目を持つ野獣のごとく。「僕は君	を欲しい	ときにいつでも抱ける。妻として法的にしばらくても」　フェイは言い返す前に両手を	1	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	リン・グレアム(著)/駒月　雅子(訳)	/ 1960	/ 女	砂の迷路	2002
たの?」「きみを承服させようとしていたんだ」「どういう意味?」「ぼくがきみ	を欲しい	と思っていたのと同じように、きみにもぼくと愛を交わしたいと思わせたかったんだ」	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	Porter　Jane.(著)/夏木　さやか(訳)	/	/ 女	孤独を抱きしめて	2002
その正実坊がどうしたのだ?」　有徳人とはこの時代資産家をさして呼んだ。　「わたし	を欲しい	っていうんです」「で...?」「店の主もいい話だっていいます。...でもわたしは嫌な	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	浜野　卓也(著)	1920	男	義の旗風	2001
、変えようがないだろうなという判断があった。根は越後の田舎者である。　欲しいもの	を欲しい	と思ったとき、買ってもらった経験がない。うなぎを食べたのが初めてだったように、う	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	清水　一行(著)	1930	男	一瞬の寵児	2001
け出して来たりする。天狗たちの噂では、空蟬坊は人の心が読めるという。だから、子犬	を欲しい	と思っている人間を雑踏の中から見つけてしまうことも出来たのだ、と。　それが本当な	1	1	0,5	0	1	0	0	柴田　よしき(著)	1950	女	宙都	2001
出生簿、出生記録を知りたいと思えば、あるいは死亡記録といいますか、台帳からコピー	を欲しい	と思えば手紙一本書けばちゃんと送ってきます。これは私がやったわけではないんですが	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	阿部　謹也(著)	1930	男	世間を読み、人間を読む	2001
まり悪魔的なら、それを注意して配ったりはしません。」「うちの子がポケモンカード	を欲しい	欲しいと言ってお宅に行ったが、カードをもらえなかったと言って、泣いて帰ってきたん	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	内越　言平(著)	1940	男	ひとりの小さなおともだちが	2001
る」ということをしない。　思うことと、やると決めることには大きな違いがある。何か	を欲しい	と心で思ったとしよう。だが心の中で思っているだけでは行動しないから、実現しない。	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	小出　繁美(著)	1940	男	生き生きガイドブック	2001

前文脈	キー	後文脈								著者	生年	性別	タイトル	年
色をつけてくれたというこの絵葉書は、こう締めくくられている。 「金の時計のお土産	を欲しい	人は大人しくしなければ駄目。」N 父はクリスチャンだからデモクラシーというのもキ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	小川 信子(著)/ 田中 厚子(著)	1920/1950	女/ 女	ビッグ・リトル・ノブ	2001
のである。●ネズの木 マリアが兄の骨を置く同じネズの木の下で、かつて兄の実母が子	を欲しい	と願い、その願いをかなえている。 ネズの木は、金田鬼一訳『グリム童話集』（岩波文	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	桐生 操(著)		女	本当は恐ろしいグリム童話	1998
、この手紙の書き手は、このコンピュータがいいものならどんなにお金がかかろうとそれ	を欲しい	のです。この思いを相手にアピールするのにwould like toでは役不足です	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	ミゲール・リーヴァスミクー(著)/ 冨山 詩曜(著)	1950/1960	男/ 男	Eメール English の鉄則	1997

10.2.4 Sentences used in in-depth analysis (CSJ)

講演ID	前文脈	キー	後文脈	NUM	SUB	OBJ	EVE	DIS	VOL	AFF	ROM	性別	収録時の年齢
S03F0136	が#八王子|は|やっぱり|東京|です|し#普通|に|考えて|福島|より|福島|より|も|全然|いい|って|言う|か|やっぱり|東京|です|し#町|です|し#電車|も|あり|ます|し#便利|だ|と|は|思う|ん|です|が#私|は|やっぱり|地味|な|福島|の|方|が	好き	なん|です#それ|で|その|理由|なん|です|が#まず|風景|が|好き|です#はんん|ー|何|て|言う|ん|でしょう#こう|木|が|多い|です|し#だだっ広い|です|し#建物|が|あまり|ない|です|で#家|の|近く|に|新幹線|の|あのー|新幹線|の|走る	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0	女	20-24歳
S08F1322	方|タイトル|尾行|の|し|方|で|まー|尾行|なんて|はっきり|言って|一般|的|じゃ|ない|ん|です|けど#あー|あたし|が|ね|そう|いう|の|に|興味|を|持った|きっかけ|とか|いう|の|が|まー|昔|から|ね|探偵|小説|とか|そう|いった|もの|が	好き	だった|ん|です|よ|ね#で|そう|いう|探偵|とか|に|興味|も|あった|し#ある|日|新聞|に|ん|探偵|スクール|の|広告|が|あった|ん|です|よ#で|かなり|あのー|迷って|た|ん|です|けど|も#凄い|面白|そう|だった|ん|で	1	1	1	0	1	0	-1	0	女	20-24歳
S04F1555	認める|程|なので|とても|おいしい|みたい|です#後|は|す|フルーツ|とか|売ってる|お店|も|あって|アジア|の|珍しい|フルーツ|例えば|ドリアン|とか|マンゴスチン|とか|そう|いう|フルーツ|まで|売って|いる|お店|も|あり|まして|後|私|アイス|が	好き	なので|個人|的|に|は|ジェラート|の|おいしい|お店|が|ある|ん|です|けど#そこ|に|は|何か|杏仁|豆腐|とか|味|とか|後|フカ|ひれ|味|とか|後|ジャスミン|茶|味|とか|で|この|フカ|ひれ|味|って|いー|一応|フカ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	女	20-24歳
S02M0011	えー|テーマ|は|あ|タイトル|は|絶望|的|な|沖縄|行き|航海|です#えーと|です|ね|僕|は|えー|旅|を|する|の|が|好き|です#で|えー|特に|えー|独り旅|で|自転車|の|旅|が	好き	です#えー|最近|は|行って|おり|ません|が#えー|過去|十|年|ばかり|は|かなり|行って|いました|し#それ|で|です|ね|えー|ある|時|え|沖縄|に|行った|こと|が|あります#えー|僕|は|それ|まで|です|ね|基本|的|に|です	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	男	25-29歳
S07M0722	で|の|利用|する|こと|が|できる|と|思い|ます#料理|も|ま|色々|と|考えよう|に|よって|は|できます|けど|も#無人|島|に|行く|と|自分|で|食べる|もの|を|探す|探し|に|行か|なけれ|ば|いけ|ませ|ん|ので|ま|私|は|カレー|が	好き	な|もん|です|から|カレー|なんか|持って|いっ|いけ|ば|色んな|料理|が|できん|じゃ|ない|か|と|思い|ます#例えば|森|に|行って|ヤシ|の|実|を|持って|き|たり|後|は|バナナ|バナナ|なのか|なんか|の|を|使って|料理|し|たり|後|海	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	男	45-49歳
S06M0262	面白い|ん|です|が#えー|金|も|ない|けど#何|か|変|な|こと|を|やり|たい|ような|な|人|達|が|集まって|妙|な|映画|を|作って|しまった|と|いう|ような|作品|が|えー|結構|引かれる|もの|が|あって|そう|いう|の|が	好き	な|もの|です|から|そう|いう|作品|を|何|と|かして|探し出して|み|たい|な|と|いつ|も|思って|います#え|以前|は|あのー|映画|雑誌|だ|とか|細かい|えー|雑誌|の|コラム|など|を|手掛かり|に|色んな|ところ|に|えー|見て|しまえ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	男	40-44歳
D03F0006-L	うん|うん|うん|いや|結構|じゃ|たん|楽し|そう|そこ|が|一番|楽し|かっ|たり|して|へー|いい|です|ね#で|も|ね|御|自分|は|学校|の|先生|に|は|なろう|と|は|思わ|なかった#うーん|うーん|うーん|へー|何|が|そんな|に|楽しい|ん|です#言葉|が	好き	な|の|か|な|あー|うん|うん|うん|うん|うん|あー|ふーん|ほ|日本|語|に|魅力|を|感じる#それ|と|も|言葉|に|言語|なら|何|で|も|いい|あー|うーん|うーん|うーん|い|うーん|へー|例えば|ふーん|うーん|うーん|うーん|うーん|うーん|うん|うん|うん|うん|うん|うん	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	30-34歳
S08F1340	つ|一|つ|花|だって|違う|ん|だ|から|と|思って|いて|も|その|一|本物|なら|許される|こと|が|偽物|なら|許さ|れ|ない|って|いう	好き	です|し#本物|と|同じ|花|で|も|色|を|ちょっと|一|段|落と|した|シック|な|感じ|に|インテリア|風|に|作る|の|が|好き|なん|です|ね#うん#それ|で|盆栽	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0	女	50-54歳

ID	左文脈	キーワード	右文脈									性別	年齢
	の｜が｜ある｜ので｜私｜は｜もう｜アレンジ｜して｜作った｜そう｜いっ｜た｜もの｜の｜方｜が		って｜いう｜のは｜本当｜に｜松｜なんか｜です｜と#松葉｜一｜本｜一｜本｜細い										
S11M1643	挙げ｜られ｜ます｜が#恐らく｜私｜は｜せか｜富士山｜は｜世界｜遺産｜に｜なん｜ない｜だろう｜と｜思わ｜れ｜ます#まー｜見｜た｜目｜には｜静岡｜から｜見｜た｜時｜には｜奇麗｜な｜山並み｜の｜人｜も｜いる｜し#こ｜山梨｜側｜から｜見｜た｜方｜が	好き	だって｜言う｜方｜も｜いらっしゃい｜ます#実際｜問題｜五｜合目｜までは｜今｜簡単｜に｜車｜で｜移動｜でき｜ます#それ｜でまー｜多く｜の｜入山者｜が｜いらっしゃい｜ます#それ｜でま｜一｜度｜上がっ｜て｜みる｜と｜分かる｜と｜思う｜ん｜です｜けど#まー｜殆ど｜皆	1	1	-0,5	0	0,5	0	0	0	男	50-54歳
S10F1585	させ｜て｜いただき｜まし｜た#で｜その｜あの｜担当｜の｜執刀｜医｜の｜先生｜の｜お話｜では｜今｜あの｜はやってる｜らし｜あの｜若い｜人｜に｜人気｜の｜椎名｜林檎｜さん｜と｜同じ｜病気｜なん｜だそう｜です#で｜あの｜息子｜も｜の｜あの｜音楽｜が	好き	です｜ので｜あの｜先生｜が｜いつ｜も｜連れ｜て｜いき｜ます｜と#病院｜連れ｜て｜いき｜ます｜と#あの一｜椎名｜林檎｜みたい｜に｜あの｜音楽｜が｜あの一｜歌手｜に｜なれる｜と｜いい｜ね｜って｜先生｜が｜孫｜に｜向かっ｜て｜よく｜あの一｜うち｜の｜お嫁｜さん｜に｜言う	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	50-54歳
S06F1369	で｜無器用｜な｜ところ｜が｜ある｜ん｜です｜けれど｜も#何事｜も｜ああ｜やっ｜て｜一生｜懸命｜取り組ん｜で｜しまう｜人間｜なん｜です｜けれど｜も#長嶋｜の｜あの｜一生｜懸命｜さ｜です｜ね#何事｜も｜純｜な｜少年｜の｜よう｜な｜心｜を｜持っ｜て｜もう｜野球｜が	好き	で｜好き｜で｜たまら｜ない｜と｜いう｜あの一｜不純｜な｜もの｜は｜もう｜そこ｜に｜は｜何｜も｜入り｜よう｜が｜ない｜と｜いう｜です｜ね｜野球｜一筋｜の｜あの｜姿勢｜それ｜プラ｜ス｜その｜華麗｜か｜と｜言っ｜て｜その一｜鈍く｜さく｜なく｜その｜華麗｜です｜よ｜ね#あの｜回転｜レシーブ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	50-54歳
S08F1340	アレンジ｜し｜た｜本当｜に｜く｜創作｜もの｜の｜と｜それ｜から｜その｜他｜に｜あの一｜鉢物｜盆栽｜とか｜はー｜鉢｜に｜植え｜た｜もの｜と｜さん｜大体｜その｜ぐらい｜に｜分かれる｜ん｜です｜けれど｜も#私｜が｜好き｜な｜の｜は｜その｜創作｜物｜と｜その一｜盆栽｜が	好き	なん｜です｜ね#で｜創作｜物｜と｜いう｜のは｜あの一｜わ｜わり｜には｜あの一｜ほう｜む｜どう｜して｜も｜幾ら｜本物｜と｜そっくり｜に｜でき｜て｜も｜本物｜には｜負ける｜な｜と｜本物｜の｜バランス｜の｜悪さ｜が｜を｜真似｜して｜作る｜と｜これ	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	女	50-54歳
S03F0390	車両｜が｜出て｜車体｜に｜サ｜サザエ｜さん｜の｜絵｜が｜書い｜て｜ある｜です｜が#結構｜最新｜型｜の｜が｜登場｜しんぶ｜まし｜た#最初｜びっくり｜しし｜た｜ん｜です｜けど#私｜は｜昔｜の｜う｜古い｜古ぼけ｜た｜感じ｜の｜世田｜谷｜線｜の｜方｜が	好き	です#で｜この｜世田谷｜線｜は｜は｜は｜こう｜晴れ｜た｜日｜ん｜の｜午後｜なんか｜に｜乗る｜と｜凄く｜幸せ｜な｜気分｜に｜なれ｜ます#で｜ちょっと｜恥ずかしい｜です｜が#それ｜が｜こう｜春｜の｜午後｜とか｜だ｜と｜こう｜一緒｜に｜乗っ｜た｜人｜と｜恋｜に	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0	女	25-29歳
S11M0651	です｜けど｜も#えー｜向こう｜の｜人｜あっ｜て｜いう｜のは｜結構｜あの｜酒｜が｜強く｜て｜です｜ね｜みんな｜酒｜強く｜て｜です｜ね｜えー｜僕｜は｜あの一｜下戸｜なん｜です｜よ#全然｜飲め｜なく｜て#で｜やっぱ｜向こう｜の｜お｜父｜さん｜も｜お｜酒｜が	好き	で｜わ｜やっぱ｜勧める｜訳｜です｜よ｜ね#それ｜で｜何｜て｜言う｜の｜かな｜まー｜飲め｜ない#酒｜も｜こう｜無理やり｜飲み｜ながら｜です｜ね｜娘｜さん｜を｜ください｜と｜いう｜こと｜を｜言い｜に｜行っ｜て｜えー｜彼女｜の｜妹｜が｜いる｜ん｜です｜けど｜も#妹	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	男	45-49歳
S05F1117	た｜と｜いう｜こと｜に｜なっ｜て｜まー｜元々｜旅行｜が｜凄い｜好き｜な｜もの｜です｜から｜あの｜小さい｜頃｜から｜うち｜の｜両親｜が｜また｜好き｜で｜色んな｜ところ｜に｜休み｜と｜も｜なる｜と｜連れ｜てっ｜て｜くれ｜た｜もの｜です｜から｜やっぱ｜親譲り｜旅行｜が｜旅｜が	好き	な｜の｜は｜親譲り｜だっ｜た｜と｜は｜思う｜ん｜です｜が#やっぱり｜その｜高校生｜の｜頃｜の｜留学｜の｜こと｜とか｜なかっ｜たら｜こんな｜に｜世界｜に｜目｜を｜向け｜たい｜と｜思わ｜なかっ｜た｜だろう｜し#で｜その｜目｜を｜向け｜て｜行き｜たい#行き｜たい	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	40-44歳
S01M0101	がっ｜あー｜小学校｜五六｜年｜ぐらい｜の｜女の子｜の｜集団｜が｜な｜××｜っ｜て｜いう｜名前｜を｜口｜に｜して｜いる｜の｜を｜聞い｜た｜と#えん｜そん｜な｜どう｜いう｜内容｜だっ｜た｜の｜っ｜つっ｜たら｜A｜さん｜が｜実は｜××｜ぐ｜君｜の｜こと｜が	好き	らしい｜よ｜とか｜いう｜話｜を｜して｜いた｜って｜いう｜の｜を｜私｜が｜聞き｜まし｜て#ん｜まー｜そう｜いう｜の｜真｜に｜受ける｜性格｜で｜は｜なかっ｜た｜ん｜で｜へ｜嘘｜だ｜とか｜言い｜ながら｜も#いはっ｜何｜だ｜それ｜は#確かめ｜なきゃ	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1	男	20-24歳
S05M0956	に｜言える｜うーん｜です｜が#子供｜達｜には｜あんまり｜そう｜いう｜こと｜が｜言え｜ない｜と｜いう｜よう｜な｜こと｜だ｜とか｜それ｜から｜情熱｜だ｜とか｜真剣｜さ｜は｜大人｜より｜子供｜達｜の｜方｜が｜遥か｜に｜強い｜えー｜私｜も｜お｜酒｜が	好き	な｜もん｜です｜から｜えー｜金曜日｜の｜週末｜辺り｜は｜よく｜飲ん｜で｜帰っ｜て｜き｜たり｜です｜ね｜えー｜土曜｜日｜も｜よく｜飲ん｜だり｜して｜た｜ん｜です｜が#えー｜これ｜は｜絶対｜に｜いい｜加減｜に｜やっちゃ｜いけ｜ない｜な｜と｜思っ｜た｜の	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	男	60-64歳
S05M0956	が｜数名｜と｜えー｜私｜ど｜は｜あの｜団地｜に｜住ん｜でる｜もん｜です｜から｜団地｜の｜ま｜商店｜会｜の｜方々｜が｜です｜ね｜えー｜是非｜いー｜少年｜野球｜を｜ちょっと｜面倒｜見｜て｜くれ｜ない｜か｜と｜いう｜話｜が｜あり｜まし｜て#まー｜元来｜野球｜が	好き	だっ｜た｜ん｜で#えー｜ま｜それ｜で｜は｜と｜いう｜形｜で｜お引き受け｜を｜し｜た｜ん｜です｜が#えー｜実際｜やっ｜て｜みる｜と｜全く｜大人｜の｜野球｜と｜少年｜達｜を｜教える｜と｜いう｜こと｜に｜対する｜うー｜大きな｜ギャップ｜を｜ギャップ｜と｜言う｜か｜差	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	男	60-64歳
S10M0969	国志｜だ｜とか｜水滸｜伝｜とか｜もう｜ぶ｜この｜武勇｜伝｜系｜を｜もう｜凄い｜読み｜耽り｜まし｜た｜ね#三国志｜とか｜で｜うん｜三国｜志｜は｜やっ｜ぱ｜周り｜も｜色々｜読ん｜で｜たん｜で｜張飛｜が｜好き｜だ｜とか｜劉備｜が	好き	って｜いう｜のは｜あんま｜い｜ませ｜ん｜でし｜た｜ね#うん｜んー｜関羽｜が｜好き｜だ｜とか｜で｜そう｜です｜ね｜後んー｜で｜この｜頃｜ファミコン｜で｜も｜信長｜の｜野望｜とか｜も｜出て｜たっ｜て｜いう｜の｜も｜あり｜ます｜ね#水滸｜伝｜は	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	男	20-24歳
S01M1711	年｜ぐらい｜の｜時｜ずっと｜言っ｜て｜まし｜た#で｜あの一｜実家｜は｜豊島｜区｜に｜ある｜ん｜です｜が#豊島｜区｜の｜実家｜の｜目｜の｜前｜も｜保育｜園｜と｜いう｜ま｜これ｜関係｜して｜ん｜の｜か｜どう｜か｜分から｜ない｜ん｜です	好き	な｜幼少｜時代｜で｜だっ｜た｜ん｜です｜けれど｜も#えー｜僕｜が｜小学校｜三｜年｜の｜頃｜まー｜実際｜二つ｜下｜の｜弟｜が｜いる｜ん｜です｜が#当時｜は｜本当｜に｜喧嘩｜ばかり｜を｜して｜いた｜もん｜です｜から｜えー｜あまり｜に｜弟｜が	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	0	男	30-34歳

