論文の英文要旨	
論文題目	Event Structure and Passive Constructions in Spanish 事象構造とスペイン語の受動表現
氏名	Toshihiro Takagaki 高垣敏博

In many languages of the world, *lexical aspect* (Aktionsart), inherent in every verb, and *event structure*, constituted on the basis of the former, have been shown to play a crucial role in the formation of a sentence, and a considerable amount of research has been devoted to the study of their functions and applicability.

The main purpose of the present work is twofold: current concepts of lexical aspect and event structure are to be examined to see if they hold true in the analysis of Spanish grammar on the one hand, and it is questioned, on the other, if this aspect-based approach enables us to account for the formation and the restrictions of the passive constructions of the Spanish language.

In chapter 1: <Lexical aspect and Event Structure—previous research>, I start by reviewing such preceding works as Vendler (1967), Dowty (1979), Verkuyl (1989), Pustejovsky (1991, 1995), and consider how the four classes of lexical aspect: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements can be better defined. Also, some basic concepts of event structure are outlined, on the basis of Pustejovsky (1991, 1995). Then similar approaches applied to Spanish grammar are overviewed in such works as Gili Gaya (1961), Fenández Ramírez (1986), De Miguel (1992), Fernández Lagunilla and De Miguel (2000), Morimoto (1998), Marín (2000, 2004), Fernández Lagunilla and De Miguel (2000). This chapter concludes with our views on lexical aspect and event structure focused in Spanish verbs.

In chapter 2: <Spanish passive constructions>, of the three typical passives, cited in (1), the *ser* passive (so-called "periphrastic" passive), as in (1a), is mainly dealt with in comparison with the *se* passive ("reflexive passive"), shown in (1b).

(1) a.La noticia fue divulgada por los periódicos.

<ser passive>

the news (SUBJ) was spread by the newspapers

b. Aquí se venden periódicos.

<se passive>

here SE-sell (are sold) newspapers (SUBJ)

c. La puerta está abierta.

<estar resultative >

the door (SUBJ) is open(ed)

The low productivity characteristic of the *ser* passive (1a), as opposed to the corresponding passives in English or Japanese will to be explained and reasons for the restrictions are ascribed. The *perfectiveness* condition, one of such restrictions, accounts for the adequacy of (2a) with a perfective verb *abrir* (open), whereas the passive (2b) with an imperfective verb *buscar* (look for) requires that it be accompanied by a plural or generic agent phrase (*todos* everyone, *la policía* the police), and not by a singular noun phrase like *Juan*.

- (2)a. La caja fuerte fue abierta por {mi hermano / los guardas} the safe was open(ed) by {my brother / the security guards}
 - b. El secuestrado era buscado por {*Juan / todos / la policía} the kidnapped was searched for by {Juan / all / the police}

The hypothesis that a *ser* passive formed on an imperfective verb implies repetition of perfective events seems to accord with the plural agent seen above.

In the following chapter 3: <The Spanish ser passive—with emphasis on activity verbs>, this hypothesis, nevertheless, seems to be weakened when we are faced with such passives as (3a,b) in which imperfective verbs (conducir, cuidar) are used together with singular agents (un chôfer, la enfermera).

(3)a. El coche fue conducido por un chófer.

the car was driven by a driver

b.El niño era cuidado por *la enfermera*. the child was taken care of by the nurse

I will argue that these passives are possible because a kind of semantic agreement, telic quale ("object role", Pustejovsky 1995) can be established between an agent responsible for a certain social function ("a driver", for example) and a predicate implying an action that the agent is expected to perform in a typical way ("to drive" a car). It is suggested that this type of semantic compatibility can give a plural (generic) effect to the sentence.

In chapter 4: <On the infinitive ser passive of Spanish>, I will be concerned again with the Spanish ser passive, but in its infinitival form. In the previous research, the formation of the ser passive has generally been considered to take into account both lexical aspect (i.e., perfective and imperfective) and grammatical aspect (i.e., perfect and imperfect). However, I would claim that it is only the former that is involved in the process of passivization, taking into consideration cases of the ser passive lacking in tense, as in (4).

