ON THE JAPANESE PASSIVE FORM

by

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Abstract:

The Japanese passive voice is quite different from that of English. This thesis is an attempt to investigate the nature of the passive form in Japanese in contrast to the English passive voice and to examine the reasons for the differences. An examination is made of the English passive voice, followed by a contrastive analysis of Japanese transitive-intransitive verbs. Results of the investigation show that to some extent, the usage of Japanese intransitive verbs resembles the passive voice in English.

There are three chapters in this thesis. The first chapter deals with an historical discussion of the European passive voice, from the notions of the Greek grammarians to the theories of the transformationalists. Japanese traditional grammar is the subject of the second chapter. The gradual development of the discussion of verbs by Japanese grammarians is outlined. Also, the nature of transitive-intransitive verbs is dealt with and an extensive, though not exhaustive, list of root-related transitive-intransitive verbs is presented.

In the final chapter, discussions of the passive forms by various grammarians are presented. Thereafter, the passive forms are examined by dividing them into two major groups: the ordinary form and the adverse passive form. Each form is syntactically examined and illustrations from literary sources are included. Conclusions show that, semantically, the ordinary passive form is similar to the English passive voice, whereas, the adverse passive form indicates a strong emotional feeling.

The romanization of Japanese examples is represented by using Kunrei-
Shiki\textsuperscript{1} except for the following:

/\textipa{shi}/...\textipa{si}, /\textipa{sha}/...\textipa{sva}, /\textipa{shu}/...\textipa{syu}, /\textipa{sho}/...\textipa{svo},

/\textipa{chi}/...\textipa{ti}, /\textipa{tsu}/...\textipa{tu}, /\textipa{cha}/...\textipa{tva}, /\textipa{chu}/...\textipa{tvu},

/\textipa{cho}/...\textipa{tvo}, /\textipa{ji}/...\textipa{zi}

These latter symbols represent the verbal and adjectival conjugations much easier than the ordinary Kunrei-Shiki. Syllabic /n/ is represented as \textipa{N} to avoid confusion between such morphemes /\textipa{tani}/ (valley) and /\textipa{tan'i}/ (credit), which are shown as \textipa{tani} and \textipa{taNi}, respectively. These symbols are only used for the examples in the text; Kunrei-Shiki is used for references.

English translations of Japanese quotations are mine.

\textsuperscript{1}Romanization approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education.
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CHAPTER I

I. PASSIVE VOICE

Henry Sweet defines voice as "different grammatical ways of expressing the relation between a transitive verb and its subject and objects. The two chief voices are the active (he saw) and the passive (he was seen)."¹ The examples he gives here are rather misleading because the two sentences, he saw and he was seen, are not in a passive-active relation in English. As there are not more than two voices in the English language, his phrase "the two chief voices" leads us to believe that Sweet has some other voice form in mind. Moreover, I disagree with his treatment of the verb saw in "he saw" because this verb cannot be transitive in this situation.² Perhaps Sweet was trying to define voice for a language other than English or basing his conclusion on the grammar of Greek or Latin.³ As Robert Hall, Jr. says in his Introductory Linguistics: "Latin had only these two voices (active and passive), as in /amat/ 'he loves' verses /amatur/ 'he is loved'. Greek had a three-way contrast between active (;/lu:o:/ 'I loose'), passive (;/lu:omai/ 'I am loosed') and medio-passive, in which the action falls back on the subject in a reflexive-like way (/erkhomai/ 'I go')."⁴


²Transitive, Intransitive verbs will be dealt with further on.


Here, Robert Hall, Jr. recognizes only two voices in Latin. There was, however, the third type referred to as 'deponent' verbs. See p.19.
The last example of the medio-passive is not clear, but perhaps this is due to the translation into English. Leonard Bloomfield also illustrates this point with the Latin examples, cantat and cantatur, which are constructions showing a passive-active contrast. Bloomfield does not employ the term passive-active but, instead, refers to the terms "goal-action" and "actor-action", respectively.5

In Latin and Greek, voice is formed by the inflection of verbs and the same subject is used to show a person who acts on somebody and a person who is acted on by somebody. But, as Charles Hockett says, "... voice in English is not an inflectional category but is determined by the structure of the verb phrase."6 Henry Sweet tried to explain the active and passive voices of English from an inflectional category using the examples "he saw" and "he was seen". He dealt with the verb forms "saw" and "was seen" as inflections, and assigned the same subject to both passive and active sentences. If we agree with Hockett and several other grammarians, the passive voice in English would be defined as "forms consisting of some form of the auxiliary 'be' with the past-participle form of the transitive verb."7 The relationship between the passive voice and the active voice in English would be such that the subject in the passive is equivalent to the object, or one of the objects, in a corresponding active voice.8


7Hockett, W. N. Francis, Zandvoort, and R. B. Long all have similar definitions on the passive.

8Hockett, p. 205.
The process of changing the active into the passive is as follows:

In a sentence with a fully expressed transitive verb such as 'the dog killed the rat', although there is only one subject, namely, 'dog', yet from a logical point of view the statement about killing applies to the object-word 'rat' as well as to the subject-word 'dog'; and it may happen that we wish to state the killing rather with reference to the rat than the dog. It may also happen that all we know is that the rat was killed, without knowing how it was killed. In short, we may wish to make the object-word 'rat' into the subject-word of the sentence. This we do by changing the active form 'killed' into the corresponding passive form 'was killed': 'the rat was killed'. The original subject is added if necessary, by means of the preposition by: 'the rat was killed by the dog'. In this sentence 'rat' is the inverted object and 'by the dog' is the inverted subject.9

Henry Sweet concludes his explanation on the passive form by saying that "the passive voice is a grammatical device for (A) bringing the object of a transitive verb into prominence by making it the subject of the sentence, and (B) getting rid of the necessity of naming the subject of a transitive verb."10 As expressed by Nelson Francis, when making a passive form from an active form, the meaning is "to be preserved without a significant change."11 The passive form is most frequently used in sentences in which "...it is unnecessary or undesirable to mention the agent"12 and, thus, whenever a speaker wishes to avoid mentioning the agent in his speech or writing, he can do so by using the passive voice.

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9Sweet, p. 113.

10Ibid.


In fact, "over 70 per cent of the passive sentences found in English literature..."\(^3\) have no mention of an active subject or agent.

**II. TRANSITIVE VERBS**

When dealing with the relation of the passive-active in English, it is necessary to make a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs because passive sentences are possible only with transitive verbs. The definition given by traditional grammarians for transitive verbs is that which expresses "an action which passes over to an object,"\(^1\) while an intransitive verb is described as "expressing action which does not pass over to an object; not taking a direct object."\(^2\)

Most traditional grammarians give similar definitions of transitive-intransitive relations of the English verb. For example, Henry Sweet says that transitive verbs "require a noun-word or noun-equivalent in the direct object relation to serve as complement to them,"\(^3\) and verbs which do not take "a direct-object noun-word after them are called intransitive."\(^4\)

On objects, Zandvoort states: "A noun or pronoun denoting a person or thing affected by the action expressed by the verb is called object,"\(^5\) and he then states that "a verb that does not take an object is called

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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Zandvoort, p. 199.
Although it has been the practice to clearly distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs, there is a good deal of overlapping between the two classes. Regarding this point, Otto Jespersen cites several examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive:</th>
<th>Intransitive:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He plays the violin.</td>
<td>He plays extremely well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He left London.</td>
<td>He left yesterday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He lends money.</td>
<td>I neither lend nor borrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke cigars.</td>
<td>She does not smoke.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jespersen suggests that "we should rather speak of a transitive and intransitive use of verbs." M. A. Pink agrees with Jespersen's idea and says that "it would be more in accordance with the facts to speak of verbs as being 'used transitively' or 'used intransitively' for a great many verbs can be used in either way."

The actual object in these examples of intransitive usage given by Jespersen are not illustrated but it should be possible for every native speaker to interpret these sentences as if they contain an object established through time. On the other hand, if these sentences are used in a "live" situation, it should be apparent what the object for each sentence is, and it may then be possible to insist that an object exists for each sentence in the native speaker's intuition. The definition we have seen,

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6Ibid.

7Jespersen, Essentials, p. 116.


though, says, syntactically, that those verbs which do not have an object in a sentence are intransitive verbs. Moreover, a transitive verb has been defined as a verb which can be changed into the passive voice,\(^\text{10}\) and an intransitive as that which has no passive form.\(^\text{11}\) Therefore, none of the examples of intransitive usage cited by Jespersen qualify to be transitive because, since none of them contains an object, none can be changed to a passive form.

In English, it is impossible to make a strict classification of verbs in traditional terms. It can only be said that if a verb is used with an object, or two objects, it is transitively used and, if a verb is used without an object, it is used intransitively.

Here arises a problem. That is, how do we explain the passive forms which are constructed from intransitive verbs, such as (A) The doctor was sent for, (B) The baby was looked after by the nurse? What happens when these examples are compared with those which are formulated from transitive verbs in sentences such as (C) This apple pie was made by his mother, or (D) That book was written by him? The former examples (A) and (B) have the construction of a form of the verb "to be" plus a past participle followed by a preposition. It is this preposition which is the constituent absent in the passive forms created from transitive verbs. Thus, this preposition must have the function of changing an intransitive verb into the passive voice. One cannot have a sentence like *The nurse looked the baby. Therefore, a preposition following an intransitive verb has the


\(^{11}\)W. N. Francis, p. 344.
function of conjoining an intransitive verb with a following noun phrase; and a word group with an intransitive verb and a preposition has a similar function when a sentence formulated around a transitive verb is changed to the passive voice.