（前ページからの続き）

右: |が#とにかく|子供|が

S01F1403 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 65-69 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | 0,75 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 0 | 0

左: 何|か|ごちゃごちゃ|し|ちゃった|と|思う|ん|です|けれど|も#あの|一|仏教|系|の|学校|を|卒業|し|まし|て#あの|一|何|か|じ|みんな|から|男の子|だ|とか|自分|でも|男の子|だ|って|思っ|て|た|せい|か|剣道|とか|そう|いう|の|が

右: で|あの|剣道|の|免許|も|取り#それ|から|あの|一|お習字|の|免許|も|取り|教育|免許|も|取り|まし|て#今|それ|を|生かし|た|あの|職業|に|就い|て|あの|とても|今|あの|一|はりがい|張り合い|が|ある|とか|言っ|て|もう|親|が|い|なく|て

M01M0010 ／ 好き ／ 男 ／ 30-34 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | -0,5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: で|この|葬儀|の|す|あの|ちゅ|ちょっと|この|写真|が|ない|ん|で|す|けど|も#葬儀|の|場面|で|です|ね|要する|に|えーっと|一|えー|缶|ビール|ここ|に|缶|ビール|が|ちょっと|見える|微か|に|見える|ん|です|けど|も#缶|ビール|とか|そい|から|釣り|が

右: だ|から|びる|とか|ふ|あの|一|魚篭|です|ね#あの|篭|の|魚篭|とか|竿|とか|を|ま|並べる|って|いう|ような|形|で|故人|の|もう|趣味|って|いう|もの|を|前面|に|出し|て|しまう|と#んで|そう|いう|ように|その|一|団体|葬

D01F0003-L ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 30-34 歳 ／ 1 | 1 | 0,75 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: は|何|を|ええ|うーん|へー|ええ|凄い|へー|面白|そう|です|ね#ふーん|あー|うーん|いつ|結婚|さ|れ|た|ん|です|なんて|聞い|ちゃっ|た#えええ|ええ|なるほど|大変|でしょう|ね#凄い|お母さん|です|ね#そんな|こと|ない|で|あの|一|あたし|も|結構|音声|学|が

右: で|あの|あの|一|ん|ま|一|英語|を|私|も|わりと|普通|に|話す|から|かも|しれ|ない|です|けど#そう|音|に|関し|て|凄い|面白い|な|と|思う|ん|です|けど#どう|思わ|れ|ます|か#その|日本語|と|英語|の|音|の|違い|とか|面白

S10F0875 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 55-59 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: で|あの|一|覚え|て|いただける|ん|じゃ|ない|か|って|いう|こと|で|行っ|た|先々|で|ま|一|そう|いう|こと|を|愉快|に|考え|たり|し|て|います#で|あの|一|人|の|笑顔|に|囲ま|れる|って|いう|こと|が|大好き|で|あの|一|ちょっと|受ける|こと|なんか|が

右: な|の|で|うち|に|遊び|に|いらし|て|いただい|たり|パーティー|で|皆さん|の|ところ|に|はまっ|たり|し|た|時|に|その|時|一回|以上|爆笑|が|ない|と|その|日|ちょっと|あの|不完全|燃焼|の|気分|に|なっ|ちゃう|ん|です|ね#だから

S05F1357 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 25-29 歳 ／ 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0,5 | 0

左: に|ある|という|こと|で|えっと|気温|が|約|四十|度|ぐらい|もう|本当|日本|で|は|考え|られ|ない|暑さ|だった|ん|です|けれど|も#え|えっと|一|ん|ん|ん|一|ショッピング|モール|に|タクシー|で|行っ|て|えーと|私|は|本当|に|ブランド|物|が

右: だっ|た|ん|で|えっと|グッチ|だ|とか|お|本当|に|そこ|ら|辺|を|駆け回っ|て|後|ナイキ|ショップ|で|えーっと|うし|シュニー|スニーカー|を|えと|三千|円|で|買え|た|こと|が|これ|が|一番|いい|買い物|だった|な|と|思い|ます#えっと|一|夜|です|ね

S08F1340 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 50-54 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: れ|ない|って|いう|の|が|ある|の|で|私|は|もう|アレンジ|し|て|作っ|た|そう|いっ|た|もの|の|方|が|好き|です|し#本物|と|同じ|花|でも|色|を|ちょっと|一|段|落とし|た|シック|な|感じ|に|インテリア|風|に|作る|の|が

右: なん|です|ね#うん#それ|で|盆栽|って|いう|の|は|本当|に|松|なんか|です|と#松葉|一|本|一|本|細い|テープ|を|巻い|て|松|の|葉|を|作っ|て|それ|を|ずっと|巻き|下ろし|ながら|松|の|盆栽|を|作る|とか|あの|一|鉢植え|です

S00F0200 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 20-24 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: あの|映画|が|好き|な|理由|って|いう|の|は|ま|ただ|単に|面白い|から|って|いう|理由|も|ある|ん|です|けれど|も#と|作り手|が|こう|何|を|伝え|たい|の|か|な|と|何|を|訴え|てる|の|か|な|って|いう|の|を|考える|の|が

右: で#で|この|映画|に|よって|こう|監督|とか|脚本|の|人|は|何|を|伝え|たい|の|か|な|と|考える|の|が|とても|好き|です#それ|から|と|映像|が|凝っ|て|い|たり|面白かっ|たり|する|と|それ|が|印象|に|残っ|たり|し|て

S05M0418 ／ 好き ／ 男 ／ 25-29 歳 ／ 1 | 1 | 0,75 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: に|私|は|本当|に|ラッキー|だっ|た|と|思い|ます|ね#先程|言っ|た|住まい|の|こと|と|後|一番|ラッキー|だっ|た|こと|を|一つ|覚え|てる|の|が|えー|スロット|マシーン|で|大勝ち|し|た|という|向こう|は|本当|に|皆|さん|ギャンブル|が

右: で|ロット|あの|一|宝くじ|です|ね#何|か|でも|もう|額|が|半端|じゃ|ない|ん|です|けれど|も#後|競馬|とか|ドッグ|レース|それ|も|もう|えー|至る|ところ|に|場外|馬券|場|が|あっ|て|んー|コンビニ|みたい|な|感覚|で|みんな|行っ|て|です|ね|本当

S00M0518 ／ 好き ／ 男 ／ 35-39 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: もう|僕|が|知っ|た|時|に|は|もう|本当|え|さっき|の|文治|さん|みたい|に|もう|お爺さん|でし|て#えー|何|か|もう|喋る|と|声|が|震え|てる|ような|人|なん|です|けど#えー|そい|で|あの|一|銭湯|が|好き|で|銭湯|が

右: で|って|言う|か|多分|落語家|の|人|あんまり|金持ち|じゃ|ない|ん|で|銭湯|に|しか|行か|れ|ない|ような|ところ|も|ある|ん|だ|と|思う|ん|です|けど#銭湯|が|好き|で#えー|で|一門|の|者|を|引き連れ|て#しかも|あの|一|いっぱい|人|が

S04F0040 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 40-44 歳 ／ 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 0

左: だ|から|海|に|戻る#とても|自然|な|こと|だ|と|私|は|思っ|て|い|ます#そう|思っ|て|いる|私|です|から|海|は|私|の|ふるさと|です#実|は|本当|は|泳げ|ない|ん|です#でも|海|が|大好き|なん|です#昔|から|海|が

右: な|私|は|冬|でも|よく|海|を|見|に|行き|まし|た#岩手|の|浄土|が|浜|の|海|の|美しい|こと|ブルー|と|いう|色|は|この|色|なん|だ|と|その|時|初めて|思い|まし|た#静岡|の|堂|が|島|の|海|も|奇麗|でし|た#もう|一

S00F0355 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 30-34 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0

左: です#で|えーと|夫|は|ん|どちら|か|と|言う|と|電車|より|も|汽車|が|好き|な|の|です|が#えーと|一|機関車|えーと|ん|あの|一|ん|ぽっ|って|いう|音|を|し|し|ながら|走っ|て|くる|汽車|の|こと|です|が#それ|は|なぜ|その|汽車|が

右: か|と|言う|と|幼少|時|の|体験|が#やはり|印象|に|残っ|て|いる|そう|です#えー|夫|の|実家|は|ま|あの|真岡|鉄道|の|線路|の|脇|に|立っ|て|あり|ん|立っ|て|い|まし|て#えーと|今|でも|一|日|二|回|えーと|真岡|鉄道

S02F0094 ／ 好き ／ 女 ／ 25-29 歳 ／ 0 | 1 | 0,25 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1

左: えっと|じゃ|小学校|六|年生|の|時|に|好き|だっ|た|男の子|が|交通|事故|に|と|いう|タイトル|です#で|えっと|一|当時|えっと|小学校|六|年生|の|時|に|はっ|一|学期|に|隣り|の|席|の|Y|君|の|こと|が

右: に|なっ|た|ん|です|が#で|Y|君|は|どう|いう|人|か|と|言う|と#凄く|頭|が|良く|て#で|凄い|おとなしい|ん|です|けど#超|面白い|感じ|で#で|ま|女子|に|も|隠れ|て|人気|が|あっ|た|けど#ま|どっち|かって|言う|と

ID	文脈（前）		文脈（後）									性別	年齢
S09M0325	何|か|その一|広島|の|どこ|そこ|の|事務|局|に|熱い|メッセージ|を|送っ|たり|し|て|た|ん|です|けど#|そう|いう|その|平等|を|教え|る|こと|は|分かる|ん|です|けど#|やっぱり|人間|の|能力|と|か|そ|う|いう|勉強|が|好き|だ|とか|スポーツ|が	好き	だ|とか|そう|いう|こと|は|やっぱり|認め|させ|て|あげ|ない|と|いけ|ない|と|思う|ん|です|よ#|タイプ|の|違い|って|言う|ん|です|か|ね#|そう|いう|タイプ|の|違い|を|認め|させ|て|あげ|ない|と|何か|先生|は|そこ|で|勉強|の	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	男	25-29歳
S07F0770	帰れ|なかっ|た|時|の|こと|を|考え|て|そう|いっ|た|もの|が|ない|と|生き|て|いけ|ない|し#|いずれ|は|そー|いん|あの一|生き|て|いれ|ば|帰れる|か|な|と|いう|こと|で|その|三|点|を|選び|まし|た#|で|自分|自身|も|釣り|が	好き	な|ので|多分|当分|は|困ら|ない|か|な|と|いう|気|が|する|ん|です|が#|あ|え一|まー|周り|が|やっぱり|無人島|で|一人|で|寂しい|と|なる|と|ちょっ|と|ん|そう|いう|こと|ここ|で|架空|で|考える|と|意外|と|気楽|に|そう|いっ	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0	女	50-54歳
S01F0204	けど|も#|K|さん|は|いつ|も|あの一|私|を|誘い|出し|て|映画|に|行っ|たり|とか|よく|一緒|に|出掛け|たり|し|て|います#|で|ちょっと|変わり|者|で|えーっと|絵|を|書い|たり|とか|蝶々|を|採集|し|たり|とか|後|料理|が	好き	だっ|たり|とか|何か|もう|す|自分|の|趣味|の|世界|に|生き|てる|人|で|えっと|あんまり|もう|そっち|の|趣味|の|世界|で|忙しく|て|今|まで|全然|恋愛|の|話|とか|全く|なかっ|た|ん|です#|かわいい|のに#|で|それ|で|性格|も	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	20-24歳
S00F0041	で|なぜ|おば|が|あの|ネパール|に|行き|たい|と|思っ|た|のか#|一応|本人|に|確認|し|た|ん|です|が#|どう|も|はっきり|と|し|た|答え|は|得|られ|ませ|ん|でし|た#|ただ|元々|山|を|な|山|の|景色|を|見る|の|が	好き	な|人|な|ので|多分|その|ネパール|の|写真|など|を|見|て|行っ|て|み|たい|な|と|思っ|た|ん|だ|と|思い|ます#|えーっと|彼女|は|今回|の|旅行|が|二|回目|な|ん|です|が|あの一|海外|旅行|が|二|回目|な	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	女	35-39歳
M03M0009	あの一|英語|を|教える|外国語|を|教える|と|いう|こと|に|関し|て|言う|と|単純|に|私|が|個人|的|に|言え|ば|です|ね|とても|意味|が|ある|こと|だ|と|思っ|て|います#|まず|そして|え一|子供|達|とりわけ|小学|生|は|外国語|を|	好き	か|嫌い|かっ|て|いう|こと|で|言え|ば|私|の|経験|から|言え|ば|非常|に|好き|で|ある|と|これ|は|あの一|それ|に|かかわっ|た|こと|の|ある|方|は|誰|で|も|お|認め|いただける|と|だいへ|大変|好き|で|ある|それ|から|あ一|英語|の	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	男	40-44歳
S00F0066	音楽|と|テレビ|に|つい|て#|え一|現在|え一|趣味|が|音楽|な|ん|です|けれど|も#|え一|そもそも|音楽|を|	好き	に|なっ|た|の|は|え一|テレビ|を|見|て|いた|こと|が|凄い|影響|を|受け|て|いる|と|自分|で|思っ|て|います#|て|今日|は|その|こと|を|話し|たい|と|思っ|て|います#|え一|私|は|あの|独りっ|子|で|え|両親|共|に	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	1	0	女	25-29歳
S00F1341	ごっこ|とか|が|凄い|好き|で|キョンシー|の|真似|を|し|て|跳ん|だり|とか|し|て|遊ん|で|い|まし|た#|当時|小二|ぐらい|の|時|から|光|ゲンジ|って|いう|のが|はやっ|て|いた|ん|です|けど#|本|当|は|凄く|光|ゲンジ|を|	好き	に|なり|たかっ|た|ん|です|けど#|何か|あの一|もう|一人|の|自分|が|そんな|ばか|な|こと|は|やめろ#|そんな|もん|ふふ|何か|こう|流さ|れる|ん|じゃ|ない|って|いう|よう|な|こと|言っ|て|いて|何|が|好き|だっ|たか|って|言う	0	1	0	0	1	1	0,5	0	女	20-24歳
S00F1434	まで|自分|の|子供|は|将来|何|に|なり|たい|って|いう|こと|を|一切|ゆ|言わ|なかっ|た|ん|です|けど|も#|え|あの|やっと|最近|その|長男|が|僕|は|将来|スキー|選手|に|なり|たい|ん|だって|いう|風|に|言う|ぐらい|に|え一|スキー|を|	好き	に|なっ|て|くれ|た|ので|私|も|その一|息子|を|ま|選手|まで|行か|なくて|も|とにかく|できる|だけ|あ|協力|し|たげ|たい|な|と|思っ|て#|で|子供|を|え一|スキー|に|スキー|スクール|に|入れ|て|いる|間|私|は|スノボー|に|励み|ま	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0,5	1	0	女	0,50-0,54歳
S00F1479	する|よう|に|なり|まし|た#|そして|二年|生|に|なっ|え一|三年|生|の|時|の|え一|英語|の|先生|も|え|幸運|に|も|とても|良い|先生|だっ|た|ので|二年|生|三年|生|と|いう|え|大事|な|時期|に|英語|を|	好き	に|なっ|た|こと|で|え一|大学|一年|生|の|時|は|大学|も|そんな|に|行き|たい|と|思わ|なかっ|た|ん|です|けれど|も#|二年|生|三年|生|と|英語|を|学ぶ|うち|に|え一|大学|あ|英文|科|に|進み|たい|な|と|思う	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0,5	0	女	20-24歳
S00M0218	まー|恋愛|映画|取っ|て|み|て|も|いい|です|し#|あるいは|人間|ドラマ|と|か|ね|人間|を|描い|た|もの|そう|いっ|た|もの|を|見ま|す|と|です|ね|非常|に|勉強|に|なり|ます|よ|ね#|人|を|思いやる|心|です|とか|ね|人|を|	好き	に|なる|こと|って|一体|どんな|こと|だろう|って|ね#|え一|疑似|体験|な|ん|です|けれど|も#|そう|いっ|た|ところ|で|です|ね|だんだん|こう|自分|の|経験|値|が|アップ|さ|れ|て|く|ん|です#|何か|今|の|ゲーム|みたい|な|話|です|けれど|も|ね	0	1	0	0	1	0	0,5	1	男	0,55-0,59歳
S01F0204	いる|な|と|思っ|て|自慢|に|思っ|てる|ん|です|けど#|で|その|友人|を|別に|ゆ|の|友人|に|紹介|する|の|も|大好き|で#|で|T|君|が|この|だ|私|の|大好き|な|T|君|が|これ|また|あたし|の|大好き|な|K|さん|を|	好き	って|いう|こと|を|知っ|て|凄く|嬉しく|思っ|て#|で|何か|K|さん|が|そう|いう|恋愛|とか|男の子|何か|高校|女子|高|だっ|た|ん|です|けど#|だ|から|あの一|K|さん|が|どう|いう|風|に|男の子|と|接する|ん|だろう|とか|そう	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	女	20-24歳
S01F0204	と|また|お|酒|を|買っ|て#|で|結構|あ|もう|場所|取り|とか|も|し|て|もらっ|て#|で|三人|で|結構|お|酒|を|飲ん|で|盛り上がり|まし|た#|で|何か|こう|もう|多分|K|さん|も|T|君|が|自分|の|こと|を|	好き	だって|いう|の|も|し|知っ|て|いたし#|で|わた|私|も|何か|こう|二人|は|どう|なる|ん|だろう|なんて|もう|おん|考え|ながら|こう|でも|お互い|の|気持ち|を|そう|いう|風|に|何か|察し|つつ|も|口|に|は|出さ|ない	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1	女	20-24歳
S01F0574	なる|なりま|仕事|を|一生|懸命|やっ|て|い|まし|た|し#|あの|恋人|も|でき|た|の|で|ま|デート|とか|忙しく|なり|まし|て#|乗馬|ク	好き	だっ|た|の|を|主人|が|分かっ|て|くれ|て|乗馬|クラブ|に|入会|し|て|も|いい|よ|と|言っ|て|くれ|念願|だっ|た|乗馬|クラブ|に|入っ|た|の|は|その|時	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	-1	0	女	40-44歳

