Towards a constructivist approach to the Japanese ‘Passive’

Christiane CORMO
Katholieke Vlaamse Hogeschool Antwerpen

1. Introduction

In order to analyse linguistic forms one should distinguish a descriptive set of procedures. Such a constructivist approach will lead to reconsidering traditional categories (and their corresponding labels). Many of these traditional categories have a thorough basis but others need correction that will directly be suggested by the constructivist criteria which are mainly distributional and paradigmatic. In this description of the ‘passive’ of Japanese verbs I have chosen this approach and it is my aim to demonstrate that these constructivist criteria are available in such prominence as to constitute formal ‘proof’.

The Pronominal Approach will provide these distributional and paradigmatic criteria.

Pronominal Approach (PA)

The method employed in this study is the Pronominal Approach (PA) as it was conceived by Professor K. Van den Eynde (1969), expounded in K. Van den Eynde & C. Blanche–Benveniste (1978), and developed in C. Blanche–Benveniste et al. (1984).

According to this method, pronominal or referential sentence constructions are used from which the construction capacity of the verb and syntactic properties of the arguments can be derived. The basic assumption of this approach is the notion of proportionality existing between the referential paradigms (RP) and non-referential realisations of given syntactic units.

The referential paradigms can be considered as prototypical markers of the syntactico-semantic relations in the language. The pronominal paradigm can be described by the semantic features - induced from formal data - common to the set of referentials within the paradigm. Not only the number of paradigms and their internal composition are taken into account. The predicative and its arguments are also bound by the predicative’s referential valency constructs. The potential

---


2 According to the practice of valency study in English, French etc; not only pronouns in the traditional sense are used but also other elements for which there exists a relation of proportionality with the lexicalized arguments and for which proportional equations exist between them. The word ‘referential’ used by [Hiz] seems to be more appropriate to designate these pronouns.
referential constructs of a predicator, which are entirely based on the combination capacity of the occurring RP as members of a class, can be divided roughly in three groups: Reformulations\(^3\) characterised by the stability of certain paradigmatic features such as passive, causative etc., Linked Constructions (LC)\(^4\) characterised by an identical morphology of the verb but with valents in different syntactic positions, Related Constructions\(^5\) of transitive/intransitive pairs of verbs and Related Noun Constructions\(^6\), the verbal construction template of the corresponding deverbative noun.

2. The passive formulations

Different passive formulations can be distinguished, each having its own distinct syntactic characteristics.

I Direct passive

1.1 General aspects

The active-passive relation involves two grammatical levels: the verb morphology and the clause. At the level of the verb phrase a form of the suffix verb -(r)areru is added to the stem of the verb. In addition, at the clause level, changing from the active to the passive involves rearrangement of some clause elements, characterised by a shift in the marking of the pronominal paradigms. Some examples:

1) a) Act.\(^7\): sensei ga kono gakusei o hometa
   teacher-\textit{ga} this student-\textit{o} / praise
   the teacher praises that student
   RF: p-ga[ano hito]ga p-o[kare]o hometa\(^8\)

b) D. Pass.\(^9\): kono gakusei ga sensei ni/kara homerareta
   this student-\textit{ga} / teacher-\textit{ni} / was praised
   that student was praised by the teacher

\(^3\)Reformulations are characterised by the stability of certain paradigmatic features while the verbal morphology is different. For example: passive or causative formulations.

\(^4\)LC differ from reformulations in that the verb is morphologically identical, that some valents in one formulation will be in a different syntactic position in the other formulation and/or that the valents differ in number.

\(^5\)With the term Related Constructions are formulations of pairs of transitive/intransitive verbs that have the verb stem in common and differ by their derivational morphemes. They are related to each other through their verbal stem.

\(^6\)Related Noun Constructions are formulations with a verb and formulates with the deverbative noun, derived from that verb.

\(^7\)Act. = active

\(^8\)RF = referential Formulation
   p-ga = paradigm indicated with \textit{ga}.
   p-o = paradigm indicated with \textit{o}.

