The Syntax and Semantics of Japanese <u>Te-Morau</u> Constructions

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to examine the source of adverse meaning in Japanese passives and the degree of adverse meaning. For this purpose, I claim that te-morau is a passive construction equivalent to the rare-ru passive. The rare-ru passive is marked with ni --rare-ru; ni is a postposition equivalent to a preposition, 'by', in English, rare is a passive morpheme, and ru indicates present tense. Case marking in passives (direct and indirect) is NP-ga NP-ni (NP-o) P-rare-ru.

(1) is an example of the rare-ru direct passive:

(1) John ga Mary ni hur-are-ta.
     NOM   by desert-PASS-tense
  "John was deserted by Mary."

The deep structure of (1) is:

(2) Mary ga John o hut-ta.
     NOM   ACC desert-tense
  "Mary deserted John."

(3) is an example of the rare-ru indirect passive:

(3) John ga kodomo ni kuruma o tukaw-are-ta.
     NOM child by car   ACC use-PASS-tense
  "John was used the car by his child."(literal)
  (John was embarrassed by his child's using his car.)

The deep structure of (3) is (4):

(4) John ga [kodomo ga kuruma o tukau] rare-ta.

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          NOM[ child   NOM car    ACC use ] PASS-tense
          [John's child uses his car ]
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As (4) shows, it has an extra noun phrase 'John'.

(5) is an example of the _rare-ru_ indirect passive with an
intransitive verb:

(5) Petto-ya ga inu ni sin-are-ta.
    pet dealer dog by die-PASS-tense
    "The pet dealer was died on by the dog."(literal)
    (The pet dealer was embarrassed by the dog's death.)

The deep structure of (5) is (6):

(6) Petto-ya ga [inu ga sinu] rare-ta.
    pet dealer [dog NOM die] PASS-tense

Petto-ya 'pet dealer' is an extra noun phrase, and _sinu_ 'die' is
an intranstive verb.

Like the _rare-ru_ passive, the _te-morau_ construction is marked
with _ni---te-morau_. I argue that this construction is a
passive; the _ni_ nominal is a final 1 Chomeur and _te-morau_ is a
passive morpheme. The case marking in the construction is NP-_ga_
NP-_ni_ (NP-_o_) P-_te-morau,_ as seen in (7) and (8):

(7) John ga Mary ni sore o osie-te-morat-ta.
        NOM   by it ACC teach-PASS-tense
    "John got taught it by Mary."
    (John received a favor of being taught it by Mary.)

(8) Mary ga isya ni mi-te-morat-ta.
        NOM doctor by examine-PASS-tense
    "Mary received a favor of being examined by the doctor."

I claim that the deep structures of (7) and (8) are (9) and (10),
respectively::

(9) Mary ga John ni sore o osie-ta.
    NOM   DAT it   ACC teach-tense
    "Mary taught it to John."

(10) Isya ga Mary o mi-ta.
     doctor NOM ACC examine-tense
     "The doctor examined Mary."

Like the rare-ru passive, the te-morau construction has two
types: the direct structure which consists of a single clause
and the indirect structure which involves two clauses. The
indirect structure has an extra noun phrase which the direct
structure lacks.

(11) and (12) are examples of the te-morau direct and indirect
constructions, respectively:

(11) John ga Mary ni ryoori-si-te-morat-ta.
                     by cook-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being cooked for himself by Mary."

(12) John ga Mary ni ki-te-morat-ta.
     NOM   by come-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of Mary's coming."

The deep structures of (11) and (12) are (13) and (14),
respectively.

(13) Mary ga John no-tame-ni (or ni-kawa-te) ryoorisu-ru.
                    for the sake of (instead of) cook-tense
     "Mary cooks for John."

(14) John ga [Mary ga kuru] te-morat-ta.
     NOM   NOM come PASS-tense

(14) shows that the te-morau indirect structure involves the
extra noun phrase 'John'.

    Sase-ru clauses are causative.   (15) is an example of a
sase-ru causative clause.

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(15) Mary ga John ni sara o araw-ase-ta.
                    DAT dishes wash-cause-tense
    "Mary made John wash the dishes."

Te-morau constructions are also considered a causative. (16) is

an example of te-morau construction.

(16) Mary ga John ni kotae o osie-te-morat-ta.
                    answer   tell-receive-tense
    "Mary received a favor of being told the answer by John."

    Some rare-ru passive sentences carry

adverse meanings and some neutral meanings. (17) is an example of

adverse meaning:

(17) John ga kodomo ni hayaku okir-are-ta.
      NOM child by early   get-up-PASS-tense
    "John was got up on by his child."(literal)
    (John was embarrassed by his child's getting up early.)

The deep structure of (17) is:

(18) John ga [kodomo ga hayaku oki-ru] rare-ta.
      NOM[child NOM early get up] PASS-tense

(19) is an example of neutral meaning:

(19) Sinbun ga syoonen niyori haitatus-are-ta.
    newspaper boy   by   deliver-PASS-tense
    "The newspaper was delivered by the boy."

The deep structure of (19) is (20):

(20) Syoonen ga sinbun o haitatusi-ta.
    boy   NOM newspaper ACC deliver-tense
    "The boy delivered the newspaper."

(17) carries an adverse meaning while (19) does not. On the other

hand, the te-morau direct and indirect passives equivalent to

the rare-ru passive do not convey adverse meanings. (21) and (22)

are examples of the te-morau direct and indirect passives,

respectively:

(21) John ga Mary ni aisi-te-morat-ta.
     NOM   by love PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being loved by Mary."

(22) John ga kodomo ni hayaku arui-te-morat-ta.
     NOM child by fast   walk-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of his child's walking fast."

The deep structures of (21) and (22) are (23) and (24),

respectively:

(23) Mary ga John o aisi-ta.
     NOM   ACC love-tense
     "Mary loved John."

(24) John ga [kodomo ga hayaku aruku] te-morat-ta.
     NOM[child NOM fast   walk] PASS-tense

As the English translations show, (21) and (22) do not carry

adverse meanings. Kuno (1973) claims that the adverse meaning

is structurally derived: the indirect passive which involves two

clauses carries an adverse meaning whereas the direct passive

which involves a single clause does not. However, Howard and

Niyekawa-Howard (1976) argue that a structural basis for neutral

versus adverse meanings is counterexemplified by examples like

(25):

(25) Kodomo ga ryoosin ni sima ni nokos-are-ta.
     child NOM parents by island on leave-PASS-tense
     "The child was left on the island by his parents."

The deep structure of (25) is:

(26) Ryoosin ga kodomo o sima ni nokosi-ta.
    parents NOM child ACC island on leave-tense
    "The parents left their child on the island."

Despite the fact that (25) is a direct passive, it carries an adverse meaning; "the child was embarrassed by being left on the island by his parents".

Chapter 1 will examine the syntactic properties of the te-morau construction. Section 1 will examine the syntactic properties of ga nominal, section 2 will summarize section 1, section 3 will examine the syntactic properties of ni nominal, and section 4 will summarize section 3. In section 5, I will argue that the te-morau construction is a passive, not a causative, as previously asserted. 5.1 will give evidence against the 3-hood of the ni nominal, and 5.2 will show evidence against the OBL ni nominal. Section 6 will summarize the chapter.

Chapter 2 investigates the semantic properties of the rare-ru and the te-morau passives. Section 1 will show the degree of affect. In section 2, I will discuss 'consensus'. Section 3 will conclude the chapter.

Footnotes

1. a. It is not known under what circumstances _ni_ and _ni-yori_ are discriminately used. In most cases, inanimate final 1 nominal (except for organizations) appears with _ni-yori_, animate final 1 nominal appears with either _ni_ or _ni-yori_.

   b. In the deep structure, the direct passive has a single clause, whereas the indirect passive has two clauses. The former has one nominative but the latter two, of which the nominative of the main clause is an extra noun. The following are the tree diagrams of the deep structure of the direct passive and the indirect passive:
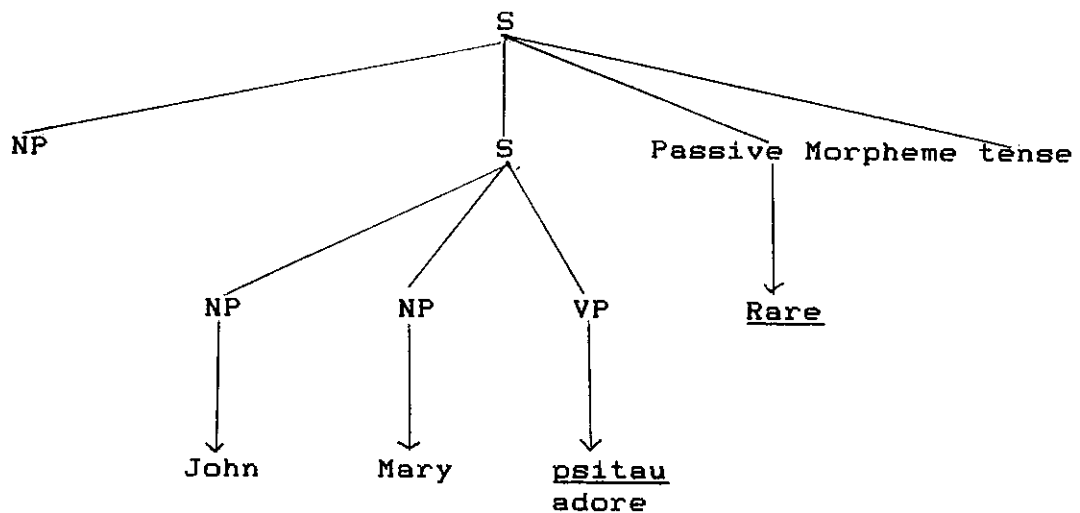
i. Direct passive

