A construal-based analysis of direct and indirect passives in Japanese

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1. DIRECT VS. INDIRECT PASSIVES

The purpose of the present paper is to give a unificational explanation to both the direct passive and the indirect passive in Japanese, and thereon to clarify what motivates adversity in the indirect passive. In previous literature, as opposed to our destination, Japanese passives have been divided into two types, the direct passive and the indirect passive, as for example Teramura(1982:214-217) states. The direct passive depicts the subject NP directly affected in the event as in (1a), while the indirect passive depicts the subject NP with its concomitant or part actually affected, as in (1b).

Taro-NOM Jiro-DAT kill-PASS-PERF
"Taro was killed by Jiro."

b. Hanako-ga saifu-wo nusum-are-ta.
Hanako-NOM wallet-ACC steal-PASS-PERF
"Hanako had her wallet stolen."

The sentence in (1a) is referred to as the direct passive in that the subject Taro is directly affected in the process of Jiro's killing him, whereas the sentence in (1b) is classified as the indirect passive because the subject Hanako herself is only indirectly affected in the event of her saifu "wallet" being stolen.21

There is a twofold distinction between the direct passive and the indirect passive. Firstly, as is maintained by Howard and Niyekawa-Howard(1976:203), Kuno(1973:22-24), Shibatani(1978:135), Siewierska(1984:154-155) and Takami(1995:82-83), unlike the direct passive, it is said that there is no corresponding active sentence to any indirect passive, as is illustrated in (2).
The indirect passives are analyzed as lacking their corresponding actives in that the active in (2b), which theoretically corresponds to (2a), is ungrammatical, whether Taro is marked with the accusative or the dative. In other words, the indirect passives have no corresponding actives virtually because the nominative NP (or its topicalized NP) in the indirect passive is not derivative from the active but is just added, as is described in Kuno(1973:24), Howard and Ni yokawa-Howard(1976:202-203), Shiewierska(1984:154-155) and Palmer (1994:131).

The other distinction is made on the observation that the indirect passive usually implies some adversity, as is often stated in Mikami(1972:103) as well as Kuno(1973:24), Wierzbicka(1988:Ch.4) and Shibatani(1990:320). For example, the indirect passive sentences in (4) indicate adverse effects, regardless of the lexical meaning of the predicative verb.

Most native Japanese speakers would read the indirect passive sentence in (3a) as implying such adversity that Taro feels uncomfortable to hear Hanako playing the piano, whether she plays well or badly. Likewise in (3b) native speakers are most likely to read the nominative subject Jiro as having some adverse or frustrated feeling about having his picture taken.

In the above-mentioned respects it is true that the indirect passive is distinct from the direct passive. From a theoretical point of view, however, there are two problems. Firstly, according to the markedness theory it is extremely unnatural that the active sentence (as the unmarked term) is absent when the corresponding passive (as the marked term) is present. As was seen in the example above, the indirect passive lacks its corresponding active virtually because the promoted nominative cannot be returned to any appropriate position in the active. Thus, if the source of the promoted nominative can be identified in the active, and the indirect passive proved to have its corresponding active, then the both types of passives can ultimately be treated in a unified way. The second is that the semantic explanation has to be given to the reason why most indirect passives imply some adversity, whether the adversity is a (part of the) construction meaning or not.

In what follows, the first problem is resolved in Sections 2-4 by unifying the two types of passives in the theoretically natural way, and the second problem will be taken up in the fifth section.

2. PROCEDURE FOR FORMATION OF JAPANESE PASSIVES

This section is devoted to presenting a unificational procedure for forming Japanese passives. Its initial focus on the direct passive will prove to have applications also to the indirect passive.

In Cognitive Grammar, passivization is understood as a kind of Figure/Ground reversal, i.e. denoting the most salient participant (trajector) to a less salient position, while instead promoting another participant to the most salient position, with the verb morphologically conjugated in some languages, as is stated in Langacker(1982, 1990:229). It is noticed here, in Japanese, that our discussion about passivization must evolve to the level of morphological (surface) cases such as the
nominative, the accusative and other cases, and not upon grammatical functions or relations such as the subject, the object and so forth. For, in my view, previous literature fails to treat systematically the direct and indirect passives mainly because they analyze the passives at the level of grammatical functions.