\(^9\)D. Pass. = direct passive

\(^{10}\)p-ni = paradigm indicated with \textit{ni}.
2) a) Act.: dorobo ga tokei o nusumu  
   thief-ga /watch-o / steal 
   the thief steals the watch 
   RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[sore]o nusumu

b) D. Pass.: tokei ga dorobo ni nusumareru  
   watch-ga/ thief-ni/ was stolen 
   the watch was stolen by the thief 

c) *Pass.: tokei ga dorobo kara nusumareta  

The sentences in examples 1a and 2a can be considered as lexicalisations of the pronominal formula [p-ga p-o Verbactive]. Each of the pronominal paradigms is characterised by its feature cluster.

As can be seen from these examples there is, at the level of the referential construction, (i.e. a sentence with only predicator and obligatory as well as facultative valency paradigms), a relation of equivalence between the active formulation and the passive formulation. If a) is true then b) is true too and vice versa. At the level of the syntagms, the active—passive formulation group involves two arguments for which the syntactic status will change: in the active formulation there is the direct object syntagm marked with o and the subject syntagm marked with wa or ga, in the passive formulation the object syntagm and the subject syntagm of the active formulation become, respectively, the subject, marked with wa or ga, and a term marked with ni/+/-yotte], kara12 (and de in some cases of inanimate subjects)13 in the passive reformulation.14 As both arguments in one formulation can be represented by the same pronominal paradigm, one may state that they are related to each other by their common paradigmatic references.

3) D. Pass.: denwa de okosareta  
   telephone-de/ be awakened 
   (l) was awakened by the telephone 
   RF: p-ga[watashi]ga p-de[kore]de okosareta

4) D. Pass.: tanaka-san ga yamada-san ni shookaisareta  
   Mr.Tanaka-ga/ Mr.Yamada-ni/ was introduced 
   Mr.Tanaka was introduced by Mr.Yamada or Mr.Tanaka was 
   introduced to Mr. Yamada 

11p-kara = paradigm indicated with kara
12According to Alfonso [1980:950] kara indicates more clearly than ni the source from which something comes or is done.
13A p-ni to be distinguished from other possible p-ni's in that it is proportionally related to the paradigm dare/kare...nani/kore...with the main feature [+/-human], that it can be replaced by ni yotte or de in case of feature [-human] and that it as such only appears with passivized verbs. See also different types of p-ni.
14Alfonso [1980:950]: de is more commonly used when the source is an inanimate thing. When the source is a moving thing, de is not used.
When the p-ni of the passive reformulation cannot be considered as a source then *kara* is unacceptable as in (2c)

The particle *ni[+/-yotte]* to indicate the agent of the passive sentence is the most commonly used. In sentence (2c) *kara* is not possible but in (1b) it is. When *kara* is possible the feature [source of the action] is attributed to the p-ni. If *kara* can be used instead of *ni* then p-ni is marked by the feature [+source]. So *kara* appears as a sub-specification of *ni*.

If another p-ni appears in the sentence, the semantic difference between the two paradigms is determined by the order in which they appear in the sentence: the p-ni (agent) must precede the other p-ni (5). The order is here a criterion for their definition as different paradigms.

5) Act: watashi ga tanaka-san ni sawada-san o shookaisuru
     I-ga/ Mr.Tanaka-ni/ Mr.Sawada-o/ introduce
     I introduced Mr. Sawada to Mr. Tanaka

D. Pass: sawada-san ga watashi ni tanaka-san ni shookaisareta
     Mr.Sawada-ga / l-ni/ Mr.Tanaka-ni/ was introduced
     Mr. Sawada was introduced to Mr. Tanaka by me

Both formulations have the same number of arguments\(^{15}\) and allow for reformulations according to the underlying relation of the terms and their paradigms.

This passive will be called the *direct passive*. Verbs that allow for such reformulations are always "transitive" in their active formulation, but not for all transitive verbs is direct passive possible.

A number of constraints interfere with the formation of passives. They can be divided in two categories: constraints linked to specific paradigms and those linked to specific verbs.

1.2. Particular rules concerning specific paradigms.

1.2.1. Co-reference between ga-syntagm and o-syntagm

Co-reference between a *ga*-syntagm and a term followed by the postpositional particle *o* (direct object function), being a lexical expansion of the *ga*-syntagm (person/part of body), will block the passive formulation.

