Chapter 5 Japanese passive in authentic texts

5.1   Data and methodology

As described in detail in Section 1.2, this research has primarily used authentic written and spoken data for analysis, in order to portray how Japanese passives are actually used. For the written data of this study, we collected 679 passive examples from ten different contemporary novels. Using the CD-Rom collection of Japanese novels, *Shinchô Bunko no Hyakusatsu* (One hundred Shinchô Paperbacks), we selected the ten most recent novels in the collection and searched the middle 100 pages of each novel. For the spoken data, the collection of *Josei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Women's Language – Workplace section) and *Dansei no Kotoba - Shokubahen* (Men's Language – Workplace section), commercially available on CD-Rom, were used. 169 passive examples out of a total of 16,921 utterances were found in these spoken data collections. Altogether, 848 passive examples have been analysed in this study.

The size of the spoken data (169 examples) is relatively small compared to the written data (679 examples). When it is necessary to take an overview of spoken and written data together on a certain issue, the percentages of spoken and written data are averaged[1] rather than giving the raw figures.

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[1] I am indebted to one of the readers of the early draft for suggesting the use of this method.

5.2   Basic findings

5.2.1 Proportions of each category in the data

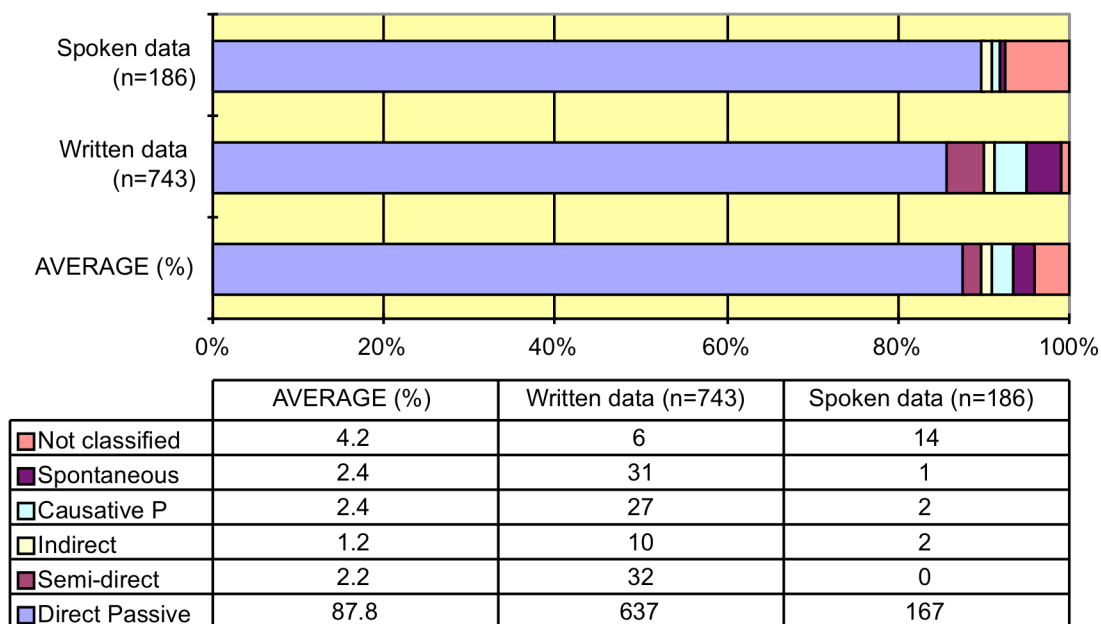#### 5.2.1.1   Syntactic categories

As discussed in Chapter 3, in this thesis, Japanese passive constructions are syntactically classified into three basic groups; direct passive, semi-direct passive and indirect passive. Overwhelmingly the focus of previous study of Japanese passives has been on the indirect passive. However, the data shows that, in fact, the vast majority of instances of passive in Japanese, at least in the genres examined in this study, are the direct passive[2]. This is a highly significant finding of this thesis.

The following figure shows the proportion of each syntactic type of passive accounted for in the data. It includes causative passives and spontaneous passives which

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[2] Yoshida (1996: 38) presented a similar finding in her research on passives in Japanese conversation. In her data, there are 172 out of a total of 243 instances of the direct passive (71%) compared to only 29 cases of the indirect passive (12%). Note that Yoshida's category of indirect passive incorporates both the categories of indirect and semi-direct passives in this study.

have been treated separately from other types of passive in previous research. In this thesis, also, they are not included as Japanese passives in the strict sense. However, in order to compare the proportions of these two constructions with other types of passive, they are included in the following figure. The figure also includes a set of passive examples that cannot be clearly placed in any one group because some critical parts[3] of the sentence are elided. In the figure, the top bar indicates the proportion of each syntactic type of passive accounted for in the spoken data, and the middle bar in the written data. The bottom bar shows the average of the percentages of spoken and written data.

Figure 1. Syntactic categories

	AVERAGE (%)	Written data (n=743)	Spoken data (n=186)
☐ Not classified	4.2	6	14
☐ Spontaneous	2.4	31	1
☐ Causative P	2.4	27	2
☐ Indirect	1.2	10	2
☐ Semi-direct	2.2	32	0
☐ Direct Passive	87.8	637	167

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[3] In Japanese, mainly in spoken language, particles are often elided. Sometimes you cannot even tell if a NP is in the accusative case or nominative case, and therefore, cannot distinguish the indirect passive from the direct passive. This is the reason why spoken data has a sizable proportion in the 'not-classified' group.

The most striking feature of this figure is the predominant proportion of the direct passive. Both in the spoken and the written data, almost 90% of all the passive clauses are, in fact, examples of the direct passive. In contrast, the examples of the indirect passive found in this data search account for only 1.2%. Even when these are put together with examples of the semi-direct passive, as has been done in previous research, the proportion is still only 3.4%.

The indirect passive can occur with an intransitive verb, and it is usually accompanied by a special emotive nuance. Since these characteristics are unusual from the Indo-European point of view, and are very intriguing, the indirect passive has, understandably, been widely discussed amongst researchers of Japanese passives. However, the frequency of its occurrence seems, in fact, to be very low. Even though the indirect passive has been a major focus of research on Japanese passive constructions, the results show that it can hardly be taken to represent Japanese passive constructions in general.

5.2.1.2   Semantic categories

Next, let us consider semantic categories. The basic semantic groups of Japanese passive constructions used in this thesis are the plain passive and the passive of interest, as seen in Section 3.2. The plain passive is then divided into two types: the demotional passive and the attributive passive. The passive of interest is also divided into two groups: passives with a latent affectee and sentient passives. The following factors are considered to classify the

tokens:

Demotional passive is one that is used primarily to marginalise the agent. The agent 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. (See Section 3.2.1.1.)

Attributive passive is one that is used to describe or imply some attribute of the referent of the subject. It does not depict the occurrence or existence of an event at a specific time and place. (See Section 3.2.1.2.)

Passive with a latent affectee is one in which one can assume a latent affectee. 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. (See Section 3.2.2.1.)

Sentient passive is one that has a sentient (most likely human) subject, and is used to describe a situation in which the referent of the subject is directly or emotionally affected by the event. (See Section 3.2.2.2.)

In previous research, the demotional passive[4] is regarded as being used mainly in the written language. First, we will consider the difference between the proportion of the demotional passive in the written data with that in the spoken data. The following figure shows the proportion of each semantic type of passive accounted for in the data.

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[4] It is not inherent to the Japanese language. Example: *Sono hakubutukan wa yuumei-na kentikuka ni-yotte tater-are-ta*. 'That museum was built by a famous architect.'

Figure 2. Semantic categories
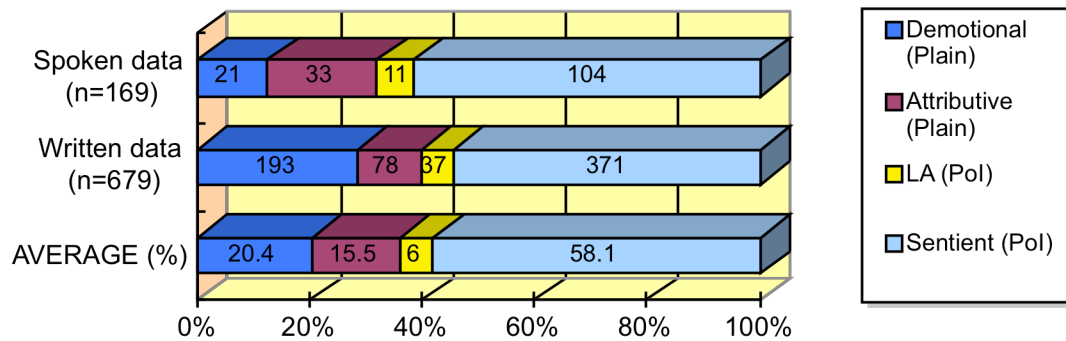
In the figure above, it is clear that the proportion of demotional passive in the written data (28.4%) is more than twice as large as in the spoken data (12.4%). This finding supports the view of previous researchers, such as Kinsui (1997: 764), that the demotional passive (in Kinsui's terms the '*ni-yotte* passive') is 'rather a stiff literal [sic][5] expression' and therefore is mainly used in the written language.

However, Kinsui also claims that this type of passive 'is not used in the spoken language'. It is true to say that this type of passive mainly occurs in the written language. However, the data shows that there are 21 out of a total of 169 examples of demotional passives (12.4%) in our spoken data.

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[5] Kinsui probably intended to use the word 'literary' rather than 'literal'.

Next, let us have a look at the attributive passive[6]. As seen in Section 3.2.1.2, Masuoka (2000) claims that the attributive passive is peripheral, as the frequency of the actual usage of this kind of passive is low. In this data search, however, we found 78 examples of the attributive passive out of 679 passive examples in the written data, and 33 out of 169 examples in the spoken data. It thus constitutes about 15.5% of the data on average. The number is actually much larger than that of the widely recognised syntactic category of indirect passives (less than 5%). We suggest, therefore, that the attributive passive should not be treated as peripheral.

Looking more closely into the data, the difference between the proportion of the attributive passives in the spoken data and that in the written data is apparent. The proportion of attributive passive in the written data (11.5%) is only about half that of the spoken data (19.5%). This is completely opposite from the case of the demotional passive. This is an important point, supporting the analysis that the attributive passive should be considered separate from the demotional passive.

Another striking fact regarding the distribution of the various semantic categories of passive is the high proportion of non-sentient passives. The non-sentient passive consists of the demotional passive, the attributive passive, and the passive with a latent affectee. It has been marginalised in the research as, like the demotional passive, it is said not to be inherent to the Japanese language (Yamada 1908, Mitsuya 1908, Matsushita 1930 and

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[6] Example: *Kono manga wa kodomo-tati ni yoku yom-are-ru*. 'This comic is often read by children.'

