

Chapter 3 Classification used in this thesis - Syntactic and semantic distinctions

After having examined various approaches to classifying Japanese passive constructions in the previous section, in this section, we will present the classification used in this thesis.

It seems that all the analyses we examined above have some of their own problems. These arise mainly because both semantic and syntactic features form part of the definitions used. The evidence presented shows that it is vital to begin by treating the two types of distinction - the syntactic distinction and the semantic distinction – separately, and then to consider the correlations between each classification. Because of the problem of some direct passives having adversative reading, in particular, Kuno (1982) is inclined to use a semantic distinction only. Song (1993), also, suggests that the ‘traditional’ distinction between direct and indirect passives does not provide any explanation for the adversative meaning that accompanies some direct passive sentences. However, I propose to redefine the terms ‘direct passive’ and ‘indirect passive’ in a purely syntactic way, and to add one new syntactic group, ‘semi-direct passive’. These notions are, then, distinguished from the semantic concepts, ‘plain passive’ and ‘passive of interest’. Passives with an ‘adversative meaning’, or what is here referred to as the special meaning of ‘emotive affectedness’, will be discussed in the next chapter. The summary of the classification used in this thesis compared with the previous analyses is illustrated in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Classification used in this thesis compared with previous analyses

Teramura's classification	Classification used in this thesis		Masuoka's classification	Matsushita's classification
	syntactic	semantic		
Direct Passive	Direct Passive	Plain Passive	Demotional P <i>(Ni-yotte passive)</i>	Plain Passive
		i. demotional P	Attribute describing P	
		ii. attributive P		
		P of interest i. P with latent affectee ii. Sentient P	Affected Passive i. direct Passive <i>(includes some non-sentient passives with a latent affectee)</i>	
	Semi-direct P			P of interest i. self P
Indirect Passive <i>(includes possessor passives)</i>				ii. possessor P iii. possessor self
	Indirect Passive		ii. indirect P <i>(does not include possessor passives)</i>	iv. third party P

3.1 Syntactic distinctions

3.1.1 Accessibility Hierarchy

Before we start looking into each syntactic category of Japanese passive, let us first examine the notion of the ‘Accessibility Hierarchy’, as it is vital to the syntactic definition of passive constructions used in this thesis.

Languages differ according to which NP positions can occur as a passive subject, just as they do in the case of other syntactic processes such as relativisation. Keenan and Comrie (1977: 66) propose the notion of the Accessibility Hierarchy below, which they first applied to restrictions on relative clause formation. The hierarchy expresses the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions in simplex main clauses.

Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

The symbol ‘>’ means ‘is more accessible’; SU stands for ‘subject’, DO for ‘direct object’, IO for ‘indirect object’, OBL for ‘major oblique case NP’ (NPs that express arguments of the main predicate), GEN stands for ‘genitive’ (or ‘possessor’) NP, and OCOMP for ‘object of comparison’ (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66). The hierarchy above indicates, for example,

that the subject NP is the most easily relativized of all the NPs in the main clause, and the direct object is more accessible to relativization than an oblique NP.

Keenan and Comrie (1977: 96) indicate the possible extension of the applicability of this notion of an Accessibility Hierarchy to passive constructions. The Accessibility Hierarchy may indeed be relevant in determining which NP positions can be passivised in a given language. For instance, Keenan and Comrie (1977: 96) claim that ‘if a language has a rule advancing OBL to passive subject, then it must also have a rule advancing DO to passive subject’. That is because OBL is farther down the Accessibility Hierarchy than DO is. Now let us consider the syntactic definition of Japanese passive constructions, applying this notion of the Accessibility Hierarchy.

3.1.2 Direct passive

A direct passive is syntactically defined in this thesis as one that has a corresponding active clause, and whose subject would correspond, in the active clause, to a direct object (that is an NP placed in the second position on the Accessibility Hierarchy) or an indirect object (that is an NP in the third position on the Hierarchy). (Note that the first position on the Accessibility Hierarchy, the subject of the corresponding active clause, cannot appear as the subject of the passive clause.) Let us consider the following examples:

(1) 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.'

(2) a. Keiko ga Hitosi ni tegami o dasi-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi DAT letter ACC send-PAST

'Keiko wrote a letter to Hitoshi.'

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni tegami o **das-are**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by letter ACC send-PASS-PAST

'Hitoshi **was sent** a letter by Keiko.'

In example (1), the passive subject corresponds to the noun in the accusative case, the direct object, *Hitosi*, and in example (2), it corresponds to the noun in the dative case, indirect object, *Hitosi*.

As mentioned earlier, the direct passive is defined in this thesis as one whose subject would be either a direct object or an indirect object of the verb in the corresponding active clause, which are the first and the second positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy. This is exactly the same as the syntactic part of Teramura's definition of the direct passive,

as seen in Section 2.3. However, among the remainder of the NP positions on the hierarchy, in the corresponding active clause only the genitive case, that is a ‘possessor’ NP, has been widely recognised as appearing as a subject of a passive clause in Japanese. In this thesis, a passive whose subject corresponds, in the active clause, to any of the NP positions on the hierarchy other than direct object or indirect object, including a genitive NP, is regarded as a ‘semi-direct passive’.

3.1.3 Semi-direct passive

As pointed out above, which NP positions can occur as the subject / topic of passive varies from language to language. In Japanese, a wide range of NP positions can appear as the topic / subject of passive. In order to investigate this further, let us return to Keenan and Comrie’s Accessibility Hierarchy:

Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

In the previous section, we saw that the core argument(s) of the verb in the corresponding active clause, a direct object or an indirect object, can occur as the topic / subject of the direct passive. The rest of the NP positions on the hierarchy, major oblique case NP (OBL), genitive case (GEN), and object of comparison (OCOMP), can be called peripheral

participants. We will define a ‘semi-direct passive’, in this thesis, as one that has a corresponding active clause, and whose subject would be one of the peripheral participants in the corresponding active clause. The following example is one in which the subject corresponds to an oblique participant of the active clause.