Grammarians often consider the word group—an intransitive verb with a preposition—as a transitive verb. To support this statement, M. A. Pink says that "an intransitive verb is sometimes so closely connected with a following preposition...that the two words may be regarded as forming a compound verb which is transitive." Most grammarians, however, hold a little different opinion than Pink does. Zandvoort defines this group as "a unit equivalent to a transitive verb," and Henry Sweet describes the combination as "a group verb corresponding to a transitive verb." Otto Jespersen labels it "a transitive verb-phrase" and says:

In such a sentence as Everybody laughed at Jim, laughed, of course, is intransitive; Jim is 'governed by' or, as it may also be termed 'the object of' the preposition at. But the whole may also be analysed in another way, laughed at may be called a transitive verb-phrase having Jim as its object. In this way we come to understand how it is possible to turn the sentence into the passive:

Jim was laughed at by everybody.

We conclude that the English passive is constructed using transitive or transitive-equivalent verb-phrases and that intransitive verbs do not occur in English passive forms.

12 M. A. Pink, p. 60.
13 Zandvoort, p. 53.
14 H. Sweet, p. 91.
15 Jespersen, Essentials, p. 123.
16 Ibid.
In Japanese, the situation is different from that of English. The passive form can be constructed from transitive verbs, as well as from intransitive verbs. For example:

(A) kare wa hito ni sinyaosareta.
he people by trust—pass. past
"He was trusted by people."

(B) watasi wa tomodati ni korareta.
I friend by come—pass. past
"I was adversely affected by my friend's coming."

The verb in sentence (A), sinyaosu, is transitive and converted to the passive by adding -areta to the stem sinya— which is taken from—Hito ge kare o sinyaosita (people him trusted). The verb in sentence (B), kuru, is intransitive and transformed into the passive by adding -areta to the stem kur— from the sentence—Tomodati ga kita (friend came).

In both of the above cases, the subject of the non-passive sentence becomes the object, and the affix -areta is added to the verb stem. The syntactic structures of the sentences (A) and (B) are the same, but sentence (B) has a meaning which may be expressed as "...being adversely affected..." which sentence (A) does not carry.

In some cases, however, a passive sentence constructed from a transitive may express the same emotion. For instance:

(C) watasi wa kare ni butareta.
I he by hit—pass. past
"I was adversely affected by his hitting me."

(D) ano ko wa seNsei ni homerareta.
That child teacher by praise--pass. past
"That child was favorably affected by his teacher's praising him."
Up to this point, two types of the passive voice in Japanese which are not found in English have been discussed:

1) the passive form constructed from an intransitive verb.

2) the passive form which expresses the values of the speaker, such as "adversely affected..." or "favorably affected...". The ensuing discussion will analyze how the terms "transitive" and "intransitive" have been interpreted by both Western and Japanese grammarians.

III. THE GREEK GRAMMARIANS

In a book on transformational grammar, the first step of sentence analysis is formulated as NP + VP.¹ This is the starting point of transformational grammar. Owen Thomas says that "the most elementary description of a basic sentence divides the sentence into two parts: a subject and a predicate."² Thomas then compares this description of new grammar with that of traditional grammar saying that the similarity indicates "the close tie between traditional and transformational grammar."³ The analysis of the sentence into two components, a subject and a predicate, brings us back to ancient Greece.

It might be useful, as well as interesting, to investigate the origin and development of the grammatical terms which are used in linguistics

³Ibid.
today. It is said that the first structural division of the Greek sentence was made by Plato in terms of a subject, onoma, and a predicate, rhema.⁴ Plato explains in Sophistes that:

There are two kinds of intimations of being which are given by voice, one of them called onomata, and the other rhemata; that which denotes action we call rhema; the articulate sign set on those who do the actions we call onoma; a succession of onomata or rhemata alone is not discourse; it is only when they are mingled together that language is formed.⁵

And yet, it is not certain what Plato meant by onoma and rhema. In English, onoma may mean "name, noun, nominal, subject, or logical subject,"⁶ and rhema can be "phrase, saying, verb, verbal, predicate, or logical predicate."⁷ It is said that Plato's definition of language is based on logic and not on grammar.⁸ In other words, Plato took a metaphysical or philosophical approach to language and therefore, care should be taken in the interpretation of the words onoma and rhema.⁹

Although Plato failed to divide a sentence (logos) into components smaller than onoma and rhema, this grammatical distinction represents a


⁶Dinneen, p. 78.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Sandys, p. 90.

clear advance over the work of the Sophists, who were said to have discussed sentences only in terms of their phonological and lexical constituents.\textsuperscript{10} Plato holds the honor of being the first to introduce a notion of dividing the sentence into parts of speech, even though his definition of each sentence component is very naive, and has almost no grammatical meaning.

The next grammarian to make a noticeable advance was Plato's pupil, Aristotle (384-322 B. C.). Aristotle adds one more part, syndesmos, to his master's binary division of the sentence. Moreover, he recognized that various aspects of time are being expressed by rhema, although he thought that only the present time is the rhema, and all other times are "cases" of rhema.\textsuperscript{11} Both for the rhema and the onoma, Aristotle used a term "case", and for him "a case" was something deviated from the original meaning of either rhema or onoma.\textsuperscript{12}

IV. THE STOICS

Grammar made its first big advance after Aristotle with the Stoics, a group of philosophers and logicians founded in 308 B. C. by Zeno.\textsuperscript{1} It has been said that "grammar in the modern sense only began with the Stoics."\textsuperscript{2} They distinguished four parts of speech—noun, verb, syndesmos (conjunction)
and arthron (article). The Stoic's achievement in the grammatical field is of a very wide range and I would therefore like to confine this discussion to their study of the verb, which shows a strong similarity to that of traditional grammar. In fact, "the Stoics...left the linguistic description of the verb very much in the form in which it remained almost to the present day." The Stoics considered the verb as the "part of a sentence that states something when not in construction," and "an element of a sentence without case inflection that in constructions signifies something about one person or more, such as grapho ("I write") or lege ("I speak")." In the description of the verb, the term "case" is used. Aristotle used this term for the first time referring both to the verb and the noun, but for the Stoics, a "case" (ptosis--the same word as Aristotle employed) referred only to the noun. To account for the verb, the Stoics formulated four time aspects based on time reference and completion in opposition to incompletion or continuity. These four tenses are:

| Present continuing | baino       | (I am going) |
| Present completed  | bebeda     | (I have gone) |
| Past continuing    | ebeinon    | (I was going) |
| Past completed     | ebekein    | (I had gone)  |

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3Robins, Ancient, p. 27.  
Dinneen, p. 92.  

4Hughes, p. 41.  
5Dinneen, p. 92.  
6Ibid.  
7Robins, A Short History, p. 29.  
8Dinneen, p. 93.  
Robins, Ancient, p. 35.
As can be seen in the above, these four tenses are distinguished in the Greek by their inflections rather than by their syntax. They failed to classify the future as a member of the time aspects but did distinguish three voices:

The active forms are those that construct with the oblique cases (that is, other than the nominative) and according to the type of the verb, such as skouei (he hears); passives are those that construct with the particle of passivity (hypo "by") and these are verbs like akoumai (I am heard); the middle are those that do neither of these things, such as phronein, peripatein.

In his *A Short History of Linguistics*, R. H. Robins shows three kinds of verbs in Ancient Greek—those which require an oblique case noun are active transitive verbs (*rhemata ortha*); those which do not require any oblique case noun are intransitive ("neutral"—*oudetera*); and passives (hyptia) require hypo and a genitive case.

It appears that the Stoics employed both syntactic and morphological criteria when they divided verbs into three categories. By the existence of a noun in a certain case; the existence of the function word hypo; and judging from the phrase appearing in their definition quoted by Dinneen—"the type of the verb"—and with their examples skouei and akoumai—which show a close link between the active and passive, the Stoics employed morphological criteria.

The comparison of the definition of the transitive-intransitive verb by the Stoics and the traditional grammarians of English, leads us to believe that the definition of English has developed from Greek grammar.

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10Robins, *A Short History*, p. 29.
The only difference is that Greek verbs contain passive forms in their paradigms of inflections, whereas the passive forms in English are expressed by means of inflection and syntactic transformation of the active form. Passives in Greek and English are classified by these different criteria.

V. DIONYSIUS THRAX

The scholars of Alexandria advanced the work which had been developed by the Stoics, and it was in Alexandria that what is now called traditional grammar was developed.¹

The first study of Greek grammar—which is also the earliest written grammar in the Western world—was written by one of the grammarians of Alexandria, Dionysius Thrax, who lived during the latter part of the second century B.C. Unlike his predecessors, Thrax devoted his full attention to grammar, avoiding a philosophically oriented point of view.²

Dionysius Thrax recognized eight parts of speech in Greek—noun, verb, conjunction, article, preposition, pronoun, particle, and adverb.³ He defines each part of speech and, regarding the verb, says:

A verb is an indeclinable word, indicating time, person and number, and showing activity or passivity. The verb has eight accidents (categories), Moods, Dispositions (voices), Species, Forms, Numbers, Tenses, Persons, Conjugations,...

¹Sandys, p. 139.
²Dinneen, p. 95.
³Robins, A Short History, p. 31.

²Robins, Ancient, p. 36.

There are three Voices: Activity as $\text{\textit{Tui\textit{tw}}}$ (I strike), Passivity as $\text{\textit{tut\textit{toua}}}$ (I am struck), Mediality, marking partly activity and passivity, as $\text{\textit{n\textit{noia}}}$ (I trust)...

