

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of the thesis

Passive expressions occurring in a wide range of languages have multiple diverse meanings and functions: personal or impersonal passive, transitive-based or intransitive-based passive, passives with the meaning of adversity or without any such meaning, etc. In previous research, such as Mikami (1953/1972: 98-112), Kuno (1973: 24), Shibatani (1978: 133-142) and Teramura (1982: 214-217), the assumption has been that the Japanese passive has dual semantic functions: adversative and neutral. Objecting to this view, Klaiman (1987: 429) maintains that all passive *-rare* expressions in Japanese convey a nuance of ‘affect’, and basically fall into a single semantic type. However, the present research takes a stance that differs from both of the views above. It considers the Japanese passive neither as having the semantic dichotomy of adversative and neutral nor as carrying a single semantic role, but, as with passives in many other languages, to be semantically multi-functioned.

Amongst the diverse meanings and functions passive constructions hold, such as defocusing the ‘actor’, describing the subject’s attribute, and so on, the primary one is related to the perspective from which the event is described. When you try to describe a scene, you have several options depending on the perspective you would take. This study considers that passives in Japanese portray an event or situation from the point of view of

an affected entity.

Previous research, such as Kuno (1973: 24) and Teramura (1982: 214-217), has claimed a simplistic and apparently transparent correlation between syntactic and semantic distinctions of the Japanese passive. The present study rejects these direct correlations, but nevertheless maintains that a correlation between syntactic features and semantic types does exist. In fact, this study demonstrates complex and sophisticated correlations between syntax and semantics in the case of Japanese passive constructions. In examining authentic data, it becomes evident that the correlation is much more subtle than has generally been recognised, and that is a matter of degree or continuum, rather than a discrete, black and white issue.

From the standpoint declared above, the current thesis recognises three types of affectedness in Japanese passive constructions: emotive affectedness, direct / physical affectedness, and objective affectedness. The special meaning of emotive affectedness associated with only some Japanese passives, often referred to as ‘adversative’ meaning, and has drawn attention from many researchers. This meaning is primarily syntactically motivated; however, several parameters of semantic transitivity also play an important role. Direct / physical affectedness is detected mainly in the construction here referred to as the direct sentient passive. This meaning is quite common in passives in many other languages, including English. The last type – objective affectedness – is primarily associated with ‘non-sentient passives’, more specifically with what is here called the plain passive. In this

type a non-sentient entity appears in the subject position. This meaning is also related to Aktionsart¹. Boundaries between these three types of affectedness are not discrete: instead we can see these notions of affectedness as a matter of degree.

The present study has three main aims. The first aim is to clarify and classify all the functions of passives in Japanese. The second aim is to tackle and solve the well-known issue of the ‘adversative meaning’, referred to in this thesis as the ‘special meaning of emotive affectedness’, which is associated with only some types of passive in Japanese. The final aim is the ultimate goal of this thesis. That is to reveal how the multi-functioned Japanese passives actually appear in real contexts.

This research uses authentic written and spoken data for analysis, in order to portray how Japanese passives are actually used. Only a limited number of examples have been generated on the evidence of native-speaker intuition, for the sake of simplifying the explanation. Ways of simplifying include omission of adverbial clauses, noun-modifying clauses and sentence final particles that do not affect the interpretation of passive. Previous research on these constructions has had tendency to rely heavily on inauthentic data, made up by the researchers themselves. Once again, it is only by looking at authentic examples, in the context in which they originally occurred, that we can fully understand the real meanings and functions of these constructions.

¹ The term Aktionsart is used here, following Klaiman (1987: 401 & 432), to refer to ‘the inherent aspectual character of the verb’, or ‘the range of temporal characters which are ascribable to some verbally denoted action purely in virtue of the verb’s lexical sense’.

For the written data for this study, we used the CD-Rom collection of Japanese novels, *Shinchô Bunko no Hyakusatsu* (One hundred Shinchô Paperbacks). For the spoken data, the collection of *Josei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Women's Language – Workplace section) and *Dansei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Men's Language – Workplace section), commercially available on CD-Rom, were used.

The thesis consists of six chapters. The current chapter gives an overview of the background to the thesis. It has three main parts. After outlining the thesis statement and taking a general view of the thesis in this section, Section 1.2 deals with the data used in the study in detail, and Section 1.3, motivation for the use of authentic data. The rest of Chapter 1, Sections 1.4 – 1.7, is devoted to the theoretical background, including the notion of passive itself, and other basic and essential terms and concepts related to the study of Japanese passive constructions.

As mentioned above, the passive *-(r)are* construction in Japanese has multiple semantic functions, from describing the subject's attribute to depicting a situation in which the subject is somehow affected by an event. In order to clarify these functions, in Chapter 2, the controversial issue of the classification of Japanese passives in previous research is reexamined. Chapter 3 then presents the new classification used in this thesis. The current research raises an objection to the previous claim of a direct correlation between the syntactic and semantic distinctions - more specifically the correspondence between the indirect passive and the adversative passive on the one hand, and that between the direct

passive and the neutral passive on the other. Instead we propose separate sets of categories for each syntactic and semantic distinction. This study then demonstrates that correlation between syntax and semantics in Japanese passives is much more subtle and complex than has generally been recognised. In dealing with real life data, it becomes apparent that this issue of correlation between syntax and semantics can never be seen as a simple, black and white matter.

After presenting the classification of Japanese passives in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 investigates the type with the special emotive affectedness, widely known as the ‘adversative passive’ in previous research. The term ‘adversative passive’ has presumably been used because, in most cases, the emotive nuance is adversative. However, we note cases in which the emotive undertone cannot be considered ‘adversative’. It is therefore referred to in this thesis as having a ‘special meaning of emotive affectedness’. We will focus on examining under what circumstances the special nuance appears, and suggest why such a nuance occurs at all.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the findings of the data analysis are discussed in detail. In Section 5.2, numerical findings on the syntactic and semantic categories of passive, the nature of the ‘actor’ and the subject, the occurrence in noun-modifying clauses, and the kind of propositional meanings that occur are fully discussed. Some findings confirm the claims made in previous research, such as the high frequency of passives without an overt ‘actor’, and of passives with a negative propositional meaning.

Other findings completely contradict previous claims, such as the large proportion of passives with a non-sentient subject. This research also finds that the frequency of the occurrence of the indirect passive, the major focus of previous studies of Japanese passives, seems, in fact, to be very low.

