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REFERENCE POINT STRUCTURE IN JAPANESE ADVERSATIVE PASSIVES[*]

1   INTRODUCTION

Generally, Japanese passives have been classified into two groups in terms of their meanings. The first group is the adversative passive, which implies a negative effect on the patient of a described event. The other is the ordinary passive, which is neutral in terms of its adversative implication. First, we will have a quick look at some Japanese characteristics in the case marking system. In Japanese, the subject is marked by the nominative marker *ga* and the object by the accusative marker *o* in typical active transitive sentences.[1]

> (1)   a.   Taro-ga   Ken-o   nagutta.
>   Taro-NOM Ken-ACC hit-PST
>   'Taro hit Ken.'
>   b.   Ken-ga   Taro-ni   nagurareta.
>   Ken-NOM Taro-by   hit-PAS-PST
>   'Ken was hit by Taro.'

For example, in (1a) the subject is *ga*-marked representing the participant *Taro* and the object is *o*-marked indicating *Ken*. Next, in passive sentences the patient ascends to the subject of the sentence, which is marked by the nominative *ga* and the agent marked by *ni*, and said to be the Japanese counterpart of English *by*. Sentence (1b) represents the passive counterpart of (1a), in which the passive morpheme *(r)are* is attached to the verb *naguru* (hit) and the patient *Ken* is marked by the nominative *ga* with *Taro* marked by the agentive *ni*. Although (1b) appears to be classified as

[1] Since, in Japanese, the trajector of a sentence is frequently marked by the topic marker *wa* instead of the nominative marker *ga* for various reasons, a Japanese speaker might feel the sentences sound a bit unnatural if all the trajectors are marked by the nominative *ga*. For their consistency, however, I will mark trajectors with the nominative *ga* in this paper.

adversative passive, since the patient *Ken* is obviously negatively affected, sentences like (1b) cannot be identified as adversative passive. Specifically, the adversative meaning in this sentence is lexically equipped with the verb *naguru* (hit). Thus, the adversative reading originates from the verb not the constructional meaning. Since an adversative reading can easily be found in the active counterpart (1a), it does not emerge from the passive construction. The term adversative passive is used only for sentences in which adversative readings newly emerge through passivization. Therefore, passive sentences like (1b) are referred to as ordinary passives because of the lack of newly emerged adversative reading.

On the contrary, (2a) represents an active sentence containing an intransitive verb *kaeru* (go back home). (2b) displays the passive counterpart of (2a), in which the passive morpheme *(r)are* is attached to the verb and the agent *Taro* is marked by agentive *ni*.

(2)   a.   Taro-ga   kaetta.
             Taro-NOM go-home-PST
             'Taro went back home.'
       b.   Ken-ga   Taro-ni   kaerareta.
             Ken-NOM Taro-by go-home-PAS-PST
             'Because Taro went back home, Ken was negatively affected.'

A sentence like (2b) is assumed to be an adversative passive. (2b) discloses the interpretation that *Ken* undergoes some annoyance through *Taro*'s leaving. In particular, the adversative reading in (2b) does not derive compositionally from its components. The adversative reading is newly introduced in (2b), while such meaning is not included in the active counterpart (2a). We must notice here, again, the event itself does not imply any negative incident. Consequently, the action of returning home characterizes either a good or bad event. No intrinsic negative implications exist in this conceptual content. However, whenever this event is expressed in passive form, the sentence necessarily implies that the event causes certain difficulty.

In this adversative passive expression, a new participant appears as a nominative patient not profiled in the active counterpart (2a). Interestingly, this newly profiled participant cannot be expressed in the active sentence; therefore, this fact discloses that (2b) does not offer any true active counterpart. Thus, as shown in (3), *Ken* cannot be located anywhere in an active sentence.

(3)   *Taro-ga   Ken-o   kaetta.
        Taro-NOM Ken-ACC go-home-PST
        *'Taro went back home, Ken.'

The aim of this research strives to elucidate the cognitive structure of Japanese adversative passive constructions within the framework of cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1990, 1991, 1999). First, we will focus particular attention on the phenomenon of the adversative passive often increasing the number of its participants

not expressed in active voice. This observation leads to the assumption that the active zone of a patient plays an important role in creating a new participant, and the intrinsic reference point structure between the profile and its active zone provides a clue for elucidation of its cognitive mechanism. Subsequently, we will claim that the nominative *ga*-marked trajectors in adversative passives do not represent patients but the experiencers, which will be explained in terms of their archetypal role conflation (Langacker 2006).

2   EXPLANATION BASED ON TRANSITIVITY

At a glance, one could remark that the extension based on transitivity perfectly accounts for the extra participant phenomenon.[2] Consider the sentences (4).

(4)   a.   Ken-ga   Taro-ni   nagurareta.   (=1b)
            Ken-NOM   Taro-by   hit-PAS-PST
            'Ken was hit by Taro.'
       b.   Taro-ga   chichioya-ni   shinareta.
            Taro-NOM   father-by   die-PAS-PST
            'Taro's father died and as a result Taro was negatively affected.'
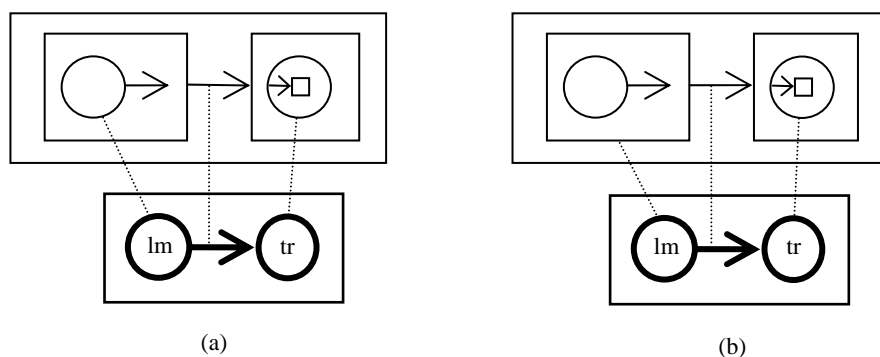