Thrax's explanation on the parts of speech is clear and concise but he does not explain how to combine them into a sentence. He tells us that the form $\text{\textit{tut\textit{toua}}}$ (I am struck) is in the passive voice, but does not tell how it differs from the other forms. The examples given in his grammar are incomplete and there is no way to discern how the passive voice is to be constructed. The lack of syntactic description in Thrax's grammar is said to be supplemented by Apollonius Dyscolus, two and a half centuries later. Although most of his work is lost now, it was passed on to the Latin grammarian, Priscian.

Priscian wrote that he followed the work of Apollonius Dyscolus, and his definition of the verb is almost identical to that of Dionysius Thrax. Priscian defines a verb as "a part of speech with tense and mood, without case-inflection, signifying action or being acted on." The preceding definition illustrates the probability that the grammar of Thrax was passed on to Priscian through Dyscolus, although Priscian further developed his discussion on the verb. He says, "all verbs that have a complete and balanced inflection end either in -o or -or." Thus, Priscian...

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4Dionysius Thrax, p. 331.
5Robins, Dionysius Thrax, p. 102.
7Sandys, p. 273.
8Robins, Ancient, p. 65.
9Dinneen, p. 116.
divides verbs into two sub-categories according to their endings. Those verbs which end in -o are either active or neutral, and active verbs "...always signify an activity, and passives are formed from them." Neutral verbs have the same ending as active verbs but they comprise the group of verbs from which "passives are not formed." 

Priscian divides the verbs that end in -or into three kinds: (1) passive verbs, which are "formed directly from the active," and which have the meaning of "being acted upon;" (2) common verbs which "signify both 'acting' and 'being acted upon' but have only -or endings;" and (3) the 'deponent' verbs which end in -or only. In his book on syntax, Priscian distinguishes four types of sentence constructions dependent upon the relation between the subject and the verb in a sentence. These four constructions are:

(1) intransitive, (2) transitive, (3) reciprocal, and (4) retransitive. The examples he gave are as follows: (1) percurrit homo excelsus ("The exalted man ran"); (2) Aristophanes Aristarchum docuit ("Aristophanes taught Aristarchus"); (3) Ajax se interfecit ("Ajax killed himself"), which is reciprocal because a person 'acts on' himself; (4) Jussit ut tu ad se venias ("He ordered that you come to him"), which is retransitive because a person is 'acting on' another person and this activity 'rebounds' upon the actor.

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10Dinneen, p. 116.
11Ibid.
12Ibid.
13Ibid.
14Ibid.
15Ibid.
16Ibid., p. 117.
Priscian's definitions are not always accurate. He distinguished between active and passive verbs according to their endings -o and -or which appear frequently, but not exclusively. We can say, however, that most of the grammatical terminology which is now in use was established in the time of Priscian. To say the least, the classification and categorization of the verb were completed at this time.

VI. TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR

In his Syntactic Structures, Noam Chomsky does not make a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. His grammar, which appears in Appendix II of his Syntactic Structures, does not 'generate' the sentences which contain intransitive verbs—those with no objects. Chomsky begins his grammar by dividing the sentence into two parts—Noun Phrase (NP) and Verb Phrase (VP) which he illustrates as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sentence} & \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{VP} \\
\text{VP} & \rightarrow \text{Verb} + \text{NP} \\
\text{NP} & \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{NP sing} \\
\text{NP pl}
\end{cases} \\
\text{NP sing} & \rightarrow T + N + \phi \\
\text{NP pl} & \rightarrow T + N + S
\end{align*}
\]

Parsing VP, he offers only one possible analysis, "Verb + NP", and as he does not give any rule allowing for the deletion of NP, all we can assume are sentences with two NP's—one for the subject and the other for

\[17\text{Dinneen, p. 120.}\]
\[1\text{Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, p. 111.}\]
\[2\text{Ibid.}\]
\[3\text{Chomsky gives the rule to delete an NP in his A Transformational Approach to Syntax, 'Third Texas Conference on Problems of Linguistic Analysis in English,' (The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1962). The deletion of an NP is done according to the nature of the verb. See p. 22.}\]
the object. Thus, Chomsky assumes that a sentence automatically has an object, and so his rule generates only sentences which have a verb with an object—his term NP refers to the object. His treatment of the verb is such that he does not define its function or give any classification of it, except Aux and V.

Concerning passive sentences, Chomsky regards them as transformed forms of a basic active sentence. The rule of passivization given by Chomsky is to be applied to the sentence which has a construction of NP1 - Aux - V - NP2, and if the rule is applied to the construction, the form NP2 - Aux + be + en - V + by + NP1 results.

This rule shows a strong similarity to that of Henry Sweet. If words are substituted into this rule, it will be possible to formulate a definition for the construction of a passive sentence. Substitute as follows:

1. interchange the positions of NP1 and NP2;
2. place by in front of NP1; and
3. change the sequence of Aux - V into the appropriate tense and number of the verb be and a past participle.

Traditional and transformational grammatical theories seem to be very closely related. In Syntactic Structures, Chomsky reinforces the validity of this statement by the fact that his transformational grammar seems to be based on that of traditional grammar and its terminology. Transformational grammar, though, does have some advantages over traditional grammar. One of them would be that it is a successful way of representing the very complex reality of a language in simple and clear rules. In his Syntactic Structures, however, Chomsky over-simplifies his grammar.

4Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, p. 43, 77.
by not giving an elaborate explanation on either verbs or passives.

In *A Transformational Approach to Syntax*, Chomsky treats the verb in detail, and introduces the transitive-intransitive illustrated as:

\[
V \begin{cases} 
V_s \text{ in env.--Pred.} \\
\text{become} \text{ in env.--Pred.} \\
V_t \text{ in env.--NP} \\
V_i \text{ in env. \{#} \text{Adv.} \}\end{cases}
\]

It may be interpreted from the above rule that if the verb appears in front of the NP, it is transitive; if the verb is in final position in the sentence, or has only an adverb and no NP, then this verb is intransitive.

Chomsky subdivides transitive verbs into:

\[
V_t \rightarrow V_T \text{ Comp} \\
V_t \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
V_{t1} \text{ in env. } N_h \ldots \text{--} \\
V_{t2} \text{ in env. } \ldots N_h \ldots \text{--} \\
V_{t3} \text{ in env. } N_h \ldots N_c \ldots \text{--} \\
V_{t32} \end{cases}
\]

By this rule and the one previous to it \((V \rightarrow V_t \text{ in env.--NP})\), it becomes clear what is the \(V_t\) for Chomsky. For him, verbs are transitive if they take one or more NP after them, even if they are followed by particles such as out, in, up, away, etc.\(^7\)

Regarding the passive sentence, Chomsky specifies verbs to be used in


\(^6\)Chomsky, *A Transformational Approach*, p. 139.

\(^7\)Ibid.
this construction, and gives a structural description to which the passive rule is applied. This structural description is:

\[(NP, \text{Aux}, V_t, NP, \{\text{Adv}\})^8\]

Replacing all the elements in the structural description by \(x_1 \ldots x_5\), the structural change is written as:

\[x_1 \rightarrow x_2 \cdot x_3 \cdot x_4 \cdot x_5 \rightarrow x_4 \cdot x_2 \cdot \text{be} \cdot \text{en} \cdot x_3 \cdot \text{by} \cdot x_1 \cdot x_5\]

Chomsky does not restrict the application of this structural change and, thus, if a sentence meets the requirements of the structural description, it should be able to be changed into the passive form. A verb group like look after—which most of the traditional grammarians consider to be a "transitive verb phrase"—in the sentence The nurse looked after the baby, appears in Chomsky's grammar as \(V_t\) (from \(V_t \rightarrow V_T \{\text{Compl}\}\)).11 The sentence can thus be changed into the passive form—The baby was looked after by the nurse.

It is possible, though, to construct sentences that cannot be changed into the passive form, despite the fact that they may fulfill all of the requirements of the above hypothesis. For example, the sentence, Bob resembles Bill, has a \(V_t\), two NP's, and yet it cannot be changed into a passive sentence because the form, Bill is resembled by Bob, is unacceptable.12

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8Chomsky, A Transformational Approach, p. 140.

9Ibid.

10Jespersen, Essentials, p. 123.

11Owen Thomas also thinks of this group as transitive. See his Transformational Grammar, p. 125.
in English.

Owen Thomas says that intransitive verbs "cannot be followed by nominals or adjectives in the third position," but that transitive verbs "can be followed by nominals in the third position... Some sentences containing particular kinds of transitive verbs cannot be transformed to form a passive-voice sentence." Thomas calls this particular kind of transitive verb "middle verbs," and gives such examples as:

- This book weighs five pounds.
- The china costs eight dollars.
- Ed has a good library.
- The beard suits his personality.

He states that "there are no corresponding passives for these sentences."

Robert B. Lees gives an explicit explanation of middle verbs. He says that middle verbs are followed by objects just like other transitive verbs, but do not have passive transforms and cannot be followed by manner adverbials. The verbs which belong in this group are have, cost, weigh, resemble, mean, etc. Unlike other transitive verbs, they are unable to transform into action nominals with of. It is possible to say Bob's telling of the story delighted Pat, but not Bob's resembling of his father delighted Pat.

If transformational grammar is going to treat the "middle verb" as

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12 Thomas, Transformational Grammar, p. 120.
13 Ibid., p. 121.
14 Ibid., p. 122.
15 Ibid.
a member of the transitive verbs, the grammar should state the rule to exclude this "middle verb" in the rule of passivization.

