| 論文の英文要旨 | |
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| 論文題目 | The Infinitive in Finnish: a usage-based account of the verbality and degree of dependency |
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The aim of this thesis is to examine infinitives in Finnish, with a particular focus on the verbality (i.e. to what degree the infinitives retain features expected of finite verbs) and the degree of dependency (to what degree an infinitive clause is subordinated to the matrix clause). I examined nine infinitive forms: the *A*-infinitive basic form, the *A*-infinitive translative, the *E*-infinitive inessive, the *E*-infinitive instructive, the *MA*-infinitive inessive, the *MA*-infinitive elative, the *MA*-infinitive illative, the *MA*-infinitive adessive, and the *MA*-infinitive abessive. My analysis is based on a corpus data of written texts. I examined actual uses of infinitives in the texts, their productivity, verbality, and the degree of dependency. There are some previous studies of the non-finite verbs in Finnish, such as Koskinen (1998), Ylikoski (2003), etc. Most of them, however, are couched in the generative grammar framework, focusing on construction analyses. There are thus few quantitative studies based on a corpus data. Moreover, there are few studies on the productivity, verbality, or degree of dependency of infinitives. In what follows I summarise the findings of my study with regard to these research topics.

With regard to how infinitives are actually used in texts, I have found the following facts. The *A*-infinitive basic form can co-occur with various kinds of arguments. I classified the attested examples into four grammatical functions: the subject, object, predicate, and modifier. A wide range of verbs appeared as the *A*-infinitive basic form, and I concluded that there is no semantic restriction as to which kind of verb can appear as this form. The *A*-infinitive translative usually denoted a purposive meaning, but fixed expressions were also common. The *E*-infinitive inessive are used in temporal constructions. The meaning of E-infinitive is not affected by that of a matrix verb. The *E*-infinitive instructive expresses so-called attendant circumstances. In addition, there were many verbs which expressed the feeling or manner of human beings, such as *hymyillä* "smile", *häpeillä* "be ashamed", *leikitellä* "think lightly of", etc. This phenomenon must have to do with the circumstantial function of this form. The *MA*-infinitive inessive co-occurs with the matrix verb *olla* "to be" and expresses aspectual meanings, such as progressive or prospective. It also turned out that the verbs in *MA*-infinitive inessive do not show a skewed semantic preference. Most of the *MA*-infinitive elatives co-occur with the matrix verbs which designate discontinuation or prohibition, and form constructions with them. The verbs which appeared as the *MA*-infinitive inessive have few semantic biases, while the matrix verbs do. The *MA*-infinitive illative co-occurs with various matrix verbs and forms constructions with them. There were also many ideomatic expressions. In addition, it was confirmed that any verb can appear as the *MA*-infinitive

illative. The *MA*-infinitive adessive expresses means and it is not influenced by the matrix verb. The *MA*-infinitive abessive expresses negation of manner or means. Most of them formed a construction with their matrix verb. In addition to this, there were many ideomatic usages such as *kieltämättä* "evidently". Moreover, these verbs tended to express feeling or manner of human beings.

Second, I summarize the productivity of the infinitives. I calculated the productivity (the bias of the verbs which appeared as infinitives) of all infinitives, from the total number and the number of words of the verbs. The result shows that the *MA*-infinitive illative had the highest productivity, while the *E*-infinitive instructive had the lowest. The infinitives which have high productivity tend to lack special semantic functions of their own. For example, most of the *A*-infinitive basic forms co-occur with their matrix verb in certain constructions. On the other hand, the infinitives which have low productivity, have the narrow usage comparatively. For example, the *E*-infinitive instructive has narrow one, such as attendant circumstances.

Third, I summarize the verbality of the infinitive. I analyzed the morphological features of infinitives. Two criteria were proposed for judging the verbality, that is, *the grammatical category on verb (voice)* and *the agent-marking*. Only the *E*-infinitive inessive satisfies the former criterion. It was pointed out, however, that the frequency of the passive form on the *E*-infinitive inessive was much lower than that on the finite verbs. Each infinitive, except the *MA*-infinitive adessive, satisfies the latter criterion. On the *E*-infinitive inessive and the *MA*-infinitive elative, their own agents were marked frequently. As a consequence, the verbality was high on the *E*-infinitve inessive and the *MA*-infinitive elative. It was the lowest one on the *MA*-infinitive adessive, and the other infinitives had almost the same degree of verbality.

Finally, I summarize about the degree of dependency of infinitives. I analyzed the syntactic features of infinitives. Two criteria were proposed, that is, *the rection of the matrix verb* and *the subordination among infinitives*. There were many matrix verbs which required the infinitives as argument, on the *MA*-infinitive elative, the *MA*-infinitive illative, the *A*-infinitive basic form, and the *MA*-infinitive inessive. On the *MA*-infinitive adessive and the *MA*-infinitive abessive, such examples were few. The *A*-infinitive translative, the *E*-infinitive inessive, and the *E*-infinitive instructive do not have any matrix verbs which require the infinitives as argument. In terms of the subordination among infinitives, on the *MA*-infinitive elative, the *MA*-infinitive illative, and the *MA*-infinitive inessive, many of them were subordinated to the other infinitives in the same sentences. The *A*-infinitive basic form does not tend to be subordinated to the other infinitives, while it is apt to be subordinated to the finite verbs. As a consequence, the degree of dependency was higher for the *MA*-infinitve elative, the *MA*-infinitive illative, and the *MA*-infinitive inessive, and lower for the *A*-infinitive translative, the *E*-infinitive inessive, and the *E*-infinitive instructive. In addition to this, there could be seen the correlation, that the infinitive which has a higher degree of dependency has a higher productivity; on the other hand, the one which has a lower degree of dependency has a lower productivity.

This study is an original contribution to the literature in that I could analyze and examine about the usages of infinitives, based on the corpus data. Moreover, it is also different from the previous studies, in that I remarked the notions such as the verbality and degree of dependency, also considering about the productivity. This study will also cast a new light on the cross-linguistic studies.