THE MEANING OF PASSIVE SENTENCES
IN JAPANESE

by

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It has often been noted that, in Japanese passive sentences, not only transitive but also intransitive verbs can occur. Since the time linguists first began to compare Japanese with other languages, they have tried to analyse the properties of Japanese passives.

The linguists of the last two decades paid attention primarily to the syntax of Japanese passive sentences and divided them into two groups, on syntactic grounds, to explain their derivations. However, these classifications are not adequate when it comes to explaining the semantic differences between passive sentences, and there remains a considerable number of exceptions to their definitions.

The purpose of this paper is to bring to light the confusions of the previous semantic and syntactic explanations and propose new definitions of the two passive groups. We shall also examine the meanings of passive sentences in real situations and attempt to pinpoint the basic purpose behind use of the passive construction in Japanese.
All linguists who have considered the passive in Japanese have come to agree about one point: that there are two types of passive in Japanese. However, the definitions used in the description of the two categories are not the same, and the terms which are used in the definitions are sometimes vague and confusing.

For example, D. Matsushita (1916) and K. Sakuma (1967) define two kinds of passive on the basis of the way the passive subject relates to the actions or the events expressed in the sentence concerned. The first is called honrai no ukemi ("intrinsic passive") by Matsushita and doosa no ukemi ("action passive") by Sakuma. In this construction the passive subject directly undergoes the action. Examples are:

(1) a. Kodomo ga inu ni kamareru. (Matsushita)
   child NOM dog DAT bite-PASS
   "A child is bitten by a dog."

b. Nezumi ga neko ni torareta. (Sakuma)
   mouse NOM cat DAT catch-PASS-PAST
   "A mouse was caught by a cat."

The second type of passive sentence is called higai no ukemi ("adversity passive") by Matsushita and rigai no ukemi ("the passive of affect") by Sakuma, and though the passive subjects are affected by the action or the event described, they are not actually undergoers. For example:

While Matsushita and Sakuma use the particle "ga" to mark the subjects of these sentences, I have used the particle "wa" in my examples below. The substitution of these two particles does not cause any significant difference in the meanings of passive sentences.
These two definitions express an important division in Japanese passives, and most of the definitions which followed Matsushita and Sakuma's work are based on them. In the formulation of their definitions, however, Matsushita and Sakuma almost completely disregard the connotations of the passive sentences. They do not discuss the implications of the former group (intrinsic/action passives) at all, and concerning the latter group of passive sentences (adversity passives/passives of affect) they say only that they express either advantage or disadvantage for the passive subject. However, they give no examples of sentences which have the interpretation of an advantageous affect for the passive subject. Matsushita and Sakuma pay attention only to the relationships of the Noun Phrases in these sentences, and they leave many problems of semantics unsolved.

In the work of A. Mikami (1953), the semantics of passive sentences are more clearly defined than in the two definitions above. Mikami's first group is called matomona ukemi ("innocent bystander passives"). Mikami defines the meaning clearly, as "negative affect for the passive subject". Although Mikami does take the important aspect of semantics into account, in defining the two types of passive in Japanese his insufficient exemplification renders his argument rather obscure. He seems not to notice that there is a conflict between syntactic definitions and semantic. I will discuss this conflict in detail later. (Please see Section 3.2)
Based on the studies outlined above, a multitude of studies on the Japanese passive have been reported in the past ten years. These principally deal with the syntax of passive sentences.

I. Howard (1969) uses the term "pure passive" for the two types of passive in Japanese. The basis of his classification is exactly the same as that of the three studies outlined above. He explains that "pure passives" are derived from simple deep structures and adversity passives are derived from complex deep structures. Observe some of his examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3) a. } & \text{ Sensei ga watashi o shikatta.} \\
& \text{teacher NOM I ACC scold-PAST.} \\
& \text{"The teacher scolded me."} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ Watashi wa sensei ni shikarareta.} \\
& \text{I TOP teacher DAT scold-PASS-PAST.} \\
& \text{"I was adversely affected by the teacher scolding me."} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(4) a. } & \text{ Watashi wa (sensei ga kodomo o shikar) areta.} \\
& \text{I TOP teacher DAT child ACC scold-PASS-PAST} \\
& \text{"I was adversely affected by the teacher scolding my child."} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In (3), Sentence b. is derived from a. by a simple transformational rule: the promotion of the patient to subjecthood and demotion of the agent to the status of an oblique argument. However in (4), Sentence b. consists of two parts. They are:

1. Watashi wa ............ (r)areta.  
   I TOP PASS-PAST

2. sensei ga kodomo o shikatta.  
   teacher NOM child ACC scold-PAST

S. Kuno (1973) agrees with Howard's argument, and says "adversity passives are the passives which have one extra noun phrase compared to
the corresponding active sentences" (p.24). The "one extra noun phrase" refers to the passive subject, which may or may not appear explicitly in the corresponding active sentences - for example *watashi* ("I") in (4) b. Kuno goes on to say, "they (adversity passives) express the meaning that the subject of the main sentence (the passive subject) is adversely affected" (p.24). However, he admits that there are, in fact, some sentences which do not express any disadvantage for the passive subject. These he leaves as exceptions. An example of one such sentence is:

(5) Boku wa kodomo o sensei ni homerareta.
I TOP child ACC teacher DAT praise-PASS-PAST

"(Lit.) I was adversely affected by the teacher's parising my child." (Kuno p.24)

The syntactic description of the indirect passive in Japanese seem quite clear:

1. The passive sentence has no exact active counterpart.
2. There is one more noun phrase in the passive sentence than in the nearest conceivable active equivalent, namely the passive subject.

There are some interesting arguments about the derivation of the two types of passive. However, as this problem is not closely related to the main concern of this paper, I will not discuss these in detail.

I. Howard and A. Niyekawa-Howard (1976) claim that in "adversity passives", the subjects are always adversely affected, and even in "pure passives", some subjects are adversely affected. Their examples are:
Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, they use the term "direct passives" instead of "pure passives" and "indirect passives" instead of "adversity passives". The definitions of Howard and Niyekawa-Howard are as follows:

DIRECT PASSIVES: are those in which the "object of the active sentence appears as the subject of the corresponding passive sentence" (p.202), and which may have both negative and positive implications.

INDIRECT PASSIVES: are those which "often (contain) one more noun phrase than appears in their closest active counterpart. This noun phrase represents the individual indirectly affected by the action or event expressed in the remainder of the sentence" (p.202). The meaning is always negative.

The diagram below summarizes Howard and Niyekawa-Howard's claims concerning the possible connotations of the two types of passive in Japanese.

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As in the studies mentioned above, the division between the syntax and semantics of the passive construction is not entirely consistent in Howard and Niyekawa-Howard's work. Moreover, they do not attempt to explain some indirect passive sentences which seem not to express any disadvantage for the subject.

The examples of this phenomenon, given below, are all quoted from A. Wierzbicka (1979b):

(8) John wa sensei ni kodomo o homerareta.
    TOP teacher DAT child ACC praise-PASS-PAST
    "The teacher praised John's child, John was affected by it."
(9) John wa raifu seebaa ni kodomo o tasukerareta.
    TOP guard DAT child ACC help-PASS-PAST
    "A guard rescued John's child, John was affected by it."
(10) Kinoo wa kaze ni fukareta.
    yesterday TOP wind DAT blow-PASS-PAST
    "Yesterday I was affected by the wind."

Apparently the definition of the two basic types of passive in Japanese is rather more complex than was originally supposed. A clear distinction should be made between the syntactic and the semantic components of the passive sentence, and both syntax and semantics must be taken into account in any adequate analysis of this problem. Without such a two pronged approach we cannot hope to understand why people utilize a particular grammatical construction in a particular context.

