

## **Chapter 4 The Japanese passives with special emotive affectedness**

The special meaning of emotive affectedness associated with some Japanese passives has drawn attention from many researchers. These passives with special emotive undertone are often referred to as ‘adversative’ passives. This is presumably because in most cases, the emotive nuance is adversative. However, there certainly are other cases in which the emotive undertone cannot be considered ‘adversative’. We therefore use the expression the ‘special meaning of emotive affectedness’. The primary characteristic of this type of passive in Japanese is that the speaker describes an event in terms of the concerns of a referent denoted by the subject NP. The party that is responsible for the occurrence of the event appears, if at all, as a passive ‘actor’. Therefore, the passive subject must be an entity that can be concerned about something and the passive ‘actor’, one that can be held responsible for it. This may be the reason why it is traditionally said that both the subject of the passive and the passive ‘actor’ are most often sentient in this passive type.

It has been traditionally claimed that the indirect passive in Japanese has an adversative meaning and that the direct passive does not. (See Mikami 1953 / 1972: 98-112, Kuno 1973: 24 and Teramura 1982: 214-217). As discussed in Section 2.1.2.1, however, the actual situation is not quite so straightforward. Some direct passives have an adversative

connotation, while some indirect passives<sup>1</sup> do not have an adversative reading. In this chapter, therefore, we first examine passives with an adversative meaning within the framework of each syntactic category of Japanese passive: the indirect passive, the semi-direct passive and the direct passive. We then discuss in detail where the adversative reading actually comes from.

#### 4.1 An emotive undertone of indirect passives

The indirect passive, according to the definition used in this thesis, generally has an adversative reading, and invariably has some sort of emotive nuance. As seen in section 3.1.4, 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. Passives of this kind can involve both from intransitive and transitive verb stems, as in examples (1) and (2) respectively:

(1) 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

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<sup>1</sup> According to the definition used in this thesis, these are categorised as semi-direct passive.

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

(2) 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    **kika-re-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.’

The indirect passive, therefore, can be divided into two syntactic subgroups: indirect passive of an intransitive verb and indirect passive of a transitive verb. It is, however, not the case that all intransitive verbs and transitive verbs can occur in indirect passives. In the following sections, we will examine when intransitive verbs or transitive verbs can appear in indirect passives.

#### 4.1.1 The indirect passive of an intransitive verb

As seen in Section 1.6.1.2, intransitive verbs are divided into two semantic subgroups: the unergative verb and the unaccusative verb. These subgroups are highly relevant to the applicability of passivisation in Japanese. The definition of two subtypes of intransitive verb is repeated here:

**Unergative verbs:** are those whose subject (Sa) is an Actor which performs the action described by the verb intentionally, and could initiate or control the event in the same way as the subject of an archetypal transitive clause (A).

e.g. *aruku* ‘to walk’, *nigeru* ‘to run away’, *yasumu* ‘to rest’, etc.

**Unaccusative verbs:** are those whose subject (So) is an Undergoer, which is semantically like the object of a transitive clause (O) in that it is involved in the event described by the verb only unintentionally, and is not thought of as controlling the event.

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

Note that there are some intransitive verbs, such as *agaru* (go up / rise) and *uturu* (move / permeate) that can have both unergative and unaccusative interpretations, depending on the nature of the subject. Note also that the subject of the intransitive verb would be the ‘actor’ in a passive construction. Mikami (1972), Kageyama (1995: 59) and Tsuboi (1997: 290) all claim that unaccusative verbs do not occur in indirect passives. Tsuboi (1997: 288) claims that sentences like (3), (4) and (5) are not possible, even with an adversative connotation such as that suggested in the translations below:

(3) \*Taroo wa kyonen hidoi zisin ni **okir-are-ta**.

Taro TOP last year devastating earthquake by occur-PASS-PAST

‘\*A devastating earthquake **occurred** last year, **adversely affecting** Taro.’

(4) \*Tokyo no hitobito wa kinoo kaminari ni **oti-rare-ta**.

Tokyo GEN people TOP yesterday lightning by fall<sup>2</sup>-PASS-PAST

‘\*Lightning **struck** in Tokyo yesterday, **adversely affecting** the people.’

(5) \*Taroo wa pan ni **urikire-rare-ta**.

Taro TOP bread by be sold out-PASS-PAST

‘\*Bread **was sold out**, **adversely affecting** Taro.’

According to Tsuboi (1997: 290), in order for an adversative passive to occur, the event described by the verb has to involve an Actor, since the Japanese adversative passive expresses not only the sense of being subjected to an annoying/upsetting event, but also having an accusing feeling toward the person who is responsible for the occurrence of that event. Tsuboi claims that (3), (4) and (5) are not acceptable as their verbs are unaccusatives, and they describe events that “just happen”. The *ni*-marked NPs in those sentences, therefore, do not have control over the event, and cannot be held responsible for the event.

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 a context.

Having examined all the verbs listed in the “Dictionary of the Usage of Basic

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<sup>2</sup> Note that, even though the English translation in this example involves an unergative verb ‘struck’, the Japanese expression *kaminari ga otiru* (lit. ‘lightening fell’) is unaccusative.

Japanese Verbs”, it became apparent that most of the verbs that the dictionary lists as not being able to occur in any passive constructions are, indeed, unaccusative verbs. Examples include: *amaru* ‘to remain’, *aru* ‘to exist’, *ukabu* ‘to float’, *tasukaru* ‘to survive’, *tariru* ‘to suffice’ and *waku* ‘to come to the boil’. To this extent, then, I basically agree with the analyses of Mikami, Kageyama and Tsuboi. However, there are some unaccusative verbs that do seem to be able to occur in indirect passives. The following are some examples<sup>3</sup>:

(6) *kawaru* ‘to change’

Yakuin no menbaa ni tairyoo.ni **kawar-ar-te** yowat-te i-ru.  
 Executive GEN member by a.lot.of change-PASS-CONJ be.in.a.fix-CONJ be-PRES  
 ‘I am in a fix because a lot of members of the committee **have been changed.**’

(7) *seityoosuru* ‘to grow up’:

Titioya wa suemusume ni **seityoos-are-te** sukosi sabisi soo  
 Father TOP youngest.daughter by grow.up-PASS-CONJ a.little lonely seem  
 dat-ta.  
 COP-PAST  
 ‘The father seemed a bit lonely, **having had** his youngest daughter **grow up.**’

(8) *taoreru* ‘to fall down’:

Butyoo ni karoo de **taore-rare-te** simat-ta.  
 Division.Chief by overwork ABL fall.down-PASS-CONJ complete-PAST

<sup>3</sup> As a reader of this thesis has noted, these unaccusative verbs can be interpreted as having an unergative sense, if they are forced into a certain context, as in *Doozo sonnani hayaku seityoo sinaide kudasai* ‘Please don’t grow up so soon’ and *Sonnani sigoto site byooki de taoreru na yo* ‘Don’t don’t collapse from working so hard!’.

'We are in trouble because our manager has ended up **falling ill (on us)** through overwork.'

- (9) *sagaru* 'drop / go down':

Kabu no ne ni **sagara-re-te** ooyowari da.