(a)   (b)

Figure 1

In (4a), the *ga*-marked patient is construed as a trajector and the *ni*-marked agent as a landmark. (4a) is depicted in Figure 1(a), where the upper box, including the two smaller boxes, shows the conceived event, i.e. *Taro* hitting *Ken*. The left upper box expresses an autonomous event, specifically, *Taro*'s actual action: a series of movements of his muscles in order to perform the act. This event causes a subsequent

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[2] Explanations based on transitivity have been popular with English passives, as well. See Bolinger (1975), Rice (1987).

event like *Ken* suffering from painful feelings, expressed as the right upper box. These two events are canonically construed as a unified event by the transitive constructional schema depicted in the lower box. In Figure 1(b), which is correspondent with (4b), the upper box contains two discrete events depicting *Taro*'s father's death affecting *Taro*'s life in some way. The lower box indicates these two events are profiled as one transitive event as a whole. In this case, the actor of the intransitive event *chichioya* (father) is marked by the agentive *ni* with the affected participant marked by *ga* as the trajector. In this way, we find a unified account for both the transitive passive and intransitive passive, where we profile two events as one, and in either case, the second participant becomes profiled as the trajector. Indeed, the participants' interaction between two discrete events is profiled as one transitive event as if the event represents the participants' interaction within a single event. Of importance here is noticing that the agent in (4a) exists completely different in nature from that in (4b). While in (4a) the agent is equated with the actor of the preceding event, the agent in (4b) corresponds with the preceding event itself, instead of its participant. This difference indicates that the profile in (4b) shifts from the participant to the event.[3] Given that the source of energy transmission is not a participant but an event, we can naturally assume that this constructional schema perfectly illustrates a case where the preceding event is transitive as in (5).

(5)   Ken-ga   Taro-ni gakusei-o   nagurareta.
       Ken-NOM Taro-by student-ACC hit-PAS-PST
       'Because Ken's student was hit by Taro, Ken was negatively affected.'

Expectedly in (5), the agent of the preceding event is marked by the agentive *ni*. Unexpectedly, however, the patient of the preceding event, the *gakusei* (student), is not marked by the nominative *ga*. Instead, it is marked as an accusative *o*. If we assume that the *ga* marked trajector represents the patient in a passive sentence, it is *Ken* who fills the role of participant in the subsequent event. *Ken* is the *ga*-marked trajector and construed as the patient. Figure 2 compares the two event construals of (4b) and (5).

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[3] Likewise, Tsuboi (2000) and Taniguchi (2005) point out that in Japanese adversative passives the source of energy transmission is not the agent but the preceding event itself.
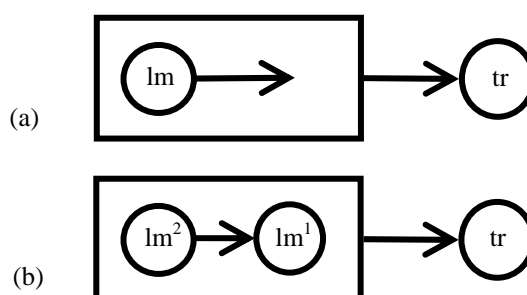
Figure 2

Figure 2 (a) corresponds with (4b), where the *ni*-marked agent is profiled as a landmark and this preceding event as a whole is assumed to be the source of energy flow. Likewise, Figure 2 (b) is correspondent with (5), where the preceding event itself is construed as the source of energy flow, though its agent is marked by *ni*, labeled landmark 2, and its patient is marked by the accusative *o*, labeled landmark 1.[4]

The analysis above indicates that two conceived successive events, whether transitive or intransitive, can be integrated to form one complex event in the case that the preceding event is assumed to affect an external entity in the following event. Hence, we might conclude that, whenever so construed, any complex event can be expressed in passive sentence. In fact, Japanese adversative passives seem to be virtually limitlessly acceptable, with appropriate contextual information. This phenomenon occurs because as depicted in Figure 1 the passive constructional schema is applicable to any case in which we conceive the energy transmission between an event and an external entity.

This account appears perfectly natural and rational. Conversely, after examination of other examples in considerable detail, this explanation creates two problems. For instance, consider (6a) which has the same constructional pattern as in (5). If we provided the same explanation based on transitivity for (6), the patient in (6a) would be an external participant.

(6) a. Ken-ga   Taro-ni kao-o   nagurareta.
         Ken-NOM Taro-by face-ACC hit-PAS-PST
         'Ken was hit in the face by Taro.'
     b. Ken-ga   Taro-ni nagurareta.
         Ken-NOM Taro-by hit-PAS-PST
         'Ken was hit by Taro.'

The problem surfaces whether it is natural to consider *Ken* an external entity as in (5). As a person and his face are inseparable in nature, it is unlikely to conceive a face in

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[4] In this paper, when the accusative participant and a *ni*-marked participant both are profiled, I label the former as lm1 and the latter as lm2.

one event and its possessor in another. Indeed, there is a difference between (6a) and (5). As shown in (6b), we can leave the *o*-marked landmark 1 unprofiled without changing its conceptual content of the event. On the other hand, after leaving the *o*-marked landmark 1 unprofiled in (5), the resulting sentence is acceptable yet fails to express the same conceptual content in (5). If the *gakusei* (student) is unprofiled, not the *gakusei* but *Ken* is interpreted as being hit by *Taro* in the new expression. This contrast shows while the *ga*-marked trajector in (5) is not located within the event *naguru* (hit), that of (6a) is located within the event because *Ken* and his face are naturally conceived as being located within the same event. Therefore, (6a) presents as problematic, per the transitivity explanation above.