ID	文脈（左）	語	文脈（右）									性別	年齢
	ラブ|に|も|なかなか|通え|ない|時期|が|あり|まし|た#で|結婚|し|て|から|私|が|ずっと|乗馬|を|		です#二十|五|歳|の|時|でし|た#初め|は|サマー|スクール|から|通い|始め										
S01F1440	し|まし|た#さすが|に|その|時|は|みんな|で|遊ぶ|と|いう|こと|は|なく|友達|が|やっ|てる|から|私|も|やら|なく|ちゃ|みたい|な|雰囲気|で|一生|懸命|勉強|し|た|よう|な|気|が|し|ます#また|その|時|に|初めて|年上|の|人|を|	好き	に|なっ|た|こと|も|あり|まし|た#当時|小学校|六|年|生|で|中学|二|年|生|の|人|だっ|た|の|です|が#ちょうど|小学生|と|中学生|と|いう|こと|で|塾|に|来る|時間|帯|が|違っ|た|ので|塾長|に|頼ん|で	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	女	20-24歳
S01M1480	も|あっ|て|凄く|打撃|戦|が|多い|ん|です#それ|は|少年|野球|と|も|共通|する|こと|なん|です|けど#凄く|エキサイティング|な|ゲーム|が|見れ|て|それ|が|高校|野球|が|好き|な|理由|で|それ|その|の|理由|って|いう|の|が|まー|早実|を|	好き	な|理由|でし|た#えー|そんな|訳|で|昔|から|ずっと|早実|の|ファン|で|おやじ|と|一緒|に|見|に|行っ|たり|し|て|凄く|早実|に|行き|たい|と|いう|気持ち|は|子供|の|頃|から|高まっ|て|いき|まし|た#それ|で|早実|の|野球|部|に	0	1	0	0	1	0	-1	0	男	20-24歳
S02F0094	ん|涙|が|出|ちゃ|う|ん|で|こう|何|か|その|漢字|が|ぼやける|みたい|な|そう|いう|ぐらい|に|何|か|ずっと|あー|もう|何|か|悲しい|な|と|思っ|て|泣き|ながら|やっ|て#て|何|か|クラス|に|もう|一人|その|Y|君|の|こと|を|	好き	だっ|た|女の子|が|い|て#で|その|子|と|何|か|どう|しよ|う|と|か|言っ|て|何|か|泣い|泣い|たり|と|か|し|て|まし|た#で|何|か|ま|数|日|は|ちょっと|その|子|の|容体|も|ま|情報|も|分かん|なかっ|た|し#その	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1	女	25-29歳
S02F0094	こと|が|好き|だ|みたい|な|こと|を|言っ|たら|何|か|それ|が|凄い|クラス|中|に|もう|ばれ|て|しまっ|て|ま|本人|も|い|なかっ|た|こと|を|いい|こと|に|って|感じ|で|何|か|クラス|全員|が|私|の|か|Y|君|の|こと|を|	好き	な|こと|を|を|知っ|て|い|て#で|結局|その|その|こと|で|Y|君|の|退院|が|待ち遠しい|はず|な|ん|だけど|戻っ|て|き|たら|すぐ|ばれ|ちゃ|う|から|凄く|それ|が|何|か|どう|しよう|恥ずかしい|し|と|か|って|思っ|て|何|か|凄く	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1	女	25-29歳
S02F0655	た|理由|が|何|か|私|だ|と|か|言っ|て|何|か|変|な|また|噂|が|ちょっと|ちょっと|だけ|回っ|て#で|何|か|なん|何|なん|だろう|と|思っ|て|た|ん|だけど#その|うん|何|か|え|B|君|が|私|の|こと|を|	好き	だ|から|だ|と|か|何|か|そう|いう|何|か|むちゃくちゃ|な|噂|が|回っ|て#で|私|は|何|か|よく|分かん|ない|けど#あんまり|その|クラス|の|女の子|が|そう|いう|噂|好き|な|感じ|なん|で|あんまり|んー|馴染ん|で|なく|て|まー|どんどん|部活	1	1	0,25	1	1	0	0	1	女	20-24歳
S02M0461	訳|です|が#突然|別れ|は|やっ|て|き|まし|た#え|それ|は|えー|ちょうど|ディズニー|ランド|に|行っ|た|えー|日|の|後|だっ|た|ん|です|が#僕|は|ディズニー|ランド|に|行っ|た|訳|だ|から|凄く|も|何|か|あっち|も|俺|の|こと|を|	好き	だ|し#俺|も|あっち|の|こと|を|好き|で|凄く|幸せ|なん|だろう|と|思っ|て|た|ん|です|けど#えー|彼女|は|違っ|た|みたい|で|え|もう|ディズニー|ランド|に|行く|って|言っ|た|時|から|もう|そう|いう|こと|を|別れ|って|いう|の|を	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1	男	20-24歳
S02M0461	まし|た#え|それ|は|えー|ちょうど|ディズニー|ランド|に|行っ|た|えー|日|の|後|だっ|た|ん|です|が#僕|は|ディズニー|ランド|に|行っ|た|訳|だ|から|凄く|もう|何|か|あっち|も|俺|の|こと|を|好き|だし#俺|も|あっち|の|こと|を|	好き	で|凄く|幸せ|なん|だろう|と|思っ|て|た|ん|です|けど#えー|彼女|は|違っ|た|みたい|で|え|もう|ディズニー|ランド|に|行く|って|言っ|た|時|から|もう|そう|いう|こと|を|別れ|って|いう|の|を|考え|て|た|よう|です#えー|それ|で|その	1	1	0,25	1	1	0	0	1	男	20-24歳
S02M0874	かっ|て|いう|こと|考える|と|もう|その|おふくろ|の|は|あの|本当|の|心|傷付け|た|こと|が|もう|本当|に|悲しい|って|言う|か|勿論|おふくろ|だけ|じゃ|なく|て|その|身内|だけ|じゃ|なく|て|その|他|の|人|に|対し|て|も|例えば|自分|を|	好き	だ|と|か|思っ|て|くれ|てる|人|が|い|て#で|その|人|に|対し|て|僕|は|例えば|付き合う|気|なんて|ない|のに|こう|まー|そう|いう|こと|ある|か|も|しれ|ない|けど#あ|欲望|に|任せ|ちゃっ|た|と|か|そう|いう|こと|が|あっ	1	1	0	0	1	0,5	0	1	男	25-29歳
S03F1577	し|商店|街|いい|商店|街|と|言う|か|買い|易い|商店|街|で|何|で|も|そこ|に|行け|ば|揃う|って|いう|かな|感じ|でし|た#で|やはり|ひ|あの|ー|住民|も|何|か|やっぱり|人|懐っこい|し#お|祭り|も|好き|な|お|祭り|お|祭り|を|	好き	な|方|が|何|か|あの|辺|凄く|揃っ|て|て|お|祭り|も|盛ん|だ|し#隣り|の|町|会|と|あの|もう|し|町|会|ごと|に|こう|お|祭り|やっ|てる|ん|で|夏|なんか|は|もう|すー|もう|お|祭り|が|今週|は|あすこ|来週|は|あすこ|って	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	50-54歳
S03M1615	が|その|住ん|で|いる|その|土地|って|いう|の|が|僕|自身|に|とっ|て|の|勝負|の|場所|で|あっ|て|戦い|の|場所|で|あっ|て|そこ|で|自分|で|こう|実感|と|し|て|何|か|を|掴ん|で|いか|なけれ|ば|ん|の|土地|を|	好き	に|なる|こと|も|多分|ない|ん|じゃ|ない|か|な|と|思っ|て|ます#んで|ま|ま|僕|の|今|住ん|で|いる|町|って|いう|の|も|は|今|僕|が|現在|の|僕|が|いる|町|です#だ|から|今|の|僕|が|生き|てる|町|だ	0	1	0,75	0	1	0,5	0,5	0	男	25-29歳
S03M1615	ます#だ|から|少なく|とも|今|僕|が|住ん|で|いる|町|で|は|うー|今|まで|住ん|で|き|た|町|も|そう|です|けど#どれ|だけ|の|人|に|会っ|て|その|人|達|と|交流|を|深め|て|好き|に|なる|か#それ|が|その|町|を|	好き	に|なれる|か#なれ|ない|か|の|ポイント|だ|と|思い|ます#以上|です	0	1	0,75	0	1	0,5	0,5	0	男	25-29歳
S04F0839	共|の|会社|と|いう|の|は|えー|根底|に|流れ|て|いる|もの|が|音楽|普及|と|いう|大変|あの|堅苦しい|えー|こと|が|骨子|に|なっ|て|おり|ます#で|どう|ど|ま|音楽|普及|って|言う|と|く|凄く|難し	好き	な|人|を|一人|でも|多く|世の中|に|作っ|て|いこう|と|いう|こと|が|えー|根底|に|あり|ます#で|特に|あの|ー|子供|に|関し|て|の|思い入れ|の|強い|会社|でし|て#大人|と|いう|の|は|あの|す|大きく|なっ|て|から|自分|で|習い	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	0	女	0,55-0,59歳

ID	左文脈	好き	右文脈									性別	年齢
	い|ん|です|けれど#要|は|音楽|を|		たい										
S04F0871	なん|だ|と|思う|よう|に|なる|励まし|て|あげれ|ば|子供|は|自信|を|持つ|よう|に|なる|広い|心|で|接すれ|ば|切れる|子|に|は|な|ら|ない#褒め|て|あげれ|ば|子供|は|明るい|子|に|そだた|育つ|認め|て|あげれ|ば|子供|は|自分|を|	好き	に|なる|見つめ|て|あげれ|ば|子供|は|頑張り|屋|に|なる|愛し|て|あげれ|ば|子供|は|人|を|愛する|こと|を|学ぶ|守っ|て|あげれ|ば|子供|は|強い|子|に|育つ|分かち|合う|こと|を|教えれ|ば|子供|は|思いやり|を|学ぶ|親|が|正直|で|あれ	0	1	0	0	-1	0	1	0	女	40-44 歳
S05F1611	なり|まし|た#で|も|駿|が|死ぬ|前|に|実は|私|の|家|に|来|て#で|駿|に|会い|に|来|て|くれる|よう|に|って|駿|が|願っ|て|いた|と|それ|を|聞い|た|時|に|駿|は|本当|に|私|の|こと|を|	好き	で|迎え|に|来|て|くれ|たん|だ|と|思い|まし|た#この|話|は|父|に|も|母|に|も|姉|に|も|話し|まし|た|が#みんな|それ|を|聞い|て|とても|喜ん|で|く|れ|まし|た#私|が|とても|駿|の|こと|を|かわい|がっ|て	1	1	0,25	0	1	0	0	1	女	25-29 歳
S06F1218	何|か|自分|達|の|意向|に|沿わ|ない|って|いう|人|は|外す|つ|っ|て|いう|何|か|凄く|ん|日本|水泳|連盟|の|古い|体質|を|感じ|て|なら|ない|ん|です#確か|に|彼女|は|気|が|強い|部分|て|ある|ん|です|が#ま|それ|を|	好き	な|人|も|かなり|い|ます|し#また|それ|を|ばね|に|して|あの|一|女子|の|水|泳|界|を|リーダー|リード|し|て|きた|人|だ|と|思っ|て|い|ます#あの|一|個|性|的|過ぎる|と|か|和|を|乱す|と|か|何|か|そう|いう|古い|日本	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	1	女	50-54 歳
S08M1536	何々|え|の|やり|方え|ー|何々|の|作り|方|楽しい|散歩|道|えー|散|歩|に|散歩|を|	好き	に|なっ|た|きっかけ|って|いう|の|が|あの|一|ある|ん|です|けど|も#小さい|頃|から|色々|な|風景|を|見る|の|が|好き|で|えー|車|の|中|から|んー|眺め|たり|バス|の|中|から|眺め|たり|って|いう|の|が|結構|僕|は|好き|で#で	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	1	0	男	25-29 歳
S08M1536	つう|か|く|それ|が|一日|景色|を|眺め|てる|の|が|一日|って|い|う|の|と|随分|重なっ|てる|な|と|感じ|た|ところ|は|子供|の|頃|から|結構|あっ|た|ん|です|ね#で|ん|そう|いっ|た|きっかけ|で|僕|は|あの|一|散歩|を|	好き	に|なっ|て#で|今|で|も|まー|ちょくちょく|こう|散歩|まー|ウォーキング|っ|て|いう|の|に|も|近い|か|も|しれ|ない|ん|す|けど#それ|なり|に|何|か|準備|し|たり|し|て|ちょっと|今日|は|遠出|し|て|みよう|か|と|か|言っ|て|こう|Ｃ|Ｄ	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	1	0	男	25-29 歳
S08M1687	た|なっ|て|いう|風|に|思い|ます#やっぱり|ボクシング|って|いう|の|は|そう|いう|もう|本当|に|極限|まで|の|自分|と|の|闘い|って|言い|ます|か#そう|いう|スポーツ|だ|と|思い|ます#ん|で|そう|い|う|ところ|で|やっぱり|魅力|が|あっ|て|やっぱり|ボクシング|を|	好き	な|人|って|いう|の|も|やっぱり|多い|ん|だ|なっ|て|いう|風|に|僕|自身|は|思い|ます#で|また|いつ|か|えー|機会|が|あっ|たら|ボクシング|を|やっ|て|み|たい|なっ|て|いう|風|に|今|も|思い|ます#以上|で|終わり|ます	1	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0	0	男	25-29 歳
S09M0336	て|は|感謝|し|て|ます#それ|と|同時|に|その|中学校|に|入っ|て|も|いい|教師|と|巡り|合い|まし|た|ね#これ|も|私|が|一つ|が|あ|一|英語|と|出会っ|た|あ|大きい|きっかけ|の|一つ|だっ|た|か|も|しれ|ない#英語|を|	好き	に|なっ|た|って|きっかけ|か|も|しれ|ない|です|ね#で|それ|は|どう|いう|先生|か|って|言う|と|ね|当時|は|読み|書き|ばかり|を|文法|ばかり|を|中心|に|教え|てた|時代|だっ|たん|です#ところ|が|その|先生|は|話す|こと|読む	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	1	0	男	50-54 歳
S10F1409	も#そう|なっ|て|くる|と|やっぱり|翻訳|する|人|う|自体|の|あの|一|お|好き|嫌い|も|ありまし|て#好き|な|翻訳|家|に|なる|と|初め|て|読む|本|で|も|この|人|の|もの|を|読ん|で|みよう|か|なっ|て|そこ|から|また|新しい|作家|を|	好き	に|なっ|た|こと|も|あり|ます#で|この|よん|ミステリー|を|読ん|で|一番|何|が|いい|か|って|言う|と|さっき|も|言っ|た|よう|に|この|自分|の|感情|が|浄化|さ|れる|体験|し|た|こと|の|ない|こと|を|こう|見聞き|できる#それ|も|ある	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	女	50-54 歳
S10F1550	に|自分|を|大切|に|し|過ぎる|と|さすが|に|良く|ない|なっ|て|い|う|の|が|あっ|て|私|は|多分|徐々|に|自分|を|大切|に|でき|てる|ん|だけど#もう|あまり|に|自分|の|こと|に|ばかり|目|が|行き|過|ぎ|て|他|の|人|を|	好き	に|なら|ない|傾向|が|あり|ます#また|何|か|同じ|よう|自分|と|同じ|よう|に|自分|の|こと|を|大切|に|何|か|を|一生|懸命|に|なっ|てる|人|の|こと|を|好き|に|なる|傾向|が|ある|から|多分|同じ|者|同士|で|お|互い|を|	1	1	0	0	1	-0,5	0	1	女	20-24 歳
S10F1550	自分|の|こと|に|ばかり|目|が|行き|過ぎ|て|他|の|人|を|好き|に|なら|ない|傾向|が|あり|ます#また|何|か|同じ|よう|自分|と|同じ|よう|に|自分|の|こと|を|大切|に|何|か|を|一生|懸命|に|なっ|て|る|人|の|こと|を|	好き	に|なる|傾向|が|ある|から|多分|同じ|者|同士|で|お|互い|を|必要|と|し|な|い|から|自分|が|好き|に|なる|よう|な|人|に|は|好き|に|なっ|て|もらえ|な|く|て|逆に|自分|の|こと|好き|に|なっ|て|くれる|よう|な|人|は	0	1	0,25	0	1	0	0,5	1	女	20-24 歳
S10M1315	も|ない|ん|です|ね#だから|この|人|あの|私|ちなみ|に|あたくし|の|姉|と|ほぼ|同じ|くらい|の|年齢|だ|と|思う|ん|です|が#ちなみ|に|姉|は|林|真理子|が|あまり|好き|じゃ|ない|よう|です|けれど|も#それ|と|男|で|林|真理子|を|	好き	だって|人|が|私|の|周囲|に|は|あまり|い|ない|よう|で|この|人|の|本|を|よく|と|よく|で|も|ない|けれど|も#ちょくちょく|読ん|で|いる|って|言う|と|人|に|よっ|ちょっと|御|年配|の|人|なんか|は|嫌|な|顔|さ|れる|こと	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	男	0,55-0,59 歳
S11F0357	だいぶ|印象|が|変わっ|て|くる|と|思い|ます#で|顔|の|色|も|です|ね|下地|です|と|か|チーク|など|で|変える|こと|が|できる|もう|顔|の|色|すら|変える|こと|が|できる|と#で|それ|に|よっ|て|まー|いい|ところ|を|伸ばし|て|自分|を|	好き	に|なれれ|ば|ま|外|に|出掛ける|の|も|楽しい|よっ|て|まー|健康|に|も|良|い|と|思い|ます#ほん|で|最近|は|何|か|欠点|を|隠す|より|も|敢え|て|欠点|を|強調|し|て|特徴|に|する|傾向|が|ある|よう|に|思い|ます#例えば|口|が	1	1	0	0	-1	1	0,5	0	女	25-29 歳
S11F1381	ん|で|は|ない|か|と|か|女性|だ|から|そんな|こと|は|ない|と|か|そう|いう|い|偏見|の|目|で|見|られる|よう|な|言わ|言わ|れ|は|	好き	じゃ|ない|と|言っ|て|それ|を|咎める|人|は|あまり|い|ない|と|思う|ん|で|す|が#それ|が|子供|に|なる|と|どう|して|言う|の|も|は|ばから|れる|よう	1	0,5	0,5	0	1	0	0	0	女	0,50-0,54 歳

