

【Secondary Publication】

How Do Japanese Language Learners Understand ‘the Other’ in Result Expressions?¹

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1. Introduction

Japanese is a subjective language in many linguistic phenomena; as established in previous studies, it is speaker centered. This view is now the norm in cognitive linguistics. However, the question of how subjective construal of context affects construction choice has not been well studied. Elsewhere (Soejima 2014; 2018a; 2018c), I have considered the topic of subjective construal at the level of construction, especially aspects of differences between languages in how to use agentless constructions and differences in perceptions of a situation.

In this paper, I examine how subjective construal of a situation affects construction choice by comparing how foreign speakers respectively perceive and express the same scene and demonstrate the importance played by the construal of objective phenomena that we express as the result of an event.

It has been established that Japanese is a highly subjective language by scholars including Ohe (1975), Kuno and Kaburaki (1977), Ikegami (1981), Shibatani (2003), and Uehara, (2006). Pardeshi, Lee, Horie (2006; 2007) conducted cross-linguistic studies of the passive construction using parallel corpora among English, Japanese, and other Asian languages such as Chinese, Korean, and Marathi, and demonstrated the degree of subjectivity is different among languages. In those studies, the authors showed that Japanese has a higher degree of “subjectivity” than many other languages, because the frequency of the passive construction used is comparatively high.² In the same way, I have analyzed parallel corpora of Japanese and Russian (Soejima 2014)

¹ This is a translated version of the Japanese paper “Nihongo gakushūsha wa ‘dōsashu ga futokutē no jin’iteki jitai’ o dō torae, dō arawasu ka” [How do Japanese language learners understand and express ‘an agent-unspecified intentional event’] published in the ‘Bulletin of the Institute of Comparative Studies of International Cultures and Societies,’ vol. 53. With the approval of the editor of the bulletin, a few additions and corrections were made in putting the English translation into this proceedings. This work was supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (No. 15K02499).

² Paldesi, Lee and Horie (2006; 2007) mainly discussed the demographic passive sentences (*juei judobun* [Masuoka, 1987 & 1991]), which are said to be more subjective expressions among passive sentences.

and demonstrated that Japanese has a higher degree of subjectivity, based on the higher frequency of the passive construction in Japanese.

Until now, one of the criteria of subjectivity has been the tendency to use the passive construction to describe a situation from the speaker's point of view. However, the tendency to use the "unaccusative intransitive verb" (hereinafter, "intransitive") may be more subjective than using the passive construction in expressing results. This is because Japanese intransitive sentences can express a situation subjectively as if it were natural in front of the speaker, even if it is the result of an intentional action.

I conducted a similar analysis using a parallel corpus of Korean and Japanese (Soejima 2018a), and added Russian to the analysis to develop the discussion (Soejima 2018c). In those studies, which take into account the tendency of construction selection when expressing the state of the result, it became clear that the frequency of intransitive verbs used is higher than that of passive sentences in Japanese language. I also concluded that Japanese is a language that prefers "subjective construal", because intransitive sentences are more subjective than passive sentences in terms of the relationship between the situation and viewpoint of the speaker. It is well known that the tendency to use intransitive sentences under the same circumstances varies from language to language. If the intransitive verb is used as a criterion of subjectivity when describing the state of the result, it is considered that the problem of whether intransitive sentences can be a reference for subjectivity can be solved by examining the constructions selected in a language, taking into account variations between languages.

The purpose of this study is to examine what kind of construction is used in Chinese, English, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, and Thai to express results. In particular, this study will examine two main research questions: 1) how frequently intransitive or passive sentences are used in languages other than Japanese; and 2) how the kind of constructions selected in a language affects the subjective construal of a situation.

The discussion is structured as follows. In section 2, I explain briefly the result expression of intentional acts whose agent is unknown or is not important in Japanese. In section 3, I provide an overview of materials and methods. Section 4 presents the findings of my research on learners of Japanese, to understand the differences between languages in the distribution of the construction used. In section 5, I seek to describe the features of event construal by making a comparison between research languages, and review the main findings of this study. Finally, concluding remarks are given in section 6.