This paper presents the set of procedures for passivization as follows:

1. Demotion of the nominative to an oblique, or deletion.
2. Promotion of an oblique to the nominative.
3. Suffixation of the morpheme -are(ru) to the verbal root.

(i) is the formal realization of what is called "agent-defocusing," "agent-demoting" or "agent-suppression," which is the typologically-valid condition for passives, as is pointed out by Shibatani (1985:830f) and Givón (1990:567), whereby the nominative NP loses the status of FIGURE and is demoted to an oblique (usually the dative in Japanese), which instead is identified as GROUND. (ii) requires the promotion of one of the obliques as GROUND to the nominative as FIGURE. In this respect, the present paper maintains that the category of the obliques should be so broad as to range from the accusative case to the genitive case and the complex case, as will be mentioned in Sections 3 and 4. Finally, (iii) states that it is necessary to inevitably insert the auxiliary verb -are(ru) into the predicative structure for any passive, with some variations according to its morphosyntactic environment.

Consider the following typical example, where the active (5a) is changed to the (direct) passive voice in (5b).

(5) a. Taro-ga Hanako-wo koroshita.
Taro-NOM Hanako-ACC kill(PERF)
"Taro killed Hanako."

b. Hanako-ga Taro-ni koros-are-ta.
Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT kill-PASS-PERF
"Hanako was killed by Taro."

The agentive nominative Taro in (5a) is demoted to the dative in (5b), whereas the accusative Hanako in (5a) is reinterpreted as the most salient by being promoted to the nominative in (5b), which results in the reversal between the nominative (FIGURE) and the oblique (GROUND).{ref}

In Japanese, and likewise in English, the dative element in the active can also be promoted to the nominative through passivization. Consider the following examples, where (6a) can be changed to either the passive in (6b) or (6c).{ref}

(6) a. Sensei-ga Taro-wo Hanako-ni shoukaishita.
teacher-NOM Taro-ACC Hanako-DAT introduce(PERF)
"The teacher introduced Taro to Hanako."

b. Taro-ga Hanako-ni shoukais-are-ta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT introduce-PASS-PERF
"Taro was introduced to Hanako (by the teacher)."

c. Hanako-ga Taro-wo shoukais-are-ta.
Hanako-NOM Taro-ACC introduce-PASS-PERF
"Hanako was made to meet Taro (by the teacher)."

In (6b) the promoted nominative Taro comes from the accusative in (6a), whereas in (6c) the promoted nominative Hanako comes from the dative.{ref} What is important to notice is that there is some difference in affectedness between the two promoted nominatives Taro in (6b) and Hanako in (6c). It is clear that, of these two promoted nominatives, Taro is more
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directly affected by the agent sensei "teacher" than Hanako because in the process of introduction the agent directly affects Taro, and just indirectly Hanako in the secondary object.

Moreover, besides the accusative NP and the dative NP, the ablative (-kara) NP can be promoted to the nominative through passivization. For example, the active sentence in (7a) can be changed to the direct passive in (7b) as well as to the indirect passive in (7c).

Taro-NOM Jiro-ABL wallet-ACC steal-PERF
"Taro stole the wallet from Jiro."

b. Saifu-ga Jiro-kara Taro-ni nusum-are-ta.
wallet-NOM Jiro-ABL Taro-DAT steal-PASS-PERF
"The wallet was stolen from Jiro by Taro."

c. Jiro-ga Taro-ni saifu-wo nusum-are-ta.
Jiro-NOM Taro-DAT wallet-ACC steal-PASS-PERF
"Jiro had the wallet stolen by Taro."

The reason is so clear that saifu "wallet" is physically moved from Jiro to Taro, while Jiro's body may not be even touched at all. The promoted nominative saifu "wallet" in (7b) comes from the accusative in (7a), whereas the promoted nominative jiro in (7c) comes from the ablative in (7a). It is important that the indirect passive sentence in (7c) is derived basically in the same way as in (7b). It is equally important to notice that, of the two promoted nominatives, the saifu "wallet" in (7b) is more directly affected than jiro in (7c) because saifu "wallet" is physically moved from Jiro to Taro, while jiro's body may not be even touched at all.

Thus the discussion in this section leads to the hypothesis in (8) as follows.