ii. Indirect passive
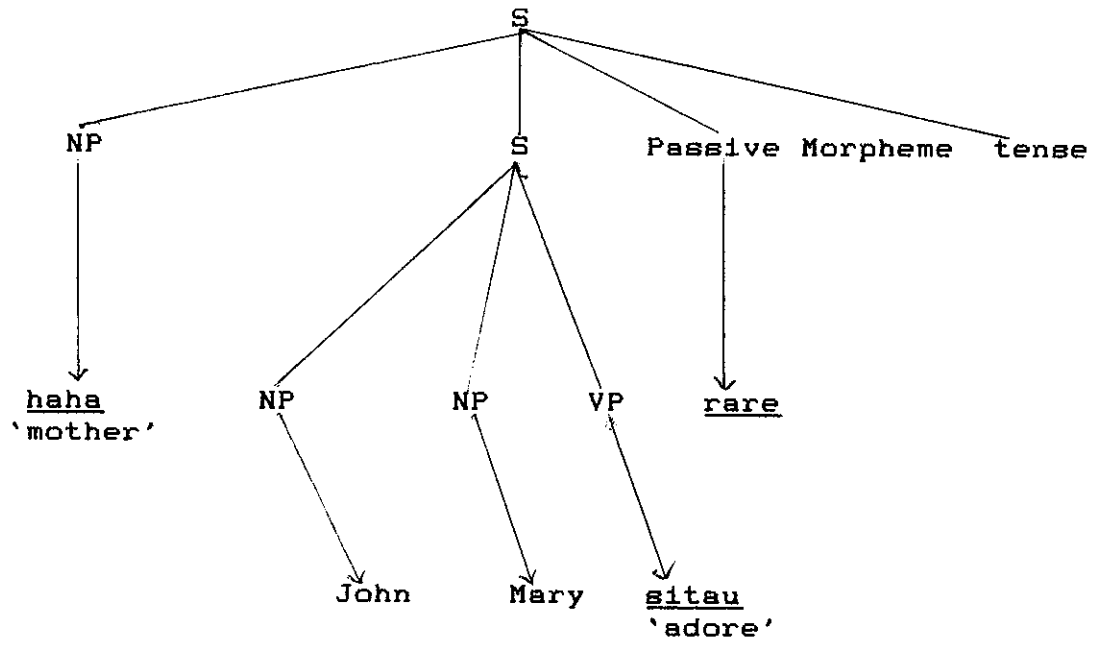
Chapter I

Syntax of the <u>Rare-Ru</u> Passive and the <u>Te-Morau</u> Construction

O. Introduction

This chapter examines the syntax of the <u>rare-ru</u> passive and the <u>te-morau</u> construction. I will present evidence that the <u>te-morau</u> construction is also a passive: a comparison of the <u>te-morau</u> examples in (1) with the <u>rare-ru</u> clause in (2) shows their surface similarity.

(1) John ga Mary ni uta o utat-te-morat-ta.
       NOM   bY song ACC sing-PASS-tense
    "John received a favor of being sung a song by Mary."
                                                  1
(2) John ga Mary ni uta o utai-kikas-are-ta.
                   by song   sing-listen-PASS-tense
    "John was sung a song by Mary."

The corresponding active sentence of both (1) and (2) is (3):

(3) Mary ga John ni uta o utat-ta.
        NOM   DAT song ACC sing-tense
    "Mary sang a song for John."

The Relational Grammar account of sentences (1) and (2) posits that 'Mary' in (3) heads a 1-arc at the initial level, but heads a final 1-Chomeur arc while 'John' heads an OBL-arc at the initial level, a 2-arc at the second level, and a 1-arc at the final level, as represenred in the structural diagram in
  2
(4):

C_1 P / C_2 P / C_1 1 / C_2 1 / C_1 BEN C_2 1 / C_1 2 / C_2 2

utau 'sing'   Mary   John   uta 'song'
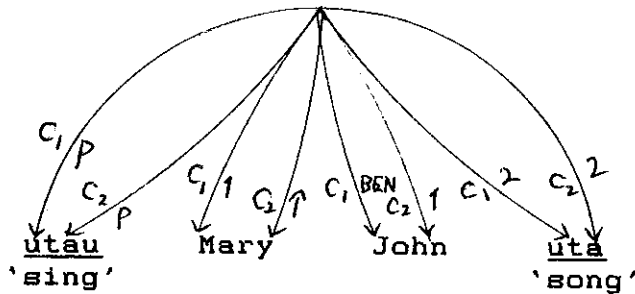
1. Evidence for the Final 1

Final 1s in Japanese are marked with the nominative case ga; they control Subject Honorification, Nagara-Constructions, and Reflexivization. The ga nominal of both the rare-ru and te-morau constructions has these properties.

1.1. Subject Honorification

Only final 1s control Subject Honorification (henceforth SH; cf. Harada) in Japanese, as seen in (5). [3]

(5) a. Kootyoo ga John o tazune-ta.
       principal   visit-tense
       "The principal visited John."

    b. Kootyoo ga John o o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.

       principal NOM ACC SH-visit-SH-tense
       "The principal visited John."

    c. *John ga kootyoo o o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.
             principal SH-visit-SH-tense
       "John visited the principal."

The ga nominals of (5a),(5b),and (5c) are final 1s and thus potential controllers of SH; (5b) is acceptable because SH refers to the ga nominal 'principal', an honorable person, while (5c) is unacceptable because SH would not refer to 'John'. Furthermore, (5c) shows that an object cannot control SH.

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Likewise, the _ga_ nominal of the _rare-ru_ passive controls SH, as
in (6) and (7).

(6) a. Kootyoo ga John ni tazune-rare-ta.
       principal   by visit-PASS-tense
       "The principal was visited by John."

    b. Kootyoo ga John ni o-tazune-o-s-are-ni-nat-ta.
                         by SH-visit-SH-PASS-tense
       "The principal was visited by John."

    c. *John ga kootyoo ni o-tazune o-s-are-ni-nat-ta.
                         by SH-visit-SH-PASS-tense
       "John was visited by the principal."

(7) a. Syatyoo ga kodomo ni hayaku okir-are-ta.
       president child by early get-up-PASS-tense
       "The president was got up on early by the child."(literal)
       (The president was embarrrassed by the child's getting up
       early.)

    b. Syatyoo ga kodomo ni haysku o-oki o-nas-are-ni-nat-ta.
       president child by early SH-get-up-SH-PASS-SH-tense.
       "The president was got up on early by the child."(literal)
       (The president was embarrassed by the child's getting up
       early.)

    c. *John ga syatyoo ni hayaku o-oki-o-nas-are-ni-nat-ta.
              president by early SH-get-up-SH-PASS-SH-tense
       "John was got up on early by the president."
       (John was embarrassed by the president's getting up early.)

In (6b) and (7b), but not (6c) and (7c), the _ga_ nominal is

honorable and controls SH.

The _ga_ nominal of the _te-morau_ construction also controls SH, as

(8) and (9) show.

(8) a. Kootyoo ga John ni o-tazune-ni-nat-te-o-morai-ni-nat-ta.
       principal   by SH-visit-SH-SH-PASS-SH-tense

       "The principal got visited by John."
       (The received a favor of being visited by John.)

    b. *John ga kootyoo ni o-tazune-ni-nat-te-o-morai-ni-nat-ta.
                         by SH-visit-SH-SH-PASS-SH-tense
       "John got visited by the principal."
       (John received a favor of being visited by the principal.)

(9) a. Syatyoo ga kodomo ni hayaku oki-te-morat-ta.
       president child by early get-up-PASS-tense
       "The president received a favor of the child's getting up
       early."

    b. Syatyoo ga kodomo ni hayaku o-oki-ni-<u>nat</u>-te-o-morai-ni-
       president child by early SH-get-up-SH-SH-PASS-SH-
       <u>nat</u>-ta.
           tense
       "The president received a favor of the child's getting up
       early."

    c. *Kodomo ga syatyoo ni hayaku o-oki-ni-<u>nat</u>-te-o-morai-ni-
        child   president by early SH-get-up-SH-SH-PASS-SH-
        <u>nat</u>-ta.
            tense
        "The child received a favor of the president's getting up
        early."

1.2. <u>Nagara</u> Constructions

<u>Nagara</u> Constructions (cf. Perlmutter) offer further evidence
that the <u>ga</u> nominal of the <u>te-morau</u> construction is a final 1.
<u>Nagara</u> is a subordinate conjunction, which is equivalent to
English conjunctions, 'although', 'despite', 'but', etc.

In <u>Nagara</u> Constructions, the subject of a main clause must
be identical with the final 1 of a subordinate clause, as seen in
the following examples:

(10) a. <u>John</u> wa keisatukan de ari-nagara, <u>kare</u> wa sono <u>otoko</u> o
        i/*j   i   j
            policeman   be although he   the man ACC
        korosi-ta.
        kill-tense
        "Although John is a policeman, he killed the man."

     b. *<u>John</u> wa keisatukan de ari-nagara, sono <u>otoko</u> wa <u>kare</u>
        *i/j   i   j
            policeman   be although   the man TOP he
        o korosi-ta.
        ACC kill-tense
        "Although John is a policeman, the man killed him."

Similarly, the <u>ga</u> nominal of the <u>rare-ru</u> passive is coreferential

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with the final 1 in the <u>Nagara</u> Constructions, as seen in (11) and (12).

