

THEMATIC RELATIONS AND TRANSITIVITY IN  
ENGLISH, JAPANESE AND KOREAN

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# ABSTRACT

The thesis presents a syntactic and semantic analysis of selected problems in the analysis of transitivity in English, Japanese and Korean in terms of a system of 'thematic relations' adapted from the work of Gruber and Jackendoff. The system is introduced in Chapter One. One way in which it differs from those of Gruber and Jackendoff is that their ambiguous notion of Theme is replaced by two separate notions - Theme and semantic subject. Verbs are classified into 'univalent verbs', which have a single set of thematic relations, and 'ambivalent verbs', which have more than one set of thematic relations. It is claimed that syntactic alternations such as that between 'spray x on y' and 'spray y with x' are a reflection of the ambivalence of the verbs in question.

Chapter Two reviews discourse approaches and semantic approaches to Dative-shift. On the basis of a comparison of English and Korean it argues that Dative-shift in these two languages is clearly a semantic process rather than pragmatically motivated. Moreover, like the 'spray' type alternation, Dative-shift is shown to be a reflection of the ambivalence of verbs expressing a change in possession.

Chapter Three is devoted to double-nominative constructions in Japanese and Korean, which in the past have been considered to be syntactically and semantically equivalent. A careful study of data from the two languages shows that the double-nominative constructions in Korean are not homogeneous but are divided into two classes with distinct thematic relations, one of which is lacking in Japanese.

Chapters Four and Five discuss the passive in Japanese and Korean, respectively, and propose a new classification of passives in the two languages. Three types are recognized: the passive of interest, the anti-causative passive and the attributive passive.

Finally, Chapter Six presents some typological observations concerning the passive and Dative-shift. In particular, the English passive and the passives of Korean and Japanese are compared with regard to their relation to Dative-shift, and it is argued that Dative-shift and the passive are, in principle, independent grammatical processes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

|       |   |                 |
|-------|---|-----------------|
| abl   | = | ablative        |
| acc   | = | accusative      |
| cause | = | causative       |
| comp  | = | complementizer  |
| DO    | = | direct object   |
| gen   | = | genitive        |
| instr | = | instrumental    |
| IO    | = | indirect object |
| loc   | = | locative        |
| nom   | = | nominative      |
| pass  | = | passive         |
| perf  | = | perfect tense   |
| pres  | = | present tense   |
| past  | = | past tense      |
| SUBJ  | = | subject         |
| top   | = | topic           |



## CHAPTER ONE

### THEMATIC RELATIONS AND AMBIVALENT VERBS

#### 1. Thematic Relations

One of the most important problems in the analysis of sentence meaning is the characterization of predicates and the semantic relations which obtain between them and their arguments. One of the best-known works on this problem is Gruber (1965). Gruber posited 'thematic relations', defining them as the basic structural relations at a 'Pre-lexical' semantic level of representation. Jackendoff (1972, 1976, 1983) subsequently demonstrated that a number of problems in syntax and semantics can be satisfactorily formulated in terms of thematic relations. The fundamental semantic notion in Gruber's analysis is the Theme. While Gruber (1976) - the published version of Gruber (1965) - does not give explicit criteria for determining in every sentence which NP is the Theme, two points, at least, seem clear from his comments:

The Theme also has the significance of being an obligatory element of every sentence. It appears to be the focus of the construction syntactically and semantically. (Gruber 1976:38.)

According to his definition, then, the Theme is the most central element or the focus of the construction syntactically and semantically, and it must be present in every sentence. In Gruber (1976), although the Theme is discernible semantically in most cases, he does not explain its underlying syntactic structure or any immediate association between the Theme and particular grammatical relations like the subject, the direct object, etc.

Adopting the localistic hypothesis that spatial expressions are more basic, semantically and syntactically, than various kinds of non-spatial expressions, Gruber (1976) and Jackendoff (1972) start by specifying the notion of Theme in spatial expressions and subsequently move to other more abstract domains, treating the latter as a metaphorical extension of the former.

### 1.1 The Theme with Motional Verbs

With verbs of motion the Theme is defined as the NP whose referent is conceived as moving or undergoing the motion.

1. The letter went from New York to Philadelphia.
2. The estate went to the eldest son.
3. The season changed from winter to spring.

In Jackendoff (1972, 1976), the semantic similarity among the above three sentences is expressed by assigning them a common semantic representation, a function GO (x, y, z). This function designates an event consisting of the motion of x (Theme) from y (Source) to z (Goal). The important semantic difference among the three sentences is that the verbs in (2) and (3) express somewhat less concrete or more abstract motions or transitions. The difference is accounted for in terms of 'parameters' (Gruber 1976), 'modes' (Jackendoff 1976), or 'semantic fields' (Jackendoff 1983). This differentiation is represented by means of a restrictive modifier on the semantic function - e.g. 'Positional', 'Possessional', 'Identificational'. Thus given the framework presented by Jackendoff (1976), the semantic structures of (1), (2), (3) are formalized as follows:

4. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{GO (x, y, z)} \\ \text{POSIT/POSS/ IDENT.} \end{array} \right]$$

## 1.2 The Theme with Non-motional Verbs (Verbs of Location)

With verbs of location, the Theme is defined as the NP whose location is being asserted. Verbs of location are divided into two groups: those expressing states of affairs as in (5) and those expressing events as in (6).

- 5. a) The statue stood on Cambridge Common.
- b) The cat lay on the couch.
- 6. a) The cat stayed on the couch..
- b) Stanley remained in Africa.

The former cannot be preceded by what happened was while the latter can.

- 7. a)\* What happened was that  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the statue stood on Cambridge Common} \\ \text{the cat lay on the couch.} \end{array} \right\}$
- b) What happened was that  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the cat stayed on the couch.} \\ \text{Stanley remained in Africa.} \end{array} \right\}$

The semantic structures taken by the verbs in (5) are represented by a semantic function BE (x, y) whereas the semantic structures taken by the verbs in (6) are represented by STAY (x, y). In either case, x stands for the Theme and y for the Location. These semantic functions appear in the same modes or semantic fields as those taken by motional verbs. The following sentences are examples of the relevant thematic relations.

- 8. BE (x, y)
- a) Max is in Africa. (Positional)
- b) The book belongs to the library. (Possessional)
- c) Max is a doctor. (Identificational)
- (The NP underlined is the Theme.)

## 9. STAY (x, y)

- a) Max stayed in Africa. (Positional)
- b) The library kept the book. (Possessional)
- c) Max remained a doctor. (Identificational)

1.3 Causative and Permissive Agency

Jackendoff (1972, 1976), following Gruber, introduced two more semantic functions, CAUSE and LET, to express the semantic relations in the following sentences.

- 10. a) The rock fell from the roof to the ground.
- b) Linda lowered the rock from the roof to the ground.
- c) Linda dropped the rock from the roof to the ground.

These three sentences all describe the physical motion of the rock represented by 'GO posit (THE ROCK, THE ROOF, THE GROUND)'. The semantic structures of (10 b, c) are gained by adding to the semantic structure of (10a) the Agency of Linda: Causative Agent in (10b) and Permissive Agent in (10c) represented by the arguments of CAUSE and LET respectively. Thus, the thematic relations of (10b) and (10c) are represented as in (11a) and (11b).

- 11. a) CAUSE (LINDA, GO posit (THE ROCK, THE ROOF, THE GROUND))
- b) LET (LINDA, GO posit (THE ROCK, THE ROOF, THE GROUND)).

The thematic relations can now be defined as follows:

- 1. Agent is the argument of CAUSE or LET in CAUSE (x, e) or LET (x, e). ('e' represents an 'event'.)
- 2. Theme is the element filling the first argument of the semantic functions GO (x, y, z), BE (x, y) and STAY (x, y).

3. Locative is the second element in BE (x, y) and STAY (x, y).
4. Source and Goal are the second and the third elements respectively in GO (x, y, z).

The most striking theoretical contribution made by the theory of thematic relations presented by Gruber and Jackendoff must be that the theory enables us to account for syntactic and lexical regularities which otherwise appear arbitrary. For example, intuitively one does not like to say that the verb keep in Herman kept the book on the shelf and Herman kept the book are different verbs. Jackendoff (1983) writes as follows:

Surely, I thought, there is no reason intrinsic to grammar that explains why the verb "keep", for instance, can express maintenance of position ("keep the book on the shelf"), continued possession ("keep the book"), maintenance of property ("keep Bill angry"), and coercion ("keep Bill working"). Lacking a grammatical explanation, the only alternative I could imagine was that such generalization arises from the structure of the concepts the lexical and the grammatical systems express.

It seems obvious that a theory which explains this regularity is preferable to one which cannot. The theory of thematic relations, providing a semantically-oriented account of otherwise arbitrary generalizations about the syntax and the lexicon, minimizes the difference between syntactic and semantic structure.

## 2. Thematic Relations vs. Case Grammar

Fillmore's theory of 'deep cases' is roughly contemporaneous with Gruber's theory. The two theories are similar in that both of them rely heavily on the notion of semantic roles. However, what makes the theory of thematic relations distinct from Fillmore's case

grammar is that the former is based on 'lexical-decomposition' whereas the latter is not.

In Fillmore (1968a), a number of semantic case roles are posited, e.g., Agentive, Instrument, Objective, Locative, Dative, Benefactive and Factitive, and these are assigned to verbs in the form of case frames. The verb open, for instance, is assigned the case roles Agentive, Instrument and Objective.

12. a) John opened the door with a key.
- b) The key opened the door.
- c) The door opened with a key.
- d) The door opened.

The case frame for the verb open is +[O (I) (A)], in which Agentive and Instrument are in parentheses because they are omissible. In this theory, the assignment of case roles results in a classification of predicates. For example, break, open, crack, shatter fall in the same class because of their common case frame. Foley and Van Valin (1984:34) correctly point out as the following:

This (case) assignment is, in an important sense, somewhat arbitrary, since it does not follow directly from the semantic structure of the predicate, which is never explicitly represented in any way.

They claim that the Gruber-Jackendoff system is more plausible than Fillmore's system since the former analysis is based on lexical decomposition. As shown in the foregoing, thematic relations are derivatives of the explicitly represented semantic structure of predicates. Thematic relations are, formally, represented as a function of the argument positions of abstract predicates such as CAUSE and GO. For instance, Agent is the first argument of CAUSE (x, e). Therefore,

if a verb contains the abstract predicate CAUSE in its semantic structure, the NP in the position of x is Agent.

One problem which the theory of thematic relations can deal with very well because of its lexical-decomposition-based property, but which Fillmore's theory cannot, is the analysis of the sentences below:

13. a) The rock rolled down the hill.  
b) Max rolled down the hill.

Sentence (13b) is semantically ambiguous. On one reading Max may not even be aware of his motion. On the other reading he is rolling under his own volition. In Fillmore's system, which does not admit lexical-decomposition, each NP in a sentence is assigned one and only one case. Jackendoff (1972) claims that to say simply that the ambiguity of (13b) is between the two roles Agent and Objective (or Patient) misses the fact that on the Agent reading, Max still undergoes the same motion as the rock in (13a).

Therefore, the similarity between two readings can be captured only if we allow Max to be both Theme and Agent on the second reading. (Jackendoff 1972:34.)

In Gruber and Jackendoff's system, noun phrases can function in more than one thematic role within the same sentence. The thematic relations of (13b) in its agentive reading are represented as follows:

CAUSE (MAX, GO posit (MAX, y, DOWN))

The thematic roles, Agent and Theme are assigned by CAUSE and GO to the same individual, Max.

The second difference between the theory of thematic relations and the Fillmorean case theory lies in the fact that the former is 'localistic' while the latter is not. The most serious criticism of Fillmorean case theory, as Fillmore (1977) himself admits, is that no

one working within the various versions of a grammar with 'cases' has come up with a principled way of defining the cases, or a principled procedure for determining how many cases there are. Because of vagueness in its definition, the case inventories rely heavily upon intuitive plausibility rather than any theoretical system. In the localistic theories which the Gruber-Jackendoff system belongs to, many roles are reduced to a concrete 'localistic' inventory, such as 'entity to which location (or change of location) is attributed'. The more abstract semantic relations are seen as a generalization of the localistic metaphor. Fillmore (1968) assigns two distinct case roles 'Locative' and 'Dative' to Washington in (14a) and Mary in (14b) respectively.

14. a) They sent a wire to Washington.

b) They gave the prize to Mary.

In either case, however, it is plausible to assume 'a motion (concrete or not) of some entity from one place to another'. This assumption seems to be validated by the use of the same preposition to in both sentences. This commonality cannot be captured by Fillmore's case assignment. In Jackendoff's framework, (14a) and (14b) have the same thematic relations with different 'parameters' or 'domains' formalized as in (15).

15. a) CAUSE (THEY, GO posit (WIRE, THEY, WASHINGTON))

b) CAUSE (THEY, GO poss (THE PRIZE, THEY, MARY))

This localistic generalization constrains the semantic role inventory since there is no need to introduce new roles as far as they fit into the 'localistic metaphor'. In the following sections, however, I will suggest that even the Gruber-Jackendoff framework does not escape vagueness in the definition of semantic roles.



### 3. Definition of Theme

As explained in Section 1, the notion of Theme which emerges from an overall consideration of Gruber's work can be specified as in (16) and (17):

16. The Theme is an obligatory element of a sentence and the semantic focus which the sentence is about.

17. The Theme is the argument to which location, possession, and identity (or change of location, possession, and identity) are attributed.

One would naturally assume, from a logical point of view, that (16) is the essential criterion of the notion while (17) is merely its realization in a particular semantic pattern. The criteria (16) and (17) apply fairly well as far as most examples Gruber and Jackendoff deal with are concerned. Sentences (18 a, b, c) express changes of location, possession, and identity respectively.

18. a) John went to the station.

b) The estate went to John.

c) John went mad.

In these sentences, the most central participants which the sentences are semantically about are naturally the individuals that underwent changes, i.e., John in (18a), the estate in (18b), and John in (18c).

In the transitive sentence (19a), the two criteria do not conflict, i.e., the entity which underwent a change is also the semantically most central and obligatory element since it is the only participant which is present in all types of construction taken by the verb, as shown in (19b) and (19c).

19. a) John broke the vase.  
           CAUSE (JOHN, GO ident (THE VASE, y, BROKEN))
- b) The vase broke.
- c) The vase was broken.

Many linguists have pointed out that verbs like hit, touch, strike, slap, shoot, etc., and verbs like break, bend, kill, fold, etc., are semantically distinct. Fillmore (1970) designates the former 'surface-contact' verbs and the latter 'change-of-state' verbs. Sentence (19a) denotes that the direct object NP the vase underwent a specific change. Sentence (20a), however, does not denote that the direct object NP underwent any specific change.

20. a) John hit the vase.
- b)\* The vase hit.

Grunau (1985) points out that what is asserted about the direct object NP in (20a) is that it was 'impinged-upon'. The two types of verbs, which are semantically distinct, also show a syntactic difference. Verbs like break have intransitive forms as in (19b) while verbs like hit do not. Fillmore (1968b) says that break is essentially a one-place predicate while hit is a two-place predicate. Break, being a one-place predicate as in (19b), can also occur in a transitive construction like (19a) by introducing an 'ergative' subject. Fillmore claims that hit, being a two-place predicate, does not show the ergative relation. Similar distinctions were drawn by Halliday (1968) between the 'transitive system' and the 'ergative system' and by Lyons (1977) between the 'operative' construction and the 'factitive' construction. Adopting Lyons' terms, we shall refer to transitive sentences like (19a) as factitive constructions and transitive sentences like (20a) as operative constructions.

It should be noted that most of the transitive constructions Gruber and Jackendoff treat are sentences which contain a factitive verb. When the theory of thematic relations is applied to the analysis of sentences which contain an operative verb, it does not appear so promising. Jackendoff (1972:43) argues that touch and hit mark Theme in the subject, and Location or Goal in the object, but only optionally mark Agent in the subject. Thus John is Theme and the car is Goal in (21a).

- 21. a) John hit the car.
- b) John hit the car with the hammer.
- c) The hammer hit the car.

22. John killed the dog (with the hammer).

In a similar way, the hammer is marked as Theme in (21c). As regards (21b), in Jackendoff's framework (1972, 1976), the Theme would be the hammer and the thematic relations of the sentence will be as in (23).

23. CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE HAMMER, JOHN, THE CAR)).

It seems plausible to claim that 'what underwent a change' in (21a) is John or a part of his body and in (21 b, c) it is the hammer, while the car is Goal in all three cases. Here, one may ask a naive question: 'What makes the thematic relations of (21 a, b) and (22) distinct?' Recall that the Theme is defined by (16) as the focus the sentence is semantically about and by (17) as an entity which undergoes change in a dynamic situation. If the dog in (22) is the focus of the sentence, then why not the car in (21a). Both sentences are used to answer a parallel question: 'What did John do to the car?' and 'What did John do to the dog?' Furthermore, Theme, the focus the sentence is semantically about, appears as an optional and peripheral element in (21b). Is that

desirable? The criteria (16) and (17) seem to conflict when they are applied to the analysis of an operative construction. The two criteria of the Theme (16) and (17) seem to conflict even more seriously in the analysis of the following sentences.

24. a) John shot Mary.

b) John shot Mary with a bullet/with an arrow.

Sentence (24b) seems to fit well into the 'localistic' pattern as in (25) in which the Theme is a bullet.

25. CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (A BULLET, JOHN, MARY)).

But what about the Theme of (24a)? It was possible to save the theory in the case of (21a) by assigning the Theme role to the subject. However, the interpretation that the subject is 'transferred' or 'moved' is impossible in (24a). One could say, alternatively, that the Theme is 'incorporated' into the verb or 'implicitly' expressed by the verb. But how can the focus which the sentence is about and is thereby a central participant to be expressed implicitly? The same problem applies (26).

26. a) I drained water from the pool.

b) I drained the pool of water.

c) I drained the pool.

Do (26a) and (26b) have the same thematic relations, 'transfer of water from the pool to some other place'? If so, is the Theme still water in (26c), implicitly expressed by the verb? And if these sentences have the same thematic relations, why do these distinct forms exist in a language? Gruber and Jackendoff's theories seem to have no answer. Along the same lines, Grunau (1985) remarked that the analysis by Gruber and Jackendoff cannot determine the Themes of the sentences in (27).

27. a) Ralph gave a book to Mary.  
 b) Ralph gave Mary a book.  
 c)\* Ralph gave a lot of pain to Mary.  
 d) Ralph gave Mary a lot of pain.

In the analysis by Gruber and Jackendoff, a book is the Theme of (27a) and (27b). However, sentence (27d) is hardly understood as an assertion of 'pain's new location'. It is, rather, about the affectedness of Mary. Then, is Mary the Theme of (27d) since it is the focus which the sentence is semantically about? If the Theme of (27d) is Mary, the Theme of (27b) should also be Mary since Mary is also affected by the action here. Grunau says that the questions are endless.

Criticism may come from another angle. Ikegami (1981b) points out that in the following sentences with a preposition, the semantic focus is on 'action' whereas in those without prepositions the semantic focus is on 'achievement'.

28. a) John hit the car.  
 b) John hit at the car.  
 29. a) John pushed the cart.  
 b) John pushed against the cart.  
 30. a) John grasped a straw.  
 b) John grasped at a straw.

It is also reported by Ikegami that (31a) is contradictory while (31b) is not.

31. a)\* I kicked John, but I didn't get him.  
 b) I kicked at John, but I didn't get him

This fact supports the view that (31a) focalizes 'achievement' while (31b) focalizes 'action'. There is further evidence which supports

Ikegami's view. Many operative verbs can be used as factitive verbs, e.g., shoot in (32a) and knock in (33a):

- 32. a) John shot Mary dead.
- b)\* John shot at Mary dead.
- 33. a) John knocked the door down.
- b)\* John knocked on the door down.

In order for the goal to which the action is directed to undergo a change in state, the action has to be first 'achieved'. The ill-formedness of (32b) and (33b) can be accounted for thus: expressions which focalize 'action' cannot be used as factitive expressions since they do not guarantee 'achievement' of the action which is a prerequisite to the factitive reading. This analysis also provides a good account of why English has alternative forms like (28)-(30), while Gruber-Jackendoff's theory provides no account of them.

Given the analysis that in the above sentences with prepositions the semantic focus is on 'action' while in the prepositionless sentences it is on 'achievement', it seems fully warranted to assume that the former sentences are semantically about the actions of 'actors' or 'agents' and by criterion (16) 'actors' or 'agents' are the Themes of the sentences while the latter sentences are about the 'affectedness' of 'patients' or 'goals' by the actions and they are the Themes of the sentences. It is obvious by now that in the analysis of an operative sentence the two criteria (16) and (17) totally conflict. As already pointed out, the second criterion is from a logical viewpoint merely the realization of the first one in a particular semantic pattern. However, what is important, as shown clearly in the discussion so far, is that Gruber and Jackendoff in practice abandon the criterion (16) that the Theme is

the focus which the sentence is semantically about when the two criteria conflict and narrow down the definition of the Theme to one of the semantic roles, i.e., the participant to which location or change of location is attributed. Consequently, the theory of thematic relations has no explanatory power in the analysis of sentences whose meaning can hardly be reduced to a localistic pattern.

The second inadequacy of the theory of thematic relations is that it does not offer any proper description of the meanings of the syntactic variants taken by the same verbs. Anderson (1977), criticizing Fillmore's position, points out the important semantic difference between sentences like (34a) and (34b).

34. a) John painted the white paint on the wall.

b) John painted the wall with the white paint.

Sentence (34a) implies that the white paint is used up, though the wall may not have been covered, whereas (34b) implies that there may well be some paint left, though the wall was completely covered. In Gruber-Jackendoff's framework, however, one can only say that (34a) and (34b) have the same thematic relations (the white paint - Theme, the wall - Goal) with different surface structures.

A third deficiency now emerges from the argument so far. It is noticeable that the semantic differences pointed out in (28)-(30) and (34) correspond to the syntactic positions taken by the NPs in question: direct object position or object of a preposition. Gruber and Jackendoff never specify the relations between particular thematic roles and particular grammatical relations in spite of the fact that in the majority of the examples which they adduce the Theme appears either as the subject or the direct object. It follows from this that they have

no explanation of the systematic correspondence between meaning and form. One of the most striking theoretical contributions made by Gruber and Jackendoff, as already pointed out, is that they put a constraint on semantic theory: that any adequate semantic theory has to be able to account for syntactic and lexical regularities which otherwise appear arbitrary. This constraint is referred to in Jackendoff (1983) as the 'Grammatical Constraint' on semantics. However, as for the relation between thematic roles and grammatical relations Jackendoff clearly does not observe this constraint and shares with most Fillmorean theories their undesirable arbitrariness as regards the relationship between semantic structures and syntactic forms.

#### 4. Alternatives

The discussion so far gives us some characteristics that a preferable semantic theory of the sentence should contain:

35. 1. The theory should provide a systematic account of operative sentences as well as factitive sentences, and should incorporate a solution to the problems involved in defining the notion Theme which were discussed above.
2. The theory has to contain principles whose application allows us to explain syntactic variants taken by the same verb, such as (27)-(30) and (34a and b).
3. The theory has to specify the relation between the grammatical relations subject and direct object and semantic roles.



#### 4.1 Theme as the Logical Topic

Anderson (1977), in his comment on Wasow's paper in Culicover, Wasow and Akmajian (1977) proposes a characterization of the Theme as the 'logical topic'.

In a sense, the Theme is the "logical topic" of the clause: the element that the clause is about, in a purely logical sense divorced from any particular use of the clause in discourse. This sort of logical topicality must be kept rigorously distinct from discourse topicality: thus, while a sentence such as John took his books back to the library could be used in discourse to make a statement about John (Where did he go?), the books (What happened to the ones that were on this desk?), the library (Why are all of its shelves full suddenly?), it is still a statement about the books, in a logical sense, whose motion or location are described independently of such discourse factors. (Anderson 1977:367.)

With a motion verb, the Theme as logical topic is the entity that moves, with a verb specifying location it is the entity whose location is thus defined; with many transitive verbs it is the Patient or entity that undergoes the action. He claims that, just as the Agent relation is consistently associated with the syntactic position of subject, the Theme is normally associated with the subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object of a transitive verb. The consistent association obtaining between the semantic notions and the grammatical relations is referred to in terms of the 'Agent-rule' and the 'Theme-rule'. Anderson maintains that the Agent-rule and Theme-rule, owing to their overwhelming regularity, significantly simplify the lexical redundancy rules. In Jackendoff (1976) the relation between the thematic roles and their syntactic positions has to be stated in the lexical entry of every verb. For example, the lexical representation for melt in its intransitive use is as in (36).

36. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} /melt/ \\ +V \\ +[NP1\_ ] \\ GO\ ident\ (NP1, SOLID, LIQUID) \end{array} \right] \quad (Jackendoff\ 1976:103)$$

The index number given to the NP represents the association of the Theme with the subject position. However, with the Theme-rule the association is automatically decided and does not need to be specified in every lexical entry.

The semantic differences between the alternative forms in (37) and (38) are also stated by the Theme-rule.

37. a) John painted my picture this morning.  
       b) John painted on my picture this morning.  
 38. a) A vandal smeared the paint on my house.  
       b) A vandal smeared my house with the paint.

Anderson argues that the direct object NPs in the (a) sentences are interpreted as completely or 'holistically' affected while the prepositional objects are interpreted as 'partially' affected. It is assumed, moreover, that if an NP occupying the direct object position is shifted into some other structural position, it ceases to be the Theme. Anderson argues that it is this change in thematic relations that causes the semantic difference found in the pairs in (37) and (38).

Anderson's work is an attempt to solve the problems of the theory of thematic relations pointed out in (35). He defines the Theme only with criterion (16) as the logical topic, i.e., the element which the sentence is semantically about. Hence, not only the direct object NP of a factitive verb - e.g., the vase in (39a) - but also the direct object NP of an operative verb - e.g., the vase in (39b) - is analysed as a Theme.

39. a) I broke the vase.

b) I hit the vase.

The syntactic alternative forms taken by the same verb, as in (38), which are assumed to have the same thematic relations in Gruber-Jackendoff's analysis, are now assigned different thematic relations and the semantic difference between them is attributed to the difference in their thematic relations. The syntactic distribution of the Theme is specified as the subject of an intransitive construction and the direct object of a transitive construction. Anderson's work, however, is too sketchy to be an alternative to the theory of thematic relations proposed by Gruber and Jackendoff. His definition of the Theme as the logical topic also does not solve the vagueness of the notion Theme. It is not clear whether the Theme as the logical topic is still a semantic role like Locative, Goal, etc., or a notion on a distinct level. If the Theme is a semantic role, what is the relation between the Theme and Patient? Anderson says that with many transitive verbs the Theme is Patient, as in (39b). Then, is the direct object NP of (39b) assigned two semantic roles while the direct object NP of (39a) is assigned only the one role of Theme? Alternatively, if the Theme is not a semantic role any more but a notion on a different level, the direct object NP of (39b) is defined as the Theme with the semantic role Patient. In this case what semantic role does the direct object NP of (39a) have? Anderson's proposal seems far from being a solution to the vagueness of the notion Theme. What is common to Gruber-Jackendoff and Anderson is that they use the term Theme ambiguously: sometimes as the focus which the sentence is semantically about or the logical topic and sometimes as a semantic role for an entity which has a specific location,

ownership or identity or an entity which undergoes change of location , ownership or identity, although Gruber and Jackendoff give priority to the latter and Anderson to the former. I think that the vagueness of the notion of Theme comes from this ambiguity. I also think that there is no intrinsic reason why one has to assume that the logical topic or the focus which is the sentence is semantically about should be consistently associated with the semantic role for an entity which is in a specific state or undergoes a specific change. They could be characterized as two notions which are independent of each other.

#### 4.2 Factitivity and Operativity

We have so far argued that the criteria (16) and (17) do not necessarily coincide - i.e., we are dealing with two independent notions. Therefore we from now on use the term 'semantic subject' as a label for the notion involved in (16), reserving the term 'Theme' for the notion involved in (17); see Bennett (1975:14-15) for a similar use of the term 'semantic subject'. The participant referred to by the term semantic subject is unique in two ways. First, if there is any participant which is represented in all types of sentences taken by a predicate, this is it. Secondly, this participant is semantically the most neutral one. Bennett (1975:14) writes:

What this means is that the participant with this function in a given proposition is shown thereby merely to be in some way involved. The exact nature of the involvement depends on whatever other functions are represented, i.e., on the type of sentence.

In a particular sentence, the semantic subject is realized as an obligatory participant which the rest of the sentence asserts semantic

information about. It is quite natural to assume that the semantic subject, being an obligatory participant, is realized as a core syntactic element, i.e., the subject or the direct object of a sentence. It is also natural that the semantic subject, being semantically the most neutral element, occurs in a core syntactic position since other syntactic positions are strongly associated with their inherent semantic content.

In an intransitive construction, the semantic subject (SS) is realized as the subject NP. For instance, in (40a) the semantic subject is John and its semantic nature is specified by the rest of the sentence as a participant to be located, i.e., Theme. Similarly, in (40b) and (40c) the semantic subjects are specified as entities which are in an abstract location.

40. a) John is in his room.

SS                      Locative  
|  
Theme

- b) The book belongs to John.

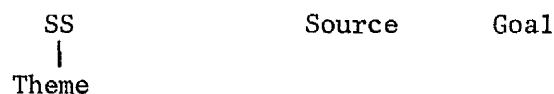
SS                      Locative  
|  
Theme

- c) John is happy.

SS                      Locative  
|  
Theme

In the sentences in (41) the semantic subjects are identified by the rest of each sentence as entities which undergo a change (of position, possession and condition<sup>1</sup> respectively).

41. a) The letter went from London to Leeds.



- b) The estate went to the eldest son.



- c) The season changes from winter to spring.



The thematic relations of the sentences in (40) and (41) are formalized as the functions (42a) and (42b) respectively.

42. a) BE posit/poss/con (x, y)  
b) GO posit/poss/con (x, y, z)

In a transitive construction containing a factitive verb like break the semantic subject is the participant occurring in the direct object position since this participant is the only obligatory element represented in all other types of constructions taken by the verb.

43. a) John broke the vase.  
b) John broke the vase with the stick.  
c) The stick broke the vase.  
d) The vase broke.  
e) The vase was broken.

A transitive construction containing an operative verb like hit also marks the semantic subject in the direct object position since this participant is shared by all other types of constructions taken by the verb.

44. a) John hit the vase.  
 b) John hit the vase with the stick.  
 c) The stick hit the vase.  
 d) The vase was hit.

In (43a), a factitive construction, the semantic subject the vase is provided by the semantic nature of the verb with the semantic information that it underwent a change of condition. However, we cannot say that the vase in (44a) underwent a change of condition. It is simply 'directly operated-upon'. Our claim is, then, that operative constructions like (44a) primarily denote that the Agent directly operates upon some entity and their semantic structure cannot be described in terms of change of the Theme. We assign the traditional term 'Patient' to the participant which is simply operated-upon by the Agent. Sentences (43a) and (44a) are analysed as follows:

45. a) John broke the vase. (Factitive)

Agent                      SS  
                              |  
                              Theme

- b) John hit the vase. (Operative)

Agent                      SS  
                              |  
                              Patient

The semantic structure of (43a) is formalized as in (46).

46. CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (THE VASE, y, BROKEN))

Since we consider that the operative sentence (44a) denotes that the Agent directly operates upon the Patient, its semantic structure is not decomposable into 'causation' by an Agent and 'change' of a Theme. Therefore we assign it the semantic representation (47) which does not contain an 'embedded' proposition.

47. Predicate (x, y) ('x' = Agent, 'y' = Patient)

The semantic structure of (44a) is represented as in (48).

48. HIT (JOHN, THE VASE)

Our formalization need not reflect the distribution of the semantic subject. Once we know whether the predicate is factitive or operative, the distribution of the semantic subject is decided. Assigning the factitive representation CAUSE (w, GO (x, y, z)) means that x is the semantic subject and it is given the semantic role Theme. Similarly, assigning the operative representation Predicate (x, y) means that y is the semantic subject and Patient.

The analysis proposed above gains an important generalization about the relation between the semantic structure of a sentence and its syntactic form. In dynamic transitive constructions, the semantic subject is the participant occurring in the direct object position and it is identified either as Theme or Patient depending on whether the sentence is factitive or operative. We now need not say that the participant with the semantic role Theme which is also the semantic focus occurs sometimes in the subject position, sometimes in the direct object position, sometimes in a peripheral position and sometimes does not occur at all.

We have so far criticised the assumption made by Gruber and Jackendoff that every participant of a sentence is characterized either as figure (Theme) or ground (Locative, Source, Goal, etc.) and every type of construction is semantically about the Theme. The position taken here is that the localistic hypothesis accounts for syntactic and semantic regularities to a considerable extent but not all the time. Our claim may be referred to as a 'weak localistic hypothesis' while that of Gruber and Jackendoff may be referred to as a 'strong localistic hypothesis'.



4.2.2 Ambivalent Verbs

In our analysis, verbs are either univalent or ambivalent.<sup>2</sup>

Univalent verbs have only one set of thematic relations while ambivalent verbs have more than one set of thematic relations. The first type of ambivalent verbs are those in (49).

49. strike, hit, kick, catch, seize, grasp, knock, etc.

A typical situation denoted by the verb strike is analysable from two points of view: one is that the agent performs an operation upon an object and the other is that he moves his fist or other instrument to the object. The former aspect of the meaning fits into the 'operative' pattern while the latter fits into the 'factitive' pattern. They can be represented as follows:

50. a) STRIKE (w, z) (Operative)

b) CAUSE (w, GO posit (x, y, z)) (Factitive)

In the operative reading, the semantic subject is Patient (z) while it is Theme (x) in the factitive reading. The two readings, however, are not on an equal footing. Logically (50b) is a prerequisite to (50a). This relation is formalized by putting the prerequisite reading on the left of the other, as in (51).

51. strike: Factitive and Operative.

Our assumption is that, among the two readings allowed to an ambivalent verb, only one of them can be semantically focalized. The ambivalence stipulated in (51) corresponds to the following examples.

52. a) He struck his fist upon the table. (Factitive-focalized)

|       |       |      |
|-------|-------|------|
| Agent | SS    | Goal |
|       |       |      |
|       | Theme |      |

b) He struck the table with his fist. (Operative-focalized)

|       |         |            |
|-------|---------|------------|
| Agent | SS      | Instrument |
|       |         |            |
|       | Patient |            |

The semantic structures of these two sentences are represented as in (53a) and (53b) respectively.

53. a) CAUSE (HE, GO posit (HIS FIST, y, THE TABLE))  
 b) STRIKE WITH HIS FIST (HE, THE TABLE)

In (52b), the operative reading that he performed an operation upon the table is focalized. In such a case, his fist, which is interpreted as Theme in (52a), is likely to be interpreted as an instrument with which the Agent performs an operation upon the Patient. The verb hit has the same ambivalence as strike.

54. a) John hit the cane against the wall. (Factitive-focalized)  
 CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE CANE, y, THE WALL))  
 b) John hit the wall with the cane. (Operative-focalized)  
 HIT WITH THE CANE (JOHN, THE WALL)

The movement represented by GO (x, y, z) has two sub-types although our formalization does not reflect the distinction. They can be represented by 'x GO TO z' and 'x GO TOWARDS z'. The former necessarily entails that 'x' has contact with 'z' while the latter does not. The Goal of the latter type of movement is typically marked by the prepositions towards and at. The verb shoot has almost the same ambivalence as strike and hit but it expresses only the 'towards-type' movement in a factitive-focalized construction.

55. a) John shot the bullet at the man. (Factitive-focalized)  
 CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE BULLET, y, THE MAN))  
 b) John shot the man with the bullet. (Operative-focalized)  
 SHOOT WITH THE BULLET (JOHN, THE MAN)

In a sentence denoting directed action in which the Theme is unspecified, the Agent is broadly interpreted as Theme. Then the opposition between factitive-focalized and operative-focalized is present

as the syntactic opposition between the intransitive and transitive constructions, as follows:

56. a) John struck upon the table. (Factitive-focalized)  
       b) John struck the table. (Operative-focalized)
57. a) John hit against the wall. (Factitive-focalized)  
       b) John hit the wall. (Operative-focalized)

The sentences in (57) are analysed as follows:

58. a) John hit against the wall. (Factitive-focalized)  
       SS Goal  
       |  
       Agent and Theme
- b) John hit the wall. (Operative-focalized)  
       Agent SS  
       |  
       Patient

The second type of ambivalent verbs are those like paint, load, spray, drain, empty, etc. In the frameworks proposed by Gruber and Jackendoff, it is assumed that every verb is assigned a single set of thematic relations. This assumption is basically adopted by Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Grunau (1985). The following alternative forms are, in the frameworks of Gruber and Jackendoff, considered to have the same thematic relations.

59. a) John painted white paint on the wall.  
       b) John painted the wall with white paint.  
       c) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (WHITE PAINT, y, THE WALL))
60. a) John loaded the hay onto the truck.  
       b) John loaded the truck with the hay.  
       c) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE HAY, y, THE TRUCK))

- 61. a) John drained water from the pool.
- b) John drained the pool of water.
- c) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (WATER, THE POOL, z))
- 62. a) John emptied water from the glass.
- b) John emptied the glass of water.
- c) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (WATER, THE GLASS, z))

We consider that a semantic theory should motivate these alternations. Gruber and Jackendoff, treating the alternative forms as being semantically equivalent, cannot explain why English has such alternative syntactic forms. Secondly, their frameworks cannot provide any account of why some verbs can have alternative forms as in (59)-(62) while some cannot in spite of the fact that they have the same thematic relations.

- 63. a) John put the hay on the truck.
- b)\* John put the truck with the hay.
- c) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE HAY, y, TRUCK))
- 64. a) John removed the table from the room.
- b)\* John removed the room of the table.
- c) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE TABLE, THE ROOM, z))

Put and remove express only the positional changes their direct object NPs undergo and express nothing about the conditional change the Goal or the Source may undergo in consequence of the positional changes. It follows that put and remove are purely positional in their semantic content and, therefore, univalent. This is why they do not have syntactic variants like (63b) and (64b). Verbs like load, drain, empty and paint seem to refer to two distinct changes. For instance, drain, unlike remove, entails that the entity denoted by the Source NP undergoes a specific change of condition in consequence of the positional

change of some other entity. The two changes expressed by drain can be represented as follows:

65. a) CAUSE (w, GO posit (x, y, z)) (Factitive 1)  
 b) CAUSE (w, GO con (y, u, EMPTY)) (Factitive 2)

Drain is ambivalent between the two factitive readings. The ambivalence of drain is stipulated as follows:

66. drain: Factitive 1 and Factitive 2

Given the analysis proposed above, the semantic structures of the sentences in (61) are analysed as follows:

67. a) John drained water from the pool. (Factitive 1 focalized)  
 CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (WATER, THE POOL, z))  
 b) John drained the pool of water. (Factitive 2 focalized)  
 CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (THE POOL, y, EMPTY OF WATER))

Thus we abandon the assumption that each verb is given a single set of thematic relations. The analysis proposed above is superior to those by Gruber, Jackendoff, Foley and Van Valin, and Grunau in that it provides a semantic account on the basis of the explicit characterization of verbs of why the syntactic alternation as in (59)-(62) is lexically-conditioned. Some explanation will be necessary about water in (61b). In our analysis it is not given a semantic role in the reading referred to as Factitive 2. The verb drain already has the Goal of the conditional change in its semantic content as specified in (65b). Therefore, of water in (61b) is analysed as a further specification of the Goal expressed by the verb. This is why of water in (61b) is omissible.

68. a) John drained the pool.  
 b) CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (THE POOL, y, EMPTY))

The verbs paint, load and empty have almost the same ambivalence as drain, represented as follows:

69. paint: CAUSE (w, GO posit (x, y, z) (Factitive 1)  
           CAUSE (w, GO con (z, u, PAINTED WITH x)) (Factitive 2)
70. load: CAUSE (w, GO posit (x, y, 'z)) (Factitive 1)  
           CAUSE (w, GO con (z, u; FILLED WITH x)) (Factitive 2)
71. empty: CAUSE (w, GO posit (x, y, z)) (Factitive 1)  
           CAUSE (w, GO con (y, u; EMPTY OF x)) (Factitive 2)

Drain and empty have the same thematic relations and almost the same ambivalence but differ in the manner in which their Goals of the conditional changes are specified. Drain has the selectional restriction that the 'content' has to be an entity which can 'flow'.

72. a) John drained the pool of water.  
       b) John drained me of energy.

On the other hand, empty does not have such a restriction, as shown in (73).

73. John emptied the closet of all its things.

Anderson (1977), as already mentioned, claims that in (74a) and (74b) the post-verbal NPs are interpreted 'holistically' while the NPs with prepositions are interpreted 'partitively'.

74. a) John painted the white paint on the wall.  
       b) John painted the wall with the white paint.

However, to claim that the essential difference between alternative forms of this type lies in the contrast between 'partitive' and 'holistic' interpretations is an oversimplification. Whether an NP is interpreted partitively or holistically varies according to definiteness of the NP. Compare (60) and (75).

75. a) John loaded hay onto the truck.  
       b) John loaded the truck with hay.

The definite NP the hay is likely to be interpreted holistically either in (60a) or (60b). If the hay in (60b) were to be given a partitive interpretation, one would say either (75b) or (76).

76. John loaded the truck with some of the hay.

By contrast, the indefinite NP hay is interpreted partitively either in (75a) or (75b). What is certain about the semantic difference between alternative forms of this type, as pointed out by Ikegami (1981b), is that the direct object NP is interpreted as being affected more greatly or seriously than when it occurs in a peripheral syntactic position. This is quite compatible with our analysis. Each alternative form in (59)-(62) focalizes the change which the direct object NP, i.e., the semantic subject, underwent. Thus it is quite likely that it is interpreted as being more greatly affected than when it is not the semantic subject.

## 5. Conclusion

We have discussed our alternative to the frameworks proposed by Gruber and Jackendoff. Our framework is preferable in three points. First of all, while inheriting all the useful localistic generalizations about syntactic and lexical regularities, it at the same time provides an account of the syntactic regularities shared by the factitive and the operative constructions. Secondly, in our framework, the Theme, which was used ambiguously by Gruber and Jackendoff, is replaced by two separate notions, for one of which the label 'Theme' is retained, while the other is that of the 'semantic subject' of a sentence. This distinction enabled us to specify explicitly the relationship between

the semantic structure of a sentence and the core grammatical relations, i.e., the subject and the direct object. Thirdly, our analysis of verbs into univalent and ambivalent verbs provides more plausible and systematic explanations of the paint type syntactic alternation.



NOTES

1. The term 'condition' is adopted from Ikegami (1975). It covers three distinct semantic parameters proposed by Jackendoff: the identificational, existential and circumstantial.
2. The term of 'ambivalent verbs' is from Lyons (1977). In his analysis, verbs like kill and break are referred to as being ambivalent, i.e., operative-factitive. However, one can say John killed Mary in a situation where John did not directly operate upon Mary, e.g., giving her poison or not giving her any food for a long time. Therefore, these verbs are treated here simply as factitive verbs.

## CHAPTER TWO

### DATIVE-SHIFT:

#### DISCOURSE APPROACHES VS. SEMANTIC APPROACHES

### Introduction

A lot of works have been devoted to the syntactic description of Dative-shift in English. However, comparatively little attention has been paid to why English has such a syntactic alternation. In this chapter, the discourse approaches proposed by Givón (1979) and Erteschik-Shir (1979) are examined and criticized. It is claimed that the Dative-shift rules in English and Korean are semantic processes.

### 1. Discourse Approaches to Dative-shift

#### 1.1 Givón's Approach

Givón (1979), examining data from a variety of languages, proposed an analysis of Dative-shift in terms of the following two features, each of which is familiar from earlier analyses:

1. The erstwhile indirect object loses its case-marking morpheme.
2. The order of two objects is reversed.

Givón says that the 'demoted' accusative object may remain unmarked when the prepositional object is DATIVE or BENEFACTIVE as in (3), while it may otherwise acquire a preposition, as in (4).

3. a) John gave a book to Mary.  
b) John gave Mary a book.
4. a) John sprayed paint on the wall.  
b) John sprayed the wall with paint.

The type of alternation in (4) may also be thought of as Dative-shift from a functional viewpoint. Of the two features of Dative-shift, Givón takes (2) as the essential feature while regarding (1) as a feature specific to SVO languages like English. He argues that the most common function of the Dative-shift is changing the 'relative topicality' of the accusative vis-à-vis the prepositional object.

This involves the universal word-order principle that the left-most constituent is the "more topical" one, that is, the one more likely to not constitute new information. (Givón 1979:161.)

He claims that his assumption is compatible with the following data.

5.   a)   When he found it, John gave the book to Mary.  
       b)? When he found it, John gave Mary the book.
6.   a)   When he found her, John gave Mary the book.  
       b)? When he found her, John gave the book to Mary.

In (5), the accusative object is established as topical via previous mention in a preposed-topical adverbial clause and, therefore, ACC-DAT is more natural. DAT-ACC is more natural in (6) since the dative object is established as topical.

Givón holds that the type of Dative-shift which involves both (1) and (2) is restricted to SVO languages. However, he claims that from a functional viewpoint Dative-shift exists in SOV languages too.

One can also show that the same rule of dative-shift, in functional terms, may also exist in an SOV language where no morphological changes in the case marking are associated with it, but only the relative order change. (Givón 1979:153.)

He adduces the following examples from Sherpa, a Tibeto-Burmese language.

7.   tiki     kitabī     coxts-i-kha-la     zax-sung  
      he-ERG   book       table-GEN-on-DAT   put-AUX  
      'He put the book on the table.'

8.    tiki        coxts-i-kha-la                kitabi    zax-sung  
       he-ERG    table-GEN-on-DAT            book     put-AUX

'He put on the table a book.'

When the previous context topicalizes the accusative object, as in I asked him what he did with the book, so he said that..., the order ACC-DAT is preferred while if the dative is topicalized, the order DAT-ACC is preferred. Thus, Givón assumes that Dative-shift in SVO languages and the relative word-order change in SOV languages perform an identical function.

## 1.2 Dominance and Dative Movement

Erteschik-Shir (1979) claims that Dative Movement in English is best accounted for not in syntax but in terms of discourse constraints. A notion of 'dominance', which is somewhat similar to 'focus', 'new information', or 'communicative dynamism', is posited to explain the discourse functions of Dative Movement. The definition of 'dominance' is as follows:

9. 'Dominance: A constituent C of a sentence S is dominant in S if and only if the speaker intends to direct the attention of his hearers to the intension of C by uttering S.' (443)

A dominant constituent therefore is the natural candidate for the topic of further conversation as in (10).

10. Speaker A: I saw Picasso's picture of the blue angel yesterday.  
       Speaker B: Oh, yes, I know which one it is.

The pronoun it in (10) can only refer to Picasso's picture of the blue angel and not to the blue angel. It indicates that only the larger NP is dominant in A's utterance.

The dominance relation is related to various determiners and to degree of specificity, as tested in (11-16).

11. Speaker A: John killed a cop.

Speaker B: Oh, yes, I know which one it is.

12. Speaker A: John killed the cop who was a criminal himself.

Speaker B: Oh, yes, I know which one it is.

13. Speaker A: John killed the cop.

Speaker B: Oh, yes, I know which one it is.

14. Speaker A: John killed the president.

Speaker B: Oh, yes, I know which one it is.

15. Speaker A: John killed Howie.

Speaker B: \*Oh, yes, I know which Howie it is.

16. Speaker A: John killed him.

Speaker B: \*\*Oh, yes, I know who he is.

There is a hierarchy according to which indefinites are generally used to indicate that an NP is dominant, while definites generally indicate that an NP is nondominant, and pronouns cannot possibly be used dominantly. It is pointed out, however, that there are instances of a definite NP being interpreted dominantly. Such pronouns as him or her can also receive a dominant interpretation, providing they are said with stress. However, this is not normal. It is claimed that these facts make the notion of dominance distinct from the well-known notion of focus or new information. The notion of dominance is assumed also to be distinct from communicative dynamism since the latter is a relative notion while the former is an absolute property. There is only one NP that cannot be used dominantly, that is it. Thus, it is thought of as the archetype of the nondominant NP. Erteschik-Shir proposed a rule for Dative Movement as shown in (17).

17. In the structure ... V NP1 NP2 (derived from ... V NP2  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{to} \\ \text{for} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  NP1)

NP1 is nondominant and NP2 is dominant.

The following data are adduced to support the hypothesis in (17). The preferred order is marked by '-'.

18. a) John gave a book to Mary.  
 b) - John gave Mary a book.
19. a) John gave a book to the girl.  
 b) - John gave the girl a book.
20. a) John gave a book to her.  
 b) - John gave her a book.
21. a) - John gave the book to Mary.  
 b) John gave Mary the book.

In (18-20), the rule places the NP in the final position, which is more easily interpreted as being dominant. Therefore, the version in which the rule is applied is preferred. In (21), the underlying order is preferred since the more dominant NP already follows the less dominant in it. Erteschik-Shir claims that the validity of the rule is clearer on the basis of the above-mentioned dominance test.

22. Speaker A: John gave a book to someone yesterday.

Speaker B: Oh, yes, I know who it was.

23. Speaker A: John gave someone a book yesterday.

Speaker B: \*Oh, yes, I know who it was.

Oh, yes, I know which one it was.

In (22) the response can refer either to the 'someone' or the 'book', while in (23) the response can only refer to the 'book'; that is, 'someone' cannot be interpreted as being dominant after Dative Movement has applied.

The test thus strengthens the analysis of Dative Movement as a rule that functions to force a dominant interpretation on the NP that ends up in final position (and a nondominant interpretation on the other NP). (451)

The following exceptions have been problematic for syntactic approaches to Dative-shift.

- 24. a) John gave it to Mary.
- b)\* John gave Mary it.
- 25. a) Who did John give the book to?
- b)\* Who did John give the book?

Erteschik-Shir argues that the discourse approach can solve these problems. It cannot occur in the right-most position in double object constructions as in (26-29).

- 26. a) John gave it to a girl.
- b)\* John gave a girl it.
- 27. a) John gave it to the girl.
- b)\* John gave the girl it.
- 28. a) John gave it to Mary.
- b)\* John gave Mary it.
- 29. a) John gave it to her.
- b)\* John gave her it.

As already pointed out, it can never be interpreted as being dominant. It is maintained that the (b) sentences are ill-formed since dominance is assigned by the rule to an NP that cannot be interpreted as being dominant.

The discourse rule also provides an account of the unacceptability of (30) and (31).

30.\* Who did John give the book?

31.\* The girl that John gave the book is very nice.

What causes the unacceptability of these sentences is that in each case an NP is highlighted by means of questioning and relativization and given dominance, while the function of Dative Movement forces nondominant interpretations on the NPs in question.

The following data are also given an explanation in terms of the discourse rule.

32.\* John told that he liked ice cream to Mary.

33. John told Mary that he liked ice cream.

Erteschik-Shir says that sentential complements and 'heavy NPs', due to their length, must be interpreted as being dominant and are, therefore, preferred in sentence-final position.

Thus, Erteschik-Shir concludes that a discourse analysis of Dative Movement predicts various kinds of data that other analyses find it difficult to account for.

## 2. Inadequacy of the Discourse Approaches to Dative-shift

The discourse approaches to Dative-shift proposed by Givón and Erteschik-Shir are considerable improvements on simply writing a syntactic transformation and not bothering to ask about the circumstances under which non-dative-shifted and dative-shifted sentences are used. In this section, however, the claim that Dative-shift is a process which primarily serves discourse functions is refuted, referring to two points: (i) it cannot explain the problem of exceptions, (ii) change in topicality or change in 'dominance' by a word-order change is not inherent in Dative-shift.



## 2.1 English Dative-shift

Three properties have been pointed out by many linguists with regard to the Dative-shift in English. First, it is a highly lexically-conditioned process. For instance, teach and explain are somewhat similar to each other, but only the former allows Dative-shift.

- 34. a) John taught the story to Bill.  
b) John taught Bill the story.
- 35. a) John explained the story to Bill.  
b)\* John explained Bill the story.
- 36. a) John told the story to Bill.  
b) John told Bill the story.
- 37. a) John said these words to Bill.  
b)\* John said Bill these words.
- 38. a) John sent some stock to Bill.  
b) John sent Bill some stock.
- 39. a) John transferred some stock to Bill.  
b)\* John transferred Bill some stock.

Secondly, the 'shifted' indirect object has to be normally animate.

- 40. a) John brought the piano to New York.  
b)\* John brought New York the piano.
- 41. a) John brought the piano to Bill.  
b) John brought Bill the piano.

Thirdly, the structure with a preposition is not allowed when the direct object NPs denote 'diseases' or certain other abstract entities.

- 42. a)\* Mary gave the measles to John.  
b) Mary gave John the measles.

43. a)\* Mary gave an inferiority complex to John.

b) Mary gave John an inferiority complex.

44. a)\* Mary gave a broken arm to John.

b) Mary gave John a broken arm.

45. a)\* Mary gave a pain in the neck to John.

b) Mary gave John a pain in the neck.

Dative-shift is optional in (34), (36), (38), etc., while it is blocked in (35), (37), (39), and (40), and it is obligatory in (42-45). None of these three restrictions seem to have a clear discourse motivation. The Dative Movement rule (17) proposed by Erteschik-Shir does not provide any account of these restrictions. Note that the notion of dominance is defined in terms of the speaker's intention. A constituent is dominant if the speaker intends to direct the attention of his hearers to an entity denoted by the constituent. In other words, dominance is a relation which holds between the speaker's intention and the entity denoted by an NP. The notion of dominance and the rule based on it, therefore, can say nothing about why Dative-shift is allowed with teach and not with explain. The rule (17) also cannot explain the animacy constraint on the indirect object NPs as in (40) and (41) since there is no reason why the speaker could not intend to direct the attention of his hearers to 'New York'. Erteschik-Shir says that there is no condition on Dative Movement that makes the transformation obligatory with 'diseases', adducing the following examples.

46. a) John gave Mary pneumonia and he gave it to Ted too.

b)\* John gave Mary pneumonia and he gave Ted it too.

In the second parts of these sentences pneumonia is not interpreted as being dominant, since it has been mentioned already in the first part.

It is claimed that (46b) is unacceptable since the structure of the second part of (46b) forces a dominant interpretation on it.

However, the question why such constructions as (47) are not allowed remains unexplained.

47.\* John gave pneumonia to Mary.

Furthermore, the examples in (48) raised by Green (1974) seem to be serious counter-examples for Erteschik-Shir.

48. a)\* Martha gave a piece of her mind to John.

b)\* Martha gave John a piece of her mind, and  
then she gave one to Richard.

In the second part of (48b), 'a piece of her mind' referred to by the indefinite pronoun one, is most likely to be interpreted nondominantly since it has already been mentioned in the first part. Given the rule (17), (48b) should be well-formed.

As already mentioned, Dative-shift in English has two criterial features: one is the change in order of two objects and the other is the change in prepositionality. What is common to Erteschik-Shir and Givon is that they take the former as the essential feature of Dative-shift, paying no serious attention to the fact that the prepositional indirect object loses its preposition. Quite an opposite position is taken by Green (1974). She argues that the two features are independent of each other and that the crucial feature is the prepositionlessness of the immediately post-verbal indirect object, not its position. In support of this view she compares examples such as (32) and (33) with (49) and (50) by way of demonstrating that the order of constituents is independent of whether or not the verb allows Dative-shift, and points out that discourse structure cannot account

for the fact that the prepositional indirect object loses its preposition in (33) but retains it in (49b) and (50b).

49. a)? John demonstrated the sixteen proofs for the existence of God which he found in a medieval manuscript over the weekend to me.
- b) John demonstrated to me the sixteen proofs for the existence of God which he found in a medieval manuscript over the weekend.
50. a)?\* Arthur will try to obtain the recommendations which you say I need for me.
- b) Arthur will try to obtain for me the recommendations which you say I need.

Examples (26-29) also cannot be strong evidence for the hypothesis that the primary function of Dative-shift is a discourse function since occurrence of it in the left-most position is not inherent in Dative-shift, as shown in (51).

51. a) John said these words to Bill.
- b) John said to Bill these words.
- c) John said to Bill the words he had just learned.
- d) John said it to Bill.
- e)\* John said to Bill it.

There is another problem that the discourse analysis of Dative-shift cannot deal with. The NPs to be dative-shifted are restricted to Goal; Source NPs cannot be shifted.

52. a) John took away a book from Mary.
- b)\* John took away Mary a book.
- c)\* John took Mary away a book.
53. a) John stole a book from Mary.
- b)\* John stole Mary a book.

We have so far argued that the assumption that the function of Dative-shift is merely a discourse function cannot account for its semantically-conditioned nature and exceptions.

## 2.2 Word-order Variation in Japanese and Dative-shift

Givón argues that the main and most common function of Dative-shift is that it makes a promoted NP more topical and a demoted NP a focus. This change in topicality is shown in the following test.

54. a) When he found it, John gave the book to Mary. (5a)

b)? When he found it, John gave Mary the book.

55. What did you do to the wall?

a) I sprayed it with paint.

b)? I sprayed paint on it.

56. What did you do with the paint?

a) I sprayed it on the wall.

b)? I sprayed the wall with it.

He treats the change in case marking concomitant with Dative-shift as a language-specific feature, not an essential one. He therefore claims that the Dative-shift in English has the same function as the word order-variation in SOV languages exemplified in (7) and (8). This kind of word-order variation is also found in Japanese, an SOV language.

57. a) watashi-ga John-ni hon-o age-ta

I-nom John-dat book-acc give-past

'I gave John a book'.

b) watashi-ga hon-o John-ni age-ta

I-nom book-acc John-dat give-past .

'I gave a book to John.'

This word-order variation is exploited to change the relative topicality of the constituents and focus assignment as shown below.

58. a) watashi-ga kaban-kara issatsuno hon-o  
 I-nom bag-abl one book-acc  
 toridashi sono hon-o John-ni age-ta  
 take-out-and, the book-acc John-dat give-past  
 'I took a book out of my bag, and gave the book to John.'

- b)? watashi-ga kaban-kara issatsuno hon-o  
 I-nom bag-abl one book-acc  
 toridashi, John-ni sono hon-o age-ta  
 take-out-and, John-dat the book-acc give-past  
 'I took a book out of my bag, and gave to John the book.'

Clearer evidence that word-order variation such as in (57) functions to change the relative topicality of the two NPs comes from the manner in which the two NPs combine with the particle wa. Kuno (1973) and Inoue (1983) point out that the particle wa indicates either the topic of a sentence when it is assigned to an NP conveying given information, or 'contrast' when it is attached to an NP conveying new information.

59. gakusei-ga suunin kega-o shita. karera-wa  
 student-nom several injury-acc did they-top  
 gakko-ni tsuita-bakari-datta.  
 school-dat arrive perf-past  
 'Several students were injured. They had just arrived at school.'
60. mise-wa manindeshita-ga, rojin-wa amari-inakkata.  
 shop-top crowded-though old-people-cont few-were  
 'The shop was crowded, but old people were few (though there were many young people).'

Karera 'they', which has been mentioned in the preceding sentence, is interpreted as the topic while rojin 'the old', which has not been mentioned, is interpreted as being a contrastive expression. Compare now the following expressions.

61. John-ni ringo-o age-ta  
 John-dat apple-acc give-past  
 '[I] gave to John an apple.'
- a) John-ni-wa ringo-o age-ta  
 John-dat apple-acc give-past
- b) John-ni ringo-wa age-ta  
 John-dat apple(acc) give-past

62. ringo-o John-ni age-ta  
 apple-acc John-dat give-past  
 '[I] gave an/the apple to John.'
- a) ringo-wa John-ni age-ta  
 apple(acc) John-dat give-past
- b) ringo-o John-ni-wa age-ta  
 apple-acc John-dat give-past

John in (61a) can be interpreted either as a topic or as contrastive as in (63).

63. a) A: John-ni nani-o age-mashi-ta-ka  
 John-dat what-acc give-honorific-past-interrogative  
 'What did you give to John?'
- B: John-ni-wa ringo-o age-mashi-ta  
 John-dat apple-acc give-honorific-past  
 '[I] gave to John an apple.'

- b) John-ni-wa ringo-o age, Mary-ni-wa nashi-o age-ta  
 John-dat apple-acc give Mary-dat pear-acc give-past  
 'To John, I gave an apple, and to Mary, I gave a pear.'

Ringo 'apple' in (61b) however, can only be interpreted as contrastive. Sentence (61b) is most likely to be interpreted as '[I] gave John an apple but nothing else'. The same difference exists between (62a) and (62b). Our argument so far shows that the word-order difference in (57) is employed to change the relative topicality and focus assignment between two arguments, i.e., the left-most constituent is topical and the right-most constituent is focus. It follows that, according to the assumption suggested by Givón, the Dative-shift in English and Japanese word-order variation as in (57) have the same function, although there is some 'trivial' difference in that the former has a change in case-marking while the latter does not. The word-order variation in Japanese, however, drastically differs from Dative-shift in English in that it has no exception. The word-order variation in Japanese is neither lexically nor semantically conditioned, i.e., it is allowed whatever the verb is or whatever the semantic contents of the NPs to be permuted are. For instance, there is no animacy constraint on word-order variation in Japanese, as is seen from (64).

64. a) watashi-ga London-ni tegami-o okutta.  
 I-nom London-dat letter-acc send-past  
 'I sent to London a letter.'
- b) watashi-ga tegami-o London-ni okutta  
 I-nom letter-acc London-dat send-past  
 'I sent a letter to London.'



From the argument above, one can plausibly assume that the word-order variation, unlike the Dative-shift in English, is a process motivated purely in discourse.

Givon treats as Dative-shift not only the alternation between 'give X to Y' and 'give Y X', but also the alternation between 'spray X on Y' and 'spray Y with X'. As pointed out in relation to (54-56), it is claimed that their function is to change the relative topicality and focus assignment. Japanese also has oppositions comparable with that between 'spray X on Y' and 'spray Y with X'.

65. a)    watashi-ga    mizu-o       baketsu-ni    mitashi-ta  
          I-nom        water-acc   bucket-dat   fill-past  
          'I filled water into a bucket' (literally).  
       b)    watashi-ga    mizu-de       baketsu-o    mitashi-ta  
          I-nom        water-instr   bucket-acc   fill-past  
          'I filled a bucket with water.'

