

Towards a constructivist approach to the Japanese 'Passive'

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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'.¹

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.²

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 predicator and its arguments are also bound by the predicator's referential valency constructs. The potential

¹See also K. Van den Eynde & C. Blanche-Benveniste (1978) *Pronom et Syntax.*, Paris-Selaf.

²According 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.

1 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-*ga*/ this student-*o* / praise
 the teacher praises that student

RF: p-*ga*[ano hito]*ga* p-*o*[kare]*o* hometa⁸

b) D. Pass.⁹: kono gakusei ga sensei ni/kara homerareta
 this student-*ga* / teacher-*ni* / was praised
 that student was praised by the teacher

RF: p-*ga*[kare]*ga* p-*ni*[ano hito]*ni/kara* homerareta¹⁰

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

⁴LC 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.

⁵With 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.

⁶Related Noun Constructions are formulations with a verb and formulations with the deverbative noun, derived from that verb.

⁷Act. = active

⁸RF = referential Formulation

p-*ga* = paradigm indicated with *ga*.

p-*o* = paradigm indicated with *o*.

⁹D. Pass. = direct passive

¹⁰p-*ni* = paradigm indicated with *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

RF: p-*ga*[*sore*]*ga* p-*ni*[*kare*]*ni* nusumareru

c) *Pass.: tokei ga dorobo *kara* nusumareta

*RF: p-*ga*[*tokei*]*ga* p-*kara*[*kare*]*kara* nusumareta¹¹

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*], *kara*¹² (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
 (I) 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

RF: p-*ga*[*kare*]*ga* p-*ni*[*ano hito*]*ni* shookaisareta

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

RF: p-ga [watashi] ga p-ni[ano hito]ni p-o[kare]o shookaisuru

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

RF: p-ga[kare]o p-ni[watashi]ni p-ni[ano hito]ni shookaisareta

Both formulations have the same number of arguments¹⁵ 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 post-positional particle *o* (direct object function), being a lexical expansion of the *ga*-syntagm (person/part of body), will block the passive formulation.

¹⁵In 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-*ga* / he-*ni* / hand-*o* / waved
she waved her hand at him

RF: p-ga[kanojo]ga p-ni[kare]ni [te o fu]tta

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

*RF: p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[kanojo]ni furareta

but

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

RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[kore]o futta

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

RF: p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[kare]ni furareta

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 aruk]u
he-*ga* / [road o walk]
he walks on the road

RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-ni[soko]o aruku

b)*D. Pass.: michi ga kare ni arukareru
road-*wa* ,ga/ he-*ni* / be walked on
the road was walked on by him

*RF: p-ga[koko]ga p-ni[kare]ni arukareru

- 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 case of (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

RF: p-*ga*[kare]ga p-*o*[kore]o p-*kara*[soko]kara haku

- 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

RF: p-*ga*[kore]ga p-*ni*[kare]ni p-*kara*[soko]kara hakareru

- 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

*RF: p-*ga*[kore]ga p-*ni*[sore]ni hakareru

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
 RF: p-ga[panda]ga p-o[sore]o atsumeta

*D. Pass.: nihonchuu no ninki wa panda ni atsumerareta
 *RF: p-ga[sore]ga p-ni[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
 RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-ni[kare]ni atsumerareta

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
 *p-ga[kare]ga p-o[ki]o tsuketa

*D. Pass.: ki ga kare ni tsukerareta
 attention was paid by him
 RF: *p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[kare]ni tsukerareta

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
 *RF: p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[kare]ni akirareta

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

RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-ni[soko]ni umareta

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

RF: *p-ga[kare]ga p-ni[kanojo]ni umareta

For some verbs passive formulation seems to be more acceptable if the p-ni¹⁷ 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

*RF: p-ga[sore]ga p-ni[kare]ni kajirareta

Conversely, with some verbs and verb constructions used in a metaphorical meaning only the passive is possible (17), (18).