Hashimoto 1931). However, it constitutes more than 40% of this data set. Even in the spoken data, about 38% (65 out of 169 examples) are non-sentient passives. Although sentient passives are in the majority, it is apparent that non-sentient passives cannot be treated as peripheral, as they have been in previous research. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.2.3 in relation to the subject types.

5.2.2 'actor'

An 'actor[7]', or what many scholars refer to as the passive 'agent', is one of the main elements of the passive sentence. However, it is a common observation that an 'actor' argument is often elided in a passive sentence. In order to verify this generally accepted view, the proportions of the passive data with and without an overt 'actor' in the sentence are compared in the following figure:

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[7] See Section 1.6.2 for the definition of Actor.

Figure 3. 'actor'
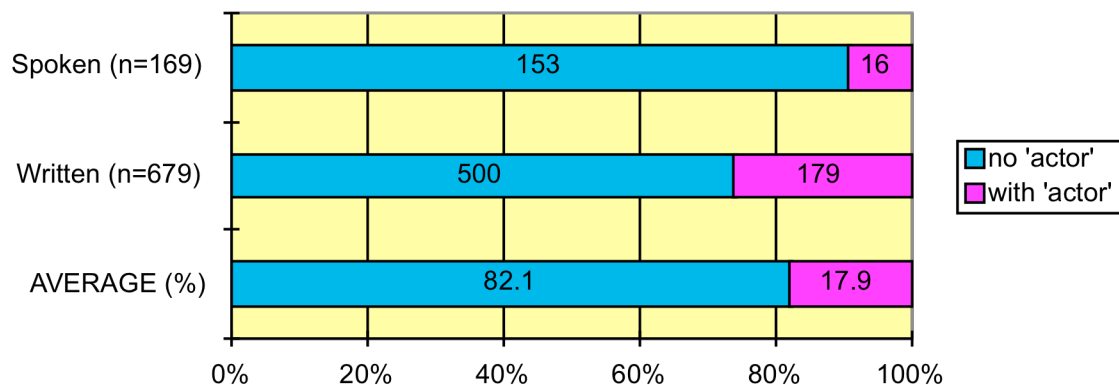
The first thing we notice in the figure above is the large proportion of the passive without an overt 'actor' overall. More than 80% of all the passive sentences in the data do not involve an overt 'actor' in the sentence. This finding confirms the claims made in previous research, such as Siewierska (1984: 35), Givon (2001: 126), Yoshida (1996: 41), Masuoka (1982) and a number of others. Siewierska claims that 'Statistical data reveal that agentless passives are far more common than those with an agent'. We have already seen Givon's (2001: 126) investigation on 'Percent of non-anaphoric zero agents in active and passive clauses in narrative text' in Section 1.4. He also recognises the high frequency of the passive without an overt agent in some languages. Siewierska (1984: 35) mentions a number of studies on various languages, such as Huddleston (1971) and Krauthamer (1981) on English, Duskova (1972) on Czech and Brinker (1971) and Schoenthal (1976) on German. Siewierska (1984: 35) states that an overt 'actor' cannot be involved at all in a passive clause in many languages, such as Latvian, Urdu, Kupia, Classical Arabic, Amharic, Igbo, Tera, Sonrai, Fijian, Atjnjamathanha, Cupeno, Cora, Huichol, Cahuilla, Shoshoni and

Pepecano. She also maintains that in some other languages, a passive clause can, but need not involve an overt 'actor'. According to this data search, it is clear that Japanese belongs to this latter group.
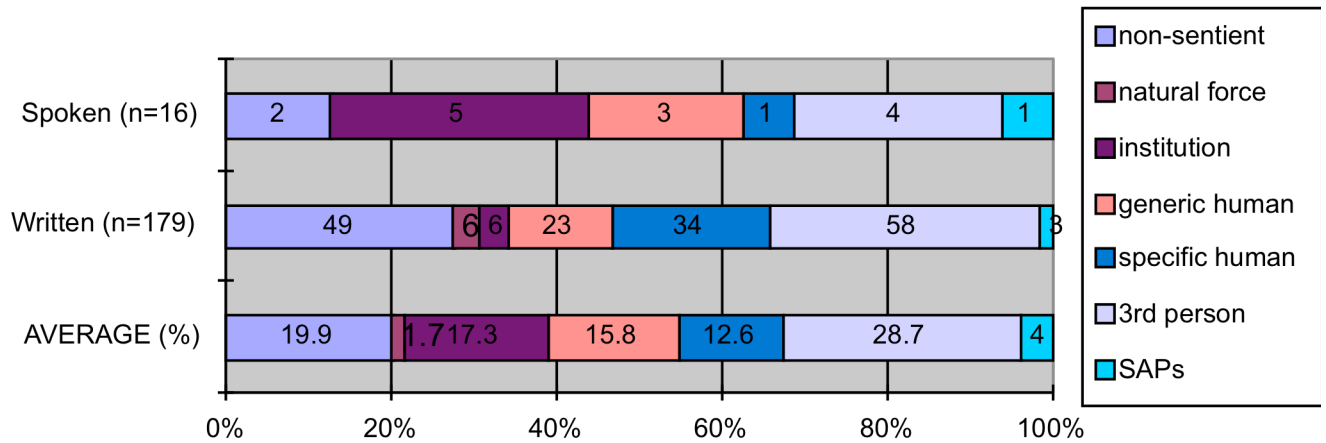
Another aspect that should be considered with regard to the overt 'actor' in a passive is the nature of the 'actor'. Shibatani (1998: 137) suggests that, in some passive constructions, NPs low in the Reverse Empathy Hierarchy (cited below) do not easily occur as an 'actor'. He claims that those NPs 'are most likely to be placed in the syntactically most prominent position, namely subject position, because the speaker tends to empathise with them and to treat them as central entities in the described event' (Shibatani 1998:137).

Reverse Empathy Hierarchy

natural force > instrument > institution > generic human > specific human >

3rd person > speech act participants   (Shibatani 1998: 134)

To test Shibatani's view in our data, the proportion of the nature of each 'actor' that overtly appears in a passive sentence is summarised in the following figure. The category of non-sentient NPs is added before that of natural force, since it is regarded here as the highest in the Reverse Empathy Hierarchy for Japanese. There was only one instrument 'actor' found in the data. It is included in the non-sentient group.

Figure 4. The nature of an overt 'actor'

	non-sentient	natural force	institution	generic human	specific human	3rd person	SAPs
Spoken (n=16)	2	5		3	1	4	1
Written (n=179)	49	6	6	23	34	58	3
AVERAGE (%)	19.9	1.7	17.3	15.8	12.6	28.7	4

In the figure above, it is clear that the speech act participants (first person and second person), the lowest category in the Reverse Empathy Hierarchy, do not often occur as overt 'actor'. Their frequency is, in fact, very low (4%). This supports Shibatani's observation. However, the second lowest in the Reverse Empathy Hierarchy, the 3rd person 'actor', constitutes almost 30% of the data. It is, in fact, the largest group of all. This finding contradicts Shibatani's view.

The 3rd person 'actor' has a special role in a Japanese passive. As seen in Section 5.2.1.2, more than 60% of all the data belong to the semantic category of the passive of interest, which describes a situation in which the subject is in some way affected by the event. It is also clear that the effect is more likely to be an adverse one. (See Section 5.2.5, Propositional Meaning.) The 'actor' of a passive is the one who is responsible for the adverse effect on the subject, and the one who is to blame. The easiest target for the subject

(or the speaker) to blame is a 3rd person; it is easier than to blame the 1st person, the 2nd person or a non-human entity. It is presumably this aspect of Japanese passives that allows the 3rd person 'actor' to occur so often.

5.2.3 Subject

5.2.3.1   Subject types

The subject, very often the topic in Japanese, is the most prominent factor in a passive sentence. In this section, therefore, we will examine the nature of a subject used in a passive sentence.

First, let us consider Kuno's Principles of Empathy Relations (Kuno, 1977: 646 & 652, 1987: 179 & 207, 1990: 45), as they are highly relevant to the current discussion. Kuno's Principles are that:

(i)   the speaker is more likely to adopt the viewpoint of a human NP than that of a non-human NP (Humanness Empathy Hierarchy);

Human > Nonhuman animate > Inanimate

(ii)   the speaker is most likely to adopt the viewpoint of the subject (Surface

Structure Empathy Hierarchy)

Subject > Other NPs

Based on Kuno's Principles of Empathy Relations, we can hypothesise that NPs low in the Empathy Hierarchy (developed from Shibatani's (1998: 134) Reverse Empathy Hierarchy and cited below), such as non-sentient NPs, do not often appear as a subject of a passive clause.

Empathy Hierarchy

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > specific human > generic human >

institution > (animal) > instrument > natural force > non-sentient

To put the above hypothesis to the test, the proportion of each group of subject in the Empathy Hierarchy that appears in a passive construction is summarised in the following figure:

Figure 5. Subject types
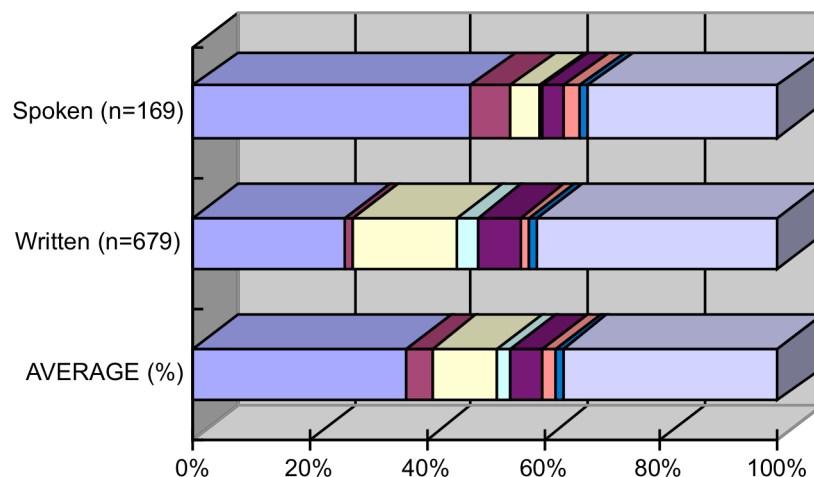
	AVERAGE (%)	Written (n=679)	Spoken (n=169)
non-sentient	36.8	279	55
animal	1.3	10	2
institution	2.2	10	5
generic human	5.5	50	6
specific human	2.1	24	1
third person	11.2	120	8
second person	4.3	10	12
first person	36.6	176	80

From this data search, it is clear that almost 40% of all the passive examples collected have a non-sentient NP as subject. In previous research, however, this numerically prominent category has once again been marginalized. It has been called '*hizyoo no ukemi* (non-sentient passive)', and it is said not to be inherent to the Japanese language by many traditional Japanese grammarians (Yamada 1908, Mitsuya 1908, Matsushita 1930 and Hashimoto 1931). (See Section 3.2.1.1 Demotional passive.) However, our findings show that, inherent or not, the non-sentient passive constitutes almost 40% of all the data gathered from the authentic contemporary sources examined. Two of the examples are cited

below:

(1) <u>Nihongo zyaanaru</u> wa sekaizyuu   de **ur-are**-ru   n   da   yo.