ID	左文脈		右文脈									性別	年齢
	にしないんですが#そういう雰囲気が伝わります#でも犬とか猫を		なことになってしまうんだろうというのがちょっと疑問です#で私										
S11M0257	にそれはどうでもいい何か凄い些細なことなんですけど#何か小学校の頃本当に女の子と話しててんその女の子は確か多分好きだったと思うんですけど#自分自分はその子を	好き	だったと思ったんですけど#でその子との約束を破ってあの友達と遊びに行って何かその女の子を何かい泣かしたっていうそういう思い出があってそれはまだ全然本当に夢見る	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	男	20-24歳
S11M0328	いますね#で具体的に家族の中で誰に一番影響受けたかって言ったらやっぱり八歳年上のお兄さんであってんと特に自分には思わないんだけれども#やっぱりお兄ちゃんが野球を	好き	だったから小さい頃自然と野球を始めてたし#お兄ちゃんが巨人が好きだったから自分も巨人が好きでお兄ちゃんは中畑選手が好きって言ってたら僕も中畑選手をまず最初に好き	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	20-24歳
A01M0113	あの特定のおー到来方向でえあのーHRTFを測っておかないといけないという問題はあります#でまそれが測れると一応えーその積分計算をその測ったデーターを使った形でえー任意の方向が	欲しい	時には一応計算できる仕組みにはなっておりますが#ちょっとこれはあのー同じように追試をするのがちょっと面倒なように思っております#え音響的な特徴を利用してまそれを補間に使おう	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	55-59歳
A01M0648	ですよというので出てるものは多分私の範囲では見つけられませんでした#えーもし御存じの方がいらっしゃったら教えてほしいと思います#でこういう状況ですのでとにかく何かしらの指標が	欲しい	と#でそういう意味でまー何でこんなことをやったかと言いますと#一つはえー日本語の語彙特性中に入っている親密度先程紹介しました#あるいは頻度えー新聞の中に何回かん	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	35-39歳
A03M0175	敬意の表現は敬語によるだけではないだろうというそういううーんま日常感覚うお押し付ける訳じゃないすが#私はそういう日常感覚があーあります#でそこを何とか説明するあ枠組みが	欲しい	というところからあのー話が始まります#えーで二の括弧一ですが#うーそういう考えるうー考えを辿るその出発点としてま仮にその敬意の表現とはということでこんな範囲のことを考えよう	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	50-54歳
A03M0531	おける単語ｔの頻度分布これは分野全体を通して見た場合の単語ｔの頻度分布とですからこの二つを計算する為には何らかのその分野に依存した語の頻度分布が	欲しい	訳ですね#でえっとー理想的には文書分類分野をたくさん付与したような文書があればいいんですけど#そういうものは入手が高価なんで困難なんであ代わりにノバが機械翻訳用に	0	1	-0,5	0	1	0	0		男	30-34歳
A03M0649	ものに対してえーとあ後は九十六年のコーパスを使ってオープンテストを行ないました#でえーとーテストを行なってあーのー正解を出すのは簡単なんですけど#あどれぐらいなのかっていうベースラインが	欲しい	ので#ベースライン手法としてえーと先程あーの記述の順序に意味があると言いましたけど#最も基本的な意味素をその一語えーと名詞の意味素性だとする一番左側のものをとにかく採用するって	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	25-29歳
A03M0674	にその後の対話戦略を決める為にまこれは厚木市っていうのがそのー未知語と切り出されたということは仮定しています#でその後の対話戦略を決める為に厚木市の属性が	欲しい	と#ということでシステムは厚木市は時間ですか#場所ですか#天気用語ですかと#そしてそのー未知語が切り出される度にいちいちいちいちそのー未知語の属性を聞いていたのではそれは無駄な質問	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	25-29歳
A03M0711	てもとにかく一個っていうことになる訳ですね#それをいう方法はありました#ただまいずれもいい素晴らしい研究なんですけど#その複数のユーザー要求が扱えてまーデーターがい要らないっていうのが	欲しい	なとそう思う訳ですね#でえーと今回提案する方法っていうのはえーとー認識がどれくらいうまく行くのかなっていうそういう確率を使ってえーと特定の項目を確定するまでにどれくらいのきえーと期待	0	1	-1	0	1	0	0		男	25-29歳
A04M0178	というのを使いたいので手続きをこの後ぐらいにコールするように考えます#でえーとその時にですねえーとー被覆計算の結果だけではちょっとルールはできないんですけどえーともうちょっとルールを作る情報が	欲しい	ということで洗練化オペレーターというものにてきえー着目します#で洗練化オペレーターはまじょえー特殊化する訳ですけども#普通はですねまえ条件部へのリテラルをてゅ一個追加したりですね	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	25-29歳
A04M0212	への影響を評価いたしました#えーリスクプレミアムが大きくなりますと#再オークションの効果というものが薄れてきてしまうということが分かりました#えー今後の課題といたしましては相手も複数商品が	欲しい	などといった場合などをシミュレーションを行なうことによって検討したいと思っております#でまた価格非公開オークション等他のオークションプロトコルの組み合わせ問題についても考えてみたいと思っております#え	1	1	1	0	1	0	0		男	25-29歳
A04M0249	キーワードの提示システム側のニーズですけれども#例えばえー検索語と関連語関連キーワードの関係を明示する為に必要です#え例えばえユーザーがえー例えばアイド	欲しい	という風なこのような検索条件をにゅうわくえー入れたとします#でその時にこのような関連語がこうだんと一列に並べてえま表示されると#でこのような関連語を表示する	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0		男	25-29歳

ID	左文脈	語	右文脈								性別	年齢
	ル|の|広末|涼子|のえ|大学|の|入学|に|関する|情報|が												
A06F0044	の|理論|に|ついて|ごく|簡単|に|説明|を|行ない|ます#私|達|人|は|信念|や|欲求|など|の|心的|状態|に|基づいて|行動|します#こ|こで|言う|信念|とは|何か|を|本当|だ|と|思う|こと|また|欲求|とは|何か|を	欲しい	#し|たい|と|思う|こと|です#また|私|達|は|自分|の|信念|と|他者|の|信念|が|違う|と|いう|こと|も|知って|います#これ|ら|お|大人|にとって|当たり|前|の|こと|なん|です|が#幼児|は|しゃいず|最初|から|この|ような|こと	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	女	20-24歳
A10M0676	でき|ます#また|ハール|関数|の|次数|を|変える|ことに|より|あの|ー|一つ|の|データー|から|一つ|の|ローカル|ピー|あの|ー|スペクトル|包絡|を|持つ|データー|では|な|を|普通|の|場合|です|と#例えば|こう|十|個|の|ローカル|ピ|あの|ー|変動|持つ|データー|を	欲しい	場合|十|人|から|あの|ー|一通り|喋って|もらって|分析|して|あの|ー|ローカル|ピーク|の|データー|を|得る|という|方法|より|も|この|次数|を|三つ|四つ|変える|ことで|一つ|の|データー|から|三|パターン|四|パターン|の|ローカル|ピーク|の|変動|を	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	男	20-24歳
D01F0030-R	思うん|です|が#もし|かし|たら|顧問|だった|かも|しれ|ない|ん|です|が#えーと|もう|少し|こう|いう|風|に|やって|やみ|ない|かって|いう|風|に|言って#で|それ|に|勿論|反対|の|人|も|ある|だろう|から|意見|を	欲しい	と|いう|す|そこで|話し合い|が|持た|れて#で|い|それ|で|そう|いう|方針|で|行く|から|もい|やめて|ほ|くれ|みたい|に|言わ|れた|ん|だった|かも|しれ|ない|です|ね#覚えて|ない|ん|で#非常|に|大きな|こう|転機|と	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	女	30-34歳
S00F0333	は|あった|ん|です|けれど|も#主人|の|意見|に|従う|ことに|いたしました#そこで|えーと|ー|今|あの|インターネット|で|色々|お|買い物|を|する|ことが|皆さん|も|多い|と|思う|ん|です|けれど|も#インターネット|の|市場|で|あの|ー|こう|いう|犬種|を	欲しい	です|という|案内|を|出しました#ところ|あの|ー|すぐ|えーと|ー|お|専門|の|ブリーダー|の|方|では|ない|と|思う|ん|です|ね#要するに|プロ|では|ない|ん|です|けれど|も#あの|素人|で|う|そう|いう|ブリード|を|されて|いる|方|から	0	1	0,5	0	1	0	0	女	35-39歳
S01F1452	私|こんな|仕事|が|できる|ん|だろう|か|と|思って|いた|ん|です|けど|も#一年|二年|過ぎて|いく|うちに|あの|ー|初め|に|買って|くれた|お|客様|が|あの|私|に|こんな|お|客様|が|いて|あ|の|車|を	欲しい	の|って|紹介|して|くれる|ように|なって|きた|ん|です|ね#で|あの|ー|味方|それ|を|その|味方|と|言う|か|あの|ー|女性|と|男性|ま|御|夫婦|で|来ら|れる|場合|に|欲しい|のは|旦那|様|なん|です|けど#あの|味方|を|付ける	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	女	30-34歳
S02F0122	に|なった|時|が|もう|殆ど|意思|疎通|が|難しく|なって|てた|の|で|ん|ー|ん|こちら|も|向こう|が|何か|したい|って|いう|風|に|目|で|訴える|し#こう|何|だか|口元|動かして|みたり|は|する|ん|です|けど#何|を	欲しい	の|か|とか|いう|のが|す|分から|なくて|言葉|って|いう|のは|やっぱり|コミュニケーション|を|支える|もの|なん|だ|な|と|改めて|思った#思い|ました|ね#表情|だけ|で|読む|って|言ったって|その|くらい|に|なる|と|もう|表情|の|筋肉|も	0	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	女	20-24歳
S02M0874	で|僕|に|電話|を|して|きて|た|ん|です|けど#で|とにかく|電話|の|回数|が|多くて#で|まー|おふくろ|と|しては|多分|その|ー|僕|の|声|とか|を|聞いたり|する|ことで|少し|自分|の|気持ち|を|こうに|勇気|を	欲しかっ	た|の|かも|しれ|ない|ん|です|けど#で|も|僕|は|その|お|婆|ちゃん|が|病気|って|いう|ことも|知らず|に|で|おふくろ|が|そんな|風|に|大変|て|ことも|知らず|に|とにかく|あ|もう|子離れ|し|ない|ん|じゃ|ない|か|な	1	1	0,75	0	1	0	0	男	25-29歳
S04M0326	に|入る|為|の|受験|だ|という|のが|多い|ん|です|よ|ね#そう|する|と|そう|いう|あ|廃統合|に|よって|どこ|でも|いい|や|と|いう|風|に|なった|場合|企業|と|しては|やっぱり|いい|大|が|大学|から|できる|学生|を	欲しい	って|いう|のが|あります|ん|で|当然|そこで|き|企業|と|しては|大学|の|選別|が|始まる|訳|です|よ#まー|今|でも|現に|起こって|ます|けど|も#国立|いっき|いわゆる|昔|の|一期|一期|校|と|後|早慶|クラス	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	男	40-44歳
S07F0770	岩場|だったら|ば|ちょっと|遠く|へ|投げて|魚|を|確保|できる|で|湾|とか|静か|な|入り江|が|あれば|あの|浮き|を|付けて|そこに|来る|小さな|魚|を|釣れる|かな|という|ことで|そう|いった|種類|の|魚|あの|ー|竿|を	欲しい	な|と|思い|ました#で|あの|これに|付ける|餌|という|のは|まー|あの|普通|今|その|加工|された|餌|も|たくさん|ある|ん|です|けれど|も#島|でしたら|やっぱり|木|も|ある|でしょう|し#土|も|あれば|その|土|を|掘って	0	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	女	50-54歳
S07F0770	木|を|削って|なん|仮住まい|的|な|家|を|作る|にしても|その|ー|ナイフ|が|ない|と|どうにも|なん|つ|自分|の|手|では|やは|り|きゅ|限度|が|あります|ので|あの|そう|いった|あの|しっか|り|した|丈夫|な|ナイフ|を	欲しい	な|と|思い|ました#ん|で|あの|ー|その|動物|うまく|動物|が|でき|捕まえ|られ|れば|その|動物|で|衣類|まで|確保|できる#だ|から|こう|食|と|住|と|衣|と|これ|で|三つ|確保|できる|かな|って|いう|ことで|あの|まそ|この|二点|です	0	1	1	0	1	0	0,5	女	50-54歳

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10.3 Appendix 3 – The questionnaire

10.3.1 Base-, control-, and test-items used in the questionnaire

Note: The parts of sentences coloured grey are there to provide context without influencing the transitivity of the sentence. They are there to 1) make all of the sentences have roughly the same level of imagery, 2) provide variation to avoid participant fatigue and saturation, and 3) draw the participants' attention away from the purpose of the questionnaire.The parts in **bold**, on the other hand, signify the inclusion of elements which heighten or lower the degree of the various transitivity factors present in the sentence.

Base (scale-orientation) sentences

僕は毎日牛乳を飲みます。
Boku wa   mainichi gyūnyū o   nomimasu.
I   TOP every day milk   ACC drink
'I drink milk every day.'   [A]

僕は時々牛乳へ飲みます。
Boku wa   tokidoki   gyūnyū e   nomimasu.
I   TOP sometimes milk   to   drink
'I sometimes drink to milk.'   [B]

Control sentences

1) 僕はみさきが好きだ。
   Boku   wa   Misaki   ga   suki   da.
   I   TOP Misaki   NOM like COP
   'I like Misaki.'

2) 確かに格好いいけど、私は太郎が嫌いだ。
   Tashika-ni kakkoi-i   kedo, watashi wa Tarō ga   kirai da.
   certainly   handsome-PRS but   I   TOP Tarō NOM dislike COP
   'He's certainly handsome, but I dislike Tarō.'

3) 私は新しいセーターがほしい。
   Watashi wa   atarashi-i seetaa   ga   hoshi-i.
   I   TOP new-PRS   sweater NOM   want-PRS
   'I want a new sweater.'

4) 僕はみさきを好きだ。
   Boku   wa   Misaki   o   suki   da.
   I   TOP Misaki   ACC like COP
   'I like Misaki.'

5) 確かに格好いいけど、私は太郎を嫌いだ。
Tashika-ni kakkoi-i kedo, watashi wa Tarō o kirai da.
certainly handsome-PRS but I TOP Tarō ACC dislike COP
'He's certainly handsome, but I dislike Tarō.'

6) 私は新しいセーターをほしい。
Watashi wa atarashi-i seetaa o hoshi-i.
I TOP new-PRS sweater ACC want-PRS
'I want a new sweater.'

7) 私はよく人を好きになる。
Watashi wa yoku hito o suki ni nar-u.
I TOP often people ACC like DAT become-PRS
'I often grow to like people.'

8) 私は人を嫌いになることが多い。
Watashi wa hito o kirai ni nar-u koto ga ō-i.
I TOP people ACC dislike DAT become-PRS NMZ NOM a.lot-PRS
'I often grow to dislike people.'

9) 僕は電子機器の CM を見ると、いつもその商品をほしくなる。
Boku wa denshi-kiki no CM o mi-ru to, itsumo sono shōhin
I TOP electronics GEN commercial ACC see-PRS COMP always that product
o hoshi-ku-nar-u.
ACC want-ADZ-become-PRS
'Whenever I see commercials for electronics, I always end up wanting the products.'

Transitivity-related factors

Participant number (1/2 – full reflexive)

10) まわりに色々怒られるけど、私は自分を好きだ。
Mawari ni iroiro okor-are-ru kedo, watashi wa jibun o suki da.
surroundings DAT various scold-PASS-PRS but I TOP oneself ACC like COP
'I often get scolded by people around me, but I like myself.'

11) 友達に聞いた話だけど、春樹は自分を嫌いらしい。
Tomodachi ni kii-ta hanashi da kedo, Haruki wa jibun o kirai
friend DAT hear-PST story COP but Haruki TOP oneself ACC dislike
rashi-i.
seem-PRS
'I heard this from my friend, but it seems like Haruki dislikes himself.'

Participant number (2/2 – overt)

12) いつも優しくしてくれるから、春樹を好きだ。
Itsumo   yasashi-ku-shite-kure-ru   kara   Haruki o   suki da.
always nice-ADZ-do-give-PRS   because   Haruki ACC   like   COP
'I like Haruki because he is always nice to me.'

13) いつも勉強している時に邪魔をするから、弟を嫌いだ。
Itsumo benkyō-shite-iru toki ni   jama o   sur-u   kara, otōto   o
always study-do-PROG   time DAT bother ACC do-PRS because younger-brother ACC
kirai   da.
dislike COP
'I dislike my brother, because he always bothers me while I'm studying.'

14) 春樹は全くデートに連れていかないないから、新しい彼氏をほしい。
Haruki wa   mattaku deeto ni   tsurete-itte-kure-na-i   kara,   atarashi-i kareshi
Haruki TOP at.all   date   DAT bring-go-give-NEG-PRS because new-PRS   boyfriend
o   hoshi-i.
ACC want-PRS
'Haruki never takes me on dates, so I want a new boyfriend.'

Participant role (1/2 – subject animacy)

15) 私は基本的に動物に嫌われるタイプだけど、**将太の犬**は私を好きだ。
Watashi wa   kihonteki-ni   dōbutsu ni   kiraw-are-ru   taipu   da kedo,
I   TOP fundamentally animals DAT dislike-PASS-PRS   type.of.person COP but
Shōta no   inu wa   watashi o   suki da.
Shōta GEN dog TOP I   ACC like COP
'I'm the type of person who is usually disliked by animals, but Shōta's dog likes me.'

16) 猿は色々な動物と仲が悪いが、特に犬を嫌いだ。
Saru   wa   iroiro   na   doubutsu to   naka   ga   waru-i   ga,
monkey TOP various COP animals   COMP relation NOM bad-PRS   but
toku-ni   inu o   kirai   da.
especially dogs ACC dislike COP
'Monkeys are on bad terms with many animals, but they especially dislike dogs.'

17) 犬は何よりも餌をほしいから、食べ物さえ与えれば簡単に仲良くなれる。
Inu   wa   nani-yori-mo esa   o   hoshi-i kara, tabemono sae
dogs TOP above.all.else (animal.)food ACC want-PRS because food   only
ataer-eba kantan-ni nakayoku nar-er-u
give-COND easily   friendly become-POT-PRS
'Dogs want food above all else, so as long as you give them food, you can easily befriend them.'

Participant role (2/2 – object animacy)

18) わたしは**ファンタジーの本を読むの**を好きだ。
Watashi wa   fantajii no   hon   o   yom-u   no   o   suki da.
I   TOP fantasy GEN book ACC read-PRS NMZ ACC like COP
'I like reading fantasy-books.'

19) 僕は二日酔いがひどいから、**お酒を飲むの**を嫌いだ。
Boku wa futsukayoi ga   hido-i kara,   osake o   nom-u   no   o   kirai
I   TOP hangover NOM bad-PRS because alcohol ACC drink-PRS NMZ ACC dislike
da.
COP
'I dislike drinking alcohol, because I get really bad hangovers.'

Event-likeness

20) みさきの着物姿を見た**途端**、春樹は彼女を好き**になった**。
Misaki no   kimono-sugata   o   mi-ta   totan, Haruki wa   kanojo o   suki
Misaki GEN dressed.in.kimono ACC see-PST instant Haruki TOP her   ACC like
ni   nat-ta.
DAT become-PST
'When he saw Misaki dressed in a kimono, Haruki fell for her.'

21) 好きな歌手がセクハラで逮捕された**と聞いたとき**、みさきは彼を嫌い**になった**。
Suki na   kashu ga   sekuhara   de   taiho-sare-ta   to   kii-ta
like COP singer NOM sexual.harassment INST arrest-do.PASS-PST COMP hear-PST
toki, Misaki wa   kare o   kirai ni   nat-ta.
time Misaki TOP him ACC dislike DAT become-PST
'When Misaki heard that the singer she liked was arrested for sexual harassment, she begun to dislike him.'