Share of price by drop-PASS-CONJ very.weak COP

'I am in a very weak position with the value of my shares **having (gone and) fallen.**'

- (10) *tumoru* 'be piled up / lie on'

Yuki ni konna ni **tumora-re-te** wa soto ni dera-re-nai.

Snow by like.this pile.up-PASS-CONJ TOP outside DAT go.OUT-POT-NEG

'I can't go out with the snow **piled up** like this.'

- (11) *huru* 'fall':

Kono aida wa totuzen ame ni **hura-re-te** taihen dat-ta.

The.other.day TOP suddenly rain by fall-PASS-CONJ terrible COP-PAST

'The other day was terrible with the rain **(going and) falling** so suddenly.'

If it is basically true that unaccusative verbs tend not to occur in the passive in Japanese, then we need to find some explanation as to why these verbs seem to occur quite freely, as in the examples above.

Most of these verbs have a sentient 'actor', as in Examples (6), (7) and (8). We

might hypothesize that even though the activity described by an unaccusative verb in an example such as those above is unintentional, if the ‘actor’ is sentient, it might be considered to have some kind of responsibility for the activity, and that is why these verbs are able to occur in passive sentences. In fact, in examples like (6), (7) and (8), there is a strong sense that the passive subjects actually blame the ‘actors’ in some way for the event described. In example (7), for instance, although the daughter could hardly help the fact that she grew up, there is still a sense that her father feels that by doing so, she has somehow abandoned him.

In the case of (6) *kawaru* ‘to change’ and (8) *taoreru* ‘to fall down’, for example, if the ‘actors’ of the passive were non-sentient NPs, such as *hon no nedan* ‘price of the book’ and *niwa no ume no ki* ‘the plum tree in the garden’, as in (12) and (13) below, the sentences would not be acceptable:

(12) \* Hon no nedan ni **kawar-are-te** okane ga tari-nakat-ta.

book GEN price by change-PASS-CONJ money NOM be.enough-NEG-PAST

‘Since the price of the book **had been changed**, I did not have enough money for it.’

(13) \* Niwa no ume no ki ni **taore-rare-te** gakkari da.

Garden GEN plum GEN tree by fall.down-PASS-CONJ be.disappointed COP

‘I am disappointed as the plum tree in my garden **has fallen down**.’

At this stage, then, we can say that even if the verb is considered to be unaccusative, if the



‘actor’ is sentient, it is more likely to be able to appear in the passive.

Amongst propositions with unaccusative verbs that can be used in the passive, as well as those with sentient ‘actors’, there are also quite a few examples that have ‘weather phenomena’ as the ‘actor’ (as in examples (1), (10) and (11) above). In fact, this is not the only circumstance in which speakers of Japanese treat weather phenomena like sentient noun phrases. For example, words describing weather phenomena are quite easily personified, as in the example below:

- (14) Hru no soyokaze ga watasi no hoo o nade-ta.  
 spring GEN gentle.breeze NOM I GEN cheek ACC stroke-PAST  
 ‘The spring breeze stroked my cheek.’

Weather words can also be the addressee in imperative sentences:

- (15) Ame ame hur-e hur-e!  
 rain rain fall-IMP fall-IMP  
 ‘Rain, rain, fall on me!’
- (16) Kaze yo huke!  
 wind PART blow-IMP  
 ‘Blow, wind, blow!’

It is, therefore, evident that expressions describing weather phenomena can behave like sentient NPs, and also be thought of in an anthropomorphic way, as having some measure of control or blame for the event described. Once again, there is a strong sense of blaming the agent in these sentences. It is presumably this feature of personification that allows the events to be described in the passive in these cases.

As seen above, however, Tsuboi (1997: 288) claims that sentences like (3) and (4), cited again below, are unacceptable even though they involve weather phenomena as the ‘actor’:

(3) \*Taroo wa kyonen hidoi zisin ni okir-are-ta.

Taroo TOP last year devastating earthquake by occur-PASS-PAST

‘A devastating earthquake **occurred** last year, **adversely affecting** Taro.’

(4) \*Tokyo no hitobito wa kinoo kaminari ni oti-rare-ta.

Takyo GEN people TOP yesterday lightning by fall-PASS-PAST

‘Lightning **struck** in Tokyo yesterday, **adversely affecting** the people.’

Tsuboi (1997: 295) suggests, however, that the difference between examples like (10) and (11) above and examples like (3) and (4) is the nature of the events. An event like raining and snowing, as in (10) and (11), usually continues for some considerable duration of time, whereas one like lightning or an earthquake, as in (3) and (4), happens suddenly and passes within a very short period of time. According to Tsuboi, raining and snowing can be

thought of as self-sustained activities, and therefore they are more easily personified, compared to dynamic and spontaneous events like lightning and earthquakes. This is the reason, Tsuiboi claims, why events like raining and snowing can occur in an adversative passive.

However, consider the following example<sup>4</sup>:

(17)	Konna	tokoro	ni	made	kaminari	ni	oti-rare-ta
	this.kind.of	place	in	as.far.as	lightning	by	fall-PASS-PAST
	n	zya		doosiyoo.mo.nai	yo	ne.	
	NML	INSTR.TOP		helpless	SFP	SFP	

‘If we can be struck by lightning even in a place like this, I don’t suppose there’s anything we can do about it, is there?’

Most native speakers would agree that this sentence is acceptable. We need to seek for an alternative explanation. The difference between examples (3) and (4) and example (17) is that, in examples (3) and (4), the passive is used in a main clause, whereas in example (17), it appears in a subordinate clause. It seems to be for this reason that example (17) is acceptable. This issue will be discussed further, later in this section.

As seen above, the sentience or ‘blame-worthiness’ of the agent with an

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<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to one of the readers of the early draft for considering this example.

unaccusative verb does not seem to be the only factor relevant to whether the sentence can be put into the passive. In Example (9), *kabu no ne* ‘the price of shares’ cannot be thought of as having any potential control over the event described, and yet the indirect passive sentence is acceptable. Our next focus is, therefore, on the indirect passive of unaccusative verbs with a non-sentient (and non-personified) ‘actor’ like this one.

Ding (1997) examines indirect passives, especially the passive of intransitive verbs, with inanimate passive ‘actors’ (in his words "moto no bun no ga kaku" [the participant marked by *ga* in the underlying sentence]) (Ding, 1997). He considers each indirect passive sentence in a broader context. Ding claims that an intransitive verb with an inanimate, and even immobile, ‘actor’ can occur in an indirect passive sentence. This is possible in a context in which there is a negative value judgement by the subject of the passive sentence against the realisation of the event described by the verb. That is, before the event occurs, the subject of the passive forms a negative judgement about the event, or desires that the event should not happen. If the event then occurs contrary to the subject's judgement or desire, that event can be described in an indirect passive sentence. To this extent, I agree with Ding's analysis. It is certainly very important to consider factors such as the judgement or attitude of the subject participant when indirect passive sentences are analysed. Let us see some of Ding's examples.