2. Background

What do we mean by Result? Put simply, Result refers to a present state caused by a past action. Of course, some “past actions” are unintentional; however, this study only looks at the Result of intentional actions.

We can recognize at least two “others” in the state of Result. One is Agent, the other is Patient. Agent refers to the cause or initiator of an action. For example, in the case of an open window, the person who opened the window is the Agent. Similarly, with a picture on the wall the person who hung the picture on the wall is the Agent. Ordinarily, the Agent is unspecified or unimportant in the Result state, because we don’t look back on past actions.

Patient, also called the target or undergoer, refers to the receiver that changes the state. For example, in the cases above, the window and the picture are both the Patient.

When referring to the result of agent-unspecified intentional events, Japanese uses three types of construction. First, the passive sentence of the “defocusing of an agent” (Givón, 1981) function is used, as in example (1),³ if artificial actions are clear.

- (1) *mado-ga* *ake-rare-te i-ru*
window-NOM open.TR-PASS-TE I-PRS
“The window is open.”
- (2) *e-ga* *kabe ni kakat-te i-ru*
picture-NOM wall on hung.INTR-TE I-PRS
“The picture is on the wall.”

Second, intransitive verbs are used as in Example (2), if natural actions are felt. In addition, the use of the *V-te aru* construction is also possible in these cases, i.e.

- (3) *mado-ga* *ake-te ar-u.*
window-NOM open.TR-TE A-PRS
“The window is open.”
- (4) *e-ga* *kabe ni kake-te a-ru.*
picture-NOM wall on hung.TR-TE A-PRS
“The picture is on the wall.”

The above shows that language has various ways to express the same situation.

³ The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples: 3 (third person), ACC (accusative), CLF (classifier), COP (copula), DECL (declarative suffix), EMP (emphatic), F (feminine), GEN (genitive), INTR (intransitive), M (masculine), NOM (nominative), PASS (passive), PAST (past), PL (plural), POL (polite speech level suffix), PP (past participle), PRS (present), PRF (perfect), SG (singular), TE A (Japanese aspectual marker composed of a verb with the gerundive suffix *-te* and the inanimate existential verb *aru* ‘be’), TE I (Japanese aspectual marker composed of a verb with the gerundive suffix *-te* and the animate existential verb *iru* ‘be’), TOP (topic), TR (transitive), ZHE (Chinese aspectual marker *-zhe*)

How to explain the difference in usage of these three constructions in Japanese language teaching? In general, it is explained that the *V-te aru* construction using transitive verbs has a strong consciousness of the agent. In other words, the expression “*mado ga akete aru*” is an expression focused on the intention of a person who acted, as compared to the sentence with the intransitive “*mado ga aite iru.*” Table 1 shows the grammatical explanations of these three result expressions in the Japanese language textbook *Minna no Nihongo*.

On the other hand, as we have seen, the passive sentence “*mado ga akerarete iru*” shows the same situation, but there is no explanation of the difference between it, the intransitive sentence and *V-te aru* construction in Japanese textbooks for beginners. It is my impression that it is difficult for Japanese learners to understand and use these expressions well.

Table 1. Grammatical explanations in the Japanese textbook *Minna no Nihongo* (Soejima 2008b: 66)