Japanese journal   TOP all.over.the.world in sell-PASS-PRES NML COP SFP

'You know, the <u>*Nihongo* Journal</u> **is sold** all over the world.'

[Josei 9320: female, 31, Company employee (editing)]

(2) <u>Utyuu   no tituzyo</u> 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 <u>the order of the universe</u> has **been retained** by a (certain) single

universal will.'

This finding is contrary to the hypothesis proposed above, based on Kuno's Principles of Empathy Relations that NPs low in the Empathy Hierarchy, such as non-sentient NPs, do not easily occur as a passive subject.

Since the nature of a subject is an important factor even in their definition, next, let us look at the nature of the subject used in each of the two semantic types of Japanese passive: the plain passive[8] and the passive of interest[9], separately. Based on the nature of

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[8] The plain passive is defined in this thesis as one generally having a non-sentient subject, and describing an event objectively without any special meaning of affectedness.

[9] The passive of interest is defined here, in contrast to the plain passive, as one that portrays

the plain passive, we might hypothesize that most of the non-sentient subjects used in the data actually appear in the plain passive. The following figure shows the proportion of each group of subject used in each semantic type of Japanese passive. In the figure, the percentages of spoken and written data are averaged. The bottom bar shows the average of the percentages of the passive of interest and the plain passive.

Figure 6. Subject types 2
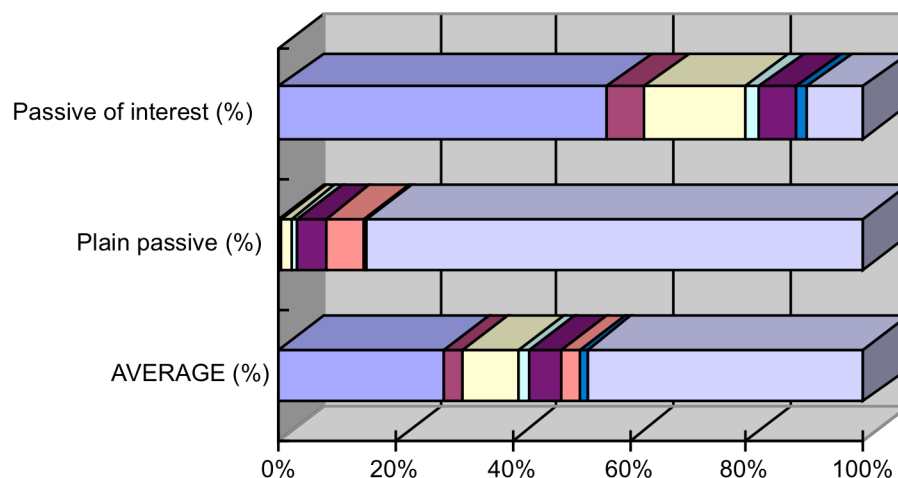
	AVERAGE (%)	Plain passive (%)	Passive of interest (%)
non-sentient	47.3	85	9.6
animal	1.1	0.4	1.9
institution	3.2	6.5	0
generic human	5.5	4.8	6.3
specific human	1.9	1.1	2.6
third person	9.5	1.8	17.1
second person	3.3	0.2	6.3
first person	28.2	0.2	56.2

From the figure above, it is apparent that the types of subject used in the plain passive and
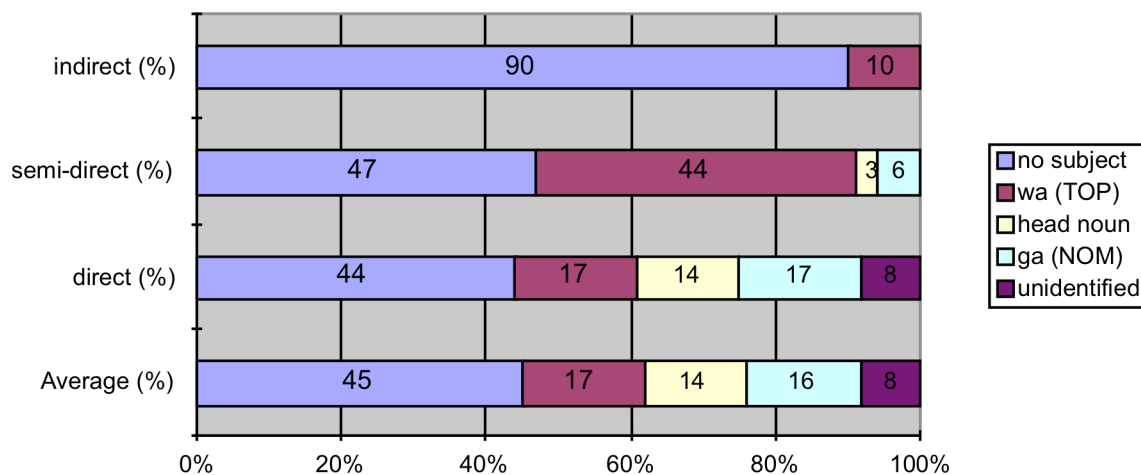
an event in terms of the concerns of the referent of the subject.

in the passive of interest are totally different - almost opposite in fact. In the plain passive, non-sentient subjects constitute almost 90% of the data. This verifies the hypothesis above. In the passive of interest, on the contrary, non-sentient subjects are used in only about 10% of occurrences, and first, second and third person subjects, NPs high in the Empathy Hierarchy, together constitute nearly 80% of the data. The result shows that the hypothesis set up before based on Kuno's Principles of Empathy Relations – that NPs low in the Empathy Hierarchy, such as non-sentient NPs, do not often appear as a subject of a passive sentence – can only be applied to the passive of interest, not to the plain passive.

5.2.3.2 Degree of topicality of the subject

Next, let us consider how the subject appears (or does not appear) in a passive clause. Figure 7 below summarises how the passive subject appears in each syntactic group of Japanese passive; if the subject is marked by the topic particle *wa*, appears as a head noun of a noun-modifying clause, is marked by the nominative particle *ga*, or does not appear at all. In the figure, the percentages of spoken and written data are averaged.

Figure 7. Subject's degree of topicality 1: in each syntactic group

|	no subject	wa (TOP)	head noun	ga (NOM)	unidentified
indirect (%)	90	10			
semi-direct (%)	47	44	3	6	
direct (%)	44	17	14	17	8
Average (%)	45	17	14	16	8

The most striking feature of this figure is the predominant proportion of subjects in the indirect passive that do not appear in the clause. Unlike the case of the 'actor', the fact that the passive subject does not appear in the clause does not mean that it is defocused. On the contrary, it is highly topicalised. The subject in the indirect passive is an emotively affected entity. It is therefore most likely to be a topic of the discourse. It is an important discourse tracking mechanism to elide the topic of the discourse in Japanese. When it is not elided, the subject in an indirect passive is marked by topic particle *wa*. It is clear from the result above that the subject of the indirect passive is the most topicalised of the three syntactic types.

In the case of semantic groups, Figure 8 below illustrates how the subject appears in the passive clause. The numbers in the figure indicate the average of the percentages of

spoken and written data.

Figure 8. Subject's degree of topicality 2: in each semantic group
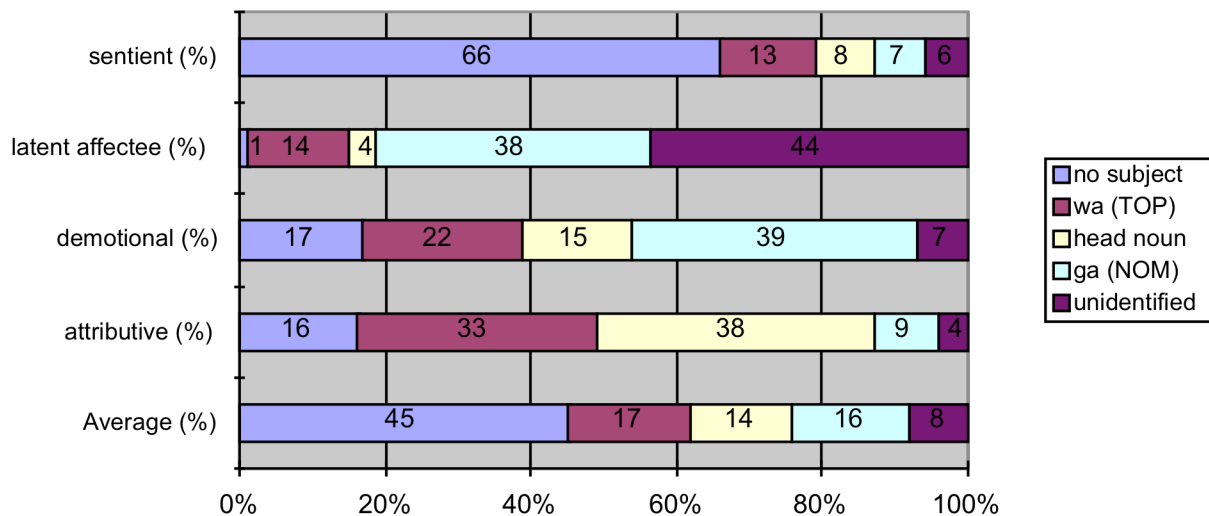
There are some interesting points in Figure 8. The first thing we notice in the figure above is the large proportion of the sentient passive without an overt subject. This supports the Humanness Empathy Hierarchy proposed by Kuno (1977: 646 & 652, 1987: 179 & 207, 1990: 45). The subject in a sentient passive is a sentient NP. As discussed in Section 5.2.3.1 above, according to the Humanness Empathy Hierarchy, the speaker is more likely to adopt the viewpoint of a sentient NP over that of a non-sentient NP. The NP whose viewpoint is adopted, in turn, is most often identified as the subject NP. This is presumably the reason why the subject in a sentient passive is highly topicalised; almost 80% are either elided or marked by topic particle *wa*.

Another striking feature of Figure 8 is the large proportion of nominative *ga*-marked subjects in the passive with a latent affectee and the demotional passive. As seen in Section 2.4.1, Masuoka (2000: 55) claims that many of the demotional passives are expressed as topicless sentences, in which the subject is marked simply by the nominative particle *ga*[10]. The results of this data analysis confirm Masuoka's claim. This is because the demotional passive usually describes an objectively observed fact, as it is, without representing somebody's subjective view.