* Example (10) is not commonly used. More natural examples will appear in Section 3.2.5.
In the next chapter, I would like to propose some new definitions for the two classes of Japanese passives, based on basically semantic, rather than syntactic criteria. However, the syntactic evidence will also be taken into account, especially where it seems to conflict with the semantic. In the following chapters we will see how these definitions solve many of the problems ignored by previous studies.
2.0 THE DEFINITION OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT PASSIVES

Following Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976), I would like to use the terms "direct passives" and "indirect passives". However my definitions differ from theirs in one significant aspect.

Howard and Niyekawa-Howard defined the two types of passive syntactically, as I explained in the previous chapter. However, I suggest that a more profitable view of the Japanese passive is a semantically based one. We shall see the ways in which this type of definition improves on the previous ones in the remainder of this chapter and in the two chapters to follow:

DIRECT PASSIVES: Passive sentences in which the passive subject is directly affected by the action described. The connotations can be negative, positive, or neutral, depending on the context of the utterance and the meaning of the verb used.

INDIRECT PASSIVES: Passive sentences in which the passive subjects are indirectly affected by the actions or events described. The connotations are always negative.

(Please see diagrams 3.2.3.)

The use of the term "negative" in describing the connotations, particularly with regard to the indirect passive, in the definitions above, requires some clarification. In the eyes of a casual observer, the subject may not actually appear to be disadvantaged or affected badly by the event; in fact, the experience may be an apparently good one for him. The important thing is, however, that the use of the
passive construction conveys an implication that somehow or other the subject is or feels negatively affected.

In his discussion of the "Adversative" Passives, A. Alfonso (1971) gives the following example:

(11) Kawaii ko ni tonari ni suwararete ibatteiru ojiisan.
    pretty girl DAT next LOC sit-PASS puffed up old fellow
    "An old fellow all puffed up because a pretty girl sat next to him."

The nearest active counterpart of this indirect passive sentence clearly conveys what would normally be considered a very pleasant situation for the old man:

(12) Kawaii ko ga tonari ni suwatte ibatteiru ojiisan.
    pretty girl NOM next LOC sit-PAST.
    "The old fellow beside whom a pretty girl sat down."

However, in spite of the fact that we expect the old man to be pleased, and that Sentence (11) clearly indicates that he is somewhat proud about his experience (ibatte iru ojiisan "an old fellow all puffed up"), the English translation above does not fully convey the complex emotions of the old man. The use of the passive construction tells us that there is an element of embarrassment, or something of the like, mixed with the old man's pride. The speaker wishes to express arigatameiwaku ("misplaced kindness") or tere ("embarrassment") by using the indirect passive construction.

From the connotation of the sentence, (11), some native speakers claimed that the sentence was unnatural. The word "ibbate iru" (puff up) indicated that the old man was really pleased. Therefore without
any other context more than this single sentence, an expression like "terekusasooni waratte iru (smile with embarrassment)" would make the sentence more natural and acceptable. "Negative", in the definition, includes not only simple negative feelings but also complex feelings like this.

The negative implication in a sentence such as this is one of the strongest proofs of my claim that indirect passive sentences always contain a negative element. This negative connotation contributed by the passive is quite evident to the hearer even when the sentence refers to an incident which we would not normally imagine to be anything but pleasant.

At this point I would like to explain the notion of the words "direct" and "indirect".

When somebody hits somebody else, the agent actually comes into physical contact with the patient, and the action is clearly "direct". Verbs such as keru ("to kick"), fureru ("to touch"), butsu (to hit), and tataku ("to pat") are members of this group.

Even when the agent does not actually touch the patient, we can often say that the patient is "directly" affected. Verbs which may involve this kind of affect are, for example, korosu ("to kill"), yobu ("to call"), and tasukeru ("to help"). Some of the verbs in this group are the so called "giving verbs". They express situations in which an agent gives goods, information, or the like to a patient. They include okuru ("to send"), watasu ("to hand"), iu ("to say"), and oshieru (to teach).
All the verbs given above convey the idea that the passive subject participates directly in the action concerned. Therefore in direct passive sentences, the passive subjects are usually undergoers or recipients of the action. This is what I mean by "direct" in the definition.

On the other hand, in indirect passives the action or the event does not affect the passive subject directly. For example:

(13) John wa Mary ni shinareta.
    "Mary died on John."

(14) John wa Mary ni uchi ni korareta
    "Mary came to John's house, and John was
    negatively affected."

In Sentences (13) and (14), the passive subjects do not actually participate in the actions or the events described. Therefore the passive subject will not appear as an argument in the closest possible active counterpart.

(13) Mary ga shinda.
    "Mary died."

(14) Mary ga John no uchi ni kita.
    "Mary came to John's house."

Only when the speaker wishes to convey that "John" feels that he is affected by the action which is described in (13'), can he make "John" the subject of an indirect passive sentence.
When we consider sentences such as (13) and (14) above, there seems little significant difference between my definition of indirect passives and those proposed by other linguists such as Howard and Niye kawa-Howard. However, recall the sentences noted by Wierzbicka, which presented some considerable difficulty for previous, syntactically based, definitions:

(8) John wa sensei ni kodomo o homerareta.
    TOP teacher DAT child ACC praise-PASS-PAST

"The teacher praised John's child, John was affected by it."  
(p.129)

(9) John wa raifu seebaa ni kodomo o tasukerareta.
    TOP guard DAT child ACC help-PASS-PASS-PAST

"A guard rescued John's child, John was affected by it."  
(p.129)

(10) Kinoo wa kaze ni fukareta.
    yesterday TOP wind DAT blow-PASS-PAST

"Yesterday I was affected by the wind."  
(p.132)

According to these previous definitions, these are all indirect passive sentences, by virtue of the fact that they contain a noun phrase which is not to be found in any near-equivalent active sentence. However, my semantically based definitions classify sentences like these as "direct" passives. Thus I believe I can explain why they do not always have negative connotations.

In Chapters 3 and 4 below I shall explain this proposal further, elaborating on each of these interesting examples in turn.
3.0 INDIRECT PASSIVES

3.1 Indirect Passives

In this section I would like to discuss what indirect passives are, and what kinds of properties they have.

A. Wierzbicka (1979b) divides Japanese indirect passives into 10 groups and explains each of them using semantic primitives. Her classification is extremely detailed but she does not provide sufficient examples to justify establishing so many categories of adversative passive. For several of the groups she isolates, only one example sentence can be found.

Nevertheless, her thorough investigation of the relations between the subjects of adversative passive is most useful. Therefore, on the basis of her analysis of these relations, I have divided indirect passive sentences into two main groups.

3.1.1

The first group in my classification is comprised of passive sentences in which the agent does something without the permission of the passive subject or something happens contrary to the passive subject's wishes. Examples are:
(15) John wa tsuma ni shinareta.
    TOP wife DAT die-PASS-PAST
    "John's wife died on him."

(16) John wa musume ni kekkonsareta.
    TOP daughter DAT marry-PASS-PAST
    John's daughter married, he is negatively affected by it."

(17) John wa toorisugari no hito ni tsuba
    TOP pass by GEN person DAT spittle
    o hakareta.
    ACC spit-PASS-PAST
    "The person who passed by spat, John was negatively
    affected by it."

Hereafter I shall use "NPI" to refer to a noun phrase which is marked
by a particle "wa" or "ga", and "NP2" to refer to a noun phrase which
is followed by the particle "ni".

Sentences belonging to this first group express the fact that NP2, the
agent, does something, or that something happens to NP2, and that NPI,
the subject, is negatively affected by it. The verb can be either
transitive or intransitive.

NPI and NP2 can be in various relationships to one another, but we
must understand there to be some relationship between them. NPI may
have a close relationship to NP2, like that of parent to child,
brother to brother, or wife to husband. A relationship of this type
might almost be thought of as one involving possession, and it is not
difficult to understand how the subject might be negatively affected
by the actions of NP2, even though he is not directly involved.