Construction	Explanation	e.g.	Lesson
シテイル <i>shite-iru</i> (Intransitive Verb)	<i>Vte</i> -form <i>imasu</i> expresses the state which results as a consequence of the action expressed by the verb. (p. 26)	窓が閉まっています。 <i>mado ga shimatte imasu.</i> <i>The window is closed.</i> この自動販売機は壊れています。 <i>kono jidohanbaiki wa kowarete imasu.</i> <i>This vending machine is broken</i>	29
シテアル <i>shite-aru</i> (<i>V-te aru</i> Construction)	<i>Vte</i> -form <i>arimasu</i> indicates the state which results as a consequence of an action intentionally done by somebody. The verbs used here are transitive verbs that express intention. (p. 32)	交番に町の地図がはっています。 <i>koban ni machi no chizu ga hatte arimasu.</i> <i>There is a map of the town affixed to the wall in the police box.</i>	30
サレテイル <i>sarete-iru</i> (Passive Construction)	The passive construction which means the result is not introduced. (The passive construction itself is introduced in lesson 37.)	(ドミニカでは) スペイン語が使われています。 <i>(dominika de wa) supein-go ga tsukawarete imasu.</i> <i>Spanish is used there (in Dominica).</i>	37

When we learn a foreign language, using the language in a “natural-sounding” manner and avoiding its misuse is one of the most important factors in the language-learning process. Comparing the difference between the “natural-sounding” manner of a Japanese learner’s language contributes to the development of Japanese language teaching methods. Thus, the question is, what kinds of expression are there in the native languages of Japanese learners? We are interested in this problem, i.e., what is

“natural-sounding” language or what are the “fashions of speaking” (Ikegami et al., 2009, p. 20). This means that the “fashions of speaking” of the result state may be different in each language.

The purpose of this study is to examine what kind of construction is used in a Japanese learner’s native language. We then need to relate the usage differences between languages to the features of verbalization processes and a speaker’s situational awareness of the objective world, i.e. event construal.

3. Method

As can be seen from table 2, by making use of the results of a survey of 25 advanced Japanese-language learners, I established the types of construction that speakers of six languages tended to use.

Table 2. Materials and methods

Objective	How do Japanese learners express result expressions in their native language?
Target	25 Japanese non-native speakers (minimum 3, maximum 9 in one language)
Conducted	September 2014 - July 2016 at Tohoku University in Sendai
Material (Language)	Chinese, English, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, Thai
Method	Questionnaire (natural translation to native language from Japanese sentence describing a result action)

4. Results

Hereafter, most of the survey data and example sentences presented in this paper are the same as those of Soejima (2018b)⁴. Table 3 shows the distribution of usage tendency of constructions in a scene describing a result. In the survey questionnaire, we presented example sentences expressing a result state such as passive, intransitive verb, and *V-te aru* constructions in Japanese. “Abbrev” indicates the most-used construction in the language, i.e. “fashion of speaking.” Abbrev *Intr. Tr.* and *Pass.*

⁴ Korean passive markers have multiple functions, such as intransitive verb, transitive verb, passivation, and causalization, and it is difficult to distinguish only by the verb form. Therefore, the Korean data used in this paper differed from the value in 2018b because the data with passive markers were widely regarded as passive sentences, based on the meaning of each sentence and the context.

mean a sentence with an intransitive verb, a sentence with a transitive verb in non-passive form, and a passive construction,⁵ respectively. Abbrev *Oth.* means “other”.

As seen in Table 3, expressions with an intransitive verb are almost the same in Chinese and Thai, while the passive construction is preferred in Portuguese, English, Russian and Korean.

Table 3. Use tendency of constructions in a scene representing the result of agent-unspecified intentional event