There are changes in case-marking in (65). Recall that the word-order variation in Japanese is exceptionless. The combination of the differentiation in case-marking and the word-order variation produces the following four possibilities, and they are all quite acceptable.

66. a)    watashi-ga    mizu-o       baketsu-ni    mitashita  
          I-nom        water-acc   bucket-dat   filled  
          'I filled water into a bucket.'  
       b)    watashi-ga    baketsu-ni    mizu-o       mitashita  
          I-nom        bucket-dat   water-acc   filled  
          'I filled into a bucket water.'

66. c) watashi-ga baketsu-o mizu-de mitashita  
 I-nom bucket-acc water-instr filled  
 'I filled a bucket with water.'
- d) watashi-ga mizu-de baketsu-o mitashita  
 I-nom water-instr bucket-acc filled  
 'I filled with water a bucket.'

The word-order variation in (66) is purely pragmatic. The more topical constituent takes the left-most position while the focus takes the right-most position, as tested in (67).

67. a) watashi-ga ido-kara mizu-o kumi  
 I-nom well-from water-acc draw  
sore-o baketsu-ni mitashita  
 (and) it-acc bucket-dat filled  
 'I drew water from the well, and filled it into a bucket.'
- b)? watashi-ga ido-kara mizu-o kumi  
 I-nom well-from water-acc draw  
baketsu-ni sore-o mitashita  
 (and) bucket-dat it-acc filled  
 'I drew water from the well, and filled it into a bucket.'
- c)? watashi-ga ido-kara mizu-o kumi,  
 I-nom well-from water-acc draw  
baketsu-o sore-de mitashita  
 (and) bucket-acc it-instr filled  
 'I drew water from the well, and filled a bucket with it.'
- d) watashi-ga ido-kara mizu-o kumi,  
 I-nom well-from water-acc draw  
sore-de baketsu-o mitashita  
 (and) it-instr bucket-acc filled

Sentences (67b) and (67c) are a little unnatural since the topical NP, which has already been mentioned in the first part of the sentence, is placed to the right of the focus NP. It seems very plausible intuitively that sentences (66a) and (66b) which have the same case-marking are logically about mizu 'water' or its change of location. Similarly, (66c) and (66d) are both about baketsu 'bucket', in spite of the difference in word-order and focus assignment. These observations show that the word-order variation and the case-marking variation in (66) are independent of each other, and the former is a purely pragmatic operation while the latter is a semantic one. Now compare the English sentences in (68) and Japanese ones in (66). It will be noticeable that the possibilities in (66b) and (66d) are blocked in English. The reason for this seems to me quite straightforward. The direct object, which is marked by the accusative postposition in Japanese, is marked in English by the immediately post-verbal position without a preposition. This language-specific property in case-marking blocks the possibilities (68b) and (68d).

68. a) I sprayed the paint on the wall.  
       b)\* I sprayed on the wall the paint.  
       c) I sprayed the wall with the paint.  
       d)\* I sprayed with the paint the wall.

In a language in which possibilities like (68b) and (68d) are blocked, the functions which were otherwise performed by the blocked word-orders are performed by the existing word-orders, producing pragmatic ambiguity.

69. a) I bought some paint, and sprayed it on the wall.  
       b) I cleared the wall of pictures, and sprayed paint on it.  
       c) I bought some paint, and sprayed the wall with it.  
       d) I cleared the wall of pictures, and sprayed it with paint.

The examples in (69) indicate that in the word-orders 'spray X on Y' and 'spray Y with X', either 'X' or 'Y' can be topical.

The discussion so far clearly demonstrates that the spray type syntactic opposition as in (68a) and (68c) is not pragmatically motivated but semantically motivated. In fact, the spray type opposition seen both in English and Japanese is, like the give type dative-shift in English and unlike Japanese word-order variation, lexically-conditioned. It has already been pointed out in the previous chapter that (68a) is, in a logical sense, about the change in location 'the paint' underwent while (68c) is about the conditional change 'the wall' underwent. Therefore, verbs which express only a change in location cannot have the spray type opposition. The English verb put and the Japanese verb sosog 'pour' are typical examples.

70. a) I put the paint on the wall.

b)\* I put the wall with the paint.

71. a) watashi-wa baketsu-ni mizu-o sosoida

I-top bucket-dat water-acc poured

'I poured water into a bucket.'

b)\* watashi-wa baketsu-o mizu-de sosoida

I-top bucket-acc water-instr poured

'I poured a bucket with water.'

An eclectic position is adopted by Foley and Van Valin (1985). They claim that the give type alternation represents 'pragmatic dative shift' which involves only a rearrangement of constituents for purely pragmatic reasons while the spray type alternation represents semantic dative-shift which involves an important semantic differentiation. However, this position cannot answer the question why the give type Dative-shift, unlike the purely pragmatic word-order

variation in SOV languages, is so much lexically and semantically conditioned. Stronger evidence against the view that the give type Dative-shift in English is purely pragmatic comes from the study of Korean data in the following section.

### 2.3 Double-accusative Constructions in Korean

Korean, another SOV language, has the purely pragmatically motivated word-order variation.

72. a)    nae-ga    John-ege    chaeg-il    ju-ŏssda  
           I-nom    John-dat    book-acc    give-past  
           'I gave to John a book.'

b)    nae-ga    chaeg-il    John-ege    ju-ŏssda  
           I-nom    book-acc    John-dat    give-past  
           'I gave a book to John.'

73. a)    nae-ga    seoul-e    don-il    bone-ŏssda  
           I-nom    Seoul-dat    money-acc    send-past  
           'I sent to Seoul the money.'

b)    nae-ga    don-il    seoul-e    bone-ŏssda  
           I-nom    money-acc    Seoul-dat    send-past  
           'I sent the money to Seoul.'

These word-order variations in Korean perform the same function as the word-order variation in Japanese, as is seen from (74).

74. a)    gi-ga    gaban-esŏ    hangwŏn-ii    chaeg-il  
           he-nom    bag-from    one-gen    book-acc  
           kkŏnae-daga,    gi    chaeg-il    John-ege    ju-ŏssda  
           take-out-after    the    book-acc    John-dat    give-past  
           'He took a book out of his bag, and then gave the  
           book to John.'

74. b)? gi-ga gaban-esŏ hangwŏn-ti chaeg-il  
 he-nom bag-from one-gen book-acc  
 kkŏnae-daga, John-ege gi chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 take-out-after John-dat the book-acc give-past  
 'He took a book out of his bag, and then gave to John  
 the book.'

The Korean particle (n)in has almost the same function as Japanese wa. It indicates either the topic of a sentence or 'contrast' if it is attached to an NP with given information while it only expresses contrast if it is attached to an NP with new information. We get exactly the same result from the test in (75) as we got in (61) and (62).

75. John-ege chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 John-dat book-acc give-past  
 '[I] gave to John a book.'
- a) John-ege-nin chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 John-dat book-acc give-past
- b) John-ege chaeg-in ju-ŏssda  
 John-dat book(acc) give-past
- c) chaeg-in John-ege ju-ŏssda  
 book(acc) John-dat give-past
- d) chaeg-il John-ege-nin ju-ŏssda  
 book-acc John-dat give-past

The particle (n)in in (75a) and (75c) indicates that the NPs to which it is assigned are either 'topical' or 'contrastive', while (n)in in (75b) and (75d) is interpreted only as expressing contrast. Furthermore, there are no lexical or semantic constraints on this word-order variation. Thus, we can say that the word-order variation in Korean is purely

pragmatically motivated like that in Japanese. Korean, in addition to the word-order variation, has so-called 'double-accusativization'. Some dative and genitive NPs are accusativized, resulting in double-accusative constructions.

76. a) nae-ga John-ege chaeg-il ju-össda  
 I-nom John-dat book-acc give-past  
 'I gave a book to John.'

b) nae-ga John-il chaeg-il ju-össda  
 I-nom John-acc book-acc give-past  
 'I gave John a book.'

77. a) nae-ga John-ege don-il ponaessda  
 I-nom John-dat money-acc sent  
 'I sent money to John.'

b) nae-ga John-il don-il ponaessda  
 I-nom John-acc money-acc sent  
 'I sent John money.'

a) nae-ga seoul-e don-il bonaessda  
 I-nom Seoul-dat money-acc sent  
 'I sent money to Seoul.'

b) \* nae-ga seoul-il don-il bonaessda  
 I-nom Seoul-acc money-acc sent  
 'I sent Seoul money.'

78. a) nae-ga John-ii son-il jab-assda  
 I-nom John-gen hand-acc grasp-past  
 'I grasped John's hand.'

78. b) nae-ga John-~~i~~l son-~~i~~l jab-assda  
 I-nom John-acc hand-acc grasp-past  
 'I grasped John by the hand.'

79. a) nae-ga John-~~i~~i/egeso don-~~i~~l ppaeas-assda  
 I-nom John-gen/abl money-acc take-away-past  
 'I took away money from John.'

b)\* nae-ga John-~~i~~l don-~~i~~l ppaeas-assda  
 I-nom John-acc money-acc take-away-past  
 'I took away John money.'

Dative-shift in English and double-accusativization in Korean are similar in that in both a non-core or non-accusative NP is promoted to be a core or accusative NP. Furthermore, Korean double-accusativization manifests the characteristics common to Dative-shift in English. First, it is constrained by animacy. The NP to be accusativized has to be, in general, animate, typically human, as shown in (77). Second, NPs with the semantic role 'Source' cannot be accusativized, as in (79). Third, double-accusativization, like English Dative-shift, is lexically conditioned. The verbs like sŏlmyŏngha 'explain' and malha 'say' cannot have the double-accusative construction, while karichi 'teach' can.

80. a) nae-ga yŏngŏ munjang-~~i~~l John-ege karichi-ŏssda  
 I-nom English sentence-acc John-dat teach-past  
 'I taught an English sentence to John.'

b) nae-ga yŏngŏ munjang-~~i~~l John-~~i~~l karichi-ŏssda  
 I-nom English sentence-acc John-acc teach-past  
 'I taught John an English sentence.'



81. a) nae-ga yŏngŏ munjang-il John-ege sŏlmyŏngha-ŏssda  
 I-nom English sentence-acc John-dat explain-past  
 'I explained an English sentence to John.'
- b)\* nae-ga yŏngŏ munjang-il John-il sŏlmyŏngha-ŏssda  
 I-nom English sentence-acc John-acc explain-past  
 'I explained John an English sentence.'

The above-mentioned evidence shows that the English give type Dative-shift is comparable to double-accusativization in Korean but not to the word-order variation. Givón and Van Valin's claim that the change in case-marking involved in the give type Dative-shift is restricted to SVO languages is obviously wrong.

Double-accusativization can combine with the pragmatic word-order variation, resulting in the following four possibilities.

82. a) nae-ga John-ege chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 I-nom John-dat book-acc give-past  
 'I gave to John a book.'
- b) nae-ga chaeg-il John-ege ju-ŏssda  
 I-nom book-acc John-dat give-past  
 'I gave a book to John.'
- c) nae-ga John-il chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 I-nom John-acc book-acc give-past  
 'I gave John a book.'
- d) nae-ga chaeg-il John-il ju-ŏssda  
 I-nom book-acc John-acc give-past  
 'I gave a book John.'

Again, these four sentences are all acceptable. If the function of double-accusativization were purely pragmatic, i.e., to change the relative topicality between the two constituents and the focus assignment, then it would be a totally unnecessary device, since the same effect is already achieved by word-order variation. Korean also has alternation of the spray type. This alternation, combined with the word-order variation, allows the following four possibilities.

83. a)    nae-ga    ppenkki-lil    byŏg-e    chilha-ŏssda  
          I-nom    paint-acc    wall-dat    paint-past  
          'I painted paint on the wall.'
- b)    nae-ga    byŏg-e    ppenkki-lil    chilha-ŏssda  
          I-nom    wall-dat    paint-acc    paint-past  
          'I painted on the wall paint.'
- c)    nae-ga    byŏg-il    ppenkki-ro    chilha-ŏssda  
          I-nom    wall-acc    paint-instr    paint-past  
          'I painted the wall with paint.'
- d)    nae-ga    ppenkki-ro    byŏg-il    chilha-ŏssda  
          I-nom    paint-instr    wall-acc    paint-past  
          'I painted with paint the wall.'

Compare (82) and (83) with (84) and (85).

84. a)    I gave a book to John.  
       b)\*    I gave to John a book.  
       c)    I gave John a book.  
       d)\*    I gave a book John.
85. a)    I painted white paint on the wall.  
       b)\*    I painted on the wall white paint.  
       c)    I painted the wall with white paint.  
       d)\*    I painted with white paint the wall.

The reason why the possibilities (84b) and (84d) are blocked seems straightforward again. It should be attributed to the property of English that the direct object is marked by putting the constituent in question in the immediately post-verbal position without a preposition. It seems that the fact that possibilities (84b) and (84d) are blocked in English has made it difficult to understand that the purely pragmatically motivated word-order change and the change in case-marking which seems to me semantically motivated are independent of each other. The two mechanisms, which are kept quite separate in Korean, are conflated in English.

### 3. The Semantics of Dative-shift

In this section, I argue that the Dative-shifts in English and Korean are best explained in semantics.

In the previous chapter, three kinds of change were differentiated by three restrictive modifiers: 'Positional', 'Possessional' and 'Conditional'.

- 86. a) GO posit (x, y, z)
- b) GO poss (x, y, z)
- c) GO con (x, y, z)

Now that the assumption that the spray type syntactic alternation is pragmatically motivated has been refuted, it should be semantics, in the absence of any other plausible candidate, that motivates the alternation. In our analysis, verbs are classified into two types: one is univalent verbs which have only one set of thematic relations and the other is ambivalent verbs which have more than one set of thematic relations. It has been assumed that only ambivalent verbs

allow the spray type syntactic alternation. For instance, drain, being an ambivalent verb, entails that, in addition to a positional change of some entity, the entity denoted by the Source NP undergoes a specific conditional change. The syntactic variants shown by drain are assigned semantic representations as follows:

87. a) John drained water from the pool  
           CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (WATER, THE POOL, z))
- b) John drained the pool of water.  
           CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (THE POOL, u, EMPTY OF WATER))

The syntactic form (87a) focalizes the positional change of 'water' and (87b) focalizes the conditional change of 'the pool'. These two changes are the two aspects of an integrated whole denoted by the ambivalent verb drain. In (87a), the semantic subject is 'water', while in (87b) it is 'the pool'. In either case, the semantic subject is assigned the semantic role Theme by the rest of the sentence.

The analysis proposed above is applicable to Korean and Japanese. Compare the following Korean sentences.

88. a) John-i     bakkejju-e     mul-il     chaeu-össda  
           John-nom   bucket-dat   water-acc   fill-past  
           'John filled water in a bucket' (literal translation).
- b) John-i     bakkejju-lil   mul-ro     chaeu-össda  
           John-nom   bucket-acc   water-instr   fill-past  
           'John filled a bucket with water.'
89. a) John-i     bakkejju-e     mul-il     bu-össda  
           John-nom   bucket-dat   water-acc   pour-past  
           'John poured water into a bucket.'

89. b)\* John-i      bakkejju-lil      mul-ro      bu-össda  
                  John-nom   bucket-acc      water-instr      pour-past  
                  \*'John poured a bucket with water.'

The verb chaeu 'fill' is an ambivalent verb which refers to a positional change of an entity and also a concomitant conditional change of the Goal of the positional change. The ambivalence of the verb chaeu is represented as follows:

90. a) CAUSE (w, GO posit (x, y, z))      (Factitive 1)  
       b) CAUSE (w, GO con (z, u, FILLED WITH x))      (Factitive 2)

The syntactic form (88a) focalizes the positional change (90a), while (88b) focalizes the conditional change (90b). The verb bus 'pour' is a univalent verb which expresses only a positional change of an entity and does not refer to a conditional change of the Goal. Thus the semantic nature of the verb bus 'pour' blocks the syntactic form (89b). The semantic representations for (88a) and (88b) are as follows:

91. a) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (WATER, y, BUCKET))  
       b) CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (BUCKET, u, FILLED WITH WATER))

The semantic representations in (91) indicate that in (88a) the semantic subject is 'mul' ('water') while in (88b) it is 'bakkejju' ('bucket'). In other words, sentence (88a) is logically about the change of 'mul' ('water') while (88b) is about the change that 'bakkejju' ('bucket') underwent. This logical topicality should be kept distinct from the pragmatic topicality mentioned in Sections 1 and 2. The pragmatic topicality may be changed by word-order variation, but not the logical topicality. Sentence (88a') is still logically about the change the 'water' underwent, while (88b') is about the change the 'bucket' underwent.

88. a) John-i mul-~~i~~l bakkejju-e chaeu-~~o~~ssda  
 John-nom water-acc bucket-dat fill-past  
 'John filled water in a bucket.'
- b)' John-i mul-ro bakkejju-l~~i~~l chaeu-~~o~~ssda  
 John-nom water-instr bucket-acc fill-past  
 'John filled a bucket with water.'

### 3.1 Ambiguity of Change in Possession

In this section, I propose a semantic account of the give type of Dative-shift in English and Korean. Our semantics has to be capable of explaining the following problems.

- i) The lexically-conditioned property of Dative-shifts in English and Korean.
- ii) The semantic constraints on Dative-shifts in English and Korean: the animacy constraint and the constraint that blocks the NP with Source role from being dative-shifted.
- iii) The exceptions to English Dative-shift pointed out in (41-45).

Ikegami (1975) points out that a sentence expressing a 'change in possession' like (92) allows two interpretations: (92a) and (92b).

92. John got first prize.

- a) John (Y)  $\leftarrow$  first prize (X)  $\left( \begin{array}{l} X = \text{'what changes'} \\ Y = \text{'Goal of change'} \end{array} \right)$   
 b) John (X)  $\rightarrow$  first prize (Y)

In the first interpretation, 'what changes' is 'first prize' and the change is concerned with 'who is its possessor'. In the second interpretation, 'what undergoes change' is 'John' and the change is about 'whether he possesses the prize or not'. He says that the former interpretation is related to a 'change in locus' and the latter to a 'change in condition'. I adopt this dual interpretation of a 'change in possession' suggested by Ikegami.

Let us suppose a prototypical situation in which a change in possession takes place, i.e., a situation denoted by a proposition like John brought Mary a book. This situation is analysable into three kinds of changes integrated by the proposition: a positional change of 'a book' to 'Mary', a possessional change of 'a book' from 'John' to 'Mary' and a conditional change of 'Mary'. The change in possession presupposes the positional change and the conditional change presupposes the possessional change in this case. These three kinds of changes are represented as follows:

- 93. a) Go posit (x, y, z)
- b) GO poss (x, y, z)
- c) GO con (z, u, WITH x)

Logically, a positional change (93a) does not necessarily entail a possessional change (93b). This is clear from the fact that (94) does not express any change in possession.

94. John went to the classroom.

Moreover, a change in possession need not entail a change in position, as is clear from (95).

95. John's property went to his eldest son.

However, a change in possession as represented in (93b) always entails a change in condition (93c). When some entity goes into the possession of some person, the person necessarily goes into the condition of possessing it. On the other hand, a conditional change (93c) does not necessarily presuppose a change in possession (93b). One can make somebody possess something without giving it to him, as in (96).

96. John made Mary make a toy for herself.

In other words, (93b) is a subset of (93c).

97. GO poss (x. y. z)  $\subset$  GO con (z, u, WITH x)

Our assumption is that a language may reflect this 'logical inclusion relation' and that Dative-shift is a reflection of the ambiguity of a change in possession. We consider that the alternative syntactic forms shown by the Dative-shift verbs correspond to the thematic role structures (93b) and (93c) as exemplified in (98).

98. a) John gave a book to Mary.  
 a') CAUSE (JOHN, GO poss (A BOOK, JOHN, MARY))  
 b) John gave Mary a book.  
 b') CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (MARY, u, WITH A BOOK))
99. a) John-i Chŏlsu-ege chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 John-nom Cholsu-dat book-acc give-past  
 'John gave a book to Cholsu.'  
 a') CAUSE (JOHN, GO poss (BOOK, JOHN, CHOLSU))  
 b) John-i Chŏlsu-lil chaeg-il ju-ŏssda  
 John-nom Cholsu-acc book-acc give-past  
 'John gave Cholsu a book.'  
 b') CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (CHOLSU, u, WITH BOOK))

First, our assumption that the thematic role structures of the Dative-shift in English and Korean alternate between a possessional one and a conditional one, is compatible with the animacy constraint on the Dative-shift.

100. a) John brought the piano to New York.  
 b)\* John brought New York the piano.
101. a) John brought the piano to Bill.  
 b) John brought Bill the piano.



102. a) John-i seoul-e pyŏn<sup>h</sup>ji-l<sup>h</sup>l bonae-ŏssda  
 John-nom Seoul-dat letter-acc send-past  
 'John sent a letter to Seoul.'
- b)\* John-i seoul-l<sup>h</sup>l pyŏn<sup>h</sup>ji-l<sup>h</sup>l bonae-ŏssda  
 John-nom Seoul-acc letter-acc send-past  
 'John sent Seoul a letter.'
103. a) John-i Chŏlsu-ege pyŏn<sup>h</sup>ji-l<sup>h</sup>l bonae-ŏssda  
 John-nom Cholsu-dat letter-acc send-past  
 'John sent a letter to Cholsu.'
- b) John-i Chŏlsu-l<sup>h</sup>l pyŏn<sup>h</sup>ji-l<sup>h</sup>l bonae-ŏssda  
 John-nom Cholsu-acc letter-acc send-past  
 'John sent Cholsu a letter.'

As already pointed out, a positional change does not necessarily entail a possessional change. In order for a positional change to entail a possessional change, the Goal has to be an entity which is capable of 'possessing', i.e., it has to be animate, typically human. This is why (100b) and (102b) are ungrammatical. Sentence (101a) allows two interpretations as represented in (104).

104. a) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE PIANO, y, BILL))  
 b) CAUSE (JOHN, GO poss (THE PIANO, JOHN, BILL))

The first representation means that John brought the piano to the presence of Bill. In this interpretation 'Bill' is only a locative Goal. Dative-shift is possible only in the interpretation (104b).

The second set of data our semantics can account for is sentences in which Dative-shift is 'obligatory'.

105. a)\* Mary gave an inferiority complex to John.

b) Mary gave John an inferiority complex.

106. a)\* Mary gave a broken arm to John.

b) Mary gave John a broken arm.

107. a)\* Mary gave a pain in the neck to John.

b) Mary gave John a pain in the neck.

Green (1974) points out that when give means 'provide with' as opposed to 'present as a gift', the indirect object is restricted to a prepositionless form, and the action in many cases can be conceived of as non-volitional. Give in (108) is interpreted in the 'provide with' sense and non-volitional. Give in (108) is interpreted in the 'provide with' sense and non-volitional. When give has this sense, it may have an abstract subject as in (109). On the other hand, give in (110) is interpreted only in the 'present as a gift' sense. Give with this meaning cannot have an abstract subject.

108. a) Mary gave John an idea.

b) Mary gave John the clue to the Sphinx's riddle.

109. a) Mary's behaviour gave John an idea.

b) Mary's behaviour gave John the clue to the Sphinx's riddle.

110. a) Mary gave an idea to John.

b) Mary gave the clue to the Sphinx's riddle to John.

111. a)\* Mary's behaviour gave an idea to John.

b)\* Mary's behaviour gave the clue to the Sphinx's riddle to John.

A similar problem arises in the following sentences.

112. a) Greta showed Sam the meaning of true love.

b) Greta showed the meaning of true love to Sam.

113. a) The accident showed Sam the meaning of true love.  
       b)\* The accident showed the meaning of true love to Sam.
114. a) Several mistakes taught John the secrets of Chinese cooking.  
       b)\* Several mistakes taught the secrets of Chinese cooking to John.

Sentence (112a) is about the effect on Sam of some behaviour of Greta, while (112b) reports that Greta pointed out to him some linguistic or philological description for the purpose of having him take it in. Therefore, the subject of (112a) can be replaced by an abstract NP, as in (113a), while it is impossible in (112b).

We assumed that Dative-shift involves an alternation between the semantic structures (93b) and (93c). Note that (93a) and (93b) are both about the movement of 'x' to 'z' whether the movement is concrete or not, while (93c) does not express any movement of 'x'. It follows that the most essential function of Dative-shift is to defocalize, or 'abstract', the meaning of movement.

Sentences (105b), (106b) and (107b) do not express any movement, concrete or abstract, of 'x'. For instance, the situation denoted by (106b) does not include the movement of 'a broken arm' from 'Mary' to 'John'. In (106b) 'Mary' is not the Source of a change in possession, and 'John' is not the Goal of a possessional change. What (106b) expresses is that 'Mary caused John to have a broken arm'. In such a case, the prepositional construction, like (106a), which focalizes a possessional change or movement of an entity to a Goal cannot be used. The so-called 'obligatoriness' of Dative-shift in (105-107) is a reflection of the logical inclusion relation that (93b) necessarily entails (93c) but not the other way round.

The data presented in (108-111) can be explained along the same lines. The thematic relations of (108a) and (110a) are represented as follows:

- 110a. Mary gave an idea to John.  
CAUSE (MARY, GO poss (AN IDEA, MARY, JOHN))
- 108a. Mary gave John an idea.  
CAUSE (MARY, GO con (JOHN, u, WITH AN IDEA))

Give in (108a) is, as Green pointed out, ambiguous between 'present as a gift' and 'provide with', while give in (110a) is conceived of as having only the 'present as a gift' sense. This means that the conditional change of John expressed in (108a) may or may not presuppose the possessional change of an idea from Mary to John. This again is quite compatible with our assumption. Logically, (93b) always entails (93c), while (93c) may or may not presuppose (93b). Give in (105b), (106b), (107b), (108) and (109) seems to be semantically almost equivalent to give as a 'causative verb' as in (115).

115. They gave me to understand that you would be there.  
Give as a causative verb does not necessarily mean the action is volitional. Sentence (115) is most likely to be interpreted as 'they were responsible for the fact that I understood that you would be there'. Sentence (115) also does not report that any change in possession took place. The thematic relations of (115) are represented as in (116), which is basically compatible with (39c).

116. CAUSE (THEY, GO con (I, u, UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU WOULD BE THERE))  
The same explanation is applicable to (112-114). The prepositional constructions always express volitional action to cause a possessional change of an entity to a Goal while the prepositionless constructions

do not necessarily do so. When it is impossible to presuppose a possessional movement of an entity to a Goal, then a prepositional construction is impossible.

The third question we have to answer is why with some verbs in English and Korean Dative-shift is impossible.

117. a) John explained the story to Bill.

b)\* John explained Bill the story.

118. a) John said these words to Bill.

b)\* John said Bill these words.

119. a) John transferred some stock to Bill.

b)\* John transferred Bill some stock.

120. a) nae-ga yŏngŏ munjang-il John-ege sŏlmyŏngha-ŏssda

I-nom English sentence-acc John-dat explain-past

'I explained an English sentence to John.'

b)\* nae-ga yŏngŏ munjang-il John-il sŏlmyŏngha-ŏssda

I-nom English sentence-acc John-acc explain-past

'I explained John an English sentence.'

121. a) nae-ga igŏs-il John-ege malha-ŏssda

I-nom this-acc John-dat say-past

'I said this to John.'

b)\* nae-ga igŏs-il John-il malha-ŏssda

I-nom this-acc John-acc say-past

'I said John this.'

We have regarded Dative-shift as crucially involving a change of condition. Sentences (117a), (118a), (120a) and (121a) - because of the nature of the actions in question - cannot be conceived of (or

are not normally conceived of) as changing the condition of the Goal.

Gruber said as follows:

Tell indicates that what is told is subsequently heard whereas for say it is possible not to be understood. Thus one can say something to a wall, but one will never succeed in telling it to anything. (Gruber 1976:127)

Transfer in (119) does not necessarily report a positional change of some stock to Bill. The change expressed in (119a) is surely possessional. Thus our semantics cannot reject (119b). However, the meanings of verbs are changing all the time and verbs formerly not used for Dative-shift may come to be so used. We can quite imagine that (119b) might become acceptable. Indeed, perhaps it already is for some speakers. The Korean verb semantically similar to transfer in (119) allows the double-accusative construction.

122. a)    nae-ga    John-ege    jaesan-il    nŏmgi-ŏssda  
           I-nom    John-dat    property-acc    transfer-past  
           'I transferred my property to John.'
- b)    nae-ga    John-il    jaesan-il    nŏmgi-ŏssda  
           I-nom    John-acc    property-acc    transfer-past  
           'I transferred John my property.'

Sentence (118b), on the other hand, is not needed, since we already have an appropriate way of saying it, using tell.

The last question is why Dative-shift in English and double-accusativization in Korean are blocked in the 'goal-oriented' constructions such as (122) and (123).

122. a)    John stole a book from Mary.  
           b)\*    John stole Mary a book.

123. a)    nae-ga    John-~~ii~~/eges<sup>ŏ</sup>    don-~~il~~    ppaeas-<sup>ŏ</sup>ssda  
           I-nom    John-gen/abl    money-acc    take-away-past  
           'I took away money from John.'
- b)\*    nae-ga    John-~~il~~    don-~~il~~    ppaes-<sup>ŏ</sup>ssda  
           I-nom    John-acc    money-acc    take-away-past  
           'I took away John money.'

Ikegami (1981, 1982) pointed out that, although the source and the goal are on an equal footing from a logical point of view, the realization of the source tends to be more marked than that of the goal in language. The markedness of Source is exemplified in (124) and (125).

124. a)    John was/went there.  
           b)    John came from there.
125. a)    Run [to] behind the wall.  
           b)    Run from behind the wall.

In (125a), behind the wall can be Locative or Goal without any marker, whereas behind the wall in (125b) must have from to be interpreted as Source. The reason for the markedness of Source is obvious from a functional viewpoint. The actual temporal flow where a transfer takes place is always from Source to Goal. It would be plausible, then, to assume that the linguistic expression of transfer or change is strongly constrained so that it reflects this natural information flow. Because of this constraint, an expression for a change is interpreted as a Source-Goal pattern unless it is overtly marked for the reverse interpretation. A Goal-oriented construction, which goes against this flow, tends to require an overt marker for Source. For this reason, Mary in John stole Mary a book is interpreted as a Goal, and the sentence cannot mean John stole a book from Mary.

In this chapter we have argued that the Dative-shift rules in English and Korean are semantic processes. Our semantic analysis provides a satisfactory explanation of the properties of Dative-shifts in English and Korean which cannot be properly accounted for in the discourse analyses of Dative-shift proposed by Givon and Erteschik-Shir. Our analysis does not preclude discourse approaches to Dative-shift. In Korean and Japanese, the purely pragmatic word-order variation and the change in case-marking, which is semantically motivated, are kept apart.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### DOUBLE-NOMINATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN JAPANESE AND KOREAN

#### 1. The Double-nominative Construction in Japanese

##### 1.1 The Topic-comment Pattern and the Double-nominative Construction

It is often claimed that Japanese is a language in which the topic-comment pattern is predominant. The topic-comment pattern is realized as 'NP-wa + predicate' in Japanese. The NP with wa (topic marker) is not necessarily a grammatical subject. The topic marker wa can replace various case markers as follows:

1. a) John-ga Mary-ni kono hon-o age-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat this book-acc give-past  
           'John gave this book to Mary.'
- b) John-wa Mary-ni kono hon-o age-ta  
           'Speaking of John, he gave this book to Mary.'
- c) Mary-(ni)-wa John-ni kono hon-o age-ta  
           'Speaking of Mary, John gave her this book.'
- d) kono hon-wa John-ga Mary-ni age-ta  
           'Speaking of this book, John gave it to Mary.'