The last section of Chapter 5 deals mainly with the issue of how central the role played by the referent of the subject is to the event: how important this is and how it affects the propositional meaning of the passive sentence.

1.2 About the data used in this thesis

In this research we have primarily used authentic written and spoken data for analysis, in order to reveal how Japanese passives are actually used.

1.2.1 Written data

For the written data of this study, we collected 679 passive examples from ten different novels. Using the CD-Rom collection of Japanese novels, *Shinchô Bunko no Hyakusatsu* (One hundred Shinchô Paperbacks), we first selected the fifteen most recent novels in the collection. The author's gender and age at the time s/he wrote the novel are then noted, and

ten were chosen from among the fifteen, aiming for the best balance possible with regard to these variables. Authors of the selected novels were all in their 20s to 50s at the time s/he wrote the novel. Although there are some other more recent novels written by male authors, Takano's novel was chosen in order to keep a good balance in the numbers of male and female authors. Details of the novels selected are given below:

Author's Name	Year	Age	Gender	Title	Type of novel	Passive Nos
Akagawa, Jiro	1984	36	Male	<i>Onna Shacho ni Kanpai!</i> 'Cheers to Madam President!'	Narrative set in 1980s Tokyo	31
Fujiwara, Masahiko	1978	35	Male	<i>Wakaki Sugakusha no America</i> 'A Young Mathematician in America'	First person novel set in 1970s US	85
Miyamoto, Teru	1982	35	Male	<i>Kinshu</i> 'Gold Brocade'	Narrative set in 1970s Japan	69
Murakami, Haruki	1985	36	Male	<i>Sekai no Owari to Hadoboirudo Wandarando</i> 'The End of the World and the Hard-boiled Wonderland'	Narrative set in future Japan	69
Sawaki, Kotaro	1981	34	Male	<i>Isshun no Natsu</i> 'Summer in a Split Second'	Narrative set in 1970s Tokyo	74
Shiina, Makoto	1991	47	Male	<i>Shinbashi Karasumoriguchi Seishun-hen</i> 'Shinbashi Station, Karasumori Exit – In My Young Days'	First person novel set in 1980s Tokyo	31
Shiono, Nanami	1991	54	Female	<i>Konsutantinopuru no Kanraku</i> 'Fall of Constantinople'	Historical novel set in 15 th century Constantinople	157
Sono, Ayako	1979	48	Female	<i>Taro Monogatari</i> 'Taro's Story'	Narrative set in 1970s Japan	51
Takano, Etsuko	1971	22	Female	<i>Hatachi no Genten</i> 'The Origin of Twenty Years of Age'	First person novel set in 1960s Japan	39
Tsutsui, Yasutaka	1981	47	Male	<i>Edipusu no Koibito</i> 'Oedipus's Lover'	Narrative set in future Japan	73

We searched the middle 100 pages of each novel. However, note that this CD-Rom version of the novels contains 320 characters per page, half that of a normal Japanese paperback. The written corpus was thus equivalent in length to approximately 500 pages of a hard copy Japanese paperback.

1.2.2 Spoken data

For the spoken data, the collections of *Josei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Women's Language – Workplace section) and *Dansei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Men's Language – Workplace section), commercially available on CD-Rom², were used. 169 passive examples out of a total of 16921 utterances were found in these spoken data collections.

The 'Women's Language' corpus was originally compiled for the study of the actual conditions of the spoken language of women by 'Gendai Nihongo Kenkyukai' (Society of Contemporary Japanese Language Studies). Recordings were made during the period September 1993 to November 1993 in the Tokyo Metropolitan area. The subjects are 19 working women in their 20s to 50s. A breakdown of the subjects by age group and occupation is shown below:

² When the data analysis for this research was conducted, CD-Rom for 'Men's Language' corpus was not yet commercially available. I am indebted to one of the compilers, Dr Haruko Hayakawa, for the use of the pre-publication version of the CD-Rom.

Subject's code	Age group	Occupation
01	20s	Company employee (office job)
02	20s	Company employee (office job)
03	30s	Company employee (editing)
04	50s	University Lecturer
05	40s	Company executive
06	40s	Company employee (editing)
07	40s	University assistant
08	50s	Primary school teacher
09	30s	Senior high school teacher
10	40s	Public servant (office job)
11	20s	Company employee (sales)
12	50s	Public servant (office job)
13	20s	Company employee (office job)
14	20s	Public servant (University office)
15	30s	Company employee (planning)
16	30s	Company employee (editing)
17	30s	Company employee (editing)
18	40s	Public servant (research assistant)
19	40s	Public servant (research assistant)

In this collection 11421 utterances were searched, and 76 passive examples were found.

The 'Men's Language' corpus was recorded during the period October 1999 to December 2000 in the Tokyo Metropolitan area, also by 'Gendai Nihongo Kenkyukai'

(Society of Contemporary Japanese Language Studies). The subjects are 21 working men in their 20s to 50s. Detailed information of the subjects' age group and occupation is presented below:

Subject's code	Age group	Occupation
01	40s	Pharmacy owner
02	50s	University employee
03	30s	Company employee (sales)
04	20s	Company employee (sales)
05	50s	Company employee (engineer)
06	40s	University Lecturer
07	30s	Company employee (sales)
08	40s	Company employee (office job)
09	40s	Car manufacturer/ mechanic
10	50s	Company employee (technical)
11	40s	Senior high school teacher
12	50s	Company owner
13	20s	Research institute employee – part-time
14	30s	Hairdresser
15	20s	Insurance company employee (sales)
16	40s	Insurance company employee (sales)
17	30s	Company employee (call centre)
18	20s	University employee (library)
19	20s	University employee (library)
20	50s	Senior high school teacher
21	30s	Musician

In this database, 5500 utterances were searched³, and 103 instances of the passive were found.

If written and spoken data are combined, altogether 848 passive examples have been analysed in this study. Both the written and the spoken data are consistent in terms of writers'/ speakers' age group, as they are all in their 20s to 50s. Moreover, all the data were fairly contemporary; written or recorded during the period of 1971 to 2000.