(3) a. Keiko ga Hitosi kara pen o tot-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi ABL pen ACC take-away-PAST

‘Keiko took his pen away from Hitoshi.’

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni pen o **tor-are-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by pen ACC take-away-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was** adversely **affected** by Keiko’s **taking** his pen **away** from him.’

In example (3), the passive subject corresponds to the referent marked by an ablative postposition¹, *kara* ‘from’. Example (4) and (5), below, are examples of the so-called ‘possessor passive’, and also classified here as semi-direct passives, since the passive subject corresponds to the genitive or ‘possessor’ NP of the corresponding active sentence.

(4) a. Keiko ga Hitosi no kata o tatai-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi GEN shoulder ACC tap-PAST

‘Keiko tapped Hitoshi on the shoulder.’

¹ As a reader of the early draft has suggested, the passive whose subject corresponds to an ablative NP is unusual. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that it is not impossible in Japanese.

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni kata o **tatak-are-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by shoulder ACC tap-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was tapped** on the shoulder by Keiko.’

(5) a. Keiko ga Hitosi no ootoo o okut-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi GEN younger-brother ACC give.a.lift-PAST

‘Keiko gave a lift to Hitoshi’s younger brother.’

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni ootoo o **okur-are-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by younger-brother ACC ride-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was** adversely **affected** by Keiko’s **giving a lift** to his younger brother.’

In Japanese even the NP in the lowest position on the Accessibility Hierarchy, OCOMP, can appear as the passive subject, as in example (6) below:

(6) a. Keiko ga Hitosi yori sakini sono hon o yonda.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi than early that book ACC read-PAST

‘Keiko read that book earlier than Hitoshi did.’

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni sakini sono hon o **yom-are-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by early that book ACC read-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was** adversely **affected** by Keiko’s **reading** that book earlier than he did.’

Note that examples of the (6b) type include the passive of an intransitive verb, as in example (7b) below.

(7) a. Keiko ga Hitosi yori sakini kaet-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi than early go-home-PAST

‘Keiko went home earlier than Hitoshi.’

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni sakini **kaer-are-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by early go-home-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko’s **going home** earlier than him.’

As you can see in examples (1) to (7) above, the Japanese language is very flexible concerning the accessibility to passivisation of NP positions. I will reconsider this matter in Section 4.2 in relation to the ‘emotive affectedness’ accompanying some Japanese passives.

3.1.4 Indirect passive

Like the direct passive and the semi-direct passive, the indirect passive is here defined in purely syntactic terms. An indirect passive is one whose subject does not correspond to any of the arguments of the active verb. In other words it is one which has one extra noun phrase as the newly introduced subject, such as *Watasi ga* in example (8b) and *Takasi ga* in example (9b), compared to the closest active equivalent, (8a) and (9a) respectively.

Passives of this kind can be made both from transitive verbs (example (8)) and intransitive verbs (example (9)).

(8) a. Butyoo ga kinoo no hanasi o kii-ta.

Division chief NOM yesterday GEN story ACC hear-PAST

‘The division chief heard the story about yesterday.’

b. Watasi wa butyoo ni kinoo no hanasi o **kik-are-ta**.

I TOP division chief by yesterday GEN story ACC hear-PASS-PAST

‘I **was adversely affected** by division chief’s **hearing** the story about yesterday.’

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

Yesterday rain NOM fall-PAST

‘It rained yesterday.’

b. Takasi ga kinoo ame ni **hura-re-ta**.

Takashi NOM yesterday rain by fall-PASS-PAST

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

This type of passive, put together with what is here called the semi-direct passive, has been classified as ‘indirect passive’ in previous research. It has been a major focus of research on Japanese passive constructions. This is because the indirect passive can occur with an intransitive verb as well as with a transitive verb, and it is usually accompanied by a special emotive nuance. This issue of the emotive nuance will be discussed further in detail in

Chapter 4, and the proportion of the indirect passive in our data in Section 5.2.1.1.

3.2 Semantic distinction

In this thesis, Japanese passive constructions are semantically classified into two basic groups, ‘plain passive’ and ‘passive of interest’. The plain passive describes an event objectively, whereas the passive of interest illustrates an event in terms of the subject’s interest. The plain passive is then divided into two subgroups, ‘demotional passive’ and ‘attributive passive’. The attributive passive is said to be inherent to the Japanese language, while the demotional passive is not. The passive of interest, the second of the two broad semantic groups, is also divided into two subgroups: ‘sentient passive’ and ‘passive with latent affectee’. The following sections examine the characteristics of each semantic group of Japanese passive and how each one differs from those proposed in previous analyses.

3.2.1 Plain passive

The plain passive is defined in this thesis as one generally having a non-sentient subject, and describing a situation or event objectively with only the meaning of objective affectedness of the Undergoer, or the passive subject. In this type of passive, the situation is portrayed objectively. However, still the sense of something being done to the Undergoer is detected. This type of affectedness is referred to as ‘objective affectedness’ in this thesis.

The plain passive is divided into two groups: demotional passive and attributive passive.

3.2.1.1 Demotional passive

The first subgroup of plain passive is called ‘demotional passive’. It corresponds to Masuoka’s demotional passive. Table 4 is given again below to show the relationship between Masuoka’s analysis and the classification used in this thesis:

Table 4: Classification used in this thesis compared with previous analyses

Teramura’s classification	Classification used in this thesis		Masuoka’s classification	Matsushita’s classification
	syntactic	semantic		
Direct Passive	Direct Passive	Plain Passive i. demotional P ii. attributive P	Demotional P (<i>Ni-yotte</i> passive)	Plain Passive
			Attribute describing P	
		P of interest i. P with latent affectee ii. Sentient P	Affected Passive i. direct Passive (includes some non-sentient passives with a latent affectee)	
	Semi-direct P			
Indirect Passive (includes possessor passives)				P of interest i. self P
	Indirect Passive		ii. indirect P (does not include possessor passives)	ii. possessor P iii. possessor self iv. third party P

The primary function of the demotional passive is to marginalise, or ‘demote’ the ‘actor’. Because of that, the ‘actor’ is often eliminated from the passive sentence, as in examples (10) and (11) below:

(10) Zassi ga kitinto **tukur-are-te** i-r-eba kaisya wa nani.mo
 Magazine NOM properly make-PASS-CONJ be-PRES-COND company TOP nothing
 iw-anai... [Shiina 234]

say-NEG

‘As long as the magazine **is** properly **produced**, (our) company would not say anything...’