In terms of the passive of a latent affectee, the subject is not often topicalized, and simply marked by the nominative particle ga, since the topic of the passive clause is presumably the latent affectee[11], not the subject. Thus this construction is unusual amongst passives in Japanese in that it has a separate topic and subject.
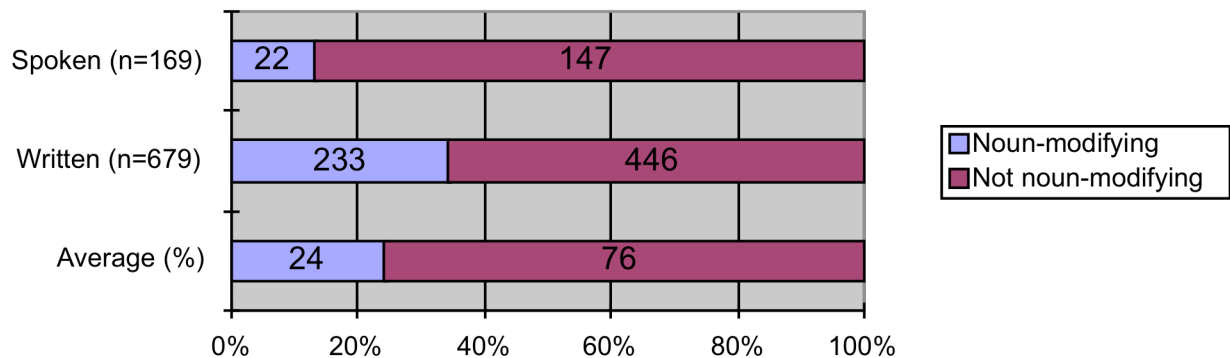
5.2.4 Noun-modifying clauses

Since they constitute a considerable proportion of the data, next we will examine the proportion of passives used in a noun-modifying clause. It is apparent that these examples appear much more commonly in written than in spoken data, as seen in Figure 9 below. In

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[10] Very often this kind of sentence with particle *ga* is interpreted as an objective description, as opposed to a sentence where the subject is selected as a topic and therefore expresses the situation from a certain perspective.

[11] 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.

the figure, the bottom bar shows the average of the percentages of spoken and written data.
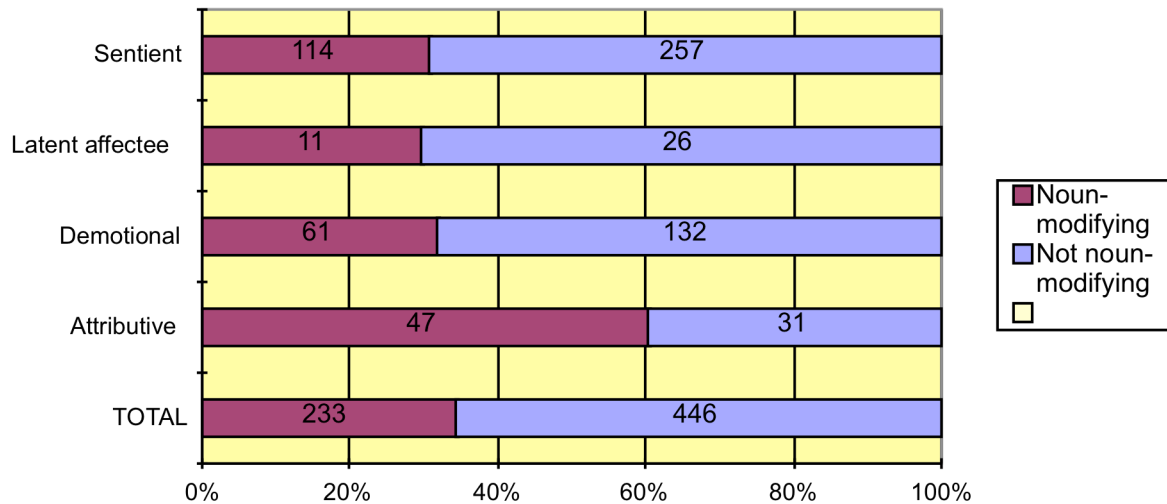
Figure 9. Noun-modifying clauses

As apparent from the figure above, passives appear in a noun-modifying clause in the written data, nearly three times as often as in the spoken data (35% and 13%, respectively). We therefore consider the examples in the written data in this section. Figure 10 below summarises the proportion of the passives used in a noun-modifying clause for each semantic type of passive in the written data:

Figure 10. Noun-modifying clauses in written data

If we look at the figure above, one thing is very clear: the attributive passive occurs in a noun-modifying clause more often than not (just over 60%) whereas other types of passive occur in a noun-modifying clause less than 35% of the time.

The primary function of the attributive passive is to describe or imply some attribute of the referent of the subject. (See example (4) below.) In an attribute-describing sentence, the entity whose attribute is accounted for is the syntactic subject. The subject of an attributive passive in a simple sentence corresponds to the relativised NP of a noun-modifying clause.

The main function of the noun-modifying clause is to modify or qualify the meaning of the relativised NP (head noun). The noun-modifying clause is usually divided

into two basic types: restrictive type and non-restrictive type. The restrictive type is used to identify one NP, which meets a certain condition, out of several NPs, whereas the non-restrictive type simply provides additional information about the NP. Our data shows that passives appear equally in both of these two types of noun-modifying clause.

It is notable that the function of the noun-modifying clause, either restrictive or non-restrictive, is very similar to that of the attributive passive. This is presumably the reason why the attributive passive is so often used in a noun-modifying clause. Let us consider the following examples:

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

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

     'The Kowa junior high school in this city, which **is said** to be a prestigious school, …'

(4) Kono si   no Koowa-tyuugaku   wa meimon   to   **iw-are**-te

     This   city GEN Kowa.Junior.High.School TOP prestigious QUOT   say-PASS-CONJ

     i-ru …

     be-PRES

     'The Kowa junior high school in this city **is said** to be a prestige school …'

Example (3) is an example from the data of an attributive passive used in a noun-modifying clause. It qualifies the relativised NP, Kowa junior high school, as being said to be a prestigious school. Example (4) is made up, using the attributive passive equivalent to

Example (3) in a simple sentence. It describes the attribute of the subject, Kowa junior high school, that it is said to be a prestigious school.

5.2.5 Propositional meaning

In previous research, such as Shibatani (1990) and Kuno (1973), a crucial factor for categorising Japanese passive constructions has been to know whether or not the passive has an adversative meaning. Shibatani (1990: 318) suggests that one type of adversative reading arises when the whole passive clause designates that the referent of the subject is adversely affected psychologically, even though the verb itself has a neutral lexical meaning without any adverse nuance, as in Shibatani's example, cited below:

(5) a. Tomodati ga   kaet-ta.

   friend NOM return-PAST

   'The friend returned.'

  b. Taroo wa tomodati ni **kaer-are**-ta.

   Taro TOP friend by return-PASS-PAST

   'Taro **was adversely affected** by his friend's **returning**.'

In example (5a), the verb, *kaeru* 'to return', itself is neutral, and the clause does not have any adversative connotation. Example (5b), the corresponding passive clause, however,

indicates that the referent of the subject, Taro, was bothered by the event of his friend's returning.

Shibatani distinguishes this type of adversative reading from one originating in the verb's lexical meaning, as in example (6) below:

(6) a. Kodomo ga Takasi o nagut-ta.

      child   NOM Takashi ACC hit-PAST

      'His(/A) child hit Takashi.'

   b. Takasi wa kodomo ni **nagur-are**-ta.

      Takashi TOP child   by hit-PASS-PAST

      'Takashi **was hit** by his(/a) child.'

Example (6b) has an adversative reading. Shibatani (1990: 318) claims that it is due to the fact that the verb, *naguru* 'hit', has an adverse meaning itself, and this kind of lexical adverse meaning should be distinguished from the adversative reading of the entire passive clause seen in example (5b).

In some cases, however, it can be a fairly subjective matter to decide whether or not a passive clause has an adversative reading in Shibatani's sense. This is especially true now that we know some direct passives have an adversative reading too, (see Section 4.4.3), making it sometimes almost impossible to distinguish the adversative reading in Shibatani's

sense from a lexical adversative meaning of the verb. As seen in Section 4.4.3, attempting to explain why some direct passive clauses have an adversative reading while others do not, Shibatani (1996: 7) suggests that if the subject of the passive is high on the scales of physical presence (proximity) and physical affectedness, namely highly relevant to the event, it does not require any supplementary semantic input to justify its relevance to the event. The passive sentence, therefore, is not likely to have an adversative meaning. Consider the following example:

(7) a. Keisatu wa Nobuko o   utagat-te   ir-u.

         Police   TOP Nobuko ACC suspect-CONJ be-PRES

         'The police suspect Nobuko.'

   c. Nobuko wa   keisatu ni **utagaw-are**-te   ir-u.

         Nobuko TOP police   by suspect-PASS-CONJ be-PRES

         'Nobuko **is suspected** by the police.'

Example (7) involves a verb that has a lexically adversative meaning, *utagau* 'suspect'. Example (7a), thus, has an adversative meaning, as well as its passive counterpart, example (7b). However, example (7b) also satisfies Shibatani's (1996: 7) criteria for a passive clause to have an adversative meaning; namely the subject is low in physical presence and physical affectedness. It is, therefore, not clear whether the adversative reading of example (7b) arises from the verb's lexical meaning or from something else.

Attempting to find a more objective measure, we will investigate the kind of proposition in which a passive appears. It is 'taken to represent a "once-off" interpretation of a text-sentence as it is used in a context'. In order to clarify the relationship between the propositional meaning and each type of passive, in this section, the meaning of the proposition of the sentence in which each passive clause occurs will be considered. Proposition are divided into three types: negative proposition, neutral proposition and positive proposition. Examples (8), (9) and (10), cited below, represent a negative proposition, neutral proposition and positive proposition, respectively:

(8) Zibun   ga   kakusi.mot-te   i-ta   zettaiteki tabuu ni koosyuu no   menzen.de

Myself NOM secretly.hold-CONJ be-PAST absolute taboo on public   GEN in.front

sawar-are-te   i-ru   ka   no   yoona, aru   syu no   toowakukan,

touch-PASS-CONJ be-PRES as.if NML like   certain kind GEN embarrassment

aruiwa syuutisin   no   gotoki mono ni **osow-are**-te   i-ta. [Fujiwara 326]

or   sense.of.shame GEN like   thing by seize-PASS-CONJ be-PAST

'I **was seized** with some kind of embarrassment or something like a sense of shame as if I was being publicly touched on some absolute taboo that I secretly held.'