---

\(^{15}\)In the case of full grammatical sentences. In actual speech, sentences are often stripped down and can appear without subject and even without object. Out of context, however, the omission of a subject will indicate ‘watashi’ (I) in affirmative sentences and ‘anata’ (you) in interrogative sentences. In the active formulation the o-syntagm can be facultative but the corresponding p-ga of the passive formulation may be considered obligatory, even when realized with a zero referential, it is supposed to be known. In the passive formulation the ni[±yotte]-syntagm can be facultative.
These verbs seem to be transitive and have objects that nevertheless never or rarely occur in the passive.

6) Act.: kanojo ga kare ni [te o fu]tta
she-za / he-ni / hand-o / waved
she waved her hand at him

*D. Pass.: te wa kanojo ni kare ni furareta
but

7) Act.: kare ga hata o futta
he-za / flag-o / waved
he waved the flag

D. Pass.: hata ga kare ni furareta
flag-za / he-ni / was waved
the flag was waved by him

In example (6) the "te o" is not the lexicalization of a pronominal paradigm p-o. It is not an autonomous paradigm. The absence of proportionality with a RP and the impossibility of a passive formulation proves that this term has a different status in that sentence. It is a lexical expansion of kanojo and it can only occur when the word it is a lexical expansion of precedes it. Reflexives and parts of body of the subject that occur as object in the active sentence will not occur as the subject of the passive sentence. Yet the same verb can occur with a p-o that is not a reflexive or lexical expansion of the p-ga, in which case it is proportionally related to a referential and allows for a passive formulation (7).

1.2.2 Traversal object

In cases of what is traditionally called a "traversal object" it is necessary to specify that the term with the post-positional particle o is not a direct object but a locative (indicated with o), since it is proportionally related to the paradigm doko (where)/koko (here), soko (there), asoko (over there) whose distinctive feature is [+location]. It has to be considered as an objectivised locative.

8) a). Act.: kare ga [michi o aruku]u
he-za / [road o walk]
he walks on the road

b)*D. Pass.: michi ga kare ni arukareru
road-wa, ga / he-ni / be walked on
the road was walked on by him
c) D. Pass.: kare ni [michi o aruk]areru
   he-ni/ [road-o walk] has been
   the road has been walked on by him
RF: p-ni[kare]ni [soko o aruk]areru

There is no such relation of co-reference between this p-o and the p-ga of
the passive formulation and no D Passive formulation is possible (8b). [michi o
aruk] can be considered as a verbal kernel with the syntagm-o, that is
proportionally related to the group doko/koko, soko, etc. as the o-syntagm of the
verb-stem rather than of the verb.

The o-paradigm must be represented by the proportionality group
dare/kare...nani/kore, sore, etc. in order to allow for passive reformulation. In
the (8c) the argument marked with o is not involved in the passivization and
will stay as such in the passive reformulation.

The proportionality with the group doko/koko, soko, asoko and the
impossibility of a passive formulation form the constructivist basis for the concept
of the “traversal object”.

1.2.3 Features of p-ni’s

P-ni’s can be [+/- human] but the majority of them are marked [+human].

9) Act.: kare ga tabako no kemuri o hana kara haku
   he-ga / cigarette-no /smoke-o /nose-kare / send
   he sends the smoke of his cigarette through his nose

D. Pass.: tabako no kemuri ga kare ni hana kara hakareru
   cigarette-no /smoke-ga / he-ni / nose-kara / is send
   smoke was send by him through his nose

Act.: entotsu ga kemuri o haku
   chimney-ga / smoke-o / send
   the chimney sends smoke

*D. Pass.: kemuri ga entotsu ni hakareru
   smoke-ga / chimney-ni / is send
   the smoke was send by the chimney

For some verbs, however, a direct passive is only possible if the subject
which has to become the p-ni of the passive construction is [+human] (9).