(11) Iina to omot-tara kono botan o os-eba kono 40-mai ga
 Good QUOT think-COND this button ACC push-COND this 40-CLF NOM
insatu-s-are-mas-u. [Josei 3488: female, 43, University assistant]

print-PASS-POL-PRES

‘If you think it’s ready, and press this button, then these 40 sheets will **be printed.**’

However, when it is necessary to indicate the agent in this kind of sentence, it is marked by *ni-yotte*, not by the dative *ni* as it is in other types of Japanese passive. Examples follow:

(12) Sarawaku hakubutukan wa moto Sarawaku no Igirisu-jin no syuutyoo
 Sarawak Museun TOP former Sarawak GEN English-CLF GEN chief

dat-ta SaaZyeemusu Burukku ni-yotte **tate-rare**-ta mono dear-u.

COP-PAST Sir James Brook by build-PASS-PAST thing COP-NONPAST

‘The Sarawak Museum **was built** by Sir James Brook who was an English chief of Sarawak.’ [Sono 1026]

(13) Daga sono ai mo motomoto kanozyo ni-yotte **atae-rare**-ta mono deat-ta.

But that love also originally she by give-PASS-PAST thing COP-PAST

‘However, that love was also something that **was** originally **given** by her.’ [Tsutsui 396]

It is for this reason that this type of passive is widely called the ‘*ni-yotte* passive’. As mentioned above, however, the *ni-yotte* NP (the ‘actor’) is often eliminated. For this reason, we adopt the name ‘demotional passive’ in this thesis.

Song (1993: 105) claims that the primary function of the demotional passive (in his words ‘anticausative passive’) is ‘to eliminate the causative Agent’ (the ‘actor), ‘or background it’. This claim might perhaps be too strong, since quite a number of examples can be found in which the *ni-yotte* phrase is clearly essential to the meaning of the clause, and thus not fully backgrounded. Such examples include sentence (12) above. Here are two more examples:

(14) Kono syoosetu wa Natsume Sooseki ni-yotte **kak-are**-ta.

This novel TOP Natsume Soseki by write-PASS-PAST

‘This novel **was written** by Natsume Soseki.’

(15) Kono kikai wa syoogakusei ni-yotte **tukur-are-ta**.

This machine_{TOP} primary.school.student by make-PASS-PAST

‘This machine **was made** by a primary school student.’

In Examples (12), (14) and (15), the *ni-yotte* phrase cannot be dropped. The *ni-yotte* phrases in (12) and (14) both refer to special and famous persons, and they are essential to the context. As for sentence (15), a primary school student is not special, but the fact that ‘a primary school student made a machine’ is surprising. Therefore the phrase *syoogakusei ni-yotte* ‘by a primary school student’ is indispensable in this context.

3.2.1.1.1 Is the demotional passive inherent to Japanese?

It is said that the demotional passive is not inherent to the Japanese language. According to Kinsui (1997: 762), this type of passive first appeared under the influence of word-for-word translations of Chinese classics and Buddhist scripture. This translation technique gradually spread after the ninth century, and it became part of an established literary style, called the ‘*kanbun kundoku* style’. The ‘actor’ is generally not indicated in this kind of passive sentence in the *kanbun* style writing. The ‘actor’ marker *ni-yotte* only started to be used as an ‘actor’ marker when the literal translation of Dutch came into practice in the 19th century. The ‘actor’ marker *ni-yotte* is derived from a dative particle *ni* plus the participial form of a

verb *yoru* ‘be due to / owing to’. In modern Japanese, however, *ni-yotte* is completely grammaticised, and means ‘by’, ‘by means of’, ‘according to’, ‘depending on’, or ‘be based on’.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Yamada (1908) does not recognise the non-sentient passive as a Japanese passive construction. He claims that the Japanese passive is restricted to cases in which the subject is a sentient NP that can be thought of as having consciousness. Since the demotional passive only started to be used in 19th century (Kinsui 1997: 762), it is likely that in Yamada’s day, around the turn of the century, the demotional passive had not yet been fully recognised as an acceptable passive construction. However, just a few decades later, Matsushita (1930) identifies the demotional passive as the ‘plain passive’, and classifies it as a type of Japanese passive construction.

Kinsui (1992: 18) suggests that the attributive passive, another type of non-sentient passive, is also a ‘new’ type of passive whose usage has increased in modern times. However, on analysing 8th century to 19th century data, Kinsui (1997: 776) retracts this claim, saying that ‘there were non-sentient passive sentences as well as sentient passive sentences in Japanese before modern times’.

Okutsu (1992: 7) also claims that it must be recognised that non-sentient passive is indigenous to Japanese. He examines three of the best known ancient Japanese texts, and finds that, amongst the direct passives that occur, 38.8% in *Tsurezuregusa* (1030) are

non-sentient, 27% in *Makuranosooshi* (1000), and 17.2% in the *Manyooshuu* (8th century).

Let us examine his examples below (Okutsu 1992: 10)

(16) Saion-zi _____ no kane, wausiki.deu ni **i-raru**-besi-tote, amata.tabi

Saion-temple GEN bell ‘la’.in.scale to cast-PASS-must-CMPL many.times

i-kafe-rare-keredomo, kanafa-zari-keru wo, won.goku yori

cast-change-PASS-though agree-NEG-PAST ACC far.country from

tadune-idas-are-keri.

find.out-PASS-PAST

‘Because the bell of the Saionji temple should **be cast** to produce ‘la’ on the musical scale, casting **was changed** many times in vain, and then a bell of the ‘la’ scale **was found** in a distant province.’