(11) a. <u>John</u> wa keisatukan de ari-nagara, <u>kare</u> wa sono <u>otoko</u> ni
    i/*j   i   j
              policeman   be although he   the   man   by
    koras-are-ta.
    kill-PASS-tense
    "Although John was a policeman, he was killed by the man."

    b. *<u>John</u> wa keisatukan de ari-nagara, sono <u>otoko</u> wa <u>kare</u> ni
       *i/j   i   j
              policeman   be although the man TOP him by
    koras-are-ta.
    kill-PASS-tense
    "Although John was a policeman, the man was killed by John.

(12) a. <u>Otoosan</u> wa isya de ari-nagara, <u>kare</u> wa <u>kodomo</u> ni byooki
    i/*j   i   j
    father   doctor be although he   child by ill
    ni-nar-are-ta.
        become-tense
    "Although the father is a doctor, he was become ill on by his child."
    (Although the father is a doctor, he was embarrssed by his child's becoming ill.)

    b. *<u>Otoosan</u> wa isya de ari-nagara, <u>kodomo</u> wa <u>kare</u> ni byooki
       *i/j   i   j
    father   doctor be although child him ill
    ni-nar-are-ta.
        become-PASS-tense
    "Although his father is a doctor, the child was become ill on by him."(literal)
    (Although his father is a doctor, the child was embarrassed by his father's becoming ill.)

The <u>ga</u> nominal of the <u>te-morau</u> construction is also coreferential with the final 1 of a subordinate clause, as in (13) and (14).

(13) a. <u>John</u> wa seiseki wa youkunai ga, <u>kare</u> wa sono <u>hito</u> ni
    i/*j   i   j
              academic good not though   the person by
              record
    yatot-te-morat-ta.
    hire-PASS-tense

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"Though John did not have a good academic grade, he got hired by the company."

b. *<u>John</u> wa sensei ni yoku sikar-are-ta ga, <u>sensei</u> wa <u>kare</u> ni
   *i/j   i   j
       teacher by often scold-PASS-tense but teacher him by
   sitat-te-mora-ta.
   adore-PASS-tense
   "Although John was often scolded by the teacher, the

   teacher was adored by him."

(14) a. <u>Boku</u> wa daihyo sensyu de ari-nagara, <u>boku</u> wa <u>hoka no</u>
        i/*j   i
        I   delegate   be although   I   another
        <u>hito</u> ni oyoi-de-morat-at.
           j
        person by swim-PASS-tense
        "Although I was a delegate swimmer, I received a favor of
        someone else's swimming for me."

   b*<u>Boku</u> wa daihyo sensyu de wa nai ga, <u>John</u> wa <u>bokuni</u> ni
     *i/j   i   j
        I   delegate   be-not although   by
     oyoi-de-morat-ta.
     swim-PASS-tense
     "Although I was not a delegate swimmer, John received a
     favor of my swimming for him."

1.3. Reflexivization

   In Japanese, the reflexive pronoun <u>zibun</u> 'self'

refers only to subjects (cf. Kuno), as shown in (15).

(15) a. <u>Titi</u> ga <u>zibun</u> no heya de sinbun o yon-de-iru.
           i   i
        father self GEN room in newpsper reading be
        "My father is reading the newspaper in self's (his own)
        room."

   b. <u>John</u> ga <u>Mary</u> o <u>zibun</u> no ie de home-ta.
         i   j   i/*j
                          self GEN house in praise-tense
      "John praised Mary in self's (his) house."

   c. <u>John</u> ga <u>haha</u> ni <u>Mary</u> o <u>zibun</u> no heya de syookai-si-ta.
         i   j   k   i/*j*k
              mother DAT   self   introduce-tense
      "John introduced Mary to his mother in self's (his)
      room."

Likewise, zibun of the rare-ru passive refers only to ga nominals, as seen in (16) and (17).

(16) John ga oji ni zibun no ie de home-rare-ta.
      i   j   i/*j
            uncle by self's house in praise-PASS-tense
      "John was praised by his uncle in self's (his) house."

(17) Ryoosin wa Mary ni zibun no heya de nemur-are-ta.
        i   j   i/*j
      parents   by self   room in sleep-PASS-tense
      "The parents were slept on by Mary in self's (their) room."
      (literal)
      (The parents were embarrassed by Mary's sleeping in self's
      room.)

zibun in the te-morau construction also refers only to ga nominals, as shown in (18) and (19).

(18) John ga oji ni zibun no ie de home-te-morat-ta.
      i   j   i/*j
            uncle by self's house in praise-PASS-tense
      "John got praised by his uncle in self's (his) house."

(19) Ryoosin wa Mary ni zibun no heya made ki-te-morat-ta.
        i   j   i/*j
      parents   by self's   room to come-PASS-tense
       "The parents received a favor of Mary's coming to self's
      (their) room."

2. Summary

     This section showed that the ga nominal of the te-morau construction controls SH, Nagara Constructions, and Reflexivization. These facts support the claim that the ga nominal of the te-morau construction is a final 1.

3. Evidence For Chomeur

     The analysis I am proposing is that the te-morau construction is a passive and the ni nominal in this construction is a final 1-Chomeur. Evidence for this comes from the fact that the ni

nominal of the te-morau construction has the same properties as the ni nominal of the rare-ru passive. Evidence will be presented based on Object Honorification, Quantifier float, and Extractions.

3.1. Object Honorification

The ni nominal controls Object Honorification (henceforth OH; cf. Harada[4]), as seen in (20).

(20) a. John ga sensei ni at-ta.
           teacher DAT meet-tense
     "John met the teacher."

     b. John ga sensei ni o-ai-si-ta.
           teacher DAT OH-meet-OH-tense
     "John met the teacher."

However, the 1-Chomeur ni nominal of the rare-ru passive does not, as in (21).

(21) a. Otoosan ga kootyoo ni kodomo o home-rare-ta.
        father principal by child praise-PASS-tense
        "The   father   was praised   his   child   by   the
        principal."(literal)
        (The father was embarrassed by the principal's praising his child.)

     b. *Otoosan ga kootyoo ni kodomo o o-home-g-are-ta.
        father   principal by child OH-praise-OH-PASS-tense
        "The father was embarrassed by the principal's praising his child."

Like the ni nominal of the rare-ru passive, that of the te-morau construction does not control OH, as (22) and (23) show.

(22) a. John ga sensei ni at-te-morat-ta.
           teacher by mmet-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of being met by the teacher."

     b. *John ga sensei ni o-ai-si-te-morat-ta.

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by OH-meet-OH-PASS-tense
"John received a favor of being met by the teacher."

(23) a. Ryoosin wa sityoo ni kodomo o home-te-morat-ta.
parent   mayor by child   praise-PASS-tense
"The parents received a favor of the mayor's praising
their child (for his good deeds,etc.)."

b.*Ryoosin wa sityoo ni kodomo o o-home-si-te-morat-ta.
parent   mayor by child   OH-praise-OH-PASS-tense
"The parents received a favor of the mayor's praising
their child."

3.2. Quantifier Float

The 3 _ni_ nominal controls Quantifier Float (henceforth QF;
                                                      5
cf. Suzuki and references therein), as seen in (24).

(24) a. <u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>san-nin</u> no <u>sensei</u> ni at-ta.
           i *i/j j
        child   three   teacher DAT meet-tense
      "The child met the three teachers."

b. <u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>sensei</u> ni <u>san-nin</u> at-ta.
           i j *i/j
        child   teacher DAT three meet-tense
      "The child met the three teachers."

Unlike   3 _ni_ nominals,   Chomeur _ni_ nominals of the <u>rare-ru</u>

passive do not control QF, as seen in (25) and (26).

(25) a. <u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>san-nin</u> no <u>sensei</u> ni home-rare-ta.
           i *i/j j
        child   three GEN teacher by praise-PASS-tense
      "The child was praised by the three teachers."

b.*<u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>sensei</u> ni <u>san-nin</u> home-rare-ta.
           i j i/*j
        child   teacher by three   praise-PASS-tense
      "Three children were praised by the teacher."

(26) a. <u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>san-nin</u> no <u>haha</u> ni inu o dakisime-rare-ta.
           i *i/j j
        child   three   mother dog   cuddle-PASS-tense
      "The child was cuddled the dog by the three mothers."
      (literal)
      (The child was embarrassed by the three mothers' cuddling
      his dog.)

b. *<u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>haha</u> ni <u>san-nin</u> inu o dakisime-rare-ta.
      i   j   i/*j
   child   mother three dog   cuddle-PASS-tense
   "Three   children   were cuddled the dog by the   mother."
   (literal)
   (Three   children were embarassed by the mother's cuddling
   the dog.)

Similarly, the   <u>ni</u> nominal of the <u>te-morau</u> construction do   not

control QF, as shown in (27) and (28).

(27) a. <u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>san-nin</u> no <u>sensei</u> ni home-te-morat-ta.
           i   *i/j   j
     child   three   teacher by praise-PASS-tense
     "The child got praised by the three teachers."

b. *<u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>sensei</u> ni <u>san-nin</u> home-te-morat-ta.
       i   j   i/*j
    child   teacher by three praise-PASS-tense
   *"Three children got praised by the teacher."
   (The child got praised by the three teachers.)