form		Japanese	Ch.	Eng.	Kor.	Por.	Rus.	Th.
シテイル <i>shite-iru</i> (intransitive verb)	1	kaban-ga <u>ai-te i-mas-u</u> yo. bag-NOM open.INTR-TE I- POL-PRS EMP “The bag is open.”	Intr.	Oth.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Oth.
	2	sono isu, <u>koware-te-ru</u> yo. that chair break.INTR-TE I-PRS EMP “That chair is broken.”	Intr.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Intr.
	3	denki-ga <u>tsui-te i-mas-u.</u> lamp-NOM turn on.INTR-TE I-POL-PRS “The lamp is on.”	Intr.	Oth.	Pass.	Pass.	Intr.	Intr.
	4	kabe ni e-ga <u>kakat-te i-ru.</u> wall on picture-NOM hung.INTR-TE I-PRS “The picture is on the wall.”	Tr.	Oth.	Pass.	Pass.	Intr.	Intr.
シテアル <i>shite-aru</i> (V-te aru Constructi on)	5	(sero-tepu-wa) hikidashi ni sellotape-TOP drawer on <u>shimat-te ar-u</u> yo. put.TR-TE A-PRS EMP “Sellotape is stored in the drawer.”	Tr.	Pass.	Oth.	Oth.	Oth.	Oth.
	6	karenda ni kon-getsu-no calendar on this-month-GEN yotei-ga <u>kai-te ari-mas-u.</u> schedule-NOM write.TR-TE A-POL-PRS “This month’s schedule is written on the calendar.”	Tr.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Tr.

⁵ In examples such as “That chair is broken” in this survey data, past participle forms of the verb may be interpreted as adjectives. In this study, however, they were all defined as passive sentences (stative passive).

	7	tsukue-no ue ni memo-ga table-GEN up on memo-NOM <u>oi-te at-ta.</u> put.TR-TE A-PASST “The note was placed on the desk.”	Tr.	Pass.	Pass.	Oth.	Tr.	Tr.	
	8	mado-ga <u>ake-te at-ta.</u> window-NOM open.TR-PASS-TE A-PAST “The window was open.”	Intr.	Oth.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Tr.	
サレテイル sarete-iru (Passive Construction)	9	sara-ga <u>war-are-te i-mashi-ta.</u> plate-NOM break.TR-PASS-TE I-POL-PAST “This plate was broken.”	Intr.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Intr.	
	10	koban ni machi-no chizu-ga police box on town-GEN map-NOM <u>har-are-te i-mas-u.</u> stick.TR-PASS-TE I-POL-PRS “A map of the town is stuck on the police box.”	Tr.	Pass.	Intr.	Pass.	Pass.	Tr.	
	11	Sannomaru-wa dorui to mizubori Sannomaru-TOP earthwork and water moat ni <u>kakom-are-te i-ta.</u> by surround.TR-PASS-TE-I-PAST “There were earthworks and water moats around the Sannomaru.”	Pass.	Oth.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Tr.	
	12	dan-boru ni koneko-ga cardboard box in kitten-NOM <u>sute-rare-te i-ta.</u> throw away.TR-PASS-TE I-PAST “Kitten was thrown away in a cardboard box.”	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Oth.	Pass.	
	13	shomen-no tana ni ningyo-ga front-GEN shelf on doll-NOM <u>kazar-are-te ita.</u> display.TR-PASS-TE I-PAST “There was a doll in front of the shelf.”	Tr.	Oth.	Pass.	Pass.	Pass.	Tr.	
SUM	<i>shite-iru (intransitive verb) 4</i>		Intr.	5	0	1	0	2	4
	<i>shite-aru 4</i>		Tr.	6	0	0	0	1	6
	<i>sarete-iru 5</i>		Pass.	2	7	11	11	8	1
			Oth.	0	6	1	2	2	2

4.1. Intransitive sentence

Table 4 shows the distribution of the number of usages of the intransitive verb in a scene describing a result. It is approximately the same for Japanese, Chinese and Thai. Chinese and Thai's intransitive verbs are isomorphic with transitive verbs, that is, Chinese and Thai sentences with an intransitive verb have no object. There are no examples with intransitive verbs in English or Portuguese.

Table 4. Intransitive Verb Used

	Japanese	Chinese	English	Korean	Portuguese	Russian	Thai
Int.	4 (<i>shite-iru</i> (intransitive verb))	5	0	1	0	2	4

The following (5) shows typical answers for each language from a sentence with an intransitive verb in Japanese in the survey results.