1.2.4 Specific features of p-o

For some verbs D. Pass. is only possible if the p-o of the active sentence is
marked with the feature [+human] (10).
10) Act: panda wa(ga) nihonchuu no ninki o atsumeta
panda-ga/ all Japan-no-popularity-o/ attract
the panda has become a favourite in all Japan

*D. Pass.: nihonchuu no ninki wa panda ni atsumerareta

11) Act: ano daigaku ga yuuryoo na kyooshi o atsumeta
that university-ga/ competent-na -teachers-o/ attracted
that university has a competent staff
RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[ano hito]o atsumeta

D. Pass: yuuryoo na kyooshi ga ano daigaku ni atsumerareta
competent teachers-ga/ that university-ni/ have been attracted
competent teachers have been attracted by that university

1.2.5 Pseudo-syntagms.

12) Act.: kare ga ki o tsuketa
he-ga/ paid attention
he paid attention
RF: p-ga[kare]ga [ki o tsu]keta
*RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[ki]o tsuketa

*D. Pass.: ki ga kare ni tsukerareta
attention was paid by him

In example (12) ki o has no referential paradigm. The absence of proportionality with a RP proves that the NP-o in16 (12) has a different status. It is a pseudo-syntagm and [NP-o + Verb] forms a close and indivisible unit with the verb where the NP-o will not absorb the function of p-ni in the passive formulation.

1.3 Particular rules concerning specific verbs

1.3.1 Omitted p-ni's

13) a) *Pass.: mado ga taroo ni akirareta
window-ga / Taroo-ni / was opened
the window was opened by Taroo

b) D. Pass: ?mado ga akirareta
window-ga / was opened
the window was opened
RF: p-ga[kore]ga akirareta

16NP = Noun Phrase
14) a) kare wa/ga Tookyoo ni umareta
   he-wa/ga/ Tokyo-ni/ be born
   he was born in Tokyo

   b)* kare wa/ga satoo-san ni umareta
   he-ga/ Mrs.Satoo-ni/ be born
   He was born by Mrs.Satoo

For some verbs passive formulation seems to be more acceptable if the
p-ni\textsuperscript{17} marked [-animate] is not expressed.

1.3.2 Metaphorical use of verbs

Passive formulation is not possible for some verbs used metaphorically.

15) Act.: nezumi ga chiizu o kajita
   mice-ga / cheese-o / nibbled
   mice nibbled at the cheese
RF: p-ga [kore]ga p-o[sore(ra)]o kajita

D. Pass.: chiizu ga nezumi ni kajirareta
   cheese-ga / mice-ni / was nibbled at
RF: p-ga [sore(ra)]wa p-ni[kore]ni kajirareta

16) Act: kare ga doitsugo o kajita
   he-ga / German-o / nibbled
   he learned a bit of German
RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[sore]o kajita

*D. Pass: doitsugo ga kare ni kajirareta
   German-ga/ he-ni/ was nibbled
Conversely, with some verbs and verb constructions used in a metaphorical
meaning only the passive is possible (17), (18).

17) D. Pass: watas_hitachi ga shinkonfuufu ni aterareta
   we-ga/newlyweds-ni /were touched
   we were touched by the newlyweds
RF: p-ga[watas_hitachi]wa p-ni[ano hitotachi]ni aterareta

*Act: shinkonFuufu ga watas_hitachi o ateru
   newlyweds-ga/ we-o/ touch
   the newlyweds touched us

\textsuperscript{17}Chieko Sato [1982]
18) D. pass: kare ga shigoto ni owarete iru
   he-ga/ work-ni / he is overloaded
   he is overloaded with work

*Act: shigoto ga kare o ou
   work-ga/ he-o/ overload
   ?the work overloads him
*RF: p-ga[kore]ga p-o[kare]o ou

1.3.3 Transitive/Intransitive pairs of verbs

A number of verbs appear in pairs of transitive and intransitive. Though both kinds of verbs belong to different formulation groups they are related to each other by their verb stem which is the same for both verbs which then differ by their derivational morphemes (19). For a limited number among them the same morphological verb, i.e. without any derivational distinctiveness, functions as transitive as well as intransitive(19), transitivity being only indicated by the valents and the reformulation group. As stated before only verbs with a o-syntagm in the function of direct object can have a direct passive formulation, for both types of verbs only the transitive construction can have a direct passive reformulation.