(9) Ee,   Nihonzin   no   kanari ooku no   hito   ga   desu nee, Bukkyoo

Well Japanese.people GEN fairly   many GEN people NOM COP-PRES Buddhism

sinzya tosite **kazoer-are**-te   i-mas-u. [Dansei 2704: male, 45, University Lecturer]

bliever as   count-PASS-CONJ be-POL-PRES

'Well, quite a large number of Japanese people **are**, uh, **counted** as Buddhists.'

(10)Firentse   syoonin Tedarudi wa, seikoku   Itaria de yori.mo Huransu de

Florentine merchant Tedaldi TOP birth.country Italy in than   France   in

na   o   **sir-are**-ru   yoo.ni nar-u. [Shiono 442]

name ACC know-PASS-PRES like   become-PRES

'The Florentine merchant, Tedaldi, comes to **be** better **known** in France than in Italy,

the country of his birth.'

Example (8) is syntactically an indirect passive and semantically a sentient passive, and its propositional meaning is negative. The subject (I), in talking to the mother of a neighborhood child, discovers that the child is adopted. The subject was embarrassed because this kind of topic was an absolute taboo for him. This, therefore, is regarded as a negative proposition. Example (9) is syntactically categorised as a direct passive and semantically an attributive passive, and it has a neutral propositional meaning. The speaker, a university lecturer, is giving a lecture on religious sociology. It is an objective statement that many Japanese people are regarded as Buddhists from the point of view of religious sociology. It is, thus, considered as a neutral proposition. Example (10) is an example of the semi-direct passive, syntactically, and of the sentient passive, semantically. We understand Tedaldi had witnessed the fall of Constantinople, and had told the whole story to a certain French man. His story got around quickly in France, and he became famous there. The propositional meaning of example (10) is, thus, considered a positive one.

5.2.5.1   Propositional meaning in each syntactic group

In this section, we will look at what kind of propositional meaning passive clauses of each type tend to hold: negative proposition, neutral proposition or positive proposition. It is one of the syntactic groupings of passive, the indirect passive, that previous research has generally regarded as having an adversative reading. For this reason, let us first consider the propositional meaning for each syntactic group of Japanese passive. In the figure, the percentages of spoken and written data are averaged.

Figure 11. Propositional meaning 1: in each syntactic group
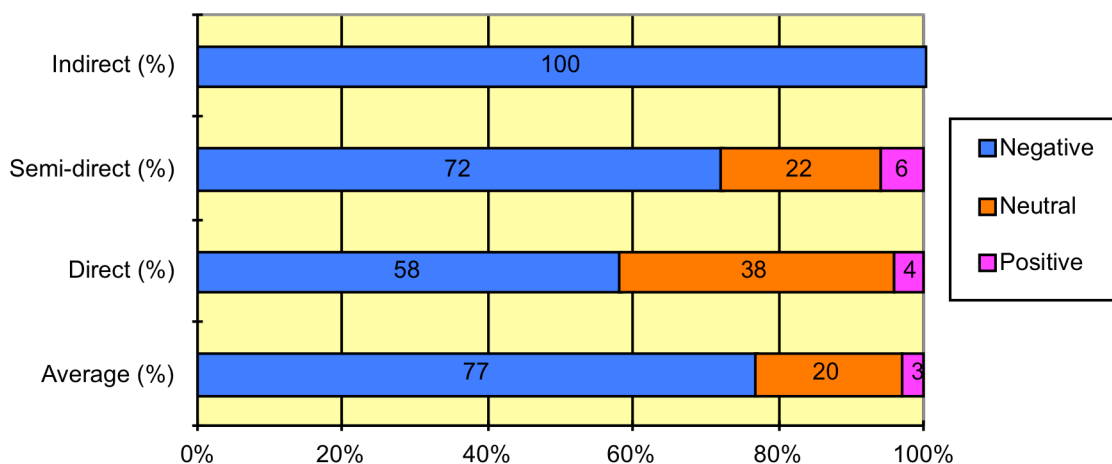
On average, about 77% of passive clauses are used in a sentence that has a negative proposition, 20% have a neutral proposition, and only about 3% a positive proposition.

One of the most noticeable features in the figure is that all of the indirect passive clauses and more than 70% of the semi-direct passive clauses hold a negative propositional meaning. One such example of the indirect passive is example (8), cited above. This finding supports the claims made on the basis of previous research. Since the indirect passive (which includes the semi-direct passive in definitions used in previous studies) is said to generally have an adversative meaning, it is natural that it mainly has a negative propositional meaning.

However, it is important to note that we do find two examples of the indirect passive that are used in a neutral and a positive context[12] in our data, even though they still have a negative propositional meaning. First, let us consider such examples of the indirect passive, cited below:

(11) Obaatyan wa yo-nin   no   musuko ni sensoo de **sin-are**-ta   hazu.na

Granny   TOP four-CLF GEN son   by war   in die-PASS-PAST should

noni,   doosite kono yo   de mata a-eru   to   sinzi-te

even.though why   this   world in again meet-POTEN QUOT believe-CONJ

ir-u   musuko.tati no kazu   ga   yonin   de wa nak-u   sannin.na no

be-PRES son-CLTZ   GEN number NOM four-CLF COP TOP NEG-CONJ three-CLF NML

---

[12] We follow Brown and Yule (1983: 25-26 & 35-46) in defining the term 'context' in a broad sense to refer to the 'environment' or 'circumstances' in which a sentence or a clause is used.

da-roo   to.iu koto dat-ta. [Miyamoto 280]

COP-EXHT CMPL fact COP-PAST

'It was the fact that even though she had **been deprived by the death** of four of her sons in the war, why was it that the number of the sons granny believed she could meet again in this life[13] was three, not four.'

(12)… 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).'

There is only one example each of an indirect passive used in a neutral context (example (11)) and in a positive context (example (12)). Example (11) is a part of a fairy-tale-like story that 'my' grandmother always told 'me' when 'I' was a child. When the story came to the part about her sons, 'I' always wondered why 'my' grandmother believed she could see only three of her deceased sons again, reincarnated during her lifetime, even though she had lost four sons. It is just a child's innocent question, and is therefore, regarded overall as a neutral context, even though the proposition itself is negative. The context in which example (12) is used is that the subject (I) was very popular among the neighborhood

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[13] 'My' grandmother believes in reincarnation. She is convinced that her already deceased sons will be reincarnated in her life time, and she will see them again.

children, and when 'I' got home in 'my' car from work, they usually gave 'me' a warm welcome, and sometimes they even got on the bonnet of 'my' car to show their affection. It often cheered 'me' up, especially when 'I' had problems at work and was tired. This context, thus, is considered as a positive one, even though we might assume that children climbing on one's car would normally be thought of as something negative.

A point in common between example (11) and example (12) is that the passive clause itself still has an adversative reading, as common in the indirect passive, and moreover, its propositional meaning is negative. In example (11), the passive clause, *obaatyan wa yonin no musuko ni sensoo de **sin-are**-ta* 'four of her sons died on my grandmother in the war', has an adversative meaning and negative propositional meaning, since it is a part of recollection of a query 'I' had in 'my' childhood. Even so the broader context is regarded as neutral. In case of example (12), the propositional meaning of the whole sentence is negative. Nevertheless it appears in a positive context. The use of the indirect passive in this context implies that the subject 'I' is trying to be modest. It is almost as if 'I' is not allowing himself to be openly happy about the fact that he is very popular among the children, and is pretending to be a little annoyed. Even though the context is positive, one can still detect something negative about it.

Although a considerably large proportion of semi-direct passives, more than 70%, also have a negative propositional meaning, the proportion is not as striking as with the indirect passive. The number of semi-direct passives whose propositional meaning is

neutral or positive is not insignificant. Consider the following:

(13) Taitoru o **ubaw-are**-te kara syu.to.site Kankoku toka Toonan.Azia   de

Title   ACC take-PASS-CONJ since mainly   Korea   or   South.East.Asia in

siai   o   s-ite   i-ta   to   ki-ite   i-mas-u   kedo … [Sawaki 602]

match ACC do-CONJ be-PAST QUOT hear-CONJ be-POL-PRES but

'Since your title **was taken**, I heard that you mainly had fights in Korea and South

East Asia …?'

(14) Ikuraka   no kane o okur-u   to siai   no tyokuzen.ni nanigasi ni

Some.amount GEN money ACC give-PRES if match GEN right.before so-and-so DAT

dare.sore.san kara gekireisyoo   ga todoi-te   ori-mas-u   to

Mr.so-and-so from encouragement.prize NOM be.received-CONJ be-POL-PRES QUOT

ringu anaunsaa   ni namae o **yomiager-are**-ru. [Sawaki 614]

ring.side.announcer by name ACC call-PASS-PRES

'If you gave some money, your name would **be called out** by the ring side announcer,

saying "The encouragement prize was given to so-and-so from Mr so-and-so", just

before the match.'

Example (13) involves a semi-direct passive, and has a neutral propositional meaning.
Although the verb itself has a negative meaning of taking something away, the
propositional meaning of the sentence is considered to be neutral, since it is a part of an
interview held four years later, just before the return match of the protagonist (you). The

interviewer is asking about what the protagonist has been doing during his four-year break. Example (14) also involves a semi-direct passive, but its propositional meaning is positive. The person who gave the money presumably felt proud when his name was called before the match. Although far less frequently than the direct passive, it is clear that the semi-direct passive can be used in a sentence that holds a neutral or positive propositional meaning as well as negative one. In this aspect, the semi-direct passive is distinguished from the indirect passive, and positioned in between the direct passive and the indirect passive.

5.2.5.2   Propositional meaning in each semantic group

Next, let us examine the propositional meaning for each semantic group of Japanese passive. This is summarised in the following figure. In the figure, the percentages of spoken and written data are averaged.