(18) “Zairu wa kireru mono de wa nai” ..... “Sorya, oogoto da yo. Sakura Seikoo to site wa, doo atte mo zairu ni kirerarete wa komaru! Hyakuman'en mo kane o kakete, zisya

no seihin ga warui to iu zikken o suru baka wa inai kara na.” [Source: Hyôheki]

"Climbing ropes just don't break" ..... "That's a serious matter. As Sakura Steel Mill [the manufacturer of the rope], we'll be in trouble if the rope **(goes and) breaks** (on us)! Nobody would be so foolish as to spend as much as a million yen to conduct an experiment which proves that his own company's products are bad."

(19) “Hidoku hutte kita ne. Kono yoosu zya keiben no miti ga koware ya sinai ka ne” kare wa sikata nasi ni Tuda no mimi e mo hairu yoo na ookina koe o dasite koo itta. “Nani daizyoobu yo. Nanbo namae ga keiben datte, soo keiben ni **kowarerareta** hi nya noru mono ga sainan daa ne” [Source: Meian]

“It's started raining heavily. I wonder if the light rail track might be damaged,” he said in a loud voice so that Tsuda could hear, too. “It should be O.K. Even though it's called a light rail, the day the track **(goes and) gets damaged** so ‘lightly’ will be a disaster for the passengers, won't it?”

In Example (18), it is clear from the context that “the climbing rope must not break”. The subject of the passive thinks that it cannot happen, it should not happen, and yet “if the climbing rope were to break, we would be in terrible trouble.” A similar situation applies in Example (19). Ding's claim about this negative judgement of the subject regarding the event described is clearly correct. I would add, however, that there is, in these examples too, a sense of blame. However unreasonably or illogically, the subject is ready to blame the passive agent if the situation were to arise.

Ding also states that this kind of indirect passive sentence is more acceptable and more natural if the event described by the verb is expressed as one that has not yet been realised, as you can see from comparing the following examples.

- (20) Sakura Seikoo to sitewa zairu ni **kire-rare-te** wa koma-ru  
 Sakura Steel.Mill as TOP rope by break-PASS-CONJ TOP be.in.trouble-NON-PAST  
 ‘As the Sakura Steel Mill (the manufacturer of the rope) we'll be in trouble if the rope (goes and) breaks (on us).’
- (21) ??Sakura seikoo wa zairu ni **kire-rare-te** komat-te i-ru  
 Sakura Steel.Mill TOP rope by break-PASS-CONJ be.in.trouble-CONJ be-NON-PAST  
 ‘The Sakura Steel Mill is in trouble because the rope (they made) has **(gone and) broken** (on them).’
- (22) Keiben no miti ni **koware-rare-ta** hi nya noru mono ga sainan  
 Light.rail of track by break-PASS-PAST day LOC-TOP ride people NOM disaster  
 daa ne  
 COP SFP  
 ‘The day the light rail truck (goes and) gets damaged will be a disaster for the passengers, won't it?’
- (23) ??Keiben no miti ni **koware-rare-te** noru mono ga taihen-na koto ni  
 Light.rail of track by break-PASS-CONJ ride people NOM terrible thing DAT  
 nat-ta  
 become-PAST

‘It was a disaster for the passengers because the light rail truck (**went and got damaged**.’

In addition I have also observed that, as in examples (20) and (22), and also in example (17) above, most of the indirect passives of intransitive verbs with an inanimate ‘actor’ occur in subordinate clauses, especially in counterfactual clauses. As I mentioned above, in an indirect passive sentence, the passive ‘actor’ is portrayed as the party that is responsible for the event. It seems that in the unreal world of the future or counterfactual clause, it is easier to blame something that is not animate.

To further test if the use of the indirect passive is really acceptable with an inanimate agent and an unaccusative verb, I made up a series of passive sentences that satisfied all of the conditions mentioned, and conducted a small survey of Japanese native speakers to determine their acceptability. All of the examples clearly involve events that had not (yet) occurred, and negative value judgements by the subjects. I also tested only examples in which the passive verb appears in subordinate, counterfactual clauses.

Most of the sentences tested were considered acceptable by the majority of informants (7 out of 11). However, there was one example that was felt to be unnatural by most of the informants (Example (24)), and another (Example (25)) that all of the informants regard as very unnatural, if not unacceptable.

(24) ?Daizi-na okyaku-san ga aru node, kondo koso kono keeki ni

Special guest NOM havebecause this time TOP-EMPHAT this cake by

**koge-rare-te** wa komaru.

burn-PASS-CONJ TOP be.in.trouble-NON-PAST

‘Because we’re having a special guest, I’ll be in (real) trouble this time if this cake **gets**

**burnt.**’

(25) \*Hon no nedan ni **kawa-rare-te** i-te wa komaru node,

Book of price by change-PASS-CONJ be-CONJ TOP be.in.trouble-NON-PAST because

arakazime denwa de kakunin sita.

beforehand phone INSTR check do-PAST

‘If the price of the book had **been changed**, I’d have been in trouble, so I checked the

price on the phone beforehand.’

Our hypothesis concerning the reason for the unacceptability or awkwardness of these sentences is that, in each case, the real responsibility for the unfortunate event – if it were in fact to occur – would be attributable not to the passive subject, nor to the ‘actor’, but to a third party – one that is clearly involved in the event, even though not mentioned in the sentence. In the case of Example (24), it would presumably be some factor such as an unreliable oven, rather than the cake itself, which might be held responsible for the cake getting burnt, resulting in the low acceptability of this sentence for many native speakers. In the case of example (25), the party ultimately responsible for a price rise is quite clearly not



the book but the owner of the bookstore. In this case, where a third party is in total control of the outcome, the acceptability of sentences with a non-sentient ‘actor’ is even lower.

In this section, we have seen that the indirect passive of an unaccusative verb with a non-sentient ‘actor’ can, in fact, occur, despite claims to the contrary, provided that it fulfills certain conditions. These are that it appears in a context in which there is a negative value judgement by the subject, in which the subject somehow blames the ‘actor’ for the situation (however unreasonably), that it occurs in an unrealised or counterfactual clause, and that there is no other party involved in the event that might be perceived as having control over its outcome.

#### 4.1.2 The indirect passive of a transitive verb

In this section, we will examine the indirect passive of a transitive verb which has an *o*-NP that cannot in any way be thought of as a possession of the passive subject (as in the case of a semi-direct passive). This type of indirect passive is illustrated in example (26) below.

(26) Ozima no tezyoo o **mi-rare**-te wa taihen da. [Akagawa 587]

Ojima GEN handcuffs ACC see-PASS-COJ TOP trouble COP

‘(We) will be in trouble if Ojima’s handcuffs **are seen**.’

The *o*-NP is the direct object of the active verb in the corresponding active sentence. In the passive sentence (26), the subject, *watasi-tati* ‘we’, which is elided in the sentence, does not correspond to any argument of the active verb. Example (26), therefore, is an indirect passive and it has an adversative meaning. The *o*-NP remains as an *o*-NP, and it cannot be thought of as a possession of the subject in any way. ‘Ojima’s handcuffs’ are not the possession of *watasi-tati* ‘we’. I will consider only this type of passive here, and exclude the one that has an *o*-NP that is the subject’s possession (e.g. belongings, relatives, feelings, etc.), such as example (27) below.