19) the pair ugoku/ugokasu

a) Act.: sono kuruma no enjin ga ugokanai (Intr)
   that car-no -motor-ga / doesn’t move
   the motor of this car does not turn (move)
RF: p-ga[kore]ga ugokanai

*D. pass: sono kuruma no enjin ni ugokarenai
   that car no -motor-ni/ is moved
   ? is moved by the motor of this car
*RF: p-ni[kore]ni ugokarenai

b) Act.: kare ga tsukue o hokano heya ni ugokashita(Tr)
   he-ga / table-o / other room-ni / moved
   he moved the table to another room

c) D. Pass.: tsukue ga kare ni hokano heya ni ugokasareta
   table-ga / he-ni / other room-ni / was moved
   the table was moved by him to another room

Only sentence (19b) can occur with a direct passive reformulation. Both constructions, however, can occur with an affective passive (see hereafter).

---

18 With transitive and intransitive verbs I designate the verbs that occur with a direct object-syntagm or without a direct object-syntagm, respectively.
20) Act:  
a)sensei ga jugyoo o kuji ni owaru  
    teacher-ga/ lesson-o/ nine o’clock-ni/ end  
    the teacher ends the lesson at nine o’clock  

D. Pass:  
    jugyoo ga sensei ni kuji ni owarareru  
    lesson-ga/ teacher-ni/ nine o’clock-ni/ was ended  
    the lesson was ended at nine o’clock by the teacher  

    b)jugyoo ga kuji ni owaru  
    lesson-ga/ nine o clock-ni/ owaru  
    the lesson ends at nine o’clock  

The majority of passive sentences have no p-ni expressed. Although no p-ni is mentioned, the possible activity of a referent of p-ni is necessarily implicated and in most cases it is possible to have a p-ni expressed. The omission occurs when the referent of p-ni is unknown or irrelevant.

2. Indirect Passive

2.1 General aspects

In Japanese there is another passive formulation that I have labelled as Indirect Passive:¹⁹

21) Act.:  
    sensei ga seito ni eigo o oshieru  
    teacher-ga/ student(s)-ni/ English-o/ oshieru  
    the teacher teaches English to the students  

D. Pass.:  
    eigo ga sensei ni seito ni oshierareru  
    English-ga/ teacher-ni/ student (s)-ni/ is taught  
    English is taught by the teacher to the students  

I. Pass.:  
    seito ga sensei ni [eigo o osheie]rareru  
    student(s)-gā/teacher-ni/ /[English-o oshei]rareru  
    the students are taught English by the teacher  

From this example it is clear that for this verb not only the p-o of the active formulation but another paradigm marked with ni’ and sometimes even marked with kara or to can be related to the p-ga of the passive formulation.

¹⁹In most handbooks this passive is labelled as Direct Passive but as another argument than a o-argument is involved I thought it to be preferable to make the distinction.
2.1.1 Ditransitive verbs

In the case of ditransitive verbs such as okuru, oshieru etc., which can have a direct object as well as an indirect object in the active formulation, either object is in a relation of co-reference with the subject of one of the other of the passive formulations. At the level of the clause, the referential construction, there is again a relation of equivalence between the active and the direct passive as well as the indirect passive. If (a) is true then (b) and (c) are true, when (b) is true then (a) and (c) are true too and if (c) is true (a) and (b) are true.

In the case that one considers the indirect object p-ni as related to p-ga of the passive sentence, the p-o will form a predicate kernel with the predicator and as such will not be affected by a passive reformulation.

2.1.2 Passive involving a p-ni of the active sentence

Also with verbs that have only a p-ni and no p-o this kind of passive reformulation appears:

22) Act.: kuruma ga hito ni ataru
car-ga / man-ni / hit
the car hit the man

I.Pass.: hito ga kuruma ni atarareru
man-ga / car-ni / was hit
the man was run over by a car

2.1.3. Passive involving a p-to of the active sentence

There are also arguments marked with to in the active sentence that can become the argument marked with ga of the passive sentence. According to the effectual analysis of verbs this seems only possible if the to is interchangeable with ni and if the p- to is characterised by the feature [+human].