(17) Sebaki en ni tokoro seki on-sauzoku no sitagasane nado

Narrow veranda in space crowded POL-formal.costume GEN underrobes etc.

hikitiras-are-tari. [Makura no soshi: 108]

dangle-PASS-PAST

‘The veranda was too narrow for the men’s formal Court costumes, and their under-robes **were dangled** all over the floor.’

(18) Mukasi koso Naniwa inaka to **if-are**-keme ima miyako hiki

Long.ago EMPH Naniwa little.town QUOT call-PASS-PAST now capital moved

miyakobini-keri. [Manyoshu: No. 312]

looks.like.capital-PAST

‘Long ago, Naniwa **was called** a little town, but now the capital has been moved and it looks like a real capital.’

As Okutsu (1992: 10) points out, there are three passive clauses in example (16) whose subjects are all *Saionji no kane* ‘the bell of the Saionji temple’. They all have a latent affectee², the monks and/or parishioners of the Saionji temple, who can be thought of as parties who were affected by the event of the bell’s being cast, the bell’s casting being repeated, and the right bell being finally found.

However, Kinsui (1997: 769) suggests that the function of *-(r)are* in example (16) should not be regarded as passive but as ‘honorific’. He claims that there are a large number of examples of honorific *(r)are* that may be mistaken for non-sentient passive *(r)are* in classical Japanese. As seen in Section 1.5, in the modern Japanese language the honorific *-(r)are* seems totally different from passive *-(r)are* in that the honorific clause has the same perspective as that of an active clause. In fact, it does not involve any change in case marking compared to the corresponding active clause without *-(r)are*. However, in classical Japanese the formal properties were closer than they are now. This is presumably the reason why it is harder to distinguish the passive *-(r)are* from honorific *-(r)are* in classical Japanese.

To clarify this matter, however, further historical research on the data of Meiji and

² As will be discussed in Section 3.2.2.1, a latent affectee is a sentient entity that one can assume is affected by the event in some way, but is not a participant in the passive sentence.

Taisho period (1868 – 1925) is essential. Such historical research is beyond the scope of this study.

3.2.1.1.2 Verb types and the demotional passive

Another way in which the demotional passive differs from other passives is with regard to the type of verb that tends to occur with this type of passive. In previous analyses, there have been two interesting contributions to the understanding of this issue. Song (1993: 104) states that the demotional passive, in his terms the ‘anticausative passive’, occurs mainly with factitive verbs, such as *kensetu-suru* ‘to build’, *suteru* ‘to dump’, *erabu* ‘to choose’, and *orosu* ‘to lower’. The term ‘factitive verb’ is used here as characterised in Song (1993: 7). Song explains the term ‘factitive verb’, in contrast to the term ‘operative verb³’, as denoting an event in which the direct object NP, or the subject of the passive, undergoes a specific change (of position, possession or condition⁴). The verbs used in our examples (10) to (13), *tukuru* ‘to make’, *insatu-suru* ‘to print’, *tateru* ‘to build’ and *ataeru* ‘to give’, are thus all factitive verbs. Examples (10), (11) and (12) describe events in which the subject of the passive (*zassi* ‘magazine’, *kono 40-mai* ‘these 40 sheets’ and *Sawaraku hakubutukan* ‘The Sawarak Museum’) undergoes a change of condition. In example (13), the subject (*ai*

³ In Song (1993), ‘operative verb’ is characterised as one that describes an event in which the subject performs an operation, and this operation affects the direct object NP. However, the direct object NP does not undergo any specific change as a result. Examples include *hit*, *touch*, *strike*, *slap*, *shoot* and so forth.

⁴ Following Song (1993: 7), I use the term ‘condition’ here as introduced in Ikegami (1975). It encompasses Jackendoff’s three distinct semantic parameters: the identificational, existential, and circumstantial.

‘love’) undergoes a change of possession.

Kinsui (1997: 763), based on Teramura’s (1982) discussion, takes a slightly more detailed approach. He divides Japanese verbs into five groups and examines the compatibility of each group of verb with *ni*, *ni-yotte* and *kara*⁵ as ‘actor’ marker in all types of Japanese passive sentence. His observations throw some light on the issue of verb types in demotional passives, and are summarised as in Table 5 below (Kinsui 1997: 763):

Table 5: Combination of *ni*, *ni-yotte*, and *kara* NPs with verbs in passive sentences

Verb type	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni-yotte</i>	<i>kara</i>
Type1: denotes physical/psychological effects (on a patient) e.g. <i>korosu</i> ‘kill’, <i>tukamaeru</i> ‘catch’, <i>kowasu</i> ‘break’	ok	(ok)	*
Type2: denotes transition of emotion and perception e.g. <i>aisuru</i> ‘love’, <i>nikumu</i> ‘hate’, <i>miru</i> ‘see’	ok	*	ok
Type3: denotes direct (but superficial) contact with a patient e.g. <i>sawaru</i> ‘touch’, <i>tataku</i> ‘hit’, <i>naderu</i> ‘rub’	ok	*	*
Type4: verbs of creation e.g. <i>tateru</i> ‘build’, <i>tukuru</i> ‘make’, <i>kaku</i> ‘write’	*	ok	*
Type5: denotes abstract and neutral relationships – many of them of Sino-Japanese origin	*	ok	*

⁵ The ablative particle *kara* is also used to mark the ‘actor’ in a Japanese passive with some types of verb.

e.g. <i>syoyuu-suru</i> ‘possess’, <i>un’ei-suru</i> ‘manage’, <i>hazimeru</i> ‘begin’			
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According to Kinsui, *ni-yotte* can be used with type 1⁶, type 4 and type 5 verbs, but not with type 2 and type 3 verbs. Let us compare Song’s and Kinsui’s observations.