(4) Esta vida merece ser vivida felizmente por todos.

this life is worthy of being lived happily by all

In addition, it will be demonstrated that an infinitive ser passive can be rendered with

less restriction than a finite one, as can be exemplified by (4), in which the cognate object of the verb phrase *vivir la vida* ("live the life") can not be thematized in a tensed sentence (* *la vida fue vivida...*).

In the following chapter 5:<"estar + past participle" constructions>, I discuss three subtypes of constructions composed of the copula estar and a past participle: the <estar resultative construction>, cited above in (1c), as well as the <estar passive> and the <estar passive resultative>, as in (5a, b).

(5)a. El edificio está rodeado por la policía.

<estar passive>

the building is surrounded by the police

b. El edificio está rodeado por los árboles.
 the building is surrounded by (the) trees

<estar passive resultative>

Special attention will be paid, however, to the <estar passive>, which can be formed on what we call an "inter-relational" verb of the type (5a), where a "localization" verb (such as rodear "surround") requires a "localizing subject" and a "localized object" as mutually dependent, therefore, obligatory arguments. It is argued that inter-relational verbs, besides localization, include cause-effect, governing and compositional relations, as observed respectively in (6a,b,c).

(6)a. Las alergias están provocadas por el polen.

<cause-effect>

(the) allergies are caused by (the) pollen

El país está dominado por una política abusiva.
 the country is dominated by an abusive policy

<government>

c. Esta sociedad deportiva está formada por jóvenes de ambos sexos. <composition>
this sports club is formed by young people of both sexes

The remaining two chapters are devoted to somewhat peripheral phenomena with respect to passive constructions, but related to "voice" in a broad sense. In chapter 6 <adjectival past participle> derived from "unaccusative intransitive verbs", as in (7a), are discussed, together with the <estar resultative>, given in (7b), also based on the same intransitives.

(7)a. las hojas *caídas* / el gato *muerto*

<adjectival past participle>

the fallen leaves the dead cat

b. Las hojas están caídas. / El gato está muerto.

<estar resultative>

the leaves are fallen

the cat is dead

Movement verbs such as ir(se), salir(se), pasar(se), venir(se), entrar(se), caer(se), subir(se), bajar(se) and two other punctual verbs morir(se), aparecer(se) are all analyzed as representing a transitional event, in which an object is supposed to move from Source to Goal (Fernández Lagunilla & De Miguel, 2000). My aim in this chapter

is to examine which of the two *loci* can be identified with the point where an event takes place for each of these verbs. For example, (8a) is considered to be inchoative, while (8b) specifies the final phase of the movement.

(8)a. tiempos idos (< irse "go away")

days gone by

b. hojas caídas (< caerse "fall off")

leaves fallen

The <estar resultative>, however, turns out to be constructed only with the following three intransitives: caer(se), subir(se), bajar(se), as in (9), where the resulting state of the movement requires that it be highly secured (the other verbs being not admissible generally, as we see in (9a)).

(9)a.*Los tiempos están idos

the days are gone away

b.La hojas están caídas.

the leaves are fallen

In chapter 7: <Unaccusatives and double pronominal construction>, the same unaccusative intransitives are studied as used in the double pronominal construction represented in sentences (10)(11), with the dative personal pronoun *le* placed between a reflexive pronoun and a verb.

(10)a. El avión se nos ha ido ya.

the plane has gone away (from us)

- b. Mi niño se me subió a un árbol y allí estuvo subido más de dos horas.
 my child went up to a tree (from me) and stayed there for more than two hours
- (11) Se le vino la hija a la ciudad.

the daughter came to the city (to him).

Here again we are concerned with the place in which the participant represented by the dative *le* stands in the movement of an object. It will be questioned whether it can be identified with the point of departure, as in (10a, b) [The plane has gone away from where we are; My child went up to a tree from where I was, respectively] or with that of arrival, as in (11) [his daughter came down to the city where he lives].

Thus, all the topics dealt with in this work are related to lexical aspect and event structure, and are examined to see how these concepts are reflected in the formation of passive constructions. It is hoped that Pustejovsky's statement that "grammatical phenomena do in fact make reference to the internal structure of events" (1991, p. 48) will be proven to be applicable to Spanish grammar.