23) Act: kare wa[ga] aite ni/to chooshi o awaset
he-ga/ companion ni/to/ manner-o/ adjust
?he adjusted his manners for his companion
RF: p-ga[kare] p-to/ni[ano hito]to/ni p-o[sore]o awaseta

I. Pass: aite wa[ga] kare ni chooshi o awaserareta
companion-ga/ he-ni/ manner-o/ has been adjusted
?his manners have been adjusted for his companion

24) Act.: kanojo wa[ga] kagu o kabe no iro ni awaset
she-ga/ furniture-o/ wall-no-colour-ni/ matched
she matched the furniture to the colours of the wall
*I.Pass.: kabe no iro wa(ga) kanojo ni kagu o awaserareta

but a direct passive formulations is possible:

D. Pass.: Kagu wa(ga) kanojo ni kabe no iro ni awaserareta
furniture-ga/ she-ni/ colour of the wall-ni/ has been matched
the furniture has been matched to the colour of the wall

2.1.4 Passive involving a p-e of the active sentence

Similarly, an argument marked with e can become the ga-argument of the
 passive sentence. From the examined verbs this seems only possible in case e is
 interchangeable with ni and p-e is characterised by the feature [+human].

25) Act.: kare wa(ga) amerika kara onshi ni/e tegami o kaita
he-ga/ America-kara/ honoured teacher-ni/ letter-o/ wrote
he wrote a letter from America to his honoured teacher

I. Pass.: onshi ga kare ni amerika kara tegami o kakareta
honoured teacher-ga/ he-ni/ America-kara/ letter-o/ was written
the honoured teacher was written a letter from America by him

2.1.5 Passive involving p-kara of the active sentence

The same can be said for arguments marked with kara that take the
position of the ga- argument in the passive sentence. The argument marked with
kara must have the feature [+human].

26) Act.: karera wa(ga) ginkoo kara ichi oku en no okane o nusunda
they-ga/ bank-kara/ ten thousand yen-no-money-o/ stole
they stole ten thousand yen from the bank

I. Pass.: ginkoo ga karera ni yotte ichi oku en no okane o nusumareta
the bank-ga/ they-ni yotte/ ten thousand yen-no-money-o/ was
stolen
?the bank was stolen ten thousand yen by them

D. pass: ichi oku en no okane wa(ga) karera ni yotte ginkoo kara
nusumareta
ten thousand yen-no-money ga/wa/ they-ni yotte bank-kara/ was
stolen
ten thousand yen was stolen from the bank by them
2.1.6 Passive involving a p-de of the active sentence

Also an argument with *de* can be involved in the passive formulation. In example (28) the argument with *ni* of the passive formulation. P-de is marked with [+location] but can be considered as the subject of the sentence in which case it is marked with *ga*. Here the passive formulation is in fact the passive formulation of the linked construction

27) “Linkai ga sono hooan o shingishita”
    committee-*gal* bill-*ol* discussed
    the committee discussed that bill
RF: p-*gal*[kare(ra)]ga p-*ol*[sore]o shingishita

28) Act.: Linkai de sono hooan o shingishita
        committee-*de* that bill-*ol* was discussed
        they discussed that bill at the committee
RF: p-*de*[soko]de p-*ol*[sore]o shingishita

I. Pass:
    sono hooan wa*(ga)* ii*nakai ni* shingisareta
    that bill-*ga* committee-*ni* was discussed
    that bill was discussed at the committee
RF: p-*gal*[kore])ga p-*ni*[kare(ra)]ni shingisareta

2.2 Particular rule concerning the p-*ga*

The p-*ga* of an I. Pass formulation can be [+/- human]

29) Act.: sensei ga sono kanji ni tadashii okurigana o okutta
        teacher-*gal* /that character(s)-*ni* /correct kana ending-*ol* gave
        the teacher provided the character(s) from the correct okurigana

I. Pass.: kanji ga sensei ni tadashii okurigana o okurareta
        character(s)-*gal* teacher-*ni* correct kana ending-*ol* was given
        a correct kana ending was provided by the teacher for the
        character(s)

Yet for some verbs one has to allow for specific restrictions. As can be seen from following example (30) for some verbs the I.Pass. is only possible if the p-*ni* of the active sentence is characterised by the feature [+human].