The locative case markers, in addition to the nominative, accusative and dative case-markers, can also be replaced by wa.

2. a) Tokyo-ni yujin-ga takusan iru  
           Tokyo-loc friend-nom many be  
           '[I] have many friends in Tokyo.'
- b) Tokyo-(ni)-wa yujin-ga takusan iru  
           'Speaking of Tokyo, [I] have many friends there.'

3. a) kono heya-de tabako-ga sue-nai  
 this room-loc cigarette-nom can-smoke-not  
 'One cannot smoke in this room.'
- b) kono heya-(de)-wa tabako-ga sue-nai  
 'Speaking of this room, one cannot smoke here.'

Mikami (1960) says that the typical Japanese sentence is one which begins with 'NP + wa'. In his work, the following sentences, which have 'NP + wa, NP + ga (nom), pred', are analysed under one label as 'theme (topic)-predicate' sentences.

4. a) kono class-wa dansei-ga yoku dekiru  
 this class-topic male-nom well are-able  
 'Speaking of this class, the boys do well [at studies].'
- b) kono class-wa John-ga yoku dekiru  
 this class-topic John-nom well are-able  
 'Speaking of this class, John does well (at studies).'
5. a) nihon-wa dansei-ga tanmei desu  
 Japan-topic male-nom short-life-span are  
 'As for Japan, the male has a short life span.'
- b) nihon-wa Tokyo-ga sumi-yoi  
 Japan-topic Tokyo-nom easy-to-live-in  
 'As for Japan, Tokyo is comfortable to live in.'
6. a) Tokyo-wa jinko-ga ooi  
 Tokyo-topic population-nom much  
 'Speaking of Tokyo, it has a big population.'
- b) Tokyo-wa watashi-no ototoo-ga iru  
 Tokyo-topic my younger-brother-nom be  
 'Speaking of Tokyo, my younger brother is there.'

Kuroda (1964) and Kuno (1973) hold that the (a) sentences and the (b) sentences in (4-6) are distinct syntactically and semantically. They observe that dansei-ga 'male-nom' in (4a) is ambiguous between two interpretations: the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation and the 'neutral-description' interpretation. In the former interpretation, (4a) means 'Speaking of this class, boys and only boys do well (and the girls do not do well)', while in the latter interpretation it means, 'As for this class the boys do well'. Kuno (1973:64) says that (4a) indicates in its second interpretation that 'in some classes boy do well in their studies, and in some other classes they do poorly, and "this class" can be characterized as a class in which the boys do well. The sentence does not say anything about the girls in the class'. On the other hand, (4b) can only receive the exhaustive-listing interpretation. The same distinction can be drawn in (5). Sentence (5a) is ambiguous between exhaustive-listing and neutral description with regard to dansei-ga 'male-nom', while (5b) can receive only the exhaustive-listing interpretation. Kuno (1973) points out that it is only in the neutral description interpretation that the 'NP + wa, NP + ga, Pred.' pattern can be converted into the double-nominative construction 'NP + ga, NP + ga, Pred.'.

4. a)' kono class-ga dansei-ga yoku dekiru  
           this class-nom male-nom well are-able  
      b)\* kono class-ga John-ga yoku dekiru  
           this class-nom John-nom well is-able

5. a)' nihon-ga dansei-ga tanmei desu  
 Japan-nom male-nom short-life-span are  
 b) '\* nihon-ga Tokyo-ga sumi-yoi  
 Japan-nom Tokyo-nom easy-to-live-in
6. a)' Tokyo-ga jinko-ga ooi  
 Tokyo-nom population-nom much  
 b) '\* Tokyo-ga watashi-no ototo-ga iru  
 Tokyo-nom my younger-brother-nom be

In fact, the second nominative NPs in (4a'), (5a') and (6a') can receive only a neutral-description interpretation. For instance, (4a') means that 'it is this class that the boys do well in'. The 'NP + wa, NP + ga' constructions which cannot be converted into a double-nominative construction, i.e., (4b), (5b) and (6b), are considered to be derived from the following sentences via topicalization of the locative NPs.

7. kono class-de John-ga yoku dekiru  
 this class-loc John-nom well is-able  
 'John does well [at studies] in this class.'
8. nihon-de Tokyo-ga sumi-yoi  
 Japan-loc Tokyo-nom easy-to-live-in  
 'Tokyo is comfortable to live in in Japan.'
9. Tokyo-ni watashi-no ototo-ga iru  
 Tokyo-loc my younger-brother-nom be  
 'My brother is in Tokyo.'

The nominative NPs in (7), (8) and (9) can receive the exhaustive-listing interpretation as in (4b), (5b) and (6b).

The observations by Kuroda and Kuno show that, among 'NP + wa, NP + ga, Pred.' constructions, only those that can have explicitly two nominative NPs, i.e., two NPs followed by -ga, are the double-nominative constructions or so-called double-subject constructions, to use a traditional term.

Kuno considers that the double-nominative constructions (the multiple subject constructions) are derived by a transformation called 'subjectivization'. The double-subject constructions (4a'), (5a') and (6a') are derived from (10a), (10b) and (10c), respectively, making the left-most 'NP-no' (NP + genitive) a new subject of the sentence.

10. a) kono class-no dansei-ga yoku dekiru  
           this class-gen male-nom well are-able  
           'The boys of this class do well.'
- b) nihon-no dansei-ga tanmei desu  
       Japan-gen male-nom short-life-span are  
       'Men in Japan have a short life span.'
- c) Tokyo-no jinko-ga ooi  
       Tokyo-gen population-nom much  
       'Population in Tokyo is big.'

Subjectivization is assumed to be applied, in principle, only to the left-most 'NP-no' (NP + gen). However, Kuno says that some locative NPs can be 'subjectivized'.

11. a) New York-ni koosoo-kenchiku-ga ooi  
           New York-loc high-rise-building-nom are-many  
           'In New York there are many high-rise buildings.'
- b) New York-ga koosoo-kenchiku-ga ooi  
       New York-nom high-rise-building-nom are-many

11. c)\* New York-no      koosoo-kenchiku-ga      ooi  
                  New York-gen      high-rise-building-nom      are-many
12. a) New York-ni      koosoo-kenchiku-ga      takusan      aru  
                  New York-loc      high-rise-building-nom      many      exist  
                  'In New York many high-rise buildings exist.'
- b) New York-ga      koosoo-kenchiku-ga      takusan      aru  
                  New York-nom      high-rise-building-nom      many      exist
- c)\* New York-no      koosoo-kenchiku-ga      takusan      aru  
                  New York-gen      high-rise-building-nom      many      exist

This exceptional subjectivization of the locative 'NP-ni' is restricted to examples involving an existential statement. Kuno assumes that (13b) is ungrammatical since ni in (13a) is a directional particle and the example does not involve an existential statement.

13. a) gakusei-ga      New York-ni      itta  
                  student-nom      New York-loc      (to) went  
                  'The students went to New York.'
- b)\* New York-ga      gakusei-ga      itta  
                  New York-nom      student-nom      went

Kuno's syntactic approach to the double-nominative construction in Japanese is inadequate in two respects. First, it does not provide an account of why some NPs with genitive no cannot be 'subjectivized'.

14. a) zoo-no              hana-ga      nagai  
                  elephant-gen      nose-nom      long  
                  'The nose of an elephant is long.'
- b) zoo-ga              hana-ga      nagai  
                  elephant-nom      nose-nom      long  
                  'The elephant - its nose is long.'

15. a) John-no enpitsu-ga akai

John-gen pencil-nom red

'John's pencil is red.'

b)\* John-ga enpitsu-ga akai

John-nom pencil-nom red

'John - his pencil is red.'

The second point is that it is not the case that all existential sentences can be converted into double-nominative constructions.

11. a) New York-ni koosoo-kenchiku-ga ooi

New York-loc high-rise-building-nom are-many

'In New York there are many high-rise buildings.'

b) New York-ga koosoo-kenchiku-ga ooi

New York-nom high-rise-building-nom are-many

'New York - there are many high-rise buildings there.'

16. a) Tokyo-ni watashi-no ie-ga aru

Tokyo-loc my house-nom exist

'In Tokyo there is my house.'

b)\* Tokyo-ga watashi-no ie-ga aru

Tokyo-nom my house-nom exist

'Tokyo - my house exists there.'

## 1.2 Semantic Analysis of the Double-nominative Construction

Our concern here is to provide a semantic account of the following data.

17. a) Tokyo-ni koosoo-kenchiku-ga takusan aru

Tokyo-loc high-rise-building-nom many exist

'In Tokyo there are many high-rise buildings.'

17. b) Tokyo-ga koosoo-kenchiku-ga takusan aru  
Tokyo-nom high-rise-building-nom many exist
18. a) Tokyo-ni ototoo-ga iru  
Tokyo-loc younger-brother-nom be  
'My younger brother lives in Tokyo.'
- b)\* Tokyo-ga ototoo-ga iru  
Tokyo-nom younger-brother-nom be
19. a) kono heya-ni mado-ga ooi  
this room-loc window-nom many  
'There are many windows in this room.'
- b) kono heya-ga mado-ga ooi  
this room-nom window-nom many
20. a) kono heya-ni hon-ga issatsu aru  
this room-loc book-nom one be  
'There is one book in this room.'
- b)\* kono heya-ga hon-ga issatsu aru  
this room-nom book-nom one be
21. a) John-ni ototoo-ga hitori iru  
John-dat younger-brother one be  
'There is a younger brother to John.'
- b) John-ga ototoo-ga hitori iru (aru)  
John-nom younger-brother one be
22. a) Mary-no me-ga kireida  
Mary-gen eye-nom beautiful  
'Mary's eyes are beautiful.'
- b) Mary-ga me-ga kireida  
Mary-nom eye-nom beautiful



23. a) John-no ude-ga oreta  
 John-gen arm-nom got-broken  
 'John's arm got broken.'
- b) John-ga ude-ga oreta  
 John-nom arm-nom got-broken
24. a) John-no enpitsu-ga akai  
 John-gen pencil-nom red  
 'John's pencil is red.'
- b)\* John-ga enpitsu-ga akai  
 John-nom pencil-nom red
25. a) John-no enpitsu-ga oreta  
 John-gen pencil-nom got-broken  
 'John's pencil got broken.'
- b)\* John-ga enpitsu-ga oreta  
 John-nom pencil-nom got-broken
26. a) John-no otoosan-ga kanemochida  
 John-gen father-nom rich  
 'John's father is rich.'
- b) John-ga otoosan-ga kanemochida  
 John-nom father-nom rich
27. a) John-no otoosan-ga okotta  
 John-gen father-nom got-angry  
 'John's father got angry.'
- b)\* John-ga otoosan-ga okotta  
 John-nom father-nom got-angry

The sentences in (17-27) can be divided into three groups. The sentences in (17-20) are 'positional' sentences, the sentences in (21) are 'possessional', and the sentences in (22-27) are 'conditional' sentences expressing a possessional relation between two NPs.

17-20: Positional sentences

21: Possessional sentences

22-27: Conditional sentences with 'NP-no (gen), NP'.

Kitahara (1984) analyses double-nominative sentences like (22b) and (23b) in terms of the 'whole-part' relation. In (28), which is a familiar example in Japanese grammar, he designates the first NP with ga the 'whole nominative' and the second one, the 'part nominative'.

28. zoo-ga            hana-ga    nagai  
      elephant-nom   nose-nom   long  
      'An elephant - its nose is long.'

He claims that the whole nominative NP zoo-ga does not have any immediate relation with the predicative Adj. nagai. Nagai has an immediate relation with the part-nominative NP hana-ga and the combination of the part-nominative NP and the predicative Adj. as a whole is related to the whole-nominative NP. His analysis can be shown as in (29).

29. zoo-ga    hana-ga    nagai  
      |          |          |  
      └────────┘          |  
                           |  
                           └────────┘

His semantico-syntactic statement above means that the combination of the part-nominative and the predicate functions as a predicate of the whole-nominative NP. In fact, some double-nominative constructions can be paraphrased into single-nominative constructions with a compound predicate in which the part-nominative NP is incorporated.

30. a) John-ga ashi-ga mijikai  
 John-nom leg-nom short  
 'John - his legs are short.'
- b) John-ga tansokuda  
 John-nom short-legged  
 'John is short-legged.'
31. a) Mary-ga iro-ga kuroi  
 Mary-nom colour-nom black  
 'Mary - her colour is dark/Mary has a dark complexion.'
- b) Mary-ga iro-guro-da  
 Mary-nom colour-blackened  
 'Mary is dark-complexioned.'

A similar analysis was proposed by Izui (1970). He calls the double-nominative construction a 'ditopical expression.'

Under the term of "ditopical", I mean a syntactic construction where two subjects in Nominative case (or two topoi) function together in a single sentence, and the first of the two is the major subject and, as the indicator of the general theme of the whole sentence, is generally put at the head of the sentence. The second may be called the minor subject and is in closer connection with the predicate than the major subject is. (Izui 1970:427)

He considers that since the sequence of the second nominative NP and the predicate is, as a whole, the predicate to the first nominative NP, the meaning of the sentence is to be understood as in (32).

32. NP1 is such that NP2...

Sentence (28), in Izui's view, has a meaning something like, 'An elephant is such an animal that its nose is long'.

The analyses by Kitahara and Izui suggest that the double-nominative sentence (28) is a sentence about an attribute or the nature of an elephant, while (33) is about that of the elephant's nose.

33. zoo-no hana-ga nagai  
 elephant-gen nose-nom long  
 'The nose of an elephant is long.'

The semantic structure of (33) and (28) can be represented as in (34) and (35).

34. BE con (THE NOSE OF ELEPHANT, LONG)

35. BE con (AN ELEPHANT, y)  $\longrightarrow$  BE con (AN ELEPHANT, WITH A  
       y = BE con (NOSE, LONG)                      LONG NOSE)

These representations say that the semantic subject of (33) is 'zoo-no hana' ('the nose of an elephant') and is assigned the semantic role Theme, while the semantic subject and the Theme of (28) is 'zoo' ('elephant'). Thus the syntactic alternation between (33) and (28), which was characterized by Kuno as involving a 'subjectivization transformation', is redefined as a syntactic alternation reflecting an alternation of thematic relations. Our primary concern now is whether logical inference based on 'logical inclusion relations' has predictive power in the analysis of the double-nominative construction, as it did in the study of the Dative-shifts of English and Korean. We differentiated three kinds of 'change' as in (36) and assumed that the possibility of Dative-shift in English and Korean reflects the logical inclusion relations holding between (36a), (36b), and (36c).

36. a) GO posit (x, y, z)

b) GO poss (x, y, z)

c) GO con (z, u, WITH x) or GO con (y, u, WITHOUT x)

Similarly we posit this time the three kinds of 'state' in (37a), (37b) and (37c) and hypothesize that the possibility of conversion into the double-nominative construction reflects the logical inclusion relations obtaining among them.

37. a) BE posit (x, y)

b) BE poss (x, y)

c) BE con (y, WITH x)

As we assumed that the double-nominative construction is about an attribute or the identity of the semantic subject realized as the first nominative NP of the sentence, it must be represented by (37c). Therefore, what is relevant here is the logical inclusion relation between (37a) and (37c) and between (37b) and (37c). Obviously, (37b) always entails (37c). When an entity 'x' is in possession of 'y', 'y' is necessarily in a condition of possessiong 'x'. However, (37a) does not necessarily entail either (37b) or (37c). For instance, it is hard to suppose that either the 'station' or the 'department store' undergoes any change in condition in consequence of the positional change of 'John' in (38).

38. John went to the station from the department store.

Similarly, it is also hard in a normal situation to support that in (39) 'John's location in the department store' gives some property or condition to the department store.

39. John is in the department store.

In order for (36a) and (37a) to entail (36c) and (37c), respectively, there must be an extra condition. In the case of Dative-shift, this extra condition is the ambivalence of verbs. Alternation of the thematic relations from (36a) to (36c) is blocked unless the verb contains in its semantic content the Goal or the Source of a conditional change.

40. a) John put a book on the table.

CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (A BOOK, y, ON THE TABLE))

b)\* John put the table with a book.

41. a) John drained the water from the pool.  
       CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE WATER, THE POOL, z))
- b) John drained the pool of the water.  
       CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (THE POOL, u, EMPTY OF THE WATER)).

The verb drain, unlike put, contains in its semantic content the Goal of a conditional change which can be represented as something like 'EMPTY OF x'. This ambivalence of drain, as an extra condition, facilitates the entailment of (36c) from (36a).

Let us consider the possessional sentence (21a). As already pointed out, (37b) necessarily entails (37c). A state expressed by (37b) is the abstract location of 'x'. In other words, (37b) expresses 'where x is'. In this sense (37b) is closely related to the positional location of 'x' expressed in (37a). Our assumption is that the syntactic forms (21a) and (21b) correspond to (37b) and (37c), respectively. The assumption that (21a) corresponds to (37b) is reinforced by the fact that the same verb and the same case markers are used both in the positional sentence (20a) and in (21a). Sentence (20a) is about the concrete location of 'hon' ('book'), marked by the nominative postposition, in 'heya' ('room') marked by the dative-locative postposition ni. Similarly, (21a) is semantically about the abstract location of 'ototo' ('younger brother'), marked by ga, in relation to 'John', marked by ni. Thus the semantic structure of (21a) can be represented as in (42).

42. BE poss (A YOUNGER BROTHER, JOHN)

The double-nominative sentence (21b) is semantically about 'John' which constitutes the subject of the whole sentence, i.e., the semantic subject. The thematic relations expressed in (21b) may be represented as follows:

## 43. BE con (JOHN, WITH A YOUNGER BROTHER)

Our analysis predicts that every possessional sentence like (21a) can be converted into a double-nominative sentence since (37b) necessarily entails (37c). This prediction seems to be correct. I cannot find any exception to the syntactic alternation between a possessional sentence with the 'NP + ni, NP + ga' pattern and a double-nominative sentence.

44. a) John-ni okane-ga takusan aru

John-dat money-nom a lot be

'There is a lot of money to John.'

b) BE poss (A LOT OF MONEY, JOHN)

45. a) John-ga okane-ga takusan aru

John-nom money-nom a lot be

b) BE con (JOHN, WITH A LOT OF MONEY)

The analysis proposed above incorporates the claim that the double-nominativization of a possessional sentence is a comparable process to that of Dative-shift in English and Korean: the former applying to static situations and the latter to dynamic situations.

We now turn to the positional sentences in (17-22). The positional existence of 'x' in 'y' does not necessarily entail that 'y' is in a specific condition owing to the existence of 'x'. It follows that the conversion of a positional sentence into a double-nominative sentence tends to be blocked. Our assumption is that (37a) entails (37c) only when it is easily recognized that the existence of 'x' in 'y', because of the nature of 'x', attributes some property or condition to 'y'. Compare (17) and (18). The existence of a lot of high-rise buildings in it can easily be recognized as a property of a city.

Sentence (17b) means that 'Tokyo is such a city that there are a lot of high-rise buildings in it'. The thematic relations expressed in (17b) can be represented as follows:

46. BE con (TOKYO, WITH A LOT OF HIGH-RISE BUILDINGS)

On the other hand, the existence of someone's brother in it is hardly recognized as a property of a city. In English one can say (47a), but not (47b).

47. a) Tokyo has a lot of high-rise buildings.

b)\* Tokyo has John's brother.

The same explanation is applicable to (19) and (20).

48. a) This room has many windows.

b)\* This room has one book.

The possibility of converting an existential sentence into a double-nominative sentence seems to be closely connected to the notion of 'inalienability', which plays an important role in the third group. Compare (20) and (49).

49. a) kono heya-ni mado-ga hitotsu aru  
           this room-loc window-nom one be  
           'There is one window in this room.'

b) kono heya-ga mado-ga hitotsu aru  
       this room-nom window-nom one be

Notice, too, that the English sentence (50) seems acceptable, unlike (48b).

50. This room has one window.

What makes (49b) acceptable, in contrast to (20b), is that a window is in an inalienable relation to a room, whereas a book is not. Admittedly there is no clear-cut distinction between 'alienable' and 'inalienable'. The crucial thing is that the existence of a window



in a room attributes a property to the room, whereas the existence of a book does not. A window and a book differ in kind, or in quality. Comparison of the unacceptable (20b) with the acceptable (51) suggests that quantity may compensate for quality - i.e., while the presence of one book in a room does not attribute a property to the room, the presence of many books does.

51. kono heya-ga hon-ga takusan aru  
       this room-nom book-nom many be  
       'This room - there are many books there.'

We turn now to the third group. Generally, the condition or property of an entity possessed by or related to someone does not necessarily attribute a property to the possessor. Also, it is not the case that when the entity possessed by or related to someone is affected, the possessor is necessarily affected. The semantic structures of (24a) and (25a) are represented as (52) and (53) respectively.

52. BE con (JOHN'S PENCIL, RED)  
       53. GO con (JOHN'S PENCIL, y, BROKEN)

The semantic representations (52) and (53) do not necessarily entail any specific condition or change in condition of 'John'. It is not natural to say that 'John is such a person whose pencil is red', or 'John is such a person whose pencil was broken'. However, if the possessive relation between two entities is inalienable, the condition or a change in condition of the part necessarily entails a condition or a change in condition of the whole. There is a necessary entailment between (a) and (b) in (54) and (55), which are the semantic representations for (22) and (23), respectively.

54. a) BE con (MARY'S EYES, BEAUTIFUL)  
       b) BE con (MARY, WITH BEAUTIFUL EYES)
55. a) GO con (JOHN'S ARM, y, BROKEN)  
       b) GO con (JOHN, u, WITH A BROKEN ARM)

As pointed out above, the double-nominative construction is allowed when the two entities are in such a relation that a property of one entity attributes a specific property or condition to the other. Compare (26b) and (56).

- 56.\* John-ga      ringin-ga      kanemochida  
       John-nom    neighbour-nom    the rich

Having a rich father involves being a particular condition but having a rich neighbour does not. Similarly, a sentence expressing a temporary condition cannot be converted into a double-nominative sentence - see (27). One cannot say that 'John is such a person whose father got angry'.

The discussion so far shows that the double-nominative construction is allowed only when the condition or change of condition of an NP entails a specific property or change of condition of the subject NP of the sentence.

### 1.3 Syntactic Description

The discussion in the previous section suggests that the second nominative NP plus the predicate functions as a predicate of the first nominative NP. Therefore, the syntactic structure of the double-nominative construction is (57).

57. [NP ga] [[NP ga] [Pred]]

Our concern in this section is to decide on a syntactic label for the combination of the second nominative NP and the predicate in (57). There are two plausible candidates: one is to consider the combination as an embedded sentence, and the other is to regard it as a compound predicate.

58. a) [S [NP ga] [S [NP ga] [V/Adj]]]  
 b) [S [NP ga] [V/Adj [NP ga] [V/Adj]]]

Teramura (1982) points out that in Japanese there are two kinds of 'NP + Pred' combination: one is a combination which is so idiomatic as to function as a compound predicate, and the other is one in which the relation between the NP and the predicate is not idiomatized. The two types are exemplified in (59) and (60).

59. Idiomatic

- a) hara-ga tatsu (get angry)  
 belly-nom stand  
 b) ki-ni iru (be pleased with)  
 mind-dat enter

60. Non-idiomatic

- a) hana-ga nagai (the nose is long)  
 nose-nom long  
 b) me-ga kirei (eyes are beautiful)  
 eye-nom beautiful

These 'NP + Pred' combinations can function as a predicate of a sentence, as in (61a) and (61b).

61. a) John-ga hara-ga tatta  
 John-nom belly-nom stood  
 'John got angry.'

61. b) John-ga me-ga kireida  
 John-nom eye-nom beautiful  
 'John - his eyes are beautiful.'

The distinction between (61a) and (61b) is demonstrated by syntactic tests. The first test is whether one can ask a question like 'NP-ga dooda?' (How is NP?) or 'NP-ga dooshita?' (What happened to NP?)

62. a)?? hara-ga dooshita? ——— tatta  
 belly-nom stood  
 'What happened to belly?' 'It stood.'
- b) hana-ga dooda ——— nagai  
 nose-nom long  
 'How is the nose?' 'It is long.'

The second test is to see whether the transformation from 'NP - Pred' into 'Adj - NP' is possible.

63. a) hara-ga tatsu ——— \*tatsu hara  
 belly-nom stand standing belly  
 'get angry'
- b) ki-ni iru ——— \*iru ki  
 mind-dat enter entering mind  
 'be pleased with'
- c) hana-ga nagai ——— nagai hana  
 nose-nom long long nose  
 'The nose is long.' 'A long nose'
- d) me-ga kirei kireina me  
 eye-nom beautiful beautiful eye  
 'Eyes are beautiful.' 'Beautiful eyes'

The results of these tests suggest that the syntactic structure of the double-nominative construction in Japanese is (58a) except for the case in which an idiomatic expression like (59a) is used, as in (61a). Further important evidence for choosing (58a) is the fact that when the combination is not idiomatic, a construction with more than two nominative NPs is possible, as in (64).

64. Mary-ga    me-ga    hitomi-ga    iro-ga    kireida  
      Mary-nom   eye-nom   pupil-nom   colour-nom   beautiful  
      'Mary - her eyes - their pupils - their colour is beautiful.'

We may conclude that the double-nominative construction in Japanese has a syntactic structure like (65).

65. [S1 [NP ga] [S2 [NP ga] ... [Sn [NP ga] [Adj/V]]]]

#### 1.4 Conclusion of 1

The foregoing discussion clarifies the following points.

1. The syntactic alternation between 'NP-ni, NP-ga, Pred' or 'NP-no, NP-ga, Pred' and the double-nominative construction involves an alternation of the semantic structure.
  - a) BE posit (x, y)  $\longrightarrow$  a'. BE con (y, WITH x)
  - b) BE poss (x, y)  $\longrightarrow$  b'. BE con (y, WITH x)
  - c) BE con (x's, z, y)  $\longrightarrow$  c'. BE con (x, u)

(u = BE con (z, y))
2. The possibilities of conversion into a double-nominative construction reflect the logical inclusion relations holding between (a) and (a'), (b) and (b'), and (c) and (c').  
 Formula (b) necessarily entails (b'). This is reflected in the fact that every possessional sentence with the

'NP-ni, NP-ga' pattern can be converted, without exception, into a double-nominative sentence. This process is comparable to the Dative-shifts of English and Korean. Formulae (a) and (c) do not necessarily entail (a') and (c') respectively. Therefore, a sentence with semantic structures (a) and (c) can be converted into a double-nominative sentence only when the condition or change of condition denoted by the combination of an NP and predicate, assisted by an extra condition, can attribute some property or condition to the subject NP of the sentence. This extra condition is either an inalienable relation between 'x' and 'y', or 'largeness in quantity of "x"' in the alternation between (a) and (a'). Formula (c) can entail (c') only if 'x' and 'z' are in an inalienable relation, or in a relation which is normally regarded as being inalienable.

3. The syntactic structure of the double-nominative sentence is as follows:

[S1 [NP ga] [S2 [NP ga] ... [Sn [NP ga] [Adj/V]]]]

## 2. Double-nominative Constructions in Korean

Korean has the same types of double-nominative construction as Japanese.

66. a) Seoul-e gochŏng-gŏnmul-i manta  
 Seoul-loc high-rise-building-nom are-many  
 'In Seoul there are many high-rise buildings.'
- b) Seoul-i gochŏng-gŏnmul-i manta  
 Seoul-nom high-rise-building are many  
 'Seoul - many high-rise buildings are there.'

67. a) Seoul-e dongseng-i issda  
 Seoul-loc younger-brother-nom is  
 'My younger brother lives in Seoul.'
- b)\* Seoul-i dongseng-i issda  
 Seoul-nom younger-brother-nom is  
 'Seoul - my younger brother lives there.'
68. a) i bang-e changmun-i manta  
 this room-loc window-nom are-many  
 'There are many windows in this room.'
- b) i bang-i changmun-i manta  
 this room-nom window-nom are-many  
 'This room - many windows are there.'
69. a) i bang-e chaeg-i hangwon issda  
 this room-loc book-nom one is  
 'There is one book in this room.'
- b)\* i bang-i chaeg-i hangwon issda  
 this room-nom book-nom one is  
 'This room - one book is there.'
70. a) John-ege dongseng-i hana issda  
 John-dat younger-brother one is  
 'There is one younger brother to John.'
- b) John-i dongseng-i hana issda  
 John-nom younger-brother one is  
 'John - there is one younger brother to him.'
71. a) Mary-~~ii~~ nun-i gopda  
 Mary-gen eye-nom beautiful  
 'Mary's eyes are beautiful.'

71. b) Mary-ga nun-i gopda  
 Mary-nom eye-nom beautiful  
 'Mary - her eyes are beautiful.'
72. a) John-ii pal-i bur<sup>o</sup>-ji-<sup>o</sup>ssda  
 John-gen arm-nom got-broken  
 'John's arm got broken.'
- b) John-i pal-i bur<sup>o</sup>-ji-<sup>o</sup>ssda  
 John-nom arm-nom got-broken  
 'John-his arm got broken.'
73. a) John-ii y<sup>o</sup>npil-i bulgda  
 John-gen pencil-nom red  
 'John's pencil is read.'
- b)\* John-i y<sup>o</sup>npil-i bulgda  
 John-nom pencil-nom red  
 'John - his pencil is red.'
74. a) John-ii y<sup>o</sup>npil-i kk<sup>o</sup>kk-gi-<sup>o</sup>ssda  
 John-gen pencil-nom got-broken  
 'John's pencil got broken.'
- b)\* John-i y<sup>o</sup>npil-i kk<sup>o</sup>kk-gi-<sup>o</sup>ssda  
 John-nom pencil-nom got-br<sup>o</sup>ken  
 'John - his pencil got broken.'
75. a) John-ii ab<sup>o</sup>ji-ga buja-ida  
 John-gen father-nom the-rich  
 'John's father is rich.'
- b) John-i ab<sup>o</sup>ji-ga buja-ida  
 John-nom father-nom the rich  
 'John - his father is rich.'



The positional sentences (66a), (67a), (68a) and (69a) have the semantic structure represented as 'BE posit (x, y)'. The existence of 'x' in 'y' does not necessarily attribute a property or a specific condition to 'y'. The existence of 'x' can give a property to 'y' only when it is in an inalienable relation to 'y', or large in quantity. Sentences (67a) and (69a) which satisfy neither of the two conditions cannot be converted into a double-nominative construction. It is also the case in Korean, as in Japanese, that a possessional sentence with the 'NP-dat, NP-nom' pattern can be converted into a double-nominative construction without exception. This is considered as a reflection of the fact that 'BE poss (x, y)' necessarily entails 'BE con (y, with x)'. A semantic structure represented as 'BE con (x's z, y)' can attribute a property to 'y' in the case in which 'z' is in an inalienable relation to 'x'. Sentences (73b) and (74b) which do not satisfy this condition are not acceptable. Double-nominitivization is also allowed when 'z' is in a relation with 'x' which is socially regarded as being inalienable, as in (75).