- (27) Naitoo wa 71-nen Yanagi ni yabure-te taitoru o **ubaisar-are-ta.**  
 Naito TOP 1971-CLF Yanagi by be.defeated-CONJ title ACC take.away-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Naito was defeated by Yanagi in 1971 and **was adversely affected** by Yanagi’s **taking** his title **away.**’ [Sawaki 600]

The *o*-NP, here is *taitoru* ‘title’ and it belongs to Naito. This type is considered to be a semi-direct passive. We will examine it in the next section.

In this section we will discuss in what context passives like example (26) – adversative passives with an *o*-NP that is not a possession of the subject – occur. In the data for this study, most of them occur under one of the following circumstances:

- (i) the sentence describes a situation in which the subject is adversely affected by an

unexpected or sudden event or change

- (ii) the sentence describes a situation in which the subject is adversely affected by something that is decided by some kind of authority

In the case of example (26), when it is observed in context, as shown in (28) below, it is clear that it belongs to the circumstance (i).

(28) Tobira ga ak-u to wakai onna ga de-te ki-ta.

Door NOM open-PRES when young woman NOM come.out-CONJ come-PAST

Ak-u nari norikom-oo to s-ita Ozima to ayauku hatiawase.

open-PRES as.soon.as get.into-EXHTQUOT do-PAST Ojima with nearly bump.into

“Ara, gomennasai”, to onna ga it-ta. Ozima no tezyoo o

Oh sorry QUOT woman NOM say-PAST Ojima GEN handcuff ACC

mi-rare-te wa taihen da. Nobuko ga awatete Ozima o waki e

see-PASS-CONJ TOP in.troubleCOP Nobuko NOM in.a.flurry Ojima ACC side to

hippat-te, zibun ga sono mae ni tat-ta. [Akagawa 587]

pull-CONJ herself NOM that in.front stand-PAST

‘When the door opened, a young woman came out. She nearly bumped into Ozima who tried to get into (the lift) as soon as the door opened. The woman said, “Oh, I’m sorry.” (We) will be in trouble if Ojima’s handcuffs are seen. Nobuko, in a flurry, pulled Ozima to the side and stood in front of him.

‘Nobuko’ was “in a flurry” because she didn’t expect the young woman to come out. Both Nobuko and Ojima would be in trouble if the woman saw Ojima’s handcuffs. the sentence appears in a context in which the subject is affected adversely by an unexpected, sudden incident. The following, example (29), is another example of this kind.

(29) At-ta. Himo o hik-u to, katiri.to oto wa s-ita ga, akari wa  
 There.is-PAST string ACC pull-PRES if click sound TOP do-PAST but light TOP  
 tuk-anai. Suruto, yahari anzenki o **kir-are-te** i-ru rasii.  
 come.on-NEG then as.I.thought safety.device ACC cut-PASS-CONJ be-PRES seem  
 Doo sur-eba ii da-roo? [Akagawa 607]

How do-COND good COP-EXHT

‘I’ve found it! When (Nobuko) pulled the string, there was a click, but the light didn’t come on. It seems that the safety device **is cut off**. What shall I do?’

When Nobuko pulled the string on the floor lamp, she expected the light to come on. It didn’t, and she realized that the safety device might be cut off. The passive is used again here, in the context of this unexpected event.

Examples (30) and (31) below are the examples of circumstance (ii), a situation in which the subject is adversely affected by something that is decided by some kind of authority:

(30) Singuru no heya ga ai-te i-nai toki.ni wa, sikata.ga.nai node

Single GEN room NOM be.vacant-CONJ be-NEG when TOP no.choice because

tuin no heya ni **ire-rare**-ru. ... seiki no tuin no ryookin o

twin GEN room in put-PASS-PRES regular GEN twin GEN charge ACC

tor-are-te sima-u kara turai. [Shiina 251]

take-PASS-CONJ complete-PRES because be.tough

‘When there is no single room (available), they have no choice but **put** me in a twin room. .... it is tough because you would be charged regular twin rate.’

In Japan, it is usually the case that if you stay at a hotel, you have to pay the rate for the room. Even if you stay in a twin room alone, you have to pay for the twin room. It is this rule decided by some nebulous hotel authority, that affects the subject adversely.

(31) Kizoku ni umare-ta kara kokkai ni wa syussekis-uru ga,

Aristocrat as be.born-PAST because Parliament to TOP attend-PRES but

Sore wa kakutaru riyuu mo naku-te kessekis-uru to, kare no 2-nen

that TOP particular reason even NEG-CONJ miss-PRES if he GEN two-CLF

bun no kyuryoo gurai no bakkin o **tor-are**-ru kara de,...

worth GEN salary about GEN fine ACC take-PASS-PRES because COP

‘(Nicolo) attends Parliament because he was born as an aristocrat. However, he does not have any particular reason for that, but it is only because if he misses (Parliament), he would **be fined** about two years worth of his salary.’ [Shiono 454]

This sentence, again, concerns some sort of rule imposed by an authority, in this case, one decided by Parliament. That is if a member of Parliament fails to attend, he has to pay about two years worth of his salary. The passive is used to express the fact that the subject is adversely affected by such a rule.

To sum up the discussions above, an intransitive verb can appear in the indirect passive if it is an unergative verb. In the case of the unaccusative verb, it can occur in the indirect passive if it fulfills certain conditions: it appears in a context in which there is a negative value judgement by the subject; in which the subject somehow blames the ‘actor’ for the situation (however unreasonably); that it occurs in an unrealised or counterfactual clause, and that there is no other party involved in the event that might be perceived as having control over its outcome. In terms of transitive verbs, most of them occur in the indirect passive under one of the following circumstances: (i) the sentence describes a situation in which the subject is adversely affected by an unexpected or sudden event or change; (ii) the sentence describes a situation in which the subject is adversely affected by something that is decided by some kind of authority.

#### **4.2 Semi-direct passives with special emotive nuance**

As proposed in Section 3.1.3, the semi-direct passive is defined in this thesis as one that has a corresponding active clause, and whose subject would be one of the peripheral

participants of the verb in the corresponding active clause. Examples of the so-called ‘possessor passive’, whose passive subject corresponds to the genitive case or ‘possessor’ NP of the corresponding active sentence, belong to this category of the semi-direct passive. Since the possessor passive, including the body-part passive, forms a large part of the semi-direct passive, we will discuss the emotive nuance in the possessor passive in this section.

Teramura (1982: 244-245) suggests that, in this type of passive, it is usually the case that ‘Z’ is ‘X’s something’, as illustrated in (32) below (Teramura 1982: 245):

(32) X ga Y ni Z o ~(r)are-ru.

X NOM Y GEN Z ACC -PASS-PRES

‘X is affected by Y’s doing something to Z.’

‘Z’ could be X’s body part, relative, possessions, or occupied space, in other words, something that has some relation to X. Teramura also states that the possessor passive has an adversative reading, and the degree of adversity depends on the nature of Z, decreasing in the order given above: body part → occupied space.

As seen in Section 2.4.2, Masuoka (2000), however, claims that in the possessor passive, unlike indirect passives, whether the effect on the subject is perceived as favorable or adversative basically depends on the verb’s lexical meaning. For instance, compare the following examples, cited w again below (Masuoka 2000: 60; his examples):

(33) Taroo wa sensei ni atama o **tatak-are-ta.**

Taro TOP teacher by head ACC hit-PASS-PAST

‘Taro **was hit** on the head by his teacher.’