22) 新型の携帯にはフロントカメラが２つ付いているのを**知り**、僕はそれをほしくなった。
Shingata   no   keitai   ni   wa   furonto-kamera ga   futatsu tsuite-iru   no
new.model GEN cellphone DAT TOP front-camera   NOM two   attach-PROG NMZ
o   shiri, boku wa   sore o   hoshi-ku-nat-ta.
ACC learn I   TOP that ACC want-ADZ-become-PST
'When I learned that the new cellphone has two front-cameras, I began to want it.'

Dynamicity (temporal boundedness)

23) 今はつまらない人だと思うが、1年生の時、私は彼を好き**だった**。
Ima wa tsumarana-i hito da to omo-u ga, ichinensei no toki, watashi
now TOP boring-PRS person COP COMP think-PRS NOM freshman GEN time I
wa kare o suki dat-ta.
TOP him ACC like COP-PST
'Now I think he is a boring person, but I liked him when I was a freshman.'

24) **子供の時は**野菜を嫌い**だった**が、今は毎日たくさん食べている。
Kodomo no toki wa yasai o kirai dat-ta ga, ima wa mainichi
child GEN time TOP vegetables ACC dislike COP-PST NOM now TOP every.day
takusan tabete-iru.
a.lot eat-PROG
'When I was a child I disliked vegetables, but now I eat a lot of them every day.'

25) **高校時代は**グッチのかばんをほし**かった**けど、今はそんなのなんてどうでもいいと思ってきた。
Kōkō-jidai wa gucchi no kaban o hoshi-katta kedo, ima wa sonna
high-school period TOP Gucci GEN bag ACC want-PST but now TOP that.kind
no nante doudemo-ii to omotte-ki-ta.
NMZ such.as indifferent COMP think-come-PST
'In my high school days I wanted Gucci-bags, but now I couldn't care less about those kinds of things.'

Participant discreteness

26) どんなところが自慢かという質問に対して、そのモデルは「私は特に**自分の足を好きだ**」と語った。
Donna tokoro ga jiman ka to i-u shitsumon ni taishite,
what kind spot NOM pride Q COMP say-PRS question DAT in.regard.to
sono moderu wa "watashi wa toku-ni jibun no ashi o suki da" to
that model TOP I TOP especially oneself GEN legs ACC like COP COMP
katat-ta.
tell-PST
'In response to a question about what body-part she was most happy with, the model answered "I'm particularly fond of my legs".'

27) いつもみんなに「美しい」と言われるけど、私は**自分の容姿**を嫌いだ。
Itsumo minna ni "utsukushi-i" to iwar-er-u kedo, watashi wa jibun
always everyone DAT beautiful-PRS COMP say-PASS-PRS but I TOP oneself
no yōshi o kirai da.
GEN appearance ACC dislike COP
'Everyone always tells me that I'm beautiful, but I dislike my own appearance.'

Volition (1/2 –positive volition)

28) 私は頑張って、やっと昔嫌いだった野菜を好きに**なれた**。
Watashi wa ganbatte, yatto mukashi kirai dat-ta yasai o suki
I TOP endeavor finally formerly dislike COP-PST vegetables ACC like
ni nar-e-ta.
DAT become-POT-PST
'I made an effort, and finally began to like the vegetables I had previously hated.'

29) どんなひどいことをされても、僕はあの子を嫌いに**なれない**。
Donna hido-i koto o sarete-mo, boku wa ano ko o kirai ni
what kind cruel-PRS things ACC do.PASS-even I TOP that girl ACC dislike DAT
nar-e-na-i.
become-POT-NEG-PRS
'No matter what cruel things I am subjected to (by her), I can't seem to hate that girl.

30) 大家族がいいという妻の気持ちを理解しようと頑張ってはみたが、僕は**なか
なか**子供を**ほしくなれない**。
Daikazoku ga i-i to i-u tsuma no kimochi o
large family NOM good-PRS COMP say-PRS wife GEN feelings ACC
rikai-shi-yō to ganbatte-wa-mi-ta ga, boku wa nakanaka kodomo
understand-do-VOL COMP perservere-EMPH-try-PST but I TOP not.readily children
o hoshi-ku-nar-e-na-i
ACC want-ADZ-become-POT-NEG-PRS
'I've tried my best to understand the feelings of my wife who wants a large family, but I can't really seem to start wanting children.'

Volition (2/2 – negative volition)

31) 別に好きになりたかったわけじゃないけれど、私は彼を好きだ。
Betsu-ni suki ni nari-ta-katta wake ja-nai keredo, watashi wa kare
particularly like DAT become-DESID-PST case COP-NEG but I TOP him
o suki da.
ACC like COP
'It's not like I particularly wanted to like him, but I do.'

32) いつも優しくしてくれるけれど、私はなぜかあの人を嫌いだ。
Itsumo yasashi-ku-shite-kure-ru keredo, watashi wa nazeka ano hito o
always nice-ADZ-do-give-PRS but I TOP for.some.reason that person ACC
kirai da.
dislike COP
'He is always nice to me, but for some reason I dislike that person.'

33) 私はこの物欲社会がいやだけれど、なぜか新型の携帯をほしい。
Watashi wa kono butsuyokushakai ga iya da keredo, nazeka
I TOP this materialistic.society NOM detestable COP but for.some.reason
shingata no keitai o hoshi-i.
new.model GEN mobile.phone ACC want-PRS
'Even though I detest this materialistic society, I for some reason find myself wanting a new phone.'

Object affectedness

34) 太郎が私を好きだなんて、**気持ち悪いよ**。
Tarō ga   watashi o   suki da   nante, kimochi-waru-i yo.
Tarō NOM I   ACC like COP such.as   disgusting-PRS PTCL
'Tarō liking me makes me sick.'

35) みさきが僕を嫌いだ**と聞いたとき**、すごくショックを受けた。
Misaki ga   boku o   kirai da   to   kii-ta   toki, sugoku shokku o
Misaki NOM I   ACC dislike COP COMP hear-PST   time very   shock   ACC
uke-ta.
incur-PST
'I was shocked when I heard that Misaki dislikes me.'

Non-transitivity related factors

Ambiguity reduction

36) 僕はみさきをこの世のどの女の子よりも好きだ。
Boku wa   Misaki o   kono yo   no   dono   onna-no-ko yori-mo   suki   da.
I   TOP Misaki ACC this   world GEN whichever girl   rather-than like COP
'I like Misaki more than any other girl in the world.'

37) 私は太郎を、**２年前に振られて以来**、ずっと嫌いだ。
Watashi wa   Tarō o,   ninenmae   ni   fur-arete   irai, zutto
I   TOP Tarō ACC two.years.ago DAT dump-PASS since the.whole.time
kirai   da.
dislike COP
'I've disliked Tarō ever since he dumped me two years ago.'

38) 僕はまず贅沢したいが、彼女は子供を、**大きな家よりも**、**高い車よりも**、ほしいらしい。
Boku wa   mazu   zeitaku-shi-ta-i   ga, kanojo wa   kodomo o,   ōki
I   TOP first.of.all luxury-do-DESID-PRS but girlfriend TOP children ACC large
na ie   yori-mo,   taka-i   kuruma yori-mo, hoshi-i rashi-i
COP house rather-than expensive-PRS car   rather-than want-PRS seem-PRS
'I firstly want to live in luxury, but my girlfriend seems to want children more than a large house or an expensive car.'

Politeness (1/2 – polite)

39) 春樹は花子を好きです。
Haruki wa   Hanako o   suki desu.
Haruki TOP Hanako ACC like COP.POL
'Haruki likes Hanako.'

40) 友達の話によると、春樹は太郎を嫌いです。
Tomodachi no   hanashi ni   yoru   to,   Haruki wa   Tarō o   kirai desu.
friend   GEN story   DAT according COMP Haruki TOP Tarō ACC dislike COP.POL
'According to my friend, Haruki dislikes Tarō.'

41) 私は新しいセーターをほしいです。
Watashi wa   atarashi-i   seetaa   o   hoshi-i   desu
I   TOP new-PRS   sweater ACC want-PRS COP.POL
'I want a new sweater.'

Politeness (2/2 – superpolite)

42) 私はあの方を好きでございます。
Watashi wa   ano kata   o   suki de-gozaimasu.
I   TOP that person.POL ACC like COP-SUPERPOL
'I like that person.'

43) いつも悪いことばかりしているので、私はあの人を嫌いでございます。
Itsumo waru-i   koto   bakari shite-iru node,   watashi wa   ano hito   o
always bad-PRS things only   do-PROG because.POL   I   TOP that person ACC
kirai   de-gozaimasu.
dislike COP-SUPERPOL
'I dislike him/her, because he/she only does bad things.'

44) 大家族に憧れておりますので、私はたくさんの子供をほしゅうございます。
Daikazoku   ni   akogarete-ori-masu   node,   watashi wa   takusan no
large family DAT admire-PROG;HUMB-POL because.POL   I   TOP many   GEN
kodomo o   hoshū-gozaimasu.
children ACC want-SUPERPOL
'I want many children because I look up to large families.'

10.3.2 Answer-distribution for questionnaire

Figure 10-1 Bar-charts for acceptability judgments

1) 僕はみさきが好きだ。
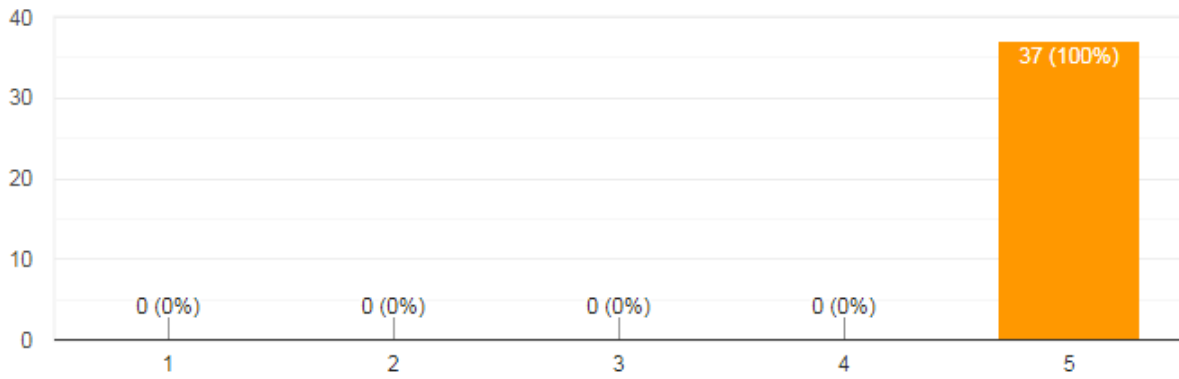
2) 確かに格好いいけど、私は太郎が嫌いだ。
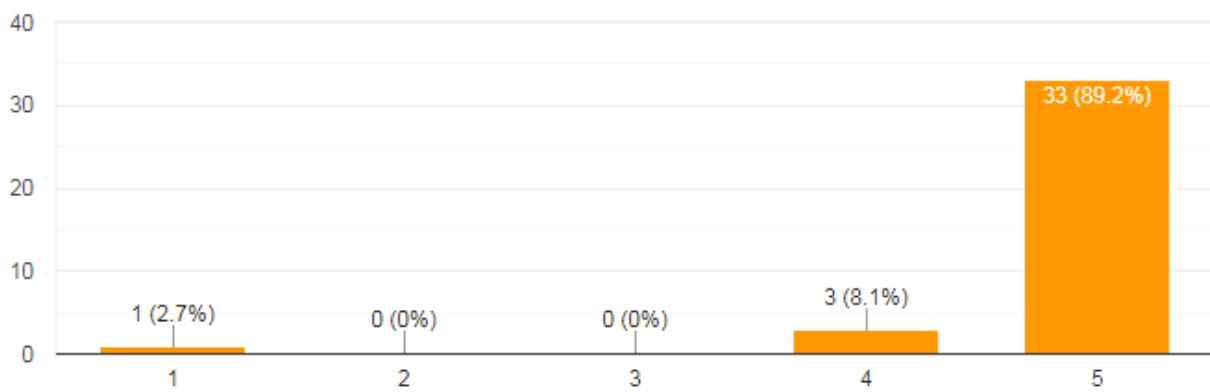
3) 私は新しいセーターがほしい。
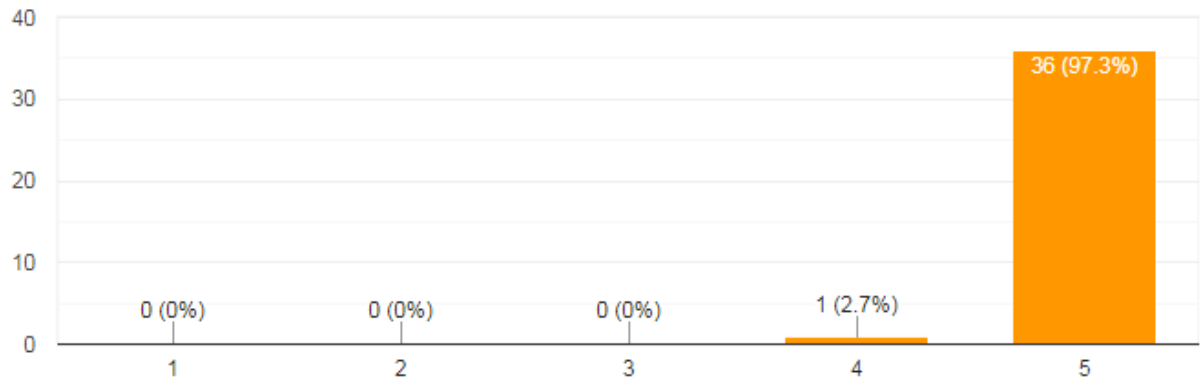
4) 僕はみさきを好きだ。
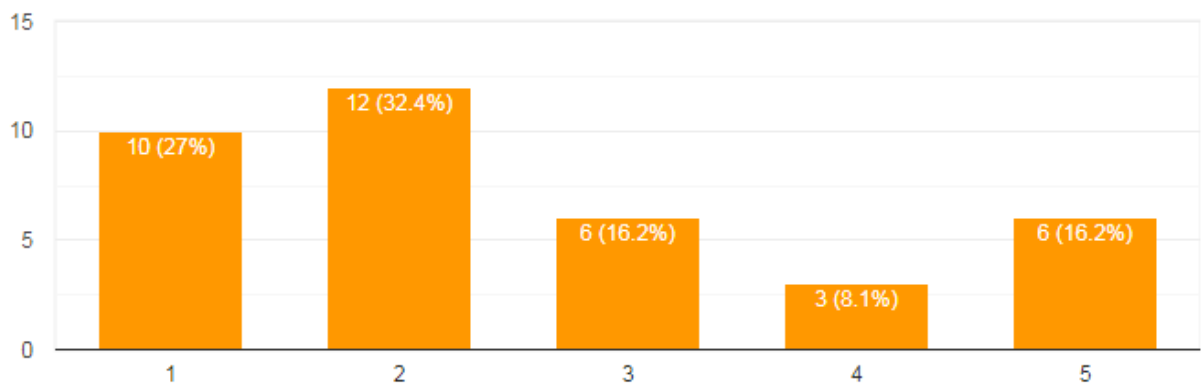
5) 確かに格好いいけど、私は太郎を嫌いだ。
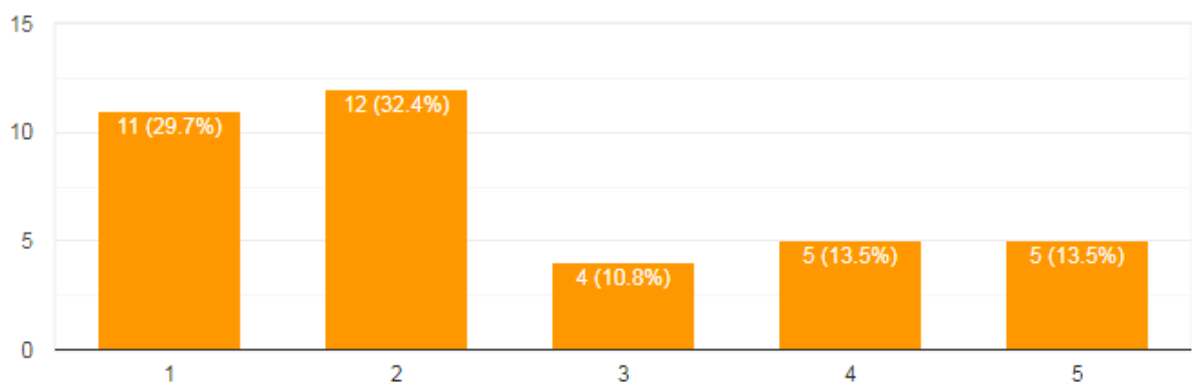
6) 私は新しいセーターをほしい。
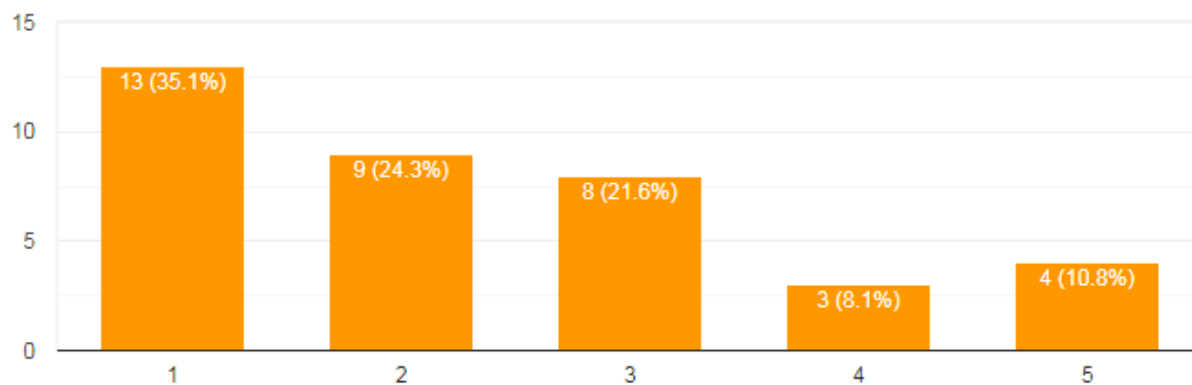
7) 私はよく人を好きになる。
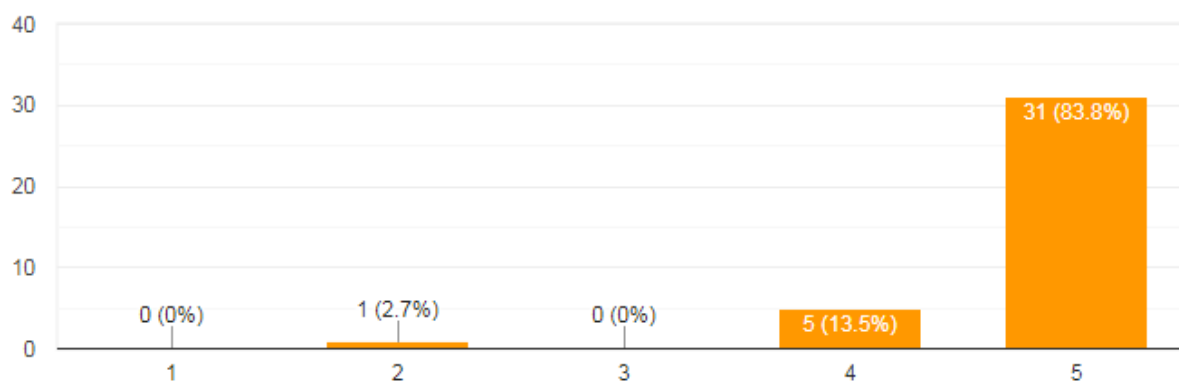
8) 私は人を嫌いになることが多い。
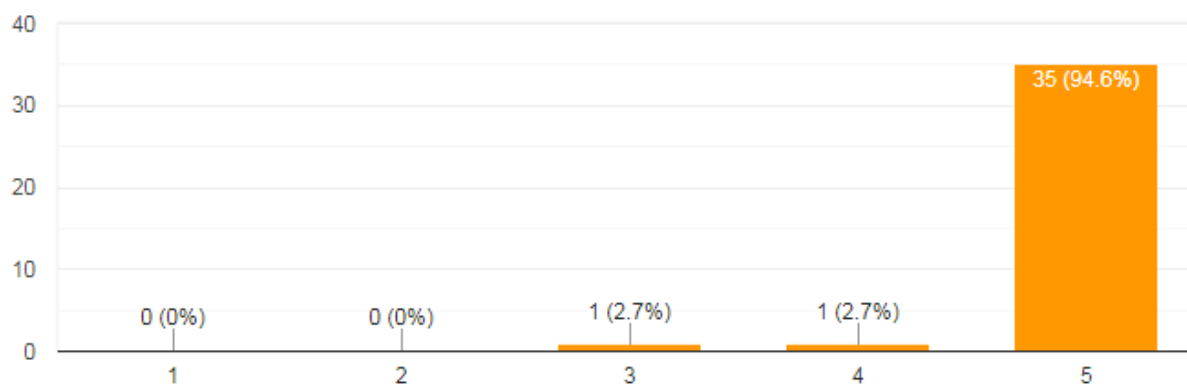
9) 僕は電子機器の CM を見ると、いつもその商品をほしくなる。
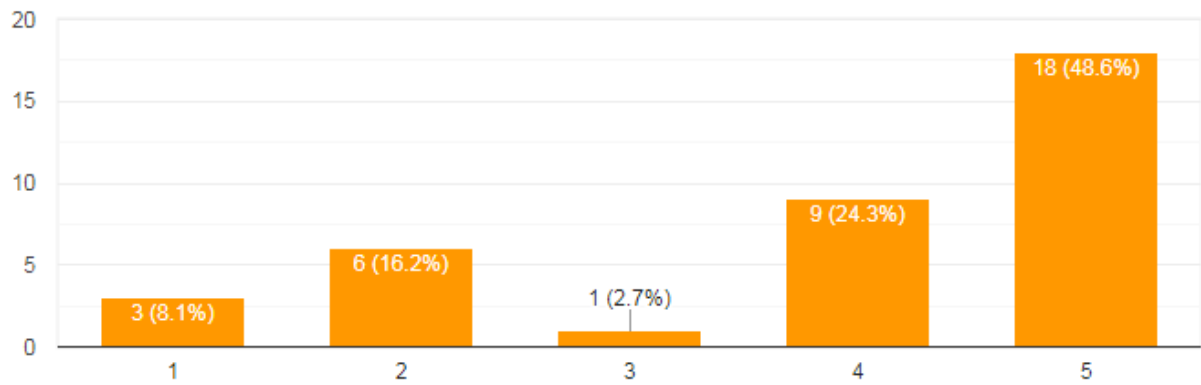
10) まわりに色々怒られるけど、私は自分を好きだ。
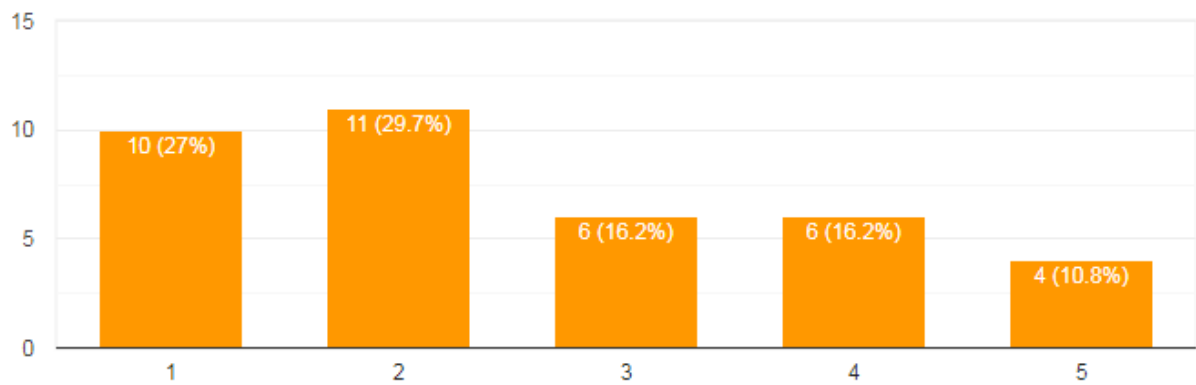
11) 友達に聞いた話だけど、春樹は自分を嫌いらしい。
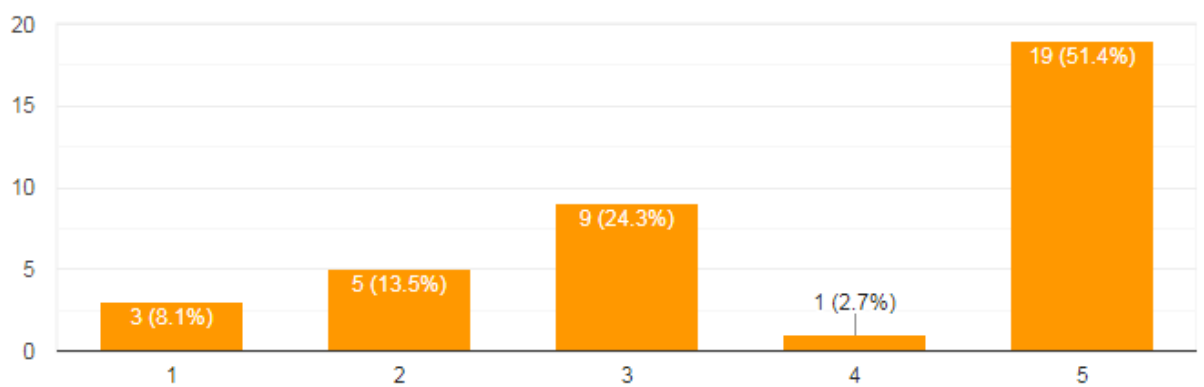
12) いつも優しくしてくれるから、春樹を好きだ。
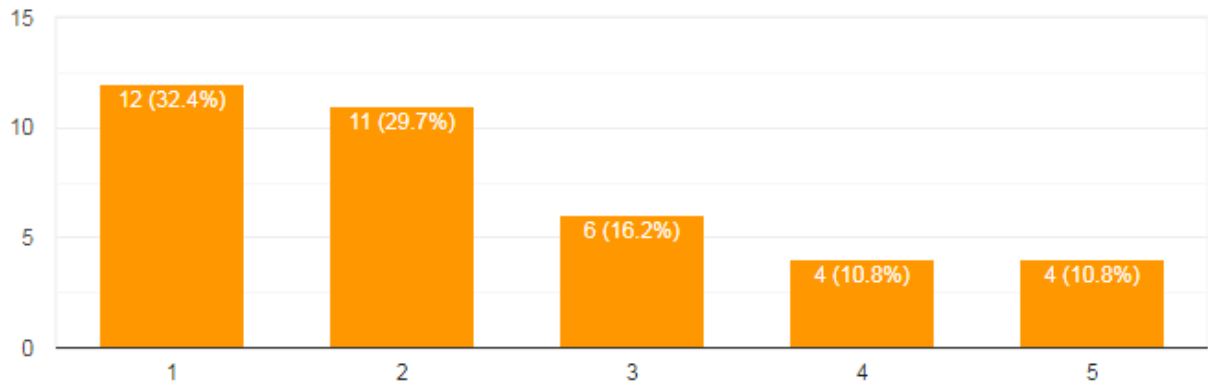
13) いつも勉強している時に邪魔をするから、弟を嫌いだ。