However, the relationship between NPI and NP2 may be quite incidental
and transient. For example, NP2 could simply be a person who happens
to pass by, as in Sentence (17) above. Or, as in Example (18) below,
it may be somebody whom the subject has never even seen:
In this situation John is negatively affected by the noise of a piano played by someone whom he does not even know, and it may be difficult to see exactly how these two people can be considered "related" in any way. Wierzbicka (1979) uses the concept of "place" to express the relationship involved in situations like those of Example (17) and (18) above. The subject is related to the agent by virtue of their presence at a common place, and this relationship is sufficient to cause one to be indirectly negatively affected by the actions of the other. We have certain expectations of those around us, even if we do not know them personally, and if they act contrary to these expectations we are likely to feel put out or even to actually undergo some adversity.

The degree of closeness of the relationship between NP1 and NP2, as well as the kind of situation involved, work together to determine the acceptability of a sentence in this group. The hearer's common sense, along with factors such as his socio-cultural expectations, generally lead him to understand in what way NP1 is likely to be affected by the incident or situation described. Observe the oddness of the example below:

(19) ?? John wa toorisugari no hito ni
TOP pass by GEN person DAT
Kekkonsareta.
marry-PASS-PAST

"A man who passed by got married, John was affected by it."
This sentence seems unnatural because there is no apparent relationship between NP1 and NP2 which could possibly result in NP1's being affected by NP2's marriage. However, in the case of a passer-by who spits, or a neighbour who plays his piano too loudly, the ways in which one might be affected are quite apparent. Thus it is only when there is a certain, perceptible relationship between NP1 and action or event in which NP2 is involved, that this type of indirect passive sentence is acceptable.

Describing the degree of closeness of the relationship between NP1 and NP2, as well as the kind of situation involved, might not be that important. The only thing that matters is whether the subject was actually affected or not.

3.1.2

In the second group in my classification, the subject of the passive sentence must have some relationship with another noun phrase in the sentence, as in the previous group.

This noun phrase is not the agent, however, but the patient, of the sentence. 

\[ X \] (\( \text{NP2} \))

(20) John wa yakuza ni tsuma o korosareta.
    TOP gangster DAT wife ACC kill-PASS-PAST

"John's wife was killed by a gangster, John was negatively affected by it."

(21) John wa Bill ni imooto o paatii ni tsureteikareta.
    TOP DAT sister ACC party take-PASS-PAST

"John's sister was taken to a party by Bill, John was negatively affected by it."
This construction is not often used although it is grammatically correct. This happens because of the interpretation.

One possible interpretation of this sentence, which does not constitute an exception of the generally negative connotations of the indirect passive construction, requires the hearer to imagine a context in which the father is adversely affected by his child’s being rescued.

Such a context seems rather implausible. A more likely situation can easily be invented.

(23) Sono otoko wa korosoo to omotteita kanemochi no that man TOP kill think rich GEN

ojisan o raifu seebaa ni tasukerareta.
uncle ACC guard DAT help-PASS-PAST

"That fellow was adversely affected by a guard rescuing his rich old uncle whom he had planned to kill."

Wierzbicka said there was a second possible interpretation for Sentence (22), in which the father had been positively affected by the events described. These positive connotations are entirely unexpected in the so-called "adversity" passive construction.

However, * native speakers do not accept the sentence (22) as a perfectly natural sentence. It happens because the appearance of terms like raifu seebaa ("guard") and tasukeru ("to rescue") indicate that some threat to the patient’s life has been averted. Thus the passive subject, John, who is naturally understood as the father of the child, is expected to feel relieved when his child is rescued.

* The informants in this paper are 30 native speakers of Japanese.
The reason why the sentence is unnatural is that the construction requires us to imagine a negative implication on the contrary to the positive situation which is caused by the terms as above. Therefore the sentence (23) is accepted as a natural sentence by all the informants.

Thus, although Wierzbicka presented the sentence as an indirect passive which has positive connotations, I suggest that this should be considered as an indirect passive which has negative connotations.

We have observed above that the exact nature of the relationship between the subject and the patient may be rather difficult to define, and that they may be related to one another only by virtue of being in the same place, and by having certain expectations about one another's behavior. Whatever the nature of the relationship, however, in most cases we understand that the subject feels that he is negatively affected by the event in which the other person participates.

However, look at sentences like these:

(24)  John wa ame ni furareta.  
      TOP rain DAT fall-PASS-PAST
      "It rained, John was negatively affected by it."

(25)  John wa kaze ni fukareta.  
      TOP wind DAT blow-PASS-PAST
      "The wind blew, John was affected by it."

Examples (24) and (25) are different from any of the sentences which I have mentioned in this section so far. NP2, in these sentences, is not a human being but a phenomenon of nature, and the relationship between NP1 and NP2 is different from the one in sentences of the first group. (Please see Section 3.1.1.) Sentences like these will be discussed below (Section 3.2).
3.2 Direct Passives Which Have Been Considered as Indirect Passives

3.2.0

As we saw above, there are some sentences, which are indirect passives by the old definitions, which actually have neutral or positive connotations. These are sometimes treated simply as exceptions, for examples by Kuno (1973) and Howard (1976), and are not included in the scope of the definitions of the indirect passive construction proposed by these linguists. Others have treated them as genuine indirect passives, and thus insist that indirect passives have both negative and positive implications. Examples of these sentences are in this section 3.2.

I would like to analyse each of the sentences below in the following subsections, and justify their inclusion among direct passive constructions.

(26) John wa sensei ni atama o naguretai.
    TOP teacher DAT head ACC hit-PASS-PAST
    "John was hit on the head by the teacher."

(27) John wa sensei ni kodomo o homeretai.
    TOP teacher DAT child praise-PASS-PAST
    "The teacher praised John's child, John was affected by it."

(28) John wa kaze ni fukarete, sanposhita.
    TOP wind DAT blow-PASS walk-PAST
    "John walked along, the wind blowing on him."

I believe that it is not necessary, or profitable, to revise our entire definition of the indirect passive on the basis of so few apparent exceptions. At the same time, however, a speaker must have some motivation for employing the passive construction in sentences.
like these, and so they cannot simply be ignored. Therefore, I suggest that these sentences should be included in what I have defined as direct passives.

3.2.1 Body Parts

Consider these examples, generally considered to be examples of the indirect passive construction, both of which have negative implications:

(29) John wa Mary ni atama o nagurareta.  
TOP DAT head ACC hit-PASS-PAST  
"John was hit on the head by Mary."

(30) John wa Mary ni ashi o kerareta.  
TOP DAT leg ACC kick-PASS-PAST  
"John was kicked on the leg by Mary."

Notice that the verbs in the two examples above have negative meanings for the patients (NP2) even when they are used in active sentences:

(29) Mary wa John no atama o nagutta.  
TOP GEN head ACC hit-PAST  
"Mary hit John's head."

(30) Mary wa John no ashi o ketta.  
TOP GEN leg ACC kick-PAST  
"Mary kicked John's leg."

On the other hand, when we use verbs which do not involve any negative affect for the patient, verbs such as naderu ("to pat") or shoodokusuru ("to disinfect"), then we get passive sentences which have positive connotations:

(31) John wa Mary ni atama o naderareta.  
TOP DAT head ACC pat-PASS-PAST  
"John was patted on the head by Mary."
The most obvious interpretation of these sentences is that John was positively affected by Mary's actions. However, given the right context, they equally well allow the interpretation that John was negatively affected - for example, if he disliked Mary's attentions.

The important point is, however, that these sentences can have positive implications. If they are indeed examples of indirect passive sentences then they provide evidence contrary to my claim that in all passive sentences of this type the subject feels negatively affected.

However, I consider sentences (29) - (30) above to be examples of the direct passive construction which, as I observed above, allows positive, neutral, or negative implications, depending on the predicate used and the context of the utterance.