1.2.3 Examples in the text of this thesis

This research mainly uses authentic written and spoken data for analysis, described in detail in the sections above. Only a limited number of examples have been generated on the evidence of native-speaker intuition, for the sake of simplifying the explanation. With each example from the written data, the author and the page number are given in square brackets, as in the example (1) below:

(1) Meimon to **iw-are-ru** kono si no Koowa-tyuugaku, ... [Tsutsui 376]

Prestigious QUOT say-PASS-PRES this city GEN Kowa.Junior.High.School

‘The Kowa junior high school in this city, which **is said** to be a prestigious school, ...’

³ The pre-publication version used contains 5500 utterances. However, the commercially available version has a total of 11000 utterances.

For the spoken data, the following information is given in square brackets: the abbreviation of the source ('Josei' for *Josei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Women's Language – Workplace section) and 'Dansei' for *Dansei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Men's Language – Workplace section)), the utterance number, and the speaker's gender, age and occupation, as in example (2) below:

- (2) Ee, Nihonzin no kanari ooku no hito ga desu nee, Bukkyoo
 Well Japanese.people GEN fairly many GEN people NOM COP-PRES Buddhism
 sinzya tosite **kazoer-are-te** i-mas-u. [Dansei 2704: male, 45, University Lecturer]
 believer as count-PASS-CONJ be-POL-PRES
 'Well, quite a large number of Japanese people **are**, uh, **counted** as Buddhists.'

In the few cases in which no source is noted, the example has been created by the current author on the evidence of native-speaker intuition, as in example (3) below:

- (3) Nobuko wa keisatu ni **utagaw-are-te** ir-u.
 Nobuko TOP police by suspect-PASS-CONJ be-PRES
 'Nobuko **is suspected** by the police.'

1.3 Motivation for the use of authentic data

Chomsky (1957) claimed that a fundamental goal of linguistic enquiry should be to develop a theory which mirrors a cognitively plausible model of language. What has to be observed is language competence – internalized knowledge of a language – rather than performance – external evidence of language competence (McEnery & Wilson 1996: 5). Chomsky, therefore, suggested that the observation of naturally occurring data could never be meaningful to linguistics enquiry.

Gathering data by using introspection has a great advantage. You can gather data anytime you want, and gather only data that is relevant to your study. However, the process of a speaker's introspective judgement is unverifiable. In contrast, as McEnery & Wilson (1996: 12) suggest, authentic data is both more public and more objective. Anyone can observe the naturally occurring data. Observations of actual data are more objectively verifiable than observations based on introspective judgement. This is the reason why it is important to look at naturally occurring data.

Furthermore, the ultimate goal of this thesis is to reveal how Japanese passives actually appear in real contexts. Authentic data, in the context in which they originally occurred, is the most reliable source that portrays the actual usage of these constructions. By observing natural examples in context, we can fully understand the real meanings and functions of Japanese passive constructions.

1.4 Definition of passive

The definition of passive has been a centre of controversy for quite some time. Many attempts have been made to characterise the passive from a number of different points of view: morphological, syntactic, semantic, functional/pragmatic, and so forth. In this research, Shibatani's (1985) prototype approach is adopted, which begins by defining the passive prototype, and then considers how close various constructions are to that prototype. However, in order to view this approach in a broader context, first let us take a general look at some of the other main positions.

Transformational Grammarians describe passives in relation to changes brought about in the structural characteristics of the clause, such as linear ordering and relative dominance (Chomsky 1965, Lakoff 1971, Hasegawa 1968, and Langacker & Munro 1975). Linear order is related to the position of a NP relative to the verb. Keenan (1975: 343) points out that this characterisation must be highly language specific. Under the transformational characterisation, English passive applies to any structure that requires 'an NP immediately followed by a verb, followed by another NP'. It would clearly not be applicable in many other languages, such as SOV and VSO languages. In terms of relative dominance, Keenan (1975: 343) also suggests that, although subject is usually 'the highest' NP, the distinction between subject and direct object in terms of dominance is not clear in 'free word order' languages, such as Tagalog (Schachter and Otones 1972) and Walbiri

(Hale 1967).

Relational Grammarians, such as Perlmutter and Postal (1974, 1977: 399) have also argued against the Transformational approach. They stress the change in grammatical relations in characterising the passive. Their emphasis is on the direct object nominal at a transitive level becoming a subject nominal at the next level, passive. As a result, 'the active SUBJECT case ceases to bear any grammatical relation to its verb'. This approach, however, does not accommodate cases where a non-direct object can be passivised.

In criticising the Transformational Grammarians' view, discussed above, and modifying the theory of Perlmutter and Postal (1974), Keenan (1975: 340) regards passivisation primarily as a process of the demotion of the agent from the subject position, with the promotion of a non-agent to subject status viewed as a consequence. In this approach the emphasis is on the demotion of agent.

However, Keenan's view still can not be adapted to instances that do not involve promotion of any participant to the subject position, such as impersonal passives, as indicated by Comrie (1977: 47-48). Comrie suggests the idea of spontaneous demotion, or removal, of a subject in the impersonal passive. In this construction, the 'underlying subject' has been demoted spontaneously, not related to the promotion of some other participant to subject, and appears as an oblique object. Consider the following examples from Welsh (Comrie 1977: 55):

- (4) a. Fe'i lladdod ddraig.
 him killed dragon
 'A dragon killed him.'
- b. Fe'i lladdwyd (gan ddraig).
 him was-killed by dragon
 'He was killed by a dragon.'

A direct object in the corresponding active sentence (4a), *fe'i* 'him', stays as a direct object in the impersonal passive sentence (4b). No other participant is promoted to the subject position, therefore (4b) does not have a subject. Nevertheless the 'underlying subject', *draig* 'a dragon', is removed from the subject position in (4a), and appears as an oblique object in (4b). Comrie (1977: 55) claims that this is a lucid illustration of spontaneous demotion of the 'underlying subject'.

Givon (1979:186), who takes an explicitly functional stance in his discussion of passive, also criticises Keenan's (1975: 340) theory since it 'disregards the function of passives'. Givon (1979:186) defines the passive as follows, focusing on its functional characteristics:

Passivization is the process by which a nonagent is promoted into the role of main topic of the sentence. And to the extent that the language possesses coding

properties which identify main topics as subjects and distinguishes them from topics, then this promotion may also involve subjectivalization. (Emphasis in the original.)

In the definition above, Givon (1979:186) manages to portray the functional properties of passive to a certain extent. However, his approach meets opposition from Shibatani (1985: 830), since it still prioritises the promotion of a non-agent.