   In addition, the observation shown in (7) becomes seriously problematic. Specifically, (7b) perfectly meets the constructional schema in Figure 2 (a) and thus is predicted acceptable, yet it is unacceptable. Furthermore, as shown in (7c), contextual support, which indicates the trajector was killed by the earthquake, fails to improve its acceptability.[5]

   (7)   a.   Jishin-ga   okita.
               earthquake-NOM occur-PST
               'The earthquake occurred.'
         b. *Taro-ga   jishin-ni   okirareta.
               Taro-NOM earthquake-by occur-PAS-PST
               'Taro was negatively affected by the occurrence of the earthquake.'
         c. *Taro-ga   jishin-ni   okirare-te   shinda.
               Taro-NOM earthquake-by occur-PAS-and die-PST
               'Taro died because the earthquake occurred.'

A convincing explanation cannot be derived from Figures 1 and 2. In principle, Figure 1 predicts that any event can be passivized because any two successive events can be regarded as a single complex transitive event whenever the preceding event is construed to affect another external entity.

   Additionally, yet more problematic, is that even sentences like (7b) can be accepted under a certain felicitous context. Imagine the utterance in (8) was spoken by a seismic activity researcher.

   (8)   Jishinkeiho-o   dasu maeni ko   nandomo jishin-ni
           earthquake-alert-ACC issue before such again   earthquake-by
           okirare-te-wa   shinyo marutsubure dana.
           occur-PAS-and-TOP trust   discredit   DM
           'If earthquakes continue to occur so often like this without any alert, we
           will lose our trust.'

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   [5] Researchers like Mikami (1953) have pointed out that unaccusative verbs such as *okiru* (occur) or *ochiru* (fall) cannot appear in adversative passives. These verbs, however, can appear with appropriate context as shown in (8). For further discussion on this matter, see Tsuboi (2000) and Takami and Kuno (2002).

In (8) the trajector's damage caused by the earthquake is relatively light and indirect when compared to that of (7c). If transitivity played a central role in the constructional extension, (7c) would be more acceptable than (8) because (7c) is supposed to describe a more prototypical transitive event. However, the opposite turns out to be true in this case.

From these problematic facts, the plausibility of concluding cognitive factors other than transitivity must be considered to explicate the process of constructional extension in Japanese adversative passives.

3   INTRINSIC REFERENCE POINT STRUCTURE

To solve the issues indicated in the previous section, we will concentrate on the phenomenon where an extra participant is found in a passive sentence when comparing its active counterpart with the passive sentence. Consider (9), depicted in Figure 3, where the left circle represents the nominative *ga*-marked trajector, the right circle indicates the accusative *o*-marked landmark, and the small shaded circle in the right circle is the active zone (see Langacker 1990, 1999). Generally, when someone hits someone else, the energy transmits not to the patient's entire body but a certain portion of it although this conceptual notion tends not to be expressed explicitly as in (9). This phenomenon is called profile/active zone discrepancy (see Langacker 1999:63)

(9)   Taro-ga   Ken-o   nagutta.
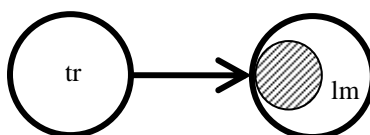   Taro-NOM   Ken-ACC   hit-PST
       'Taro hit Ken.'

Figure 3

In order to express the active zone in (9) explicitly, Japanese makes use of the genitive case marker *no*, virtually regarded as the Japanese counterpart of the apostrophe-s (*'s*) in English. That is, the genitive case marker *no* encodes a reference point relationship (Langacker 1999, Chapter 6). Therefore, it is quite natural to use the genitive *no* since an intrinsic reference point structure exists in the part-whole relationship between the patient and its active zone. As an example, imagine the portion that *Taro* hit is the face of the patient. This relationship is expressed by the genitive *no*, illustrated in (10).

(10) Taro-ga   Ken-no-kao-o   nagutta.
      Taro-NOM Ken-GEN-face-ACC   hit-PST
      'Taro hit Ken's face.'

Figure 4 corresponds with (10). The lower left box (a) illustrates the prototypical transitive constructional schema, where the trajector is marked by the nominative *ga*, and the landmark accusative *o* respectively. The lower right box (b) indicates the part-whole relationship in which the intrinsic reference point structure is constructionally expressed as NP *no* N. In this reference point constructional schema, the former NP represents the reference point and the latter N behind the genitive *no* represents the target. The upper box (c) displays the composite structure of the two constructional schemas, in which constructional manifestation is represented as NP *ga* NP *no* N *o* V.