A multiple-nominative construction is also possible in Korean.

76. Mary-ga nun-i nundongja-ga saeg-i gopda

Mary-nom eye-nom pupil-nom colour-nom beautiful

'Mary - her eyes - their pupils - their colour is beautiful.'

This suggests that the Korean double- or multiple-nominative construction should be given a syntactic analysis parallel to 65.

The foregoing discussion shows that the double-nominative constructions in (66-75) are syntactically and semantically identical with Japanese double-nominative constructions.

## 2.1 Some Differences between Korean and Japanese

Korean has another type of double-nominative construction which is lacking in Japanese.

### Korean

77. John-i      sŏnseng-i      doe-ŏssda  
      John-nom   teacher-nom   become-past  
      'John became a teacher.'

### Japanese

78. a) John-ga      sensei-ni      natta  
      John-nom   teacher-dat   became  
      'John became a teacher.'
- a')\* John-ga      sensei-ga      natta  
      John-nom   teacher-nom   became

The double-nominative construction in (77) is syntactically different from those in (66-75) in two respects. First, the double-nominative constructions in (66-75), which are assumed to have syntactic structure (79), allow a multiple-nominative construction in which subsequent NPs further specify the immediately preceding NP.

79. [S1 [NP nom] [S2 [NP nom] ... [Sn [NP nom] [Adj/V]]]]

However, sentences in (77) do not allow this kind of syntactic expansion. Second, they differ in relation to the omissibility of the nominative postposition. In the first type of double-nominative construction the first nominative postposition is omissible while, in the second type, the second nominative marker is omissible.

80. a) Mary-ga      nun-i      gopda      (71b)  
      Mary-nom   eye-nom   beautiful  
      'Mary - her eyes are beautiful.'

80. b) Mary nun-i gopda  
 c)\* Mary-ga nun gopda
81. a) John-i sŏnseng-i doe-ŏssda (77)  
 John-nom teacher-nom become-past  
 'John became a teacher.'
- b)\* John sŏnseng-i doe-ŏssda  
 c) John-i sŏnseng doe-ŏssda

I will call the former the 'A-type' and the latter the 'B-type'.

We shall come back to this issue in more detail later.

## 2.2 Japanese 'naru' and Korean 'doe'

Japanese naru and Korean doe, like become in English, are the typical verbs for designating a change of condition in the two languages. The two verbs show different syntactic behaviour. First, as already indicated, Korean doe can have the double-nominative construction, while Japanese naru can only have the 'nominative-dative' pattern.

### Japanese

82. a) kisetsu-ga haru-ni natta  
 season-nom spring-dat became  
 'The season became spring.'
- b) doo-ga kin-ni natta  
 copper-nom gold-dat became  
 'The copper became gold.'
- c) mizu-ga koori-ni natta  
 water-nom ice-dat became  
 'The water became ice:.'

Korean

83. a) gaejŏl-i bom-i doe-ŏssda  
 season-nom spring-nom become-past  
 'The season became spring.'
- b) dong-i gim-i doe-ŏssda  
 copper-nom gold-nom become-past  
 'The copper became gold.'
- c) mul-i ŏlim-i doe-ŏssda  
 water-nom ice-nom become-past  
 'The water became ice.'

Second, naru cannot be used as a 1-place predicate, while doe can.

Japanese

84. a) haru-ni natta  
 spring-dat became  
 'It became spring.'
- b)\* kin-ni natta  
 gold-dat became
- c)\* koori-ni natta  
 ice-dat became

Korean

85. a) bom-i doe-ŏssda  
 spring-nom become-past  
 'Spring has come.'
- b) gim-i doe-ŏssda  
 gold-nom become-past  
 'Gold was made.'

85. c) ŏlīm-i      doe-ŏssda  
          ice-nom    become-past  
          'Ice was made.'
- d) siksa-junbi-ga      doe-ŏssda  
          meal-preparation-nom    become-past  
          'Preparation for a meal was made.'

The Japanese sentence (84a) is often used as an idiomatic expression without a nominative NP. However, it is still interpreted as meaning that 'something came to the state of spring'. It follows that Japanese naru is a 2-place predicate which obligatorily requires a nominative NP and a dative NP. The dative postposition ni is also typically used as a locative or goal marker, as in (86).

86. John-ga      gakko-ni      itta  
      John-nom    school-dat    went  
      'John went to school.'

Therefore, the thematic relations of a sentence with naru are represented as 'GO (x, y, z)'. The semantic structure of (82a), for instance, is represented as (87).

87. GO con (SEASON, y, SPRING)

On the other hand, the data in (85) indicate that Korean doe is a 1-place predicate. One might suppose that doe is a 2-place predicate, claiming that (85a), (85b) and (85c) are obtained by deleting the first nominative NP of (83a), (83b) and (83c). However, this claim does not hold, since sentence (85d) has no possibility to have another nominative NP. The meaning of doe seems to be paraphrasable as something like 'is completed or comes to exist', and the semantic structure of sentences containing doe can be represented as 'GO con (x, y, EXIST)'. The semantic

structures of (85a), (85b), (85c) and (85d) are represented as in (88) respectively.

88. a) GO con (SPRING, y, EXIST)  
 b) GO con (GOLD, y, EXIST)  
 c) GO con (ICE, y, EXIST)  
 d) GO con (PREPARATION FOR MEAL, y, EXIST) .

Note that haru ('spring') in the Japanese sentence (84a) expresses a temporal state of the season. The season changes from winter to spring and from spring to summer. Sentence (84a) can be paraphrased as 'the season came to the state of spring'. However, bom ('spring') in (85a) does not denote a temporal state which the season comes into and goes out of. The verb doe in (85a) does not require 'season' as an argument. What is denoted by bom in (85a) is considered to be an independent or self-completing 'state of affairs'. Sentence (85a) is, then, paraphrased as 'The state of affairs of spring came to exist or started existing'.

Ikegami (1981) points out that there are three possibilities for a language to express a change. The first possibility is to extract an entity 'X' which is considered to keep its identity throughout a change. Thus, the change is analysed as a change of 'X' from '-Y' to '+Y' which is formalized by Ikegami as in (89)

$$89. -Y \xrightarrow{X} +Y \text{ (X GO FROM -Y TO +Y)}$$

The second possibility is that, although an entity 'X' is assumed to keep its identity, the change is not a change of 'X' to '+Y', but a change of a state of 'X is (in) -Y' to 'X is (in) +Y', as represented below:

$$90. \begin{array}{c} X \\ -X \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} X \\ +Y \end{array} \left( \begin{array}{c} X \\ \text{WITHOUT} \\ Y \end{array} \right) \text{ GO TO } \begin{array}{c} X \\ \text{WITH} \\ Y \end{array} ; \text{ FROM } \begin{array}{c} X \\ \text{WITHOUT} \\ Y \end{array} \text{ COME } \begin{array}{c} X \\ \text{WITH} \\ Y \end{array} \right)$$

The third possibility is not to posit an entity which keeps its identity through the change, but to understand the change as a change of '-Y' to '+Y'.

$$91. -Y \longrightarrow +Y \quad (-Y \text{ GO TO } +Y; \text{ FROM } -Y \text{ COME } +Y)$$

He argues that a positional change is typically represented as in (89). 'John' in 'John went to the station from his house' keeps his identity throughout his movement from 'his house' to 'the station'. He also points out that a change in possession can be understood either as (89) or (90). We have already pointed out in the previous chapter that the Dative-shift in English and Korean involves a semantic alternation between (89) and (90). Ikegami says that a change in condition is typically represented as in (91). To posit an entity which keeps its identity is not very significant in analysing the meanings of the following sentences.

92. a) Spring became summer.  
 b) Copper became gold.  
 c) The pumpkin turned into a handsome young man.

What is important is that Japanese expresses a conditional change, which is logically more appropriately expressed by (91), by analogy with a positional change, which is best represented by (89). The semantic structures of (82a), (82b) and (82c) are represented as (93a), (93b) and (93c), respectively.

93. a) GO con (SEASON, y, SPRING)  
 b) GO con (COPPER, y, GOLD)  
 c) GO con (WATER, y, ICE)

It seems to be very important in the contrastive study of the two languages to recognize that their most typical verbs for a change of condition drastically differ from each other in their way of expressing a change. It is worthwhile noting that in Old Japanese the verb naru had two meanings: one is that 'what did not exist comes to exist', and the other is that 'something changes into another thing'. These two meanings are exemplified in (94a) and (94b), respectively, which are quoted from Nihon-shoki, a Japanese classic written in AD 720.

94. a) oya nashini nanji nare-kem-eya  
parent without thou had-be-born-interrog  
'Would you have been born without parents?'

b) aoyagi-wa kazura-ni ... nari-kerazu-ya  
willow-topic creepers-dat become-has-not  
'The willows did not become creepers...'

Naru in the first meaning is semantically almost identical with Korean doe. Naru must have gradually lost this meaning, with the result that the second meaning became its basic sense. The usage of naru as in (94a) remains only in certain idiomatic expressions like (95).

95. mi-ga naru  
fruit/nut-nom become  
'Fruits are born.'

The verb comparable to Korean doe in present-day Japanese is dekiru which literally means 'come out to exist'.

96. koori-ga deki-ta  
ice-nom be-made-past  
'Ice was made/ready.'



Sentence (96) shows that Japanese dekiru, like Korean doe, is a verb whose meaning can be represented by (91). However, Japanese dekiru differs from doe in that it cannot have as its subject an NP denoting 'a state of affairs'.

- 97.\* haru-ga            deki-ta  
      spring-nom    be-made-past  
      'Spring has come.'

Dekiru also cannot take the double-nominative construction.

98. a)\* kisetu-ga haru-ga dekuru  
           season-nom spring-nom be-made  
       b)\* mizu-ga koori-ga deki-ta  
           water-nom ice-nom be-made-past

The problem we face now is how to analyse the B-type double-nominative constructions taken by doe like (83a) and (81a) which are cited again below.

99. a)   gaejǒl-i           bom-i           doe-össda           (83a)  
          season-nom   spring-nom   become-past  
          'The season became spring.'
- b)   John-i           sönseng-i           doe-össda           (81a)  
          John-nom   teacher-nom   become-past  
          'John became a teacher.'

Let us consider the following English sentences.

100. a) The egg hatched into a little chick.  
 Theme Goal
- b) A little chick hatched from the egg.  
 Theme Source

In the actual situation denoted by these two sentences, it is difficult to consider that the egg in (100a) and a little chick in (100b) keep their identity through the change. However, English, like Japanese, has a tendency to express a conditional change by analogy with a positional change. Let us apply the two patterns in (100) to (99b). The first possibility is, following (100a), to assign Theme to the first nominative NP and Goal to the second nominative NP.

99. b)' John-i    sönseng-i    doe-össda  
                  Theme            Goal

The verb doe, in addition to the double-nominative construction, can take a syntactic structure comparable to that taken by the Japanese naru, 'become'. The postposition (i)ro in the following examples is traditionally called the postposition for the 'case of direction', which is similar to English to.

101. a)    hōbag-i            saram-iro    doe-össda  
                  pumpkin-nom    man-to            become-past  
                  'The pumpkin turned into a man.'
- b)    dong-i            gim-iro    doe-össda  
                  copper-nom    gold-to            become-past  
                  'The copper turned into gold.'
- c)?    ōlim-i            mul-ro        doe-össda  
                  ice-nom        water-to            become-past  
                  'The ice became water.'
- d)\*    John-i            sönseng-iro    doe-össda  
                  John-nom        teacher-to            become-past  
                  'John turned into a teacher.'

The examples in (101) suggest that in Korean the semantic pattern in (100a), unlike that in Japanese and English, is restricted only to the case in which the Theme is considered to lose its identity and change into a completely different entity as in (101a) and (101b). It follows that Korean exploits the semantic pattern exemplified in (100a) only in very restricted cases. Therefore, assigning a semantic structure like (100a) to double-nominative sentences like (81a) and (83a) is not adequate.

Notice now that the verb doe can take a syntactic structure comparable to (100b).

102. podo-esō      podoju-ga      doe-ōssda  
       grape-abl    wine-nom      past  
       'Wine is made from grapes.'

Podo 'grape' is interpreted as Source and podoju 'wine' as Theme in (102). However, this pattern is semantically even more restricted than the pattern of (101a). It is allowed only in a sentence in which the NP with eso 'from' is interpreted as 'material' from which the NP with the nominative postposition is made. Therefore, the following sentences are unacceptable.

103. a)? dong-esō      gim-i      doe-ōssda  
       copper-abl    gold-nom    past  
       'The gold was made from copper.'
- b)\* mul-esō      ōlīm-i      doe-ōssda  
       water-abl    ice-nom    past  
       'The ice was made from water'.
- c)\* gaejōl-esō      bom-i      doe-ōssda  
       season-abl    spring-nom    past  
       'Spring was made from the season.'

103. d)\* John-esō sōnseng-i doe-ōssda

John-abl teacher-nom past

'A teacher was made out of John.'

For the same reason that we could not assign the semantic structure of (100a) to the double-nominative construction with doe, we cannot assign it the semantic structure of (100b).

A third possibility is to analyse doe in a double-nominative construction as a 1-place verb, as in (85), and assign Theme to the 'equational' proposition holding between two NPs. For example, (99b)/(81a) is interpreted thus: the state of affairs that 'John is a teacher' came to exist, which is formalized as follows:

104. GO con (x, y, EXIST)

x = BE con (JOHN, TEACHER)

This semantic analysis seems compatible with the syntactic properties of this type of double-nominative construction. As we observed at the end of 2.1, the A-type double-nominative construction and the B-type double-nominative construction show some syntactic differences. Let us recall the syntactic and semantic structures of the A-type.

105. Mary-ga nun-i gopda

Mary-nom eye-nom beautiful

'Mary - her eyes are beautiful.'

#### Syntactic structure

[S1 [NP Mary-nom] [S2 [NP nun-nom] [Adj gopda]]]

#### Semantic structure

BE con (MARY, y)

y = BE con (MARY'S EYES, BEAUTIFUL)

In (105) the embedded sentence S2 semantically attributes a condition to the subject NP of the matrix sentence S1. As already pointed out, the first nominative postposition is omissible, while the second one is not. In other words, the nominative postposition of the subject of a matrix sentence is omissible while that of the subject of an embedded sentence is not. In Korean, the nominative and the accusative case-markers can be deleted fairly freely. However, it is a general property of the two postpositions that the more deeply a sentence is embedded, the more difficult the deletion of the postpositions in it is, as shown below:

106. a) John-i yŏlshimi gongbuha-ŏssda  
 John-nom hard study-past  
 'John studied hard.'
- b) John yŏlshimi gongbuha-ŏssda
- c)? nae-ga John yŏlshimi gongbuha-ŏssda-go senggagha-nda  
 I-nom John hard study-past-comp think  
 'I think that John studied hard.'
- d)\* nae-ga John garichi-n hagseng-i yŏlshimi  
 I-nom John teach-rel student-nom hard  
 gongbuha-ŏssda go senggagha-nda  
 study-past-comp think  
 'I think that the student John taught studied hard.'

I do not have any convincing syntactic explanation of the double-nominative constructions of the B-type. I can suggest only a fairly speculative explanation here. The fact that in the B-type, like (81a), the second nominative marker is omissible while the first one is not seems to suggest that the second nominative postposition marks the

subject of an embedded sentence. It follows that the syntactic structure of (81a) is as below:

107. [S1 [[S2 [NP John-nom] [NP sŏnseng]] nom] [V doe]]

The syntactic representation (107) reads that the second nominative postposition in (81a) marks the embedded sentence S2 as the subject of S1. Given the analysis proposed above, the syntactic and semantic structures of the double-nominative construction with doe as in (81a) are as follows:

108. John-i      sŏnseng-i      doe-ŏssda

John-nom    teacher-nom    past

Syntactic structure

[S1 [[S2 [NP Joh-nom] [NP sŏnseng]] nom] [V doe]]

Semantic structure

GO con (x, y, EXIST)

x = BE con (JOHN, TEACHER)

In (108) the correspondence between the syntactic representation and the semantic representation is straightforward. The embedded S2 functioning as the syntactic subject of S1 is interpreted as a static proposition 'X', which functions semantically as Theme of a dynamic proposition.

Another advantage of our analysis is that there is now no need to say that the verb doe is 1-place predicate in (85) and a 2-place predicate in (83). The syntactic and semantic structures of (85c) are as follows:

109. ŏlim-i      doe-ŏssda

ice-nom    past

'Ice was made.'

109.

Syntactic structure

[S [NP ōlīm-nom] [V doe]]

Semantic structure

GO con (ICE, EXIST)

The verb doe is syntactically defined as a 1-place verb which has an NP or an S as its subject. Semantically, doe is defined as a 1-place predicate which expresses 'completion' or 'beginning of existence' of an entity denoted by an NP or a state of affairs denoted by an NP or an equational sentence.

Our analysis also accounts for why the Japanese verb dekiru 'come out to exist' cannot have a double-nominative construction. Japanese dekiru and Korean doe are alike in that they express 'completion' or 'beginning of existence' of an entity, as in the Japanese example (110).

110. koori-ga deki-ta  
ice-nom be-made-past  
'Ice was made.'

They differ, on the other hand, in that while doe can express 'completion' or 'beginning of existence' of a state of affairs, dekiru cannot. See (111).

111. a)\* haru-ga dekiru  
spring-nom pres  
b)\* kisetu-ga haru-ga dekiru  
season-nom spring-nom pres

Following the analysis proposed above, the B-type double-nominative sentences in (83) are assigned semantic structures as follows:

112. a) GO con (x, y, EXIST)  
           x = BE con (SEASON, SPRING)
- b) Go con (x, y, EXIST)  
           x = BE con (COPPER, GOLD)
- c) GO con (x, y, EXIST)  
           X = BE con (WATER, ICE)

An objection may be made to the analysis of (83b). In (83b), dong 'copper' is a previous condition of gim 'gold'. Therefore, when some entity goes into a state of being gold, it loses its identity as copper. Thus to say that 'a state of affairs in which copper is gold came to exist' is illogical. It seems to me correct that the semantic representation (112b) is somewhat illogical. However, what I have been pursuing in this section is a 'bias' shown by a language in its exploitation of semantic patterns. In other words, when a language is biased towards a particular semantic pattern rather than others, it always reveals some illogicality. It follows that the semantic description of a natural language has to cover this kind of illogicality as well as logicity. The three possibilities of expressing a change (89), (90) and (91) pointed out by Ikegame can be reformalized as follows:

113. a) GO (x, y, z)
- b) GO (z, WITHOUT x, WITH x), GO (y, WITH x, WITHOUT x)
- c) GO (x, NOT EXIST, EXIST)

Japanese, like English, is biased towards (113a) and therefore expresses a change of condition by analogy with a positional change, exploiting the pattern (113a). Similarly, Korean has tendency or bias that it forces an 'equational interpretation' on sentences like (83b). The



situation denoted by (83b) can be quite logically expressed by a different verb nas 'be born' as in (114).

114. dong-esŏ      gɨm-i      nasda  
          copper-abl   gold-nom   was-born  
          'Gold was made out of copper.'

However, what is important in understanding the Korean language is to notice that the patterns referred to in (101), (102) and (114) are very restricted and that the pattern 'GO con ((A = B), y, EXIST)' is predominant. In the contrastive study of the semantic structure of two languages it is highly relevant to draw attention to such cases of bias, including illogicalities where they exist.

### 2.3 Conclusion of 2

1. Korean has two types of double-nominative constructions:  
 the A-type and the B-type. They are distinct syntactically and semantically.

#### A-type

[S [NP1-nom] [S2 [NP2-nom] [Adj/V]]]

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{BE/GO con (NP1, y)} & (y = \text{Goal or Locative}) \\ y = \text{BE/GO con/poss/posit (NP2, Adj/v)} & \end{array} \right\}$$

#### B-type

[S1 [[S2 [NP1-nom] [NP2]] nom] [V (doe)]]

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{GO con (x, NOT EXIST, EXIST)} \\ x = \text{BE con/poss (NP1, NP2)} \end{array} \right\}$$

2. Japanese has the A-type double-nominative construction, but not the B-type.

3. Japanese tends to express change in condition by analogy with a change of location, exploiting the semantic pattern 'GO (x, y, z)'. On the other hand, Korean tends to express a change of condition as 'completion' or 'beginning of existence' of an entity or a state of affairs, exploiting the semantic pattern 'GO (x, y, EXIST)'. This semantic pattern is very restricted in Japanese. This may be why Japanese does not have the B-type double-nominative construction.

In the contrastive study of Japanese and Korean in the past, only the similarity between the two languages has been emphasised, referring to the differences as 'trivial'. Therefore, the significance of pointing out the fundamental differences between them cannot be overemphasised. They are drastically different in their basic ways of expressing a change of condition.

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE PASSIVE IN JAPANESE

Introduction

Many proposals have been made over the past decade to capture the passive constructions, which are or look, at least, considerably different from the passive constructions in English. In this chapter, the traditional distinction between the direct passive and the indirect passive, on which many of these proposals are based, is examined and an alternative classification of the Japanese passive is proposed.

1. Controversy over the Japanese Passive

1.1 Some Characteristics of the Japanese Passive

In Japanese, the suffix (r)are (which is sometimes referred to as an auxiliary in traditional Japanese grammar) is added to the verb in passivization; see the following examples:

1. a) karera-ga Yamadasan-no hon-o aki-ni  
           they-nom Mr. Yamada-gen book-acc autumn-in  
           shuppansuru  
           publish  
           'They are publishing Mr. Yamada's book in the autumn.'
- b) Yamadasan-no hon-ga aki-ni shuppans-are-ru  
           Mr. Yamada-gen book-nom autumn-in publish-pass-pres  
           'Mr. Yamada's book is being published in the autumn.'
2. a) John-ga Mary-o tataita  
           John-nom Mary-acc hit-past  
           'John hit Mary.'

2. b) Mary-ga John-ni tatak-are-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat hit-pass-past  
 'Mary was hit by John.'
3. a) John-ga Mary-ni kozutsumi-o okutta  
 John-nom Mary-dat parcel-acc sent-past  
 'John sent a parcel to Mary.'
- b) Mary-ga John-ni kozutsumi-o oku-rare-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat parcel-acc send-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to John sending a parcel to her.'
4. a) John-ga Mary-kara omocha-o nusunda  
 John-nom Mary-abl toy-acc steal-past  
 'John stole a toy from Mary.'
- b) Mary-ga John-ni omocha-o nusum-are-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat toy-acc steal-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to John stealing a toy from her.'
5. a) sensei-ga Mary-no musuko-o sikatta  
 teacher-nom Mary-gen son-acc scolded  
 'The teacher scolded Mary's son.'
- b) Mary-ga sensei-ni musuko-o sikar-are-ta  
 Mary-nom teacher-dat son-acc scold-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to the teacher's scolding her son.'

The following properties of the Japanese passive give rise to dispute. First, passive subjects correspond not only to direct objects but also to various oblique objects of the 'corresponding' active sentences. The passive subjects in (1) and (2) correspond to the direct objects. The passive subject corresponds to the indirect object in (3), the object of an ablative postposition in (4) and a possessor NP in (5).

A further possibility is that the passive subject corresponds to the 'than-NP' in a comparative sentence:

6. a) John-ga Mary-yori sakini sono hon-o  
 John-nom Mary-than previously the book-acc  
 yonda  
 read-past  
 'John read the book before Mary did.'

- b) Mary-ga John-ni sakini sono hon-o  
 Mary-nom John-dat previously the book-acc  
 yom-are-ta  
 read-pass-past

'Mary was subjected to John's having read the book before her.'

Secondly, passivization of intransitive constructions like (7) is fully developed. In (7) the passive subject cannot be given any place in the active sentence.

7. a) ame-ga hutta  
 rain-nom fall-past  
 'It rained.'

- b) John-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta  
 John-nom rain-dat fall-pass-past  
 'John was rained on.'

Thirdly, the Japanese passive is strongly constrained by animacy. The passive with an inanimate subject is very restricted. The following sentences, for example, are unacceptable.

8. a)\* mado-ga Mary-ni ake-rare-ta  
 window-nom Mary-dat open-pass-past  
 'The window was opened by Mary.'

8. b)\* ookina ishi-ga John-ni ugokas-are-ta  
 big stone-nom John-dat move-pass-past  
 'A big stone was moved by John.'
- c)\* sono ie-ga ii ne-de ur-are-ta  
 the house-nom good price-at sell-pass-past  
 'The house was sold for a good price.'

However, there are many passive sentences with inanimate subjects which are completely acceptable.

9. a) kono ie-ga kyonen tate-rare-ta  
 this house-nom last-year build-pass-past  
 'This house was built last year.'
- b) hon-ga tana-no ue-ni ok-are-ta  
 book-nom shelf-gen on-dat put-pass-past  
 'The books were put on the shelf.'
- c) kono ronbun-ga yoku Chomsky-ni inyoos-are-ru  
 this thesis-nom often Chomsky-dat quote-pass-past  
 'This thesis is often quoted by Chomsky.'

Fourthly, passive sentences with animate subjects very often entail that the subjects are adversely affected. For instance, the passive sentence (3b) means that the referent of the subject NP was adversely affected while the active counterpart is a neutral description of the event in question.

## 1.2 Approaches from Relational Grammar

### 1.2.1 Perlmutter and Postal's Universal Characterization of the Passive

Within Relational Grammar, a clause consists of a network of grammatical relations. Among these relations are 'subject of', 'direct

object of' and 'indirect object of'. NPs which bear these relations to their verb are called its 'terms', while other NPs directly dominated by the verb are 'non-terms'. The major classes of Transformations defined in RG are Advancement and Raising. An advancement rule is defined as one which promotes an NP up the Relational Hierarchy (RH).

RH: S > DO > IO > Non-terms

The universals of passivization proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1977) are as follows:

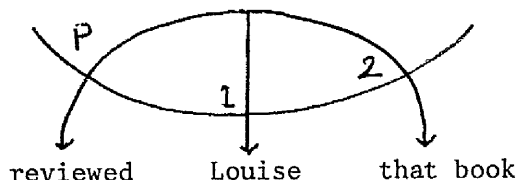
10. A direct object of an active clause is the (superficial) subject of the 'corresponding' passive.
11. The subject of an active clause is neither the (superficial) subject nor the (superficial) direct object of the 'corresponding' passive.

(10) and (11) taken together have the following consequence:

12. In the absence of another rule permitting some further nominal to be direct object of the clause, a passive clause is (superficially) an intransitive clause.

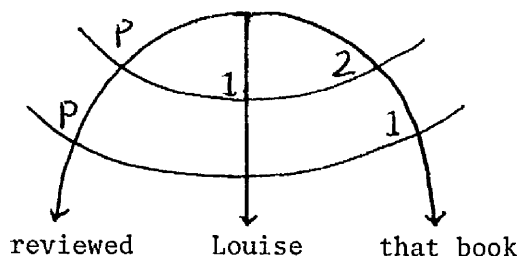
Perlmutter and Postal represent passive clauses in blocks of Relational Networks (RNs), which are called 'arcs'. For example, the passivization in (13) is represented as in (14).

13. a) Louise reviewed that book.
- b) That book was reviewed by Louise.
14. a)



(1 = Subject of  
2 = Direct Object of)

14. (b)



Our claim is that the RN of every passive clause in any human language has a nominal bearing the 2-relation and 1-relation in successive strata. (Perlmutter and Postal 1977:405)

In English, IO is assumed to be promoted to DO before being promoted to be a subject of a passive clause according to the advancement rule.

#### 1.2.2 Shimizu's Proposal

Shimizu (1975), presenting the Japanese evidence against the universal constraints above discussed, shows a 'natural way' to modify them to make them consistent with the Japanese data. She claims that the domain of promotion of NPs should be extended to IOs and Beneficiaries (BENS) and even to possessors of DOs, pointing out that they correspond to passive subjects in Japanese as we saw in the sentences in (3) and (5). She argues that the Japanese passive can directly promote IOs, BENS and Possessors to subject as well as the expected DOs. The following sentences provide an example of the promotion of a Possessor NP:

15. a) doroboo-ga John-no jitensha-o nusunda  
 thief-nom John-gen bike-acc steal-past  
 'A thief stole John's bike.'
- b) John-ga doroboo-ni jitensha-o nusum-are-ta  
 John-nom thief-dat bike-acc steal-pass-past  
 'John had his bike stolen by a thief.'



An analysis of (15b) compatible with Perlmutter and Postal's proposal (which, however, Shimizu argues against - see below) is as follows:

- i) 'Raise' the possessor of the DO to DO status in conformity with the Relation Succession Law:

doroboo-ga John-o jitensha ? nusunda  
thief-nom John-acc bike ? steal-past

- ii) The the new DO is obligatorily promoted to subject via the Passive.

John-ga doroboo-ni jitensha ? nusum-are-ta  
John-nom thief-dat bike steal-pass-past

Shimizu claims that this analysis is inadequate for two reasons: first, step (i) above means that the DO (jitensha) must, by the Relational Annihilation Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1977:408) cease to be a DO. But after the application of the passive after step (ii), it remains a DO. Secondly, the intermediate step (i) is ungrammatical. She proposes an alternative analysis on the basis of the 'topic-comment' construction. In her view, the derivation of (15b) is as follows:

15. a) doroboo-ga John-no jitensha-o nusunda  
thief-nom John-gen bike-acc steal-past

The possessor NP is topicalized, yielding (15a').

15. a)' John-wa doroboo-ga jitensha-o nusunda  
John-topic thief-nom bike-acc steal-past  
'As for John, a thief steals his bike.'

Then (15a') is passivized, demoting the original subject of 'passive agent' as in (15b'):

15. b)' John-wa doroboo-ni jitensha-o nusum-are-ta  
 John-topic thief-dat bike-acc steal-pass-past

Shimizu's proposal is unjustifiable either as part of a universal theory of the passive or as part of a theory of the Japanese passive. First, the topicalized sentence (15a') is hardly acceptable. Secondly, in Japanese, NPs other than DO, IO, BEN and Possessor can be a passive subject as pointed out in 1.1. Then of what use to universal grammar or to Japanese grammar would be a rule so weakened as to say that virtually any oblique NP in an active sentence can be the subject of a corresponding passive sentence. The third deficiency of her analysis is that it meets serious difficulty when it is applied to sentences like (7b) whose subject has no corresponding NP in the active. Should sentences of this type be excluded from the category of passive? I cannot find any syntactic or semantic reason to do so.

### 1.2.3 Demotional Passive

Shimizu's analysis is supported by Keenan (1975). Keenan and also Comrie (1977) take examples from several languages in which the passive involves subject deletion or subject demotion, but lacks object promotion, and claim that the demotion of subject is prior to promotion of a direct object. (The following examples are from Comrie, 1977.)

#### Latin

- a) Milites acriter pugnaverunt.  
 soldiers fiercely fought  
 'The soldiers fought fiercely.'
- b) Acriter (a militibus) pugnatum est.  
 fiercely by soldiers fought is  
 'There was fierce fighting (by the soldiers).'