(8) [Passivization Hypothesis] The passives are supposed to have their corresponding actives, in the way that the subject in the passives is located at either the accusative, the dative, or the ablative case in the corresponding actives.

This hypothesis does not only mean that the indirect passives could have their corresponding actives, but also that the direct passives and the indirect passives could be treated basically on the same procedure.

3. EXPLANATION OF INDIRECT PASSIVES

This section is devoted to showing that other indirect passives can also be treated by slightly modifying the way proposed in the previous section.

Consider the following examples, where the indirect passive in (9a) is often believed to lack any corresponding actives.

(7) a. Taro-ga nikki-wo haha-ni yom-are-ta.
Taro-NOM diary-ACC mother-DAT read-PASS-PERF
"Taro had his diary read by his mother."

b. ?? Haha-ga Taro-ni / Taro-kara nikki-wo yom-da.
mother-NOM Taro-DAT / Taro-ABL diary-ACC read-PERF
"?? The mother read the diary to Taro / from Taro."

In fact, the corresponding active sentence in (9b) is semantically inadequate, whether the promoted nominative Taro is marked with the dative -ni case or the ablative -kara case. Extending the hypothesis (8), however, the corresponding active
sentence can be grammatically postulated if Taro is marked with the genitive -no case, as in (9c) below.

(9) c. Haha-ga Taro-no-nikki-wo yom-da.
    mother-NOM Taro-GEN-diary-ACC read-PERP
    "The mother read Taro's diary."

To the extent that this active expression is naturally acceptable, it is likely that most indirect passives generally have their corresponding actives, where the promoted nominative is marked with the genitive. In this vein, it is possible to derive the indirect passive in (10a) from the active in (10b).

(10) a. Taro-ga haha-ni shin-are-ta.
    Taro-NOM mother-DAT die-PASS-PERF
    "Taro had his mother die."

   b. Taro-no-haha-ga shin-da.
    Taro-GEN-mother-NOM die-PERF
    "Taro’s mother died."

In (10b), Taro is marked with the genitive -no to form the compound NP structure Taro-no-haha “Taro’s mother.” It may be controversial, however, when the possessed noun haha “mother” is replaced by a proper noun. For example, the passive in (11a) is supposed to have the corresponding active in (11b), which seems problematic within the nominative noun phrase.

(11) a. Taro-ga Hanako-ni shin-are-ta.
    Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT die-PASS-PERF
    "Taro had Hanako die."

    Taro-GEN-Hanako-NOM die-PERF
    "Taro’s Hanako died."

It is true that in (11b) the nominative noun phrase Taro-no-Hanako “Taro's Hanako” may seem a little odd. But the acceptability of this noun phrase should be ascribed to the "personal relationship" between the two elements, Taro and Hanako, as Shibatani (1994:467) points out. If the two persons are not so friendly or intimate, then the noun phrase Taro-no-Hanako “Taro's Hanako” in (11b) would seem odd. If they were not friendly enough, however, the passive sentence would never be uttered. As long as the passive like (11a) is uttered, the two persons have to be considered as friendly or intimate enough, and the active in (11b) is also acceptable.

The hypothesis in (8) is extended to (12) as follows.

(12) [Passivization Hypothesis (revised version)] The passives are supposed to have their corresponding actives, in the way that the subject in the passives is located at either the accusative, the dative, the ablative, or the genitive case in the corresponding actives.

As far as (12) is valid, most passives proves to have their corresponding actives, whether direct or indirect. But there remain a certain peripheral indirect passives that cannot be supposed to have their corresponding actives, which will be treated in the next section.

4. FURTHER PERIPHERAL INDIRECT PASSIVES
This section is devoted to further peripheral indirect passives, which cannot be treated in the same way as in the previous
sections.

Of the indirect passives, the most difficult ones to explain are perhaps the following kinds of sentences, as has often been mentioned.

(13) a. \textit{Taro-ga} ame-ni fur-are-ta.
\hspace{1cm} Taro-NOM rain-DAT fall-PASS-PERF

"Taro was rained upon."

b. \textit{Taro-ga} akachan-ni nak-are-ta.
\hspace{1cm} Taro-NOM baby-DAT cry-PASS-PERF

"Taro was cried at by the baby."