(c) NP-*ga* NP-*no*-N-*o* V

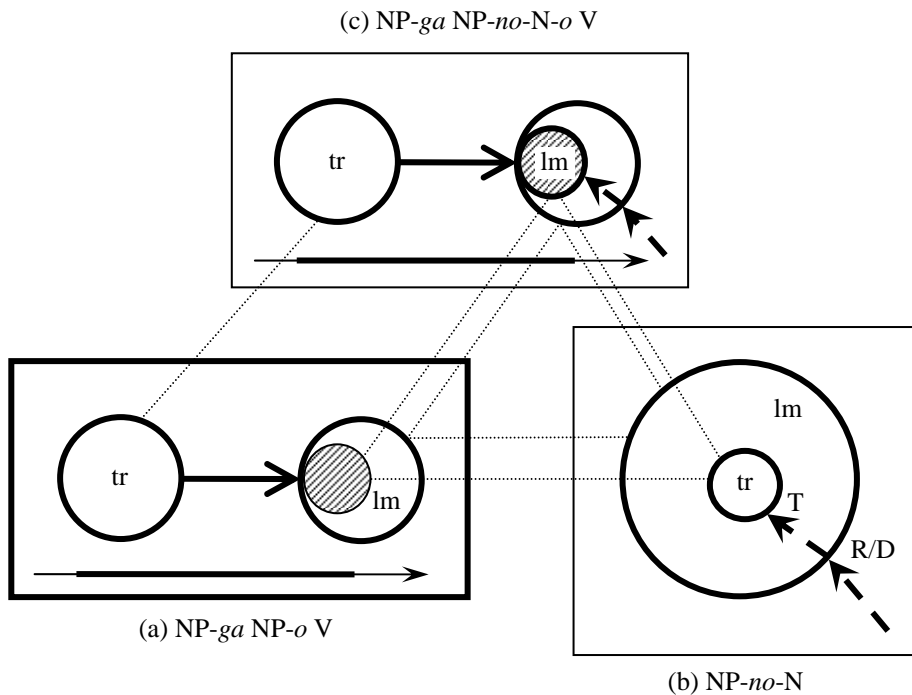(a) NP-*ga* NP-*o* V

(b) NP-*no*-N

Figure 4

The acceptability of (10) decreases when passivized as shown in (11). The rationale here derives from Japanese speakers attempting to avoid choosing an inanimate participant as trajector when an animate participant exists in the same event. This tendency has been referred to as animacy constraint.[6] (11), then, is unnatural because

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[6] Traditionally, the animacy constraint has been pointed out by a number of linguists, which is assumed to be one of a series of viewpoints or empathy constraints. See Kuno (1990) and Okutsu (1992).

an inanimate participant was chosen as trajector. The face itself is not animate but a physical entity. Only its possessor can be animate.

(11) ? Ken-no-kao-ga   Taro-ni nagurareta.
      Ken-GEN-face-NOM Taro-by hit-PAS-PST
      'Ken's face was hit by Taro.'

Without violating the animacy constraint, (12b) is acceptable. It is the passive counterpart of (12a), which has the same syntactic structure as (10). In (12b), *Ken*'s daughter is animate while in (11) *Ken*'s face itself is not, establishing the reason (12b) is acceptable.

(12)   a.   Taro-ga   Ken-no-musume-o   nagutta.
            Taro-NOM Ken-GEN-daughter-ACC hit-PST
            'Taro hit Ken's daughter.'
      b.   Ken-no-musume-ga   Taro-ni nagurareta.
            Ken-GEN-daughter-NOM Taro-by hit-PAS-PST
            'Ken's daughter was hit by Taro.'

Given this explanation, how would active sentences like (10) be expressed in passive form? It is, in fact, possible if you use a slightly different constructional schema as in (13). Recall that the patient in sentence (10) retains an intrinsic reference point structure between the patient and its active zone. In (13), the intrinsic reference point structure provides a substitute for a more global reference point construction. Sentence (13), which eludes violating the animacy constraint, remains the same as the conceptual content in (11).

(13)   Ken-ga   Taro-ni kao-o   nagurareta.
       Ken-NOM Taro-by face-ACC hit-PAS-PST
       'Ken was hit in the face by Taro.'

In (13), the intrinsic reference point relation between the whole and its part, particularly *Ken* and the face, is not expressed by the genitive *no*. Instead, this intrinsic reference point relation is replaced with a more global one between the nominative *ga* and the accusative *o*. By way of integrating the two grammatical constructions, (10) can be safely passivized without violating the animacy constraint. In Figure 5, the lower left box (a) depicts Japanese ordinary passive construction, and the shaded portion within the trajector designates the active zone. The lower right box (b) represents the reference point structure intrinsic in the nominative *ga* and accusative *o* sequencing in Japanese. The upper box (c) demonstrates the composite structure of this integration. An increase in the number of participants in the passive counterpart derives from the strategy that Japanese speakers take in order to avoid violating the animacy constraint by substitution of a local reference point construction

with a global reference point construction. Once the constructional schema in Figure 5 is established, the schema is expected to extend further. This schema is applied to not only the part-whole relationship but also the kinship or possessive relationship, both of which have certain reference point structures.

(c) NP-*ga* NP-*ni* NP-*o* V-*(r)areru*

(a) NP-*ga* NP-*ni* V-*(r)areru*
Passive Construction

(b) Reference Point Structure in
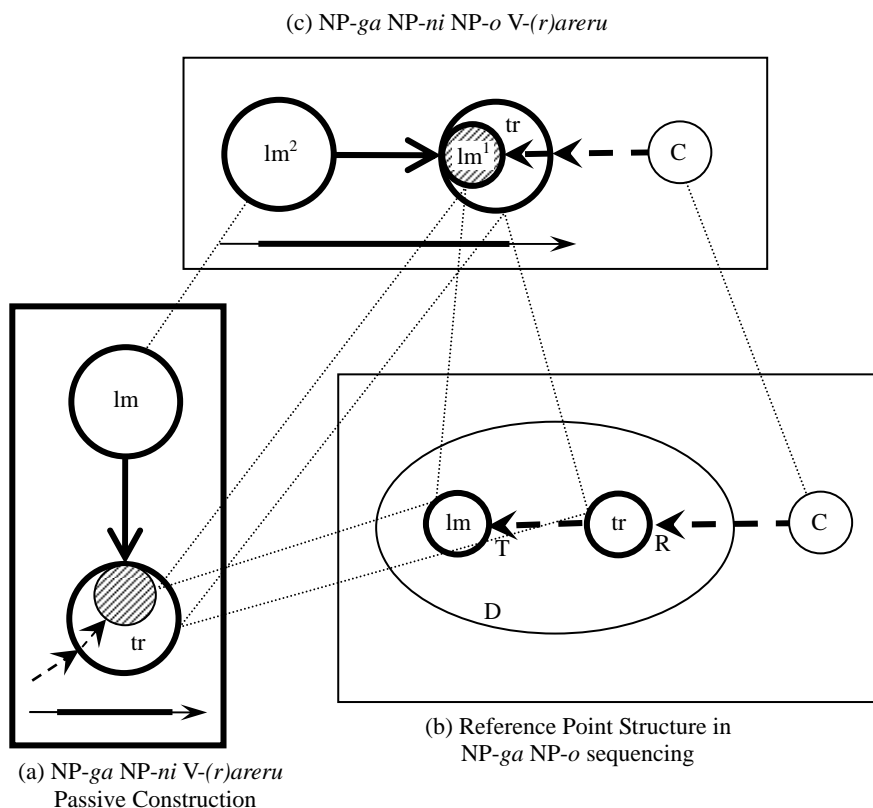NP-*ga* NP-*o* sequencing

Figure 5

In the case of reference point structure based on part-whole relationship, the dominion can be equated with the reference point itself. In the other cases, however, the scope of the dominion is not so clear. Consider (14), which is depicted in Figure 6.