Welsh

a) Aeth llawer yno ynyr haf.  
 went many there in the summer  
 'Many people went there in summer.'

b) Eir yno (gan lawer) ynyr haf.  
 was-gone there by many in the summer

Japanese sentences like (16), according to Keenan, are problematic for any Promotional analysis of the Passive 'since there is no underlying source in which the derived subject...has a grammatical relation to the verb'. (Keenan 1975:348)

16. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nige-rare-ta  
 Taroo-nom Hanako-dat run-away-pass-past  
 'Taroo was run away on by Hanako.'

A topicalized sentence is advocated as 'the most plausible underlying source' (Keenan 1975:348) along the lines proposed by Shimizu.

17.\* Taroo-wa Hanako-ga nigeta  
 Taroo-topic Hanako-nom run-away-past  
 'As for Taroo, Hanako ran away from him.'

Passivization of (17) entails the demotion of the subject Hanako to yield (16). However, as already pointed out, (17) is unacceptable as a Japanese sentence. If this kind of topicalization should be permitted, topicalization would be little short of 'almighty' and could be the underlying source of any construction. An NP can be topicalized normally in case it has any semantic correlation with the predicate or the proposition as a whole.

18. a) John-wa ringo-o tabeta  
 John-topic apple-acc eat-past  
 'As for John, he ate an apple.'
- b) sono ringo-wa John-ga tabeta  
 the apple-topic John-nom eat-past  
 'As for the apple, John ate it.'
- c) kyoo-wa John-ga gakko-ni itta  
 today-topic John-nom school-dat go-past  
 'As for today, John went to school.'

What makes topicalization possible in (18a) and (18b) is the underlying semantic relation that John ate an/the apple. Kyoo 'today' in (18c) can be topicalized since it has a semantic correlation with the proposition that John went to school. In (19a), the topicalized NP John cannot be supposed to have any semantic relation with the predicate huru 'to rain' or the proposition ame-ga huru 'it rains' before passivization.

19. a)\* John-wa ame-ga hutta  
 John-topic rain-nom fall-past  
 'As for John, it rained.'
- b) John-wa ame-ni hur-are-ta  
 John-topic rain-dat fall-pass-past  
 'As for John, he was rained on.'

Shimizu holds that universal grammar should be modified to be consistent with the Japanese passive. Keenan, in turn, forces Japanese to have unacceptable underlying sources to be consistent with the universality of the demotional passive.

From the argument so far, it should be clear that the Japanese passive cannot be adequately captured by an approach which asks what kinds of NPs in an active sentence can be the subject of the corresponding passive sentence.

### 1.3 Approaches from Transformational Grammar

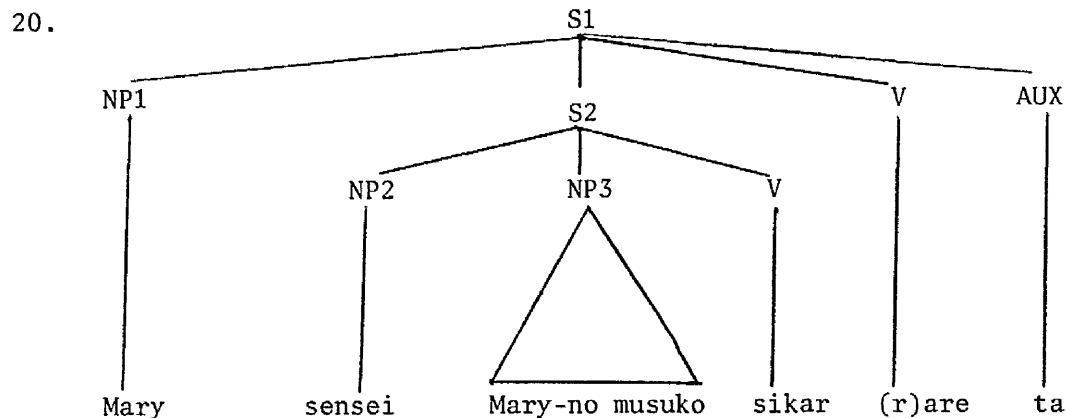
#### 1.3.1 Direct Passive and Indirect Passive

The Japanese passive has been studied in terms of a traditional and widespread distinction between the direct passive and the indirect passive. A direct passive sentence is a sentence whose subject corresponds to the direct object of the corresponding active sentence as in (1) and (2). In (2b), for instance, Mary is directly 'affected' by the action taken by John. An indirect passive sentence is syntactically defined as a passive sentence whose subject corresponds to NPs which are not the direct object of the active sentence - as in (4), (5) and (6) - or does not have any corresponding NP in the active sentence - as in (7). The indirect passive sentences (4b), (5b) and (6b) are formally distinct from a direct passive sentence in that they contain an accusative NP. It is assumed that the indirect passive differs semantically from the direct passive in that the former means that the passive subject is indirectly affected by an action or an event. The indirect passive sentence (5b), for example, means that the subject (Mary) is affected in consequence of an event of the teacher scolded her son.

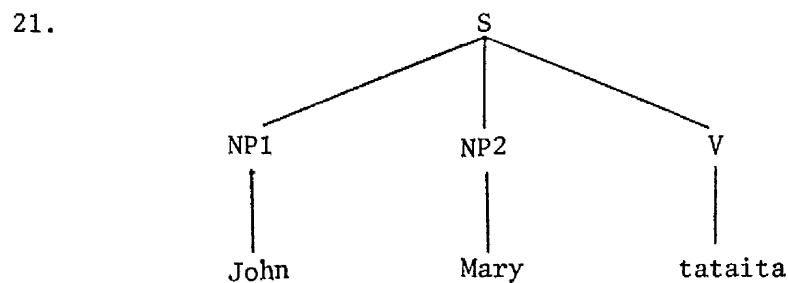
Among many transformational analyses, the analysis proposed by Kuno (1973), which was adopted by Teramura (1982), seems to have gained widespread acceptance. According to their analyses, the direct passive and the indirect passive have different underlying sources. An indirect

passive like (5b), which is cited again below, is derived from an underlying structure involving two sentences.

5. b) Mary-ga sensei-ni musuko-o sikar-are-ta  
 Mary-nom teacher-dat son-acc scold-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to the teacher's scolding her son.'



A direct passive sentence like (2b) is derived by applying a permutation transformation to a simplified underlying structure as below:



Before examining the analyses based on the distinction between the direct passive and the indirect passive in detail, I will compare the analysis of the indirect passive shown in (20) with the analysis proposed by Shimizu and Keenan. The former has an advantage over the latter since it presents no problem of determining where the

passive subject comes from. NP1 in (20) does not belong to the active sentential counterpart.

A reason given by Kuno (1973), Teramura (1982) and many others for admitting the distinction between the direct passive and the indirect passive, is that the indirect passives are semantically adversity passives, while the direct passives are the pure or neutral passives like the passive in English. However, the correspondence between the formal distinction and the semantic distinction is called into serious question if we examine the following sentences.

22. a) kyujotai-ga          John-o          hakkensita  
          rescue-party-nom   John-acc   find-past  
          'The rescue party found John.'
- b) John-ga          kyujotai-ni          hakkens-are-ta  
          John-nom   rescue-party-dat   find-pass-past  
          'John was found by the rescue party.'
23. a) John-ga          Mary-o          tsukamaeta  
          John-nom   Mary-acc   catch-past  
          'John caught Mary.'
- b) Mary-ga          John-ni          tsukamae-rare-ta  
          Mary-nom   John-dat   catch-pass-past  
          'Mary was subjected to John's catching her.'
24. a) John-ga          Mary-o          mita  
          John-nom   Mary-acc   see-past  
          'John saw Mary.'
- b) Mary-ga          John-ni          mi-rare-ta  
          Mary-nom   John-dat   see-pass-past  
          'Mary was subjected to John's seeing her.'

Sentence (22b) can be referred to as a neutral passive sentence. However, the direct passive sentences (23b) and (24b) are most likely to be interpreted as expressing adverse affectedness of the subjects. This suggests that these direct passive sentences are semantically homogeneous with the following indirect passive sentences, which also imply that the subjects are adversely affected.

25. Mary-ga John-ni ude-o tsukam-are-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat arm-acc catch-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to John's catching her arm.'
26. Mary-ga John-ni heya-o mi-rare-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat room-acc see-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to John's seeing her room.'

The analyses proposed by Kuno and Teramura also cannot explain why direct passive sentences like (27b) are unacceptable.

27. a) John-ga tsukue-o tataita  
 John-nom desk-acc hit-past  
 'John hit the desk.'
- b)\* tsukue-ga John-ni/ni-yotte tatak-are-ta  
 desk-nom John-dat/relying-on hit-pass-past  
 'The desk was hit by John.'

The unacceptability of (27b) comes from the semantic contradiction that an inanimate subject tsukue 'desk' is treated as if it were 'adversely affected'. If we assume that the direct passive sentences (23b), (24b) and (27b) are semantically homogeneous with the indirect passive, then unacceptability of (27b) can be accounted for since the indirect passive, unlike the direct passive, does not allow an inanimate subject, and very often entails that the subject is adversely affected, as already pointed out.



28.\* tsukue-ga John-ni/ni-yotte ashio-o tatak-are-ta  
 desk-nom John-dat/relying on leg-acc hit-pass-past

'The desk was subjected to John's hitting it's leg.'

The passive sentence (28), like (27b), is acceptable only when the subject is interpreted as being personified.

The analyses of the Japanese passive in terms of the distinction between direct and indirect passives have no explanation of why some direct passives like (23b) and (24b) require an adversative interpretation while others, like (1b) and (9a, b, c) admit a non-adversative interpretation. In (9c), for instance, there is no reading where the subject NP is badly affected by Chomsky. The implication of (9c) is that 'this thesis is well-known, excellent, foolish, etc.'. Masuoka (1982) calls this type of construction the 'attributive passive' and Klaiman (1982) 'non-affective'. Klaiman correctly points out that sentences like (9c) are acceptable because the action is viewed differently - not as a specific deed or event, but as a process whose effects are attributed to the subject. Study of the data cited above suggests that the traditional notion of the direct passive encompasses constructions which are semantically heterogeneous: some which are semantically homogeneous with the indirect passive, and some which are distinct from it.

In the next section, we will propose a more comprehensive description of the passive in Japanese.

## 2. Semantic Approaches to the Japanese Passive

### 2.1 Traditional Approaches

In Japanese, passive constructions are formally marked by (r)are.

This marker is referred to variously as a 'formative', a 'higher verb', etc. It is, however, often called the 'passive auxiliary' in the traditional grammar of Japanese. The traditional Japanese grammarians were not so 'Westernized' as more recent grammarians and in their analysis of 'auxiliaries of voice' did not confine themselves to the opposition between the active and the passive. There are two formally distinct voice auxiliaries: (r)are and (s)ase. The former means 'passive', 'potentiality' and 'spontaneity', while the latter means 'causativity'. The passive auxiliary (r)are and the causative (s)ase have been considered as standing in opposition to each other with something in common.

Let us compare the following passive and causative sentences.

29. a) Mary-ga John-ni omocha-o nusum-are-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat toy-acc steal-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to John's stealing a toy from her.'
- b) Mary-ga John-ni omocha-o nusum-ase-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat toy-acc steal-cause-past  
 'Mary made/let John steal a toy.'
30. a) Mary-ga sensei-ni musuko-o sikar-are-ta  
 Mary-nom teacher-dat son-acc scold-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to the teacher's scolding her son.'
- b) Mary-ga sensei-ni musuko-o sikar-ase-ta  
 Mary-nom teacher-dat son-acc scold-cause-past  
 'Mary made/let the teacher scold Mary's (or the teacher's) son.'
31. a) John-ga Mary-ni kae-are-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat go-home-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's going home.'

31. b) John-ga Mary-o/ni kaer-ase-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc/dat go-home-cause-past  
 'John made/let Mary go home.'
32. a) John-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta  
 John-nom rain-dat fall-pass-past  
 'John was rained on.'
- b) John-ga ame-o hur-ase-ta  
 John-nom rain-acc fall-cause-past  
 'John made it rain.'
33. a) watashi-ga musuko-ni shin-are-ta  
 I-nom son-dat die-pass-past  
 'I was subjected to my son's death.'
- b) watashi-ga musuko-o shin-ase-ta  
 I-nom son-acc die-cause-past  
 'I made/let my son die.'

The causative sentences are obtained only by substituting (s)ase for (r)are in (29), (30) and (31), and in addition the replacement of the case marker ni with o in (32) and (33). In (31b), the causee can have o or ni. If the accusative o is chosen, the sentence is most likely to be given the interpretation with 'make' while with the dative ni it is given the interpretation with 'let'.

The Japanese causative can be used to express the meaning of 'agentive causation' or 'permissive causation' which can be represented by CAUSE and LET respectively. The sentence (33b) is, therefore, ambiguous between the two interpretations: 'I made my son die', and 'I did not prevent my son from dying'. The causative meaning of (33b) is often so neutralized that it can be felt to be almost equivalent

semantically to the passive sentence (33a). In this case, 'the son's death (of illness, in the war, etc.)' is described both in (33a) and (33b) as being beyond control of the speaker. However, if the speaker felt any responsibility for his son's death, he would say (33b). If he says (33a), he emphasises his affectedness in consequence of his son's death. Yoshida (1967:99) points out that one and the same action or event can be described either in the passive or in the causative.

He writes:

The causative and the passive, mediated by the sense of "permission" and "not preventing", are in such a relation as that between the two sides of a paper. (Yoshida 1967:80)

It has been pointed out in the previous sections that attempts to correlate the active and the passive in the same way as in English encounter a serious difficulty since many Japanese passive sentences do not have any 'semantically equivalent' active counterparts. In English, the active and the passive voice 'make it possible to view the action of a sentence in two ways, without change in the fact reported' (Quirk et al. 1972:801). In other words, the active and the passive are equivalent in their 'factual meaning' in spite of the formal transformation triggered in a focus-shifting process. This kind of semantic equivalence between the active and the passive, in many cases, does not exist in Japanese. If equivalence of factual meaning exists in a voice opposition, it should be sought between the causative and the passive, as in (33).

## 2.2 Causative Constructions and the Passive of Interest

Let us consider the relation between the following causative and indirect passive sentences.

34. a) Mary-ga kaetta.  
 Mary-nom go-home-past  
 'Mary went home.'
- b) John-ga Mary-o/ni kae-ase-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc/dat go-home-cause-past  
 'John made/let Mary go home.'
- c) John-ga Mary-ni kaer-are-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat go-home-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's going home.'

The above (b) sentence can be analysed as being derived from the (a) sentence by the introduction of a new 'causative agent' (John). Similarly, the (c) sentence can be regarded as derived from the (a) sentence by the introduction of a new participant (John) which is affected in consequence of the event that 'Mary went home'. The sentences (34b) and (34c) are similar in that they share a proposition denoted by (34a) and have additional elements which are 'involved' in the action referred to by (34a). They are different in that the involvement is 'active' in (34b) but 'passive' in (34c). Ikegami (1981<sup>14</sup>) points out that the relation between the causative and the passive in Japanese can be described in terms of 'control' and 'independence'. In his analysis, the relation between the causative and the passive in (34) is stated in terms of the relation between 'John's control over Mary' (C) and 'Mary's independence' (I).

35. John-ga Mary-o kae~~ase~~-ta  
 'John made Mary go home.'  
 C >> I
- John-ga Mary-ni kaer-ase-ta  
 'John let Mary go hom.'  
 C > I

35. (continued)

John-ga Mary-ni kae~~f~~are-ta

'John was subjected to Mary's going home.'

C << I

The semantic structures of the above three sentences, following Ikegami, are represented as follows respectively:

36. CAUSE (JOHN, (S))

LET (JOHN, (S))

GET (JOHN, (S))

'S' stands for the embedded proposition 'Mary went home' which is represented as 'GO (MARY, y, HOME)'. The same explanation applies to the causative and the indirect passive sentences in (30). When the verb is transitive as in (30b), the causee can have only the dative postposition. This causes an ambiguity between the 'CAUSE' interpretation and the 'LET' interpretation. Sentence (30b) is also ambiguous as to whether musuko 'son' belongs to Mary or sensei 'teacher'. The passive sentence (30a) means that Mary was affected in consequence of the action that the teacher scolded some individual. Therefore the most natural interpretation is that Mary was affected by the action because the individual who was scolded was a person related to her or sharing a common interest with her. This is why zibun in (37) sounds redundant.

37. Mary-ga sensei-ni zibun-no musuko-o sikar-are-ta

Mary-nom teacher-dat self-gen son-acc scold-pass-past

'Mary was subjected to the teacher's scolding her son.'

The foregoing shows that the passive sentence (30a) is in opposition to the causative sentence (30b) with the reading in which the Mary's son was

scolded. Thus the causative and passive sentences in (30) can be considered to be derived from (38) by the introduction of a causative or permissive agent and an affected participant, respectively.

38. sensei-ga     Mary-no     musuko-o     sikatta  
      teacher-nom   Mary-gen     son-acc     scold-past  
      'The teacher scolded Mary's son.'

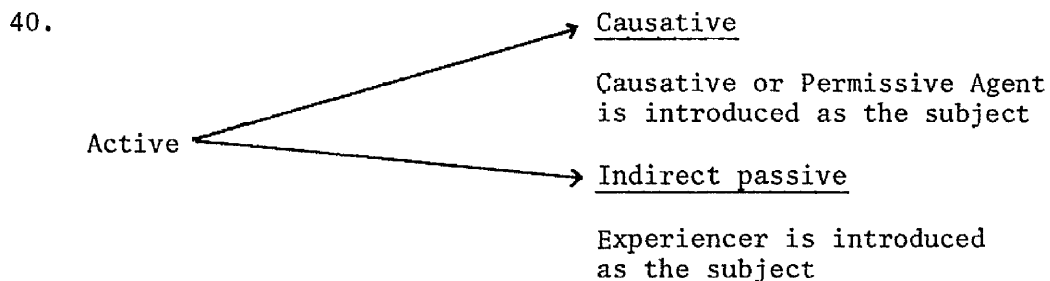
We have so far stated somewhat vaguely that the introduced participant in an indirect passive is 'affected' or 'affected in consequence of an event'. However, the way in which the subject of the indirect passive is affected and the way in which the participants underlined in the following sentences are affected are somewhat distinct.

39. a) John hit Mary.  
      b) John hit the door.  
      c) John gave a book to Mary.

These participants are affected by actions which are 'directed' to them. This type of affectedness, involving the participant to which an action is directed, will be called 'objective affectedness'. On the other hand, the affectedness expressed in indirect passive sentences like the (a) sentences in (29-33) is independent of the directedness of the action or event. These passive sentences mean that the subject NPs are emotionally affected in consequence of events which are not necessarily directed to them. In the situation denoted by (29a), John may or may not have stolen Mary's toy with the intention of affecting her. However, what (29c) expresses is that Mary was adversely affected in consequence of it. In (30a), Mary is supposed to be adversely affected because the person scolded by the teacher happened to be her son. In (32a), there is no necessary relation between 'raining' and 'John's affectedness'. Rather, it is implied that John was

affected by the rain because of his own conditions, i.e., his plan for a picnic, having no umbrella, hating rain, etc. These passive sentences are used when the speaker describes an event from the viewpoint of the concerns of a particular individual denoted by the subject NP. Therefore, the affectedness expressed in these passive sentences may be called 'empathy-based affectedness'. The relation between an 'event' and 'objective affectedness' and the relation between an 'even', and 'empathy-based affectedness' may be referred to, in logical terms, as a 'cause-effect' relation and 'reason-effect' relation, respectively. The cause is a necessary and sufficient condition for producing the effect while the reason may be just a necessary condition for the effect which 'accelerates' the effect. Our analysis is compatible with the fact that the subject of an indirect passive sentence must be animate, and typically human. As already pointed out, this type of passive is used when the speaker describes an event in terms of the interest of a participant denoted by the subject NP. Thus this participant must be animate, and typically human. It follows that this participant is described by the speaker as an individual who perceives affectedness. We, therefore, assign the semantic role Experiencer to this participant. We can now define the derivations of the causative and the indirect passive sentences in terms of the introduction of Causative or Permissive Agent and Experiencer, respectively.





The analysis that Japanese passive sentences are derived from active sentences by the introduction of an Experiencer seems to fail to account for so-called 'direct passive' sentences like (41b).

41. a) John-ga Mary-o tataita  
       John-nom Mary-acc hit-past  
       'John hit Mary.'
- b) Mary-ga John-ni tatak-are-ta  
       Mary-nom John-dat hit-pass-past  
       'Mary was subjected to John's hitting her.'

Japanese transformational grammarians insist that (41b) is a 'pure' or 'neutral' passive expressing that the subject is affected directly by the action, not in consequence of it and that (41b) is derived from the corresponding active sentence by NP permutation. However, if passive sentences like (41b) are supposed to be derived by NP permutation, the unacceptability of sentence (42b) - already mentioned as (27b) - cannot be properly accounted for.

42. a) John-ga tsukue-o tataita  
       John-nom desk-acc hit-past  
       'John hit the desk.'

42. b)? tsukue-ga John-ni-(yotte) tatak-are-ta  
 desk-nom John-dat hit-pass-past  
 'The desk was hit by John.'

According to permutation analysis, the frequency of transitive sentences with inanimate direct objects ought to produce a huge number of passive sentences with an inanimate subject like (43). However, this is not the case.

- 43.\* ringo-ga John-ni-(yotte) tabe-rare-ta  
 apple-nom John-dat eat-pass-past  
 'The apple was eaten by John.'

The reason why passive sentences like (42b) and (43) sound odd must be that in these sentences the inanimate subjects are described as if they were emotionally affected in consequence of the actions. The active sentence (41a) expresses that the direct object Mary was 'objectively' affected, but it does not necessarily express that she was emotionally affected in consequence of the objective affectedness she received. On the other hand, our assumption is that in the passive sentence (41b), Mary is described as being affected emotionally in consequence of the event that John hit her. Such an analysis thus explains why (42b) sounds odd. Our analysis is further supported by the following data.

44. a) John-ga Mary-o mita  
 John-nom Mary-acc see-past  
 'John saw Mary.'
- b) Mary-ga John-ni mi-rare-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat see-pass-past  
 'Mary was subjected to John's seeing her.'

45. a) John-ga Mary-ni kozutsumi-o okutta  
 John-nom Mary-dat parcel-acc sent-past  
 'John sent a parcel to Mary.'

b) Mary-ga John-ni kozutsumi-o okur-are-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat parcel-acc send-pass-past

'Mary was subjected to John's sending a parcel to her.'

The active sentence (44a) does not express that Mary was 'objectively' affected, while the passive sentence (44b) entails that Mary was affected adversely in consequence of John's seeing her. It follows that this type of passive is possible without the reading that the passive subject is objectively affected. Sentence (45a) entails that Mary was objectively affected since the action of 'John's sending a parcel' is directed to her and the sentence does not mean that she was adversely affected. In spite of this, the passive sentence (45b) entails that she was adversely affected in consequence of the event. Furthermore, (45b) is formally identical with the typical indirect passive. The foregoing suggests that this type of passive is independent of objective affectedness and encompasses traditional indirect passive and some direct passive constructions.

We have so far argued that the distinction between direct and indirect passive has no semantic basis. The distinction between them is also not always clear syntactically.

46. a) John-ga Mary-ni hinans-are-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat blame-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's blaming him.'

46. b) John-ga Mary-ni jibun-dake-o hinans-are-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat self-only-acc blame-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's blaming only him.'
- c) John-ga Mary-ni kao-o tatak-are-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat face-acc hit-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's hitting his face.'
- d) John-ga Mary-ni musuko-o tatak-are-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat son-acc hit-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's hitting his son.'
- e) John-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta  
 John-nom rain-dat fall-pass-past  
 'John was rained on.'

Sentence (46a) is defined as a typical direct or neutral passive sentence and (46d, e) are indirect passive sentences. On the other hand, the analysis of (46b, c) is problematic. In the situations denoted by these two sentences, John was affected directly by the actions taken by Mary while formally they are identical to typical indirect passives. Moreover, if (46a) is permutationally obtained from the active counterpart Mary-ga John-o hinansita 'Mary blamed John', then the same transformation should be applicable to (47a) below.

47. a) Mary-ga John-no kao-o tataita  
 Mary-nom John-gen face-acc hit-past  
 'Mary hit John's face.'
- b)? John-no kao-ga Mary-ni tatak-are-ta  
 John-gen face-nom Mary-dat hit-pass-past  
 'John's face was hit by Mary.'

The only possible passive sentence is (46c).

The data examined above show that the so-called indirect passive and some direct passives are homogeneous syntactically or semantically. It follows that these passive constructions are derived by the introduction of Experiencer as a new subject. Semantically this type of passive depends on 'empathy-based affectedness' rather than 'objective affectedness', i.e., these sentences are used when the speaker describes an event in terms of the interest of the participant denoted by the subject. For this reason, we may call this type of passive the 'passive of interest'. The definition of the passive of interest recalls Lakoff's remark on the 'get'-passive in English.

The "get" passive in English, unlike the "be" passive, is frequently used to reflect the attitude of the speaker toward the events described in the sentence: whether he feels they are good or bad, or reflect well or poorly on him or the superficial subject of the sentence (for whom he thus expresses implicit sympathy). (Lakoff 1974:154)

Lakoff holds that if the speaker is a department chairman, he can use get in (48a); if, however, he is a newscaster, he will in all probability be restricted to be, as in (48b).

48. a) This department is going to hell! Six linguists  
got arrested for possession of marijuana.
- b) At the University of Throgg this afternoon, six  
linguists were arrested for possession of marijuana.

The formal difference between the indirect passive and the direct passive sentences studied in this section, which are now subsumed under the label of the passive of interest, can be accounted for by a single deletion rule.

49. John-ga (Mary-ga John-o hinans) are-ta (46a)  
John-nom Mary-nom John-acc blame pass-past  
John-ga Mary-ni John-o hinans-are-ta  
↓  
deleted



Thus, the passive of interest has three sub-types, as follows:

- |                     |   |                           |
|---------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 52.                 | { | Complete reflexive type   |
| Passive of interest |   | Possessive reflexive type |
|                     |   | Non-reflexive type        |

One question has been deliberately avoided, i.e., why the passive of interest is biased towards adverse affectedness. Japanese, like many other languages, has markers for beneficial affectedness in a simple active clause while those for adverse affectedness are lacking. Neutral expressions such as (53a) can be converted into expressions for beneficial affectedness by forming a serial verb, v + te-ageru (v + give), as in (53b).

53. a) John-ga Mary-ni kozutsumi-o okutta  
           John-nom Mary-dat parcel-acc send-past  
           'John sent a parcel to Mary.'
- b) John-ga Mary-ni kozutsumi-o okut-te-ageta  
           John-nom Mary-dat parcel-acc send-gave  
           'John sent a parcel to Mary (for her benefit).'

On the other hand, there is no way to express adverse affectedness explicitly in a simple active clause. There is also a passive-like marker te-morau (receive) which is attached to verbs to express beneficial affectedness.

54. a) Mary-ga John-ni tatai-te-moratta  
           Mary-nom John-dat hit-received  
           'Mary had John hit her (for her benefit).'
- b) Mary-ga John-ni kozutsumi-o okut-te-moratta  
           Mary-nom John-dat parcel-acc send-received  
           'Mary had John send a parcel to her (for her benefit).'
- 'Mary had John send a parcel for (instead of) her.'

I speculate that the existence of expressions explicitly for beneficial affectedness is making the (r)are form, which is formally a simple passive marker, biased towards adverse affectedness.

### 2.3 Anti-causative Passive

Our analysis, according to which the passive in Japanese is derived by the introduction of an Experiencer who is described by the speaker as being affected in consequence of an event, fails to account for the following passive sentences with inanimate subjects.

55. a) mura-no hitobito-ga kono tera-o  
 village-gen people-nom this temple-acc  
 hyakunen-mae-ni kensetsusita  
 100-years-ago build-past  
 'People of the village built this temple 100 years ago.'
- b) kono tera-ga hyakunen-mae-ni (mura-no  
 this temple-nom 100-years-ago village-gen  
 hitobito-ni yotte) kensetsus-are-ta  
 people-relying on build-pass-past  
 'This temple was built (by the people of the village) 100 years ago.'
56. a) John-ga mondai-no naihu-o kono ki-no  
 John-nom in-question knife-acc this tree-gen  
 sita-ni suteta  
 under dump-past  
 'John dumped the knife in question under this tree.'



56. b) mondai-no      nai hu-ga      (John-ni-yotte)      kono  
          in-question      knife-nom      John-relying-on      this  
          ki-no      sita-ni      sute-rare-ta  
          tree-gen      under      dump-pass-past  
          'The knife in question was dumped (by John) under this tree.'
57. a) Mary-ga      shokuzenshu-toshita      sherii-o      eranda  
          Mary-nom      aperitif-as      sherry-acc      choose-past  
          'Mary chose sherry as an aperitif.'
- b) sherii-ga      (Mary-ni-yotte)      shokuzenshu-toshite  
          sherry-nom      Mary-relying-on      aperitif-as  
          erab-are-ta  
          choose-pass-past  
          'Sherry was chosen as an aperitif by Mary.'
58. a) John-ga      tana-kara      hon-o      orosita  
          John-nom      shelf-abl      book-acc      put-down-past  
          'John put down books from the shelf.'
- b) hon-ga      (John-ni-yotte)      tana-kara      oros-are-ta  
          book-nom      John-relying-on      shelf-abl      put-down-pass-past  
          'Books were put down from the shelf (by John).'

This type of passive is distinct from the passive of interest owing to two characteristics. First, the new type is restricted mainly to factitive verbs, while the passive of interest applies to any type of verb. The thematic relations of the sentences in (55-58) can be represented as follows:

59. a) CAUSE (PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE, GO con (THIS TEMPLE, y, EXIST))      (55a)
- b) GO con (THIS TEMPLE, y, EXIST))      (55b)

60. a) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (THE KNIFE IN QUESTION, y,  
UNDER THE TREE)) (56a)
- b) GO posit (THE KNIFE IN QUESTION, y, UNDER THE TREE)) (56b)
61. a) CAUSE (MARY, GO poss (SHERRY, THE SET OF POSSIBLE  
APERITIFS, MARY))
- b) GO poss (SHERRY, THE SET OF POSSIBLE APERITIFS, MARY)
62. a) CAUSE (JOHN, GO posit (BOOKS, SHELF, DOWN)) (58a)
- b) GO posit (BOOKS, SHELF, DOWN) (58b)

Secondly, this type of passive cannot have the agentive phrase marked by the dative ni. The agent-like NP of a passive sentence of this type is sometimes marked by ni-yotte 'relying on', 'due to'. It is often claimed in studies of the Japanese passive within the transformational Grammar (cf. Inoue 1976, Kuroda 1979) that the passive agent is marked by ni when the subject is animate and by ni-yotte when the subject is inanimate. Marking a passive agent with ni-yotte is a fairly recent development and it is still not used very often in ordinary conversation. It is mainly used in sophisticated writing, such as newspaper articles, academic theses, etc. The passive sentences (56b), (57b) and (58b) with NP + ni-yotte sound artificial, like literal translations of sentences of Western languages. These facts suggest that the primary function of this type of passive is to eliminate the Causative Agent, or background it, and describe a change which the Theme undergoes. Thus this type of passive can be semantically characterized as an 'anti-causative' or 'inchoative' sentence. We may therefore call these passive sentences 'anti-causative passives'.