As opposed to Givon's argument (1979:186), and further developing the line of Comrie (1977: 48) and Keenan's (1975: 340) approaches, Shibatani (1985: 830) claims that the primary pragmatic function of the passive is 'agent-defocusing'. His argument is that, first of all, there are some passives that do not involve the promotion of any non-agent participant to subject, as Comrie (1977: 47-48) suggests regarding impersonal passives. Shibatani (1985: 831) also claims that the fact that passive sentences do not usually involve an overt 'agent' in the clause shows that 'their fundamental function has to do with the defocusing of agents'.

Following Shibatani (1985: 830), Givon (2001: 125) later revises his earlier view, and claims that the primary function of the prototypical passive voice is to demote or defocus the agent. Givon (2001: 126) also mentions the high frequency of the passive without an overt agent in four languages. This is illustrated in the table below (Givon 2001: 126):

Percent of non-anaphoric zero agents in active and passive clauses in narrative text

Language	Voice construction	
	Active	Passive
Chamorro (Cooreman 1987)	0%	93.5%
Modern Greek (Roland 1994)	0%	93.0%
Karao (Brainard 1994)	0%	90.5%
English (Givon 1979a)	/	80.0%

As will be seen in Section 5.2.2, in our Japanese data search also, nearly 80% of the passive clauses do not involve an overt ‘agent’ in the clause. Along with Shibatani (1985: 831), Givon (2001: 126) also suggests that the fact that a large proportion of passives do not involve an overt ‘agent’ demonstrates that ‘agent’ suppression is the foremost function of the passive voice.

In analysing the correlations of passives to other related constructions, Shibatani (1985: 821-822) also proposes a prototype approach to characterise the passive. He claims that it is meaningless to discuss whether or not a given construction should come under the passive domain. Rather, since various constructions are lined up along a continuum, the real question is how much the construction is related to or differs from the prototype. Shibatani (1985: 837) characterises the passive prototype as follows:

Characterization of the passive prototype

- a. Primary pragmatic function: Defocusing of agent.
- b. Semantic properties:
 - (i) Semantic valence: Predicate (agent, patient).
 - (ii) Subject is affected.
- c. Syntactic properties:
 - (i) Syntactic encoding: agent \rightarrow 0 (not encoded).
patient \rightarrow subject.
 - (ii) Valence of P[redicate]: Active = P/n;
Passive = P/n-1.
- d. Morphological property:

Active = P;
Passive = P [+passive].

This prototype is advocated with a view to the universal characterisation of the passive prototype. This study, however, deals principally with Japanese passives. It is therefore necessary, in this thesis, to modify Shibatani's characterisation of passive slightly in order to accommodate the features of Japanese passive constructions. Japanese passives do not include impersonal passives (like those Comrie exemplifies in Welsh), and all the passives in Japanese involve a subject from whose perspective the event is described, although this subject is often elided in the clause. In this research, therefore, the fundamental function of Japanese passives is considered as bringing the focus to the subject, regardless of whether it is promoted from non-agent or not. The defocusing of the agent is regarded as the second important function of passives in this language. In the case of Japanese passives, then,

criterion (a) above is revised as follows:

Characterisation of the passive prototype (in Japanese)

- a. Primary pragmatic function: Bringing focus to subject.
Secondary pragmatic function: Defocusing of agent.

As an example of the prototypical passive, consider the following example from the data used from this study:

(5) a. Teki wa ooku no hito o totunyuu tyokugo.ni korosi-ta.

Enemy TOP many GEN people ACC break-in right.after kill-PAST

‘The enemy killed many people right after the break-in.’

b. Ooku no hito wa totunyuu tyokugo.ni (teki ni) **koros-are-ta**.

Many GEN people TOP break-in right.after (enemy by) kill-PASS-PAST

‘Many people **were killed** right after the enemy’s break-in.’ [Shiono 409, modified]

Example (5b) satisfies all the criteria for the prototypical passive of Japanese passive: its subject (many people) is focused, even topicalised; its ‘agent’ (the enemy) is defocused and is not encoded; its active counterpart (5a) involves an ‘agent’ (the enemy) and a patient (many people); and the patient becomes the passive subject which is affected by the event; its valence is decreased by 1 compared to its active counterpart (5a); its verb involves the passive morpheme, *-(r)are*.

Next, let us consider a non-prototypical case. The indirect passive in Japanese differs from the passive prototype above in several respects. Consider the example below:

(6) a. Kodomo ga bonnetto no ue ni not-te tatoozyoos-ita koto nado

Children NOM bonnet GEN top on get.on-CONJ be.stuck-PAST case etc.

mo at-ta.

even there.is-PAST

b. (Watasi wa) (kodomo ni) bonnetto no ue ni **nor-are-te** tatoozyoos-ita

(I TOP) (children by) bonnet GEN top on get.on-PASS-CONJ be.stuck-PAST

koto nado mo at-ta. [Fujiwara 340]

case etc. even there.is-PAST

‘Furthermore there even was a time when I was stuck because (the kids) **got on** the bonnet (of my car).’

Since an indirect passive like example (6b) is an intransitive-based passive, it does not involve a patient. It also differs from the prototype in that it increases rather than decreases the valence of the verb root by 1, compared to the closest active equivalent (6a). Despite these facts, in this thesis, this kind of passive is regarded as passive, as it fulfils the most important factors of the passive prototype: the focus is brought to the subject, I, (although elided in the sentence (6b)); the event is described from the point of view of the subject. Moreover, the ‘agent’ (‘the kids’ in example (6b)) is defocused and is not encoded. This kind of passive also satisfies the last criterion of passive prototype: its verb includes the

passive morpheme, *-(r)are*.

Grounded on the discussion above, this research considers the subject focusing and the ‘agent’ defocusing to be the key functional criteria of the passive. The indirect passive in Japanese (as in example (6b)), along with the direct passive (as in example (5b)), therefore, is regarded as passive to the extent that it involves these primary and secondary functions of passive, bringing focus to the subject and defocusing an ‘agent’, and it shares the passive morpheme, *-(r)are*.

1.5 *-(r)are* constructions in Japanese

In Japanese, the verbal morpheme *-(r)are* is used in spontaneous, potential and honorific constructions, as well as in the passive construction. However, the main focus of discussion in previous research has been the passive use of *-(r)are*, and the non-passive uses of *-(r)are* have not attracted much attention. In this section, we will briefly examine the relationship between the passive use and the non-passive uses of *-(r)are*. Examples of these four uses of the *-(r)are* construction – passive, spontaneous, potential and honorific – follows:

(7) **passive use**

Otoko wa keibiin ni mise kara **hooridas-are-ta**.