(34) Taroo wa sensei ni repooto o takaku **hyookas-are-ta.**

Taro TOP teacher by report ACC highly value-PASS-PAST

‘Taro **had** his report highly **valued** by his teacher.’

Masuoka claims that in example (33), the subject, *Taroo*, is understood to be adversely affected because the verb, (*atama o tatakau* ‘to hit (on the head)’), expresses an unfavorable action. On the contrary, example (34) is read as describing an event that had a favorable effect on the subject, *Taroo*, as the verb, (*repooto o takaku hyooka-suru* ‘to value (his report highly)’), denotes a desirable situation.

Klaiman (1987:402-403) also points out that some possessor passives do not have any meaning of emotive affectedness. Consider the following examples (Klaiman 1987: 403):

(35) Sono sitai wa atama o siroi nuno de/ni **oow-are-te** i-ta.

that corpse TOP head ACC white cloth with/DAT cover-PASS-CONJ be-PAST

‘The head of that corpse **was covered** with a white cloth.’



(36) Sono hako wa hanbun o siroi nuno de/ni **oow-are-te** i-ta.  
 that box TOP half ACC white cloth with/DAT cover-PASS-CONJ be-PAST

‘That box **was** half **covered** with a white cloth.’

Klaiman (1987: 402-403) indicates that examples (35) and (36) do not carry the nuance of the subjects’ emotive affectedness. She claims that it is because (35) and (36) describe some state or attribute of the subjects, not some specific event. Example (35) indicates an attribute of ‘that corpse’ being covered with a white cloth, and example (36) is, similarly, about ‘that box’ being half covered with a white cloth.

However, although Klaiman’s claims do seem applicable to the examples she gives above, consider the following example:

(37) Sono sitai wa kaiboo ga owar-u to sugu zensin o siroi  
 that corpse TOP autopsy NOM finish-NONPAST when at.once whole.body ACC white  
 nuno de **oow-are-ta**.  
 cloth DAT cover-PASS-PAST

‘The whole body of that corpse **was** immediately **covered** with a white cloth when the autopsy was finished.’

Example (37) denotes an event that occurs at a specific time and place, and yet it still does not carry the special nuance of the subject’s affectedness. Contrary to Klaiman’s view,

example (37) does not imply the subject's emotive affectedness even though it indicates a specific event.

This issue of the special emotive nuance in the possessor passive will be discussed further in Section 4.4.3 in relation to one of Shibatani's (1996: 7) criteria for his concept of 'relevance'.

### 4.3 Direct passives with an emotive undertone

In previous analyses, such as Mikami (1953/1972: 98-112), Kuno (1973: 24), Shibatani (1978: 133-142) and Teramura (1982: 214-217), the Japanese passive has been considered to have an adversative meaning when it is an indirect passive (see Section 2.3). According to the non-uniform theory in the framework of generative transformational grammar (McCawley (1972), Kuno (1973) and Shibatani (1978)), the indirect passive has a meaning not shared by the direct passive because it is derived from an underlying structure that involves two sentences rather than one (see Section 2.3.1).

However, we have seen evidence that some direct passives also have an adversative reading (Example (24)-b in Section 2.2.1). The following are further examples:

(38) a. Keiko ga sono ie no tikaku de Hitosi o mi-ta.

Keiko NOM that house GEN near at Hitoshi ACC see-PAST

‘Keiko saw Hitoshi near that house.’

- b. Hitosi ga sono ie no tikaku de Keiko ni **mi-rare**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM that house GEN near at Keiko by see-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko's **seeing** him near that house.’

(Lit. Hitoshi was seen by Keiko near the house.)

- (39) a. Keiko ga Hitosi o eki no mae de ni-jikan mat-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi ACC station GEN front in two hours wait-PAST

‘Keiko waited for Hitoshi in front of the station for two hours.’

- b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni eki no mae de ni-jikan **mat-are**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by station GEN front in two hours wait-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko's **waiting** for him in front of the station for two hours.’

(Lit. Hitoshi was waited for by Keiko in front of the station for two hours.)

Examples (38b) and (39b) are direct passive sentences; their subjects would be one of the core arguments of the active verb in the corresponding active clause. In each case, however, they are interpreted as having adversative reading<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> It may be thought that the adversative reading in example (38b) arises from context. However, as seen in Section 2.3.1, example (25b) (simplified version of example (38b)), *Mary ga John ni mi-rare-ta* ‘Mary was seen by John’, is also interpreted as having an adversative meaning. This shows that the adversative reading is a part of linguistic meaning of the sentence, not pragmatic implicature.

Song (1993: 93) suggests that the ‘traditional’ distinction between direct and indirect passives does not provide any explanation for the adversative sense in cases like these. However, if you define the ‘direct passive’ and the ‘indirect passive’ as syntactic subgroups, as has been done in the previous sections of this thesis, and distinguish them from the semantic subgroups, then there is no confusion. Examples (38b) and (39b) are syntactically classified as direct passive sentences and the fact that they have an adversative reading does not cause any problem. Song’s argument here, like the one advanced in this thesis, is against the traditional idea that indirect passives are adversative passives and direct passives are neutral passives. If we treat the two types of distinction, the syntactic and the semantic, separately, and do not insist on the complete correspondence of these two types of distinction, then cases like examples (38b) and (39b) – direct passives with an adversative meaning – should not be a problem.

Now, however, we have lost the advantage of the traditional analysis, that of being able to give a simple account regarding which cases of the passive have the adversative meaning and which do not. We need to seek for an alternative explanation. This explanation will be advanced in Section 4.4 below.

#### **4.4 The emotive nuance**

First, let us compare example (38b) cited again below, with an example of a passive

without any special emotive connotation, example (40b).

[Passive with an emotive connotation]

(38) a. Keiko ga sono ie no tikaku de Hitosi o mi-ta.

Keiko NOM that house GEN near at Hitoshi ACC see-PAST

‘Keiko saw Hitoshi near that house.’

b. Hitosi ga sono ie no tikaku de Keiko ni **mi-rare**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM that house GEN near at Keiko by see-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko's **seeing** him near that house.’

(Lit. Hitoshi was seen by Keiko near the house.)

[Passive without an emotive nuance]

(40) a. Keiko ga **Hitosi o** obut-ta.

Keiko NOM Hitoshi ACC carry-PAST

‘Keiko carried Hitoshi on her back.’

b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni **obuw-are**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by carry-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was carried** by Keiko on her back.’

Example (38b) is a direct passive that has an adversative meaning. Example (40b) is a direct passive and unlike (38b), it has no adversative connotations. It seems that the main

semantic difference between the adversative passive, (38b), and the ordinary passive, (40b) is the way in which the subject of the passive is involved in the event described by the verb. In example (40b), the subject, Hitoshi, is directly involved in the event and is directly affected by Keiko's carrying him. In example (38b), on the other hand, Hitoshi is clearly not involved in the event, nor affected by the event, as directly as in example (40b). Let us consider each of the parameter of involvement– in more detail below.