Basically, the transformational rule of changing an active sentence into a passive sentence is the same as the one traditional grammarians utilize. In transformational grammar there is no explanation why the active to the passive transformation takes place, except in terms of syntax—the grammar gives the structural description to which the rule can be applied. However, due to the mechanical operation of transformational grammar, the rule of passivization does not seem to be able to describe the change of a subtle, emotional or stylistic nuance which lies behind active and passive transformations.
CHAPTER II

I. WESTERN INFLUENCE ON TRADITIONAL JAPANESE GRAMMAR

Today's Japanese grammar is based on both traditional Japanese grammar and the Western grammar introduced by the Dutch and the English to Japan in the 19th century. Traditional Japanese grammar has its origin in the study of poetry—to appreciate the works of the great poets, and to create good poetry, students were taught the usage of tenioha (suffixes) and shi (words other than suffixes). When Western culture was brought into Japan in the early 19th century, Western grammar was also introduced. There subsequently appeared a Japanese grammar which was a copy of this Western grammar.

In the late 19th century, many grammarians noticed that Japanese could not be fitted into the structural frame of European languages. Therefore they tried to determine the true nature of Japanese by adapting the terminology and method of Western grammar. The grammar we now have has thus been strongly influenced by that of Europe but has, as its foundation, traditional Japanese grammar.

In traditional Japanese grammar, we find that grammarians divided verbs into two categories—transitive and intransitive. The criteria which they used to distinguish between these categories were, however, different from that used by Western grammarians. The Japanese had to employ their own criteria because the so-called intransitive verbs in Japanese can also be used in generating a passive sentence. Later grammarians thought that it was not necessary to divide Japanese verbs into the transitive and intransitive on the grounds that passivization does
occur for intransitive verbs.\textsuperscript{1} There exists, however, such contrasts as between \textit{oriru} (get off) and \textit{orosu} (bring down) and between \textit{narabu} (line up) and \textit{naraberu} (place, lay) which have the same roots but different endings to indicate transitiveness or intransitiveness.\textsuperscript{2}

In addition to the above contrast, the transitive-intransitive distinction may be observed when verbs are used to express the completion of an action—to express the state that "something has been done"—\textit{-te aru} is used for transitive verbs and \textit{-te iru} for intransitive verbs. For example:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Isu ga niretu ni narabete aru.}
  The chairs are placed in two rows.
  \item \textit{Isu ga niretu ni narende iru.}
  The chairs are placed in two rows.
\end{itemize}

In this chapter, I would first like to discuss the verb diachronically from its early stages to the present time, and, secondly, the nature of transitive-intransitive verbs in modern Japanese.

II. EARLY STAGES OF GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS (8th - 18th century)

During this period of nearly a thousand years, there was literally no discussion concerning the grammar of Japanese. There is evidence, however, of some discussion having been done on the usage of particles in poetry.

It is a well-known fact that no writing system existed in ancient Japan and that characters were borrowed from Chinese. As the sound system

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2}This contrast will be discussed further on.
\end{itemize}
and grammatical structure of Chinese and Japanese are very different, there arose the difficulty of how to read Japanese, which was not only written in Chinese characters, but which was also written in Chinese word order. The Japanese adopted the meaning of the individual Chinese characters, but assigned their own pronunciation to these kanji (Chinese characters). The Japanese next developed a method of attaching particles to this borrowed writing system, to show the function of each word. These particles were first shown by putting a dot at a certain point surrounding a kanji, and were called okoto-ten by the scholars of classical Chinese. This point was later replaced by a kanji, which was written smaller than the rest in the text, to show that it had only phonetic value and that the original meaning should be disregarded. The small kanji was then replaced by either hiragana or katakana, which are simplified forms of kanji possessing only phonetic value.

The name tenioha or tenihe-ten was given to these particles by poets. The tenioha received special attention from poets and reference to this word group can be found in the "Manyoshu" which was compiled in the 8th century. In this collection of poems, some critics remarked that a certain "poem lacks three particles (called ji), mo, no and ha."

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
4 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 5 \\
\hline
4 & x + o & 2 & x + koto & 3 & x + he & 4 & x + te & 5 & x + ni \\
\end{array}
\]

A particle following a certain kanji was first illustrated as in the example above. Reading the corners clockwise from #4, the term te-ni-o-he results. The term o-koto-ten refers to numbers 1 and 2--o + koto--and the term ten or point. X stands for any one kanji or character, as explained in Kokugo Gakushi by Masao Tanabe (Tokyo: Ōfusha, 1969), pp. 5-6.

\footnote{Manyoshu, XIX, No. 4175.}
These poets did not treat the particle grammatically but from a viewpoint of rhetoric—they considered the じ to be the key word to appreciate, to understand, and to produce a good poem. In the book "Teniha Taigai Shō", which gives instructions for writing a good poem, the author (who is unknown but said to have been an expert on poetry in the 14th century), clearly separated the と from the し. Dividing words into two classes, he explained と and し metaphorically:

To is like a temple or shrine and と is like its shogun, or ornamentation. We can tell the rank of a temple by its decoration and, thus, can also judge the value of し if we examine the usage of と closely.

The し are limited in number, but the と can give the し new and free expression because of its various functions. We can express infinite ideas by combining the し and と.

In the "Anega Kōji Shiki", a collection and critical analysis of poetry handed down within the "Anega Kōji" family and which was compiled in the late 15th century, an unknown author tried to etymologize the term と and said: "と was originally written as (a sprout). We can tell the names of trees by their leaves. The same is true for sentences -- we can tell the meaning and the nature of a sentence by its と."6

These works on と give full details and examples of its usage, but do not classify と according to the different functions they possess. In these works, the term と is used to cover particles and the inflectional suffixes of verbs and adjectives, adverbs and pronouns.

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6 Anega Kōji Shiki, qtd. in Kokugogaku, p. 293.
III. NARIKIRA FUJITANI (1738-1779) AND NORINAGA MOTOORI (1730-1801)

The first grammatical analysis of Japanese by a Japanese appeared in 1773. In his "Ayui Sho," Nariakira Fujitani divided words into four groups according to their place and relation in a sentence. He named these groups according to the human image, with the exception of na:

1. **na:** (name or thing), it expresses, specifies the thing—Noun.
2. **yosoi:** (cloth or dress), placed in the middle of the word group and states the thing—Verb and Adjective.
3. **kazashi:** (head or an ornamental hairpin), placed before another word, assists the following word—Prefix and Adverb.
4. **ayui:** (legs or feet), placed after the word and assists the preceding word—Particle and Auxiliary.

The above classification was derived from his special interest in the way words are arranged in the sentence. This interest is apparent in his conjugation table of verbs and adjectives. Fujitani is said to be the first to work out such a conjugation table. His original work on yosoi (verbs and adjectives) is not in existence today except in the form of a conjugation table called **Yosoino Katagaki.**

Fujitani divided yosoi (words which conjugate) into two sub-classes—koto (verb) and sama (adjective). He further divided koto into two sub-classes—koto and arina—and sama into three sub-classes—arisama, shisama and shikisama. This classification resulted from the type of ending a specific word has, e.g., verbs end in -u, adjectives in -i, and the kind of

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7There do exist some grammar books on Japanese written by Europeans who engaged in the propagation of Christianity in the early 17th century. These works, however, did not have any influence on Japanese at that time. See Section V of this chapter.
8Ayui Sho, qtd. in Kokugogaku, pp. 677-688.
9See page 28 of this paper.
ending a word shows when combined with certain particles, e.g., when combined with the particle -tari, some words end in -i and others in -e, as shown in iki-tari (went) and tabe-tari (ate). He used the following nine features to set up the above classification:

1. *moto*: The basic form of a one-syllable word or a stem for a multi-syllable word.

2. *sue*: The last syllable of a multi-syllable word in its basic form.

3. *hikinabiki*: The last syllable to be followed by a noun.

4. *kishikata*: The last syllable to be combined with a suffix of the past tense.

5. *menomae*: The last syllable to express the imperative or to be combined with the conditional suffix.

6. *aramashi*: The last syllable to be combined with the future tense suffix.

7. *nabikifushi*: The conditional suffix for a verb.

8. *fushimenomae*: The last syllable of an adjective to express the conditional.

9. *tachimoto*: The last syllable of an adjective to express a decision.

The conjugation table *Yosoino Katagaki* is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koto</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>su</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>to do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
<td>to see</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omo</td>
<td>fu</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to think</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>su</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
<td>to abandon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
<td>to fall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
<td>to blame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>re</td>
<td></td>
<td>to cross</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>arina</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ri</th>
<th>ru</th>
<th>ri</th>
<th>re</th>
<th>ra</th>
<th>to exist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arisama</td>
<td>harukan</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shizama</td>
<td>hayas</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shikizama</td>
<td>kohi</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Fujitani classified koto into three groups depending on whether a verb has features numbered 2 and 3 above or not. Arina and arisama show exactly the same forms, but they are classified in different classes because, as he explains in Ayui Sho, arisama can be followed by the particle -ni but arina can not.

In the conjugation table shown on the previous page, there is not a clear distinction between roots and suffixes—those underlined ru and re are suffixes, but ki, ko, si, se, ne, etc., are a combination of a root and a suffix. For example, in the verb ku (to come), the root is k-, and -u, -i, -o are suffixes; in sutu, the root is sut- and -u, -e are suffixes. The reason why Fujitani could not separate the root from the suffix could be that he tried to parse the words using syllabic letters, and not phonemic representations. He treated the CV form as a basic or an inseparable unit.