- (5) a. Jap.: sono isu, koware-te-ru yo.
 that chair break.INTR-TE I-PRS EMP
 “That chair is broken.”
- Intransitive verb
 - b. Chi.: nà ge yǐ zi shì huài de.
 that chair COP break.INTR EMP
 - c. Tha.: kâw-ʔi tua nán sǎa.
 chair CLF that break.INTR
 - Passive construction
 - d. Eng.: That chair is broken.
 - e. Por.: essa cadeira est-á quebr-ad-a.
 that.F.SG chair.F.SG COP-3.SG.PRS break.TR-PP-F
 - f. Kor.: ku uyca, mangka-cye-ss-e
 that chair break.TR-PASS-PAST-DECL
 - g. Rus.: ètot stul sloma-n.
 that.M.SG.NOM chair.M.SG.NOM break.TR-PP.SG.M

Speakers who make heavy use of intransitives tend to prefer “*naru* (become) expression,” which can be regarded as “the entire circumstances have changed” (Ikegami et al., 2009: 119), that is, the intransitive sentence is a subjective expression looking at the event from the inside.

4.2. Passive construction

Table 5 shows the distribution of the number of usages of passive construction in a scene describing a result. Passive constructions are rarely used in Chinese and Thai, whereas they are often used in English, Korean, Portuguese and Russian.

Table 5. Passive Construction Used

	Japanese	Chinese	English	Korean	Portuguese	Russian	Thai
Int.	5 (<i>sarete-iru</i> (Passive Construction))	2	7	11	11	8	11

The following (6) and (7) show typical answers for each language from a passive construction in Japanese.

- (6) a. Jap.: sara-ga sudeni war-are-te i-mashi-ta.
 plate-NOM already break.TR-PASS-TE I-POL-PAST
 “This plate was already broken.”
- Intransitive verb
 - b. Chi. : pán zi yǐ jīng suì le.
 plate already break.INTR PRF
 - c. Tha. : caan tèek lǽw khà.
 plate break.INTR already POL
 - Passive construction
 - d. Eng.: This plate was already broken.
 - e. Por.: Este prato já est-ava quebr-ad-o.
 this.M.SG plate.M.SG already BE-3.SG.PRS break.TR-PP-M
 - f. Kor.: imi cepsi-ka kkay-cye- isse-sse-yo
 already plate-NOM break.TR-PASS- COP-PAST-POL.DECL
 - g. Rus.: tarelk-a uže by-l-a razbi-t-a.
 plate-F.SG.NOM already COP-PAST-SG.F break.TR-PP-SG.F
- (7) a. Jap.: koban ni machi-no chizu-ga har-are-te i-mas-u.
 police box on town-GEN map-NOM stick.TR-PASS-TE I-POL-PRS
 “A map of the town is stuck on the police box.”
- Intransitive verb
 - b. Kor.: phachwulso-e maul citoka puthe iss-supnita.
 police box-in town map-NOM stick.INTR be-POL.DECL
 - Transitive verb (active voice)
 - c. Chi. : pài chū suǒ lǐ tiē zhe xiǎo zhèn de dì tú.
 police box in stick.TR ZHE town of map
 - d. Tha. : thii pôm-tam-rùat mii phěen-thii muang tit wái.
 in police box be map town stick.TR put.
 - Passive construction
 - e. Eng.: A map of the town is stuck on the wall of the police office.

- f. Por.: O mapa da cidade est-á grud-ad-o no posto policial.
the map.M.SG of town COP-3.SG.PRS stick.TR-PP-M in police box
- g. Rus.: kart-a gorod-a nakle-en-a na
map.F-SG.NOM town.M-SG.NOM stick.TR-PP-SG.F in
policejskom postu.
police box

Demotion passive (*kokaku judobun* [Masuoka, 1987 & 1991]) sentences are more objective expressions than demographic passive sentences (*juei judobun*), which are “subjective expressions in the sense of drawing the relevant events from the side of the subject rather than from a neutral position” (Masuoka [1991: 110]). In other words, the use of this type of passive construction is more objective than other types.