It is so difficult to find corresponding actives to these passives that in fact the following sentences in (14a) and (14b), which theoretically correspond to (13a) and (13b) respectively, are unacceptable or even ungrammatical.

(14) a. ??\textit{Ame-ga} Taro-ni futta.
\hspace{1cm} rain-NOM Taro-DAT fall(PERF)

"(lit.) It rained to Taro."

b. *\textit{Akachan-ga} Taro-ni naita.
\hspace{1cm} baby-NOM Taro-DAT cry(PERF)

"(lit.) The baby cried to Taro."

These active sentences are quite unacceptable virtually because \textit{Taro} cannot be exposed in any appropriate oblique, even if \textit{Taro} is marked with any other case postposition. From the standpoint of the PROTOTYPE THEORY, however, even the indirect passives must not be analyzed as being distinct from the direct passives, although the two types of passives are not homogeneous. It should rather be thought that the more prototypical passive corresponds to the more prototypical active, while the less prototypical passive corresponds to the less prototypical active. This prototypical view allows us to return the promoted nominative to the active sentence in an unprototypical way, i.e. by marking it with a complex case marking.

Consider the following active sentences, where (15a) corresponds to (14a), and (15b) to (14b), with special attention to the complex case marking of \textit{Taro}.

(15) a. \textit{Ame-ga} Taro-no-tokoro-ni futta.
\hspace{1cm} rain-NOM Taro-GEN-place-DAT fall(PERF)

"(lit.) It rained in Taro’s place."

b. \textit{Akachan-ga} Taro-no-sei-de naita.
\hspace{1cm} baby-NOM Taro-GEN-reason-INSTR cry(PERF)

"The baby cried due to Taro."

Though these active sentences are quite acceptable as well as grammatical, they are less prototypical in that \textit{Taro} is marked with the complex structure including such formal nouns as \textit{tokoro} “place” and \textit{sei} “reason” as in (15a) and (15b), respectively. Now one may be opposed to such active sentences as in (15) because the expletive nouns are deleted through passivization. To such an opposition, however, considering that the complex case markings of an NP symbolize its peripheral status, we have to say that these expletive nouns are essential in the active sentence in order to involve \textit{Taro} as a peripheral component, while they are unnecessary in the passive because \textit{Taro} is no longer on the periphery, but in the central position.

The following are some interesting examples of this type. The indirect passive in (16a) may be derived either from (16b)
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in which the promoted nominative Taro is marked with the genitive, or from (16c) in which Taro is marked with the complex case marker.

(16) a. Taro-ga Hanako-ni piano-wo hik-are-ta.
   Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT piano-ACC play-PASS-PERF
   "Taro had the piano played by Hanako."

b. Hanako-ga Taro-no-piano-wo hita.
   Hanako-NOM Taro-GEN-piano-ACC play(PERF)
   "Hanako played Taro's piano."

c. Hanako-ga Taro-no-soba-de piano-wo hita.
   Hanako-NOM Taro-GEN-side-INSTR piano-ACC play(PERF)
   "Hanako played the piano near Taro."

The adverse interpretation in (16a) is doubly ambiguous according to which active sentence could correspond to (16a). That is, if the indirect passive in (16a) is derived from (16b), Taro has an adverse feeling perhaps because Hanako used Taro's piano without his permission, whereas if (16a) is derived from (16c), Taro is interpreted as annoyed by the sound that is produced by Hanako on the piano.\[10\]

It should be noticed here that the use of this kind of complex case markers, including an expletive noun, are not ad hoc in Japanese at all, but they are so usual that they are typically evoked in some common expressions. For example, in translating such an English sentence as "Taro goes to Hanako." into Japanese, the noun phrase Hanako cannot be marked with any simple case postposition as in (17a), but requires the complex case marker as in (17b).

   Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT go.
   "(lit.) Taro goes to Hanako."

b. Taro-ga Hanako-no-tokoro-ni iku.
   Taro-NOM Hanako-GEN-place-DAT go
   "(lit.) Taro goes to the place of Hanako."

The sentence in (17a) is ungrammatical because the goal Hanako is simply marked with the dative -ni case, while (17b) is grammatical because Hanako is marked with the complex marking structure, including the expletive noun tokoro "place." Thus, we can say again that the use of the complex case marking is not ad hoc at all, but they are prevalent in some kinds of common structures, particularly for marking the object of emotion as well as the destination of motion as above, when the referent of the NP is a human being.