I justify this claim on the following grounds. Active sentences involving some action directed towards a person, in which a part of the body undergoes the action, do not have exact, direct passive counterparts. Observe the following pairs:

(33)  

a. Mary wa John o nagutta.  
    TOP   ACC hit-PAST
    "Mary hit John."

b. John wa Mary ni nagurareta.  
    TOP   DAT hit-PASS-PAST
    "John was hit by Mary."
Sentence (34)a., where the undergoer is a body part, does not have an exact passive counterpart, as can be seen by the oddness of (34)b. Instead we use another construction if we wish to passivise this sentence, namely:

(35) a. John wa Mary ni atama o nagurareta.
TOP DAT head ACC hit-PASS-PAST
"John was hit on the head by Mary." (=29)

It is quite clear from the form of Example (35)a. why it is often taken to be an indirect passive. It is certainly true that it has no exact active counterpart, thus fulfilling Howard and other's syntactic criterion of an indirect passive. Observe the ungrammaticality of:

(35) b. #Mary wa John o atama o nagutta.
TOP ACC head ACC hit-PAST

However, according to my semantically based definition of the two kinds of passive, (35)a. qualifies as a direct passive, by virtue of the fact that the passive subject is, in fact, directly affected by the action described. The subject himself is the true patient in all the passive sentences above (29) - (32), and the body part which appears as the object of the sentence simply expresses more specifically how the subject himself was affected.
However, not all passive sentences in which NP3 is a body part can be explained in a way like above. Look at these examples:

(36) John wa isha ni ha o nukareta.
    TOP doctor DAT teeth ACC pull out-PASS-PAST
    "John had his teeth pulled out by a doctor."

(37) John wa Mary ni kami o kirareta.
    TOP DAT hair ACC cut-PASS-PAST
    "John had his hair cut by Mary."

These sentences should be considered to be direct passives, although the subject does not directly undergo the action in either case.

Compare this with the examples above, in which the body part simply designates the part of the body on which the action, directed towards the subject, was performed:

(29) John wa Mary ni atama o nagurareta.
    TOP DAT head ACC hit-PASS-PAST
    "John was hit on the head by Mary."

We could equally well say:

(33) b. John wa Mary ni nagurareta.
    TOP DAT hit-PASS-PAST
    "John was hit by Mary."

However, we have no similar equivalents to Examples (36) and (37) above, because the subject of these sentences is not directly affected:

(38) * John wa isha ni nukareta.
    TOP doctor DAT pull out-PASS-PAST

(39) * John wa Mary ni kirareta.
    TOP DAT cut-PASS-PAST

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Although the verb expresses the meaning that the action is towards a body part, as it is a part of the subject, we could say that not only a body part but also the subject is the undergoer of the action.

Thus, in bodily passives, which are examples of the direct passive construction, both NPI, the subject, and NP3, the body part, must be direct undergoers of the same action, NP3 simply serving to indicate the place at which NPI undergoes the action.

3.2.2 homeru ("to praise")

Let us examine another exception to the generally negative implications of passive sentences which have an extra noun phrase.

(40) Watashi wa sensei ni kodomo o homerareta.
    I TOP teacher DAT child ACC praise-PASS-PAST.

Please see interpretations below.

This sentence has been considered to be an indirect passive, because it has an extra noun phrase "watashi (I)". If this is so, the interpretation of this sentence should be something like the following:

1. The teacher praised the child.
   (The teacher said something good to the child.)
   I was affected by that.

Although this interpretation is possible, none of the native speakers imagine this situation when they first hear the sentence. Even after I suggested the existence of the interpretation, eighty percent of the native informants found the sentence was somehow unnatural.
The teacher said something good, about the child, to me.

In this situation, the action *iu* ("to say") is directed toward the subject "I". "I" is not an extra noun phrase, but the object of the corresponding active sentence. We should conclude that whenever the speaker expresses the latter of the two situations described above, using this construction, he is using not an indirect but a direct passive.

As I showed above, Sentence (41) has two possible interpretations. This happens because of the nature of the verb *homeru* ("to praise"). There are many verbs which express various types of speech-act in Japanese. Syntactically, most of them are used in the following construction:

\[
A \text{ ga } B \ni C \to V.
\]

NOM DAT ACC

Where A is the giver and B is the receiver of the information, and C is the information conveyed. Some examples of verbs which appear in this construction are:

*iu* ("to say"), *tou* ("to ask"),
*setsumeisuru* ("to explain"),
*meijiru* ("to order"),
*yookyuusuru* ("to demand"),
*shoomeisuru* ("to prove"), and so on.

On the other hand, there are some speech-act verbs which appear in another construction:
The verbs are:

nadameru ("to soothe"), shikaru ("to scold"),
najiru ("to rebuke"), yajiru ("to jeer"),
homeru ("to praise"), kenasu ("to abuse"),
hyookasuru ("to evaluate").

These verbs express not only the action of saying something but also the whole attitude of the speaker. The object of the speech-act is not necessarily a person in the case of some of these verbs, for example homeru ("to praise"), kenasu ("to abuse"), and hyookasuru ("to evaluate"). In these verbs, homeru ("to praise") is different from other verbs.

(41) Sensei wa watashi no doresu o hometa.
    teacher TOP I GEN dress ACC praise-PAS
    "The teacher praised by dress."

In this case, the teacher is actually addressing himself to me. The object of the sentence, my dress, is the topic of conversation, not the addressee. However, for others of these verbs, an inanimate object is unnatural:

(42) ??Sensei wa watashi no koodoo o shikatta.
    teacher TOP I GEN behaviour ACC scold-PAS
    "The teacher scolded my behaviour."

Now observe the following sentences, in which an animate noun appears as the object.
In Sentence (44), it is quite clear that the teacher is talking to my child, as the passive sentence has only one implication, which is indirect passives.

However, in (43) the person to whom the teacher is talking is ambiguous. The object noun, *kodomo* ("child"), can be either the topic of conversation or the addressee. This is the reason why the passive sentence (40), repeated below for your convenience, has two possible interpretations.

As the first interpretation is not perfectly natural, when the speaker wants to express the first of the two situations above, which is that the teacher spoke to the child, it is most natural to use a direct passive construction in which *kodomo* ("child") is the subject.
Kodomo ga sensei ni homerareta.
"The child was praised by a teacher."

The following sentence has negative connotations:

Watashi wa sensei ni hoka no seito o homerareta.
The teacher praised another student, I was negatively affected by it.

In this sentence, we imagine a situation in which the student who is praised by the teacher is the subject's rival. These are indirect passive sentences.

3.2.3 Noun Phrases Followed by the Particle "O"

As we have seen in the previous sections of this chapter, the noun phrases which are followed by the particle "o" in construction which contain an extra noun phrase have some interesting characteristics. In this sub-section I would like to further discuss passive sentences containing a noun phrase followed by the particle "o".

Firstly, there are many passive sentences of this kind which also have three arguments in their active counterparts. For example:

John wa Mary ni michi o kikareta.
"John was asked the way by Mary."

The verbs which appear in these sentences are the so-called "giving and receiving verbs", which express the movement of goods or information between two people (or two groups of people), such as
okuru ("to send"), watasu ("to hand"), kotaeru ("to answer"), ju ("to say"), and so on. In the active counterparts of these passive sentences the receiver is marked by the particle "ni".

(48) Mary wa John ni michi o kiita.
"Mary asked the way to John."

Thus Sentence (47) is an example of the passivisation of a dative, rather than an accusative, noun phrase. Clearly this kind of passivisation should still be regarded as direct - the "receiver" directly undergoes the action concerned. The implications for the passive subjects in this construction, as in other direct passive constructions, can be negative, positive or neutral.

The sentences in the second group, however, do not have precise active counterparts.

(49) John wa Mary ni atama o nagurareta.
"John was hit on the head by Mary."

However, as I discussed above, these sentences should also be considered direct passives. The subject in NP1 can be thought of as possessing the patient in NP3, in a part-whole relationship, and so we can also use a sentence such as the one below to express the same situation.

It is worth mentioning that the sentences in this group involve not only parts of the subject's body, but anything which may be considered a "part" of him. For example:

(51) John wa namae o yobarete furimuita.
TOP name ACC call turn around-PASS-PAST
"John's name was called and he turned around."