If we apply Song’s view to Kinsui’s categorisation, type 1, 4 and probably 5 verbs above would be factitive verbs and type 2 and 3 verbs would not be. Although it is not very clear from Kinsui’s definition, at least all the examples he has given for types 1, 4 and 5 can be categorised as factitive. Type 3 verbs seem to fit the prototypical definition of the operative verb. Type 2 verbs do not seem to be classified as operative verbs, however, they are certainly not factitive verbs either. In summary, Kinsui’s type 1, 4 and 5 verbs can be categorised as factitive verbs, and type 2 and 3 verbs cannot be classified as factitive verbs. To this extent, therefore, Song’s view fits with Kinsui’s observations; both Song and Kinsui indicate that *ni yotte* passives can occur with these types of verbs.

After examining the data collected for this study, we can add another characteristic to Kinsui’s type 5 verbs. As Kinsui describes them, type 5 verbs include many of the NP-suru verbs that have Sino-Japanese origin. Examples include *insatu-suru* ‘to print’ in example (11) above and, *kaisi-suru* ‘to begin’, in example (19) below:

⁶ Although *ni-yotte* with type1 verbs sounds rather stiff and formal, it is acceptable.

(19) Dai-go raundo ga **kaisis-are-ta**. [Sawaki 659]

Fifth round NOM start-PASS-PAST

‘The fifth round **was started**.’

In our data, we also found a number of NP-suru verbs that originate from Western languages. The following are examples of verbs of Western origin: *nooto-suru* ‘to note down’ in example (20) and *fairu-suru* ‘to file’ in example (21) below:

(20) Zibun no yuu koto ga **nootos-are-te** i-ru no o mi-ru koto

Oneself GEN say-PRES thing NOM note-PASS-CONJ be-PRES NML ACC see-PRES NML

wa kairaku no hitotu to i-er-u dear-oo. [Fujiwara 274]

TOP pleasure GEN one QUOT say-POTEN-PRES COP-EXHT

‘To see what one has said **being noted down** could be said to be one of (life’s) pleasures.’

(21) Anoo kookoku tor-u toki no tame.ni zenbu **fairus-are-te**

Well advertisement get-PRES when GEN for all file-PASS-CONJ

mas-u kara. [Josei 2765: female, 43, Company employee (editing)]

POL-PRES because

‘Well, it’s because they **were** all **filed, ready** for when we’d be getting advertisements.’

Note that Kinsui (1997: 763) indicates with regard to type5 verbs that they describe ‘abstract and neutral relationships’. Although many verbs of this type are NP-suru verbs of Sino-Japanese or Western origin, as in examples (11) and (19), and examples (20) and (21) respectively above, there are cases of verbs of this semantic type that are not NP-suru verbs, as in examples (22) and (23) below:

(22) Tasya ni-yotte **utusidas-are-ru** onore, zibun wa nani.mo nai

Others by reflect-PASS-PRES oneself oneself TOP nothing not.exist

no de wa nai ka. [Takano: 173]

NML COP TOP NEG Q

‘(Seeing) yourself **reflected** in other person; you wonder if perhaps you are nothing at all.’

(23) Utyuu no tituzyo wa aru tan’itu no utyuu isi ni-yotte

Universe GEN order TOP certain single GEN universe will by

tamot-are-te ki-ta no da. [Tsutsui: 351]

retain-PASS-CONJ come-PAST NML COP

‘The thing is that the order of the universe has **been retained** by a (certain) single universal will.’

To sum up the discussion above, the demotional passive is used primarily to marginalise the ‘actor’. The ‘actor’ is, therefore, often eliminated. However, if it is needed, it is marked by *ni-yotte*. As for the types of verb that appear in the demotional passive, they

are mainly factitive verbs. To be more specific, they are ones that denote changes in the Undergoer, whether that change involves creation, change of possession or position, physical or psychological change. Many of them are NP-suru verbs of Sino-Japanese or Western origin.

Concerning stylistic constraints, Kinsui (1997: 764) states that the demotional passive, in his words the ‘*ni-yotte* passive’, is ‘rather a stiff literal expression’, and, therefore, it cannot be used to describe a trivial event such as that in example (24) below (Kinsui 1997: 764):

(24) ?? Uraniwa no ana wa John no kaiinu ni-yotte hor-are-ta.

Back.yard GEN hole TOP John GEN pet.dog by dig-PASS-PAST

‘The hole in the backyard was dug by John’s pet dog.’

Kinsui also mentions that this type of passive is not used in the spoken language. However, we found quite a number of demotional passive examples in spoken data. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.2.1.2.

3.2.1.2 Attributive passive

The second type of plain passive is called ‘attributive passive’ in this thesis. It corresponds to Masuoka’s attribute describing passive. This is another type of non-sentient passive, like

the demotional passive. However, the attributive passive is different from the demotional passive in that its ‘actor’ is marked by *ni* (not *ni yotte*), and is not restricted to factitive verbs. This type is used only ‘when the rest of the sentence attributes some property to the participant denoted by the passive subject’ (Song, 1993: 110). Moreover, as Song (1993: 109) states, an attributive passive is semantically static, while a demotional passive is dynamic. It does not depict the occurrence or existence of an event at a specific time and place. Masuoka (1987: 188) points out that the attributive passive is used to foreground the ‘direct object’ NP by moving it into the subject position. In an attribute-describing sentence, it is normal to place the entity whose attribute is accounted for in the position of the syntactic subject. This type of passive is a kind of attribute-describing sentence, used to describe or imply some attribute of the referent of the subject by the rest of the elements of the sentence. Observe the following example:

(25) Kono manga ga kodomo-tati ni yoku yomareru.

This comic NOM children by often read-PASS-PRES

‘This comic is often read by children.’

The fundamental feature of this type of passive is that a property of the subject is conveyed by the circumstances denoted by the verb. Example (25), for instance, implies that the subject, ‘this comic’, has the property of being ‘popular among children’. The attributive passive thus differs from attribute-describing constructions like adjectives, as in example (26) below, that generally describe an inherent quality of the subject.