30) a) Act.: watashi ga ano hito ni akita
        I-*gal* / he-*ni* / got tired of
        I got tired of him
RF: p-*gal*[watashi]ga p-*ni*[ano hito]ni akita

I. Pass.: ano hito ga watashi ni akirareta
        he-*gal* /I-*ni* /got tired of
        I got tired of him
b) Act.: watashi ga ano shigoto ni akireta
        I-ga / that work-ni / got tired
        I got tired of that work

d) *I. Pass.: shigoto ga watashi ni akirareta
        work-ga / I-ni / got tired of

3. Affective Passive

3.1 General aspects

In examples (61) to (63) appears another passive formulation that is more common in Japanese. The greater majority of verbs allow this kind of passive formulation, called the Affective Passive.\(^{20}\)

31) a) Act.: noriko no oniisan ga kodomo o butta
        Noriko-no -brother-ga / child o hit
        Noriko’s brother hit the children
RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[ano hito]o butta

b) Aff.Pass\(^{21}\): watashi ga noriko no oniisan ni kodomo o butareta
       I-ga / Noriko-no -brother-ni / child-o / was hit
       ?I had my children beaten by Noriko’s brother

c) Aff.Pass.: noriko ga oniisan ni kodomo o butareta
     Noriko-ga / brother-ni / child-o / was hit
     Noriko had her children hit by her brother

32) a) Act.: haha ga watashi no tegami o yonda
       mother-ga / I-no -letters-o / read
       mother read my letters

b) Aff. Pass.: tomodachi ga watashi no tegami o haha ni yomareta
       friend-ga / I-no -letters-o / mother-ni / were read
       my friend suffered from the fact that my letters were read by my mother

\(^{20}\) This passive is usually called ‘Adversative Passive’ or ‘Indirect Positive’. I have preferred to refer to it with the term ‘Affective Passive’ according to Alfonso [1980:946] and Alfonso [1971] ‘On the Adversative passive’ where he states that the subject or topic of such a passive sentence is not always affected adversely. The term ‘Indirect Positive’ I have used to indicate the passive where a p-ni becomes the p-ga of the passive sentence.

c) Aff. Pass.: watashi ga haha ni tegami o yomareta
I-ga / mother-ni / letter-o / were read
I suffered from the fact that the letter was read by mother

33) a) Act.: kenji ga kamera no renzu o watta
Kenji-ga / camera-no -lens-o / broke
Kenji broke the lens of his camera
RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[sore]o wareta

b) Aff. Pass.: watashi ga kenji ni kamera no renzu o warareta
I-ga / Kenji-ni / camera-no -lens-o / was broken
I suffered from the fact that the lens of my camera was broken by
Kenji

c) *Aff. Pass.: kamera ga kenji ni renzu o warareta
camera-ga / Kenji-ni / lens-o / was broken
the camera suffered from the fact that the lens was broken by Kenji

The affective passive describes a situation where an action by someone or
an event indirectly affects the subject that will appear as an additional paradigm in
the affective passive construction (31b, 32b, 33b). In that aspect it has no active
counterpart. It might call it an “augmented passive” or the passive verb an
“augmented modal verb”. The additional paradigm always absorbs the function p-
ga and is usually presented as a topic marked by wa. The agent of the act must be
marked by ni. The direct object of the active sentence can remain as a direct
object in these passive reformulations.

In examples (31, 32, 33) the (c) and (b) sentences implicate the (a)
sentence. If (b) or (c) are true then (a) is true too. This implication is true for all
active-affected passive reformulations.

In these examples there is only a relation between the p-ga of the active
sentence is not related to any term of the active sentence and occupies the position
of the additional term of the affected person. Whether the p-o of the active
formulation is facultative or not is not of importance for the affective passive
since the p-o is not involved in the passivization.

In order to account for the cases such as 31b, c; 32b, c; 33b where the p-o
is kept as such in both formulations [p-o + V-base] must be considered as a
predicative kernel with a close relation between the p-o and the predicator and
which is passivised as a whole.