(28) a. <u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>san-nin</u> no <u>haha</u> ni inu o dakisime-te-morat-ta.
          i   *i/j   j
    child   three   mother dog   cuddle-PASS-tense
    "The child received a favor of three mothers' cuddling
    his dog."

b. *<u>Kodomo</u> ga <u>haha</u> ni <u>san-nin</u> inu o dakisime-te-morat-ta.
       i   j   i/*j
    child   mother   three dog   cuddle-PASS-tense
    "Three children received a favor of the mother's cuddling
    the dog."

This fact follows from an analysis positing that the <u>ni</u> nominal

of the <u>te-morau</u> construction is a final 1-Chomeur.

3.3. Extractions

    3 <u>ni</u> nominals head a relative clause, as seen in (29).

(29) a. John ga <u>sensei ni</u> Mary o syookaisi-ta.
              teacher DAT   ACC introduce-tense
     "John introduced Mary to the teacher."

b. John ga Mary o syookaisi-ta <u>sensei wa</u> sinsetu da.

ACC introduce-tense teacher kind be
          "The teacher, to whom John introduced Mary, is kind."

In contrast, the Chomeur ni nominal of the rare-ru passive

does not head a relative clause, as seen in (30) and (31).

(30) a. John ga sensei ni Mary o syookais-are-ta.
                teacher by   introduce-PASS-tense
          "John was introduced to Mary by the teacher."

     b. *John ga Mary o syookais-are-ta sensei wa sinsetu da."
             NOM   ACC introduce-PASS-tense   kind be
        *"The teacher, that John was introduced to Mary, is kind."
         (literal)
         (The teacher, by whom John was introduced to Mary, is
         kind.)

(31) a. John ga kodomo ni nak-are-ta.
                child by cry-PASS-tense
         "John was cried on by the child." (literal)
         (John was embarrassed by the child's crying.)

     b. *John ga nak-are-ta kodomo wa byooki da-ta.
             cry-PASS-tense child ill be-tense
         "The child that John was cried on was ill." (literal)
         (The child that embarrassed John by crying was ill.)

Likewise, the ni nominal of the te-morau construction does not

head a relative clause, as seen in (32) and (33).

(32) a. John ga sensei ni Mary o syookaisi-te-morat-ta.
                NOM teacher by ACC introduce-PASS-tense
         "John got introduced to Mary by the teacher."

     b. *John ga Mary o syookaisi-te-morat-ta sensei wa sinsetu
                        introduce-PASS-tense   teacher   kind
         da.
         be
         "The teacher, whom John got introduced to Mary, is
         kind." (literal)

(33) a. Titi ga Mary ni mado o ake-te-morat-ta.
         father   by window open-PASS-tense
         "The father received a favor of Mary's opening the
         window."

     b. *Titi ga mado o ake-te-morat-ta Mary wa utukusii.
         father   window open-PASS-tense   beautiful

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"Mary, that the father received a favor of being opening the window by, is beautiful."

Pseudo-Cleft Constructions (henceforth P-C) also can test whether the ni nominal is a 1-Chomeur or a 3.

The 3 ni nominal heads a clefted clause, as (34) shows.

(34) a. John ga sensei ni at-ta.
        teacher DAT meet-tense
    "John met the teacher."

   b. John ga at-ta no wa sensei da.
        meet-tense   teacher be
    "It was the teacher that John met."

Unlike the 3 ni nominal, the Chomeur ni nominal of the rare-ru passive does not head a clefted clause, as shown in (35) and (36).

(35) a. John ga sensei ni home-rare-ta.
        teacher by praise-PASS-tense
    "John was praised by the teacher."

   b.*John ga home-rare-ta no wa sensei da.
        praise-PASS-tense teacher be
    "It was the teacher that John was praised by someone."
    (It was the teacher that John was praised by.)

(35b) says that John had someone praise the teacher, no longer carrying the meaning of (35a).

(36) a. John ga Mary ni otoosan o tazune-rare-ta.
             by father   visit-PASS-tense
    "John was visited his father by Mary." (literal)
    (John was embarrassed by Mary's visiting his father.)

   b.*John ga otoosan o tazune-rare-ta no wa Mary da.
        father   visit-PASS-tense   be
    "It was Mary that John was visited his father." (literal)
    (It was by Mary's visiting his father that John was embarrassed.)

(36b) sounds like 'Mary' does not belong to the clause.

Chomeur _ni_ nominals can head a clefted clause only when they appear with the Chomeur marker _ni,_ as seen in (37) and (38), which correspond to (35b) and (36b), respectively.

(37) John ga home-rare-ta no wa sensei _ni_ da.
                                             by
     "It was by the teacher that John was praised."

(38) John ga otoosan o tazune-rare-ta no wa Mary _ni_ da.
                                                   by
     "It was by Mary's visiting his father that he was
     embarrassed."

These two sentences clearly convey the meanings of (35a) and (36a), respectively.

Similarly, the _ni_ nominal of the _te-morau_ construction does not head a clefted clause, as seen in (39) and (40).

(39) a. John ga _sensei ni_ home-te-morat-ta.
               teacher by praise-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of being praised by the teacher."

     b.*John ga home-te-morat-ta no wa _sensei_ da.
               praise-PASS-tense   teacher be
        "It was the teacher that John received a favor of being
        praised." (literal)
        (It was by the teacher that John received a favor of
        being praised .)

(39b) says that it was the teacher that John received a favor of someone's praising, no longer equivalent to (39a).

(40) a. John ga _Mary ni_ otoosan o tazune-te-morat-ta
                  by father   visit-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of Mary's visiting his father."

     b.*John ga otoosan o tazune-te-morat-ta no wa _Mary_ da.

```
                  father     visit-PASS-tense                    be
        "It was Mary that John received a favor of being visited
        his father." (literal)
        (It was  of Mary's visiting his father that John received
        a favor.)
```

Like in (36b), in (40b) 'Mary' sounds like not belonging in the

clause.

The ni nominal in (39) and (40) can head a clefted clause only

when it is accompanied by the Chomeur marker ni, as shown in

(41) and (42).

(41)   John ga home-te-morat-ta no wa sensei ni da.
                                                  by
        "It was by the teacher that John received a favor of
        being praised."

(42)   John ga otoosan o tazune-te-morat-ta no wa Mary ni da.
                                                       by
        "It was by Mary that John received a favor of being
        visited his father." (literal)
        (It was of Mary,s visiting his father that John received
        a favor.)

Unlike (39b) and (40b), (41) and (42) carry the meanings of (39a)

and (40a), respectively.

4. Summary

     This section has shown that the te-morau construction--like

the rare-ru--construction is a type of passive. To prove this, we

examined the ga and ni nominals in both constructions. The ga

nominal was seen to be a final 1 since it controls SH, Nagara-

Constructions, and Reflexives. The ni nominal in rare-ru and te-

morau constructions, in contrast to a 3 ni nominal, does not

control OH, Quantifiers Float, nor directly extract. These

properties follow under a passive analysis where the ni nominal

is posited to be a 1-Chomeur.

5. Te-morau: Causative or Passive?

Like the rare-ru passive and the te-morau construction, the Japanese causative also has an agent/experiencer nominal marked with ni, as seen in (43).

(43) a. Mary ga John ni niwa de hatarak-ase-ta.
                  DAT garden work   cause-tense
     "Mary made John work in the garden."

According to Kuno, causatives like (43) are derived via EQUI and clause union as in (44).

(44)

(a) Deep structure:

    Mary ga John ni [John ga ni wa de hatarak] ase-ta.
              DAT   garden in work   cause-tense

(b) EQUI:

    Mary ga John ni [niwa de hatarak] ase-ta.
    "Mary made John [works in the garden]."

(c) Clause union:

    Mary ga John ni niwa de hatarak-ase-ta.
                    garden in work-cause-tense
    "Mary made John work in the garden."

Referring to te-morau constructions, Kuno states that te-morau is a causative form 'to politely ask for and receive the favor of', although he gives no precise derivation and does not discuss the syntactic properties of the ni nominal of the te-morau construction, he implies that the ni nominal seems to be base-generated as a 3 or an OBL in parallel to the ni nominal of a causative. However, 1 will argue that the ni of the te-morau

construction is neither a 3 (5.1) nor OBL (5.2), but rather a 1-Chomeur as claimed above.

1. Evidence Against the 3-hood of the ni nominal.

In the discussion above (cf (22) and (26)), it was shown that the 3 ni nominal controls OH and QF, which the 1-Chomeur ni does not. Likewise, the ni nominal of the causative clause controls OH and QF, as shown in (45) and (47), respectively.

(45) a. Titi ga sensei ni ik-ase-ta.
       father teacher DAT go-cause-tense
       "My father let (or made) the teacher go."

     b. *Titi ga sensei ni o-ik-ase-si-ta.
        father teacher DAT OH-go-cause-OH-tense
        "My father let (or made) the teacher go."

Despite the fact that (45a) is a causative sentence, the ni nominal 'teacher' fails to control OH, as shown in (45b). The reason for the failure, as Suzuki (1984) accounts for, is that causative sentences denote a negative meaning while honorific denotes a positive meaning. Consequently causative and honorific do not go together. As Suzuki exemplifies, (45b) becomes grammatical when it is followed by moosiwake nai "I am sorry", as seen in (46).

(46)   Titi ga sensei ni o-ik-ase-si-te moosiwake arimasen.
        "I am sorry that my father let the teacher go."

(47) a. Sensei wa go-nin no jidoo ni utaw-ase-ta.
        i   *i/j   j
        teacher   five   school child sing-cause-tense
        "The teacher made/let five school children sing."

     b. Sensei wa jidoo ni go-nin utaw-ase-ta.
        i   j   *i/j

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teacher   school child five sing-cause-tense
"The teacehr let/made five school children sing."