(14)   Ken-ga   Taro-ni   musume-o   nagurareta.
       Ken-NOM Taro-by   daughter-ACC   hit-PAS-PST
       'Ken's daughter was hit by Taro.'

(c) NP-*ga* NP-*ni* NP-*o* V-*(r)areru* Passive Construction

(a) NP-*ga* NP-*ni* V-*(r)areru*
Passive Construction

(b) Reference Point Structure in
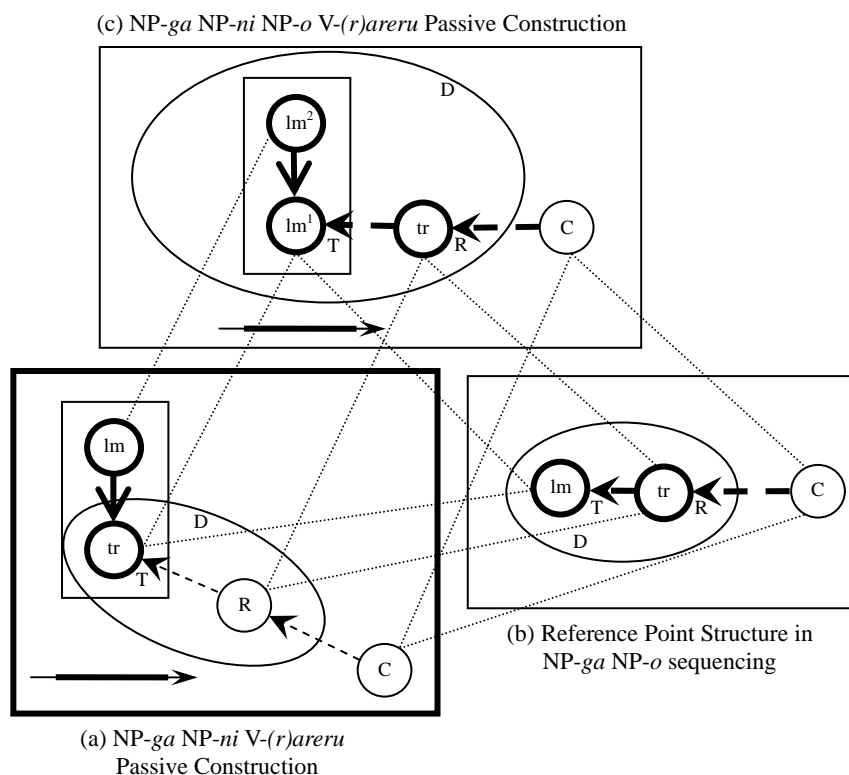NP-*ga* NP-*o* sequencing

Figure 6

This diagram basically describes the same conceptual structure as Figure 5. The difference is that the reference point structure resides in the kinship relation in the case of Figure 6, while in Figure 5 the reference point structure exists in a part-whole relation. Accordingly, in Figure 6 the reference point and the target are described as discrete in the lower left box (a).[7] To illustrate the composite structure of (14) we must determine the dominion as in the composite structure (c) in Figure 6. In this box, the entire event including the ni-marked agent (lm2) is located inside of the dominion. Conceivably, an event and its participants are inseparable and form a gestalt. Thus, the dominion must encompass the whole event, not simply a portion of the event.

Subsequently, the profiling of the target easily experiences a profile shift from a participant to an event as a whole. Indeed, as shown in the lower box (b) in Figure 7, the target appears to be the event itself in several cases. In (15a), the school would normally be interpreted as the daughter's school. Namely, no reference point relationship exists between the *ga*-marked *Taro* and *o*-marked *gakko* (school). Then, the target that establishes the reference point relationship with *Taro* is the event itself,

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[7] The reference point structure in (14) is intrinsic in the concept of a daughter. A daughter must be someone's child, which means that the concept *daughter* incorporates a reference point structure lexically.

namely the event of the daughter leaving her school. Here the event forms a gestalt and the basic word order of the *ni*-marked agent, *o*-marked patient and verb reflects this event structure. As a result, the word order exhibits less resiliency in this case, and (15b) is far less acceptable because of its inconsistent word order.