(52) Mary wa oorakana seikaku o minna ni aisareta.
TOP broad-minded nature ACC everybody DAT love-PASS-PAST
"Mary was loved for her broad-mindedness by everybody."

Even when the subject is inanimate, the construction can occur:

(53) Sono shujutsu wa inchoo ni yotte shittoo o
that operation TOP chief surgeon DAT surgery ACC
kaishi sareta.
begin-PASS-PAST
"The surgery of the operation was begun by the chief surgeon."

The sentence with the verb homeru ("to praise") (Please see subsection 3.2.2) is also included in this group of direct passive sentences. This is because the subject in the NP1 in these sentences possesses the patient in NP3, or the patient is inseparable from the subject, as in body-part passives, although there is no active counterpart and there is an extra noun phrase.

The sentences in this group have positive, negative or neutral implications, depending on the verb used, the context of the utterance, and so forth.
The last group consists of the true indirect passives. Examples are:

(54) John wa doroboo ni saifu o nusumareta.
    "John had his purse stolen by a thief."

(55) John wa Mary ni jitensha o tsukawareta.
    "John had his bicycle used by Mary."

Here, it is certainly true that the subject in NPI possesses the thing in NP3. However, we cannot say:

(56) #Doroboo wa John o nusunda.

The three types of passive sentences discussed above all contain a third NP which is followed by the particle "o". However, the relationships between the passive subject and this noun phrase, as well as between the noun phrases and the actions described, are different in all three cases. True indirect passives are far less common than has been thought to be the case.

The following diagram summarises the classification I have proposed above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition 1</th>
<th>Condition 2</th>
<th>Condition 3</th>
<th>Constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPI's NP2</td>
<td>NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPI's NP3</td>
<td># NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part and whole</td>
<td>NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NPI wa NP2 ni V-PASS</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This diagram can be used to determine whether a passive which has three noun phrases, followed by the particles ga (or "wa"), "ni" and "o", is a direct or an indirect passive. Firstly, if there is a possessive relationship between NP1 and NP3, the sentence may or may not be an indirect passive. We must examine Condition 2 in order to determine this. If a sentence like "NP1 ga NP2 ni V-Pass." is also possible, and has the same meaning as the sentence in question, then we are dealing with a direct passive. If the "NP1 ga NP2 ni V-Pass." construction is ungrammatical and there is no part and whole relationship between NP1 and NP3, we can conclude that the sentence in question is an indirect passive. In the case of body-part passives, however, Condition 2 is not necessary, because we can recognise this type of direct passive by simply considering whether NP3 is separable from NP1 or not. (Please see Section 3.2.1.) Finally, if a sentence does not even satisfy Condition 1, and there is no possessive relationship between NP1 and NP3, we can automatically assume it to be a direct passive.

3.2.4 Wind and Rain

In Japanese, we have expressions like the following:
We can express either negative or positive implications by using this construction; it has been traditionally included among the indirect passives because it contains a noun phrase not found in any comparable active sentence.

According to A. Wierzbicka (1979), the event described happened in a place, not necessarily that of the subject, and the subject, which is the extra noun phrase, is affected by this event.

However, the passive subject, in my opinion, is always affected directly. Thus the interpretation can be either negative or positive, as we have seen above. The subject must be in the place where the wind blows, and he must actually feel the wind. Therefore these sentences should be considered direct passives. Observe the unnatural sentences below:

(59) ??Kaze ni fukarete soto ni ikarenakatta.
wind DAT blow-PASS outside LOC go-PASS-NEG-PAST
"I could not go out, because I was affected by the wind blowing."

The verb fuku ("to blow") has interesting characteristics, in that it can be used as not only intransitive but also transitive.

(60) Kaze ga fuku.
wind NOM blow
"Wind blows."
Verbs like this in Japanese are considerably rare compared with English. They are:

akeru ("to open"), hiku ("to draw"),
masu ("to gain"), motsu ("to have"),
musubu ("to tie"), ukeru ("to get"), and so on.

In these verbs I would like to focus on hiku ("to draw") and motsu ("to have") because they have similar characteristics as fuku ("to blow") but others do not.

And they also have the passive sentences

(64) Abura wa i ni motareru.
oil TOP stomach DAT have-PASS
"Oil sits heavy on stomach."

(65) Watashi wa kanojo no miryoku ni hikareta.
I TOP she GEN charm DAT draw-PASS-PAST
"I was affected by her charm."
The two sentences above are idiomatic usage and we do not think of them as passive sentences because they do not have corresponding active sentences. However they are syntactically passive sentences.

Going back to the verb fuku ("to blow"), kaze ("wind") does not have an undergoer in the sentence.

(66) * Kaze ga watashi o fuku.
     wind NOM I     ACC blow

It is because kaze ("wind") is a natural cause and has only intransitive verbs.

However the passive sentence has positive interpretation, and I believe this is related to the existence of the transitive verb fuku ("to blow").

It must be easily imagined that the speakers feel that the wind blows just like they are animate.

I strongly believe in this idea; however as I do not have a more effective explanation now, I would like to leave this problem here.

We have similar sentences in which the phenomenon concerned is "rain", rather than wind:

(67) Ame ni furarete bishonure ni natta.
     rain DAT fall-PASS wet through become-PAST

"It rained, and I was wet through."

This construction invariably expresses a negative effect upon the passive subject, demonstrated by the complete unacceptability of a sentence such as:
This construction, containing "rain" as the agentive noun phrase, is usually used only when the passive subject undergoes the event directly, as in the case with the construction containing "wind" above. Therefore we would expect to hear:

(69) Ame ga futta node yakyuu o mi ni ikenakatta.
    rain NOM fall-PAST as baseball ACC see go-POS-NEG-PAST
    "As it rained, I could not go and watch the baseball game."

instead of:

(70) ??Ame ni furarete yakyuu o mi ni ikenakatta.
    rain DAT fall-PASS baseball see go-POS-NEG-PAST

Many native speakers agree that (69) is more or less unnatural. There are speakers who accept Sentence (69) as natural, however I believe this is because we also have sentences like the following, which are perfectly acceptable to all speakers:

(71) Ame fi furarete yakyuu ga chuushi ni natta.
    rain DAT fall-PAST baseball NOM stop become-PAST
    It rained and the baseball game was affected by it. The game was stopped."

Here the "game" itself is the undergoer of the event, directly affected by the rain. Speakers who accept (70) may be extrapolating from completely natural sentences like (71), even though there is no direct undergoer in (70).

Another reason is when the hearer imagined the situation the speaker was in the rain and got wet, the sentence would be acceptable. On the other hand when he was in a house and heard the radio which said the game was stopped, the sentence would never be accepted.
Therefore, although the evidence is not quite as clear as it is in the case of passive sentence involving "wind", I consider the sentences involving rain to be direct passives also. It remains to be explained, however, why these sentences have strictly negative connotations.

Recall that the direct passive should allow positive or neutral connotations. Kuno (1973) claims that "rain" is always considered a nuisance by Japanese people. Therefore I believe it is the content of the sentence, not its construction, which results in the negative implications.

However, as there are some people who accept sentences like (70) above, in which the subject is not a direct undergoer, I concede that this construction could still be considered an indirect passive. In this case the consistently negative implications would require no further explanation.
4.0 DIRECT PASSIVES

4.1 Direct Passives

The passive subjects in direct passive sentences are always directly affected by the action.

Direct passives whose subjects are inanimate usually have neutral implications, because these subjects do not experience emotions.

When the subject is animate, he may be emotionally affected by the action. Theoretically, as the construction itself is neutral, the meanings of the verbs and the contexts used determine the connotations - whether negative, positive, or neutral.

Basically, whenever the verb expresses something negative, the passive subject is understood to be negatively affected. For example:

(72) John wa Mary ni nagurareta.
    TOP DAT hit-PASS-PAST
    "John was hit by Mary." (=33b.)

On the other hand, when the verb does not have a negative meaning for the passive subject, he is not necessarily negatively affected.

(73) John wa Mary ni kisusareta.
    TOP DAT kiss-PASS-PAST
    "John was kissed by Mary."

