

論文の英文要旨

論文題目

On the 'be done' Construction in Irish

氏名

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Modern Irish (Indo-European, Celtic, and Goidelic) languages have a verb–subject–object (VSO) word order, and normally, the grammatical subject denotes an agent, while the grammatical object denotes a patient.

Apart from the construction with this basic word order (called *the simple tense construction*), there is a periphrastic construction called the 'be done' construction in this dissertation. This is composed of the substantive verb *bí* 'be' and a verbal adjective (roughly speaking, it corresponds to the past participle in other languages). With an intransitive verb, the grammatical subject denotes an agent (e.g., 'Someone is gone'), while with a transitive verb, the grammatical subject denotes a patient, and an agent is expressed with the preposition *ag* 'at' (e.g., 'Something is done by someone'). This syntactic feature observed in the latter case resembles the passive construction, and thus, some studies including Ó Siadhail (1989) describe it as a voice alternation.

The passive voice, however, has some inappropriate features: specifically, it can be formed even with an intransitive verb, and in this case, an agent as a grammatical subject in the simple tense construction retains its grammatical position. Therefore, some studies like Orr (1989) have claimed that the concerned construction has an ergative feature. In this case, the preposition *ag* 'at' is an ergative marker.

There are also other passive constructions, and especially, 'the impersonal passive' is widely used. Each verb has a special conjugation for the impersonal form, and it is used in cases where the agent is uncertain (here, it resembles the *on*-impersonal in French or the *man*-impersonal in German). The impersonal form may function like the passive voice in some contexts, but it also has some features that are inappropriate for the passive voice.

There are various analyses on the Irish 'be done' construction, but the studies concerning its semantics remain insufficient. Accordingly, in this dissertation, the author demonstrates that the ergative analysis is more appropriate for the construction concerned and explains its semantics with the term 'resultativity' through two types of research:

- Research A: Contrastive studies between Irish and English
- Research B: Studies using the electronic corpus

In Research A, the corpus contains a novel originally written in English, Rowling, J.K. (1997), *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* and its Irish translation, Nic Mhaoláin, Máire (2004) (tr.), *Harry Potter agus an Órchloch*, as well as a novel originally written in Irish, Ó Cadhain, Máirtín (1949) *Cré na Cille* and its English translation, Titley, Alan (2016) (tr.) *The Dirty Dust: Cré na Cille*.

Consequently, approximately 30% of the Irish 'be done' construction corresponds to the English passive construction, but most do not include an agent expressed by the preposition (e.g., 'Something is done'). By contrast, when the concerned Irish construction takes an agent (e.g., 'Something is done by someone'), it is more likely to correspond to the English perfect construction. In other words, when translated, the grammatical subject and object are interchanged (i.e., an Irish construction such as 'Something is done by someone' corresponds to an English construction 'Someone has done something'). This fact supports the ergative analysis, which some studies have proposed.

Furthermore, some English examples with the passive construction correspond to the Irish 'be done' construction, but others correspond to the Irish impersonal construction. It is likely that some events without a high degree of resultativity and with a semelfactive feature will show this type of correspondence.

Finally, some English examples with the perfect construction correspond to the Irish 'be done' construction, while almost half correspond to the Irish simple tense construction. In other words, even if the context is the one wherein the English perfect construction is used, the 'be done' construction does not necessarily appear.

In Research B, the electronic corpus *Nua-Chorpas na hÉireann* (The New Corpus for Ireland) is used. First, the author chooses 100 verbs on the basis of their frequency in the corpus, and, using these verbs, extracts examples with the simple tense construction and those with the 'be done' construction. Consequently, some verbs with a high degree of resultativity such as *sin* 'stretch' and *scríobh* 'write' are likely to be used in the 'be done' construction. Whereas motion or mental verbs such as *téigh* 'go' and *sil* 'think' are unlikely to be used in the concerned construction (although the motion verb *imigh* 'go out' has a very high acceptability of the construction concerned). In addition, among perception verbs, those of 'see' or 'hear' have more acceptability of the 'be done' construction compared with those of 'look' or 'listen'. These results must be relevant with the hierarchy of two-place predicates in Tsunoda (1985). In other words,

verbs with high acceptability are placed in a high position in this hierarchy so that they have a high degree of resultativity.

Some syntactic features are also considered. The most important fact is the following: patientive verbs (verbs of which one single argument in an intransitive usage corresponds to a patient in a transitive usage, such as *sín* 'stretch' and *dún* 'close') are more likely to be rendered in the 'be done' construction than agentive verbs (verbs of which one single argument in an intransitive usage corresponds to an agent in a transitive usage, such as *ith* 'eat' and *léigh* 'read'). This fact must be relevant with the degree of resultativity of each verb, but there must be another reason: in the former, the 'be done' construction can be formed from an intransitive usage (e.g., 'Something closes') and a transitive usage (e.g., 'Someone closes something'), while in the latter, it can be formed only from an intransitive usage (e.g., 'Someone eats something') but cannot be formed from a transitive usage (e.g., 'Someone eats'). In other words, when a patient does not appear in the event, the 'be done' construction cannot be formed.

Finally, based on the concept of the relative topicality proposed in Givón (1994), which is a typological study on the de-transitive constructions, the author compares the person of agents in the Irish 'be done' construction (prepositional phrases) and those in the Irish simple tense construction (grammatical subjects), as well as the person of agents in the Irish 'be done' construction (prepositional phrases) and those in the French passive construction (prepositional phrases). According to Givón (1994), the relative topicality of agents in the active voice is higher than that of patients, while the relative topicality of agents in the passive voice is even lower than that of patients. In other words, if the Irish 'be done' construction is characterized by a voice alternation, some difference concerning the topicality must be observed. Consequently, however, no clear difference is observed between the concerned Irish construction and the simple tense construction, and the first and second person agents appear even in the 'be done' construction. By contrast, agent phrases in the French passive construction are almost restricted to the third person, which is significantly different from the situation in Irish. The French passive construction can be characterized by a voice alternation, as the first and second person agents hardly appear, while in the Irish, no clear difference concerning the topicality between the two constructions emerges, implying that these are not voice alternations.

In the first chapter of the dissertation, the author presents, in brief, the grammar of and basic information on the Irish language; and in the second chapter, the author summarizes some previous research on the passive, the ergative, and the concerned Irish construction and proposes questions and problems to be solved.

In the third chapter, the author presents the study's methodology, in addition to detailed

information about the corpora, corpus for the contrastive study in Research A, and the Irish electronic corpus in Research B.

In the fourth chapter, the author describes the results of Research A: (1) English constructions corresponding to the Irish 'be done' construction, (2) Irish constructions corresponding to the English passive construction, (3) Irish constructions corresponding to the English perfect construction, and (4) other correspondences. Then, consideration is given to them.

In the fifth chapter, the author presents the results of Research B, roughly dividing the 100 verbs into nine groups based on their acceptability of the 'be done' construction and gives them consideration. Thereafter, the author classifies some of them into six semantic groups (i.e., consumption, perception, aspectual, motion, utterance, and mental verbs) and gives them consideration. In addition, based on the data, the author considers a correlation between the 'be done' construction and syntactic features or grammatical subjects. Finally, the author compares the concerned Irish construction and the simple tense construction, as well as the concerned construction and the French passive construction, and considers a typological positioning of the construction concerned.

In the sixth chapter, the author concludes the dissertation.