(15) a. Taro-ga   musume-ni gakko-o   yamerareta.
          Taro-NOM daughter-by school-ACC quit-PAS-PST
          'Because Taro's daughter left her school, he was negatively affected.'
      b.??Taro-ga   gakko-o   musume-ni yamerareta.
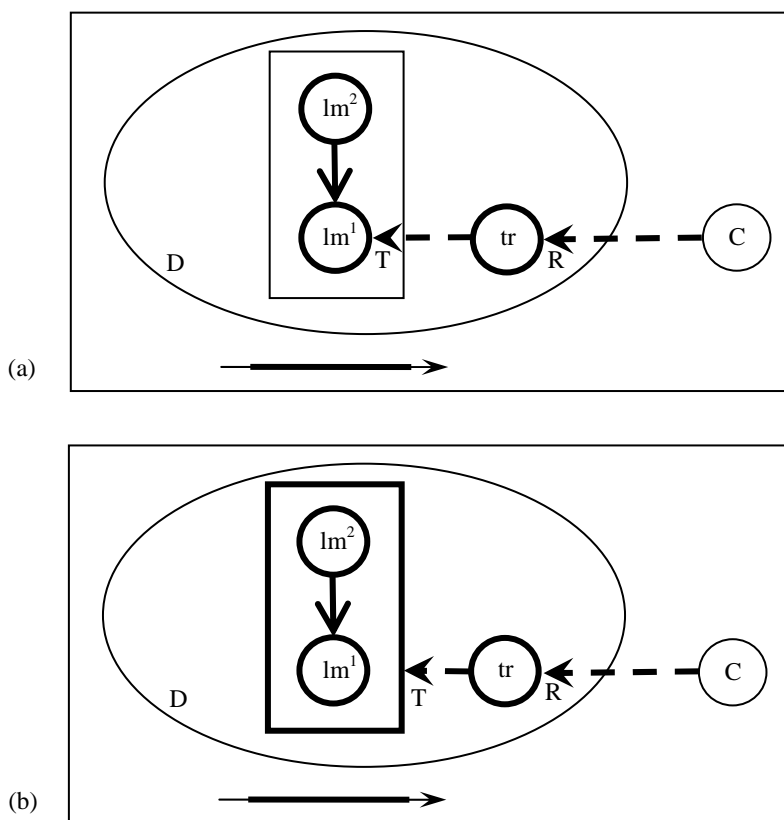   Taro-NOM school-ACC daughter-by quit-PAS-PST

Figure 7

Whether the profiling of the target shifts from the participant to the event, as shown in Figure 7, is a matter of degree. For example, in (16a), which has the same syntactic structure as (15a), the school is normally interpreted as *Taro*'s school, the school *Taro*

goes to, teaches at or possibly owns. Therefore, in this case the target of the reference point relationship displays ambiguity and either the event or the school represents the possible target. For this reason, the event in (16b) becomes less coherent as a gestalt and thus (16b) is relatively more acceptable than (15b), though both violate the typical agent-patient-verb word order.

(16) a. Taro-ga   musume-ni gakko-o   bakanisareta.
          Taro-NOM daughter-by school-ACC insult-PAS-PST
          'Taro was insulted by his daughter over his school.'
      b. ? Taro-ga   gakko-o   musume-ni bakanisareta.
          Taro-NOM school-ACC daughter-by insult-PAS-PST

(17a) presents an ambiguous construction as well, where the possessor of the hat can be either *Taro* or *Hanako*. Hence, (17a) offers two interpretations: the first being *Hanako* threw away *Taro*'s hat and the other *Hanako* threw away her own hat and *Taro* became annoyed because of this action. Imagine that *Taro* gave *Hanako* a fancy hat for a birthday present, but she threw it away later, so *Taro* was heartbroken. In the former case, *Taro* functions as the reference point for the hat. In the latter case, the target is the event itself.

(17) a. Taro-ga   Hanako-ni boshi-o   suterareta.
          Taro-NOM Hanako-by hat-ACC throw-away-PAS-PST
          'Taro had Hanako throw away his hat. or Taro had Hanako throw away her hat.'
      b. ? Taro-ga   boshi-o   Hanako-ni suterareta.
          Taro-NOM hat-ACC   Hanako-by throw-away-PAS-PST

(17b) attests to this observation, where the *o*-marked participant is preposed, and the ambiguity virtually dissolved. When the *o*-marked participant is located immediately after the *ga*-marked participant, the '*Taro*'s hat' interpretation becomes foregrounded and the interpretation of *Hanako*'s hat practically disappears. A natural consequence appears to be present if we assume in (17b) the target is not the event but the participant, where the juxtaposition of the two participants reflects the reference point structure directly.

After profiling of the target has shifted from the *o*-marked landmark 2 to the event itself, intransitive events can undergo passivization as in (18).

(18) Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni kaerareta.
      Teacher-NOM student-by go-home-PAS-PST
      'Because the student went home, the teacher was negatively affected.'

In (18), *sensei* (the teacher) functions as the reference point and the target signifies the event of the student returning home. Figure 8 corresponds to (18), and this

constructional schema suggests that the Japanese adversative passive is, to some extent, a topic construction.[8]
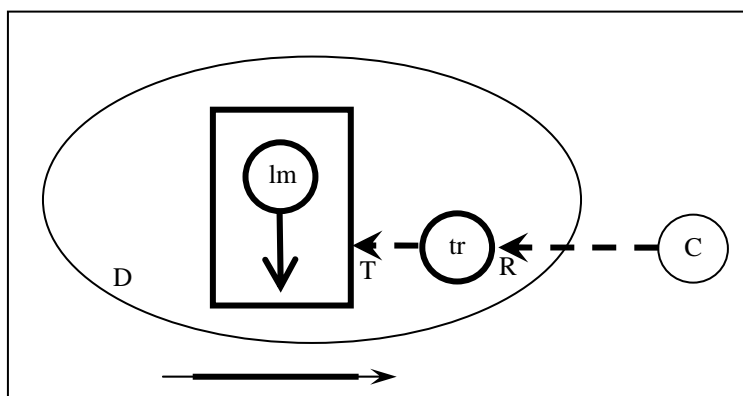
Figure 8

This reference point analysis accounts for the similarity between the Japanese adversative passive and the English *have* passive construction. In English, both (19a) and (19b) describe an effectively similar conceptual content. According to Langacker's (1999) analysis of *have*, the verb *have* intrinsically profiles a reference point structure.

(19) a.   John's car was stolen.
      b.   John had his car stolen.

In (19a), the possessive apostrophe-s (*'s*), expresses a local reference point structure, while in (19b), the possessive verb *have* expresses the global reference point structure. Accordingly, the cognitive configuration of the Japanese adversative passive is, to some extent, parallel to that of the English *have* passive construction in (19b).