#### **4.4.1 Involvement**

The notion of involvement appears in Wierzbicka's (1979/1988: 270) and Kuno's (1982: 205) analyses in accounting for an adversative meaning in a passive sentence. Wierzbicka states that:

Thus, it appears that Japanese treats actions which affect us without involving us in one way and those which both affect and involve us, in another..... 'If an action (or event) does not involve us directly and yet affects us, it will probably affect us negatively', is the view embedded in Japanese syntax. (Wierzbicka, 1988: 270)

While Wierzbicka focuses on the contexts in which an adversative meaning occurs with a passive, Kuno tries to explain why the adversative meaning has to be read in a passive sentence. Kuno proposes the adversative passive meaning rule as follows,

considering the subject's involvement in the event described by the verb:

[Adversative passive meaning rule]

In the deep structure of the *ni*-passive, the more directly the subject of the main clause is involved in the event described in the embedded clause, the more easily the passive can be interpreted as a neutral passive. The less the involvement is, the stronger the adversity interpretation arises in the passive. In other words, if one has an NP which is not expected to be able to occur in a passive sentence as the subject of the passive, one needs to somehow supply the interpretation that the NP is directly involved in the action or the psychological state in the embedded clause. This interpretation has to come from somewhere other than the element of the meaning of the verb. This is why the adversative reading obtains.

(Kuno 1982: 205, translation by the author.)

Kuno actually withdraws from the non-uniform theory and adopts the uniform theory (See Section 2.3.1.) over this issue of the meaning of the adversative passive, especially the adversative meaning of some direct passive sentences. He opts to explain the distinction of the passive without an emotive nuance and the passive with an emotive nuance semantically rather than representing it structurally.

According to Kuno's hypothesis, example (40b), cited again below, does not have a special emotive connotation, because the subject, *Hitosi*, is directly affected by the event

described in the embedded clause, *Keiko ga Hitosi o obu* ‘Keiko carries Hitoshi’.

(40) b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni **obuwa-re**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by carry-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was carried** by Keiko on her back.’

In example (38b), on the other hand, Kuno claims that the subject, *Hitosi*, is not involved in the event directly. Therefore, it is interpreted as an adversative passive.

(38) b. Hitosi ga sono ie no tikaku de Keiko ni **mi-rare**-ta.

Hitoshi NOM that house GEN near at Keiko by see-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko's **seeing** him near that house.’

(Lit. Hitoshi was seen by Keiko near the house.)

We have examined Kuno’s analysis of the circumstances under which the adversative meaning occurs in a passive sentence. However, it is still not clear exactly why Kuno suggests that we need to ‘supply the interpretation that the NP is directly involved in the action or the psychological state in the embedded clause’ if we have ‘an NP which is not expected to be able to occur in a passive sentence as the subject of the passive’ (Kuno, 1982: 205). We will consider this issue in the next section.



#### 4.4.2 Semantic integration

According to Shibatani (1996: 3), the adversative meaning in question is not exclusive to the Japanese passive. Although it is mainly restricted to body part passives, both Chinese and Korean have passive constructions which are associated with an adversative meaning. The so-called Ethical Dative construction in Indo-European languages also has an adversative meaning. Shibatani suggests that we need to seek for some principle to account for this issue of adversative meaning within a larger framework, which encompasses all of the constructions mentioned above.

The constructions mentioned above, adversative passives in Japanese, Chinese and Korean and the Ethical Dative in Indo-European languages, have a common syntactic feature. That is that they all have an ‘extra-thematic’ argument. An ‘extra-thematic’ argument is the one ‘that is not part of the case frame of the verb with which it occurs, or that does not bear a theta role specified by the verbal head’ (Shibatani 1994: 465). Kuno’s notion of ‘an NP which is not expected to be able to occur in a passive sentence as the subject of the passive’ can be thought of as corresponding to this ‘extra-thematic’ argument.

Shibatani (1996) proposes the principle of semantic integration as follows:

[Principle of semantic integration]

In a given construction, all the related NPs which bear referring function have to be semantically integrated properly by making some kind of semantic contribution.

(Shibatani 1996: 8, translation by the author.)

In other words, Shibatani claims that even if an NP does not bear a theta role assigned by the verb, if the NP is interpreted as making some sort of semantic contribution, it is semantically integrated into the proposition denoted by the rest of the sentence, and is thus grammatically acceptable.

In many examples of the Japanese passive with the special emotive nuance, the subject does not bear any theta role assigned by the verb. That is, in the terms used in this thesis, it is not an argument of the verb. Therefore, some ‘extraneous semantic support’ (Shibatani 1994: 467), in this case the emotive overtone, is needed in order to properly integrate the subject into the clausal semantics. Now another question arises. That is, ‘why is it that the “extraneous semantic support” is, in most of the cases, adversative?’. We will consider this question in Section 4.4.3 below.

### 4.4.3 Relevance

As seen in section 4.4.1, Kuno and Wierzbicka tried to explain the semantic difference between the passive with an emotive nuance, (33b), and the passive without an emotive connotation, (35b), using the notion of involvement. However, there are some examples that cannot be explained with Kuno's and Wierzbicka's notion of involvement. These include some possessor passives, especially the body part passives, such as examples (41) and (42) below.

(41) Hitosi ga Keiko ni te o **nigi-rare-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by hand ACC hold-PASS-PAST

'Hitoshi **was adversely affected** Keiko's **holding** his hand.'

(42) Hitosi ga Keiko ni tume o **ki-rare-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by nail ACC cut-PASS-PAST

'Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko's **cutting** his nails.'

In these examples the subject is interpreted as the possessor of the body part. For example, in (41), the hand that Keiko held is assumed to be Hitoshi's hand, and in example (42), the nails are taken to be Hitoshi's. If we take this natural interpretation, the subject – "*Hitosi*", in both examples above - is very much involved and affected by the event described by the verb. However, these passive sentences are also interpreted as having an adversative

meaning, contrary to Kuno and Wierzbicka's claim that if the subject is directly involved in the event, the passive clause does not have a special emotive connotation. We need, therefore, to reconsider the notion of involvement.

First, let us compare examples (41) and (42) with other examples of body part passives that are not likely to be interpreted as having an adversative meaning, such as example (4b) seen in Section 3.1.3, cited again below.

- (4) 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.'

The difference between examples (41) and (42) and example (4b) is that, in examples (41) and (42), the body parts that appear in the sentence are peripheral compared to the one in example (4b). That is, the hand and the fingernail in (41) and (42) respectively, are located more peripherally on the body than the shoulder in (4b). Shibatani (1996: 6) claims that whether the body part is central or peripheral affects whether or not the passive sentence has an adversative meaning. In other words, how the possessor of the body part, the subject of the passive, relates to the event changes depending on the body part that appears in the passive sentence.

This issue of the body part passive leads Shibatani (1996: 7) to propose the notion

of ‘relevance’, refining Kuno’s and Wierzbicka’s notion of ‘involvement’. Shibatani states that the referent indicated by each NP has to be relevant to the event described by the verb in some way. He defines the notion of ‘relevance’ by delineating the properties of optimally relevant participants as follows:

The participants constituting the event itself, say an agent and a patient of a scene construed as involving a prototypical transitive activity, are optimally relevant to the scene of the event. (Shibatani 1994: 470)

He suggests two parameters that decide each NP’s degree of relevance to the event. These are the participants’ physical presence (proximity) and the affecting and affected roles they play in constituting a transitive event. Shibatani claims that ‘the higher the relevance of the referent of an extra-thematic argument is to the described scene, the easier it is to integrate it. Conversely, the more difficult to integrate an extra-thematic argument, the more required are semantic augmentation and morphological trappings supporting and overtly indicating its relevance’.