However, when the context of the utterance makes it clear that John did not want to be kissed by Mary, the interpretation could equally well be negative. We can easily imagine such a situation: for example,
if John does not like Mary or if he does not like to be kissed. This
"negative" notion is very broad, because even when the verb itself
does not necessarily have negative connotations, it may be clearly
understood to describe a negative situation in combination with the
particular noun phrases used.

(74) John wa kiraina Mary ni kisusareta.
TOP dislike DAT kiss-PASS-PAST
"John was kissed by Mary, whom he dislikes."

4.2 Direct Passives Which are Very Similar to Indirect Passives

4.2.1

S. Kuno (1983) discusses "pure passives" and gives the following
definition: "The more the passive subject ... is directly involved by
the action or psychology which is expressed by the embedded sentence, the
more easily the passive sentence will be accepted as a pure
passive: (p.205). Although this definition is very interesting and
basically correct, being based on the semantic component of Japanese
passives, the term "directly involved" is not clear enough. I would
like to firstly discuss one particular case in which Kuno uses the
term inappropriately, and then try to clarify this concept myself.

Kuno discusses the verb miru ("to see") and defines it as an action in
which the patient is not directly involved. Therefore, according to
Kuno, the patient of this verb is always negatively affected, and thus
passive sentences with miru ("to see") are invariably "adversity
passives" in Kuno's terminology.

* What I have been referring to as the "corresponding active
  sentence", Kuno calls the "embedded sentence".

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However I would like to include the sentence (75) to the direct passives in my definition, because although by seeing somebody the person did not change practically, the action miru ("to see") is aimed at nobody else but the particular person. There is no physical contact between the agent and the patient, even though the passive subject is the undergoer of the action.

As the action is direct, we could find a passive sentence which does not have negative connotations:

(73) Aa iu me de mirareru koto ga daijina no yo.
  in that way eye INST see-PASS thing NOM important

"It is important for one to be seen in that way."
(Scenario: Koofuku-goo shuppan '80)

In this sentence the verb miru ("to see") is used in a positive context and there are none of the complex feelings in the speaker's mind which we saw in the indirect passive sentences used in an apparently positive context. (Please see p. 11.)

Other verbs which have a similar meaning to miru ("to see") should be treated in the same way, as they also have the basic meaning which is the agent doing something to the patient and the patient is the subject of passive sentences.

We have another similar example:
(77) a. Mary wa John o hitogomi no naka de mitome,
    TOP   ACC crowd   GEN in LOC recognise

"ohisashiburi" to koe o kaketa.
    after a long time voice ACC call out-PAST

Mary recognised John in the crowd, and greeted him,
'Long time no see'.

b. John wa Mary ni hitogomi no naka de
    TOP   DAT crowd   GEN in LOC

mitomerare, "ohisashiburi" to koe o
    recognise-PASS after a long time voice ACC

kakerareta.
    call out-PASS-PAST

"John was recognised in the crowd, and greeted 'Long
time no see' by Mary."

Sentence (77)b. may have a negative interpretation, but this
interpretation is by no means the only one possible. It has a neutral
interpretation also. Although the subject "John" is not directly
involved in being recognised by "Mary", the sentence is undoubtedly a
"pure passive". I believe that such obvious exceptions to Kuno's claim
arise because Kuno's definition of "directly involved" is rather vague
and difficult to understand.

Therefore, although I approve of Kuno's very original approach to the
problem of the passive in Japanese, his explanation of Japanese
passives is somewhat inadequate. However, I admit that the verb miru
("to see") does have characteristics which make passive sentences with
this verb tend to have negative interpretations. I would like to
analyse the properties of this verb, and others like it, in the
following sub-section.

4.2.2 Sensory Verbs

As the verb miru ("to see") has interesting properties, I would like
to discuss this verb in some detail, and compare it with other
sensory verbs.

A. kiku ("to hear")

In Japanese when we use the verb kiku ("to hear") the object must refer directly to some kind of sound.

(78) * John wa Mary o kiita.
TOP ACC hear-PAST

(79) John wa Mary no koe o kiita.
TOP GEN voice ACC hear-PAST

"John hear Mary's voice."

However, we can grammatically substitute words like rajo ("radio") or rekoodo ("record") for "Mary" in (78). This is because these words refer to things whose basic purpose is to be heard.

When we make passive sentences with the verb kiku, the implication is always negative.

(80) Mary wa John ni utatteiru no o kikareta.
TOP DAT sing-GER ACC hear-PASS-PAST

"Mary's singing was heard by John. Mary was negatively affected."

The reason why (76) has a negative interpretation is that the sentence is not a direct but an indirect passive. John heard Mary's voice but not Mary herself. The affect on Mary in indirect, and thus the connotations are negative.

B. miru ("to see")

As I explained above, passive sentences with the verb miru ("to see") have a negative interpretation in most cases. However, some can have a positive interpretation, and thus we cannot define these sentences as indirect passives.
Although the verb miru differs from kiku in this respect, they have important similarities. Both of them are so-called "sensory verbs" and tend to be interpreted as negative in the passive construction.

For kiku, as I discussed above, the object must always be a noun phrase which expresses the sound heard, like koe ("voice") or oto ("noise").

It seems plausible to suggest that the generally negative connotations of the passive use of miru may stem from an extrapolation from the indirect way in which this very similar verb kiku, is used. That is, although miru can grammatically appear with an animate object (unlike kiku), it may be that the speaker has in mind a situation where it is the shape or image of the object which is viewed, rather than the object itself. This would be a natural consequence of a complete non-involvement of the object of this verb, as pointed out by Kuno (1983).

I propose that the inanimate object for miru could be expressed by a word like sugata ("shape"). The two sentences below express the same occurrence, but it seems that it is the second which is closer to the situation in the mind of the speaker when he uses the verb miru in a passive sentence.

(81) John wa Mary ni mirareta.
    TOP    DAT see-PASS-PAST
    "John was seen by Mary."

(82) John wa Mary ni sugata o mirareta.
    TOP    DAT shape ACC see-PASS-PAST
    "John's shape was seen by Mary."

Although this second sentence does seem somewhat redundant for the native speaker of Japanese, and is less likely to be heard than the
first, I believe that it is closer to the concept conveyed by any passive sentence with miru. The word sugata ("shape") is not clear, but in Sentence (82), Mary may see John's face, hand, or whole body. Mary sees John's body but not John himself. Although it is not necessary to have an inanimate object like sugata ("shape") in the constructions which use miru, I believe that we are conscious of the existence of the noun. Most sentences with miru which have negative connotations actually do include an accusative noun phrase as in the examples below and so there is no need to postulate the presence of an inanimate object such as sugata in most cases.

(83) John wa Mary ni kitanai kao o mirareta.
    TOP DAT dirty face ACC see-PASS-PAST

"Mary saw John's dirty face, and John was adversely affected by it."

(84) John wa Mary ni aruiteiru no o mirareta.
    TOP DAT walking NOM ACC see-PASS-PAST

Mary saw John walking, and John was adversely affected by it."

Sentences (83) and (84) convey the idea that what the agent saw is not the subject himself but rather something about him. Thus the sentences are felt to be indirect passives in most cases, resulting in the negative interpretations.

The word koe ("to voice") and sugata ("to shape") remind us of a problem which is: When we treat voice and shape as a body part, the sentence which contains these words should be direct passives. (Please see Chapter 3).

Considering this point, these sentences (80) (81) are direct passive sentences which are very similar to indirect passive sentences.
C. Kagu ("to smell")

The next sensory verb I would like to discuss in kagu ("to smell"). This verb is similar to kiku, because we cannot smell a person himself, but we smell the scent given off by the person.

(85) ?? Inu wa John o kaida.
TOP ACC smell-PAST
"A dog smelled John."

(86) Inu wa John no nioi o kaida.
dog TOP GEN smell ACC smell-PAST
"A dog smelled John's scent."