17) D. Pass: watashitachi ga shinkonfuufu ni aterareta
 we-ga /newlyweds-ni /were touched
 we were touched by the newlyweds

RF: p-ga[watashitachi]wa p-ni[ano hitotachi]ni aterareta

*Act: shinkonfuufu ga watashitachi o ateru
 newlyweds-ga/ we-o/ touch
 the newlyweds touched us

*RF: p-ga[ano hitotachi]ga p-o[watashitachi]o ateru

¹⁷Chieko Sato [1982]

18) D. pass: kare ga shigoto ni owarete iru
 he-*ga*/ work-*ni* / be is overloaded
 he is overloaded with work

RF: p-*ga*[kare]*ga* p-*ni*[sore]*ni* owarete iru

*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 verbs¹⁸

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 engin 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

RF: p-*ga*[kare]*ga* p-*o*[kore]*o* p-*ni*[soko]*ni* ugokashita

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

RF: p-*ga*[kore]*ga* p-*ni*[kare]*ni* p-*ni*[soko]*ni* ugokasareta

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

¹⁸With 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
 RF: p-*ga*[kare]ga p-*o*[kore]o p-*ni*[sono toki]ni owaru
- 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
 RF: p-*ga*[kore]ga p-*ni*[kare]ni p-*ni*[sono toki]ni owarareru
- b) jugyoo ga kuji ni owaru
 lesson-*ga*/ nine o'clock-*ni*/ owaru
 the lesson ends at nine o'clock
 RF: p-*ga*[kore]ga p-*ni*[sono toki]ni owaru

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
 RF: p-*ga*[ano hito]ga p-*ni*[kare(ra)]ni p-*o*[sore]o oshieru
- 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
 RF: p-*ga*[sore]ga p-*ni*[ano hito]ni p-*ni*[kare(ra)]ni oshierareru
- I. Pass.: seito ga sensei ni [eigo o oshie]rareru
 student(s)-*ga* /teacher-*ni* /[English-*o* oshie]rareru
 the students are taught English by the teacher
 RF: p-*ga*[kare(ra)]ga p-*ni*[ano hito]ni [p-*o*[sore]o oshie]rareru

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

RF: *p-ga*[kore]*ga* *p-ni*[kare]*ni* ataru

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

RF: *p-ga*[kare]*ga* *p-ni*[kore]*ni* atarareru

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 awaseta
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

RF: *p-ga*[ano hito]*ga* *p-ni*[kare]*ni* *p-o*[sore] awaserareta

24) Act.: kanojo wa(*ga*) kagu o kabe no iro *ni* awaseta
she-*ga*/ furniture-*o*/ wall-*no-colour-ni*/ matched
she matched the furniture to the colours of the wall

RF: *p-ga*[kanojo]*ga* *p-o*[kore]o *p-ni*[sore]*ni* awaseta

*I.Pass.: kabe no iro wa(ga) kanojo ni kagu o awaserareta
 RF:p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[kanojo]ni p-o[kore]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
 RF: p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[kanojo]ni p-ni[sore]ni awaserareta

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
 RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-kara[soko]kara p-ni/e[anohito]ni/e p-o[sore]o kaita

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
 RF: p-ga[ano hito]ga p-ni[kare]ni p-kara[soko]kara p-o[sore]o kakareta

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

RP: p-ga[karera]ga p-kara[kare]kara p-o[sore]o nusunda

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

RP: p-ga[ano hito]ga p-ni[kare]ni(yotte) p-o[sore]o nusumareta

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

RP: p-o[sore]ga p-ni[kare]ni(yotte) p-kara[ano hito]kara nusumareta

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 *de* will become 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) “Iinkai ga sono hooan o shingishita”
 committee-*ga*/ bill-*o*/ discussed
 the committee discussed that bill
 RF: p-*ga*[kare(ra)]*ga* p-*o*[sore]*o* shingishita

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

I. Pass: sono hooan wa(*ga*) iinkai ni shingisareta
 that bill-*ga*/ committee-*ni*/ was discussed
 that bill was discussed at the committee
 RF: p-*ga*[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-*ga* /that character(s)-*ni* /correct kana ending-*o*/ gave
 the teacher provided the character(s) from the correct okurigana
 RF: p-*ga* [kare]*ga* p-*ni*[kore)*ni* p-*o*[sore]*o* okutta