Further, (29) and (34) showed that 3 <u>ni</u> nominal extracts. Similarly, the <u>ni</u> nominal of the causative clause extracts, as seen in (48) and (49).

(48) a. Syatyoo ga <u>John</u> ni denwas-ase-ta.
        president   telephone-cause-tense
        "The president let John telephone."

   b. Syatyoo ga denwas-ase-ta <u>John</u> wa kire-ru.
      president telephone-cause-tense quick-witted
      "John, that the president made telephone, is quick-witted."

(49) a. Haha ga <u>kodomo</u> ni hon o kaw-ase-ta.
        mother   child   DAT book buy-cause-tense
        "The mother made (or let) her child buy the book."

   b. Haha ga hon o kaw-ase-ta no wa <u>kodomo</u> da.
      mother   book   buy-cause-tense   child be
      "It was her child that the mother made buy the book."

   Further evidence that the <u>ni</u> in <u>te-morau</u> is a 1-Chomeur--not a 3--is given from Substitution of <u>ni</u> for <u>o</u>, Passive causatives, and Reflexives.

5.1.1. Substitution of <u>Ni</u> for <u>O</u>

   In Japanese, causees in causative sentences take only the dative case marker <u>ni</u> when the embedded verb is transitive, as in (50).

(50) a. Mary ga John <u>ni</u> komori o s-ase-ta.
                            babysitting do-cause-tense
        "Mary made John babysit."

   b. *Mary ga John <u>o</u> komori o s-ase-ta.

On the other hand, when the embedded verb is intransitive, the

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causee, when it is animate, can appear in either the dative case marker ni or the accusative case marker o, as seen in (51).

(51) a. Haha ga John ni ik-ase-ta.
                    DAT go-cause-tense
        "The mother let (or made) John go."

     b. Haha ga John o ik-ase-ta.
                    ACC
        "The mother made John go."

In contrast, ni nominals of the te-morau construction can not appear with o, as in (52).

(52) a. Haha ga John ni it-te-morat-ta.
        mother   by go-PASS-tense
        "My mother let John go."

     b. *Haha ga John o it-te-morat-ta.
        mother   go-PASS-tense
        "My mother made John go."

The appearance of the ni nominal of the causative with o and no appearance of ni of the te-morau construction with o testify that the ni of the causative is a 3, whereas that of the te-morau is a 1-Chomeur.

5.1.2. Reflexives

    (15)--(19) showed that the reflexive pronoun zibun refers to ga nominals, not 1-Chomeur ni nominals. It also refers to ni nominals of the causative clause, as seen in (53).

(53) Ryoosin ga John ni zibun no heya de hon o yom-ase-ta.
        i   j   i/j   read-cause-tense
        "His parents made John read the book in self's (their) room."

Zibun in (53) is ambiguous because the reflexive pronoun

directs to either the final 1 or the final 3. The reason for the
ambiguity of <u>zibun</u> comes from the fact that a causative sentence
involves two clauses, as seen in (54).

(54)   Ryoosin ga [John ga hon o yom] sase-ta.
       final 1   final 1

Each clause has its own final 1: <u>ryoosin</u> 'parents' of the main
clause and 'John' of the embedded clause. The involvement of two
antecedents of <u>zibun</u> makes it possible for the reflexive
pronoun to refer to either <u>ryoosin</u> 'parents' or 'John'.

5.1.3. Passive Causatives.

    3 <u>ni</u> nominals in causatives can advance to 1 in passives, as
(55b) and (56b) show.

(55) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> kaimono ni ika-se-ta.
                     DAT shop   for go-cause-tense
        "John let (or made) Mary go shopping."

     b. <u>Mary wa</u> John ni kaimono ni ika-s-are-ta.
                     by shop   for go-cause-PASS-tense
        "Mary was made to go shopping by John."

(56) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> haha no tetudai o sa-se-ta.
                     DAT mother's chore   do-cause-tense
        "John let (or made) Mary help his mother's chore."

     b. <u>Mary wa</u> John ni haha no tetudai o sa-se-rare-ta.
                     by mother's chore   do-cause-PASS-tense
        "Mary was made to do his mother's chore by John."

In contrast, the <u>ni</u> nominal of the <u>te-morau</u> construction cannot
advance to 1 in passives, as shown in (57b) and (58b).

(57) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> Nihon ni it-te-morat-ta.
                     by Japan to go-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of Mary's going to Japan."

     b. *<u>Mary</u> wa John ni Nihon ni it-te-moraw-are-ta.

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```
                    by Japan LOC  go-PASS-tense
          "Mary received a favor of being studied by John
          in Japan. "

(58) a.  John wa Mary ni yuusyoku o ogot-te-morat-ta.
                      by dinner        treat-PASS-tense
          "John was treated the dinner by Mary. "

     b. *Mary wa John ni Yuusyoku o ogot-te-moraw-are-ta.
                      by  dinner        treat-PASS-tense
          "Mary received a favor of being treated the dinner by
          John. "
```

The reason for the failure of passive formation of (57a) and (58a) is that they are passive clauses, yet the ni nominals, which are a 1-Chomeur, advance to 1, forming (57b) and (58b) involving two passive morphemes. Japanese also follows the 1-A Exclusiveness Law proposed by Perlmutter which claims that only one nominal can advance to 1.

5.2. 1-Chomeur ni or OBL ni?

The above section has shown the syntactic difference between 1-Chomeur ni nominal and 3 ni nominal. This section will show syntactic differences between 1-Chomeur ni nominal and OBL ni nominal. Substitution of ni for kara, and Extractions will reveal the differences.

5.2.1. Substitution of Ni for Kara

A 3 ni marker is generally used instead of an OBL marker kara and substitutable for kara, as shown in (59) and (60).[6]

```
(59) a.  John wa Mary ni hoobi o morat-ta.
                        DAT prize  receive-tense
          "John received a prize from Mary. "