If we apply Shibatani’s analysis to the body part passive in Japanese, it can be said that if the body part is high in proximity to the possessor, the possessor of the body part, the subject of the passive, is central to the event and very much affected by the event. That is, if the subject is highly relevant to the event, it does not require any supplementary semantic input to increase its relevance to the event. The passive sentence, therefore, is not

likely to have an adversative meaning.

According to Shibatani's analysis, example (42), cited below again, has an adversative meaning. That is because the fingernails' proximity is fairly low compared to other body parts, which means the relevance to the possessor of the body part, the subject of the passive, is low.

(42) Hitosi ga Keiko ni tume o **ki-rare-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM Keiko by nail ACC cut-PASS-PAST

'Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko's **cutting** his nails.'

In example (4b), cited below again, on the other hand, *kata* 'the shoulder' is much more central than the fingernail, and the proximity to the possessor is higher. Thus, this sentence does not have an adversative meaning.

(4) 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.'

We can expand this Shibatani's first criteria of proximity to be applied not only to the 'body part' passive, but also to other 'possessor' passives, combining with Teramura's (1982: 244-245) analysis.

As seen in Section 4.2, Teramura (1982: 244-245) suggests that in the ‘possessor’ passive, it is usually the case that ‘Z’ is ‘X’s something’, as illustrated in (32) and cited below again (Teramura 1982: 245):

(32) X ga Y ni Z o ~(r)are-ru.

X NOM Y GEN Z ACC -PASS-PRES

‘X is affected by Y’s doing something to Z.’

‘Z’ could be X’s body part, relative, possessions, or occupied space, in other words, something that has some relation with X. Teramura also states that the possessor passive has an adversative reading, or an emotive nuance, and the degree of adversity depends on the nature of Z, decreasing in the order given above: body part → occupied space. The crucial point here is also how close the relation between X and Z is; namely the degree of proximity of the possessor (X) to the possession (Z). Compare the following examples:

(43) Ikuraka no kane o okur-u to ... ringu anaunsaa ni namae o

Some.amount GEN money ACC give if ring announcer by name ACC

**yomiager-are-ru.** [Sawaki 614]

call-PASS-PRES.

‘If you gave some money, your name would **be called out** by the ring announcer ...’

(44) ... sono zairyoo o **toriager-are-ru** to urami mo hukai no

that ingredient ACC take.away-PASS-PRES if grudge too deep NML

dear-u.

COP-NONPAST

‘... if the ingredients **are taken away**, his grudge too will be deep.’

In examples above, the possessions (Z) are the underlined NPs, and the possessors (X) are the subjects of the sentences, elided in both cases. It is clear that the relation of ‘name’ in (43) with its ‘possessor’, ‘you’, is closer than the one of ‘ingredients’ in (44) with its ‘possessor’, ‘he’. It is also observed that if the proximity to the possessor of the ‘possession’ is high, the ‘possessor’ or the subject of the passive is more central to the event. This is presumably one of the reasons why the special emotive nuance in (44) is stronger than that in (43). It is now evident that the lower the proximity of the ‘possession’, and thus the lower the degree of the centrality of the subject to the event, the stronger the special emotive undertone arises.

Shibatani’s second parameter, the affectedness, also seems to be related to the centrality of the subject to the event, and highly important in explaining the case of the direct passive that has the special emotive nuance, as in examples (38b) and (39b), cited again below:

(38) b. Hitosi ga sono ie no tikaku de Keiko ni **mi-rare-ta**.

Hitoshi NOM that house GEN near at Keiko by see-PASS-PAST

‘Hitoshi **was adversely affected** by Keiko’s **seeing** him near that house.’



- (39) b. Hitosi ga Keiko ni eki no mae de ni-jikan **mat-are-ta**.  
 Hitoshi NOM Keiko by station GEN front in two.hours wait-PASS-PAST  
 'Hitoshi **was waited for** by Keiko in front of the station for two hours.'

In (38b) the degree of the centrality of the subject (Hitoshi) to the event is low, and therefore the affectedness of the subject in the event described by the verb (to see) is also very low. The passive sentence is thus interpreted as having quite a strong emotive nuance. In the case of (39b), also, the subject (Hitoshi) does not play a central role in the event (Keiko's waiting for him for two hours). He might not be even aware of the fact that Keiko was waiting for him, and the event does not directly affect Hitoshi. It therefore also has a special emotive undertone.

Let's have a look deeper into this issue, examining some real examples.

- (45) (Zyunko wa) hait-te kur-u Ozima-tati ni **mi-rare-nai** yoo.ni mi  
 (Junko TOP) enter-CONJ come-PRES Ojiza-PLR DAT see-PASS-NEG so.that body  
 o kagame-ru. [Akagawa 496]  
 ACC crouch-PRES

'Junko bent herself forward so that she **was not seen** by Ojima and others who came in.'

- (46) Ozima no tezyoo o **mi-rare-te** wa taihen da. [Akagawa 587]  
 Ojima GEN handcuff ACC see-PASS-CONJ TOP trouble COP

‘(We) will be in trouble if Ojima’s handcuffs **are seen**.

Example (45) is a direct passive with an emotive nuance just like example (38b). The subject of the passive, *Zyunko* ‘Junko’, does not play a main part in the passive clause nor is she physically affected by the event, even though she would be a core argument of the verb *miru* ‘to see’ in the corresponding active sentence. She is, however, clearly emotionally affected by the event. If the event, *Ozima-tati ni mi-rare-ru* ‘being seen by Ojima and others’, ever happens, Junko will be in trouble. Example (46), on the other hand, is an indirect passive; its subject, *watasi-tati* ‘we’ (elided in the sentence), does not correspond to any of the arguments of the active verb, *mi-ru* ‘to see’. The subject of the passive, therefore, is not involved nor affected physically by the event in any way, but it is emotionally affected by the event. Although (45) is a direct passive and (46) is an indirect passive, the degree of emotive nuance in (45) and (46) is very similar. The following is a similar case with a different verb, *yom-u* ‘read’.

(47) ... Tsuneo wa sono tame.ni zibun no minikui kokoro ga Nanase ni ...

Tsuneo TOP that because oneself GEN ugly heart NOM Nanase DAT  
**yom-are-ru** koto o hidoku osor-e ..... [Tsutsui]  
 read-PASS-PRES NML ACC terribly be.afraid-CONJ ...

‘Tsuneo is terribly afraid of his own ugly mind **being read** by Nanase because of that, and .....’

Example (47) is a direct passive with a clear emotive undertone. This is because neither the subject of the passive, *zibun no kokoro* ‘his own mind’, nor the possessor of the mind, ‘Tsuneo’, which is the subject of the main clause, is central to the event nor directly affected by the event. However, ‘Tsuneo’ would clearly be emotionally affected, if the event, *zibun no minikui kokoro ga Nanase ni yom-are-ru* ‘his own ugly mind being read by Nanase’, ever occurs. Let us compare (47) with an indirect passive involving the same verb, *yom-u* ‘to read’, in example (48).