Man TOP security.guard by shop from throw.out-RARE-PAST

‘The man **was thrown out** from the shop by a security guard.’

(8) **spontaneous use**

Syoogatu ni naru to (watasi ni wa) hurusato ga **omoidas-are-ru**.

New.year DAT become when (I DAT TOP) home.town NOM recall-RARE-PRES

‘When the New Year comes, I (always) **remember** my home town.’

(9) **potential use**

Watasi (ni) wa niku ryoori ga **tabe-rare-nai**.

I (DAT) TOP meat dish NOM eat-RARE-NEG

‘I **cannot eat** meat dishes.’

(10) **honorific use**

Takada sensei wa sensyuu Doitu ni **tat-are-ta**.

Takada teacher TOP last.week Germany to leave-RARE-PAST

‘Professor Takada **left** for Germany last week (honorific).’

In terms of the historical development of $-(r)are$ morphology, in the Nara period (7th century) the antecedent of $-(r)are$, $-yu / rayu$, was mainly used, and later $-ru / raru$ became dominant. Shibatani (2000: 163) mentions that because $-yu / rayu$ did not have an honorific use at all, and that the honorific use of $-ru / raru$ was not acquired until after the 8th century. For these reasons the honorific use is thought to have developed later than the spontaneous, potential and passive uses.

Shibatani also observes that before the Heian period (9th century), the potential

use of *-ru/raru* only occurred in a negative context. This is the reason why he infers that the potential use developed later than the spontaneous and passive uses. Before the 7th century, therefore, Shibatani suggests that *-yu/rayu* was primarily used for the spontaneous and the passive.

For the period for which there are no surviving records, Hosoe (1928) maintains that, in Japanese, the spontaneous and the passive formed the middle voice, and were represented by the same morpheme, *-yu/rayu*. Shibatani (2000: 166) further develops Hosoe's view and takes a stance that even before that period, the opposition between active and spontaneous was held, and the passive use was derived from the spontaneous use.

To sum up the historical development of the *-(r)are* constructions, the primary use of *-(r)are*, or its antecedents *-yu / rayu* and *ru / raru*, in classical Japanese was for the spontaneous, and all other uses were developed later. First, the passive was derived from the spontaneous, then the potential and finally the honorific. In this sense, the passive, potential and honorific are all connected to the spontaneous in some way. However, as Shibatani (2000: 161) points out, this is a historical matter, and it has not yet been determined whether or not the common basis or core meaning of *-(r)are* constructions can be accepted as a synchronic grammatical knowledge.

Shibatani (2000: 162) states that, in general, morphological or syntactic similarities between constructions are due to the fact that one construction was historically

developed from the other. In this case, however, the similarities may be merely historical inheritance, and the connection between the constructions might not have any synchronic meaning. Ambiguity between independent constructions can be due to morphological polysemy. Therefore, Shibatani (2000: 162) claims that the fact that one sentence can be interpreted as passive or honorific, does not prove that these two constructions share a common basis today. He suggests that we need to examine how these constructions coexist in the modern Japanese language (the synchronic aspect) as well as the historical development of these constructions (the diachronic aspect).

Next, let us examine the differences and similarities of the four uses of *-(r)are* constructions in contemporary Japanese, in order to clarify the connection between the constructions, more specifically to elucidate the relationship between the passive use and other uses of *-(r)are* in the modern Japanese language (the synchronic aspect). Consider the examples (7) – (10), cited again below:

(7) **passive use**

Otoko wa keibiin ni mise kara **hooridas-are-ta**.

Man TOP security.guard by shop from throw.out-RARE-PAST

‘The man **was thrown out** from the shop by a security guard.’

(8) **spontaneous use**

Syoogatu ni naru to (watasi ni wa)urusato ga **omoidas-are-ru**.

New.year DAT become when (I DAT TOP) home.town NOM recall-RARE-PRES

‘When the New Year comes, I (always) **remember** my home town.’

(9) **potential use**

Watasi (ni) wa niku ryoori ga **tabe-rare-nai**.

I (DAT) TOP meat dish NOM eat-RARE-NEG

‘I **cannot eat** meat dishes.’

(10) **honorific use**

Takada sensei ga sensyuu Doitu ni **tat-are-ta**.

Takada teacher NOM last.week Germany to leave-RARE-PAST

‘Professor Takada **left** for Germany last week (honorific).’

The honorific use seems totally different from other three in that it has the same perspective as that of a non-honorific active clause. In the honorific example (10), the agent is marked by *ga*, in the same way as in an unmarked active clause without *-(r)are*. In fact, it does not involve any change in case marking compared to the corresponding active clause without *-(r)are*.

The spontaneous example (8) and the potential example (9) are almost identical in terms of case marking. They both have the agent (*watashi* ‘I’ in both sentences) marked by dative particle *ni* when it appears, this *ni* often being complemented or replaced by the topic marker *wa*. The passive example (7), in fact, also has the agent (*keibiin* ‘security guard’) marked by dative *ni*. However, unlike the agent in the spontaneous or the potential clause, it is very rare for the dative *ni* marked agent in the passive clause to be topicalised.

This is clearly related to the fact that the passive serves to defocus this participant. Another noticeable point is that the passive clause, the spontaneous clause and the potential clause all have an Undergoer marked by nominative particle *ga*. In the case of the passive use, this *ga* is often replaced by topic marker *wa*. The Undergoer in the potential use (*niku ryoori* ‘meat dishes’ in (9)) can also be topicalised, whereas the Undergoer in the spontaneous use (*hurusato* ‘home town’ in (8)) rarely can. We, therefore, conclude that these three uses – the passive, the spontaneous and the potential – are fundamentally different in terms of the perspective from which the event is described. The passive clause usually describes the situation from the point of view of the Undergoer, whereas in the spontaneous clause the event is portrayed from the agent’s perspective. The potential clause can portray the dual perspective of the agent and the Undergoer.