(26) Kono manga wa omoshiroi.

This comic TOP interesting

‘This comic is interesting.’

In example (25), the property of the subject (this comic) is defined by the circumstance described by the rest of the passive sentence: it is often read by children. This is the reason why this type of passive still has a nuance of affectedness of the subject - objective affectedness - compared to an adjective clause like (26). In (26), no meaning of affectedness is detected.

Furthermore, if we compare example (27) below to example (25), the concept of ‘attribution’ in the definition of attributive passive becomes clearer:

(27) ? * Kono manga ga Tarooni yoku yom-are-ru.

This comic NOM Taro by often read-PASS-PRES

‘This comic is often read by Taro.’

This sentence is unacceptable, or at least unnatural, because it can hardly admit the interpretation of attributing any characteristics to the comic.

The “Nihongo Kihon Dôshi Yôhō Jiten” gives a list of verbs that are said not to

occur in direct passive sentences. Some of these can be categorised as transitive. Examples include *kagu* ‘smell’, *gaman suru* ‘endure, be patient’, *tanosimu* ‘enjoy’, *tugoo suru* ‘manage’, *nugu* ‘take off’, *benkyoo suru* ‘study’ and *yameru* ‘quit’. Most of these verbs cannot take sentient objects. This is generally considered to be the main reason why they cannot appear in the direct passive sentences. However, if we examine these verbs again, verbs like *benkyoo suru* ‘study’ and *tanosimu* ‘enjoy’ can be used in attributive passive sentences as in Examples (28) and (29):

(28) Nihongo wa takusan no Oosutoraria no gakusei ni **benkyoos-are-te**
 Japanese.language TOP many GEN Australian GEN student by study-PASS-CONJ
 i-ru.
 be-PRES
 ‘Japanese language **is studied** by many Australian students.’

(29) Kono geemu wa takusan no wakamono ni **tanosim-are-te** i-ru.
 This game TOP many GEN young.people by enjoy-PASS-CONJ be-PRES
 ‘This game **is enjoyed** by many young people.’

It can thus be claimed that when one considers the applicability of the direct passive to transitive verbs, one should examine the possibility of their occurrence in the context of attributive passives, which readily allow specific non-sentient subjects.

As stated earlier, this type of passive usually has a non-sentient subject. However, Masuoka (2000) claims that there are some attributive passives with a sentient subject. In our data, we also found a few of this kind, such as examples (30) and (31) below:

(30) Venetsia kyoowakoku de wa, kokusei o tantoos-uru kaikyuu ni
 Venice Republic in TOP state.politics ACC take.charge-PRES class to
 zokusuru hitobito wa kizoku to **yob-are-ta** ga, ... [Shiono 454]
 belong-PRES people TOP nobility QUOT call-PASS-PAST but

‘In the Republic of Venice, people who belong to the class in charge of governing of the country **were called** nobility, but ...’

(31) Nanisiro toruko-zin wa zitu.no oya o koros-ita mono sae, dorei ni
 Anyway Turkish-CLF TOP real parent ACC kill-PAST person even slav as
 ut-te kane o mooke-ru hoo o erab-u to **iw-are-te**
 sell-CONJ money ACC earn-PRES one ACC choose-PRES QUOT say-PASS-CONJ
 i-ru. [Shiono 410]
 be-PRES

‘Anyway, the Turkish people **are said** to choose to earn money by selling even those who have killed their real parents as slaves.’

Although these subjects are, indeed, sentient, as Masuoka claims, they are certainly not the kind of referent that attracts a high degree of speaker empathy. A generic NP, like these, is

far more likely to occur in an attributive passive than specific human NP.

Masuoka (2000) considers the attributive passive peripheral, claiming that the frequency of the actual usage of this kind of passive is low. However, we found 111 examples of the attributive passive out of 848 passive examples. The number is actually much larger than that of the widely recognised indirect passives (44 / 848) (including semi-direct passives as has been done in previous research), and therefore, the attributive passive should not be treated as peripheral. We will discuss this issue together with all other findings resulting from the analysis of our data in Chapter 5.

3.2.2 Passive of interest

In Section 3.2.1, we examined the first semantic type of Japanese passive – the plain passive – and its two subtypes: the demotional passive and the attributive passive. The second semantic type of Japanese passive is called, in this thesis, the passive of interest. It corresponds to Masuoka's affected passive. The passive of interest is defined here, in contrast to the plain passive, as one which portrays an event in terms of the concern of a referent of the subject with the meaning of subject's being affected by the event directly and / or emotively. In the majority of cases, therefore, the referent of the subject is sentient, and most likely human. However, a passive of interest can occur with a non-sentient subject

if one can assume a latent affectee⁷. We will therefore divide the passive of interest into two subcategories: the passive with latent affectee and the sentient passive.

3.2.2.1 Passive with latent affectee

The first subgroup of the passive of interest is referred to, in this thesis, as the passive with a latent affectee. As mentioned in Section 2.4.1, Masuoka (2000) points out that there are some passives of interest, in his term ‘affected passive’, that have a non-sentient subject. This is the category in which one can assume a latent affectee, as in examples (44) and (45) in Section 2.4.1, cited again as examples (32) and (33) below.

(32) Ano e ga kodomo ni **hikisak-are-ta**.

That picture NOM child by tear-PASS-PAST

‘That picture **was torn** by a child.’

(33) Taisetuna okane ga doroboo ni **nusum-are-ta**.

Important money NOM thief by steal-PASS-PAST

‘Important money **was stolen** by a thief.’

Although these examples have non-sentient subjects, because each one immediately brings to mind an affected entity – a latent affectee – they are all acceptable. In example (32), the

⁷ A latent affectee is a sentient entity that one can assume is affected by the event denoted by the passive clause in some way, but is not actually a participant in the passive sentence.

owner of the picture can be thought of as the latent affectee, who was affected by the event of a child's tearing his/her picture. In example (33), the latent affectee would be the possessor of the money.