At the end of his Ayui Sho, Fujitani made some notes on the nature of the verb. He pointed out that when we choose a verb, we should pay attention to the subject of the sentence—if the subject is animate, we should use iru to express the existence of the subject, and if the subject is inanimate, we should use aru. Fujitani refers to something animate as uchi (inside or within) meaning something which has emotion within, and to the inanimate as soto (outside or without), meaning a thing which does not have emotion. Next, Fujitani goes into the characteristics of verbs, using the words ure (the inside) and omote (the outside)—ure refers to the action which affects the subject itself, or refers to the inside of the mind of the subject; omote refers to the action which involves somebody or something other than the subject. Thus, Fujitani stated that ure concerns only the subject, whereas omote has an influence on other parts
of the sentence. This classification of うる and おもて is close to the intransitive-transitive contrast—うる being the intransitive and おもて the transitive. Fujitani does not elaborate on this point any further nor does he give any examples.

Around 1782, unaware of the existence of Fujitani's うそい no 卡濱, Norinaga Motoori constructed a conjugation table of verbs and adjectives entitled みくに 言葉 忍書. N. Motoori was chiefly interested in how to appreciate poetry—how to write a good poem. He thus tried to clarify the sequential dependence rule, which existed between certain particles and a verb-ending form, from the point of view of rhetoric. Here he is referring to the fact that if a sentence contains the particle こそ, the verb should end in a form different from the regular suffix. For example, the verb うもうfu (to think) should end in -he if the sentence has こそ.

mono こそ omonohe.
I only think of that matter.

mono こそ omofu.
I think of that matter.

He expressed his idea in ことば no 忍夢, (A Thread of Words), that "particles are like the thread of a necklace, as jewels alone cannot be a necklace however beautiful they might be. ことば (a word other than a particle) is something like a beautiful jewel, because ことば alone cannot be used to express a complete idea without the aid of one or more particles."

11Norinaga Motoori, ことば no 忍夢, 1785, qtd. in Motoki Tokieda, Kokugo Gakushi, pp. 114-115.
In his *Mikuni Kotoba Katsuyoshô*, (A Conjugation Table of Japanese), N. Motoori prescribed what the conjugation of words should be, and listed the conjugation forms of verbs and adjectives with all possible particles attached. He divided over 2,200 verbs into 27 kinds according to the kinds of conjugation types, using the *Gojûonzu*, the table of fifty syllables of Japanese. For example, the verb *aku* (to open) conjugates in the following manner:

- *aka-zu* (it) does not open
- *aki-tari* (it) did open
- *aku-toki* when (it) opens
- *ake-yo* Open *(it)*!

N. Motoori grouped those verbs which have -ka, -ki, -ku, -ke forms into one category, but put *yomu* (to read) and *wakatu* (to divide) in different groups despite the fact that they conjugate like *aku*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yomu: } & \text{ yoma-zu} \\
& \text{ yomi-tari} \\
& \text{ yomu-toki} \\
& \text{ yome-yo} \\
\text{wakatu: } & \text{ wakata-zu} \\
& \text{ wakati-tari} \\
& \text{ wakatu-toki} \\
& \text{ wakate-yo}
\end{align*}
\]

It appears that Motoori, like Fujitani, considered the CV verb-ending as an inseparable unit because he did not recognize the fact that, when conjugating the verbs like *aku*, *yomu* and *wakatu*, only the final vowel /-u#/ is inflected, i.e., the consonant remained constant.

N. Motoori gave four conjugation forms to account for the types illustrated above, and for others, he gave two or three forms. For

---

\[\text{Gojûonzu: } \text{ N we ra ya ma he na ta sa ka a} \]
\[\text{ i ri i mi hi ni ti si ki i} \]
\[\text{ u ru yu nu fu nu tu su ku u} \]
\[\text{ e re e me he ne te se ke e} \]
\[\text{ o ro yo mo ho no to so ko o} \]
example, kiru (to wear) has two conjugation forms, ki- and kiru-, and various particles are attached to either of the two.

The conjugation tables of Fujitani and N. Motoori were combined by Akira Suzuki (1764-1837), a pupil of the latter. In 1803, Suzuki constructed a conjugation table, *Katsuso Kiretsuzuki no Fu*,¹³ (A Table of Conjugating Words), and, like Motoori, classified verbs into 27 categories, giving eight conjugation forms to each, thus also following Fujitani's method. To each conjugation form, he assigned a function, and also listed several particles which might follow the form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Particle to Follow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. aku</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>-to, -ya, -kasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. aku</td>
<td>Can be followed by another verb</td>
<td>-hu, -mo, -ga, -yo, -ka, -zo, -koso, -o, -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. aku</td>
<td></td>
<td>-besi, -ran, -nari, -rasi, -meri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. aki</td>
<td>Can be used as a noun</td>
<td>-ari, -te, -tu, -nu, -ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ake</td>
<td>Preceded by -koso</td>
<td>-ba, -do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ake</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. aka</td>
<td>Futurity</td>
<td>-ba, -mu, -mesi, -zu, -nu, -naku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. aka</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>-simu, -su</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding forms 7 and 8 above, Suzuki remarked that "it would not be necessary to divide them into two—they could be classed as one form."¹⁴

Number 8 is the causative form, which is now considered to be a derivative constructed by adding the suffixes -simu or -su which are further capable of conjugating. Suzuki does not include other suffixes which also form derivatives, such as the passive suffix -garu or the desiderative suffix -tasi.


Suzuki clarified the theory of conjugation forms by assigning seven (or eight) forms to each verb, but he still did not reduce the number of conjugation types. Norinaga Motoori's son, Haruniwa, however, contributed greatly to the simplification of the conjugation types. In his *Kotoba no Yachimata* (The Many Uses of Words), written in 1806, Haruniwa reduced the 27 conjugation types of his father to seven verbal types by disregarding the difference of consonants in the final CV cluster. Haruniwa grouped *aku* (to open), *yomu* (to read), *hossu* (to want), etc., into one type, as these verbs have -a, -i, -u, -e conjugations in common.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ak-a</th>
<th>yom-a</th>
<th>hoss-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak-i</td>
<td>yom-i</td>
<td>hoss-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak-u</td>
<td>yom-u</td>
<td>hoss-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak-e</td>
<td>yom-e</td>
<td>hoss-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Haruniwa then named each conjugation type according to the Gojūonzu.

These names are as follows:

1. *Yokida no hataraki*: A verb which conjugates according to the four columns of the Gojūonzu (-a, -i, -u, -e).
   *eg.* *osu* (to push) *os-a*, *os-i*, *os-u*, *os-e*.

2. *Hitokida no hataraki*: A verb which conjugates using only one column of the Gojūonzu (-i).
   *eg.* *kiru* (to wear) *k-i*, *k-i-ru*, *k-i-re*.

   *eg.* *otu* (to fall) *ot-i*, *ot-u*, *ot-u-ru*, *ot-u-re*.

   *eg.* *uku* (to receive) *uk-e*, *uk-u*, *uk-u-ru*, *uk-u-re*.

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15qtd. in Tokieda, *Kokugo Gakushi*, pp. 131-137.
5. *Kagyō henkaku no hataraki*: Consists only of the verb *ku* (to come) which conjugates using three columns of the *k*-series, *ki*, *ku*, *ko*.

   eg. *ku* (to come) *k-o-, k-i-, k-u-, k-u-ru-, k-u-re-.

6. *Sagyō henkaku no hataraki*: Consists only of the verb *su* (to do) which conjugates using three columns of the *s*-series, *se*, *si*, *su*.

   eg. *su* (to do) *s-e-, s-i-, s-u-, s-u-ru-, s-u-re-.

7. *Nagyō henkaku no hataraki*: Consists of the two verbs *inu* (to go) and *sinu* (to die) which conjugate using the four columns of the *n*-series, *na*, *ni*, *nu*, *ne*.


Haruniwa did a good job of covering the types of conjugation, but he did not follow the idea of conjugation form made by Suzuki, and he shows inconsistencies in the conjugation forms listed above. His interest was, like his father Norinaga, to state the sequential dependence rule of a conjugation form and its particles. He thus divided the conjugation forms according to a verb's final vowel, regardless of its function. For example, Suzuki's groups 5 and 6, *ake* (preceded by *koso*) and *ake* (Imperative), respectively, were combined because they end with the same sound.

In *Kotoba no Kayoiji*, written in 1828, Haruniwa discussed the nature of verbs. He first mentioned that there are some verbs which are root-related but which conjugate in different series of the Gojūonzu. For example, *odoroku* (to be frightened) and *odorokasu* (to surprise) are root-related, but *odoroku* conjugates in the *k*-series as *-ka-, -ki-, -ku-, -ke-*, and *odorokasu* conjugates in the *s*-series as *-sa-, -si-, -su-, -se-*. Haruniwa noticed the difference in meaning and thus divided verbs into two groups:

16 qtd. in Tokieda, *Kokugo Gakushi*, pp. 131-137.

1. **ji**: A verb expressing an action taking place automatically or without aid from another party.

2. **ta**: A verb expressing an action taking place with the intention of the actor.\(^{18}\)

Group one above refers to the intransitive verbs, group two to the transitive verbs. In fact, in present-day grammar Haruniwa's terminology is still being used—**jidoshi** (intransitive) and **tadoshi** (transitive).

Among the verbs of the second group, he further distinguished five different groups. Dividing all the verbs into six groups, he explained the meaning of each as:

1. **Onozukara shikaru**: "it happens to be that way," "without forcing it to become that way, it becomes so."
   
   eg. **kikovuru**—sounds come from somewhere to one's ears no matter whether one wants to hear them or not.

2. **Mono o shikasuru**: "one uses one's intention and achieves some action, thing, etc."
   
   eg. **kiku**—to hear.