14) 春樹は全くデートに連れていかないないから、新しい彼氏をほしい。

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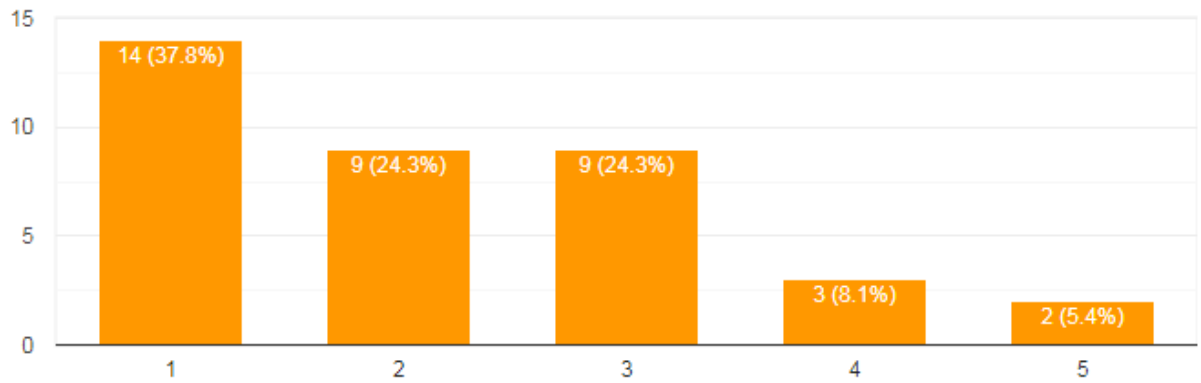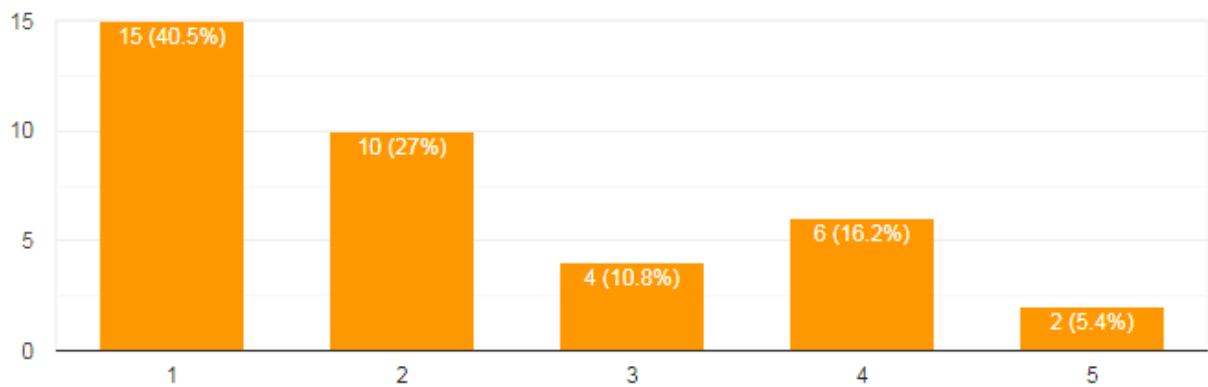
15) 私は基本的に動物に嫌われるタイプだけど、将太の犬は私を好きだ。
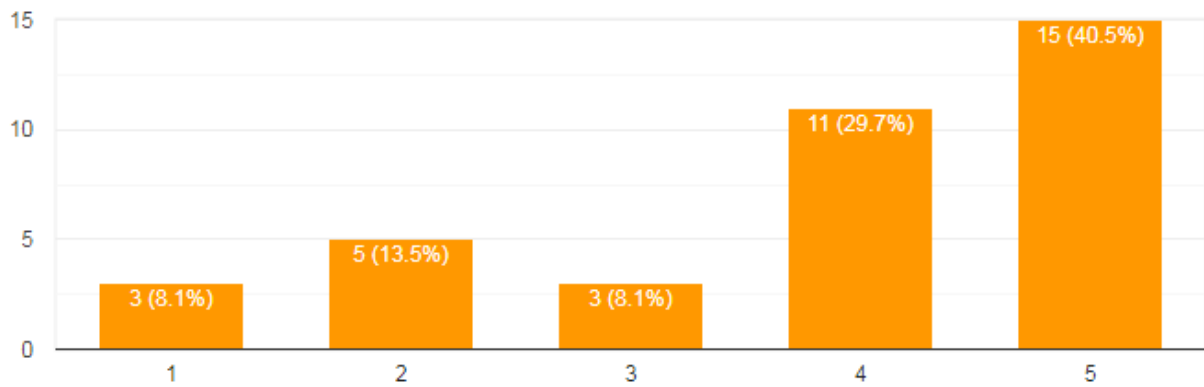
16) 猿は色々な動物と仲が悪いが、特に犬を嫌いだ。
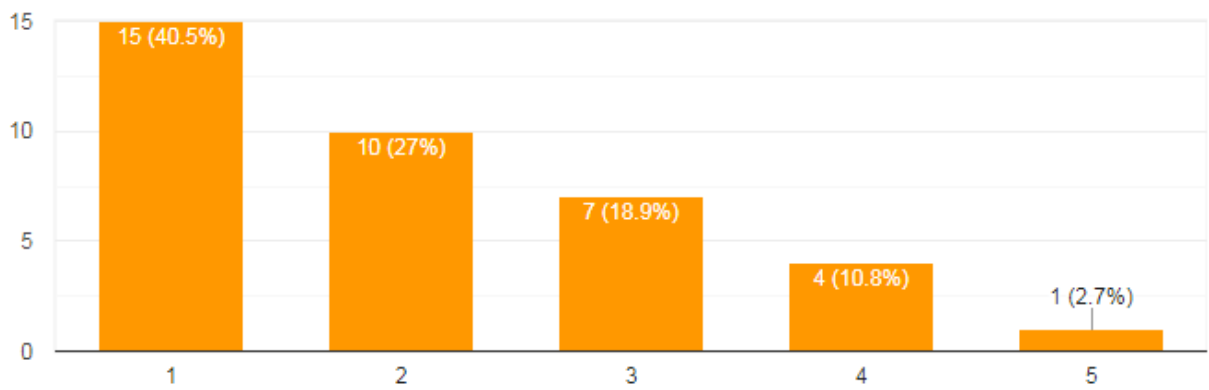
17) 犬は何よりも餌をほしいから、食べ物さえ与えれば簡単に仲良くなれる。
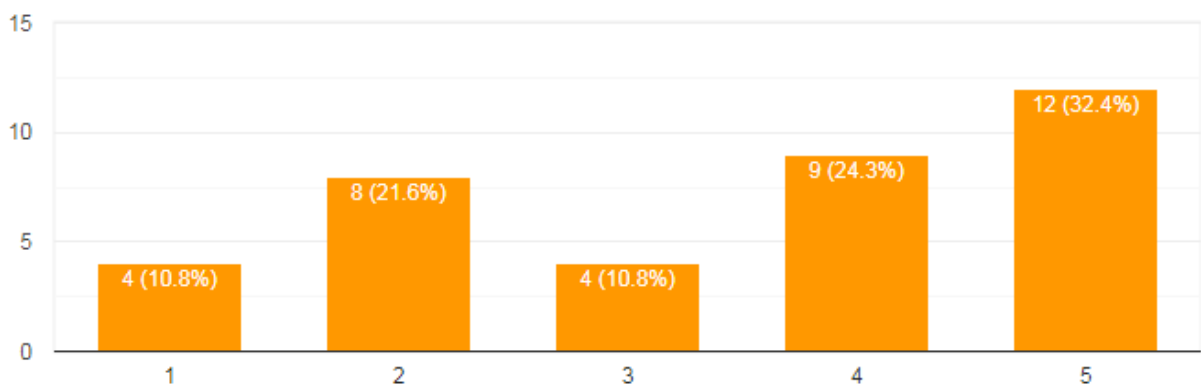
18) わたしはファンタジーの本を読むのを好きだ。
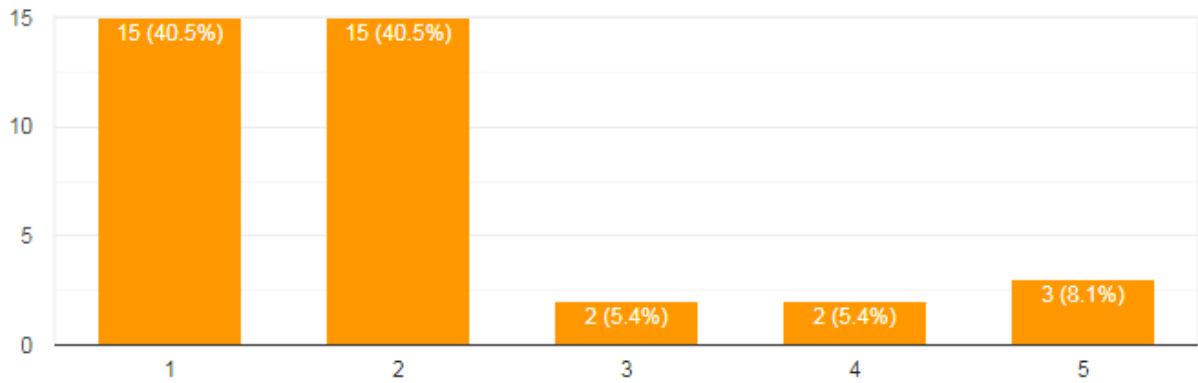
19) 僕は二日酔いがひどいから、お酒を飲むのを嫌いだ。
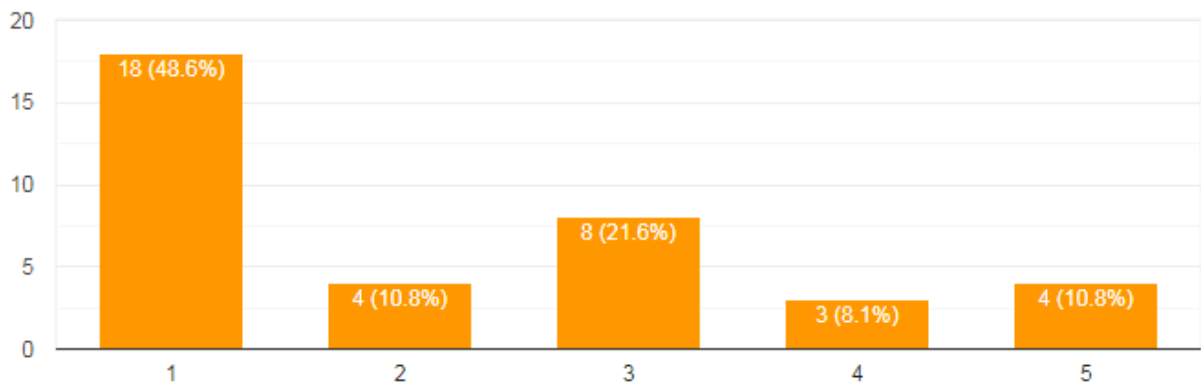
20) みさきの着物姿を見た途端、春樹は彼女を好きになった。
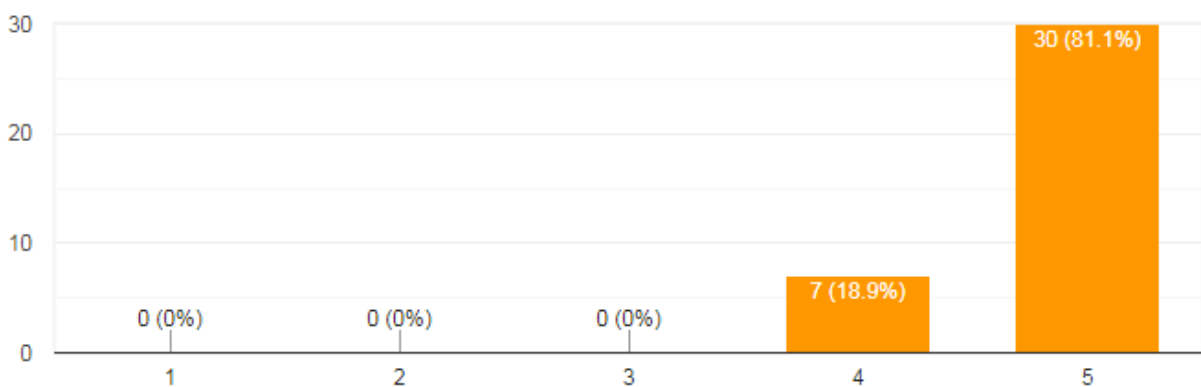
21) 好きな歌手がセクハラで逮捕されたと聞いたとき、みさきは彼を嫌いになった。
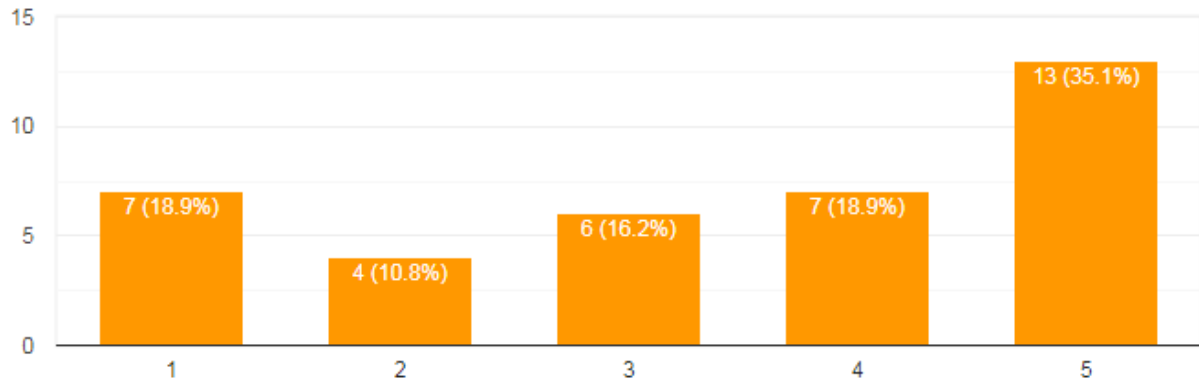
22) 新型の携帯にはフロントカメラが 2 つ付いているのを知り、僕はそれをほしくなった。
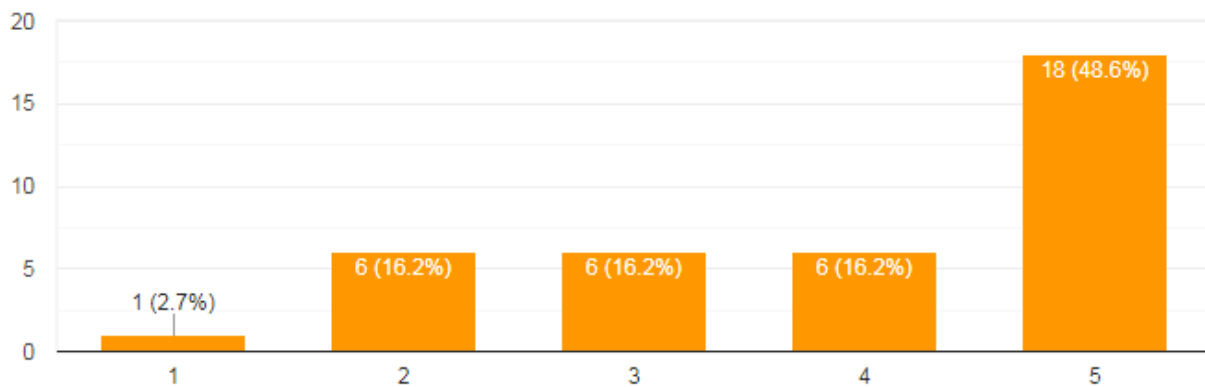
23) 今はつまらない人だと思うが、1 年生の時、私は彼を好きだった。
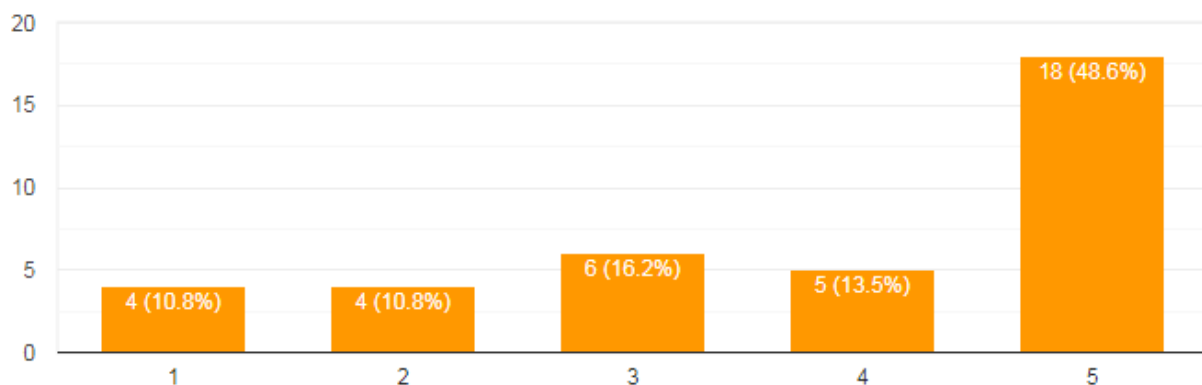
24) 子供の時は野菜を嫌いだったが、今は毎日たくさん食べている。
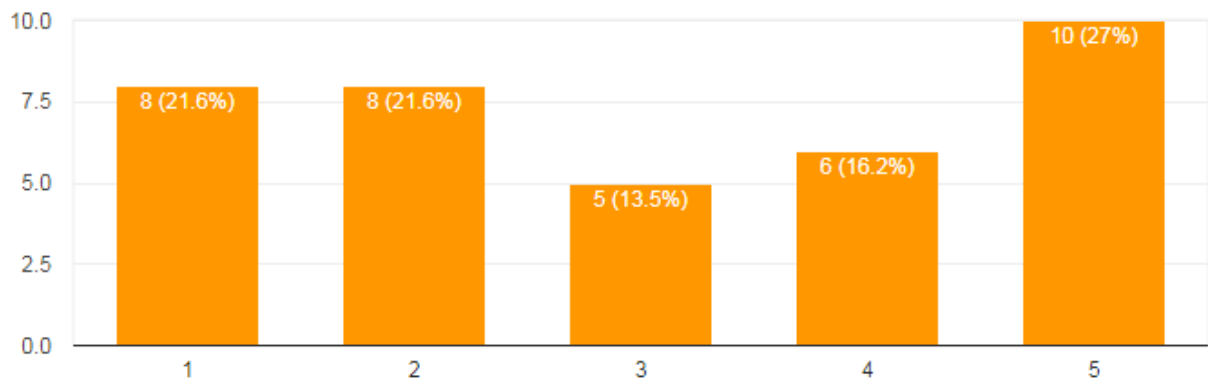
25) 高校時代はグッチのかばんをほしかったけど、今はそんなのなんてどうでも
いいと思ってきた。