There is another type of anti-causative construction which is similar to the anti-causative passive. Many of the factitive verbs of Japanese show a fairly systematic opposition with intransitive counterparts.

Intransitive

agar 'rise'

simar 'get shut'

kudak-e 'get crushed'

kir-e 'get cut'

Transitive

age 'raise'

sime 'shut'

kudak 'crush'

kir 'cut'

These intransitive verbs have been referred to in traditional Japanese grammars as the 'spontaneous verbs' since they have a strong entailment that a change takes place spontaneously. The oppositions between the transitive and the intransitive exemplified above are semantically analysed as follows:

Intransitive

GO (x, y, z)

Transitive

CAUSE (w, GO (x, y, z))

Thus our formalization cannot differentiate this type of intransitive construction from the anti-causative passive. Let us consider the following examples:

63. a) booto-ga densen-o kit-ta  
rioter-nom electric-wire-acc cut-past  
'Rioters cut the electric wire.'

a)' CAUSE (RIOTERS, GO con (THE ELECTRIC WIRE, y, CUT))

b) densen-ga kir-are-ta (Anti-causative passive)  
electric-wire-nom cut-pass-past  
'The electric wire was cut.'

b)' GO con (ELECTRIC WIRE, y, CUT)

c) densen-ga kir-e-ta (Spontaneous)  
electric-wire-nom get-cut-past  
'The electric wire got cut.'

64. a) booto-ga mado-garasu-o wat-ta  
 rioter-nom window-glass-acc break-past  
 'Rioters broke the window glass.'
- a)' CAUSE (RIOTERS, GO con (THE WINDOW GLASS, y, BROKEN))
- b) mado-garasu-ga war-are-ta (Anti-causative passive)  
 window-glass-nom break-pass-past  
 'The window glass was broken.'
- b)' GO con (THE WINDOW GLASS, y, BROKEN)
- c) mado-garasu-ga war-e-ta (Spontaneous)  
 window-glass-nom get-broken-past  
 'The window glass broke.'
- c)' GO con (THE WINDOW GLASS, y, BROKEN)

The difference between anti-causative passives like (63b) and (64b) and spontaneous sentences like (63c) and (64c) lies in the fact that the former implies the existence of an Agent while the latter denotes that a change takes place spontaneously. This difference between the anti-causative passive and the spontaneous sentences can be referred to in Halliday's terms as that between the 'agent-oriented' and the 'process-oriented' clauses. This analysis is supported by the fact that an anti-causative passive sentence can have an agent phrase marked by ni-yotte while a spontaneous sentence cannot.

65. a) mado-garasu-ga booto-ni-yotte  
 window-glass-nom rioter-relying-on  
 war-are-ta (Anti-causative passive)  
 break-pass-past  
 'The window glass was broken by rioters.'

65. b)\* mado-garasu-ga booto-ni-yotte  
 window-glass-nom rioter-relying-on  
 war-e-ta (Spontaneous)  
 get-break-past  
 'The window glass broke by rioters.'

A further piece of evidence is that a spontaneous sentence can have an NP marked by the instrumental postposition de which denotes a 'natural cause of a change', while an anti-causative passive cannot. This NP with de does not correspond to the subject of the active sentence.

66. a)\* kaze-ga mado-garasu-o wat-ta  
 wind-nom window-glass-acc break-past  
 'The wind broke the window glass.'
- b) mado-garasu-ga kaze-de war-e-ta (Spontaneous)  
 window-glass-nom wind-instr get-break-past  
 'The window glass broke because of the wind.'
- c)\* mado<sup>1</sup>-garasu-ga kaze-de war-are-ta (Anti-causative  
 window-glass-nom wind-instr break-pass-past passive)  
 'The window glass was broken because of the wind.'
67. a)? yuki-ga densen-o kit-ta  
 snow-nom electric-wire-acc cut-past  
 'Snow cut the electric wire.'
- b) densen-ga yuki-de kir-e-ta (Spontaneous)  
 electric-wire-nom snow-instr get-cut-past  
 'The electric wire got cut because of snow.'
- c)\* densen-ga yuki-de kir-are-ta (Anti-causative  
 electric-wire-nom snow-instr cut-pass-past passive)  
 'The electric wire was cut because of snow.'

There is one subtle problem which has made a comprehensive study of the Japanese passive difficult. It is the case in which one syntactic structure is ambiguous between the passive of interest and the anti-causative passive. This happens when the subject of an anti-causative passive is animate and the passive agent does not occur.

68. a) hahaoya-ga kodomo-o kuruma-kara oroshi-ta  
 mother-nom child-acc car-abl take-down-past  
 'Mother made her child get off the car.'

b) kodomo-ga kuruma-kara oros-are-ta  
 child-nom car-abl take-down-pass-past  
 'The child was taken off the car.'

'The child was subjected to being taken off the car.'

Sentence (68b) is ambiguous between two readings: one is a neutral description of the event that someone took the child off the car and the other is that the child was adversely affected in consequence of the event. The syntactic structure (68b) is disambiguated if it has an agentive phrase as below:

69. a) kodomo-ga hahaoya-ni kuruma-kara oros-are-ta  
 child-nom mother-dat car-abl take-down-past  
 'The child was subjected to his mother's taking him off the car.'

b) kodomo-ga hahaoya-ni-yotte kuruma-kara oros-are-ta  
 child-nom mother-relying-on car-abl take-down-past  
 'The child was taken off the car by his mother.'

Sentence (69a) is a passive of interest and (69b) is an anti-causative passive. Kodomo 'child' in (69a) is described as an entity which can receive an emotional affectedness, while in (69b) he is described as a

physical entity which underwent a locational change. This is why (70a) is unacceptable. A corpse cannot be an entity which receives emotional affectedness.

70. a)\* kodomo-no nakigara-ga hahaoya-ni kuruma-kara  
child-gen corpse-nom mother-dat car-abl  
oros-are-ta

take-down-pass-past

'The corpse of the child was subjected to his mother's taking it off the car.'

b) kodomo-no nakigara-ga hahaoya-ni-yotte kuruma-kara  
child-gen corpse-nom mother-relying-on car-abl  
oros-are-ta

take-down-pass-past

'The corpse of the child was taken off the car by his mother.'

In traditional Japanese grammar and recent transformational approaches to the Japanese passive, sentences (69a) and (69b) fall in the one category of the direct passive. However, our analysis has shown that the constructions which have been analysed in terms of the direct passive are not homogeneous semantically and syntactically, and they are divided into the passive of interest and the anti-causative passive.

#### 2.4 Attributive Passive

In this section, we will take a brief look at a third type of passive.

71. a) John-ga kono zassi-o yoku yomu  
John-nom this magazine-acc often read  
'John often reads this magazine.'

71. b)\* kono zassi-ga John-ni yoku yom-are-ru  
 this magazine-nom John-dat often read-pass-past  
 'This magazine is often read by John.'

72. a) takusan-no wakamono-ga kono  
 many-gen young-people-nom this  
 zassi-o yomu  
 magazine-acc read  
 'Many young people read this magazine.'

b) kono zassi-ga takusan-no wakamono-ni  
 this magazine-nom many-gen young-people-dat  
 yom-are-ru  
 read-pass-pres  
 'This magazine is read by many young people.'

73. a) John-ga kono tsukue-o tsukat-ta  
 John-nom this desk-acc use-past  
 'John used this desk.'

b)\* kono tsukue-ga John-ni tsukau-are-ta  
 this desk-nom John-dat use-pass-past  
 'This desk was used by John.'

74. a) takusan-no yuumeijin-ga kono  
 many-gen big-name-personage-nom this  
 tsukue-o tsukat-ta  
 desk-acc use-past  
 'Many big-name personages used this desk.'

b) kono tsukue-ga takusan-no yuumeihin-ni  
 this desk-nom many-gen big-name-personage-dat  
 tsukau-are-ta  
 use-pass-past  
 'This desk was used by many big-name personages.'



75. a) Chomsky-ga kono ronbun-o yoku inyooshi-ta  
 Chomsky-nom this thesis-acc often quote-past  
 'Chomsky often quoted this thesis.'
- b) kono ronbun-ga Chomsky-ni yoku inyoos-are-ru  
 this thesis-nom Chomsky-dat often quote-pass-pres  
 'This thesis is often quoted by Chomsky.'
76. a) Chomsky-ga kono shoosetsu-o yoku yon-da  
 Chomsky-nom this novel-acc often read-past  
 'Chomsky often read this novel.'
- b)? kono shoosetsu-ga Chomsky-ni yoku yom-are-ru  
 this novel-nom Chomsky-dat often read-pass-pres  
 'This novel is often read by Chomsky.'

Passive sentences with inanimate subjects like (72b), (74b) and (75b) are distinct from the anti-causative passive in three ways. First, this type of passive is not restricted to factitive verbs. Secondly, these passive sentences have an agentive NP marked by dative ni. Thirdly, these passive sentences are semantically static while the anti-causative passive is dynamic. This type of passive is allowed only when the rest of the sentence attributes some property to the participant denoted by the passive subject. Sentence (72b) entails that 'this magazine is popular among young people'. On the other hand, (71b) is unacceptable because the sentence can hardly be interpreted as attributing any property to the magazine. It is nonsensical to say that 'this magazine is such that John reads it often'. As already pointed out, operative verbs normally cannot be passivized when the subject is inanimate, as in (73b). However, the passive sentence (74b) which has an operative verb and an inanimate

subject is acceptable since the rest of the sentence attributes a particular property to the subject NP kono tsukue 'this desk'. Similarly, (75b) is acceptable since being quoted by one of the most famous of linguists attributes a particular property to a linguistic thesis. However, being read by a prominent linguist is less likely to attribute a property to a novel. The analysis proposed above suggests that the condition under which this type of passive is acceptable is comparable to that for double-nominative constructions in Japanese. Both constructions are acceptable when the rest of the sentence attributes some property or condition to the participant denoted by the subject NP. In fact, this type of passive construction can have two nominative NPs. Compare (75b) with (77).

77. kono ronbun-ga dai-issloo-ga Chomsky-ni  
     this thesis-nom the-first-chapter-nom Chomsky-dat  
     yoku inyoos-are-ru  
     often quote-pass-pres

'This chapter - its first chapter - is often quoted by Chomsky.'

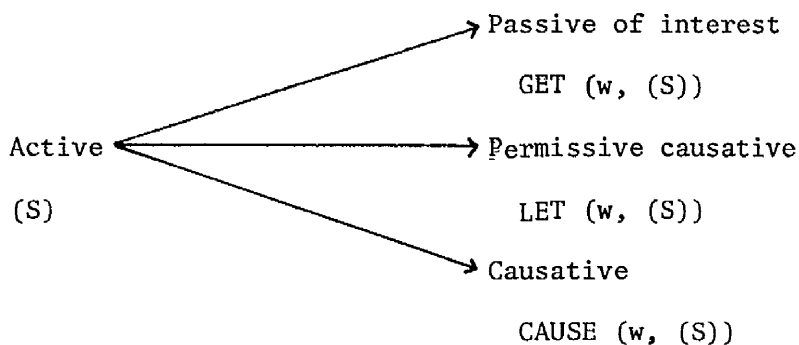
Masuoka (1982) points out that the primary function of passive sentences like (72b), (74b) and (75b) is 'foregrounding' the direct object NP to the subject position. He claims that the most natural way of predicating an attribute of an entity is to put it in the syntactic subject position. The active sentence (75a), for instance, is not necessarily read as predicating an attribute of 'this thesis'. It can be interpreted as attributing an action to Chomsky. On the other hand, (75b) explicitly ascribes an attribute to the thesis. It follows that the primary function of this type of passive is 'foregrounding' the direct

object NP of an active sentence to the subject position to predicate an attribute of it. Recall that the primary function of the anti-causative passive is backgrounding an Agent denoted by the subject of an active sentence. The two types of passive are contrastive in their primary functions.

## 2.5 Conclusion of Chapter Four

The passive of Japanese marked by (r)are is classified into three types: the passive of interest, the anti-causative passive and the attributive passive. The three types of passives are characterized as follows:

The passive of interest is obtained by the 'introduction' in the subject position of a new participant from whose point of view the event is described. Therefore the subject needs to be animate, and typically human. This type of passive is semantically in opposition to the causative.



The anti-causative passive functions primarily to eliminate or 'background' the Causative Agent. The process is represented as follows:

CAUSE (w, GO (w, y, z))  $\longrightarrow$  GO (x, y, z)

This type of passive is restricted mainly to factitive verbs.

The attributive passive functions primarily to 'foreground' the direct object NP to subject in order to predicate an attribute of it more explicitly. The semantic entailment of this type of passive is represented as follows:

BE con (x, y)

It has been claimed above that the traditional distinction between direct and indirect passives is not sustainable syntactically or semantically. The relation between the traditional distinction and our classification is shown as follows:

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Indirect passive |                        |
| Direct passive   | Passive of interest    |
|                  | Anti-causative passive |
|                  | Attributive passive    |

CHAPTER FIVE  
PASSIVE IN KOREAN

In this chapter we propose a semantics-based analysis of the passive in Korean.

1. The Passive in Korean

It is widely accepted that Korean, like Japanese, has two types of passive, distinct semantically and syntactically: the direct passive and the indirect passive (cf. Lee 1972).

1. a) janggun-i      jŏg-ege      jab-hi-ŏssda  
general-nom      enemy-dat      capture-pass-past

'The general was captured by the enemy.'

- b) uri-ga      jŏg-ege      janggun-ŭl      jab-hi-ŏssda  
we-nom      enemy-dat      general-acc      capture-pass-past

'We were subjected to the enemy's capturing our general.'

Indirect passive sentences like (1a) are syntactically distinct from direct passive sentences owing to the presence of an accusative NP. Semantically, subject affectedness, which is often adverse, is clearly recognized, while the direct passive is neutral in this respect. In the course of presenting a semantic and syntactic analysis of the passive in Korean, I reject the distinction between direct and indirect passives. The passive in Korean, as in the analysis of Japanese passive, is reclassified into three types: the passive of interest, the anti-causative passive and the attributive passive.

### 1.1 Voice Suffixes

The suffixes i, gi, ri, hi, u, chu, gu are called voice suffixes. The first four share a vowel 'i' and the rest share 'u'. In present Korean the four suffixes with a vowel 'i', and also u, are used for both causative constructions and passive constructions and the remaining two, chu and gu, are used as the causative markers. Kim (1964) remarks that these suffixes were used mainly for the causative in Old Korean while their passive usage was merely a variation of their causative usage. The passive use of them has been extended but it is still under strong lexical restriction. Selection of these suffixes by individual verbs is, in most cases, phonologically determined. However, the possibility of suffixation and the possibility of either the causative or the passive interpretation is to a considerable extent lexically conditioned. For instance, verbs which end with a vowel 'i', in general, do not have any voice suffix, e.g., tteri 'hit', jiki 'defend', dŏnji 'throw'. Similarly, the transitive verbs derived by suffixation of i, gi, ri, hi tend to lack passive forms, e.g., jug-i 'die-cause —> kill', sal-ri 'live-cause —> make live, save', us-gi 'laugh-cause —> make laugh'. However, this restriction is highly exceptional. For example, the verb kki 'put something between' has a passive form kki-i despite the final 'i'. Both mŏg-i 'eat-cause —> feed' and ib-hi 'put on-cause —> make someone put on/clothe' have passive forms, mog-i and ib-hi.

### 2. Transitivization

The following intransitive verbs, combining with a causative suffix, make corresponding transitive verbs.

- nog 'melt' ———> nog-i 'make melt, melt'  
 jul 'decrease' ———> jul-i 'make decrease, decrease'  
 jug 'die' ———> jug-i 'make die, kill'  
 anj 'sit down' ———> anj-hi 'make sit down'  
 us 'laugh' ———> us-gi 'make laugh'  
 ta 'burn' ———> tae-u 'make burn, burn'  
 maj 'fit, suit' ———> maj-chu 'make fit/suit'  
 dot 'come out' ———> dot-gu 'make come out'

These intransitive verbs indicate a 'spontaneous change'. Although every change in the actual world has its cause, these verbs depict the process of the change itself.

2. a) chŏl-i      nog-assda  
          iron-nom   melt-past  
          'The iron melted.'  
      b) hagseng-su-ga      jul-ŏssda  
          student-number-nom   decrease-past  
          'The number of students decreased.'  
      c) gom-i      jug-ŏssda  
          bear-nom   die-past  
          'A bear died.'

The thematic relations of these sentences are as follows:

3. a) GO con (IRON, SOLID, LIQUID)  
      b) GO con (THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS, y, LESS)  
      c) GO con (A BEAR, ALIVE DEAD)

The verb anj 'sit down' typically has an animate subject and is ambiguous between an agentive reading of the subject and a non-agentive

reading. The thematic relations of (4a), therefore, are represented either as (4b) or (4c).

4. a) John-i      anj-assda  
       John-nom   sit-down-past  
       'John sat down.'
- b) GO con (JOHN, y, SEATED)
- c) CAUSE (JOHN, con (JOHN, y, SEATED))

The semantic representations of the sentences with the derived transitive verbs are obtained by embedding (3a, b, c) and (4b, c) into the causative pattern.

5. a) John-i      chŏl-il      nog-i-ŏssda  
       John-nom   iron-acc   melt-cause-past  
       'John melted the iron.'
- b) CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (IRON, SOLID, LIQUID))
6. a) gugka-ga    hagseng-su-lil      jul-i-ŏssda  
       state-nom   student-number-acc   decrease-cause-past  
       'The state decreased the number of students.'
- b) CAUSE (THE STATE, GO con (NUMBER OF STUDENTS, y, LESS))
7. a) John-i      gom-il      jug-i-ŏssda  
       John-nom   bear-acc   die-cause-past  
       'John killed a bear.'
- b) CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (A BEAR, ALIVE, DEAD))
8. a) Mary-ga      John-il      anj-hi-ŏssda  
       Mary-nom   John-acc   sit-down-cause-past  
       'Mary made John sit down.'
- b) CAUSE (MARY, GO con (JOHN, y, SEATED))
- c)? CAUSE (MARY, CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (JOHN, y, SEATED)))



The semantic representation (8c) is a logical possibility, but when an NP occurs in the direct object position, it is hardly interpreted as an Agent. It follows that (8a) semantically corresponds to (4a) with the reading (4b) rather than (4c).

We can set up a word derivational rule like (9).

9. Intransitive Stem + Causative {I}/{U}  $\longrightarrow$  Transitive Stem

( {I} and {U} are the notations for the underlying morphemes  
representing i, gi, ri, hi and u, chu, gu, respectively. )

This transitivization is semantically represented as in (10).

10. GO (x, y, z)  $\longrightarrow$  CAUSE (w, GO (x, y, z))

It may be worth pointing out at this stage that the semantic opposition in (10) corresponds to the relation obtaining between the two verbs which are most frequently used: doe 'become' and ha 'do'. The former is the most general verb of 'conditional change' and the latter the most general verb of 'causation'. These two verbs, in combination with a noun or an adjective, form analytic predicates.

11. a) John-i gipp-da  
John-nom happy-pres  
'John is happy.'

b) BE con (JOHN, HAPPY)

12. a) John-i gipp-ge doe-ŏssda  
John-nom happy-to become-past  
'John became happy.'

b) GO con (JOHN, y, HAPPY)

13. a) Mary-ga John-il gipp-ge ha-össda  
 Mary-nom John-acc happy-to do-past  
 'Mary made John happy.'

b) CAUSE (MARY, GO con (JOHN, y, HAPPY))

The examples in (12) and (13) suggest that the semantic opposition between the intransitive verbs and the transitive verbs examined above correspond to the semantic opposition between doe 'become' and ha 'do'. In Chapter Three, we saw that the verb doe expresses two sets of thematic relations which are represented as below:

- a) GO con (x, y, z)  
 b) GO con (x, NOT EXIST, EXIST)

It was pointed out that the double-nominative constructions with doe have the thematic relations (b). However, when the verb doe is used with an adjective as in (12a), it seems to express only the thematic relations (a), like English become and Japanese naru. This is clear from existence of the particle of ge which functions as a marker for an abstract Goal in (12a) and (13a). Compare the Japanese examples in (14) with the Korean ones in (15).

14. a) John-ga gakkoo-ni itta (Positional)  
 John-nom school-to went  
 'John went to school.'
- b) John-ga Mary-ni hon-o ageta (Possessional)  
 John-nom Mary-to book-acc gave  
 'John gave a book to Mary.'
- c) heya-ga kirei-ni natta (Conditional)  
 room-nom clean-to became  
 'The room became clean.'

15. a) John-i haggyo-e gadda (Positional)  
 John-nom school-to went  
 'John went to school.'
- b) John-i Mary-ege chaeg-il ju<sup>ŏ</sup>ssda (Possessional)  
 John-nom Mary-to book-acc gave  
 'John gave a book to Mary.'
- c) bang-i kkekki<sup>ŏ</sup>sha-ge doe-<sup>ŏ</sup>ssda (Conditional)  
 room-nom clean-to became  
 'The room became clean.'

In (14), the Japanese examples, a Goal is marked by ni however abstract the change expressed by a sentence is. In Korean, the Goal of a positional change is marked by e as in (15a), the Goal of a possessional change is marked by ege as in (15b) and that of a conditional change is marked by ge as in (15c). The Korean dative postposition ege, which is used as a marker for the Goal of a possessional change in (15b), consists of the locative Goal marker e and the conditional Goal marker ge. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that the notion of 'possession' is an intermediate level between the positional level and the most abstract conditional level. The form of ege which is typically used as a marker for the Goal of a possessional change reflects this property of the notion of 'possession'. When a change is conditional, as in (15c), which is more abstract than a change of possession, the Goal marker loses e which is a marker for a concrete Goal.

We shall see later that doe, when used as a passive marker, also expresses the thematic relations 'GO con (x, y, z)' rather than 'GO con (x, NOT EXIST, EXIST)'.

### 3. Intransitivization

Many intransitive verbs, on being given a passive suffix, become intransitive verbs.

16. dad 'close' —> dad-hi 'be closed'  
 dǒp 'cover' —> dǒp-hi 'be covered'  
 noh 'release' —> noh-i 'be released'  
 mag 'stop up, block' —> mag-hi 'be blocked'  
 gǒd 'collect' —> gǒd-hi 'be collected'  
 an 'hold in one's arms, embrace' —> an-gi 'be embraced'  
 ssis 'wash' —> ssis-gi 'be washed'  
 jab 'catch' —> jab-hi 'be caught'

Let us consider the following examples.

17. a) John-i      mun-ıl      dad-assda  
          John-nom   door-acc   close-past  
          'John closed the door.'  
      a)' CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (DOOR, OPEN, CLOSED))  
      b) mun-i      dad-hi-ǒssda  
          door-nom   close-pass-past  
          'The door closed.'  
      b)' GO con (DOOR, OPEN, CLOSED)
18. a) John-i      jǒbsi-lıl      ssis-ǒssda  
          John-nom   dish-acc   wash-past  
          'John washed dishes.'  
      a)' CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (DISHES, y, WASHED))  
      b) jǒbsi-ga      ssis-gi-ǒssda  
          dish-nom   wash-pass-past  
          'Dishes were washed.'  
      b)' GO con (DISHES, y, WASHED)

The semantic structures of the (b) sentences in (17) and (18) are obtained by removing the causative pattern from the semantic structures of the (a) sentences. This suggests that these passives are identical with the spontaneous intransitive constructions in Japanese. These passive<sup>1</sup> sentences describe a change which is represented by GO (x, y, z) without referring to an Agent. Therefore, this type of passive generally cannot have an Agent NP.

19. jōbsi-ga \*John-ege/?John-ege-ihayō ssis-gi-ōssda  
 dish-nom John-dat/John-relying-on wash-pass-past  
 'The dishes were washed by John.'

This intransitivization is restricted to factitive verbs. Verbs like mōg 'eat' and balb 'tread on' cannot have passive sentences with an inanimate subject like (17b) and (18b) although they have passive forms mōg-hi and balb-hi. This is because they are operative rather than factitive.

20. a) John-i gi sagwa-lil mōg-ōssda  
 John-nom the apple-acc eat-past  
 'John ate the apple.'
- b)\* gi sagwa-ga mōg-hi-ōssda  
 the apple-nom eat-pass-past  
 'The apple was eaten.'
21. a) John-i dol-il balb-assda  
 John-nom stone-acc tread-on-past  
 'John trod on the stone.'
- b)\* dol-i balb-hi-ōssda  
 stone-nom tread-on-pass-past  
 'The stone was trodden on.'

The verb jab 'catch, capture' can be used either as an operative verb denoting an action of 'seizing something', or a factitive verb standing for 'catching and possessing something'. Intransitivization is possible only in the latter reading.

22. a) John-i chaegsang dari-lil jab-assda  
 John-nom desk leg-acc seize-past  
 'John grasped a leg of the desk.'

- b)\* chaegsang dari-ga jab-hi-össda  
 desk leg-nom seize-pass-past  
 'A leg of the desk was grasped.'

23. a) John-i manin gogi-lil jab-assda  
 John-nom many fish-acc catch-past  
 'John caught a lot of fish.'

- b) manin gogi-ga jab-hi-össda  
 many fish-nom catch-pass-past  
 'A lot of fish were caught.'

The word derivational rule for this intransitivization is as in (24).

24. Transitive stem + Passive {I} {U} ———> Intransitive stem

The intransitivization is semantically defined as 'anti-causativization'.

25. Causative ———> Anti-causative

CAUSE (GO (x, y, z)) GO (x, y, z)

The rule (24) and the semantic formalization in (25) clearly show that this intransitivization is exactly the reverse of the transitivization discussed in the previous section. We therefore may call the passive sentences cited in this section 'anti-causative passives'.

### 3.1 Auxiliary ji

Verbs like kke 'break', masi 'destroy' and jis 'build' do not form intransitive forms by suffixation. In these cases, the auxiliary ji is used to 'anti-causativize' the factitive verbs.

26. a) John-i changmun-il kke-össda  
 John-nom window-acc break-past  
 'John broke the window.'

b) changmun-i kke-ji-össda  
 window-nom break-pass-past  
 'The window broke.'

27. a) John-i jib-il ji-össda  
 John-nom house-acc build-past  
 'John built a house.'

b) jib-i ji-össda  
 house-nom build-pass-past  
 'A house was built.'

The auxiliary ji indicates a conditional change which is interpretable as 'become' and in many cases synonymous with the verb doe 'become'.

28. a) i bang-i kkekki~~sha~~-ge doe-össda  
 this room-nom clean-to become-past  
 'This room became clean.'

b) i bang-i kkekki~~ha~~-ji-össda  
 this room-nom clean-become-past  
 'This room became clean.'

Many transitive verbs have a ji form in addition to the intransitive forms by suffixation.

29. a) mun-i dad-hi-össda  
 door-nom close-pass-past  
 'The door closed.'
- b) mun-i dada-ji-össda  
 door-nom close-pass-past  
 'The door was closed.'

Lee (1978) points out that an intransitive form like (29a) denotes a 'spontaneous' change while the ji form presupposes or implies the existence of a 'hidden Agent'. He says that a change expressed by the ji form is the result intended by the unspecified Agent, while the intransitive forms have a strong implication that the change happened accidentally. He claims that the semantic difference between the two forms is manifest in the following examples.

30. a) mun-i jöjöllo dad-hi-össda  
 door-nom of-its-own-accord close-pass-past  
 'The door closed of its own accord.'
- b)? mun-i jöjöllo dada-ji-össda  
 'The door was closed of its own accord.'
31. a) yön-i jyöngi-jul-e göl-ri-össda  
 kite-nom electric-wire-loc hang-pass-past  
 'The kite was caught on an electric wire.'
- b) yön-i jyöngi-jul-e göl-ji-össda  
 kite-nom electric-wire-loc hang-pass-past  
 'The kite was hung on an electric wire.'

He says that sentence (31b) indicates that the kite was hung on the wire deliberately, while it may be accidental in (31a). Given the



analysis by Lee, the semantic difference between the intransitive form and the ji form can be referred to as a difference between 'process-oriented' and 'agent-oriented'. These two forms can be regarded as the sub-types of the anti-causative passive: the ji form presupposes the action of an unspecified Agent while the intransitive form does not. The difference is also manifest in that the ji form can have an Agent NP, marked by e-iihayō 'relying on', which is comparable to Japanese 'ni-yotte', more naturally than the intransitive form.

32. a) gi jib-i John-e-iihayō jiō-ji-ōssda  
           the house-nom John-relying-on build-pass-past  
           'The house was built by John.'
- b) mun-i John-e-iihayō dada-ji-ōssda  
      door-nom John-relying-on close-pass-past  
      'The door was closed by John.'
- c)? mun-i John-e-iihayō dad-hi-ōssda  
      door-nom John-relying-on close-pass-past  
      'The door closed by John.'

Sentences (32a) and (32b) both sound a little unnatural, but (32c) sounds more odd than them. It is often pointed out that this kind of passive sentence with an Agent NP is getting more and more frequent. This is the same case as Japanese anti-causative passive.

When a verb does not have the intransitive form by suffixation, the ji form covers both the functions of 'process-oriented' and 'agent-oriented'.

33. a) changmun-i jōjōllo kke-ji-ōssda (Process-oriented)  
          window-nom of-its-own-accord break-pass-past  
          'The window broke of its own accord.'

33. b) changmun-i John-e-iihayō kke-ji-ōssda (Agent-oriented)  
 window-nom John-relying-on break-pass-past

'The window was broken by John.'

### 3.2 Anti-causative Passive of 'ha' verbs

Korean, like, Japanese, has an extremely productive word formation pattern of 'abstract NP + ha ('do')'. The majority of abstract NPs composing this type of compound verb are of foreign origin, mainly Chinese.

gōnsōl-ha (construction-do) - build, construct

pagoe-ha (destruction-do) - destroy

baechi-ha (arrangement-do) - arrange

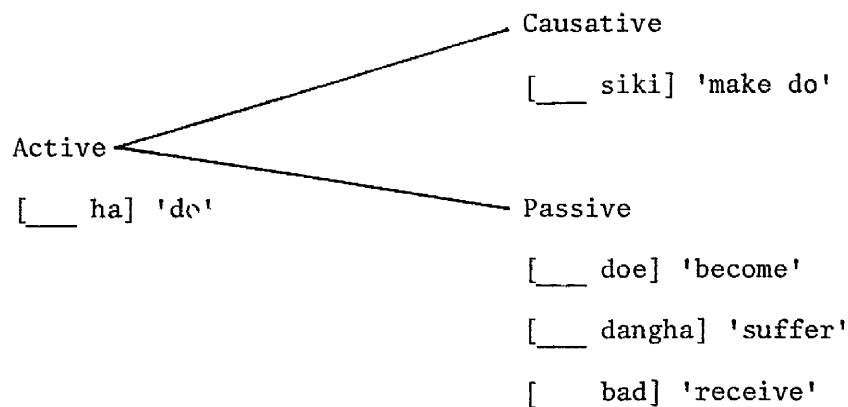
chōndae-ha (humiliation-do) - humiliate

moyog-ha (insult-do) - insult

jego-ha (rise-do) - raise

These compound verbs cannot combine with the voice suffixes. The voices of these verbs are distinguished by replacing ha 'do' with siki for the causative and doe 'become', dangha 'suffer' and bad 'receive' for the passive. The voice-marking system for ha compound verbs is as follows:

34.