From what has been discussed so far, we can conclude that the nominative element in the indirect passive is not an additional one, but is derived either from the oblique (including the genitive) or the complex-marked position. To the extent that this analysis is valid, all passives have their corresponding active sentences, whether direct or indirect.

Now, adding the genitive and the complex case marker to the hypothesis in (12), we have the extended version as follows:

(18) [Passivization Hypothesis (final version)] The passives are supposed to have their corresponding actives in the way that the subject in the passives is located at either the accusative, the dative, the ablative, the genitive, or the complex case marker (with a formal noun) in the actives.

Since it is explicated in (18) that the nominative in the indirect passives can be located in the actives in a certain way, and as so far there seems no indirect passive that cannot have its corresponding direct passive by means of (18), we can say that
the Japanese passives can have their corresponding actives, whether direct or indirect.

The sections 2-4 maintain that, contradicting the long-held assumptions, even the most peripheral indirect passives have their counter active sentences basically in the same way as all other passives, and the indirect passives need not be separated from the direct passives, as Nishimura (1992:30) correctly suggests. At the same time there are two points to be noticed here. One is that the passives are never equal in meaning with the corresponding actives, but the passives are definitely different from the active even when the paper maintains that the former is derived from the latter. The reason is that the passives and the actives are structurally different from each other even if the both describe the same situation. The other is that this paper is definitely different in method from the uniform theory, even when it maintains that the direct passives and the indirect passives are treated in the uniform way. The reason is that the cognitive approach does not presuppose any abstract structure at the deep level, as Langacker (1997:26-27) definitely states.

5. WHERE DOES ADVERSITY COME FROM?

This final section is devoted to attempting to explain what virtually motivates some adversity in the indirect passives, on the basis of the assumptions discussed in the previous sections.

As has been often mentioned, the indirect passive sentences, unlike the direct passive, are said to imply some kind of adversity. Then where do all the adversities come from? Wierzbicka (1988:262) states that the negative implication in the indirect passives is part of the meaning of the syntactic construction. In other words, it is one of the construction meanings according to Goldberg (1995)'s terminology. In some contexts, however, the adversity in the indirect passive can be canceled, as the following examples show.

(19) a. Taro-wa niki-wo yom-are-youni koini tsukue-no-ue-ni oita. 
   Taro-TOP diary-ACC read-PASS-PURP intentionally desk-GEN-top-DAT put (PERF) 
   "Taro put his diary on the desk intentionally so that it may be read."

b. Ainshutain-wa sekai-ni namae-wo shir-are-te-iru. 
   Einstein-TOP world-DAT name-ACC know-PASS-CON-be 
   "Einstein is known by name to the world."

In (19a) Taro does not have any adverse feelings at all, but rather he hopes that his diary will be read by someone. Likewise the subject Ainshutain "Einstein" in (19b) does not seem to feel uncomfortable at all. These sentences definitely show that the adversity is not any construction meaning, because if it were a (part of the) construction meaning, it could not be canceled. Now the adversity has to be semantically explained in the light of the process of passivization.

As for the adverse implications of the indirect passive, there are two hypothetical explanations proposed. Firstly, Kuno (1983:205) gives a functional analysis in terms of "involvement," i.e. the more indirectly the promoted subject is involved in the event which is predicated by the verb, the more likely the passive sentence is to be interpreted as implying adversity. It is true that his hypothesis is explicit to some extent, but it does not fully explain how the (non-)involvement is actually stipulated or connected with the adversity. Secondly, Shibatani (1990:318-320), following Oehrle and Nishio (1981) analyzes the adversity in terms of "indirectness" as connected with the promoted nominative element that is not directly influenced in the event. This analysis is not fully satisfactory either, however, in that it regards the adversity as intrinsic to the indirect passives.

In order to clear what essentially motivates the adversity in a more specific way, this paper proposes two hypothetical stages of the mechanism as follows:

(20) (i) incorporation of the element, which is not intrinsically involved in the event, as a peripheral component into the active sentence.

(ii) promotion of the incorporated element to the central position (i.e. to the nominative) through passivization.