26) どんなところが自慢かという質問に対して、そのモデルは「私は特に自分の
足を好きだ」と語った。

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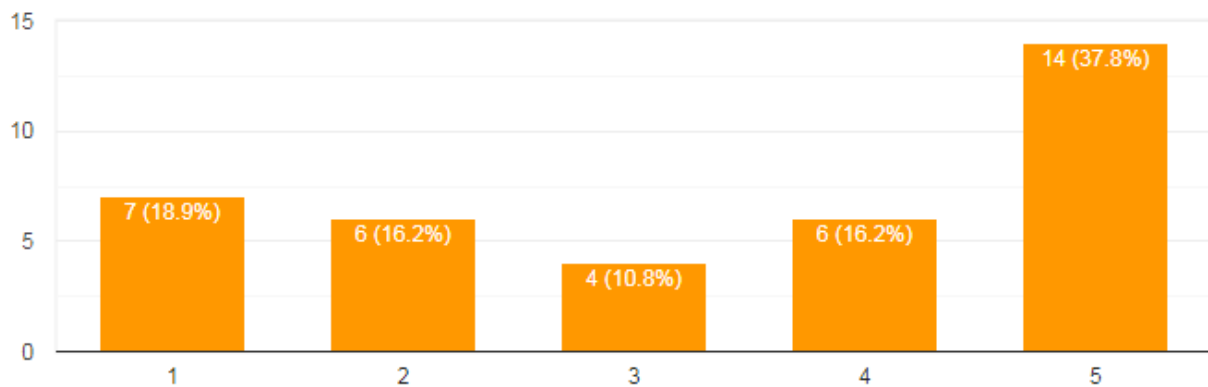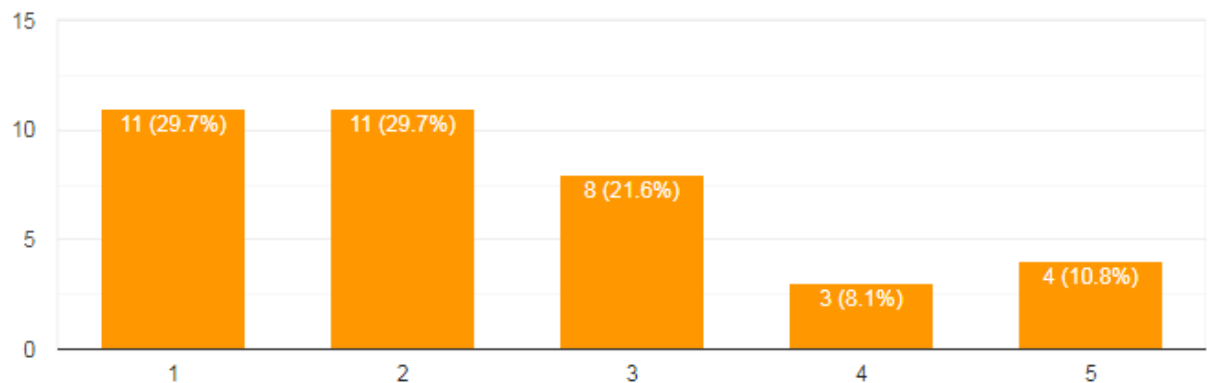
27) いつもみんなに「美しい」と言われるけど、私は自分の容姿を嫌いだ。
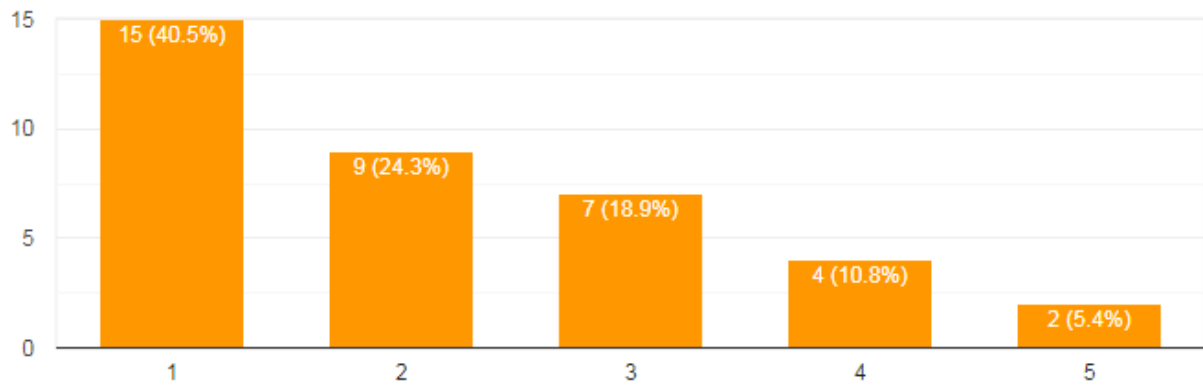
28) 私は頑張って、やっと昔嫌いだった野菜を好きになれた。
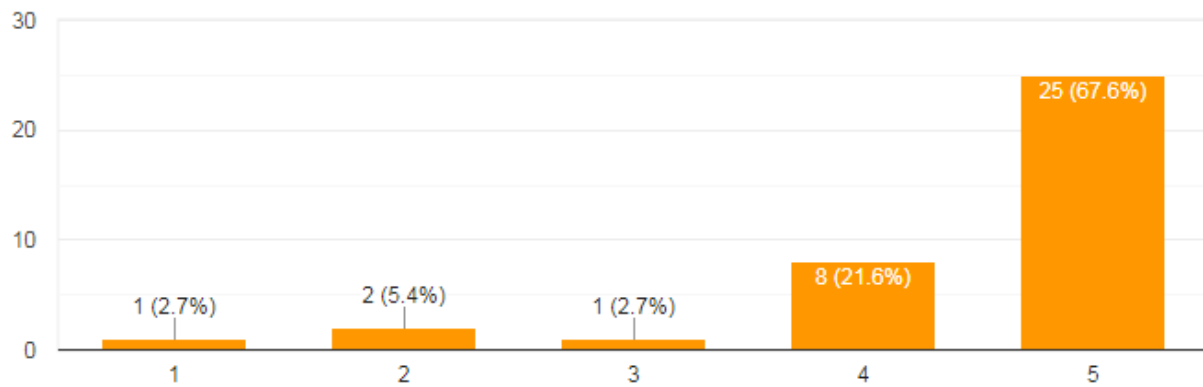
29) どんなひどいことをされても、僕はあの子を嫌いになれない。
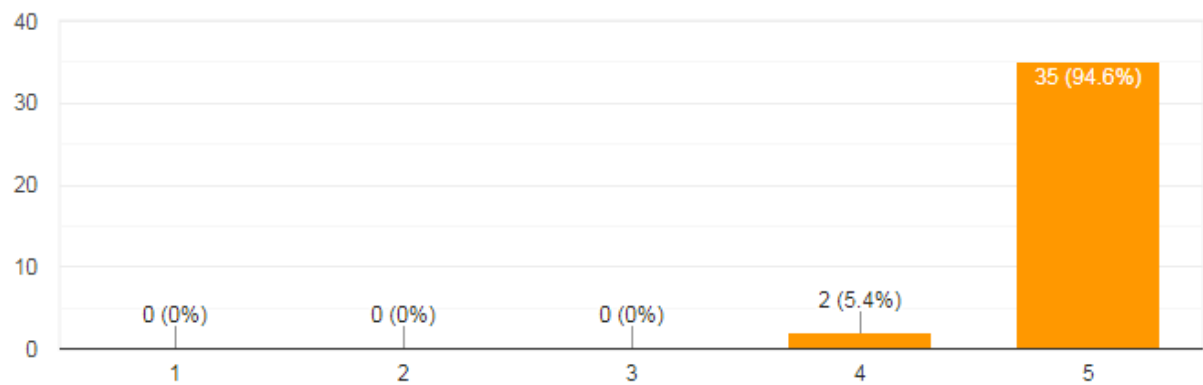
30) 大家族がいいという妻の気持ちを理解しようと頑張ってはみたが、僕はなか
なか子供をほしくなれない。
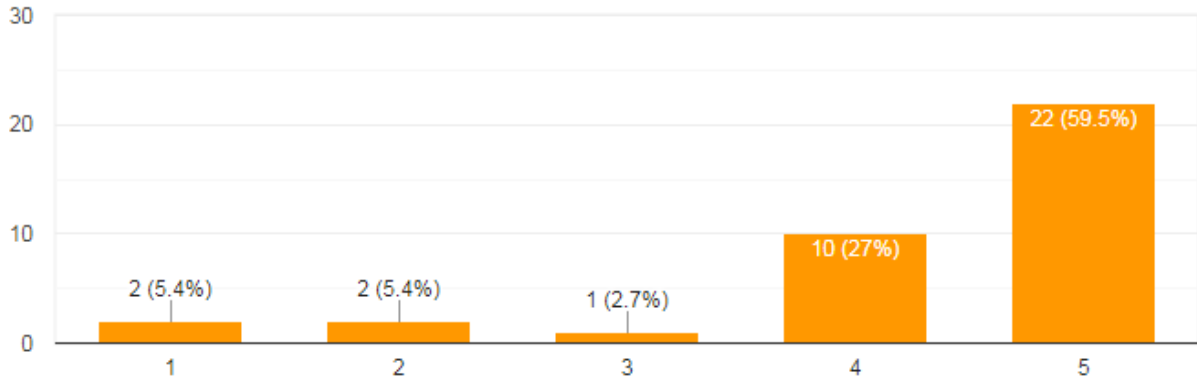
31) 別に好きになりたかったわけじゃないけれど、私は彼を好きだ。
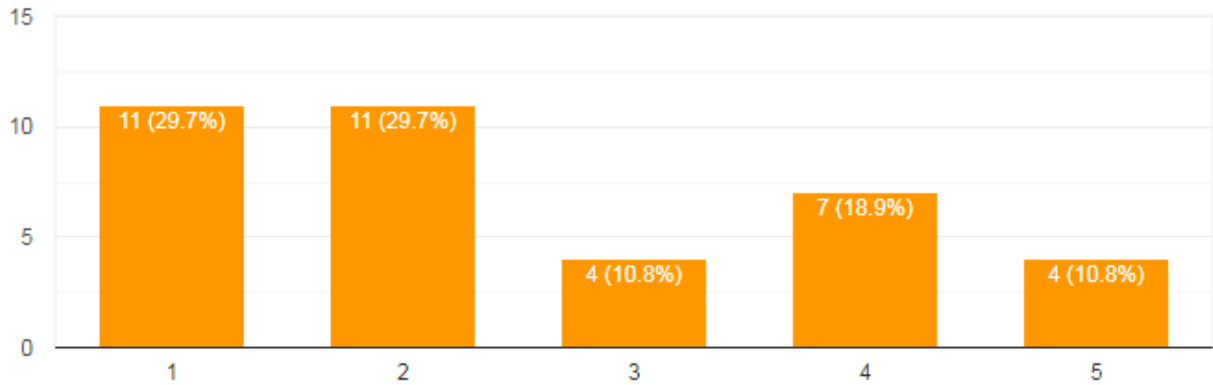
32) いつも優しくしてくれるけれど、私はなぜかあの人を嫌いだ。
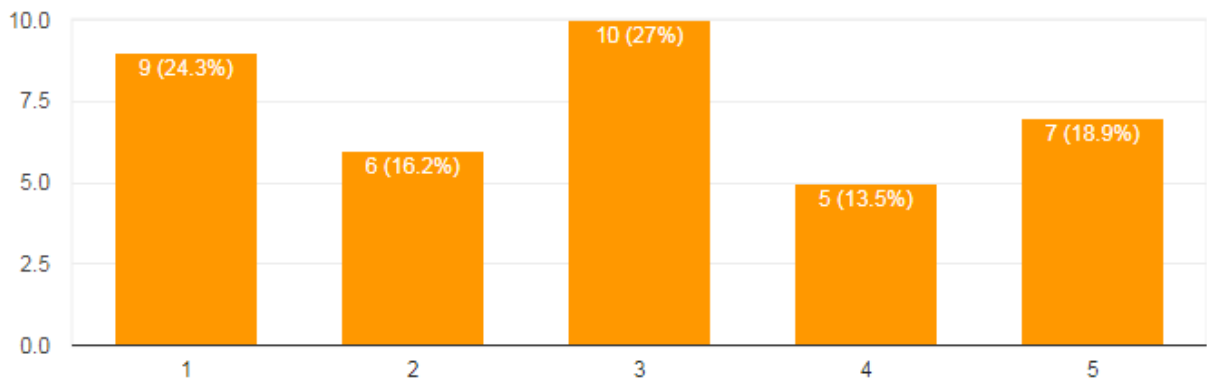
33) 私はこの物欲社会がいやだけれど、なぜか新型の携帯をほしい。
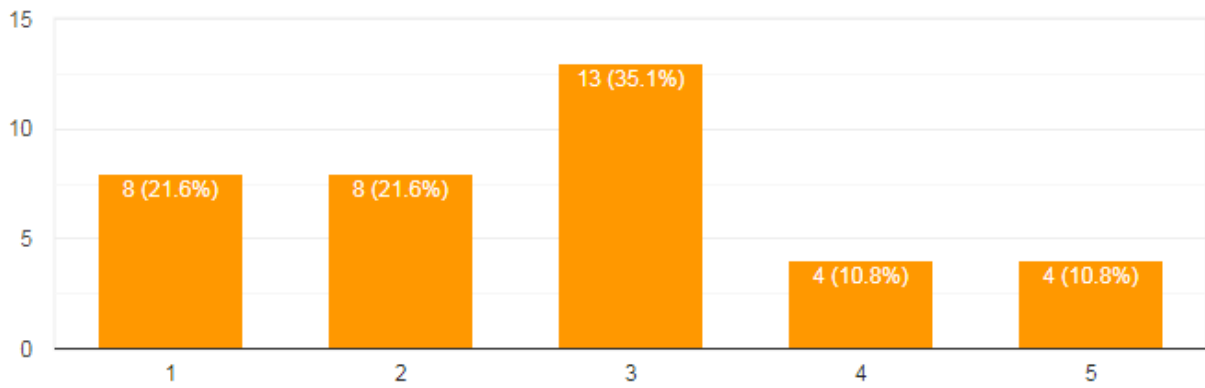
34) 太郎が私を好きだなんて、気持ち悪いよ。
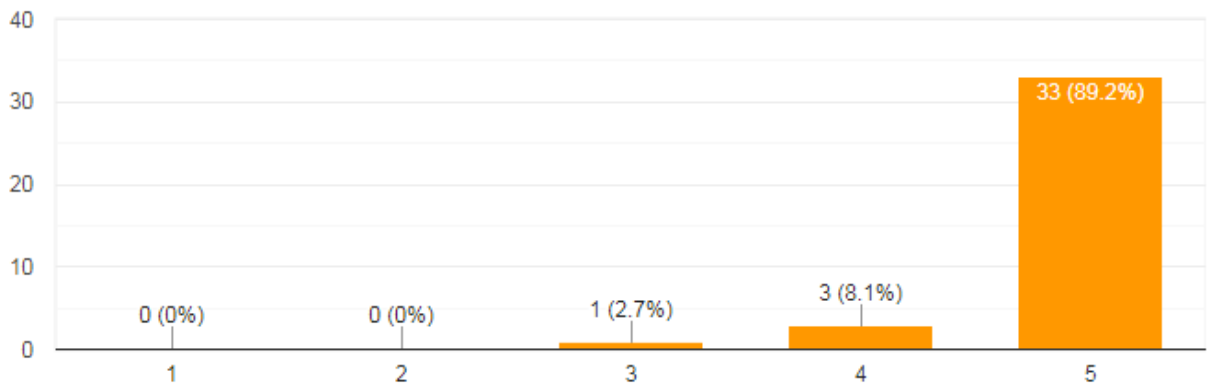
35) みさきが僕を嫌いだと聞いたとき、すごくショックを受けた。
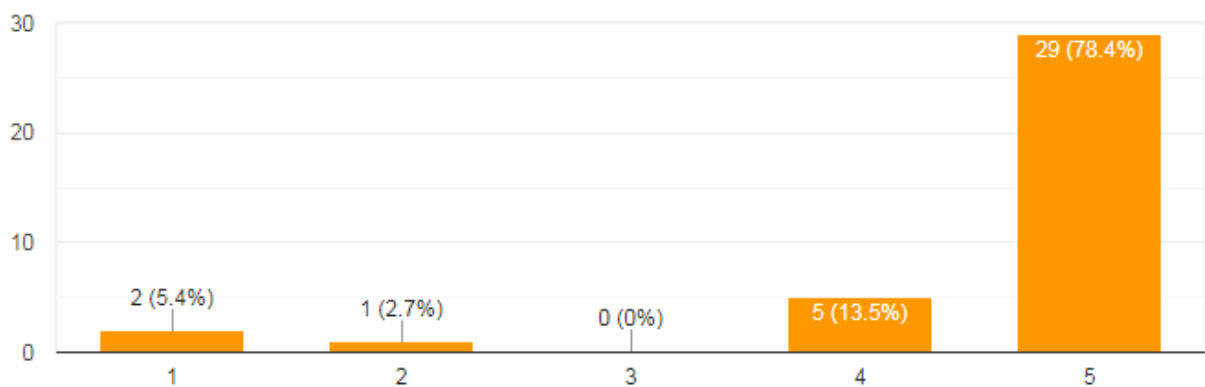
36) 僕はみさきをこの世のどの女の子よりも好きだ。
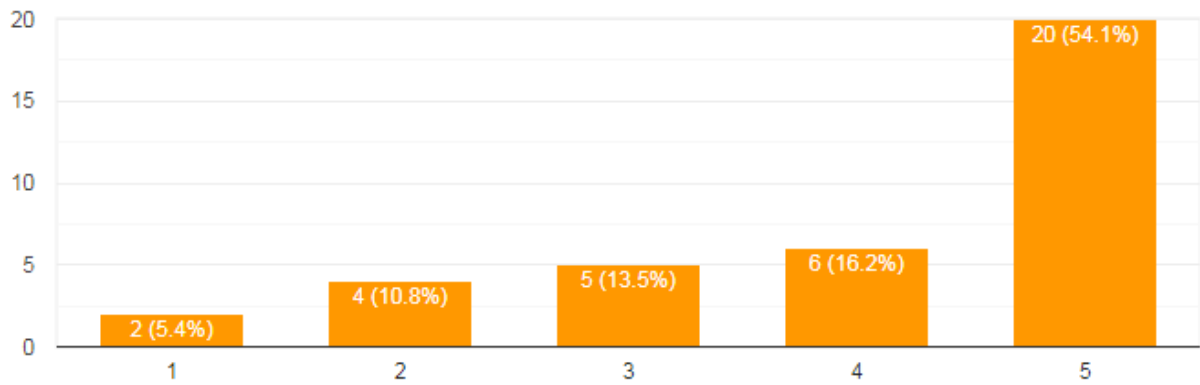
37) 私は太郎を、２年前に振られて以来、ずっと嫌いだ。