3. **Ta ni shikasuru**: "one makes somebody to become so and so," or "one does some action for somebody."
   
   eg. **kikasuru**—one makes (performs) sound (music, etc.) for someone.

4. **Ta ni shikasesuru**: "one makes somebody do some action," or "one forces somebody to do some action."
   
   eg. **kikesesuru**—one permits another to perceive a certain sound or utterance.

5. **Onozukara shikaseraruru**: "one is in some situation by allowing oneself to become so."
   
   eg. **kikaruru**—it is possible for one to hear sound.

6. **Ta ni shikaseraruru**: "action is done to someone by someone else."
   
   eg. **kikaruru**—sound is produced by one person and perceived by a second person.

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\(^{18}\)Ibid.
the example given in each group. The example in number one, kikoyuru, is an intransitive verb while kiku, in number two, is a transitive verb. The examples in numbers three through six are their derivatives—kikasuru, in number three, and kikoesasuru, in number four, are causatives derived from kiku and kikoyuru, respectively; kikaruru, in number five, is a potential and kikaruru, in number six, is a passive, and both are derived from kiku.

Haruniwa treated these six forms as independent verbs, not as derivatives. He explained that the difference of meaning arises from the different conjugation types which they belong to, not from the functions of the suffixes attached to the root. According to Haruniwa, the verbs of numbers one and two may be any kind of conjugation types, but those in numbers three and four, should conjugate as the s-series of shimo futakida no hataraki (-se-, -su-, -suri-, -sure-), and those in numbers five and six as the r-series of shimo futakida no hataraki (-re-, -ru-, -ruru-, -rure-).

Haruniwa recognized three main ways of distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs which share the same root, from the types of conjugation which they belong to, based on the syllabaries.

1. Between two verbs which conjugate in the same consonant series, a present form which ends in -ru is transitive and its counterpart, which does not end in -ru, is intransitive:
   
   nokuru (t.v. to remove)  noku (i.v. to move aside)
   tuzukuru (t.v. to continue)  tuzuku (i.v. to continue)
   taturu (t.v. to build)  tatu (i.v. to build)

   The conjugation of nokuru is noke-, noku-, nokuru-, nokure- and that of noku is noka-, noki-, noku-, noke-.

2. Transitive verbs conjugate in the s-series but intransitive verbs do not:

   okosu (t.v. to start)  okoru (i.v. to start)
odorokasu (t.v. to surprise) odoroku (i.v. to surprise)
otosu (t.v. to drop) oturu (i.v. to drop)
oyobosu (t.v. to affect) oyobu (i.v. to affect)
akasu (t.v. to open) akuru (i.v. to open)

The conjugation of oko-su is okosa-, okosi-, okosu-, okose- and that of okoru is okora-, okori-, okoru-, okore-.

3. Intransitive verbs conjugate in the r-series, but transitive verbs do not:

azamuku (t.v. to deceive) azamukaru (i.v. be deceived)
kakotu (t.v. to complain) kakotaru (i.v. be complained to)
uzumu (t.v. to bury) uzumoru (i.v. be buried)
yatohu (t.v. to hire) yatoharuru (i.v. be hired)

The conjugation of azamuku is azamuka-, azamuki-, azamuku-, azamuke- and that of azamukaru is azamukare-, azamukaru-, azamukare-.

Haruniwa tried to account for the transitive-intransitive relation from a semantic and morphological point of view, and not from a syntactic one.

Myōgenji Gimon, 1786-1853, a Buddhist priest, completed the conjugation table of verbs. In his Wagosetsu no Ryoukuzu,19 (A Simplified Conjugation Table), written in 1833, Gimon gave six conjugation forms for every verb and classified all the verbs into seven types. Gimon used the same names for the types of conjugation as Haruniwa, but he first named each conjugation form according to its function and meaning. The names he used are identical to the ones used today.


19 qtd. in Miki & Fukunaga, Kokugo Gakushi, p. 171.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive Shōzengen</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>oki</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>utusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctive Renyōgen</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>oki</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>utusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusive Saidengen</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>oku</td>
<td>miru</td>
<td>utusu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive Renteigen</td>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>suru</td>
<td>inuru</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>okuru</td>
<td>miru</td>
<td>utusu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisional Izengen</td>
<td>kure</td>
<td>sure</td>
<td>inure</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>okure</td>
<td>mire</td>
<td>utuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Kekugen</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>seyo</td>
<td>ine</td>
<td>eyo</td>
<td>okiyoyo</td>
<td>miyo</td>
<td>sutse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| to come | to do | to go | to get | to get up | to see | to copy |

This table was written in Japanese using syllabic CV clusters, so the verbal root and the suffix are not separated if the root ends in a consonant. This table shows that each form except kekugen (imperative) is followed by one of the particles listed at the end of each row.

The conjugation of verbs had been settled by Gimon, but the nature of the transitive and intransitive verbs had not been fully discussed until the introduction of Western grammar.

V. THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN GRAMMAR

The first grammatical work on Japanese made by a European is the Nihon Daibunten, ("Arte da Lingoa de Iapam"), by Rodriguez in 1604. In 1620, Rodriguez simplified his previous book and published Nihon Shō Bunten, ("Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa"). Diego Collado wrote "Ars Grammaticae Japonicae Linguæ" in Rome in 1632, and Melchor Oyanguren wrote "Arte de la Lengua Japones" in 1738, which was published in Mexico.
These works were all based on Latin grammar and were written in either Latin or Spanish. The main purpose of these grammar books was to help the propagation of Christianity in Japan. The reason that they did not have any influence on the Japanese grammarians of that time was partly due to the decision of the Tokugawa Shogunate which prohibited European literature from 1630. Upon receiving permission to import western books in 1720, many Japanese started studying Dutch, because Holland was the only country with which Japan was in contact. Many Dutch grammar books were translated into Japanese, and this aided the latter in learning about Western culture. In 1833, when Western grammar had become somewhat familiar to the Japanese, Shigenobu Tsurumine wrote a grammar book, Gogaku Shinsho, (A New Grammar Book), based on Dutch grammar. No value can really be found in this book except that Tsurumine introduced, and tried to utilize, European linguistics.

In 1868, J. J. Hoffmann wrote "Japansche Spraakleer" which was published in Leiden. His second edition,¹ written in English, appeared in 1876. In this edition, Hoffmann wrote that Japanese grammarians "...have of old distributed the words of their language in three classes,"² and gives 1. noun "na", 2. verb "kotoba", and 3. particles "tenioha". Hoffmann expressed the inadequacy of this classification and stated:

...we, to be able to fix the logical and grammatical value of the words properly, must apply our grammatical categories, our distinction of the parts of speech to the Japanese language. Consequently we distinguish 1. Nouns, (under which are included 2. Pronouns), 3. Adjectives, 4. Numerals, 5. Adverbs, 6. Verbs,

²Ibid., p. 42.
7. Suffixes (postpositions) simple, answering to our terminational inflections, and such as answer to our prepositions and conjunctions, 8. Interjections.3

On his chapter on the verb, Hoffmann asked the question, "...how are the conjugational forms of the Western languages expressed in the Japanese,"4 and classified verbs as:

The Voices of the Japanese verb are
   Intransitive.
   Transitive, Factive or Causative.
   Passive, but in the form of an active.
   Negative, since the verbal terminations contain in themselves a negative element, n.5

Here, I shall not question whether his classification of "the voices of the Japanese verb" is correct or not, but would like to confine this discussion to that of the transitive-intransitive distinction. It seems that Hoffmann took it for granted that verbs should be divided into the transitive and intransitive, that the transitive should take an object, and that the intransitive should not. His thoughts concerning this matter are only apparent in his section on the causative. He said that "...the causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs have the object, which is made active in the accusative before them"6 and he indicated that this type of verb is transitive (t.v.) as:

kayeru (to return) i.v. kayesu (to make turn back) t.v.
ugoku (to move) i.v. ugokasu (to move, to make move) t.v.

3Ibid., p. 43.
4Ibid., p. 197.
5Ibid.
6Ibid., p. 237.
yasumu (to rest) i.v.  yasumasu (to rest) t.v.7

No other comment on the transitive-intransitive verbs, or the object, are given in his book.

An English grammarian, W. G. Aston, compiled and published a Japanese grammar book, *A Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language*, in 1867. In his fourth edition of this book8 published in 1888 in Tokyo, Aston discussed the Tokyo dialect of that time and confined himself chiefly to the spoken language. He divided verbs into transitive and intransitive, but did not state any criteria used in making this classification. He noticed that the Japanese verbs are capable of expressing both ideas of transitivity and of intransitivity by using the same root. Some of the examples Aston gave are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tatu to stand</td>
<td>tateru to set up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susumu to advance</td>
<td>susumeru to encourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamu to cease</td>
<td>yameru to cease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iru to enter</td>
<td>ireru to put in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kireru to be discontinuous</td>
<td>kiru to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ureru to be saleable</td>
<td>uru to sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyeru to be able to see</td>
<td>miru to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikeru to be able to go</td>
<td>iku to go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aston remarked that the suffix -eru may appear either with the transitive or intransitive, but no rule for forming transitive or intransitive verbs from the same root is given. The verb *iku* (to go), which is

7Ibid., pp. 235-236.