Intransitive verbs too can have affective passive constructions as in
examples (36), (35).
(noriko no) tomodachi ga itta
(Noriko-no) friend-ga / went
Noriko’s friend went

RF: p-ga[kare]ga itta

noriko ga tomodachi ni ikareta
Noriko-ga / friend-ni / has gone
Noriko was affected by the fact that her friend went


ame ga furu
rain-ga f/ all
it is raining


I-ga / rain-ni / was affected by
I was affected by the rain


A number of verbs can have an affective passive as well as a direct passive construction, as in examples (31) (32) (33) (36).

36).Act.:
dorobo ga chichi no tokei o nusunda
thief-ga / father-no /watch-o / stole
the thief stole my father’s watch


D.Pass.: chichi no tokei wa dorobo ni nusumareta
father-no /watch-wa/ thief-ni / was stolen
father’s watch was stolen by a thief


chichi ga dorobo ni tokei o nusumareta
father-ga / thief-ni / watch-o / was stolen
father had (his) watch stolen by a thief


In some sentences there is a p-ni in the active formulation that will occupy the same function in the passive formulation. In this case there will be two p-ni’s in the passive formulation and the p-ni indicating the Agent must precede the other p-ni as in (36).

37) Pass.: a) watashi ga Yamada-san ni takada-san ni denwasareta
I-ga / Mr.Yamada-ni / Mr.Takada-ni / was called
Mr.Takada was called by Mr. Yamada and I suffered from that fact

b) watashi ga takada-san ni yamada-san ni denwasareta
   I-ga / Mr.Takada-ni / Mr.Yamada-ni / was called
   Mr. Yamada was called by Mr. Takada and I suffered from that fact


Generally speaking the morpheme -(r)areru indicates the passive in the three different passive formulations and all three types of passive have a p-ni. They thus can be considered as having a relation of similarity holding between them.

Verbs for which passive reformulations only occur under very specific conditions or otherwise sound unnatural have been marked as *Passive since the passive is not prototypical for the verb in question.

4. Typology

If I consider the different possible active/passive reformulations (Active - Direct Passive - Indirect Passive - Affective Passive), I find theoretically 15 combinations. A number of combinations, however, never occur.

According to the different possible constructions, verbs can be grouped as follows:

1. Transitive bivalent verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active</th>
<th>*direct passive</th>
<th>*affective passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>*direct passive</td>
<td>affective passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>direct passive</td>
<td>*affective passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>direct passive</td>
<td>affective passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*active</td>
<td>direct passive</td>
<td>*affective passive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Transitive tri-valent verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active</th>
<th>Direct passive</th>
<th>Indirect passive</th>
<th>Affective passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>Direct passive</td>
<td>*Indirect passive</td>
<td>Affective passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>*Direct passive</td>
<td>Indirect passive</td>
<td>Affective passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>*Direct passive</td>
<td>*Indirect passive</td>
<td>Affective passive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active</th>
<th>*Direct passive</th>
<th>*Indirect passive</th>
<th>*Affective passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>*Direct passive</td>
<td>*Indirect passive</td>
<td>Affective passive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To conclude I would like to stress that reformulations, especially the D. Pass. and I. Pass. reformulations, are extremely verb specific and provide an excellent criterion for distinguishing different readings of the same morphological verb.
Translation of the Japanese pronouns used in this article.

dare who
daredemo anybody
wata(ku)shi I, me
watashitachi we, us
anata you
anatagata you (plural)
anohito he, she, him, her
anohitotachi they, them
kare he, him
karera they (-F)
kanojo she, her
kanojora they, them (+F)
nani what
dore which one
doredemo anyone
kore this
korera these
sore that
sorera those
are that there
arera those there
dono yoo ni in what way
kono yoo ni in this way
sono yoo ni in that way
ano yoo ni in that way there
soo so
doko where
dokodemo anywhere
koko here
soko there
asoko over there
ikutsu how many
itsu when
itsu mono always, never
itsudemo any time
sono toki that time
REFERENCES


Received: 10 March 1997