**Figure 12. Propositional meaning 2: in each
semantic group**
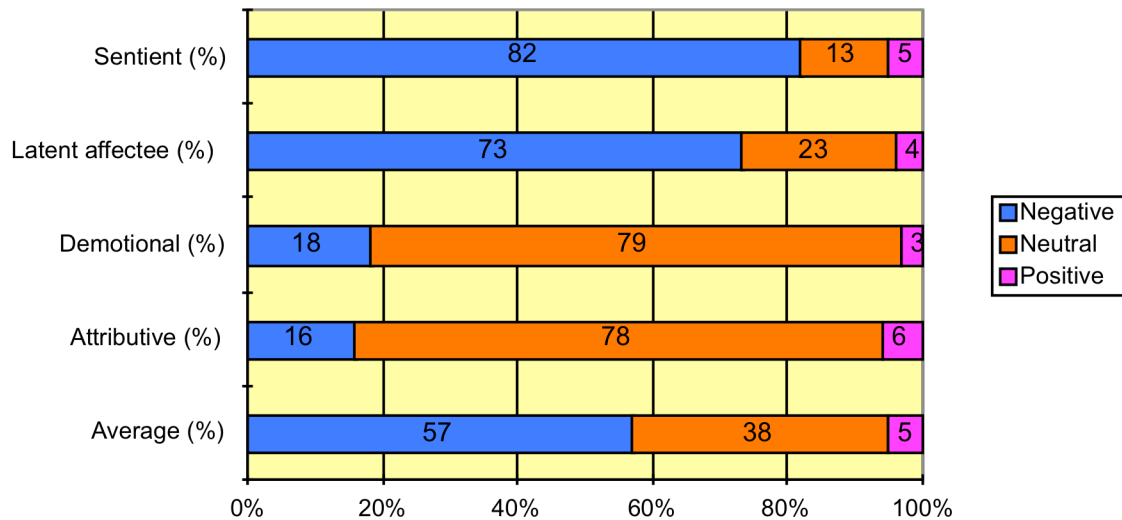
Overall, more than 55% of passive clauses in the entire data set are used in a sentence that

has a negative proposition, nearly 40% have a neutral proposition, and only about 5% a

positive proposition.

From the figure above, it is evident that more than 80% of the sentient passives

hold a negative propositional meaning. The sentient passive is one that describes a situation

in which the subject is somehow affected, and has a sentient subject. All the indirect

passive and the semi-direct passive, and part of the direct passive are semantically

classified into the sentient passive. Our findings show that, whether they have a special

adversative meaning or not, the majority of the sentient passives are used in a sentence that

has a negative propositional meaning.

If we look at the figure from another angle, it is obvious that the majority of the attributive passives have a neutral propositional meaning and only about 15% hold a negative propositional meaning. In the written data, in particular, the number is very small. Only nine such examples (just over 10%) are found in the written data. Three of them are given below:

(15) Nanisiro <u>toruko-zin</u> 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 <u>Turkish people</u> **are said** to choose to earn money by selling even those who have killed their real parents as slaves.'

(16) Kane to tii to 'ikka itimon' no gakureki no meiyo ni

Money and position and the.whole.family GEN academic.background GEN honour by

sasaer-are-te i-ta <u>Huziwara-ke</u> ni wa ookina gata ga

maintain-PASS-CONJ be-PAST Fujiwara.family DAT TOP big damage NOM

k-ita ato de wa at-ta. [Sono 1063]

come-PAST after COP TOP COP-PAST

'It was, in fact, after the <u>Fujiwara family</u>, that **was maintained** by its money, position

and the honor of 'the whole family's' academic background, got all rickety.'

(17) <u>Asoko no uti</u>   wa   donna   ziken   ga   okot-ta-tte   kane   ga

    That   GEN family TOP what-sort.of incident NOM happen-PAST-even.if money NOM

    ar-u   kara   **sukuw-are**-te i-rut-te   iw-are-ta   n   da-tte.

    have-PRES because save-PASS-CONJ be-PRES-QUOT say-PASS-PAST NML COP-QUOT

    'I heard that they said that <u>that family</u> had **been saved** because they had money, no

    matter what sort of incident occurred.' [Sono 1069]

Examples (15), (16) and (17) all have a negative propositional meaning. However, they do not describe the fact that the subject is affected by the event in some way. They still denote the event objectively. This is the reason why these examples of the attributive passive can hold a negative propositional meaning.

The attributive passive, in fact, belongs to the plain passive which is defined in this thesis as one, which (i) generally has a non-sentient subject, and (ii) describes a situation objectively without any special meaning of affectedness. The subjects in examples (15), (16), and (17) – 'Turkish people', 'the Fujiwara family' and 'that family', respectively - are not non-sentient NPs, but third parties. On this point, these examples do not fit the definition of the prototypical attributive passive. However, they satisfy the second criterion for the plain passive, in that they describe an objectively observed fact without representing any meaning of affectedness.

Next, let us examine examples of the attributive passive used in a sentence from our spoken data that has a negative propositional meaning. We found just seven such examples (just over 20%) of the attributive passive in the spoken data. Two of them are cited below:

(18) Zentai no yappari   anoo, <u>denryokuryoo</u>   tte   no   wa **kagir-are**-te

Whole GEN as.you.know well quantity.of.electricity CMPL NML TOP limit-PASS-CONJ

ru   karaa, anmari sonoo, ensyuu nadoni wa tuke-te   morai-tak-u

be-PRES because not.very well   seminar etc. for TOP turn.on-CONJ get-DESID-PRES

nai tte.yuu no ga, soo keiyaku-gakari   no   hoo   no kiboo-na n

NEG CMPL   NML NOM so in.charge.of.contract GEN person   GEN request   NML

des- u   kedo ne. [Dansei 2381: male, 45, University Lecturer]

COP-PRES but   SFP

'The whole, well, as you know, <u>the quantity of electricity</u> **is limited**, so the request from the person in charge of the contract is, well, that s/he does not want us to turn on the air-conditioning for things like seminars.'

(19) <u>Asoko</u>   wa datte Supein, Porutogaru ni **senryoos-are**-te   ta

That.place TOP but   Spain   Portugal   by occupy-PASS-CONJ be-PAST

zya   nai desu   ka.

COP-TOP NEG COP-PRES Q

'But <u>that place</u> **was occupied** by Spain and Portugal, wasn't it.'

[Dansei 4001: male, 27, Car manufacturer / mechanic]

In the same way as examples from the written data (examples (15), (16) and (17)) both examples (18) and (19) have a negative propositional meaning. They also denote the event objectively, and do not function to indicate that the subject is affected by the event in any way. This is the reason why these examples of the attributive passive in the spoken data, as well, can be in a sentence whose propositional meaning is negative.

In examples (18) and (19), the subjects are both non-sentient NPs. In fact, all five examples of the attributive passive that have a negative propositional meaning in the spoken data have non-sentient subjects. They, therefore, satisfy both criteria for a prototypical plain passive, having a non-sentient subject, and describing an event objectively without any special meaning of affectedness.

Another prominent feature of Figure 11 and Figure 12 above is that the proportion of the passives that hold a negative propositional meaning declines as you go down the vertical axis of the figure. In Figure 11, the syntactic categories of the Japanese passive are lined up in order of indirect passive, semi-direct passive and direct passive, along the line of the vertical axis. In Figure 12, the order of the semantic groups on the vertical axis is the sentient passive, the passive with a latent affectee, the demotional passive, and the attributive passive. We will next introduce the notion of the centrality of the subject of the passive to the event to try to explain these differences in proportions of negative propositional meaning. Our hypothesis concerning this issue is that the lower the degree of

the centrality of the subject of the passive to the event is, the more often the propositional meaning of the passive clause is negative. This matter will be discussed in detail in the next section.

5.3 Detailed discussion on the findings

5.3.1 Degrees of centrality of the passive subject to the event

On the basis of the results shown in Figure 11 and Figure 12, we proposed a hypothesis: the lower the degree of the centrality of the subject of the passive to the event, the more often the propositional meaning is negative. In this section, first, we will test this hypothesis with regard to our syntactic classification of passive.

5.3.1.1 Subject's degree of centrality to the event in the syntactic classification

In this thesis, Japanese passive constructions are syntactically classified into three groups: direct passive, semi-direct passive and indirect passive. Recall that a direct passive is syntactically defined here as one that has a corresponding active clause, and whose subject

would correspond to a core argument in the active clause (that is a direct object or an indirect object). We define 'semi-direct passive', in this thesis, as one that has a corresponding active clause, and whose subject would be one of the peripheral participants of the corresponding active clause (that is a major oblique case NP, a genitive NP or an object of comparison). An indirect passive is defined here as one whose subject does not correspond to any of the arguments or participants of the active clause. The syntactic classification used in this thesis is summarised in the following table which also reflects the distribution of each syntactic type accounted for in the data search, as seen in Section 5.2.1.1:

Table 7: Syntactic classification used in this thesis

Syntactic groups	Direct passive	Semi-direct passive	Indirect passive

Taking a general view of all three syntactic categories, there appears to be a scale throughout regarding the passive subject's degrees of centrality to the event. In a direct passive, since the subject corresponds to the core argument in the active clause, the referent of the subject plays a very important role in the event. In a semi-direct passive, compared with the case of a direct passive, the subject's degree of centrality to the event is low, as the subject would correspond only to one of the peripheral arguments of the active clause. In the case of the indirect passive, the degree of centrality of the subject is lowest, as the

subject does not correspond to any of the arguments of the active clause.

(20) Kodomo no koro sinsyuu no nooka ni **azuke-rare**-te i-ta koto

Child GEN time Shinshu GEN farming.family DAT leave-PASS-CONJ be-PAST case

no ar-u sei ka … [Fujiwara 300]

NOM there.is-PRES because.of or

'It probably because I **was** once **left** in a farming family's care in Shinshu when I was a

child …'

(21) … ringu anaunsaa ni namae o **yomiager-are**-ru. [Sawaki 614]

(boxing) ring announcer DAT name ACC read-PASS-PRES

'…his name **was called out** by the ring-side announcer.'

(22) Ato.de **bakuhatu-s-are**-te mo komar-u no yo.

Later explode-PASS-CONJ even be.in.trouble-PRES NML SFP

'I will be in trouble if (you) **explode** (emotionally) later.'

[Josei 7971: female, 22, Company employee (office job)]

Examples (20), (21) and (22) are examples of the direct passive, semi-direct passive and indirect passive, respectively. If we compare the three subjects ('I', a boxer and 'I') (although they are all elided in the sentences), the degree of centrality to the event for each subject is clearly different. The subject of example (20) plays the most central part among three, and the subject of indirect passive, the least central. Now it is evident that as you go more to the right in the table above, the passive subject's degree of centrality to the event

declines.

In Figure 11 in Section 5.2.5.1, given again below, the result shows that the distribution of the passives that appear in a proposition with a negative meaning declines as you go down the vertical axis of the figure: the indirect passive is more likely to be used in a proposition with a negative meaning than the direct passive, while the semi-direct passive is somehow in between.