The following (8) shows the only example in which the passive construction was chosen in almost all languages, with the exception of Russian.

- (8) a. Jap. : dan-boru ni koneko-ga sute-rare-te i-ta.
cardboard box in kitten-NOM throw away.TR-PASS-TE I-PAST
“A kitten was thrown away in a cardboard .”
- Passive construction
- b. Chi. : xiǎo māo bèi yí qì zài zhǐ xiāng zhōng.
kitten PASS throw away.TR be cardboard box in
- c. Tha. : mii lûuk mæw thùuk thín y ùu nai klòŋ-krà-dàat
be kitten PASS throw away.TR be in cardboard box
- d. Eng.: The kitten was thrown away in this cardboard box.
- e. Por. : Na caixa de papelão, um gatinho est-ava
in cardboard box a.M.SG kitten.M.SG COP-3.SG.PRS
abandon-ad-o.
throw away.TR-PP-M

4.3. Subjectless construction with transitive verb

Table 6 shows the distribution of the number of usages of sentences with a transitive verb in non-passive form in a scene describing a result. All sentences with transitive verbs in Chinese are “Existence construction” without an agent (Wang 2007; Maruo 2007). Five of the sentences with transitive verbs in Thai are “*mii ... V wái* (put) / *yüu* (exist)” constructions (similar to *shite-aru* construction) (Yoshida 2004: 57 - 60). There are no examples in English, Korean, and Portuguese.

Table 6. Transitive verb not Passive Form Used

	Japanese	Chinese	English	Korean	Portuguese	Russian	Thai
Int.	4 (<i>shite-aru</i> (<i>V-te aru</i> Construction))	6	0	0	0	1	6

The following (9) shows the typical answers for each language from a *V-te aru* construction in Japanese.

- (9) a. Jap.: karenda ni kongetsu no yotei-ga kai-te ar-imas-u.
calendar on this-month GEN schedule-NOM write.TR-TE A-POL-PRS
“This month’s schedule is written on the calendar.”
- Transitive verb (active voice)
 - b. Chi.: rì lì shàng xiě zhe zhè gè yuè de jì huà.
calendar on write.TR ZHE this month’s of schedule
 - c. Tha.: mii nát-mǎai duan níi khǎn wái tíi pà-tíi-tin khà.
COP schedule this month write.TR put in calendar POL
 - Passive construction
 - d. Eng.: This month’s schedule is written on the calendar.
 - e. Por.: A previsão deste mês está escr-it-a
the schedule.F.SG this.GEN month COP-3.SG.PRS write.TR-PP-F
no calendário.
in calendar.
 - f. Kor.: tallyek-ey ipen tal yeyceng-i
calendar-in this month schedule-NOM
ssu-ye-cye iss-supnita.
write.TR-PASS-PASS- be-POL.DECL
 - g. Rus.: v kalendare napisa-n-y plan-y na ètot mesjac.
in calendar write.TR-PP-PL plan-PL on this month

The following (10) shows examples for each language of a subjectless construction with a transitive verb in non-passive form (7a, 7c, 7d), repeated below as (10a, 10b, 10c). (11b) is an example of an indefinite personal sentence in Russian ([8a], repeated below as [11a]).

- (10) a. Jap.: koban ni machi-no chizu-ga har-are-te i-mas-u.
police box on town-GEN map-NOM stick. TR-PASS-TE I-POL-PRS
“A map of the town is stuck on the police box.”
- Transitive verb (active voice)
 - b. Chi.: pài chū suǒ lǐ tiē zhe xiǎo zhèn de dì tú.
police box in stick.TR ZHE town of map
 - c. Tha.: thîi pôm-tam-rùat mii phǎen-thîi muaw tít wái.
in police box be map town stick.TR put.
- (11) a. Jap.: dan-boru ni koneko-ga sute-rare-te i-ta.
cardboard box in kitten-NOM throw away.TR-PASS-TE I-PAST
“A kitten was thrown away in a cardboard box.”
- Indefinite-Personal Sentence
 - b. Rus.: kotenk-a vykinu-l-i v kartonnoj korobke.
kitten.M-ACC throw away.TR-PAST-PL in cardboard box

The relevant events are expressed from the side of the action rather than the state. The use of a transitive verb emphasizes the implications of an agent. It is notable that the use of transitive verbs indicates that the event is more objectively construed.