However, Masuoka does not clearly specify in what circumstances a latent affectee can be assumed. Amano (2001) examines this issue comprehensively. According to Amano, whether or not the latent affectee can be supposed depends on the meaning of the event and the meaning of the *ga*-marked NP, the participant marked by the nominative particle *ga* (the subject), in the passive sentence.

The latent affectee can be assumed if the event described by the passive sentence is easily perceived as having the meaning of affecting a certain party psychologically. For instance, Amano (2001: 4) points out that if the event describes either 'evaluation', 'loss', or 'change of the state of an entity', the assumption that someone is affected by the event, although that 'someone' does not appear in the sentence, can easily be made, as in examples (34), (35) and (36) below (Amano 2001: 4; her examples):

(34) Atarasii kokoromi ga kyaku ni kibisiku **hians-are-ta**. [Evaluation]

New trial NOM customer by severely criticise-PASS-PAST

'The new trial **was** severely **criticised** by customers.'

(35) Genkin yusoo.sya ga keikan o yosoot-ta gootoo ni

Cash transport.car NOM police ACC impersonate-PAST burglar by

ubaw-are-mas-ita. [Loss]

rob-PASS-POL-PAST

‘A cash transport car **was robbed** by burglars impersonating policemen.’

(36) Tatiiri.kinsi no teepu ga nozaru ni **hikitigir-are-ta.** [Change of state]

Keep.out GEN tape NOM wild.monkey by tear-PASS-PAST

‘A ‘keep out’ tape **was torn** away by a wild monkey.’

Example (34) describes a type of evaluation of the new trial by the customers. We can easily imagine a participant who was psychologically affected by the evaluation, although the participant does not appear in the sentence. In this case, it would be the person in charge of the trial. In example (35), the loss of the cash transport car is described. The latent party who is affected by the event would be the owner of the car. In the case of example (36), a change of state occurs – that of the ‘keep out’ tape. Here again a latent participant who is affected by the event, the person in charge of putting the tape around, can easily be assumed.

Amano (2001) claims that the three types of event discussed above - ‘evaluation’, ‘loss’, and ‘change of the state of an entity’ - are not the only conditions in which one can assume a latent affectee in the passive sentence. It might be possible to add some other event types. However, she states that the event type is one important aspect in deciding whether or not a latent affectee can be assumed in a passive sentence.

The second criterion Amano suggests for assuming a latent affectee is the meaning of the participant denoted by the *ga*-marked NP (the subject) in the passive sentence. The following examples are all the same in that they do not fit any of the event types mentioned above. However, example (37) is slightly more acceptable than examples (38) and (39) (Amano 2001: 5; her examples):

(37) ? *Osiri ga siranai otoko ni sawar-are-ta.*

Bottom NOM unknown man by touch-PASS-PAST

‘(My) bottom **was touched** by a strange man.’

(38) ?# *Mizutamari no doromizu ga kodomo ni haner-are-ta.*

Puddle GEN muddy.water NOM child by splash-PASS-PAST

‘Muddy water in a puddle **was splashed** by a child.’

(39) ?# *Kusai tabako ga syoodan aite ni suw-are-ta.*

Smelly cigarette NOM business partner by smoke-PASS-PAST

‘A smelly cigarette **was smoked** by a business partner.’

This is because in example (37), the subject (*osiri* ‘bottom’), in Amano’s terms the ‘*ga*-marked NP’, must be somebody’s body part. The mention of a body part as subject immediately evokes the thought of a latent affectee. Amano suggests three more types of *ga* NP with which a latent affectee can easily be assumed: ‘a possession’, ‘an NP which describes an action’ and ‘an entity that can bring to mind a certain related party’. The *ga* NPs in examples (38) and (39) do not match any of the four types of *ga* NP mentioned

above, and do not easily evoke a latent affectee. This is the reason why their acceptability is very low.

In the following examples, the *ga* NPs indicate somebody's body part, possession, action and an entity that evokes a certain related participant, respectively (Amano 2001: 5; her examples):

(40) Ziman no kamigata ga yuuzin ni **homer-are-ta.**
 Proud GEN hair.style NOM friend by praise-PASS-PAST

‘(My) favourite hair style **was praised** by my friend.’

(41) Sono tegami wa Taroo ni **yabur-are-ta.** (Takami 1995: 39a)

That letter TOP Taro by tear-PASS-PAST

‘That letter **was torn** by Taro.’

(42) Sigoto ga tonari no zyuunin ni **samatager-are-ta.**’

Work NOM next.door GEN resident by disturb-PASS-PAST

‘(My) work **was disturbed** by the next door neighbour.’

(43) Kono mati wa K-taisa ni **kowas-are-ta.**

This town TOP Colonel.K by destroy-PASS-PAST

‘This town **was destroyed** by Colonel K.’

In example (40), the *ga* NP (the subject) is a body part (*kamigata* ‘hair style’) for which a latent affectee, the owner of the hair style, can easily be assumed. Note that example (40) is

much more acceptable than example (37). This is because, although both examples (37) and (40) have a *ga* NP that indicates a body part, only example (40) also fits Amano's first criterion, describing evaluation.

Example (41) has a *ga* NP indicating somebody's possession (that letter), and the possessor of the letter can be thought of as a latent affectee. In example (42), the *ga* NP represents an action (work), and the participant who does the action is assumed to be a latent affectee. In the case of example (43), there is an entity (this town) that evokes a certain related party as *ga* NP, and that related party (the residents of the town) can be recognised as the latent affectee.

In addition to her discussion of the elements in a clause involving a passive with a latent affectee, Amano (2001: 7) also compares this passive type with the attributive passive, and claims that the two constructions have something in common. She maintains that whether or not a latent affectee can be assumed influences the acceptability of not only a passive of interest with a non-sentient subject (a passive with a latent affectee), but also of an attributive passive sentence. She suggests that this is because they both involve non-sentient subjects and agents marked by the particle *ni*. Let us examine Amano's examples below (Amano 2001: 8). (Example (44) is originally cited in Masuoka (1982).)