Figure 11. Propositional meaning 1: in each syntactic group

	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Indirect (%)	100		
Semi-direct (%)	72	22	6
Direct (%)	58	38	4
Average (%)	77	20	3
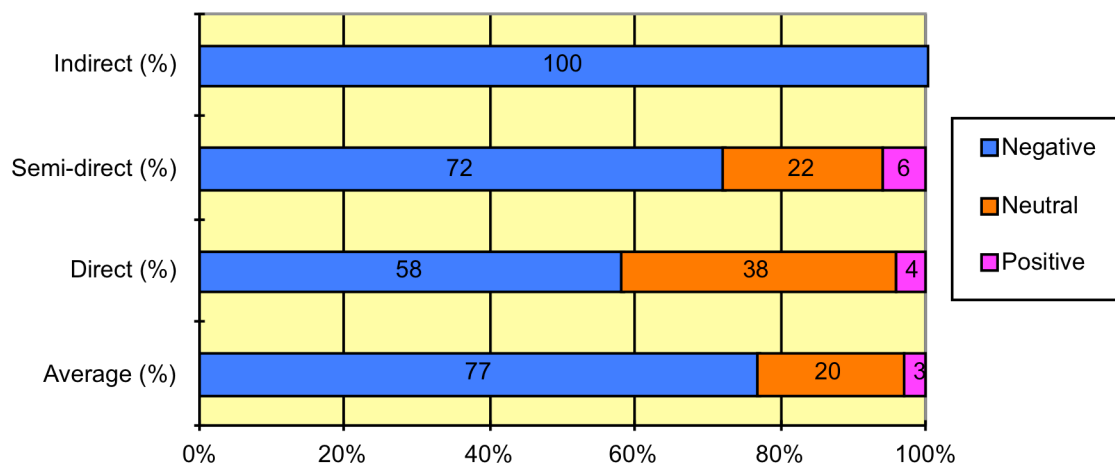
Combining the results in Figure 11 and the discussion above, we can now confirm the hypothesis formulated in the end of Section 5.2.5.2: the lower the degree of the centrality of the subject of the passive to the event, the more likely the passive clause holds a negative

propositional meaning. However, this does not suggest that whenever the degree of subject's centrality to the event is high, the passive clause involves a neutral or positive proposition. It simply means that the proposition in a direct passive clause, whose subject's centrality is the highest of all, is less often negative than that in an indirect or semi-direct passive. In fact, nearly 60% of the direct passive still hold a negative propositional meaning.

The fact that, in Figure 11, the proportion of passives that appear in a proposition with a negative meaning declines as you go down the vertical axis of the figure is, in fact, compatible with the degree of emotive affectedness in each syntactic category of Japanese passives. The indirect passive is always associated with the meaning of emotive affectedness, the semi-direct passive less often than the indirect passive, and the direct passive even less than the semi-direct passive. As seen in Section 4.4.3, the degree of emotive affectedness varies even within the framework of the semi-direct passive and the direct passive. This issue will be discussed further in Section 5.3.3.

5.3.2 Objective affectedness vs direct affectedness in the semantic categories

In this section, let us first consider whether or not the subject's degree of centrality to the event is also related to the semantic categories of Japanese passive. The semantic classification used in this thesis is summarised in the following table in relation to the

syntactic classification:

Table 8: Semantic and syntactic classifications used in this thesis

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

The following examples illustrate each semantic category of Japanese passive: the sentient passive[14] (example (23)), the passive with latent affectee[15] (example (24)), the demotional passive[16] (example (25)), and the attributive passive[17] (example (26)):

(23) Sentient passive

---

[14] The sentient passive has a sentient (most likely human) subject, and is used to describe a situation in which the referent of the subject is directly or emotionally affected by the event.
[15] 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.
[16] As seen in Section 3.2.1.1, the demotional passive is used primarily to marginalise the agent. The agent 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.
[17] The attributive passive is used to describe or imply some attribute of the referent of the subject. It does not depict the occurrence or existence of an event at a specific time and place. (See Section 3.2.1.2.) Example: *Kono manga wa kodomo-tati ni yoku yom-are-ru*. 'This comic is often read by children.'

Kore o keiki ni ta no zyuusin-tati mo kotogotoku

This ACC turning.point as other GEN senior.statesmen too entirely

koros-are-ta. [Shiono 426]

kill-PASS-PAST

'With this as a turning point, other senior statesmen, too, **were** all **killed**.'

(24) Passive with latent affectee

Hisasiburi.de Koosinkan e hait-ta ga kokimi.no.ii hodo

After.a.long.time Koshinkan to enter-PAST but satisfactory extent

hakaisitukus-are-te i-ta. [Takano 218]

completely.destroy-PASS-CONJ be-PAST

'I went to Koshinkan after a long time, and it **was completely destroyed** in a very

satisfactory way.'

(25) Demotional passive

Referii ni-yotte kata doori no tyuui ga **ataer-are**-ru to sugu.ni

Referee by model as GEN warning NOM give-PASS-PRES when immediately

siai kaisi no gongu ga nat-ta. [Sawaki 647]

match start GEN gong NOM ring-PAST

'When the usual warning **was given** by the referee, the gong rang for the beginning of

the match.'

(26) Attributive passive

Nihongo zyaanaru wa sekaizyuu de **ur-are**-ru n da yo.

Japanese journal TOP all.over.the.world in sell-PASS-PRES NML COP SFP

'You know, the *Nihongo* Journal **is sold** all over the world.'

[Josei 9320: female, 31, Company employee (editing)]

These are all syntactically regarded as direct passive. The degree of the centrality of the passive subject to the event, therefore, is higher than that of a semi-direct passive or indirect passive, since their subjects correspond to core arguments in the corresponding active clauses. However, among the four examples above, the degree of the passive subject's centrality to the event is considered to be more or less the same. Therefore, our hypothesis (the lower the degree of the centrality of the subject of the passive to the event, the more likely the passive clause is to be used in a proposition with a negative meaning) may not fit the case of the semantic categories.

As seen in Figure 12, however, cited again below, the results show that the proportion of passive clauses that hold a negative propositional meaning declines as you move down the vertical axis of the figure. An alternative way to account for this must be sought.

**Figure 12. Propositional meaning 2: in each
semantic group**
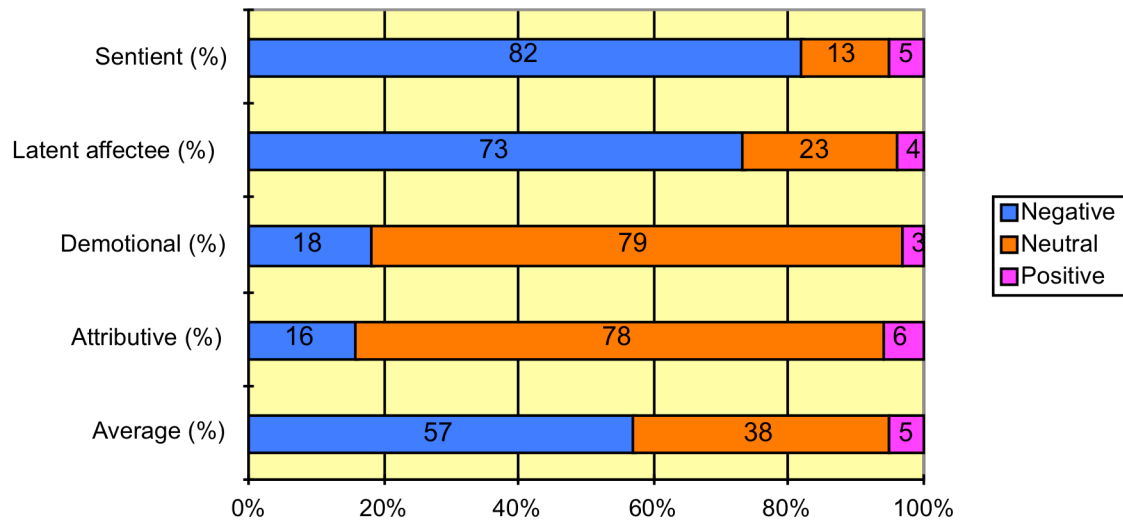
In an attempt to account for the results shown in Figure 12, let us have a look at factors related to semantic transitivity[18] proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980: 251-253). They state that a semantically transitive event is generally seen as one which 'an activity is "carried-over" or "transferred" from' one participant, an agent, to another, a patient, and it consists of a number of elements. They identify the following ten semantic parameters of semantic transitivity:

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A and O[19].	1 participant

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[18] We are not dealing here with syntactic transitivity, or valency.
[19] Hopper and Thompson (1980) state that they 'follow Dixon (1979) in using "A" (for Agent) and "O" (for Object) to refer to the two participants in a two-participant clause'.

B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O not-individuated

(Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252)

If a clause has more features in the 'high' column in the table above, it is considered to be more transitive semantically, and it is more akin to an archetypal transitive clause.

In terms of semantic transitivity, examples (23) and (24) – an example of the sentient passive and the one of the passive with a latent affectee, respectively – are much more highly transitive than examples (25) and (26) above, which involve a demotional passive and an attributive passive respectively. Examples (23) and (24) both describe a volitional and affirmative action, and the action is portrayed as a completed and real event. The passive subjects of examples (23), other senior statesman, and (24), Koshinkan, are totally and directly affected as 'they were all killed' in (23) and 'it was completely destroyed' in (24). In contrast, examples (25) and (26) are less transitive semantically than examples (23) and (24). Although they both express affirmative, volitional action, the events are not viewed as completed, and the passive subjects are not really affected in Hopper and Thompson's sense. They are only objectively affected.

In comparison with the two subgroups of the plain passive – demotional passive

and attributive passive – the subcategories of the passive of interest – the sentient passive

and the passive with a latent affectee – in fact occur in semantically more transitive clauses

more often. This is evident even by simply contrasting the verbs that occur in the data in

these types of passive. Compare the following lists:

(A) Verbs that appear in the sentient passive:

hooridasu 'throw out', *odokasu* 'threaten', *otosu* 'drop', *ayasimu* 'doubt', *uttaeru*

'sue', *yameru* 'quit', *tatakiokosu* 'knock up', *koogisuru* 'protest', *donaru* 'shout',

korosu 'kill', *taihosuru* 'arrest', *osou* 'attack', *kyuudansuru* 'denounce', *sikaru*

'scold', *osieru* 'teach', *taberu* 'eat', *izimeru* 'bully', *umeru* 'bury', *toraeru*

'capture', *attoosuru* 'overwhelm', *sasu* 'stab', *utu* 'hit', *miru* 'see', *yobu* 'call',

nikumu 'hate', *sukuu* 'save', *homeru* 'praise', *osiyaru* 'push away', *huru* 'ditch',

suteru 'throw away', *sokubakusuru* 'restrain', *yookyuusuru* 'demand', *naguru*

'strike', *batoosuru* 'abuse', *sasou* 'invite', *yuukaisuru* 'kidnap', *aisuru* 'love',

nagetobasu 'fling away', *hoohukusuru* 'retaliate', *turesaru* 'take away', *mamoru*

'protect', *kirau* 'dislike', *ositubusu* 'crush', etc.