5. Analysis

I consider here in detail how event construal is reflected in descriptions. I start by defining the term construal. Construal is a crucial notion in the field of cognitive linguistics, and refers to a speaker's situational awareness of the objective world in her verbalization processes. This approach to the contrast in subjectivity has been suggested by some previous analyses on linguistic subjectivity, such as Iwasaki (1993), Ikegami (2003), and Nakamura (2004), in terms of perspective, construals and cognitive modes, respectively. Uehara (2006: 125) summarized the related concepts in their analyses as presented in table 7 below.

Table 7. Related Previous Analyses on Subjectivity and Their Key Concepts (based on Uehara 2006: 125)

	Experiencing speaker	Self-monitoring speaker
Iwasaki (1993: 30)	S-perspective: The perspective that the speaker takes for situations in which her own experience is involved.	O-perspective: the perspective that the speaker takes for the situation in which another sentient being's experience is involved
Ikegami (2003)	subjective construal: The cognizer, who is the speaker, directly involves herself in the event and construes it as experiencing it herself.	objective construal: The cognizer, who is the speaker, is not directly involved in the event, and construes it as placing herself outside of it.
Nakamura (2003)	I (=Interactional) modes: Cognizers, with physical entities, are interacting with some entities and constructing the cognitive images of them.	D (=Displaced) mode: Cognizers, displacing themselves from the locus of cognition, are observing the cognitive images of some entities as objective truths.

These differences are shown below, using figures created with reference to Honda's figures (2013: 67). As in figure 1, the speaker is located in the very situation in which she is to construe and conceptualizes the situation to be encoded as if she were in the scene and were experiencing it herself. Thus the subject and the object are integrated rather than contrasted.

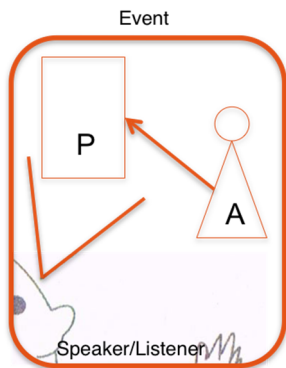


Figure 1. Subjective Construal

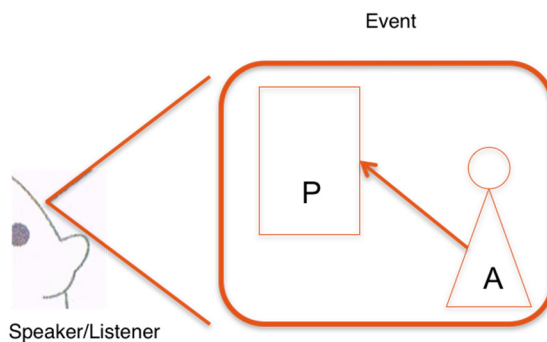


Figure 2. Objective Construal

In Figure 2, the speaker is located outside the situation she is to construe and takes a detached outlook on the situation to be encoded. Thus the subject and object are maximally contrasted.