It has been pointed out that the semantic opposition between the active and the anti-causative is represented by the opposition between ha 'do' and doe 'become'. Thus we may anticipate that the anti-causative of ha compound verbs must be marked by doe 'become'. Passivization by doe in fact shows the characteristics which are inherent in the anti-causative. First, passive verbs marked by doe allow inanimate subjects as well as animate ones, while passive verbs marked by the remaining two do not, as we will see later.

35. a) hagseng-dil-i    i       jib-il       gönsöl-ha-össda  
          student-pl-nom    this    house-acc    build-past  
          'The students built this house.'
- b) i       jib-i       (hagseng-dil-e-iihayö)    gönsöl-doe-össda  
          this    house-nom    student-relying-on       build-pass-past  
          'This house was built (by the students).'
36. senghwal    sujun-i       jöjöllo       jegö-doe-össda  
          life       standard-nom    of-it-own-accord    raise-pass-past  
          'The living standard rose of its own accord.'

It seems that the passive with doe is not specifically either process-oriented or agent-oriented. Sentence (35b) is semantically equivalent to an agent-oriented ji passive like (37a), while (36) is semantically equivalent to a simple intransitive sentence (37b), which is process-oriented.

37. a) i       jib-i       hagseng-dil-e-iihayö    jio-ji-össda  
          this    house-nom    student-pl-relying-on    build-pass-past  
          'This house was built by the students.'
- b) senghwal    sujun-i       jöjöllo       orr-assda  
          life       standard-nom    of-it-own-accord    rise-past  
          'The living standard rose of its own accord.'

Secondly, the passive with doe, like other anti-causative passives, is restricted basically to factitive verbs. For instance, the semantic content of moyog-ha does not fit into the factitive pattern represented by 'CAUSE (w, GO (x, y, z))' and, therefore, cannot have the doe passive form.

38. a) Mary-ga John-il moyog-ha-össda

Mary-nom John-acc insult-past

'Mary insulted John.'

b)\* John-i moyog-doe-össda

John-nom insult-pass-past

The passive form with doe and the anti-causative passive by means of suffixation can have an agent-like NP marked by the dative ege in some cases.

39. a) John-i gyöngchal-e-ijayö/ege chepo-doe-össda (doe form)

John-nom police-relying-on/dat arrest-pass-past

'John was arrested by the police.'

b) John-i gyöngchal-ege jab-hi-össda (Derived intransitive)

John-nom police-dat capture-pass-past

'John was arrested by the police.'

Kim (1964) claims that these dative NPs are oblique Agents. However, the dative ege, like Japanese ni, is ambiguous between Goal marker and passive Agent marker. The NPs with ege in (39a, b) can be interpreted simply as the Goals of the possessional changes represented as in (40).

40. GO poss (JOHN, y, POLICE)

When the subject of an active sentence is not Goal, the corresponding anti-causative passive cannot have a dative NP, as is shown in the following examples:

41. a) John-i jigwŏn-ɿl haegoha-ŏssda  
 John-nom worker-acc dismiss-past  
 'John dismissed the worker.'
- a)' CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (THE WORKER, WITH A JOB, WITHOUT A JOB))
- b) jigwŏn-i (John-\*ege/e-ɿihayŏ) haego-doe-ŏssda  
 worker-nom John-dat/relying-on dismiss-pass-past  
 'The worker was fired (by John).'
- b)' GO con (THE WORKER, WITH A JOB, WITHOUT A JOB)
42. a) janggun-i gi buha-lɿl jŏnsŏn-e  
 general-nom the subordinate-acc the-front-to  
 pagyŏnha-ŏssda  
 send-past  
 'The general sent the subordinate to the front.'
- a)' CAUSE (THE GENERAL, GO posit (THE SUBORDINATE, THE GENERAL, THE FRONT))
- b) gi buha-ga (janggun-e-ɿihayŏ/\*ege)  
 the subordinate-nom general-relying-on/dat  
 jŏnsŏn-e pagyŏn-doe-ŏssda  
 the-front-to send-pass-past  
 'The subordinate was sent to the front (by the general).'
- b)' GO posit (THE SUBORDINATE, y, THE FRONT)

The active subject in (41a) is simply Agent, and it is Agent and Source in (42a). In these cases, the corresponding anti-causative passives cannot have a dative NP corresponding to the subject NPs of the active counterparts. These facts indicate that the dative NPs in (39a) and (39b) can be plausibly regarded as Goals rather than Agents.

The opposition between the causative and the anti-causative which is typically represented by the opposition between ha and doe is summarized as follows:

43. GO (x, y, z) CAUSE (w, GO (x, y, z))
- a) doe 'become' ha 'do' (lexical opposition)
- b) nog 'melt'  $\longrightarrow$  nog-i 'melt' (Transitivization)
- c) ssis-gi 'be washed'  $\longleftarrow$  ssis 'wash' (Intransitivization)
- d) jiŏ-ji 'be built'  $\longleftarrow$  jis 'build' (ji form)
- e) gönsŏl-doe 'be built'  $\longleftarrow$  gönsŏl-ha 'build' (doe form)
- Anti-causative passive { (c)  
(d)  
(e)

#### 4. Passive of Interest

Since the causative and the passive are marked by the same suffixes in Korean, many sentences are ambiguous between the causative and the passive. Sentence (44) allows three interpretations.

44. janggun-i buha-ege mal-goppi-lil jab-hi-ŏssda  
 general-nom subordinate-dat horse-bridle seize-cause-past  
 'The general made/let the subordinate hold the bridle of his horse.'  
 'The general was subjected to the subordinate holding the  
 bridle of his horse.'

The first interpretation is that janggun 'general' caused as Agent the event that 'the subordinate hold the bridle of his horse'; the second is that he did not prevent the event from taking place; the third is that he had no control over the event and was adversely affected in consequence of it. Sentence (44) with the third interpretation is

syntactically and semantically identical with the possessive reflexive type of the 'passive of interest' in Japanese. The three interpretations share the event that the subordinate held the bridle of the general's horse. Therefore we assume that causative and passive sentences with the identical structure (44) are derived from an active sentence (45) by the introduction of a causative or permissive Agent and an Experiencer, respectively.

45. buha-ga                      janggun-i      mal-goppi-lil      jab-ōssda  
      subordinate-nom      general-gen      horse-bridle-acc      seize-past

'The subordinate held the bridle of the general's horse.'

We assign the semantic structure (46) to (45) since the verb jab 'seize' is used as an operative verb here.

46. SEIZE (THE SUBORDINATE, THE BRIDLE OF THE GENERAL'S HORSE)

If we symbolize the semantic structure (46) as 'X', the three interpretations of (44) are represented as follows:

47. a) CAUSE (THE GENERAL, (X))  
      b) LET (THE GENERAL, (X))  
      c) GET (THE GENERAL, (X))

The adoption of 'GET' in addition to 'CAUSE' and 'LET', provides the full range of representation of the ambiguity of sentences like (44).

The causative and the passive of interest are not always ambiguous. The verb mōg 'eat' has the distinct forms mōg-i for the causative and mōg-hi for the passive.

48. a) Mary-ga      gi      ai-ege      bab-il      mōg-i-ōssda  
      Mary-nom      the      child-dat      food-acc      eat-cause-past  
      'Mary made/let the child eat food.'

48. b) Mary-ga böm-ege adl-il mög-hi-össda  
 Mary-nom tiger-dat son-acc eat-pass-past

'Mary was subjected to a tiger's eating her son.'

This type of passive, like the passive of interest in Japanese, is distinct from the anti-causative passive discussed in the previous section in three ways. First, this type of passive is biased towards adverse affectedness while the anti-causative passive is neutral. The active sentence (45) does not entail that the general was adversely affected, while the passive sentence (44) does. Secondly, this type of passive does not allow an inanimate subject.

49. a) John-i chaegsang dari-lil jab-össda  
 John-nom desk leg-acc seize-past

'John grasped a leg of the table.'

- b)\* chaegsang-i John-ege dari-lil jab-hi-össda  
 desk-nom John-dat leg-acc seize-pass-past

'The desk was subjected to John's grasping its leg.'

Thirdly, this type of passive is not restricted to factitive verbs. As already pointed out, the verb jab can be used either as an operative verb denoting an action of 'seizing'/'grasping' or as a factitive verb with a sense of 'capture'. The anti-causative passive is possible only in the latter sense as we saw in (22) and (23). The passive of interest is possible with the former sense as shown in (44). The verb mög, as shown in (20) cannot have the anti-causative passive, while it can have the passive of interest as in (48b). These facts indicate that the passive sentences (44) and (48b) have exactly the same characteristics as the possessive reflexive type of the passive of interest in Japanese.



We have so far treated only the so-called indirect passive sentences. However, it will be shown in the following discussion that the notions of the 'indirect passive' and the 'passive of interest' are not compatible and that the division between the direct and the indirect passives does not capture the syntactic and semantic nature of the passive in Korean.

#### 4.1 Passive Marking of ha Compound Verbs

The compound verbs with ha 'do' in a passive sentence containing an accusative NP, i.e., a so-called indirect passive sentence, are marked by dangha 'suffer' or bad 'receive'. These passive forms are semantically in opposition to the causative siki.

50. a) gyŏngchal-i John-ii adl-ɪl chepo-ha-ŏssda  
 police-nom John-gen son-acc arrest-past  
 'The police arrested John's son.'
- b) John-i gyŏngchal-ege adl-ɪl chepo-siki-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-dat son-acc arrest-cause-past  
 'John made/let the police arrest his son.'
- c) John-i gyŏngchal-ege adl-ɪl chepo-dangha-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-dat son-acc arrest-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to the police's arresting his son.'

The passive marked by bad does not necessarily indicate that the subject is beneficially affected.

51. gidɪl-i jŏngbu-ege gwŏlri-lɪl tanob-bad-assda  
 they-nom government-dat right-acc suppress-pass-past  
 'They were subjected to the government's suppressing their rights.'

This type of passive cannot be marked by doe 'become', (see 52a), while the anti-causative passive cannot be marked by dangha or bad (see 52b).

52. a)\* John-i gyŏngchal-ege adl-il chepo-doe-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-dat son-acc arrest-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to the police's arresting his son.'
- b)\* jib-i hagseng-dil-e-ihayŏ  
 this house-nom student-pl-relying-on  
 gŏnsŏl-dangha/bad-ŏssda  
 build-pass-past  
 'This house was built by student.'

The examples above indicate that doe 'become' is an anti-causative passive marker, and dangha 'suffer' and bad 'receive' are markers of the passive of interest. What is important is that passive marking by dangha and bad is not restricted to the so-called indirect passive. The direct passive can also be marked by them. See the following examples:

53. a) gongjangju-ga jigwŏn-dil-il haegoha-ŏssda  
 factory-owner-nom worker-pl-acc dismiss-past  
 'The factory owner dismissed the workers.'
- b) jigwŏn-dil-i (gongjangju-e-ihayŏ)  
 worker-pl-nom factory-owner-relying-on  
 haego-doe-ŏssda (Anti-causative)  
 dismiss-pass-past  
 'The workers were dismissed (by the factory owner).'

53. c) jigwŏn-dŭl-i      gongjangju-ege      haego-dangha-ŏssda  
 worker-pl-nom      factory-owner-dat      dismiss-pass-past  
 'The workers were subjected to the factory owner's  
 dismissing them.'

The passive sentence (53b), being an anti-causative passive, is a neutral description of an event. The individuals denoted by the subject of (53c), by contrast, are described as persons who were adversely affected in consequence of the event. If a newscaster reported the event, he would choose (53b). If (53c) were chosen, it would give the impression that the newscaster is sympathetic to the workers.

Another piece of evidence for the analysis that the so-called direct passive is divided into the anti-causative passive and the passive of interest, is provided by passive sentences like (54a) and (54b).

54. a) John-i      Mary-ege      adŭl-iŭl      moyog-dangha-ŏssda  
 John-nom      Mary-dat      son-acc      insult-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's insulting his son.'
- b) John-i      Mary-ege      moyog-dangha-ŏssda  
 John-nom      Mary-dat      insult-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to Mary's insulting him.'

The verb moyog-ha, as a verb whose semantic content is not analysable in terms of 'factitivity', cannot have the anti-causative form marked by doe, as we pointed out in (38). This verb, however, can be passivized by dangha as in (54). This suggests that the passive sentences (54a) and (54b), which have often been characterized as an indirect passive sentence and a direct passive sentence, respectively, are best analysed as examples of the passive of interest. We admit two subtypes of the passive of interest as we did in the previous chapter: the

complete reflexive type, like (53c) and (54b), and the possessive reflexive type, like (50c), (51) and (54a). The syntactic difference between the two sub-types is accounted for by a single deletion rule as follows:

55. a) John-i gyŏngchal-ege adl-i1 chepo-dangha-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-dat son-acc arrest-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to the police's arresting his son'.  
  
 John-i (gyŏngchal-i John-ii adl-i1 chepo)  
 John-nom police-nom John-gen son-acc arrest  
 dangha-ŏssda  
 pass-past  
  
 John-i gyŏngchal-ege John-i1 adl-i1 chepo-dangha-ŏssda  
 ↓  
 deleted
- b) John-i gyŏngchal-ege chepo-dangha-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-dat arrest-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to the police's arresting him.'  
  
 John-i (gyŏngchal-i John-i1 chepo) dangha-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-nom John-acc arrest pass-past  
  
 John-i gyŏngchal-ege John-i1 chepo-dangha-ŏssda  
 ↓  
 deleted

An anti-causative passive sentence, as already pointed out, can have a dative NP when the subject of the corresponding active sentence is Goal. In this case, the anti-causative sentence is formally very similar to the passive of interest as exemplified below:

56. a) John-i gyŏngchal-ege chepo-doe-ŏssda (Anti-causative)  
 John-nom police-dat arrest-pass-past  
 'John was arrested by (to) the police.'
- a)' GO poss (JOHN, y, POLICE)
- b) John-i gyŏngchal-ege chepo-dangha-ŏssda (Passive of interest)  
 John-nom police-dat arrest-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to the police's arresting him.'
- b)' GET (JOHN (CAUSE (POLICE, GO poss (JOHN, y, POLICE)))

In passivization of a ha compound verb as in (56a) and (56b), the two types are still distinguished by the different passive markers. However, our analysis suggests the possibility that so-called direct passive sentences marked by voice suffixes like that of (57a) may be ambiguous between the two readings of the anti-causative passive and the passive of interest, which are represented in (57b) and (57c), respectively.

57. a) John-i gyŏngchal-ege jab-hi-ŏssda  
 John-nom police-dat catch-pass-past  
 'John was arrested by (to) the police.'
- 'John was subjected to the police's arresting him.'
- b) GO poss (JOHN, y, POLICE)
- c) GET (JOHN (CAUSE (POLICE, GO poss (JOHN, y, POLICE)))

The behaviour of the suffix u seems to support this analysis. The passive suffixes i, gi, ri and hi have a further possibility of being followed by another suffix u to yield a complex passive marker. Kim (1964:197) points out that this double suffixation is very frequently used in the north-eastern area of Korea and is spreading to other dialects. One interesting fact is that this double suffixation has a distribution which is more restricted than that of single suffixation. First, double

suffixation is blocked in a passive sentence with an inanimate subject. The following anti-causative passive sentences with inanimate subjects cannot have u.

58. a)\* jŏbsi-ga ssis-gi-u-ŏssda  
dish-nom wash-pass-pass-past

'Dishes were washed.'

- b)\* mun-i yŏl-ri-u-ŏssda  
door-nom open-pass-pass-past

'The door opened.'

Passive sentences with an animate subject allow double suffixation whether they have an accusative NP or not.

59. a) John-i gyŏngchal-ege jab-hi-u-ŏssda  
John-nom police-dat catch-pass-pass-past  
'John was subjected to the police's arresting him.'
- b) John-i gyŏngchal-ege adl-ŏl jab-hi-u-ŏssda  
John-nom police-dat son-acc catch-pass-pass-past  
'John was subjected to the police's arresting his son.'
- c) John-i bŏm-ege pal-ŏl mŏg-hi-u-ŏssda  
John-nom tiger-dat arm-acc eat-pass-pass-past  
'John was subjected to a tiger's eating his arm.'

When the subject is low in animacy, the passive sentence with u sounds odd. The passive sentence (23b) which is cited below again, sounds off with u.

- 60.? manin gogi-ga jab-hi-u-ŏssda  
many fish-nom catch-pass-pass-past  
'A lot of fish were caught.'

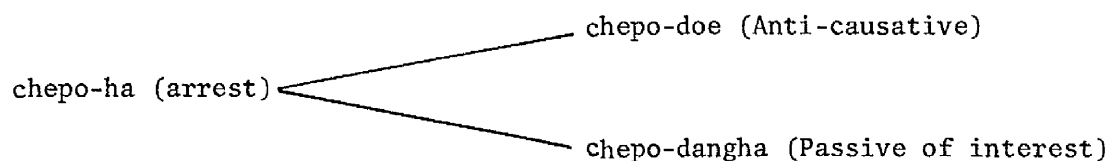
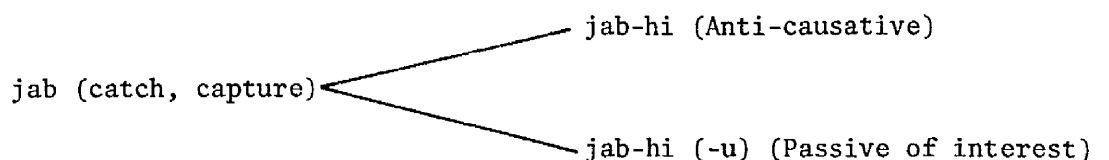
In (60), 'fish' is described as being emotionally affected by being caught.

The discussion above shows that u has the same distribution as dangha which is a marker of the passive of interest. From this we assume that u is a passive marker inherent in the passive of interest. The suffix u functions to disambiguate the passive of interest and the anti-causative passive in cases like (57a). In (53), we saw that passive marking by dangha is not appropriate for a neutral report of a fact. Double suffixation is also inappropriate for the simple report of a fact.

61. a) bömin-i      gyöngchal-ege      jab-hi-össda  
          criminal-nom      police-dat      catch-pass-past  
          'The criminal was arrested by the police.'  
          'The criminal was subjected to the police arresting him.'
- b) bömin-i      gyöngchal-ege      jab-hi-u-össda  
          criminal-nom      police-dat      catch-pass-past  
          'The criminal was subjected to the police's arresting him.'

Sentence (61b) is not appropriate for the neutral report of the fact by a newscaster, while (61a) is.

We have so far pointed out that Korean, like Japanese, has two types of passive: the anti-causative passive and the passive of interest. We also demonstrated that the semantic and syntactic nature of the passive in Korean cannot be captured by the traditional classification into the direct passive and the indirect passive. Moreover, some 'direct passive' sentences with an animate subject are ambiguous between the anti-causative passive and the passive of interest. The formal opposition between the anti-causative passive and the passive of interest is represented as follows:



We have admitted two sub-types of the passive of interest: the complete reflexive type and the possessive reflexive type. Japanese has a third type of the passive of interest: the non-reflexive type, like (62).

62. John-ga sono kodomo-ni nak-are-ta  
 John-nom the child-dat cry-pass-past  
 'John was subjected to the child's crying.'

This type of passive of interest is lacking in Korean. For example, (63) is interpreted only as a causative sentence.

63. John-i gi ai-ege ul-ri-össda  
 John-nom the child-dat cry-cause-past  
 'John let the child cry.'

Thus we have:

64. Japanese

|                     |   |                           |
|---------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Passive of interest | { | Complete reflexive type   |
|                     |   | Possessive reflexive type |
|                     |   | Non-reflexive type        |



64 (continued)

Korean

Passive of interest

{ Complete reflexive type  
Possessive reflexive type

5. Attributive Passive

Korean also has an attributive passive, exemplified in (65).

65. a) John-i i jabji-lil ilg-össda

John-nom this magazine-acc read-past

'John read this magazine.'

b)\* i jabji-ga John-ege ilg-hi-össda

this magazine-nom John-dat read-pass-past

'This magazine was read by John.'

66. a) manin chöngnyön-dil-i i jabji-lil ilg-ninda

many young-people-pl-nom this magazine-acc read-pres

'Many young people read this magazine.'

b) i jabji-ga manin chöngnyön-dil-ege ilg-hi-nda

this magazine-nom many young-people-pl-dat read-pass-past

'This magazine is read by many young people.'

This type of passive, like the attributive passive in Japanese, is allowed only when the rest of the sentence attributes some property to the participant denoted by the subject. The primary function of this type, as pointed out in the previous chapter, is to 'foreground' the direct object NP to the subject position to make the predication of its attribute more natural.

We have so far confirmed that our analysis of the Japanese passive applies well to the Korean passive. The two languages have three types of passives which are syntactically and semantically parallel. The two languages differ, as far as the passive is concerned, only in that Korean does not have the non-reflexive type of the passive of interest and that passivization in Korean is more lexically conditioned.

NOTE TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. In Chapter Four, the Japanese intransitive constructions comparable to this type of Korean 'passive' were referred to simply as 'spontaneous' constructions. Whether to use the term 'passive' seems to be almost a terminological matter. However, there is one reason for using the term 'passive' here. That is the fact that these 'intransitivizers' are also used as markers for other types of passive in Korean.

## CHAPTER SIX

SOME TYPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE  
PASSIVE AND THE DATIVE-SHIFT

In this section, the passive in English and the 'passive of interest' in Korean and Japanese are compared in relation to the Dative-shift.

Within Relational Grammar, it is claimed that direct objects and only direct objects can become subjects of passive sentences. According to the Universals of passivization proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1977), which are adopted also by Bresnan (1982), the passive is derived by promoting the direct object of an active clause to the subject of a passive clause while the original subject loses its grammatical relation, as we saw in Chapter Four. In English, the indirect object is assumed to be promoted to direct object via 'Dative-shift' before being promoted to the subject of a passive clause, as shown in (1).

1. a) John gave a book to Mary. (IO)
- b) John gave Mary a book. (DO)
- c) Mary was given a book. (SUBJ)

Sometimes the term 'Dative-shift' is used in a broader sense from a functional point of view to explain the relation between such sentences as (2a) and (2b).

- 2 a) Mary hit John's face.
- b) Mary hit John in the face. (DO)
- c) John was hit in the face. (SUBJ)

Thus, passivization in English is often accounted for in connexion with Dative-shift. From the semantic viewpoint, Dative-shift and

passivization in English seem to depend on the fact that the participant to whom the action is directed is 'affected'. 'Giving a book to Mary' in (1) necessarily entails 'causing Mary to have a book', and 'hitting John's face' necessarily entails 'hitting John' because of the inalienable relation between 'John' and 'his face'. These necessarily entailments can be formalized as in (3) according to our analysis proposed in Chapter Two.

3. a) CAUSE (JOHN, GO poss (A BOOK, JOHN, MARY))  
       —→ CAUSE (JOHN, GO con (MARY, y, WITH A BOOK))
- b) HIT (MARY, JOHN'S FACE) —→ HIT (MARY, JOHN)

This type of affectedness, involving the participant to whom the action is directed, was called 'objective affectedness' in Chapter Four.

An analogue of the Dative-shift in Korean, as described in Chapter Two, is double-accusativization. Double accusativization, like Dative-shift in English, depends on the demantic notion of 'objective affectedness'.

4. a) ōmoni-ga ai-ege/lil yag-il mōg-i-ōssda  
       mother-nom child-dat/acc medicine-acc feed-past  
       'Mother gave { medicine to her child }  
                   { her child medicine } .'
- b) John-i ai-il/lil son-il jab-ōssda  
       John-nom child-gen/acc hand-acc catch-past  
       'John grasped { the child's hand }  
                   { the child by the hand } .'
- c) jog-i John-il/\*il adl-il salhaeha-ossda  
       enemy-nom John-gen/acc son-acc slaughter-past  
       'The enemy slaughtered John's son.'

Double-accusativization is allowed in (4a) and (4b) since both sentences mean that the subject NP took an action aimed at affecting the referent of

the NP which is optionally accusativized. Sentence (4c) cannot be double-accusativized since it does not necessarily mean that 'the enemy intended to affect John' or that the action taken by 'the enemy' was directed to 'John'. However, what seems serious as regards the universal characterization proposed by Perlmutter and Postal is that sentence (4c), as well as (4a) and (4b), can be passivized in spite of lacking the double-accusative form.

5. a) ai-ga      ŏmŏni-ege      yag-ɿl      mŏg-hi-ŏssda  
          child-nom    mother-dat    medicine-acc    feed-pass-past  
          'The child was subjected to his mother giving him medicine.'
- b) ai-ga      John-ege      son-ɿl      jab-hi-ŏssda  
          child-nom    John-dat    hand-acc    catch-pass-past  
          'The child was subjected to John's grasping his hand.'
- c) John-i      jŏg-ege      adl-ɿl      salhae-dangha-ŏssda  
          John-nom    enemy-dat    son-acc    slaughter-pass-past  
          'John was subjected to the enemy's slaughtering his son.'

Passivization in Korean has often been explained on the basis of double-accusativization (Kim 1964, Sung 1976): the indirect object or the possessor NP becomes the direct object by taking the accusative marker and then becomes the subject of a passive sentence. This analysis is compatible with the characterization of passivization in Relational Grammar. However, passive sentences like (5c) are serious counter-examples to the attempt to account for the passive in Korean on the basis of double-accusativization.

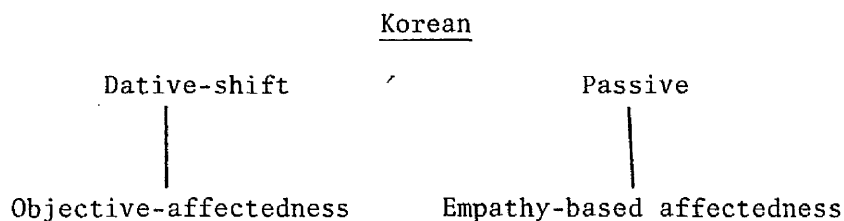
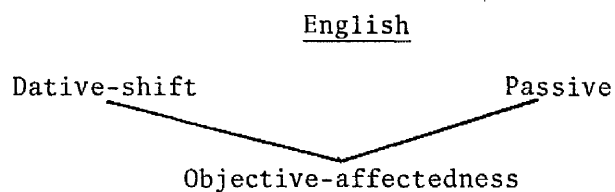
In Chapter Four we pointed out that in Japanese, as well as transitive verbs, intransitive verbs which do not express any intention of the subject can be passivized.

6. a) ame-ga hut-ta  
rain-nom fall-past  
'It rained.'
- b) John-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta  
John-nom rain-dat fall-pass-past  
'John was rained on.'

Examples (5c) and (6b) show that the passives in Korean and Japanese are independent of the subject's intention and the 'directedness' of the action or event, and also independent of direct-objecthood. The passive sentences (5c) and (6b) mean that the subject NPs are emotionally affected in consequence of events which took place independently of them. We defined this type of passive as the 'passive of interest' since these passive sentences are used when the speaker describes an event from the viewpoint of the concerns of a particular individual. We argued in the foregoing that the affectedness expressed in these passive sentences may be called 'empathy-based affectedness'. The relation between an 'event' and 'objective affectedness' and the relation between an 'event' and 'empathy-based affectedness' was referred to, in logical terms, as a 'cause-effect' relation and a 'reason-effect' relation, respectively. The cause is a necessary and sufficient condition for producing the effect while the reason may be just a necessary condition for the effect.

We have so far pointed out that, in English, Dative-shift and passive both depend on the semantic notion of 'objective affectedness' while, in Korean, Dative-shift depends on 'objective affectedness' and the passive of interest on 'empathy-based affectedness'. The difference between English and Korean is shown in (7).

7.



It seems that the characterization of the passive in terms of direct-objecthood applies only to those languages whose passive semantically depends on objective affectedness.

It is interesting to note that the notion of empathy-based affectedness used to be relevant even to the English dative. Earlier English had a so-called 'ethical dative' (Curme 1931) or 'emotional indirect object' (Jespersen 1961), exemplified in (8).

8. a) Why, he would slip you out of this chocolate-house.  
 b) Whip me such honest knaves.

In the period in which English had the ethical dative, the NPs preceded by the preposition on in (9) were expressed by the simple dative form. The use of on is a later development.

9. a) The fire has gone out on me.  
 b) He has gone back on me.  
 c) My son died on me.

In (9a), the event that 'the fire has gone out' seems to be best regarded



as the 'reason' for the affectedness of me rather than its cause. It is plausible to assume, then, that at an earlier period the notion of objective affectedness was subsumed under empathy-based affectedness just as the cause-effect relation is logically included in the reason-effect relation. It follows that English, as far as the dative is concerned, has changed from a language in which the reason-effect relation is relevant to one which mainly expresses the cause-effect relation. Without this historical change specific to English, Dative-shift and the passive could hardly have been correlated. The discussion so far shows that Dative-shift and passivization should be regarded as two grammatical processes which are, in principle, independent of each other.

Syntactically, passivization has been analysed as intransitivization (Perlmutter and Postal 1977) or a process of decreasing the number of arguments taken by a predicate:  $P_n + 1 \longrightarrow P_n$  (Keenan 1982, 1985). In my view, this is the syntactic characterization of one type of passive, namely the passive depending on the notion of objective affectedness. The other type of passive, i.e., the passive depending on empathy-based affectedness is, on the contrary, characterized as a process of introducing a new argument. For instance, the passive subject John in (6b) never appears as an argument taken by the corresponding active verb. This type of passive, like the ethical dative, is used when the speaker describes an event not from a neutral viewpoint, but in terms of the interest of somebody who may or, typically, may not be directly involved in the event denoted by the verb. This 'indirect participant' is naturally expressed as a new argument which is outside the scope of the transitivity of the verb, and modifies the sentence as a whole.

Characterizing the passive and the ethical dative as processes of introducing a new argument which is related to the sentence as a whole also explains a property common to the passive of interest in Japanese and the English ethical dative, namely that they are independent of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. This characterization also provides some account of the formal similarity between the passive and the causative in Korean and Japanese, and even in English. We have seen that the passive and the causative in Korean and Japanese are formally very similar. In English, what semantically corresponds to the ethical dative is not the ordinary be-passive, but the so-called the 'passive of experience', as in (10). Sentence (10b), like some Korean passive sentences, is ambiguous between the passive and the causative.

10. a) I had my son die.

b) I had the door shut.

The formal similarity between the causative and the passive depending on empathy-based affectedness may be attributed to the fact that they are both characterized as processes of introducing a new argument.

The foregoing has clarified the following points:

- i) The notion of 'affectedness' is divided into two types: one is 'objective affectedness', and the other 'empathy-based affectedness'. Logically, the former corresponds to the cause-effect relation while the latter corresponds to the reason-effect relation.
- ii) The two types of affectedness correspond to two types of passives which are represented by the be-passive in English and the passive of interest in Japanese and Korean, respectively.

- iii) The passive depending on objective affectedness is syntactically characterized as decreasing the number of arguments of the clause, while the passive depending on empathy-based affectedness is characterized as a process of introducing a new argument.

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