9Ibid., pp. 78-79.
in the above set of examples, is now considered to be intransitive. The reason why Aston classified *iku* as transitive is not clear. My guess is that he assumed that all transitive verbs require an object denoted by the particle *o*, and intransitive do not, but *iku* does demand the particle *o*. Thus, Aston might have concluded *iku* to be transitive.\(^{10}\)

Basil Hall Chamberlain, who started the course of philology at Tokyo University in 1886, wrote *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* in 1890. The fourth edition of the book,\(^{11}\) which was published in 1907, shows that Chamberlain closely followed *A Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language* by W. G. Aston. On the transitive and intransitive verbs, Chamberlain stated:

> In English, the same word commonly does duty both as a transitive and as an intransitive verb, the context alone determining in which of these acceptations it is to be understood. Sometimes the passive does duty for the intransitive, sometimes altogether different words are employed. In Japanese the transitive and intransitive meaning are almost always expressed by different verbs derived from the same root...\(^{12}\)

Chamberlain then gave some examples of the transitive and intransitive verbs derived from the same roots, most of which previously appeared in the examples given by Aston.

In 1889, Fumihiko Ootsuki published a dictionary called *Genkai*. In this dictionary, Ootsuki included a grammar of Japanese entitled *Gohō Shinan*\(^{13}\) in which he tried to combine European grammar with that of

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\(^{10}\) On the discussion of the particle *o* and verbs similar to *iku*, see Section VI of this chapter.


traditional Japanese. On the parts of speech, Ootsuki recognized the Noun, Verb, Adjective, Auxiliary verb, Adverb, Conjunction, Particle, and Interjection, thus illustrating a tendency to conform to European grammar. His conjugation table of the verb is identical to that of Gimon, except for a slight modification in the terminology.

Ootsuki divided verbs into two groups—the transitive (tadōshi) and the intransitive (jidōshi)—according to the nature of the verbs. His explanation and the examples of each group are as follows:

The intransitive verbs: indicate the action of the subject and do not affect others.
- eg. hana tobu - Flowers fly away.
- tyoo odoroku - A butterfly surprises.

The transitive verbs: affect others.
- eg. mayu we ito o haku - Silkworms produce silk.
- hati we mitu o kamosu - Bees make honey.

If we simply say mayu we haku (silkworms produce) or hati we kamosu (bees make), we would be asked nani o (What?). The verbs of this group should accompany something beside the actor.14

This classification of verbs is entirely based on whether a verb demands an object or not,15 and the other criterion used by European grammarians—intransitive verbs can not be made passive—is not employed because he says that "...in Japanese, passive forms can be made from both the intransitive and transitive verbs."16

In 1908, Yoshio Yamada published a very detailed grammar book, Nihon Bunpōron,17 (Japanese Grammar), using the terminology established by Ootsuki.

14Ibid., p. 8.
15By 'object', Ootsuki seems to mean a word group accompanied by a particle て. He does not, however, define the term object.
16Gohō Shinan, p. 23.
In this book, and likewise in his next book, *Nihon Bunpōgaku Gairon*, (An Introduction to the Study of Japanese Grammar), Yamada did not agree with the necessity of dividing Japanese verbs into transitive and intransitive. His opinion, however, is not generally accepted by other grammarians.18

VI. THE NATURE OF JAPANESE TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

In Japanese, transitive verbs require an object marked by the particle が, and intransitive do not. There are always exceptions to the rule and some intransitive verbs do require the particle が. However, these verbs have a common semantic feature, that is, they all indicate a movement of the subject within a certain space:

kodomo ga mitori お aruku.
A child walks along the street.

hikooki ga sora お tobu.
An airplane flies in the sky.

titi ga asa uti お deru.
My father leaves home in the morning.

fune ga kaikyoo お susumu.
A ship sails in the strait.

fune ga gaNpeki お hanaeru.
A ship leaves from the quay.

The verbs in the above examples have no effect on the underlined word groups. Instead, they indicate some action or movement of the subjects performed at or in a certain place. Hence, the particle が indicates the place where some action occurs. The particle が which appears with the

18Yamada's argument is apparent in his *Nihon Bunpōron*, pp. 271-311, that passivization is possible for the intransitive verbs, and also that the particle が can be used with them.
transitive verbs, however, has a different function:

kodomo ga *ame o taberu.*
Children eat candy.

hikoki ga *zoo o hakobu.*
An airplane carries an elephant.

*Fune ga* kiteki o narasu.
The ship blows its whistle.

In the above examples, the verbs indicate that the subjects perform some action and that the action affects the underlined parts, which are objects of the verbs. Each function of the particle *o* may be examined more clearly in the following sentences, which have root-related verbs:

kare wa seki o ugokasu (t.v.)
He moves the chair.

kare wa seki o ugoku (i.v.)
He moves from the chair.

In the first sentence, the verb *ugokasu* (to move) indicates the action of the subject done to the object *seki* (chair) which is carried somewhere by the subject *kare* (he). While in the second sentence, *seki* is not carried somewhere, but the verb *ugoku* (to move from) indicates the movement of the subject departing from the chair.

The existence of the root-related verbs has been discussed from the early stages of Japanese grammar by both Japanese and Western grammarians. Bernard Bloch says in his *Studies in Colloquial Japanese,* that he distinguished the transitive and intransitive verbs on the basis of "...morphological and syntactic criteria."² It seems, however, that Bloch felt the


²Ibid., p. 96.
necessity of the distinction—transitive and intransitive—solely because of the existence of 'root-related formations'. He stated:

Of two verbs, one is intransitive and the other transitive, if (1) they are morphologically connected as underlying word and derivative or as root-related formations; and if (2) they differ syntactically in that one of them (designated the transitive member of the pair) is sometimes preceded by a direct object, whereas the other (designated the intransitive member) is never so preceded.3

Bloch defines the direct object in Japanese as "...a noun or other substantive expression followed by the particle o..."4 Consequently, Bloch has to admit that the intransitive verbs also take a direct object in sentences like:

kōen o tōru  
(He) passes through the park.

uti o deru  
(He) leaves the house.5

He, however, puts the priority on the criterion numbered (1) in the above quote, and thinks tōru (to pass through) and deru (to leave) are intransitive, in relation to their root-related counterparts tōsu (to pass) and dasu (to push out), thus disregarding the existence of the direct object.6

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 101.
6 Ibid.
The following examples represent some of the root-related transitive-intransitive verbs of modern colloquial Japanese.

I. Transitive-intransitive contrast indicated by the suffixes -su, -ru, and their variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) -su (t.v.)</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>-ru (i.v.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ama-su</td>
<td>kane o ama-su</td>
<td>one saves some money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>kane ga ama-ru</td>
<td>the money is left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kae-su</td>
<td>tomodati o kae-su</td>
<td>one lets a friend go back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>tomodati ga kae-ru</td>
<td>a friend goes back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kuda-su</td>
<td>hanketu o kuda-su</td>
<td>one hands down a decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>hanketu ga kuda-ru</td>
<td>a decision is given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mawa-su</td>
<td>koma o mawa-su</td>
<td>one spins a top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>koma ga mawa-ru</td>
<td>a top spins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. modo-su</td>
<td>hoN o modo-su</td>
<td>one returns a book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>hoN ga modo-ru</td>
<td>a book is returned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. nakuna-su</td>
<td>kane o nakuna-su</td>
<td>one loses money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>kane ga nakuna-ru</td>
<td>money is spent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. nao-su</td>
<td>byoki o nao-su</td>
<td>one cures an illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>byoki ga nao-ru</td>
<td>one recovers from an illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. noko-su</td>
<td>asiato o noko-su</td>
<td>one leaves footprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>asiato ga noko-ru</td>
<td>footprints remain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. sime-su</td>
<td>gase o sime-su</td>
<td>one moistens the gauze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>gase ga sime-ru</td>
<td>the gauze becomes damp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tiraka-su</td>
<td>heya o tiraka-su</td>
<td>one puts the room in disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>heya ga tiraka-ru</td>
<td>the room is untidy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tomo-su</td>
<td>roSoku o tomo-su</td>
<td>one lights a candle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>roSoku ga tomo-ru</td>
<td>a candle is lighted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. to-su</td>
<td>kaze o to-su</td>
<td>one lets in some fresh air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>kaze ga to-ru</td>
<td>the breeze passes through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. utu-su</td>
<td>syasIN o utu-su</td>
<td>one takes a picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>syasIN ga utu-ru</td>
<td>a picture is taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. utu-su</td>
<td>basyo o utu-su</td>
<td>one changes one's place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>basyo ga utu-ru</td>
<td>the place is changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) -su (t.v.)</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>-reru (i.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. arawa-su</td>
<td>hoNsyō o arawa-su</td>
<td>one reveals one's true character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hoNsyō ga arawa-reru</td>
<td>one's true character is revealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. hana-su</td>
<td>börū o hana-su</td>
<td>one lets the ball go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>börū ga hana-reru</td>
<td>the ball is let go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. hazu-su</td>
<td>botaN o hazu-su</td>
<td>one unfastens a button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>botaN ga hazu-reru</td>
<td>a button comes off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. kaku-su</td>
<td>kao o kaku-su</td>
<td>one hides one's face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kao ga kaku-reru</td>
<td>a face is hidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. kono-su</td>
<td>tabemono o kono-su</td>
<td>one digests food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tabemono ga kono-reru</td>
<td>food is digested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. kobo-su</td>
<td>miruku o kobo-su</td>
<td>one spills the milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miruku ga kobo-reru</td>
<td>the milk is spilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. kono-su</td>
<td>tatemono o kono-su</td>
<td>one destroys the building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tatemono ga kono-reru</td>
<td>the building is wrecked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. kuzu-su</td>
<td>yama o kuzu-su</td>
<td>one levels the mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yama ga kuzu-reru</td>
<td>the mountain is leveled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. mida-su</td>
<td>kami o mida-su</td>
<td>one dishevels one's hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kami ga mida-reru</td>
<td>one's hair is disheveled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. mu-su</td>
<td>gohaN o mu-su</td>
<td>one steams the rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gohaN ga mu-reru</td>
<td>the rice is steamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. nage-su</td>
<td>ikada o nage-su</td>
<td>one drifts a raft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ikada ga nage-reru</td>
<td>a raft drifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. tao-su</td>
<td>ki o tao-su</td>
<td>one brings down a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki ga tao-reru</td>
<td>a tree is brought down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tubu-su</td>
<td>bōsi o tubu-su</td>
<td>one smashes a hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bōsi ga tubu-reru</td>
<td>a hat is battered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. yogo-su</td>
<td>uwagi o yogo-su</td>
<td>one soils a coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uwagi ga yogo-reru</td>
<td>a coat becomes dirty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) -asu (t.v.) vs. -eru (i.v.)