Table 8. Comparison among constructions in a scene representing the result of agent-unspecified intentional events

	Intransitive sentence	Subjectless construction with transitive verb ⁶	Passive construction	Active construction
Structural Features	S = Patient O = no	S = no O = Patient	S = Patient O = no	S = Agent O = Patient
Indication of the agent	Impossible	Impossible	Not indicated (accepted on <i>Oblique</i>)	Explicit
Meaning	State (of result) of patient	State of result of patient	State of result of patient	Indicated clearly

Subjective Construal ←—————→ Objective Construal

Table 8 shows side-by-side comparisons of three result constructions. The passive construction represents the result state of the patient that the agent affected. Although the speaker is empathizing with the patient of her viewing, she is also interested in the action and the agent that caused the state, and is detached a little from the object of

⁶ The *V-te aru* construction in Japanese, Existence construction in Chinese and the *mii...V wai/yuu* construction in Thai.

her viewing. The speaker is detached from the object of her viewing, i.e. objectively oriented.

On the other hand, sentences with an intransitive verb represent the state of the patient after an event such as a natural phenomenon. The speaker is involved in the same scene in which the objects of her viewing are involved, i.e. subjectively oriented.

Subjectless constructions with a transitive verb, including the *V-te aru* in Japanese, Existence in Chinese and the *mii...V wái/ yùu* in Thai, represent the result of a situation where the agent affected the patient. They implicate agent strongly. Thus, the speaker is located near objective construal between two other constructions on the subjectivity scale.

As is well known, Japanese speakers often use intransitive verbs. Therefore, they prefer encoding in terms of subjectivity.

Based on the above, I now seek to explain how construal reflects in descriptions in each language. As already mentioned, the following points were identified from the survey results (cf. Table 9).

Table 9. Use tendency of constructions in a scene representing the result of agent-unspecified intentional event. (Only the ‘Total’ of Table 3 reproduced)

	Japanese	Chinese	English	Korean	Portuguese	Russian	Thai
Intr.	4	5	0	1	0	2	4
Tr.	4	6	0	0	0	1	6
Pass.	5	2	7	11	11	8	1
Oth.	0	0	6	1	2	2	2

When a Japanese-language learner expresses the result of intentional action:

1. Portuguese, English, Russian and Korean speakers tend to use passive constructions, but not a subjectless construction with a transitive verb.
2. Portuguese and English speakers tend not to use sentences with an intransitive verb, but Russian and Korean speakers sometimes use them.

That means Portuguese and English are objective-oriented languages, because passive construction encodes object-oriented construal.

Finally, let’s look at how construal reflects in descriptions in the Chinese and Thai languages. We saw that Chinese and Thai speakers tend to use subjectless constructions with a transitive verb and sentences with an intransitive verb, but not to use passive constructions in cases expressing the result of intentional action (cf. Table 8). That means Chinese and Thai are both objective-orientated and subjective-oriented

languages, because subjectless construction with a transitive verb encodes objective construal, and a sentence with an intransitive verb encodes subjective construal.

It was beyond our scope to examine which construal those languages prefer, but we can speculate to some extent. The intransitive verb form in Chinese and Thai is isomorphic with a transitive verb. This may cause Chinese and Thai speakers to use a verb without being conscious of it being intransitive. In such cases, using the intransitive verb may not concern the event construal; this would mean that Chinese and Thai are objective-oriented languages. Further investigation is necessary to verify this hypothesis.

6. Conclusion

In this study, I analyzed ways to express agent-unspecified or not important but intentional events in Chinese, Thai, English, Portuguese, Russian and Korean languages by using data collected from a survey in which 25 advanced Japanese-language learners responded to a questionnaire. In conclusion, the present study has demonstrated the following three points.

When expressing the result of an indefinite actor:

- I. As a criterion of subjectivity, the use of the intransitive sentence is subjective if the intransitive sentence is frequently used, and the use of the passive construction or the subjectless construction with a transitive verb is objective.
- II. Portuguese, English, Russian and Korean speakers tend to use passive constructions; Chinese and Thai speakers tend to use subjectless constructions with a transitive verb and sentences with an intransitive verb.
- III. Japanese is subjective-construal oriented, whereas Portuguese and English are objective-construal oriented.

Further studies are needed in order to verify whether Chinese and Thai are subjective-oriented or objective-oriented languages.

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