In this section, we discover that Japanese passives have extended to the adversative passive based on the intrinsic reference point relationship between the patient and its active zone. Then the profiling of the target shifts from the patient to the event as a whole.

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[8] In fact, in Japanese adversative passives the supposedly *ga*-marked trajector is frequently overridden by the topic marker *wa* (see Masuoka 1991:112). This fact reinforces the plausibility of this analysis.

4   ARCHETYPAL ROLE CONFLATION

Accepting that the explanation in section 3 is correct, one may well inquire how the affectedness of the *ga*-marked reference point trajector appears without referring to transitivity. This question will be answered in this section.

For an answer to the question above, we return to the reference point structure residing in the part-whole relation. Consider the example of energy transmission in (20), where the object of energy transmission is both *Ken* and his face. In other words, the objects hit were simultaneously the face (the part) and the person (the whole), so in a sense *Ken* and the face both can be considered patients.

(20)   Ken-ga   Taro-ni kao-o   nagurareta.   (=13)
          Ken-NOM Taro-by face-ACC hit-PAS-PST
          'Ken was hit in the face by Taro.'

However, should we consider both the face and *Ken* the same type of patient? Indeed, on examination of the two carefully, they are found to be different at some point. *Ken* is animate with consciousness. Hence, he can be an experiencer feeling emotional changes such as pain or anger. Therefore, a *ga*-marked animate patient can be an experiencer simultaneously. This role archetype is referred to as a patient-experiencer hybrid. Conversely, a face itself has no consciousness at all and so cannot be viewed as an experiencer. In this fashion, the face is persistently considered to be a patient that undergoes a physical change such as a bruise. We can conclude, therefore, that in the conceived situation described in (20) the energy receiver is composed of the *ga*-marked patient-experiencer hybrid (i.e. *Ken*) and the *o*-marked true patient (i.e. face). The conceptualizer expresses these two roles separately as the *ga*-marked participant and *o*-marked participant respectively.

Figure 9 corresponds with (20), where the described event is parallel to that in Figure 5. However, the two figures are distinctive in that Figure 9 explicitly depicts the two energy flows from landmark 2 to the trajector and landmark 1. When an animate participant receives a strong energy transmission, the trajector functions as a patient-experiencer hybrid and its active zone functions as a patient.
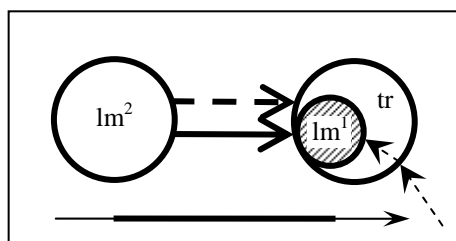

Figure 9

To capture this notion, in Figure 9 the heavy arrow designates a direct physical energy transmission, and the broken line arrow indicates the indirect non-physical energy transmission the experiencer feels emotionally (emotional causativity).

Next, examine the sentences in (21). As the part-whole relationship is resolving, the patient-experiencer hybrid is splitting. At the end, when the part-whole relationship has completely resolved, the *ga*-marked participant specializes as an experiencer and the *o*-marked participant as a sole patient.

(21) a. Ken-ga   Taro-ni megane-o   torareta.
          Ken-NOM   Taro-by glasses-ACC   tear-PAS-PST
          'Ken had his glasses taken away by Taro.'
      b. Ken-ga   Taro-ni kasa-o   torareta.
          Ken-NOM   Taro-by umbrella-ACC   take-PAS-PST
          'Ken had his umbrella taken away by Taro.'
      c. Ken-ga   Taro-ni kuruma-o kowasareta.
          Ken-NOM   Taro-by car-ACC   break-PAS-PST
          'Ken had his car wrecked by Taro.'

Initially, consider (21a), a rather fuzzy case. One may claim that the relation between the *ga*-marked participant and the *o*-marked participant is part-whole, while another may conclude that their relation is possessor and possessed because, precisely speaking, the object taken away by *Taro* is not *Ken* but his glasses. In this sense, the patientivity of *Ken* is ambiguous. Clearly *Ken* depicts an experiencer in the sense that *Taro*'s action causes a definite feeling in *Ken*'s mind. Then, in (21b), the part whole relation between the umbrella and its possessor achieves more resolution than the case of the glasses. However, still in this case, *Ken* was indirectly affected by depriving
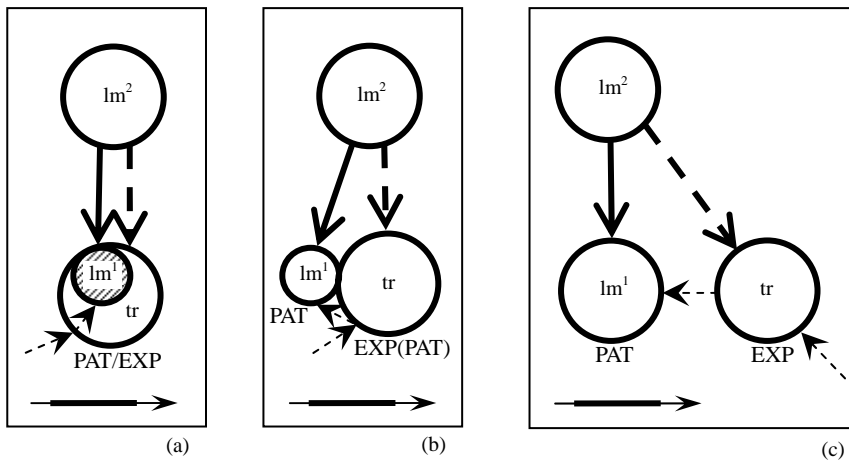

Figure 10

him of his umbrella, and an emotional state ensued. In this instance, the physical energy does not effectively reach *Ken*. In the final example, (21c), the relation between Ken and the car is not part-whole by any means. The car, not *Ken*, was wrecked with no physical energy transmission to *Ken* at all. *Ken* only becomes affected indirectly and emotionally.