(44) Kono zassi wa 10-dai no wakamono ni yoku yom-are-te

This magazine TOP teenage GEN young.ppeople by widely read-PASS-CONJ

i-ru. (Masuoka 1982: 14a)

be-PRES

‘This magazine is often / widely read by teenagers.’

(45) Kono.aida kai-ta sakuhin wa ooku no hito ni **tooyoo-s-are-te**

Recently write-PAST piece TOP many GEN people by plagiarise-PASS-CONJ

i-ru.

be-PRES

‘A piece I wrote recently has **been plagiarised** by many people.’

Amano states that event types of examples (44) and (45) function to represent ‘evaluation’ and ‘loss’, respectively. Moreover, the subject (in Amano’s words, *ga* NP), *kono zassi* ‘this magazine’, in example (44) is ‘an entity that evokes a certain related participant’, the editor of the magazine. In example (45), the subject, *sakuhin* ‘a piece’, is considered to be ‘a possession’. In both cases, a latent affectee can easily be assumed. Amano claims that this is the reason why the acceptability of examples (44) and (45) is high.

Because of the fact that attributive passives, such as examples (44) and (45), can be thought of as having a latent affectee, Amano suggests that all the attributive passives and the passives of interest with a non-sentient subject (passives with a latent affectee) should be categorised into a same group as non-sentient passives with an agent marked by particle *ni*.

However, there are many examples of attributive passive that cannot be thought of as having a latent affectee. Let us examine the following examples:

(46) Kono bun wa zyudoobun ni **hukum-are-ru**. (Masuoka 2000: #1)

This sentence TOP passive.sentence in include-PASS-PRES

‘This sentence **is categorised** as a passive sentence.’

(47) Kono ie wa itabei ni **kakom-are-te** i-ru. (Inoue 1976: #84)

This house TOP wooden.fence with enclose-PASS-CONJ be-PRES

‘This house **is enclosed** with a wooden fence.’

Examples (46) and (47) differ from Amano’s examples (44) and (45) in that, while they both involve *ni* NPs, these *ni* NPs do not indicate agents. In fact, neither example (46) nor (47) can involve an agent. This is because this type of passive describes the circumstances of the subject rather than a specific event in which it is involved.

As discussed above, some attributive passives with an agent marked by the particle *ni* can be thought of as having a latent affectee, as in examples (44) and (45). However, these examples are completely different from the passive with latent affectee in that they depict a static situation, not the occurrence of an event at a specific time and place; neither are they associated with the meaning of direct or emotive affectedness. Moreover, there are also some attributive passives that do not have an agent marked by *ni* and in which a latent affectee cannot be assumed, such as examples (46) and (47). In this

thesis, therefore, the attributive passive is not treated as the same as the passive of interest with a non-sentient subject as a group of non-sentient passive with an ‘actor’ marked by the particle *ni*. The attributive passive remains as a separate group.

3.2.2.2 Sentient passive

The second subgroup of passive of interest, the sentient passive, has a sentient (most likely human) subject. This type of passive is used to describe a situation in which the subject is directly or emotively affected by the event. Examples follow:

(48) Sono tame, tiisai toki kara kinzyo no kodomo nakama ni yoku

That because little when from neighbour GEN children group by often

izimer-are-ta soo-da. [Miyamoto: 275]

bully-PASS-PAST seem-COP

‘Because of that, evidently she **was** often **bullied** by neighbourhood children since the time she was little.’

(49) Taroo ni-totte ryoori wa geizyutu no hitotu.na no da kara sono

Taro for cooking TOP art GEN one NML COP because that

zairyoo o **toriager-are-ru** to urami mo hukai no dear-u. [Sono: 1006]

ingredient ACC take.away-PASS-PRES if grudge also deep NML COP-PRES

‘Cooking is a kind of art for Taro, so if he **has** his ingredients **taken away**, he deeply

resents it.’

(50) ... sara.ni wa bonnetto no ue ni **nor-are-te** tatioozyoos-ita koto
 furthermore TOP bonnet GEN top on get.on-PASS-CONJ be.stuck-PAST case
 nado mo at-ta. [Fujiwara: 240]

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).’

In example (48), the subject (she) was bullied, and therefore, was directly affected by the event. Example (49) describes how, if the subject (Taro) had his ingredients (for cooking) taken away from him, he would be adversely affected by the event. In the case of example (50), it portrays the event in which the subject (I) was in trouble because the children climbed onto the hood of ‘my’ car, and ‘I’ could not move the car.

Syntactically, examples (48)-(50) are classified into different groups in this thesis: direct passive, semi-direct passive and indirect passive, respectively. These examples, therefore, vary according to the way the subject is affected by the event in each one. Examples (48)-(50), however, all portray the event in terms of the interest of the referent of the subject. This is the reason why they are all categorised in the same semantic group in this thesis – the sentient passive.

The main focus of previous research has been the last two types of the sentient

passive – the semi-direct and indirect passive. In terms of numbers found in the data, it is actually the first type – the direct sentient passive – that is by far the most prominent numerically. Furthermore, in terms of the numbers of tokens of each semantic type, sentient passives represent the highest proportion in the data. They are discussed in considerable detail in Sections 5.2.1.

This chapter has presented the new classification of Japanese passives used in this thesis. Raising an objection to the previous claim of a direct correlation between the syntactic and semantic distinctions, it has proposed separate sets of categories for the syntactic and semantic domains. The summary of the classification of Japanese passives used in this thesis is illustrated in the following table:

Table 6: Classification used in this thesis

<u>Syntactic groups</u>	Direct passive			Semi-direct passive	Indirect passive
<u>Semantic groups</u>	attributive passive	demotional passive	with latent affectee	sentient passive	
	Plain passive			Passive of interest	

In this chapter, it has been made clear that correlation between syntax and semantics in Japanese passives is much more subtle and complex than has generally been recognised.