The passive equivalent for (80) is:

(87) John wa inu ni nioi o kagareta.
TOP dog DAT smell ACC smell-PASS-PAST
"A dog smelled John's scent, and John was affected by it."

and it means that John feels negatively affected by the action.

D. fureru ("to touch")

The verb fureru ("to touch") is different from the other sensory verbs because when somebody touches somebody else, the action is clearly a direct one. Therefore the passive sentence will be a direct passive.

(88) John wa Mary ni furerareta.
TOP DAT touch-PASS-PASS-PAST
"John was touched by Mary."

The construction itself has neither negative nor positive connotations in this case.
E. ajiwau ("to taste")

Ajiwau ("to taste") is the fifth sensory verb. It is difficult, however, to use this verb in passive sentences at all, especially with an animate subject. People can taste food, or even in Japanese the atmosphere, but I can hardly think of a situation in which somebody tastes somebody else. Thus this verb is hardly relevant to the present discussion.
5.0 SYNTAX OF PASSIVES

In this chapter, I would like to mention some aspects on the syntax of passives.

5.1 Former Studies

There have been two theories explaining properties of Japanese passive sentences from a syntactic point of view, which are called "uniform" and "non-uniform theory".

Uniform theory: advocated by Kuroda, Hasegawa, and Makino, states that both types of passives (Direct and Indirect) are derived from complexed deep structure. Example below.

(89) Taroo wa sensei ni sikarareta.
     TOP teacher DAT sco1d-PASS-PAST
     "Taroo was scolded by the teacher."

On the other hand, in the non-uniform theory, direct and indirect passives are derived from different deep structures. Indirect passives are derived from the complexed deep structure as in the uniform theory. However direct passives are the result of transformation. This theory was widely accepted among linguists. McCawley has since proved the difference between direct and indirect passives using the reflexive pronoun zubun ("self").
Accordingly to the non-uniform theory, the reflexive pronoun zibun ("self") is ambiguous and possibly has two meanings in Indirect Passives.

(90) Watashi wa haha ni zibun no heya de shinareta.
I TOP mother DAT self's room LOC die-PASS-PAST

"My mother was died on me in self's room."
(Shibatani 137)

(91) Hanako wa otto hi zibun no sararii o
TOP husband DAT self's salary ACC

"Hanako's husband used all of self's salary. Hanako was negatively affected by it."
(138)

In sentence (90), zibun can be understood as either watashi ("I") or haha ("mother"), and in (91), salary can be either Hanako's or her husband's.

In direct passives, however, the reflexive pronoun zibun cannot be ambiguous.

(92) Yamada-san wa okusan ni zibun no heya de korosareta.
TOP wife DAT self's room LOC kill-PASS-PAST

"Mr Yamada was killed in self's room by his wife."

In this sentence zibun refers to only Mr. Yamada and could never be his wife.

(93) Boku wa ani ni zibun no heya de shogi o
I TOP brother DAT self's room LOC chess ACC
shikomare ta.
teach-PASS-PAST (141)

"I was taught chess in self's room by my brother."
"My brother taught chess in self's room. I was negatively affected by it."

According to Shibatani, when we accept the sentence as a Direct Passive, zibun is "I" and nobody else, but when the sentence is Indirect, zibun can be either "I" or "my brother."
I would like to present here some sentences which are considered valid objections to the notions above.

(94) Boku wa ani ni zibun no yarikata de
I TOP brother DAT self's way in
shoogi o shikomareta.
chess ACC teach-PASS-PAST

"I was taught chess by my brother in his way."

The word yarikata ("way") strongly indicates that zibun is the agent of the verb shikomu ("to teach"). If zibun in Direct Passives has only the subject as its antecedent, sentence (94) must be unnatural. According to my research, however, this sentence was found acceptable by 70% of my 30 informants. They said that zibun is "brother" and thus is a Direct Passive. Consider the sentences below:

(95) John wa Mary ni zibun no kazoku no koto
TOP DAT self's family's matter
bakari hanasareta.
only talk-PASS-PAST

"John was talked only about self's family by Mary."

(96) John wa sensei ni zibun no e o zimansareta.
TOP teacher DAT self's picture ACC proud-PASS-PAST

"John was prouded self's picture by the teacher."

In (95) and (96), zibun can be Mary and the teacher, respectively when a certain context follows the sentence, those sentences are naturally accepted as in "John got tired of listening to Mary (sensei)". About 70% of the informants thought both sentences were direct passives. Zibun refers to Mary and the teacher and so are natural sentences.
Although some linguists refuse to recognize that there are native speakers who accept two meanings of *zibun* in Direct Passives, I would like to point out that if we give a certain context, many people accept the Sentences as natural.

I believe that this fact is worth considering in the future and must give us another idea of the syntax of passives.
In the following two chapters, I would like to analyse the kind of passive sentences used in real situations, and try to ascertain the purpose for using them.

I have used newspapers and scenarios to collect passive sentences used in real situations. From scenarios we can draw examples of the spoken style of passive sentences, and from the newspaper, examples of the written style. Because of the quite different styles used in these two media, the use of the passive is different in many ways. I will look at newspapers in the next chapter, and scenarios in the following.
6.0 NEWSPAPERS

6.1 Direct and Indirect Passives

From a popular Japanese newspaper, the Asahi Shinbun (editions of the 14th of March and the 22nd of April, 1983), I collected 339 examples of passive sentences, only 7 of which were indirect passive sentences according to my definition. The remainder were direct passives.

I had expected that direct passives would be in the majority. However, indirect passives were even rarer than I had anticipated.

Presumably this happens because the purpose of a newspaper is to convey the facts objectively to the reader. A writer can relate a story without any emotional nuances by using the direct passive construction, because this construction can have neutral connotations. However, indirect passive sentences always have a negative connotation. Therefore indirect passive sentences are not widely used in the generally objective style of newspapers. Only when the passive subject is a victim, obviously affected negatively from the point of view of ordinary people, is an indirect passive sentence used in this medium.

6.2 Animate and Inanimate Subjects

In direct passives, the subjects can be either animate or inanimate. We might presume that animate nouns would appear more frequently as the subjects of these passive sentences. However, in the newspaper I examined, animate subjects were used only in 46 sentences, while the other 283 direct passive sentences had inanimate subjects.
"The five participants were prosecuted."

"Mr X was arrested."

"Mr X was carried to hospital"

I can think of three possible reasons for this.

The first one, as mentioned above, is that the purpose of a newspaper is to convey the facts in an objective way. Sentences which have animate subjects tend to have either negative or positive, rather than simply neutral connotations, because animate beings are often understood to be emotionally affected when they undergo some actions.

Secondly, as sentences in newspapers are always carefully organised and logical, once the writer decides on the topic of the paragraph or article, he keeps that noun phrase in the subject position as much as possible. In this way articles in newspapers are clear and easy to understand. Moreover, as newspaper articles frequently mention events, accidents, meetings etc., inanimate subjects naturally appear very often.

"The overseas study plan for high-school students was advocated."
Finally, in passive sentences which have inanimate subjects, agents are often omitted. I would like to analyse the reason for this in detail in the following sub-section.

6.3 Agentless Passives

In order to explain the reason for the omission of agents in many direct passive sentences with inanimate subjects, I divide agentless passive sentences into four groups, depending on the types of agents which are understood but do not appear in the sentences.

In the first type, the agent which is omitted from the sentence can be found in other sentences of the article.

(103) OPEC wa haibun o shiageru koto ga TOP distribution ACC finish thing NOM dekinakatta. Shikashi wariaterareta haibun can-NEG-PAST however allotted-PASS-PAST distribution

ni fuman o hyoomeishita X-Shi wa ....... DAT discontent ACC express-PAST Mr TOP

"OPEC could not complete distributions. However, Mr. X, who expressed discontent over the allotted distribution ... ."