( i ) states that whether or not the indirect passives imply adversity depends upon the interpretation of the corresponding
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active sentence, i.e. the adversity is implied in the indirect passives only when it exists in the active sentence. In this case, the adversity sprouts in the active in the way that the peripheral element (which is promoted to the nominative in passivization) is unfavorably or unpleasantly involved in the event. (ii) states that when the element is promoted to the central position (i.e. to the nominative) in passivization, the disfavor or displeasure born in (i) is amplified.

Now consider the following specific examples, which show that there is some adverse implication even in the active sentences.

(21) a. [Taro-no-] haha-ga shin-da.
    [Taro-GEN-] mother-NOM die-PERF
    "Taro's mother died."

b. [Taro-no-tokoro-ni] ame-ga futta.
    [Taro-GEN-place-DAT] rain-NOM fall(PERF)
    "In Taro's place it rained."

c. [Taro-no-soba-de] akachan-ga naita.
    [Taro-GEN-side-INSTR] baby-NOM cry(PERF)
    "Near Taro the baby cried."

These active sentences are perfectly grammatical even when the parenthetic phrases are deleted. In other words, the parenthetic phrases are not intrinsically involved in the event, because the event of the mother's death, rain, or the baby's crying could occur independently of Taro. To the extent that Taro in each parenthetic phrase is unfavorably or unpleasantly involved in the event, the active sentences as a whole also imply adversity. At the second stage, by promoting Taro in the peripheral oblique to the nominative, the sprout adversity is amplified to become so explicit that it cannot be denied, as is shown in (22a), (22b) and (22c), which correspond to the actives in (21a), (21b) and (21c) above, respectively.

(22) a. Taro-ga haha-ni shin-are-ta.
    Taro-NOM mother-DAT die-PASS-PERF
    "Taro had his mother die."

b. Taro-ga ame-ni fur-are-ta.
    Taro-NOM rain-DAT fall-PASS-PERF
    "Taro was rained upon."

c. Taro-ga akachan-ni nak-are-ta.
    Taro-NOM baby-DAT cry-PASS-PERF
    "(lit.) Taro was cried at by the baby."

These indirect passives in (22) represent a certain adversity in a more explicit way than in (21). If we did not accept any active sentences corresponding to the indirect passive, the adversity in the active might not only be overlooked, but also we could not explain why the adversity is greater in the passive than in the active.\[1\]

On the other hand, even the indirect passives do not have any adverse meanings when the promoted element is favorably or pleasantly involved in the event, as the formulation (20) correctly predicts. Consider the following indirect passive sentence in (23a), where the promoted nominative comes from the genitive position in the active as in (23b), not from any other cases.\[1\]

(23) a. Taro-ga densha-ni yu-are-ta.
    Taro-NOM train-DAT joggle-PASS-PERF
“Taro was joggled in the train.”

b. Taro-no-densha-ga yureta.
   Taro-GEN-train-NOM joggle(PERF)
   “Taro’s train joggled.”

The indirect passive in (23a) implies little or no adversity to the extent that in the active sentence in (23b) Taro has little or no adversity while his train is joggling.

Finally, our analysis of the adversity in the active sentence is of experiential adequacy, i.e. one is likely to feel uncomfortable to become involved in an event independent of his or her intention when s/he is not intrinsically concerned with the event, and the discomfort is greater when s/he is exposed at the central position of the event. The adversity in the indirect passive is understood in light of this empirical tendency on the linguistic structure. That is, at the stage of (20)(i) the peripheral element may well have sprout adversity when it is involved in the event, because it is not an essential component, and at the stage of (20)(ii) the adversity is amplified when the element is promoted to the nominative (the most salient position) through passivization.

In addition, the ultimate question may remain unanswered how the active sentence implies some adversity. This question cannot be solved in any unique or objective way, but must be ascribed to the speaker's construal. In fact even the same situation that is described in the active voice can be construed as adversary or desirably, from speaker to speaker. As has shown in this paper, the passive is interpreted as adversary if and only if the corresponding active is described as an adversary event, whereas it does not imply adversity if the corresponding active is not described as an adversary event.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present paper has attempted to theorize the natural unity between the direct and indirect passives in Japanese. As was illustrated in the text, despite long-held assumptions, all indirect passives do have their corresponding active sentences, if only the promoted nominative is allowed to be marked with the genitive or with a complex case marker (including an expletive noun) in the active sentence. Moreover, on the basis of this assumption, the reason why some indirect passives imply adversity can be clearly explained. The adversity in the indirect passive is not any construction meaning, but can be explained as just an amplified implication, which exists in the corresponding active.