(B) Verbs used in the passive with a latent affectee:

hakaisitukusu 'completely destroy', *kyuusyuusuru* 'suck in', *suiageru* 'suck up',

ubaisaru 'take away', *hikiyoseru* 'pull something near', *tukikuzusu* 'break',

arasu 'ruin', *bakurosuru* 'reveal', *utu* 'hit', *ositukeru* 'press something against',

hurimawasu 'swing something about', *kiru* 'cut', *simetukeru* 'squeeze', *sarasu*

'expose', *sawagitateru* 'make a great fuss', etc.

(C) Verbs used in the demotional passive:

kaku 'write', *hiraku* 'open', *nootosuru* 'note down', *kabaasuru* 'cover', *sekkeisuru* 'plan', *teisyutusuru* 'submit', *ataeru* 'give', *mookeru* 'provide', *kataru* 'talk', *kokoromiru* 'try', *tukuriageru* 'make up', *gooseisuru* 'compose', *kaisisuru* 'begin', *insatusuru* 'print', *hosyoosuru* 'guarantee', *sakuseisuru* 'make out', *noonyuusuru* 'supply', *sitekisuru* 'point out', *kaisyuusuru* 'collect', etc.

(D) Verbs used in the attributive passive:

kakomu 'enclose', *iu* 'say', *yobu* 'call', *tutumu* 'veil', *hasamu* 'put something between', *komeru* 'contain', *kau* 'keep', *kagiru* 'limit', *kuwaeru* 'add', *situkeru* 'discipline', *hakensuru* 'dispatch', *miru* 'see', *hootisuru* 'neglect', *katuyoosuru* 'utilise', *hukumu* 'include', *okonau* 'carry out', *omou* 'think', *tukau* 'use', *oou* 'overlay', *kazoeru* 'count', etc.

Most of the verbs listed in (A) and (B), ones used in the sentient passive and the passive with a latent affectee, are action verbs, and the majority of them denote an event that makes a profound impact on the Undergoer (or the passive subject), such as *hooridasu* 'throw out', *tatakiokosu* 'knock up', *korosu* 'kill', *nagetobasu* 'fling away', *ositubusu* 'crush' in list (A), and *hakaisitukusu* 'completely destroy', *suiageru* 'suck up', *tukikuzusu* 'break', *kiru* 'cut', *simetukeru* 'squeeze' in list (B). It must be acknowledged that some verbs that appear, such

as *ayasimu* 'doubt' and *miru* 'see' in list A, and *bakurosuru* 'reveal' and *sawagitateru* 'make a great fuss' in list B, are in fact very low in transitivity. However, verbs of this kind are quite clearly in the minority in the data examined.

Verbs that appear in the demotional passive, as discussed in Section 3.2.1.1, are mainly factitive verbs: a type of verb that denotes an event in which the direct object NP, or the subject of the passive, undergoes a specific change (of position, possession or condition). To be more specific, they are ones that designate physical / psychological effects on a patient or abstract and neutral relationships, or they are verbs of creation. Many of them are NP-suru verbs of Sino-Japanese or Western origin. The verbs in list (C) are all, in fact, regarded as factitive. They depict a specific change in the Undergoer, or the passive subject. However, although some kind of change is involved, the affect on the passive subject is generally not as drastic as in the sentient passive or the passive with a latent affectee.

The attributive passive is not restricted to factitive verbs. Even though the majority of the verbs, listed in (D), denote an action, they are ones that would only make a small impact on the Undergoer, the passive subject. The primary function of the attributive passive is to describe or imply some attribute of the referent of the subject by the rest of the elements of the sentence. This type of passive is also often used to describe a scene. Moreover, Song (1993: 109) suggests that an attributive passive is semantically static, and it does not depict the occurrence or existence of an event at a specific time and place. It is,

therefore, expected that the attributive passive generally appears in an even less transitive clause than the demotional passive does.

Now let us have a look at Figure 12 again. Semantic groups are lined up on the vertical axis in order of the sentient passive, the passive with a latent affectee, the demotional passive, and the attributive passive. The sentient passive, thus, occurs the most often in a negative proposition, and the attributive passive the least often. We have also observed above that the demotional passive and the attributive passive appear more often in a less transitive clause, compared to the sentient passive and the passive with a latent affectee. It is now apparent that the more semantically transitive the passive clause is, the more frequently it occurs in a proposition with a negative meaning.

Another point noticed in Figure 12 is that there is a big gap between the proportion of negative propositional meanings for the demotional passive and for the passive with a latent affectee. It is quite natural for the plain passive – the demotional passive and the attributive passive – to mainly occur in a neutral proposition. It is the nature of the plain passive to describe a situation or event objectively with only the meaning of objective affectedness of the Undergoer, the passive subject. It is now evident, therefore, that the two semantic groups, the plain passive and the passive of interest, have to be treated separately in terms of the distribution of propositional meaning.

This study acknowledges three types of affectedness in Japanese passive

constructions: emotive affectedness, direct / physical affectedness, and objective affectedness. It seems that the degree of each type of affectedness is also influenced by semantic transitivity. We will, therefore, discuss this issue in detail in the next section.

5.3.3 Three types of Affectedness in Japanese passive constructions

This study considers that the primary function of passives in Japanese is to portray an event or situation from the point of view of an affected entity. All Japanese passives, therefore, convey the meaning of affectedness in some sense, although the degree and nature of the affectedness varies considerably. In this thesis, we recognise three types of affectedness in passives in Japanese: emotive affectedness, direct / physical affectedness, and objective affectedness.

As seen in Chapter 4, the special meaning of emotive affectedness is often referred to as 'adversative' meaning, and has drawn attention from many researchers. This type of affectedness accompanies only the passive of interest in Japanese. Within the semantic group of the passive of interest, if a passive is syntactically classified as an indirect passive, it is always associated with this emotive nuance. In contrast, some semi-direct passive and considerable proportion of the direct passive do not convey the emotive nuance. In the case of these two types of passive, the semantic transitivity of the clause is highly related to the degree of the emotive affectedness. More specifically, if the

passive subject is not central to the event and / or directly affected by the event, the passive sentence has a special emotive undertone. This is illustrated in Table 9 below:

Table 9: Emotive affectedness

Emotive affectedness: low   high
→

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

The second type of affectedness, direct / physical affectedness, is detected mainly in passives that are syntactically classified as direct and semantically categorised as the passive of interest, as indicated in Table 10 below:

Table 10: Passives with direct affectedness

Emotive affectedness: low   high
→

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

Direct affectedness: high ← —————————————— low

Semantic transitivity: high ← —————————————— low

This meaning is quite common in passives in many other languages, including English. The degree of direct affectedness is stronger if the passive clause is high in semantic transitivity. This is completely opposite from the case of the special meaning of emotive affectedness. As seen above, the lower the semantic transitivity of the passive clause, the stronger the sense of emotive affectedness in the clause. In fact, this type of passive (the one syntactically classified as direct passive and semantically as the passive of interest) is sometimes associated with the special emotive nuance as well. Compare example (23) (an example of this type), cited again below, with another example of this type, example (27):

(23) Koreo   keiki   ni   ta   no   zyuusin-tati   mo kotogotoku

    This ACC turning.point as   other GEN senior.statesmen too entirely

    koros-are-ta.   [Shiono 426]

    kill-PASS-PAST

    'With this as a turning point, other senior statesmen, too, **were** all **killed**.'

(27) Masaka   zibun   ga   **utagaw-are**-te   ir-u   to   wa omot-te   mo

    impossible oneself NOM suspect-PASS-CONJ be-PRES QUOT TOP think-CONJ even

    i-nai   no   da. [Akagawa 426]

    be-NEG NML COP

    'She does not even think it is possible that she herself **is suspected**.'

In example (23), the verb, *korosu* 'to kill', denotes a volitional action, and the event described by the verb is telic, realis and affirmative. The passive subject, or the Undergoer, 'other senior statesmen', is one of the main participants of the event, and is directly and totally affected by the event. In contrast, in example (27), although the verb, *utagau* 'to suspect', designates a volitional action, it is used in a subordinate clause that indicates an atelic and irrealis event. The passive subject, *zibun* 'herself', is not directly affected, as she is not even aware of the fact that she is suspected (by the police). As a result, example (23) is considered to be more semantically transitive than example (27). It can thus be said that the subject in (23) is more directly affected by the event than that in (27), and at the same time, (27) is associated with a stronger emotive nuance than (23). These two types of affectedness in this type of passive, however, are very hard to consider separately. As a result, it is almost impossible to tell which one is more affected. It is, therefore, necessary to take both types of affectedness into account simultaneously in the case of direct, passive of interest.

The last type of affectedness – objective affectedness – is always and only associated with the plain passive, as shown in Table 11 below:

Table 11: Objective affectedness

Objective affectedness			Emotive affectedness: low			high
Syntactic groups			Direct passive		Semi-direct passive	Indirect passive
Semantic groups	attributive passive	demotional passive	with latent affectee	sentient passive		
	Plain passive		Passive of interest			

Direct affectedness: high ◄————————————— low
Semantic transitivity: high ◄————————————— low

In the plain passive, a non-sentient entity normally appears in the subject position, and the situation is portrayed objectively. However, it still is a fact that something has been done to the Undergoer. In this sense, the Undergoer is affected in a businesslike manner. This type of affectedness is referred to as 'objective affectedness' in this thesis.

As discussed in the last section, the plain passive, which is accompanied by the objective affectedness, is semantically lower in transitivity than the passive of interest. The verbs usually used in the plain passive do not impact on the Undergoer as drastically as the verbs that most commonly appear in the passive of interest. It thus can be said that objective affectedness is considerably weaker than direct or emotive affectedness, both of which are associated with the passive of interest.

In this chapter, the findings of the data analysis are discussed in detail, in order to reveal how Japanese passives are actually used in real contexts. We first discussed the

proportion of each syntactic and semantic category of passive in the data, the nature of the 'actor' and the subject, the occurrence in noun-modifying clauses, and the kind of propositional meanings that occur.

Some findings confirmed the claims made in previous research, such as the high frequency of passives without an overt 'actor', and of passives with a negative propositional meaning. Other findings contradicted previous claims, such as the large proportion of passives with a non-sentient subject. Another striking finding was the predominant proportion of the direct passive (almost 90% of the data). In contrast, the frequency of the occurrence of the indirect passive, the major focus of previous studies of Japanese passives, was, in fact, very low (1.2% of the data).

The second section of this chapter dealt mainly with the issue of the degree of centrality of the passive subject to the event. We observed that, with regard to our syntactic classification of passive, the lower the degree of the centrality of the subject of the passive to the event, the more likely it is that the passive clause holds a negative propositional meaning. In terms of the semantic categorisation of the Japanese passive, we found that it was the type of affectedness – emotive affectedness, direct / physical affectedness, or objective affectedness – that is highly relevant to the propositional meaning of the passive clause.