Figure 10 shows this transition (above). The left box (a) depicts an identical situation to Figure 9, where the difference is just its angle verticality. Here, the trajector's archetypal role, the patient-experiencer hybrid, is inseparable as a result of its part-whole relationship between the trajector and landmark 1. On the contrary, the central box (b) depicts (21a,b) and the separation between the experiencer and the patient extended further. Finally, the right box (c) corresponds with (21c) and the separation of the trajector's archetypal roles becomes complete.

Now, we have obtained the constructional schemas of Japanese adversative passives diagrammed in Figure 11. In the case of the transitive adversative passive, Figure 11(a) is appreciated from the integration of Figure 10(c) and Figure 7(b). On the other hand, in the case of the intransitive adversative passive, Figure 10(c) is combined with Figure 8.
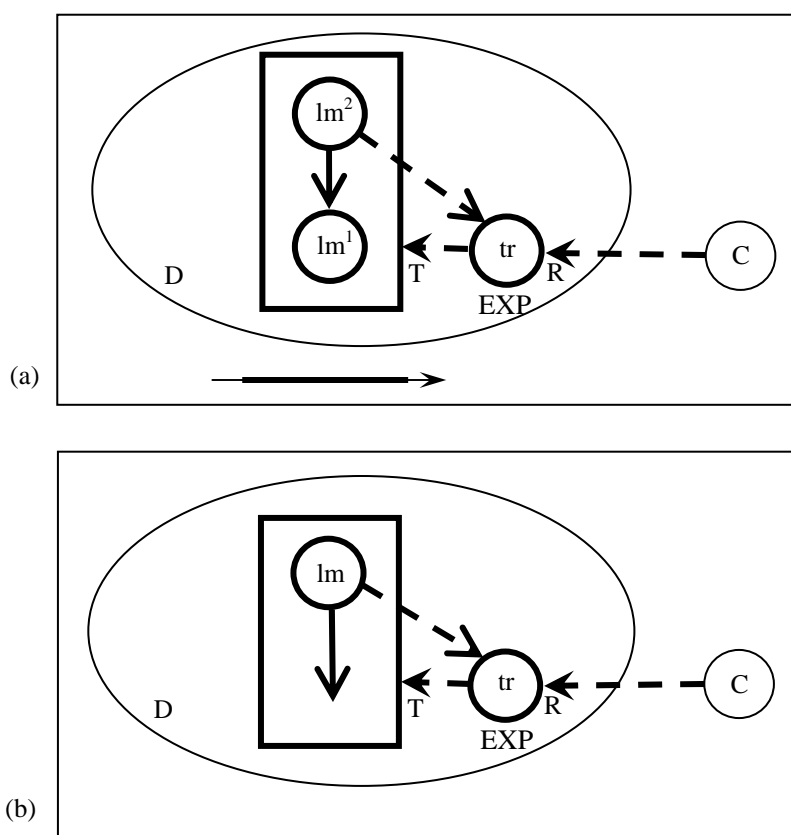
Figure 11

These constructional schemas capture the conceptual nature of Japanese adversative passives correctly. The conceptualizer conceives the event via the reference point participant. The event is interpreted by the conceptualizer to be negative for the reference point participant because he is an experiencer who suffers from a negative feeling by the agent or the actor of the target event. Tsuboi (2000) claims that the *ni*-marked participant is held responsible for the conceived event. Indeed, Figures 11 (a) and (b) capture this observation appropriately. The broken arrow from the *ni*-marked agent to the experiencer indicates the source of the experiencer's emotion toward the event—the locus of responsibility of the event—resides in the *ni*-marked agent.[9]

Using these constructional schemas, the problem left unresolved in section 2 is explained. The reason for the preference of indirect energy transmission over direct in

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[9] This paper did not report on adversity. Logically speaking, the *ga*-marked participant can have either happy or bad experience. However in practice, this *ga*-marked experiencer inevitably undergoes bad experience. This is an issue to be discussed at a later time. For further discussions, see Tsuboi (2000) and Wierzbicka (1988).

the adversative passive is that the trajector's archetypal role is not a patient but an experiencer. In (22a), the trajector does not represent an experiencer but a patient. Clearly this sentence cannot be accepted because no intransitive constructional schema in Japanese licenses the coexistence of agent and patient.

(22)   a. *Taro-ga jishin-ni okirare-te shinda.   (=7c)
              'Taro died because the earthquake occurred.'
        b. Jishinkeiho-o dasu maeni ko nandomo jishin-ni okirare-te-wa shinyo
              marutsubure dana.   (=8)
              'If earthquakes continue to occur so often like this without any alert,
              we will soon lose our trust.'

In contrast, in (22b) the trajector, thought to be the unprofiled conceptualizer, is an experiencer.[10] Figure 11 (b) licenses this pattern, where an agent and an experiencer coexist in a conceptualization. For this reason, (22b) is acceptable.

5   CONCLUSION

In this research, we have observed the extension mechanisms of Japanese adversative passives through the intrinsic reference point structure between a *ga*-marked participant and an *o*-marked one. We have also seen the important function of conceptual archetypal role conflation, leading the trajector into an experiencer. The two problems, the existence of an extra participant and the preference of indirect energy transmission, are solved through analysis using reference point structure based on the part-whole relationship between the trajector and its active zone.

ABBREVIATIONS

NOM=nominative, ACC=accusative, GEN=genitive, DM=discourse marker, PAS=passive, PST=past, AG=agent, PAT=patient, EXP=experiencer.

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[10] It is often the case that in Japanese adversative passives the unprofiled *ga*-marked trajector is the conceptualizer.

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