The discussion in the text is summarized as follows. Firstly, the adversity in the passive has to be referred to as sprouting from the construal in the corresponding active. The objectively same situation can be construed either as adversary or non-adversary. Secondly, the adversity in the passive is just amplified, so that it cannot be present if it sprouts in the active. Finally the reason why the adversity is amplified though passivization is motivated by the experiential gestalt that the participant feels more unpleasant in the central position than in the peripheral position, when s/he is undesirably involved in the event which is predicated by the verb.

NOTES

[1] Concerning the proper names used in the illustratory examples throughout this paper, Taro and Jiro are first names for Japanese males, while Hanako is a female's name. And the abbreviations are as follows: NOM=nominative postposition, ACC=accusative, DAT=dative, ABL=ablative, COM=comitative, INSTR=instrumental, GEN=genitive, TOP=topic postposition, PERF=perfective form, PASS=passive morpheme, CON=connective, PURP=purpose.

[2] The ga-marked NP, as well as the NP marked with another case, can be topicalized with the topic marker -wa in some contexts, but the difference between -ga and -wa is not relevant to the analysis in this paper.

[3] In addition, it has been noted that, morpho-syntactically, the indirect passive is derived from the intransitive sentence, whereas the direct passive is typically derived from the transitive sentence. More correctly speaking, however, the intransitive sentence can be changed only to the indirect passive, while the transitive active sentence can be changed into either the direct or the indirect passive, as Jacobsen(1991:93-98) maintains.

[4] It is generally accepted that the passive is the "marked" term with respect to the active. See Givón(1979:76) and
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Comrie (1988:19-21), for specific grounds for passives being marked. Idiosyncratically, however, it is true that in English there is a verb like *rumor* that is almost always used in the passive voice.

This paper is paradigmatically irrelevant to such positions as the Uniform Theory and the Non-uniform Theory in traditional generative grammar. Likewise, neither Masuoka (1982)'s distinction between the promotional passive and the demotional passive, nor Washio (1995)'s distinction between the exclusion passive and the inclusion passive has any crucial influence or impose any restrictions upon our present discussion.

The Japanese passivization is so productive that various kinds of elements can be promoted, as shown later. Of course, not all the elements of the possible cases are passivized, but semantically limited.

In all the sentences in (6), the dative element *Hanako* is the goal in meaning, not the agent.

The dative can be passivized to the nominative, whether the accusative is explicitly present or not. This is also true of the ablative case in (7).

As a related issue, Keenan (1975:348-349) tries to derive the passive in (a) from the active sentence in (b) below, which Song (1994:89) states to be unacceptable as a Japanese sentence.

   Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT escape-PASS-PERF
   "(lit.) Taro was run away on by Hanako."

   Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM escape-PERF
   "(lit.) As for Taro, Hanako ran away."

   Hanako-NOM Taro-ABL escape-PERF
   "Hanako ran away `om Taro."

In this case, we can postulate such a natural active sentence as in (c), where the promoted nominative NP is marked with the ablative -kara case.

Within the framework of relational grammar, Shimizu (1975) adopts the promotion of the genitive in the active to the nominative in the passive. Song (1987:75-77), from another point of view, also states that the possessor NP can be passivized.

In this point our analysis is more explicit than that of Shibatani (1994:473-474), where such kind of ambiguity as in (16) cannot be explained in any formal way.

In a situation like (22c), the *akachan* "baby" must not necessarily be crying over *Taro*, in opposition to Kortlandt (1992:103), but the sentence in (22c) is also acceptable in such a situation that the akachan "baby" started crying as *Taro* was coming near or did something to the baby, or if *Taro* had some difficulties in his work due to the baby's crying, as is suggested in Shibatani (1994:473-474).

In (23b) the noun phrase *Taro-no-densha* "Taro's train" should be interpreted as "the train in which Taro rides," not necessarily "the train which Taro possesses."

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