Moreover, in modern Japanese (synchronically), Shibatani (2000: 173) claims that the passive and the spontaneous are closely related in terms of forming a voice opposition with the active. However, he considers the potential and the honorific as existing on another level as they were developed through pragmatic motivation. Shibatani also states that the potential construction describes a state, and it belongs to the domain of modality rather than that of voice, although it is close to the spontaneous semantically. In contrast, it is hard to find synchronic affinity in the development from spontaneous to honorific.

In considering the discussion above, in this research, we recognise the way each

of the four functions of *-(r)are* developed historically, and the similarities and differences among the four. We also acknowledge that there probably is some core meaning common to all four uses of *-(r)are*, but we regard each of the four uses of *-(r)are* as an independent construction. Therefore, we will only deal with the passive use of *-(r)are* in this thesis.

1.6 Basic terms and concepts

In this section, we will define and illustrate the basic terms and concepts used in this research. First, Section 1.6.1 deals with clarifying the difference in verb types in Japanese: the transitive verb and the intransitive verb, and the unaccusative verb and the unergative verb. In Section 1.6.2, we will discuss the concepts of ‘Actor’ and ‘Undergoer’, introduced in Foley and Van Valin (1984: 28-29), in comparison with thematic roles defined in previous research. Section 1.6.3 describes how sentience constrains certain constructions in Japanese, especially passive, and considers the concepts of ‘sentient’ and ‘non-sentient’.

1.6.1 Verb types in Japanese

One way of classifying Japanese verbs is to divide them into three groups: the transitive verb, the unaccusative intransitive verb and the unergative intransitive verb. First, we will divide verbs into two groups using the traditional distinction of transitive and intransitive

verbs. I will then introduce the notion of unaccusative and unergative verbs, following Kageyama (1995: 43) which roughly corresponds to Mikami's distinction of inactive and active verbs (in Mikami 1953, 1972). It is the intransitive verbs that are subdivided into these two groups: unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. Finally, we lay down a definition of these two subcategories of intransitive verb used in this thesis, applying Dixon's (1994: 6-8) concepts of S, A, and O.

1.6.1.1 Transitive and intransitive verbs

There are several theories with regard to the distinction between syntactically transitive verbs and intransitive verbs in Japanese. I will define syntactically transitive □ verbs here simply as those which have an object marked by particle *o* (excluding deictic motion verbs for which the *o*-marked NP signals the ground covered, such as (*miti o*) *iku* 'go along the street' and (*heya o*) *deru* 'leave the room'), and those which have a single dative object marked by particle *ni*, such as *hoeru* 'to bark', *tobituku* 'jump at', *horeru* 'fall in love', etc. Nomura (1995) calls this second group *ni*-transitive verbs. There are also quite a large number of verbs which have both an accusative object marked by *o* and a dative object marked by *ni*, such as *susumeru* 'to recommend', *osieru* 'to teach', *tanomu* 'to ask (a favour)'. They are often called ditransitive verbs and are grouped here in the broad category of transitive verbs. If the verb is not identified as a syntactically transitive verb by these criteria, then it would be considered as an intransitive verb.

1.6.1.2 Unaccusative and unergative verbs

The subgroups of syntactically intransitive verbs – unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs – are widely recognised by GB theorists, Relational Grammarians and Lexical Functional Grammarians. Among Japanese linguists, these categories have also been widely discussed. Motoori Haruniwa noted the distinction in the early 19th century, of ‘*onozukara sikaru*’ (something happens by itself, something comes about naturally) and ‘*mizukara sika suru*’ (do something by oneself) (Motoori 1828). Mikami (1972) also classified Japanese verbs into ‘inactive’, which correspond to the unaccusative verbs, ‘active’, which correspond to the unergative verbs together with the transitive verbs. More recently, Miyagawa (1989), Sagawa (1991), Kageyama (1995: 43) and some other linguists have begun to look again at these two basic types of verbs in Japanese.

Although Dixon does not utilize the terms unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs, he, too, mentions the distinction between these two basic types of intransitive verb (Dixon 1994: 53). Since his definition is very clear and useful in comprehending the concept as it relates to Japanese passives, we will consider it below.

First, Dixon (1994: 6-8) states the premise that all languages work in terms of three primitive relations:

S – intransitive subject

A – transitive subject

O – transitive object

Dixon (1994: 7) maintains that in an intransitive clause, the single core argument is mapped onto S. In terms of the two core arguments in a transitive clause, one is mapped onto A and the other onto O.

In investigating verb classes, Dixon (1994: 7) recognises a number of ‘semantic roles’ associated with predicates – different ‘semantic roles’ with different ‘semantic types’ of predicates. ‘Some of the semantic types of verbs which appear’ in all languages are summarised below (with Dixon’s examples from English):

SEMANTIC TYPES	Semantic Roles
AFFECT, e.g. hit, cut, burn	Agent, Manip (thing manipulated), Target
GIVING, e.g. give, lend, pay	Donor, Gift, Recipient
SPEAKING, e.g. talk, tell, order	Speaker, Addressee, Message
ATTENTION, e.g. see, hear, watch	Perceiver, Impression

Dixon (1994: 8) claims that it is ‘the Agent for an AFFECT verb, Donor for a GIVING verb, Speaker for a SPEAKING verb, Perceiver for an ATTENTION verb and so on, that is placed in the A function. If there are just two core roles, then the one not identified as A

will be mapped onto O.

Regarding intransitives, Dixon (1994: 53) states that ‘for some intransitive verbs the referent of the S NP would be likely to be the controller of the activity, e.g. “jump”, “speak”; this subtype of S can be called Sa. For other verbs the referent of the S NP is not likely to control the event but may be affected by it, e.g. “break”, “die”, “yawn” – this can be called So’.

In the light of Dixon’s definition, we will define the two types of intransitive verbs as follows: □ □

Unergative verb: is one that has Sa, which □ performs the action described by the verb intentionally, and could “initiate or control” the event in the same way as A, the subject of an archetypal transitive clause.

e.g. *okiru* ‘to get up’, *nigeru* ‘to run away’, *yasumu* ‘to rest’, etc.

Unaccusative verb: is one that has So, which is semantically more like O, the object of a transitive clause, in that is not thought of as controlling the event but is involved in the event described by the verb unintentionally.

e.g. *kimaru* ‘to be decided’, *sakeru* ‘to tear’, *tokeru* ‘to melt’, etc.

Note that there are some intransitive verbs, such as *agaru* ‘to go up/rise’ and *uturu* ‘to

move / permeate’, which can hold both unergative and unaccusative interpretations, generally depending on the animacy of S.