38) 僕はまず贅沢したいが、彼女は子供を、大きな家よりも、高い車よりも、ほしいらしい。

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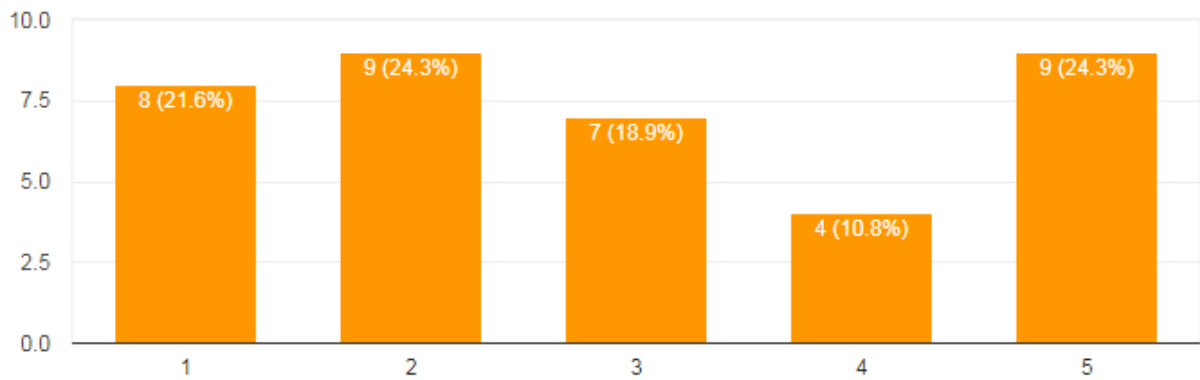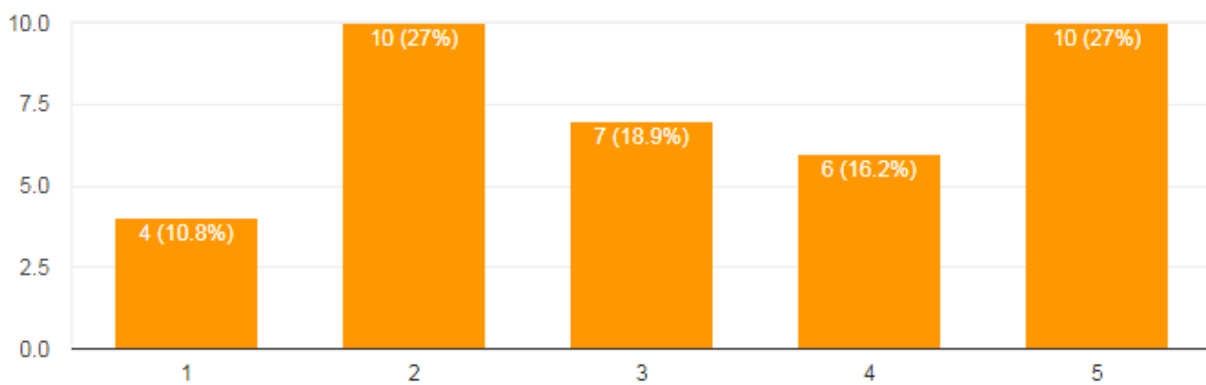
39) 春樹は花子を好きです。
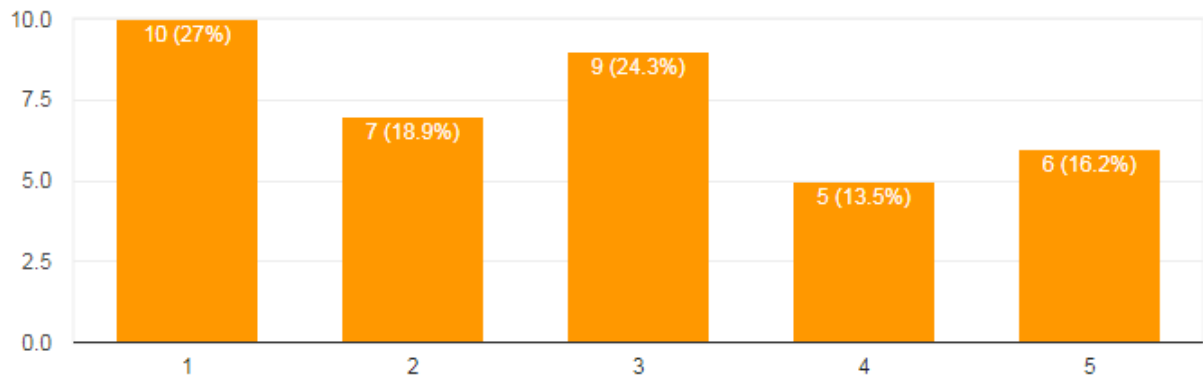
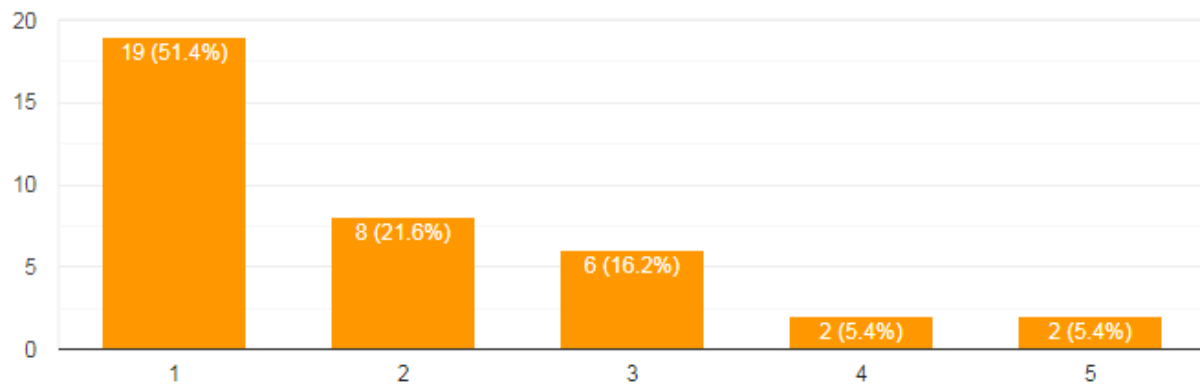
40) 友達の話によると、春樹は太郎を嫌いです。
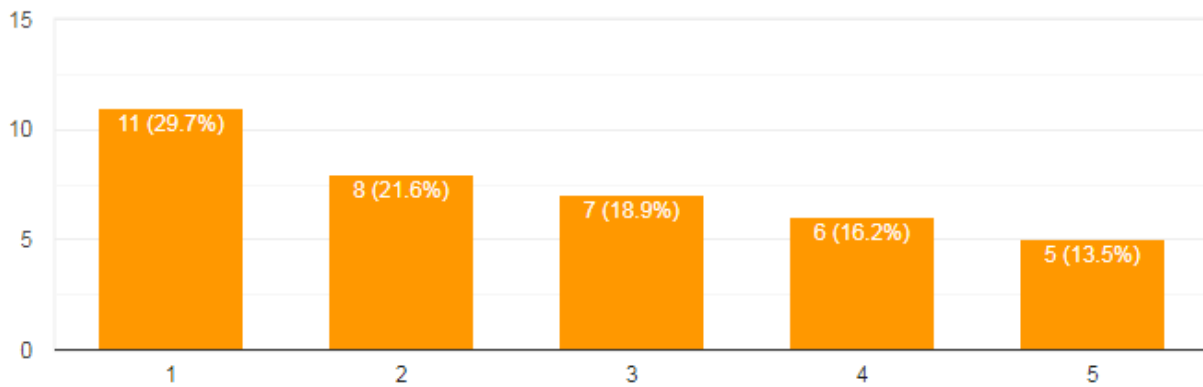
41) 私は新しいセーターをほしいです。
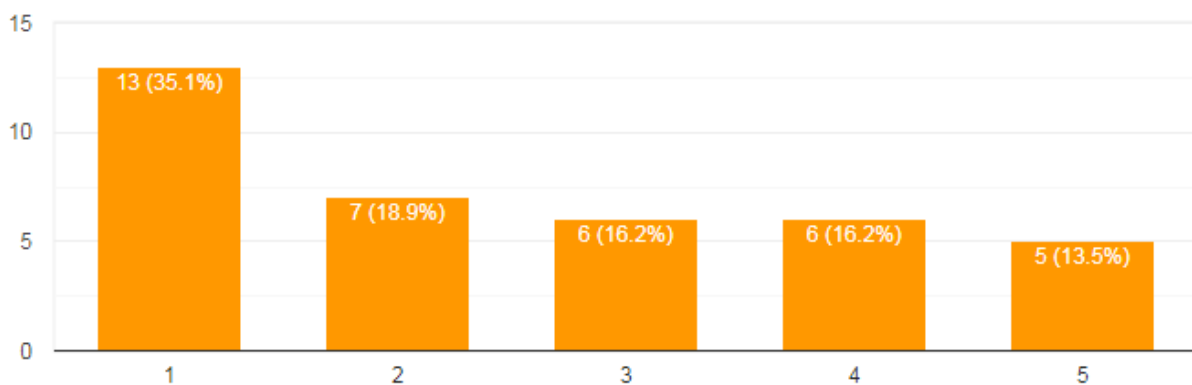
42) 私はあの方を好きでございます。
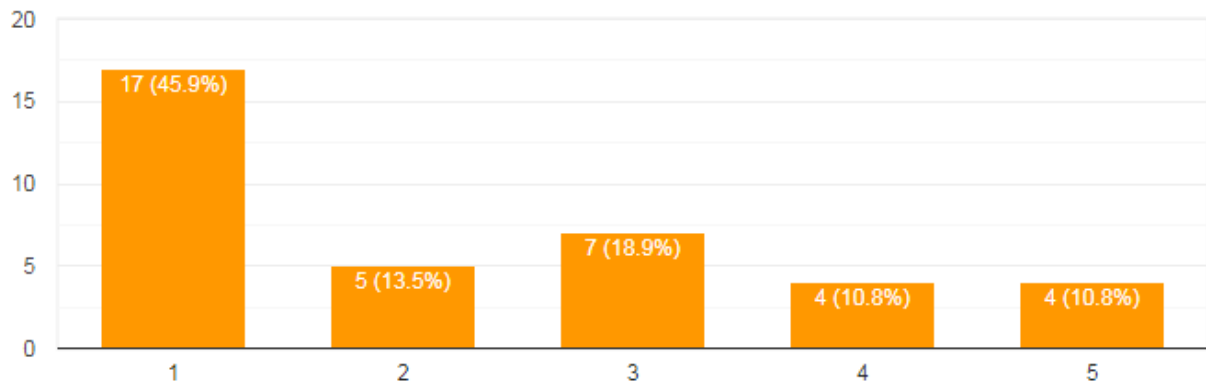
43) いつも悪いことばかりしているので、私はあの人を嫌いでございます。

44) 大家族に憧れておりますので、私はたくさんの子供をほしゅうございます。