- (48) Tsuneo wa ..... terepasu ni kokoro o **yom-are-ru** kyoochu o  
 Tsuneo TOP telepathist by mind ACC read-PASS-PRES fear ACC  
 kokuhukus-ita ..... [Tsutsui 379]  
 overcome-PAST  
 ‘Tsuneo overcame the fear of his mind **being read** by a telepathist .....’

The subject of the passive, Tsuneo, here as well, will be emotionally affected by the event, *Tsuneo wa terepasu ni kokoro o yom-are-ru* ‘Tsuneo’s mind being read by a telepathist’, if it ever occurs. The degree of emotive nuance in (47) and (48) is very similar.

Both (45) and (48) are examples of the direct passive that have a special emotive nuance. This is because the verbs, *mi-ru* ‘to see’ and *yom-u* ‘read’, in (45) and (48) respectively, are both low in transitivity. The subjects of the passive are, therefore, not central to the event nor directly affected by the event described. It is, however, the nature of

the passive subject that is understood to be somehow affected by the event. In order to interpret their subjects as being affected in some way, the passive clauses (45) and (47) have an additional emotive undertone (see Section 4.4.2).

Although they are syntactically direct passives, the function of examples (45) and (47) are extremely similar to that of the indirect examples (46) and (48). All of these sentences have a special emotive nuance. It thus can be said that the direct passive whose passive subject is not central to the event, nor directly affected by the event, has a special emotive undertone, and its function is very similar to that of the indirect passives, which invariably have the emotive nuance.

#### **4.4.4 Why adversative?**

In the previous sections, we have seen that, if an NP's relevance is low in the event described and it is not directly involved in the event physically or emotionally, some extra interpretation has to be supplied to show that the NP is indirectly or emotionally affected. In doing so, the NP's relevance is increased and it is thus integrated appropriately into the event. However, we have not considered why, in most cases of Japanese passive constructions, this extra interpretation is adversative. First we will reconsider Wierzbicka's analysis of the 'view embedded in Japanese syntax' below:

'If an action (or event) does not involve us directly and yet affects us, it will

probably affect us negatively' (Wierzbicka, 1988: 270)

Shibatani (1996: 15) comments that, as Wierzbicka states above, whether or not we are involved in the event directly affects whether we consider the event positively or negatively. He suggests that we tend to regard an intentional act as favourable, whereas we regard an unintentional act as unfavourable. Shibatani states that this is based on our universal world view, which is that the way the world works does not in itself lead to good outcomes, and that in order to get a good outcome, our intentional intervention is needed. He considers the following examples (Shibatani 1996: 16):

(49) Hanako wa Taro ni kaminoke o ki-rase-ta.

Hanako TOP Taro AGT hair ACC cut-CAUS-PAST

'Hanako made Taro cut her hair.'

(50) Hanako wa Taro ni kaminoke o **ki-rare-ta**.

Hanako TOP Taro by hair ACC cut-PASS-PAST

'Hanako **had** her hair **cut** by Taro.'

A causative sentence, (49), describes an intentional action, and it indicates that the result of the haircut would have been a favourable one, or at least one that the subject expected. A passive sentence, (50), on the other hand, implies an action that was not intended by the subject of the sentence and therefore an unfavourable result. Shibatani claims that in the prototypical adversative passive construction, the event happens unrelated to the subject's

intention. In order to secure the relevance of the referent of the subject, the construction also describes the situation that the subject is somehow affected psychologically. Shibatani states that the adversative meaning of a passive sentence is produced by the following three factors: the subject's lack of intention, the subject's emotional affectedness, and our universal world view that our intentional intervention is needed to lead to a favourable outcome.

Now let us consider some other constructions in Japanese that involve the subject's lack of intention. It is said that Japanese has 'the general tendency towards richness of intransitive expression' (Jacobsen 1992: 83). Although it does not have an extra-thematic NP as in the indirect passive, lack of intention is one of the key features of the spontaneous intransitive construction<sup>6</sup>, such as examples (51) and (52) below.

(51) Koogi wa moo hazimatte-iru.

lecture TOP already begin-PERF

'The lecture has already begun.'

(52) Kinoo koko de ziko ga okot-ta.

yesterday here at accident NOM happen-PAST

'An accident happened here yesterday.'

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<sup>6</sup> In this thesis, these are referred to as 'unaccusative constructions'. (See Section 1.6.1.2.)

Japanese also has a so-called ‘spontaneous passive construction’<sup>7</sup>, which is made by adding the suffix *-(r)are* to the verb (see Section 1.5). It is used to express emotions or perceptions that involuntarily arise in the perceiving subject. Examples are shown below.

(53) Gakusei.zidai ga natukasiku omoidas-are-ru.

School.days NOM longingly remember-SPON-PRES

‘I remember my school days fondly.’

(54) Samusa ga yawarai-da yoo ni kanzi-rare-ru.

coldness NOM abade-PAST COMP DAT feel-SPON-PRES

‘It felt (to me) as if the cold had abated.’

As we have seen in the prototypical adversative passive construction in Japanese, in the spontaneous intransitive construction and the spontaneous passive construction the event is also described as occurring without the subject’s intention. However, in spite of this, in these latter two constructions, it is not necessarily understood to be unfavourable.

The difference between spontaneous constructions, such as those illustrated directly above, and the adversative passive construction is that the former do not imply anybody’s intention, neither the subject’s nor that of some other party. Rather than being caused or controlled by any intentional participant, these constructions present the event as

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<sup>7</sup> As a reader of the early draft has noted, this construction is more commonly referred to simply as the ‘spontaneous construction’. However, the term ‘spontaneous passive construction’ is used here to distinguish it from the ‘spontaneous intransitive construction’, discussed in the previous page.

happening spontaneously. In the adversative passive, on the other hand, the event is certainly described as happening unrelated to the subject's intention, but, in addition, it implies the control of the 'actor' over the event. It can thus be said that the adversative meaning occurs when the event is described as something that happens unrelated to the subject's intention but under the control of some other party. The subject's sense of powerlessness about somebody (or something) else having control over the event is expressed as an additional adversative interpretation.

This chapter has investigated the type of passive with special emotive affectedness, widely referred to as the 'adversative passive' in previous research. We examined passives with an emotive undertone within the framework of each syntactic category of Japanese passive: the indirect passive, the semi-direct passive and the direct passive. We then investigated under what circumstances the special nuance appeared.

On the basis of this examination we found that, if a passive is syntactically classified as an indirect passive, it is always associated with this emotive nuance. Examples that have previously been presented as instances of 'indirect passives' that do not have the special emotive affectedness are actually better categorised as semi-direct passives – more specifically the so-called 'possessor passive', whose subject corresponds to the genitive case or 'possessor' NP in the active counterpart.

In the case of the direct passive, as well as the semi-direct passive, the degree of



the centrality of the subject and the impact of the event on the subject were found crucial to the degree of the emotive affectedness. The lower the degree of the centrality of the subject or the impact of the event on the subject is, the stronger the special emotive undertone is perceived to be.