Mikami’s (1972) notion of inactive and active verbs is based on the applicability of passivisation. He classifies verbs that cannot appear in passive clauses as ‘inactive’ verbs, and ones that can occur in passives as ‘active’ verbs. Kageyama (1995: 59) also mentions that unaccusative verbs cannot occur in passive constructions, especially in indirect passives. In Chapter 4, we will argue against this claim, showing evidence of such use in Japanese novels. We also examine the context in which such verbs are used and the implications of their use in such context. □

1.6.2 Actor and Undergoer

In adopting Dowty’s (1979) scheme of lexical decomposition based on Vendler’s (1967) verb classification system, Foley and Van Valin (1984: 27-32) introduce the notion of the semantic macroroles, ‘Actor’ and ‘Undergoer’. They mention that ‘actor and undergoer are the two arguments in a transitive predication, either one of which may be the single argument of an intransitive verb’ (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 27). If one assumes, in classifying verbs, that there are several semantic types, as Dowty does, each type of verb assigns a different thematic role to the subject and to the object. (This is similar to Dixon’s view as seen in Section 1.6.1.2.) For instance, the basic thematic role of the subject of a

type I verb might be ‘Agent’, and that of its object, ‘Patient’. A type II verb might have different thematic role for the subject and for the object, and so forth. Foley and Van Valin (1984: 28-32) propose the macroroles ‘Actor’ and ‘Undergoer’ to represent all the roles basic to the two core arguments in all types of transitive clause proposed by Dowty (1979). Either ‘Actor’ or ‘Undergoer’ may denote ‘the single argument of an intransitive verb. Foley and Van Valin (1984: 30) list the examples in (11) to illustrate types of the Actor, and those in (12) to illustrate types of the Undergoer:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (11) a. <i>Colin</i> killed the taipan. | (Agent) |
| b. <i>The rock</i> shattered the mirror. | (Instrument) |
| c. <i>The lawyer</i> received a telegram. | (Recipient/ Goal) |
| d. <i>The dog</i> sensed the earthquake. | (Experiencer) |
| e. <i>The sun</i> emits radiation. | (Source) |
| (12) a. Phil threw <i>the ball</i> to the umpire. | (Theme) |
| b. The avalanche crushed <i>the cottage</i> . | (Patient) |
| c. The arrow hit <i>the target</i> . | (Locative) |
| d. The mugger robbed <i>Fred</i> of \$50.00. | (Source) |
| e. The announcer presented <i>Mary</i> with the award. | (Recipient/ Goal) |

In terms of the case role/ thematic relation, Colin in (11a) is an agent, the rock in (11b) is an instrument, the lawyer in (11c) is a recipient/ goal, the dog in (11d) is an experiencer, the sun in (11e) is a source, and yet they are all Actors. In the same way, the ball in (12a) is a

theme, the cottage in (12b) is a patient, the target in (12c) is a locative, Fred in (12d) is a source, Mary in (12e) is a recipient/ goal, nevertheless they are all Undergoers. Foley and Van Valin (1984: 29) state that, on one hand, the Actor is ‘the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate’. On the other hand, the Undergoer is ‘the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way’.

In the case of the intransitive clause, the unergative⁴ verb is now characterised as one that has Actor as subject (or S_a), and the unaccusative verb is one that has Undergoer as subject (or S_o). Some Japanese examples follow:

(13) Kodomo.tati wa kuruma no bonnetto no ue ni **not**-ta.

Children TOP car GEN bonnet GEN top on get-PAST

‘The kids **got on** the bonnet of my car.’

(14) Obaatyan no yo-nin no musuko wa sensoo de **sin**-da.

Granny GEN four-CLF GEN son TOP war in die-PAST

‘Four of granny’s sons **died** in the war.’

The verb in example (13), *noru* ‘to get on’, is an unergative verb. The S_a, *kodomo tati* ‘children’, is an Actor, and it intentionally initiates the activity of getting on the bonnet of

⁴ See Section 1.6.1.2 for the definition of the unergative verb and the unaccusative verb, and that of S_a and S_o.

the speaker's car. In example (14), the verb, *sinu* 'to die', is regarded as an unaccusative verb. It has an Undergoer S_o , *yonin no musuko* 'four sons', which does not initiate or control the event of dying, but is affected by it.

Foley and Van Valin (1984: 31) also suggest that one can simplify the characterisation of passivisation, using the notions of Actor and Undergoer. They portray the English passive as 'the undergoer occurring as syntactic subject and the actor as the object of *by*, if it occurs at all'. However, as seen in Section 1.4, there are some passives in Japanese that do not involve promotion of any participant to the subject position, such as example (16b) below. Therefore, Foley and Van Valin's (1984: 31) characterisation of English passive works with examples of the direct passive in Japanese, like (15b), but not with examples of the indirect passive, like (16b).

(15) a. Keiko ga Hitosi o nagut-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi ACC hit-PAST

'Keiko hit Hitoshi.'

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni **nagura-re-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by hit-PASS-PAST

'Hitoshi **was hit** by Keiko.'

(16) a. Kinoo ame ga hut-ta.

Yesterday rain NOM fall-PAST

'It rained yesterday.'

b. Takashi ga kinoo ame ni **hur-are-ta**.

Takashi NOM yesterday rain by fall-PASS-PAST

‘Takashi **was adversely affected** by the rain **falling** yesterday.’

In example (15b), the Undergoer, Hitoshi, occurs as passive subject, and the Actor, Keiko, as the object of the particle *ni*, which corresponds to English ‘by’. In the case of example (16b), however, it is not so straightforward. The corresponding active sentence, example (16a), involves an unaccusative verb, *huru* ‘to fall’, and the S_o is the Undergoer. The object of *ni* in (16b) (*ame* ‘rain’) is, therefore, the Undergoer. The passive subject, Takashi, does not correspond to any participant in (16a); it is neither the Undergoer nor the Actor. We will discuss various issues of this type of passive, the indirect passive, in detail in Sections 3.1.4 and 4.1.