     b.  John wa Mary kara hoobi o morat-ta.
                        from prize  receive-tense
          "John received a prize from Mary. "
```

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(60) a. John wa pen paaru ni tegami o morat-ta.
                pen pal DAT letter   receive-tense
        "John received a letter from his pen pal."

   b. John wa pen paaru kara tegami o morat-ta.
                pen pal from letter   receive-tense
        "John received a letter from his pen pal."

However, 1-Chomeur marker ni is not, as (61) and (62) show.

(61) a. John wa Mary ni kozukai o atae-te-morat-ta.
                     by allowance give-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of being given allowance by Mary."

   b. *John wa Mary kara kozukai o atae-te-morat-ta.
                     from allowance give-PASS-tense
     *"John received a favor of being given allowance from
      Mary."

(62) a. John wa Mary ni okane o kari-te-morat-ta.
                     by money   loan-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of Mary's loaning the money for
        himself from someone."

   b. *John wa Mary kara okane o karite-morat-ta.
                     from money   loan-PASS-tense
        "John received a favor of someone's loaning the money for
        himself from Mary."

The failure of the appearance of the ni nominal of the te-morau

with kara supports my argument that the ni of the te-morau is a

1-Chomeur.

5.2.2. Extractions

    Relativization can show syntactic differences between 1-

Chomeur ni nominal and OBL ni nominal.

    (63) and (64) show that OBL ni nominals head a relative

clause.

(63) a. John wa Mary ni hon o morat-ta.
                     DAT book receive-tense
        "John received a book from Mary."

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b. John ga hon o morat-ta <u>Mary wa</u> bijin da.
   book receive-tense   beautiful be
   "Mary, from whom John received the book, is beautiful."

(64) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> okurimono o morat-ta.
        DAT present   receive-tense
     "John received a present from Mary."

   b. John ga okurimono o morat-ta <u>Mary wa</u> syoojiki da.
        present   receive-tense   honest be
     "Mary, from whom John received a present, is honest."

In contrast, (65) and (66) show that 1-Chomeur <u>ni</u> nominals do not

head a relative clause.

(65) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> ais-i-te-morat-ta.
                by love-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being loved by Mary."

   b. *John ga ais-i-te-morat-ta <u>Mary wa</u> wakai.
        love-PASS-tense   young
     "Mary, that John received a favor of someone's loving, is
     young."

(66) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> kodomo o situke-te-morat-ta.
                by child   discipline-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of Mary's disciplining his child."

   b. *John ga kodomo o situke-te-morat-ta <u>Mary wa</u> isogasii.
        child   discipline-PASS-tense   busy
     "Mary, by whom John received a favor of being disciplined
     his child, is busy." (Mary, who disciplined John's child,
     is busy.)

P-C can also show the syntactic difference between 1-Chomeur

<u>ni</u> nominal and OBL <u>ni</u> nominal.

OBL <u>ni</u> nominals head a clefted clause, as in (67) and (68).

(67) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> pen o morat-ta.
                DAT pen   receive-tense
     "John received the pen from Mary."

   b. John ga pen o morat-ta no wa <u>Mary</u> da.
        pen   receive-tense   Mary be
     "It was from Mary that John received the pen."

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(68) a. John wa <u>yakuzaisi ni</u> kusuri o morat-ta.
             pharmacist DAT medicine receive-tense
     "John received medicine from the pharmacist."

    b. John ga kusuri o morat-ta no wa <u>yakuzaisi</u> da.
             medicine receive-tense pharmacist be
     "It was from the pharmacist that John received medicine."

Meanwhile, (69) and (70) show that 1-Chomeur <u>ni</u> nominals do not head a clefted clause.

(69) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> hon o yon-de-morat-ta.
                by   book read-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being read the book by Mary."

    b.*John ga hon o yon-de-morat-ta no wa <u>Mary</u> da.
             book read-PASS-tense   be
    *"It was for Mary that John received a favor of being read
    the book by someone." (lit.)
    (It was by Mary that John received a favor of being read
    the book.)

(70) a. John wa <u>Mary ni</u> home-te-morat-ta.
                by praise-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being praised by Mary."

    b.*John ga home-te-morat-ta no wa <u>Mary</u> da.
             praise-PASS-tense   be
    *"It was Mary that John received a favor of someone's
    praising."
    (It was By Mary that John received a favor of being
    praised.)

The <u>ni</u> nominals in (69) and (70) can head a clefted clause when they are accompanied by the 1-Chomeur marker <u>ni</u>, as seen in (71) and (72).

(71) John ga hon o yon-de-morat-ta no wa Mary <u>ni</u> da.
                                        by
    "It was by Mary that John received a favor of beign read
    the book."

(72) John ga home-te-morat-ta no wa Mary <u>ni</u> da.
                              by
    "It was by Mary that John received a favor of being
    praised."

6. Summary

Part 4 has shown that the _ni_ nominal of the _te-morau_ construction is a 1-Chomeur, not a 3, nor an OBL. Substitution of _ni_ for _o_, Quantifier Float, Object Honorification, Al, and Extractions showed the difference between 3 _ni_ nominal and Chomeur _ni_ nominal. 1-Chomeur _ni_ nominals do not allow the _ni_ to be substituted for _o_, do not control QF and OH, do not head a 1-arc, nor extract, while 3 nominals allow the _ni_ to be exchanged with _o_, control QF and OH, head a 1-arc, and extract.

Substitution of _ni_ for _kara_, and Extractions discriminated the syntactic property of 1-Chomeur _ni_ nominals from that of OBL _ni_ nominals. 1-Chomeur nominals do not permit the _ni_ to replace with _kara_, do not head a 1-arc, nor extract. In contrast, OBL _ni_ nominals allow the _ni_ to be substituted for _kara_, head a 1-arc, and further extract.

Footnotes

1. In Japanese some verbs have an additional verb upon passivization so that a passivized clause conveys the meaning of its corresponding active sentence.

(2) without an additional predicate <u>kiku</u> 'listen' fails to carry the meaning of its deep structure, as seen in (i).

(i) passivization without an additional predicate:
    John wa Mary ni uta o utaw-are-ta.
                    by   sing-PASS-tense
    *"John was embarrassed by Mary's singing the song which he
    wanted to sing. "

John wanted to sing the song, but Mary sang it. He was thus embarrassed.

Note that (2) is a causative passive.

2. In RG as proposed by Perlmutter and Postal, the relations, 'subject of', 'direct object of, and 'indirect object of' are represented with a 1, 2, and 3, respectively. A 'Chomeur' from French 'unemployed' is a term (1, 2, or 3) which has had tis grammatical relationship usurped by another nominal.

The reason for the adoption of RG analysis in this paper is that it can better explain about the syntax of all languages each different in syntactic representation systems from one another; some languages show their grammatical relationship by case marking (e. g. Korean, Japanese), some by inflection (e. g. Russian), others by word order (e. g. English). Whichever system a language uses, however, every language unexceptionally

comprises of subject, direct object, indirect object. Consequently, RG, in which 'subject of', 'direct object of', 'indirect object of' are represented with 1, 2, 3, respectively, can account for the syntax of a language from the universal point of view which other analyses (e. g. generative grammar, transformational grammar) lack. For example, a demoted subject of every language after passivized, having no grammatical relationship with the clause, is universally shown as a final 1-Chomeur by RG, not shown by other analyses.

3. SH has two types of SH marking:o--ni-naru and go--ni-naru. The former is used with a Japanese original verb, the latter with a Sino-Japanese verb.

4. OH has two types of OH marking:o--su and go--su. The former is used with a Japanese original verb, the latter with a Sino-Japanese verb.

5. 1s, 2s, and 3s do not allow quantifier to float over one another other than 1-Chomeurs.

6. Ni is for an informal use, while kara is for a formal use.

Chapter II

Semantics of Rare-Ru and Te-Morau

0. Introduction: Semantics of Rare-ru and Te-morau

The aim of this chapter is to look at the semantics of rare-ru and te-morau passives with respect to the source of adverse meaning and the degree of affect. Section 1 will show the degree of affect. Affect falls into three types: negative, neutral, and positive, as shown in (1), (2), and (3), respectively.

(1) John ga sensei ni eigo o osier-are-ta.
     NOM teacher by English teach-PASS-tense
    "John was taught English by the teacher."
    (John was embarrassed by the teacher's teaching English.)

(2) Matu no ki wa John ni eda o kari-tor-are-ta.
    pine tree   by branch prune-PASS-tense
    "The pine tree was pruned its branches by John."

(3) John ga Mary ni ki-te-morat-ta.
                   by come-PASS-tense
    "John received a favor of his being come by John." (literal)
    (John received a favor of Mary's coming to see him.)

Section 2 will show the source of adverse, neutral, and positive affects. I will argue that the presence or the absence of a consensus between final 1 and final 1-Chomeur determines +positive or -positive affect.

2.1 will show constraints on final 1s. The rare-ru passive has no constraints, as in (4)--(7).

(4) Doroboo ga tantei ni tukamaer-are-ta.
    thief NOM detective by catch-PASS-tense.
    "The thief was caught by the detective."

(5) <u>Zoo</u> ga John ni senaka ni nor-are-ta.
    elephant   by back on   ride-PASS-tense
    "The elephant was ridden on the back by John."(literal)
    (John rode on the elephant's back.)

In contrast, the <u>te-morau</u> passive does, as seen in (6) and (7).

(6)*Sono <u>inu</u> ga John ni gei o sikon-de-morat-ta.
    the dog NOM   by trick ACC train-PASS-tense
    "The dog received a favor of being trained tricks by John."

(7) <u>NASA</u> ga gikai ni sono keikaku o sijis-i-te-morat-ta.
              congress by the plan ACC support-PASS-tense
    "NASA received a favor of the Congress' supporting the
    plan."

    2.2 will show constraints on final 1-Chomeurs. The <u>rare-ru</u>

passive has no constraints on final 1-Chomeurs, as in (8) and

(9).

(8) Kodomo wa <u>ka</u> ni kam-are-ta.
    child   mosquito by bite-PASS-tense
    "The child was bitten by mosquitos."

(9) Tchaikovsky ga <u>hyooran-ka</u> ni kareno ongaku o hihans-are-ta.
                   critics   by   his   music ACC criticize-
PASS-tense
    "Tchaikovsky was criticized his music by the critics."
    (Tchaikovsky was embarrassed by the critics' critisizing his
    music.)

The <u>te-morau</u> passive, however, has constraints, as (10) and (11)

show.

(10)*John wa <u>kusuri ni</u> tasuke-te-morat-ta.
           medicine by save-PASS-tense
    *"John received a favor of being saved by the medicine."

(11)*Raion ga <u>nezumi ni</u> ami o kami-kit-te-morat-ta.
    lion   mouse by net bite-cut-PASS-tense
    *"The lion received a favor of the mouse's biting off the
    net(so that he could get out of it)".

2.3 will look into 'accidental' and 'unintentional'. The rare-ru passive can be accidental or unintentional, as in (12).

(12) Ryoosin ga sensei ni quuzen/huto hoomons-are-ta.
parents NOM teacher by accidentally/unintentionally visit-PASS-tense
"The parents were accidentally/unintentionally visited by the teacher."

Unlike the rare-ru passive, the te-morau passive cannot, as shown in (13).

(13)*Ryoosin ga sensei ni quuzen/huto hoomons-i-te-morat-ta.
parent teacher by accidentally/unintentionally visit-PASS-tense
"The parents received a favor of teacher's accidental/unintentional visit."

The last chapter will summarize in the chart the semantic differences between the rare-ru passive and the te-morau passive.

1. Negative, Neutral, and Positive Affects.

The rare-ru passive carries negative affect or neutral affect, while the te-morau passive conveys positive affect only. Negative affect or neutral affect is determined by the type of final 1

1.1. Rare-Ru Passives

Rare-ru passives have negative affect when the final 1 is a human or an organization, as in (14), (15), and (16).

(14) Mary ga John ni hoomons-are-ta.
by visit-PASS-tense
"Mary was visited by John."

(15) John ga kodomo ni nak-are-ta.

3