* I have not mentioned the difference between "ni" and "ni yotte" in this thesis, as it is not particularly relevant to the discussion.
This happens not only in passive sentences but also in active sentences in Japanese. When the subjects, the objects, or other elements are clear from the context, they are often omitted. In many cases redundancies can be avoided with this device. Twenty-six agentless passive sentences of this type were found in the survey.

The second type of agentless passive sentence involves cases where the reader can guess the agent from other elements of the sentence. For example:

(104) Kokkai de gian ga teishutsusareta.
    Diet   LOC bill NOM propose-PASS-PAST
    "At the Diet meeting a bill was proposed."

In Sentence (104), the word kokkai ("Diet") clearly implies that the agent is a Diet member. Therefore the word giin ("a Diet member") would be superfluous. This type of agentless passive is similar to the first group in the sense that the reader knows who the agent is. In the first group the agent of the sentence was understood by virtue of his appearance elsewhere in the article. However, the readers' common sense or social background is necessary for him to be able to ascertain the agent in the sentences of this second group. The number of sentences of this type in the survey was 22.

In the third type of agentless passive sentence, the agents are understood to be not any one particular person, or group of people, but rather people in general, humankind, the Japanese, or some such entity. For example, in the following sentence, the inclusion of an agent sounds unnatural.
The word hitobito ("people") is vague and it does not refer to any particular people. Therefore, it adds nothing whatsoever to the clarity of the sentence, and simply seems redundant. To many the words like hitobito ("people") or mina ("everybody") gives the article an over-literal tone.

In the final type of agentless passive, we do not know who or what the agent is. The agent does not appear elsewhere in the article, as in the first type, nor are clear hints given in the context, as in the second type. There is an agent, of course, but perhaps even the writer himself is not sure who the agent is.

Passive sentences where identifying an agent is irrelevant, all when or where no particular agent can be thought of, are considered by some to be intransitive rather than passive sentences.

As seen above, in newspaper, many inanimate subjects appear in passive sentences.
In scenarios, we can find many examples of passive sentences in the conversational style. Speakers are not as aware of logic or style when they are speaking as when they are writing. Therefore we see passive sentences which express the speakers' feelings in a natural way, very different from the ones we saw in the preceding chapter.

7.1 Direct and Indirect Passives

I collected 563 passive sentences from the scenarios which I examined (please see Bibliography.); 485 of them were direct, while 78 were indirect, passives.

Compared with newspapers, scenarios have far more indirect passive sentences. However, these latter are still not nearly as numerous as direct passives. This would seem to be because the concepts involved in indirect passives are less simple than in those of direct passives. In direct passive sentences only the noun phrases actually undergo the action appearing in the construction. In indirect passives, on the other hand, a noun phrase which does not directly undergo the action but is only indirectly affected by it, appears as the subject of the sentence. This involves a less than straightforward report of an event about a non-involved person. It appears that constructions which are conceptually simpler, involving the simple reporting of events, are used with greater regularity.

7.2 Animate and Inanimate Subjects

In the 485 direct passive sentences, 391 of the subjects were animate and 94 inanimate. This is a characteristic of passive sentences in
scenarios. Recall that the majority of passive sentences in newspapers have inanimate subjects, as we saw above.

Moreover, as speakers do not take pains over the construction, logic, or style of their utterances (unlike the writers of newspaper articles), the topics of utterances are easily changed. The topics do not always appear in subject positions. It is interesting to look for the reason for this, but I leave this problem for further studies.

7.3 Agentless Passives

Not as many agentless passive sentences appear in scenarios as compared with newspapers. However, they are still quite common. Agents appear in 145 of the 485 direct passive sentences, and even when they do not, the agent can be ascertained from the context in 239 cases. We have only 91 agentless passives, and they belong to the second, third, and fourth groups discussed above. (Please see Section 6.3.)

The reason why we have so many agentless passives is that the agents are clear from the context, and to mention them again would be redundant, especially in conversation.

(107) A: X ni nando mo yobidasaremashita.
    DAT many times call-PASS-POL-PAST

B. Ototoi mo yobidasaremashita ka.
    day before yesterday too call-PASS-POL-PAST-Q.M.

A: I was called many times by X.

B: Were you called (by him)
    day before yesterday, too?"
7.4 Negative, Positive, and Neutral Connotations

As many direct passive sentences with animate subjects were found in this survey, an examination of the connotations of these sentences is very important for learning about the purpose behind using the passive construction.

Theoretically, as I discussed in Section 4.0, the nature of the verb used and the context of the utterance determine the connotations of a direct passive sentence. When a verb would have a negative connotation for the patient even in the active counterpart, the subject is understood to be negatively affected. On the other hand, when the verb generally has neutral or positive connotations, only in those cases where the context clearly implies that the action is disadvantageous to the passive subject, is the subject understood to be negatively affected.

However, according to my research on passive sentences in scenarios, even when the verbs would generally be considered neutral or even positive, many of the passive sentences have negative connotations. There are two conditions which cause passive sentences to have negative connotations.

Firstly, there may be an expression in the sentence which explicitly conveys the subject's negative feeling toward the action. For example,

(108)  John wa Mary ni kisusarete totemo hazukashikatta.
       TOP    DAT kiss-PASS very be embarrassed-PAST

"John was kissed by Mary and was very embarrassed."
Secondly, we may be able to assume that the action is unpleasant for the subject form the context or from the socio-cultural knowledge of the hearer. It might be clear that the subject does not like the actions or the agent. An example of this type is:

\begin{exe}
\item \textit{Mr. Hawke wa Mr. Fraser no okusan ni kisusareta.}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\item \textit{Mr. Hawke was kissed by Mr. Fraser's wife.}
\end{exe}

In the presence of either condition above, a passive sentence will have negative connotations, even when the verb itself does not have a negative meaning.

However, most of the verbs in passives with animate subjects do, in fact, have negative meanings. In other words, Japanese tend to use verbs which have negative connotations themselves for passive sentences.

In all, the passive sentences which had animate subjects had negative connotations in 334 sentences, and only in 50 sentences were the connotations neutral or positive. These few cases tended to be rather objective sounding statements, rather than spontaneous remarks.

\begin{exe}
\item \textit{Chooshuu wa miserareta yoo ni miugoki o shinakatta.}
\end{exe}

\begin{exe}
\item \textit{The audience did not move at all, as if they were charmed.}
\end{exe}

Therefore, in the conversational style, most passive sentences actually have a negative interpretation. Direct passive sentences have animate subjects in most cases, and the verbs which appear in these sentences tend to be those with negative connotations. These sentences
will naturally express a negative effect upon the subject. Moreover, even when the verbs themselves are basically positive or neutral, in many cases, the passive sentences are interpreted as negative.

As only negative connotations are expressed by indirect passives, and by far the majority of direct passive sentences seem also to have negative connotations, I propose that unless the passive construction is used in a very objective way, in order to have the undergoer in a more topical position, its basic purpose is to convey the idea that the action or event described had a negative effect on the passive subject.
As I mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 1, all linguists agree that there are two basic types of passive in Japanese. I have chosen to call one "direct" and the other "indirect".

My definitions of these two types of passive are semantically based, and concern the degree of direct involvement of the passive subject in the action or event described. When the passive subject takes part, or directly participates, in the action, the sentence should be considered a direct passive. When this is not the case, it is an indirect passive.

In indirect passives the subjects are always understood to feel negatively affected. Even in direct passives, when the subjects are animate, they are understood to be negatively affected in most cases. Especially in the conversational style, in which there is little concern about logical structure or the strict maintenance of the topic, passive sentences are used when the speaker wishes to express that the event had some negative implication for the undergoer.

I believe this explains the basic reason for the use of the passive construction in the conversational style in Japanese.
# APPENDIX

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<tr>
<td>a. agents are understood by contexts</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. agents are guessed by the other elements of the sentences</td>
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## SCENARIO

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### Connotations

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<tr>
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SCENARIO

'74
Suna no Utsuwa
Waga Michi
Imooto
Otokon wa Tsurai yo

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Aru Eiga Kantoku no Shoogai
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Dabiddo-sha, Tokyo.