1.7 Sentience and passive constructions in Japanese

The issue of the animacy or sentience of the subject and animacy or sentience of the ‘actor’⁵ in passive constructions has been widely discussed amongst researchers of Japanese passives. The sentience of the subject of the passive, especially, has been an issue not only in recent times but also for traditional Japanese linguists. Yamada (1908: 374)

⁵ The term ‘actor’ (with the lower-case) is used in this thesis in a general way to refer to the participant marked by *ni* or *niyotte* in a passive sentence. They are mostly Actors (in Foley and Van-Valin’s terms), except those with an unaccusative verb. (See Section 1.6.2.)

claims that ‘the Japanese passive is very closely related to sentience, and in most cases, if a non-sentient NP (in his words *seisin naki mono* ‘a NP without mind’) takes the subject position, the passive cannot be constructed’. More recently, Song (1993: 85) also states clearly that ‘the Japanese passive is strongly constrained by animacy. The passive with an inanimate subject is very restricted.’ Among traditional Japanese linguists, the passive with an inanimate, or to be more precise, non-sentient, subject is called the *hijō no ukemi* ‘non-sentient passive’. The term ‘sentient’ is defined in this research as having character, intuition or perception, and being able to see or feel things through the senses. The sentient being differs from the animate being as it includes mainly human beings, and only some animals and personified inanimates that are perceived as having senses, such as those described above. It is sentience rather than animacy that has close connection with Japanese passive constructions. Therefore, the relationship between sentience and Japanese passives is considered in this section.

The traditional analysis deals mainly with sentience of the subject of the direct passive. In this section, we will cover the sentience of the subject and the ‘actor’ (the participant marked by *ni*) in the intransitive-based passive, as well as in the direct passive. This is because, in these cases, the sentience is particularly relevant. In this section, however, intransitive-based passives are mentioned only briefly (Section 1.7.1), since they are dealt with in detail in Section 4.1. We will then focus (Section 1.7.2) on the direct passive and thus on transitive verb clauses.

1.7.1 Sentience of the participants in intransitive-based passives

As will be seen in Section 4.1, the sentience of the ‘actor’ of an intransitive verb has been widely acknowledged to have a great influence on the acceptability of a passive clause in Japanese. The sentience of the subject of the intransitive-based passive, however, does not seem to have received much attention in the literature, compared to that of the ‘actor’ of the passive. The primary characteristic of the intransitive-based passive in Japanese is that ‘the speaker describes an event in terms of the concerns of a participant denoted by the subject NP’ (Song, 1993: 98). The subject therefore is most often sentient. This may be the reason why the subject of the indirect passive seems less likely to be mentioned in the sentence at all. We will discuss these issues further in Section 4.1 in relation to the issue of adversative meaning.

1.7.2 Sentience of the participants in direct passives

It seems that in direct passives the sentience of the subject of the passive has more influence upon the acceptability of passivisation than the sentience of the ‘actor’. We will begin, however, by briefly discussing the issue of the sentience of the ‘actor’, and then go on to address that of the sentience of the subject in more detail.

1.7.2.1 Sentience of the ‘actor’ in the direct passive

The ‘actor’ in a direct passive clause would be the subject of a transitive verb in the corresponding active clause. As seen in Section 1.6.1.2, Dixon (1994: 6-8) uses the term A to refer to the subject of a transitive verb: the participant that is ‘most relevant to the success of the activity’ and thus ‘could initiate or control the activity’. He notes that ‘this can be something inanimate (as in *The wind wrecked the house*, *The midday sun melted the butter*); most often the role mapped onto A will be human’.

It is interesting that Dixon’s examples of inanimate As are both so-called ‘weather words’ (the wind, the midday sun). As will be seen in Section 4.1, in Japanese, weather words are sometimes treated like animate NPs. They are quite easily personified. For example, they can be the addressee in imperative sentences.

Dixon’s (1994: 8) claim that ‘most often the role mapped onto A will be human’ is certainly true for Japanese. For this language at least it would also be reasonable to add that those that are not human are ‘animate’ in a broad sense (including weather words and personified inanimate NPs). If most of the subjects of transitive clauses are at least animate, if not human, there is no need to argue the animacy of the ‘actor’ of their passive counterparts.

1.7.2.2 Sentience of the subject in the direct passive

As mentioned above, the sentience of the subject of the passive has been a major point of discussion for many researchers of Japanese passives. Traditional Japanese grammarians argued that the passive with a non-sentient subject is not inherent to the Japanese language, but began to occur under the influence of *seiyô-go* ‘Western languages’. (See Yamada 1908: 374 and Hashimoto 1931: 276). Recently Okutsu (1992: 7) argued against this theory, showing evidence of some use of passives with non-sentient subject in Japanese classical literature.

It is true, however, that the subject of the passive in Japanese is most likely to be sentient. This is not only because of the fact that the Japanese passive with an non-sentient subject is very restricted, but also because of the Empathy Hierarchy (Kuno 1977: 646 & 652, Silverstein 1986, and Okutsu 1992). (See also Section 5.2.3). Generally speaking, the speaker is more likely to adopt the viewpoint of a sentient NP over that of a non-sentient NP. The NP whose viewpoint is adopted, in turn, is most often identified as the subject NP.

It is also true, however, that quite a number of passive sentences in Japanese do have a non-sentient subject. We will make introductory remarks on the context in which such sentences are used in the next section. However, detailed examination will be made in Section 3.2.1. We will also discuss the actual distribution of this type of passive in our data

in Section 5.2.3.

1.7.2.3 Direct passive with a non-sentient subject

Song (1993: 103) classifies passives with a non-sentient subject into two groups, ‘anticausative passive’ and ‘attributive passive’. Kinsui (1992: 14) divides Japanese passives first into two categories, *koyû no ukemi* ‘inherent passive’ and *hi-koyû no ukemi* ‘non-inherent/ imported passive’. He then divides both of these categories into two further subcategories, *yûjô no ukemi* ‘sentient passive’ and *hijô no ukemi* ‘non-sentient passive’ resulting in four subcategories. Song’s anticausative passive seems to correspond to Kinsui’s *hi-koyû-hijô no ukemi* ‘non-inherent, non-sentient passive’, or the so-called ‘ni-yotte’ passive.¹ We use the term ‘demotional passive’ for this type of passive. Song’s other category, attributive passive seems to correspond to Kinsui’s *koyû-hijô no ukemi* ‘inherent, non-sentient passive’. We will adopt Song’s term ‘attributive passive’ for this type of passive, since the name reflects the function of this type of passive very well. In Section 3.2.1, we define each of these two types of passives with non-sentient subject and discuss their function.