```
                    child   by  cry-PASS-tense
          "John was cried on by his child."(literal)
          (John was embarrassed by his child's crying.)
```

(16)   John ga kodomo ni ookiku nar-are-ta.
```
                         by  big     become-PASS-tense
```
       "John was become big by his child."(literal)
       (John was embarrassed by his child's becoming big.)

(17)   Niku-ya wa inu ni niku o tor-are-ta.
       meat store dog by meat   steal-PASS-tense
       "The meat store was stolen meat by the dog."
       (The meat store was embarrassed by the dog's stealing meat.)

(14) says "against her will Mary was visited by John and thus she

was embarrassed". Maybe she did not like him, and yet he came to

see her, or she was busy when he visited her.   (15) says "His

child cried, and John was embarrassed". Perhaps he was

babysitting when his child cried, the baby kept crying, and John

did not know what to do. As for (16), although "child's becoming

big" has a positive meaning, the use of rare-ru turned the

positive meaning to a negative meaning. As Kuno (1973) and Howard

(1968) state, hesitation to express one's happiness comes from

social and cultural background, and the Japanese try to be modest

and try not to brag about their own families.   (17) says " a dog

came into the store and snatched away meat, and he was thus

embarrassed". Maybe while he was waiting on customers, a dog

came took away meat for a customer. Consequently, he had to give

the customer another meat.

    The rare-ru passive has neutral affect when the final 1 is

inanimate or animals, as shown in (18) and (19).

(18) Hon wa John ni-yori yabur-are-ta.
     book   by   tear-PASS-tense
     "The book was torn by John."

                              4

(19) Taka ga risu ni nige-rare-ta.
     hawk   squirrel by run-away-PASS-tense
     "The hawk was run away by the squirrel. (lit.)
     (The hawk tried to catch the squirrel but it ran away.)

(18) and (19) do not have a conotation of adversity. The reason
for the absence of adverse meaning is that inanimate 'book' and
an animal 'hawk' are incapable of expressing their emotions.

1.2. Te-Morau Passives

Unlike the rare-ru passive, the te-morau passive has only
positive affect, as (20) and (21).

(20) Mary wa John ni hoomon-si-te-morat-ta.
                     by visit-PASS-tense
     "Mary received a favor of being visited by John."

(21) John wa ryoosin ni nihon ni nokosi-te-morat-ta.
              parent by Japan in leave-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being left in Japan by his
     parents."

(20) says " Mary asked John to visit her, and he did so", or
"John offered a favor of visiting her, and she accepted the
favor". Maybe she had something to ask about from him and asked
him to come over to her place, or he knew that she needed him,
and he offered her a favor of coming to her place. (21) says
"John asked his parents a favor of staying longer in Japan, and
they offered him the favor", or "his parents offered him a favor
of his staying longer in Japan, and he accepted it". Perhaps he
liked Japan, wanted to remain there, and asked his parents to let
him leave, and they offered the favor, or his parents knew that
he loved and wanted to remain in Japan, and they offered him a
favor of letting him stay.

(22) and (23) are further examples.

(22) Kaisya wa zyugyooin ni hayaku kaet-te-morat-ta.
     company   employee by   early go-back-PASS-tense
     "The company received a favor of the employees' going back
     earlier."

(23) John wa Mary ni piano o hii-te-morat-ta.
                    by piano   play-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of Mary's playing the piano."

(22) interprets "the company wanted to close its operation
earlier and asked the employees a favor of finishing their work
and going back, and the employees offered the favor", or "the
employees offered the company a favor of retreating earlier, and
the company accepted it". Maybe the company's business was so
slow that the employees were idling away, and the company wanted
to close earlier and asked its employees a favor of so doing, and
they accepted the favor, or the employees had nothing to do and
offered a favor of closing earlier, and the company accepted the
favor. (23) says "John asked Mary a favor of playing the piano
for him, and she offered the favor", or "Mary offered him a
favor of playing the piano for him, and he received the favor".
Perhaps he liked piano music and asked her a favor of playing the
piano for him, and she offered the favor, or she knew that he
liked piano music and offered him a favor of playing for him,
and he accepted the favor.

2. Consensus

     In the introduction I posited that +positive or -positive
affect is determined by the presence or the absence of a
consensus between final 1 and the final 1-Chomeur. I define the

consensus as the content of a clause is favorable or beneficial for a final 1 so that the final 1 can accept deeds or actions of a final 1-Chomeur toward the final 1. The rare-ru passive does not involve a consensus between final 1 and final 1-Chomeur, whereas the te-morau passive does. Consequently, the presence or the absence of a consensus causes semantic differences between the rare-ru passive and the te-morau passive. Constraints on final 1-Chomeurs and final 1s, 'accidental' and 'unintentional' will show the differences in 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, respectively.

2.1. Constraints on Chomeur

The final 1-Chomeur of the rare-ru passive can be any kind of inanimate or animate, as seen in (24)--(34).

(24) John ga haha ni home-rare-ta.
        mother by praise-PASS-tense
    "John was praised by his mother."

(25) John ga inu ni sukuw-are-ta.
        dog by save-PASS-tense
    "John was saved by the dog."

(26) John wa kokuren ni yatow-are-ta.
        United Nations hire-PASS-tense
    "John was hired by the United Nations."

(27) Boku wa yasei no syookubutu ni fuyoos-are-ta.
      I   wild GEN plant   by support-PASS-tense
    "I was supported by wild plants."

(28) Mary wa takusi ni ik-are-ta.
        taxi by go-PASS-tense
    "Mary was gone on by the taxi." (lit.)
    (Mary was embarrassed by the taxi's going away.)

(29) Hanaya ga hana ni kare-rare-ta.
    florist   by   -PASS-tense
    "The florist was withered by flowers."(literal)
    (The florist was embarrassed by flowers' withering.)

(30) Zyugyoin ga kaisya ni hayaku owar-are-ta.

7

```
      employee    company by early  end-PASS-tense
      "The    employees    were    ended    work    early    by    the
      company."(lit.)
      (The employees were embarrassed by the company's ending
      early.)
```

(31) Boku wa ame ni fur-are-ta.
      I   rain by fall-PASS-tense
      "I was fallen on by rain."(lit.)
      (I was embarrassed by the rain falling.)

(32) Nihon wa biirusu ni hirogar-are-ta.
      Japan   virus   by prevail-PASS-tense
      "Japan was prevailed by virus."(literal)
      (Japan was embarrassed by virus' prevailing.)

(33) John wa inu ni nak-are-ta.
                dog by cry-PASS-tense
      "John was cried on by the dog."(literal)
      (John was embarrassed by the dog's crying.)

(34) John wa kodomo ni hayaku okir-are-ta.
                child   by early get-up-PASS-tense
      "John was got up early by the child."(literal)
      (John was embarrassed by the child' getting up early.)

Meanwhile, the final 1-Chomeur of the te-morau passive is
                                                          1
limited to humans or organizations, as shown in (35)--(45).

(35) John ga haha ni home-te-morat-ta.
                mother by praise-PASS-tense
      "John received a favor of being praised by his mother."

(36)*John ga inu ni tasuke-te-morat-ta.
                dog by save-PASS-tense
      *"John received a favor of the dog's saving him."

(37)*Boku wa yasei no syokubutu ni fuyoosi-te-morat-ta.
      I   wild GEN plant by support-PASS-tense
      *"I received a favor of wild plants' supporting my life."

(38) John wa kokuren ni yatot-te-morat-ta.
                United Nations hire-PASS-tense
      "John received a favor of being hired by the United
      Nations."

(39)*Mary wa takusi ni it-te-morat-ta.
                taxi by take-PASS-tense
      "Mary received a favor of the taxi's taking her
      somewhere."
      (Mary received a favor of the taxi's going away.)
```

(40)*Hanaya ga <u>hana</u> ni kare-te-morat-ta.
  florist    flower by wither-PASS-tense
  *"The florist received a favor of flowers' withering."

(41) Zyugyoin ga <u>kaisya</u> ni hayaku owat-te-morat-ta.
  employee    company by earlt end-PASS-tense
  "The  employees received a favor of the  company's ending
  early."

(42)*Boku wa <u>ame</u> ni fut-te-morat-ta.
  I       rain by fall-PASS-tense
  *"I received a favor of the rain's falling."

(43)*Nihon wa <u>biirusu</u> ni hirogat-te-morat-ta.
  Japan      virus   by prevail-PASS-tense
  *"Japan received a favor of virus' prevailing."

(44)*John wa <u>inu</u> ni nai-te-morat-ta.
          dog by cry-PASS-tense
  *"John received a favor of the dog's crying."

(45) John was <u>kodomo</u> ni hayaku oki-te-morat-ta.
          child by  early  get-up-PASS-tense
  "John received a favor of the child's getting up early."


Organizations are personified and thus can be a final  1-Chomeur,

as shown in (38) and (41).


2.2. Constraints on Final 1s

    The  final 1 of the <u>rare-ru</u>  passive  is  unrestricted and it

can be animate or inanimate, as (46)--(57) show.


(46) Sono <u>isu</u> wa John niyori Nihon ni hakob-are-ta.
  the chair         by      Japan to carry-PASS-tense
  "The chair was carried to Japan by John."

(47) <u>Gakko</u> wa John ni yame-rare-ta.
  school        by quit-PASS-tense
  "The school was quit by John."

(48) Sono <u>inu</u> ga John ni gei o sikom-are-ta.
  the dog NOM      by trick ACC train-PASS-tense
  "The dog was trained tricks by John."

(49) <u>Tosyookan</u> ga hon o nusum-are-ta
  library   NOM book ACC steal-PASS-tense
  "The librasy was stolen books."

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(50) Hurui <u>tatemono</u> ga burudooza ni tori-kowas-are-ta.
    old     building    bulldozer by tear-down-PASS-tense
    "The old building was torn down by a bulldozer."

(51) <u>John</u> ga Mary ni eiga ni ture-te-ik-are-ta.
                by movie to take-go-PASS-tense
    "John was taken to the movies by Mary."

(52)*Hana wa ame ni fur-are-ta.
    flower  rain by fall-PASS-tense
    "Flowers were fallen on by rain."(literal)
    (*Flowers were embarrassed by the rain falling.)

(53) Sono <u>kaisya</u> wa zyugyoin ni hayaku kaer-are-ta.
    the company          by           -PASS-tense
    "The company was embarrassed by the employees' going back
    early."

(54) Sono <u>neko</u> ga nezumi ni niger-are-ta.
    the cat           by     -PASS-tense
    "The cat was run away by the  mouse."(literal)
    (The  cat  failed  to catch the mouse and the  mouse  ran
    away.)