I. Pass.: kanji ga sensei ni tadashii okurigana o okurareta
 character(s)-*ga*/ teacher-*ni*/ correct kana ending-*o*/ was given
 a correct kana ending was provided by the teacher for the
 character(s)
 RF: p-*ga*[kore]*ga* p-*ni*[kare]*ni* p-*o*[sore]*o* okurareta

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-*ga* / he-*ni* / got tired of
 I got tired of him
 RF: p-*ga*[watashi]*ga* p-*ni*[ano hito]*ni* akita

I. Pass.: ano hito ga watashi ni akirareta
 he-*ga* /I-*ni* /got tired of
 I got tired of him
 RF: p-*ga*[ano hito]*ga* p-*ni*[watashi]*ni* akirareta

b) Act.: watashi ga ano shigoto ni akireta
 I-ga / that work-ni / got tired
 I got tired of that work

RF: p-ga[watashi]ga p-ni[kore]ni akireta

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

*RF: p-ga[kore]ga p-ni[watashi]ni akirareta

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.Pass²¹.: 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

RF: p-ga[watashi]ga p-ni[kare]ni p-o[ano hito]o butareta

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

RF: p-ga[kanojo]ga p-ni[kare]ni p-o[ano hito]o butareta

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

RF: p-ga[kanojo]ga p-o[kore]o yonda

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

RF: p-ga[kare]ga p-o[kore]o p-ni[kanojo]ni yomareta

²⁰ This passive is usually called 'Adversative Passive' or 'Indirect Passive'. 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 Passive' I have used to indicate the passive where a p-ni becomes the p-ga of the passive sentence.

²¹ Aff.Pass. = Affective Passive.

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
 RF: *p-ga[watashi]ga p-ni[kanojo]ni p-o[kore]o yomareta*

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
 RF: *p-ga[watashi]ga p-ni[kare]ni p-o[sore]o warareta*

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
 *RF: *p-ga[sore]ga p-ni[kare]ni p-o[kore]o warareta*

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 formulation and the *p-ni* of the Aff. Pass. formulation. The *p-ga* of the Aff. Pass. 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).

34) Act.: (noriko no) tomodachi ga itta
 (Noriko-*no*) friend-*ga* / went
 Noriko's friend went

RF: p-*ga*[kare]*ga* itta

Aff. Pass.: noriko *ga* tomodachi ni ikareta
 Noriko-*ga* / friend-*ni* / has gone
 Noriko was affected by the fact that her friend went

RF: p-*ga*[kanojo]*ga* p-*ni*[kare]*ni* ikareta

35) Act.: ame *ga* furu
 rain-*ga* f/ all
 it is raining

Aff. Pass.: watashi *ga* ame ni furareta
 I-*ga* / rain-*ni* / was affected by
 I was affected by the rain

RF: p-*ga*[watashi]*ga* p-*ni*[sore]*ni* furareta

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

RF: p-*ga*[kare]*ga* p-*o*[kore]*o* nusunda

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

RF: p-*ga*[kore]*ga* p-*ni*[kare]*ni* nusumareta

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

RF: p-*ga*[ano hito]*ga* p-*ni*[kare]*ni* p-*o*[kore]*o* nusumareta

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

RF: p-*ga*[watashi]*ga* p-*ni*[ano hito]*ni* p-*ni*[kare]*ni* denwasareta

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

RF: *p-ga[watashi]wa p-ni[kare]ni p-ni[ano hito]ni denwasareta*

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

active	*direct passive	*affective passive
active	*direct passive	affective passive
active	direct passive	*affective passive
active	direct passive	affective passive
*active	direct passive	*affective passive

2. Transitive tri-valent verbs.

active	Direct passive	Indirect passive	Affective passive
active	Direct passive	*Indirect passive	Affective passive
active	*Direct passive	Indirect passive	Affective passive
active	*Direct passive	*Indirect passive	Affective passive
active	*Direct passive	*Indirect passive	*Affective passive

Intransitive verbs

active	*Direct passive	*Indirect passive	*Affective passive
active	*Direct passive	*Indirect passive	Affective passive

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
itsumo	always, never
itsudemo	any time
sono toki	that time

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