(55) <u>John</u> ga Mary ni piano o hik-are-ta.
               by             -PASS-tense
    "John was played the piano by Mary."(literal)
    (John was embarrassed by Mary's playing the piano.)

(56) <u>Syoobosyo</u> ga syoobosya ni kosyoos-are-ta.
    fire dept.    fire engine by break-PASS-tense
    "The fire dept. was broken on by the fire engines.
    (The  fire  dept.  was  embarrassed  by  the  fire  engine's
    breaking down.)

(57)*<u>Hana</u> ga hanaya ni happa ni mizu o kaker-are-ta.
    flower  florist by leaf DAT water sprinkle-PASS-tense
    "The  flower  was  sprinkled  water to  the  leaves  by  the
    florist."(literal)
    (The flower was embarrassed by the florist's watering  the
    leaves.)


In contrast,  the final 1 of  the <u>te-morau</u> passive  is limited to

humans and organizations, as in (58)--(69).


(58)*Sono <u>isu</u> wa John niyori Nihon ni hakon-de-morat-ta.
    the chair         by    Japan to carry-PASS-tense
    "The  chair received a favor of being carried to Japan  by
    John."

(59) Gakko wa John ni yame-te-morat-ta.
    school        by quit-PASS-tense
    "The school received a favor of being quit by John."

(60)*Sono inu ga John ni hirot-te-morat-ta.
    the dog         by pick-up-PASS-tense
    "The dog received a favor of being picked up by John."

(61) John ga Mary ni eiga ni ture-te-it-te-morat-ta.
                    by movie to take-PASS-tense
    "John received a favor of being taken to the movies by
    Mary."

(62) Tosyookan ga John ni kanris-i-te-morat-at.
    library   NOM   by administer-PASS-tense
    "The library received a favor of being administered by
    John."

(63)*Bara ga John ni niwa ni ue-te-morat-ta.
    rose NOM     by garden in plant-PASS-tense
    "Roses received a favor of being planterd in the garden."

(64)*Hana wa ame ni fut-te-morat-ta.
    flower  rain by fall-PASS-tense
    *"Flowers received a favor of rain's falling."

(65) Sono kaisya wa zyugyoin ni hayaku kaet-te-morat-ta.
    the company    employee by early go-back-PASS-tense
    "The company  received a favor of the employees' going
    back early."

(66)*Sono neko ga nezumi ni nige-te-morat-ta.
    the cat        mouse by run-away_PASS-tense
    "The cat received a favor of the mouse's running away."

(67) John ga Mary ni piano o hii-te-morat-ta.
                    by piano ACC play-PASS-tense
    "John received a favor of Mary's playing the piano."

(68) Daitooryoo ga kokumin ni tuma o syoosan-si-te-morat-ta.
    president  NOM the people wife ACC admire-PASS-tense
    "The president received a favor of the people's admiring his
    wife."

(69)*Sono ie ga John ni sun-de-morat-ta.
    the house       by live-PASS-tense
    "The house received a favor of John's living in."


Organizations are personified and can be a final 1.


2.3. Accidental and Unintentional


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(70)--(73) show that the <u>rare-ru</u> passive can be accidental or unintentional.

(70) John ga Mary ni <u>guuzen/huto</u> hoomons-are-ta.
      by accidentally/unintentionally visit-PASS-tense
"John was accidentally/unintentionally visited by Mary."
(John was embarrassed by being accidentally/unintentionally visited by Mary.)

(70) says "although it was accidental or unintentional, Mary's visiting John bothered him, and thus he was embarrassed by being accidentally or unintentionally visited by Mary".

(71) John ga sensei ni Mary o <u>guuzen/futo</u> syookais-are-ta.
     teacher by     accidentally/unintentionally introduce-PASS-tense
"John was accidentally/unintentionally introduced to Mary by the teacher."
(John was embarrassed by Mary's accidentally/unintentionally introducing him to her.)

(71) says "John was introduced to Mary against his will, although the introduction was accidental or unintentional, and he was thus embarrassed".

(72) John ga Mary ni <u>tamatam/sirazuni</u> hayaku aruk-are-ta.
      by accidentally/unintentionally fast walk-PASS-tense
"John was accidentally/unintentionally walked fast on by Mary."
(John was embarrassed by Mary's accidentally/unintentionally walking fast.)

(72) says "John wanted Mary to walk slowly, and yet she accidentally or unintentionally walked fast. Thus, John was embarrassed by her walking fast".

(73) B sya wa C sya ni <u>tamatama/sirazuni</u> tootini kor-are-ta.
companyB companyC accidentally/unintentionally this place

come-PASS-tense
"Company B was accidentally/unintentionally come by Company C
into the place where `company B operates." (literal)
(Company B was embarrassed by company c's accidentally/
unintentionally coming into company B's operating place.)

(73) says "the rival company C accidentally or unintentionally

came to build a plant in the company B's location and started an

operation, and the company B was thus embarrassed".

The presence of a consensus in the te-morau passive does not

permit te-morau passives to be accidental or unintentional, as

seen in (74)--(77)

(74)*John ga Mary ni guuzen/huini hoomonsi-te-morat-ta.
                    by accidentally/unintentionally visit-PASS-
     tense
     "John received a favor of being accidentally/unintentionally

     visited by Mary."

(75)*John ga sensei ni Mary o guuzen/huini syookaisi-te-morat-ta.
               teacher by         accidentally/unintentionally
     introduce-PASS-tense
     "John received a favor of being accidentally/unintentionally
     introduced to Mary by the teacher."
     (*John asked the teacher to introduce Mary to him and he
     accidentally/unintentionally did so.)

(74) says "John asked Mary a favor of visiting him, and she

accidentally or unintentionally did so". (75) says "John asked

the teacher a favor of introducing Mary to him, and the teacher

accidentally or unintentionally offered the favor".

(76)*John ga Mary ni tamatama/sirazuni hayaku arui-te-morat-ta.
                    by accidentally/unintentionally fast walk-
     PASS-tense
     "John      received    a     favor    of    Mary's    accidentally/
     unintentionally walking fast."

(76) says "John asked Mary to walk fast, and she accidentally or

unintentionally did so".

(77)*Kaisya   wa zyugyoin ni quuzen/sirazuni hayaku kaet-te-morat-
    company      employee  by accidentally/unintentionally   early
    ta.
    PASS-tense
    "The     company    received   a   favor   of   the   employees'
    accidentally or unintentionally going back early."

(77) says "the company asked the employees a favor of   closing

its  operation earlier,   and they accidentally or unintentionally

offered the favor".

    `Accidental'   and   `unintentional'   showed   the   semantic

difference   between the rare-ru passive and the te-morau passive.

The   absence   of a consensus permits the rare-ru passive to be

accidental   or   unintentional.   In contrast,   the presence   of   a

consensus does not allow the te-morau passive to be accidental or

unintentional.

3. Conclusion

    Section  1 has shown the degree of affect of the rare-ru   and

the  te-morau passives.  The rare-ru passive has negative   affect

when   the   final 1 is a human or an   organization   and   neutral

affect when the final 1 is inanimate or an animal,   while the te-

morau  passive has positive affect only.      Section 2 has shown

the  presence or the absence of a consensus between final  1  and

final 1-Chomeur of the both passives. The presence or the absence

of  a consensus  produces differences on Constraints on final  1s

and final 1-Chomeurs, and `accidental' and `unintentional'.

    The following chart summarizes the semantic properties of the

rare-ru  and  the  te-morau  passives,   showing   the   semantic

differences.

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Chart 1

|                          | Rare-Ru | Te-Morau |
|--------------------------|---------|----------|
| **Affect**               |         |          |
| i. Negative              | Yes     | No       |
| ii. Neutral              | Yes     | No       |
| iii. Positive            | No      | Yes      |
| **Presence of Consensus** | No     | Yes      |
| **Constraints on Chomeur** |       |          |
| i. Human                 | Yes     | Yes      |
| ii. Animal               | Yes     | No       |
| iii. Organization        | Yes     | Yes      |
| iiii. Inanimate (e.g. plant, natural power, vehicle) | Yes | No |
| **Constraints on Final 1** |       |          |
| i. Human                 | Yes     | Yes      |
| ii. Animal               | Yes     | No       |
| iii. Organization        | Yes     | Yes      |
| iiii. Inanimate (the same as above) | Yes | No |
| **Other References**     |         |          |
| i. Accidental            | Yes     | No       |
| ii. Unintentional        | Yes     | No       |

Footnotes

1. Taxis and automobiles can be a 1-Choemur of the te-morau passive, whereas other transportation means cannot, as seen below.


(1) Mary wa ano jidoosya ni ture-te-it-te-morat-ta.
             that car     by take-go-PASS-tense
    "Mary received a favor of being taken somewhere by that car."

(2)*Mary wa basu ni ture-te-it-te-morat-ta.
           bus  by take-go-PASS-tense
    "Mary received a favor of being taken somewhere by the bus."

(3)*Mary wa densya ni ture-te-it-te-morat-ta.
           train  by take-go-PASS-tense
    "Mary received a favor of being taken somewhere by the
    train."

(4)*Mary wa hune ni ture-te-it-te-morat-ta.
           ship by take-go-PASS-tense
    "Mary received a favor of bieng taken somewhere by the ship."

(5)*Mary wa hikooki ni ture-te-it-te-morat-ta.
           plane   by take-go-PASS-tense
    "Mary received a favor bieng taken somewhere by the plane."


Taxis or automobiles are personified for personal use.

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