| 1. ak-asu      | yo o ak-asu | one sits up all night |
|                | yo ga ak-eru | the day dawned |
| 2. ar-asu      | hatake o ar-asu | one lays waste the field |
|                | hatake ga ar-eru | the field is laid waste |
| 3.  | bak-asu         | hito o bak-asu | one bewitches a man               |
|     | -eru           | hito ga bak-eru| a man disguises himself           |
| 4.  | bar-asu         | himitu o bar-asu| one reveals a secret              |
|     | -eru           | himitu ga bar-eru| a secret is revealed              |
| 5.  | bok-asu         | iro o bok-asu  | one lightens the color            |
|     | -eru           | iro ga bok-eru | the color becomes dim             |
| 6.  | d-asu           | saifu o d-asu  | one takes out a wallet            |
|     | -eru           | saifu ga d-eru | a wallet falls out                |
| 7.  | fuk-asu         | imo o fuk-asu  | one steams sweet potatoes         |
|     | -eru           | imo ga fuk-eru | sweet potatoes are steamed        |
| 8.  | fuk-asu         | yo o fuk-asu   | one sits up till late at night    |
|     | -eru           | yo ga fuk-eru | the night goes on                 |
| 9.  | fuyak-asu       | kome o fuyak-asu| one soaks the rice               |
|     | -eru           | kome ga fuyak-eru| the rice swells up               |
| 10. | har-asu         | me o har-asu   | one swells one's eyes             |
|     | -eru           | me ga har-eru  | one's eyes are swollen            |
| 11. | har-asu         | kibuN o har-asu| one dispels the gloom             |
|     | -eru           | kibuN ga har-eru| the gloom is dispelled           |
| 12. | hat-asu         | nozomi o hat-asu| one materializes one's wishes     |
|     | -eru           | inoti ga hat-eru| one's life terminates            |
| 13. | zyar-asu        | koneko o zyar-asu| one plays with a kitten           |
|     | -eru           | koneko ga zyar-eru| a kitten plays with it            |
| 14. | zir-asu         | kodomo o zir-asu| one irritates a child             |
|     | -eru           | kodomo ga zir-eru| a child sulks                    |
| 15. | kak-asu         | oreNzi o kak-asu| one lacks oranges                 |
|     | -eru           | oreNzi ga kak-eru| oranges are lacking              |
| 16. | kar-asu         | hana o kar-asu | one lets the flower wither       |
|     | -eru           | hana ga kar-eru| a flower withers                 |
| 17. | kir-asu         | sake o kir-asu | one runs out of 'sake'            |
|     | -eru           | sake ga kir-eru| 'sake' is out of stock            |
| 18. | kog-asu         | moti o kog-asu | one burns a rice-cake             |
|     | -eru           | moti ga kog-eru| a rice-cake is burned            |
| 19. | korog-asu       | bōru o korog-asu| one rolls the ball                |
|     | -eru           | bōru ga korog-eru| the ball rolls                   |
| 20. | kur-asu         | itiniti o kur-asu| one lives one day                 |
|     | -eru           | itiniti ga kur-eru| the day ends                     |
21. mak-asu -eru
   teki o mak-asu -eru
   one destroys the enemy
   teki ga mak-eru
   the enemy is defeated

22. mor-asu -eru
   himitu o mor-asu -eru
   one lets out a secret
   himitu ga mor-eru
   a secret leaks out

23. mur-asu -eru
   gohan o mur-asu -eru
   one steams boiled rice
   gohan ga mur-eru
   rice is steamed

24. nar-asu -eru
   karada o nar-asu -eru
   one accustoms one's body to...
   karada ga nar-eru
   one's body gets used to...

25. nig-asu -eru
   dorobō o nig-asu -eru
   one lets a thief escape
   dorobō ga nig-eru
   a thief escapes

26. nuk-asu -eru
   kosi o nuk-asu -eru
   my legs gave way when...
   kosi ga nuk-eru
   one is petrified

27. nur-asu -eru
   te o nur-asu -eru
   one wets one's hand
   te ga nur-eru
   one's hand gets wet

28. sam-asu -eru
   otya o sam-asu -eru
   one cools the tea
   otya ga sam-eru
   the tea becomes cool

29. sam-asu -eru
   me o sam-asu -eru
   one opens one's eyes
   me ga sam-eru
   one awakens

30. sor-asu -eru
    hanasi o sor-asu -eru
    one turns the talk away
    hanasi ga sor-eru
    the talk deviates from

31. tar-asu -eru
   kaminoko o tar-asu -eru
   one hangs one's hair down
   kaminoko ga tar-eru
   one's hair hangs down

32. tok-asu -eru
   satō o tok-asu -eru
   one dissolves the sugar
   satō ga tok-eru
   the sugar dissolves

33. torok-asu -eru
   kokoro o torok-asu -eru
   one fascinates one's mind
   kokoro ga torok-eru
   one's mind is fascinated

34. zur-asu -eru
   yotei o zur-asu -eru
   one shifts the schedule
   yotei ga zur-eru
   the schedule is shifted

(4) -yasu (t.v.) vs. -eru (i.v.)

1. fu-yasu -eru
   kaiiN o fu-yasu -eru
   one increases the number of members
   kaiiN ga fu-eru
   members increase

2. ha-yasu -eru
   hige o ha-yasu -eru
   one grows a beard
   hige ga ha-eru
   a beard grows
3. hi-yasu
   -eru
   atama o hi-yasu
   atama ga hi-eru
   one cools one's head
   one's head becomes cool

4. ko-yasu
   -eru
   kuti o ko-yasu
   kuti ga ko-eru
   one pampers one's taste
   one's taste is pampered

5. mo-yasu
   -eru
   maki o mo-yasu
   maki ga mo-eru
   one burns kindling
   the kindling burns

6. ta-yasu
   -eru
   hi o ta-yasu
   hi ga ta-eru
   one lets the fire go out
   the fire goes out

(5) -osu (t.v.) vs. -iru (i.v.)

1. horob-osu
   -iru
   kuni o horob-osu
   kuni ga horob-iru
   one ruins a nation
   a nation is ruined

2. ok-osu
   -iru
   akaNbo o ok-osu
   akaNbo ga ok-iru
   one wakes the baby
   the baby wakes up

3. or-osu
   -iru
   zyökyaku o or-osu
   zyökyaku ga or-iru
   one lets the passengers off
   the passengers get off

4. ot-osu
   -iru
   riNgo o ot-osu
   riNgo ga ot-iru
   one drops an apple
   an apple falls

5. sug-osu
   -iru
   itiniti o sug-osu
   itiniti ga sug-iru
   one spends a day
   a day passes by

(6) -asu (t.v.) vs. -iru (i.v.)

1. ik-asu
   -iru
   keikeN o ik-asu
   keikeN ga ik-iru
   one makes use of experience
   the experience is apparent

2. kor-asu
   -iru
   namakemono o kor-asu
   namakemono ga kor-iru
   one gives an idler a lesson
   an idler learns a lesson

3. mit-asu
   -iru
   taru o mit-asu
   taru ga mit-iru
   one fills the jug
   the jug is full

4. nob-asu
   -iru
   zikaN o nob-asu
   zikaN ga nob-iru
   one extends the time
   the time is extended

5. toz-asu
   -iru
   tobira o toz-asu
   tobira ga toz-iru
   one shuts the door
   the door is (automatically) shut

(7) -usu (t.v.) vs. -iru (i.v.)
1. tuk-usu
    -iru syudaN o tuk-usu
    syudaN ga tuk-iru
    one tries every means
    one's resources come to an end

(8) -esu (t.v.) vs. -ieru (i.v.)

1. k-esu
    -ieru rōsoku o k-esu
    rōsoku ga k-ieru
    one puts the candle out
    the candle goes out

Each pair of verbs listed above has the same root, and the transitive-
intransitive distinction has been indicated by the following suffix contrasts: (1) su—ru; (2) su—reru; (3) asu—eru; (4) yasu—eru; (5) osu—iru; (6) asu—iru; (7) usu—iru; and (8) esu—ieru.

Every pair of verbs shows a su—ru contrast—su indicating transitivity and ru, intransitivity. If the root of a verb ends in a vowel, /s/ or /r/ are directly attached to it, with the exception of type (4), or some vowel is inserted between the root and /s/ or /r/. However, type (4) could be included in type (3) because the phoneme /y/ does not appear before /e, i/, it is possible to say that the root of the verbs in this category end in /y/.

In each type of group I verbs, the phoneme directly preceding the suffix is:

(1) /a, e, o, u/     (4) /y/
(2) /a, o, u/        (5) /t, k, g, b, r/
(3) /t, d, k, g, m, r/  (6) /t, k, b, z, r/

There is no morphophonemic rule governing the combination of a root and

7 The term 'root' refers to the definitions of Bloomfield (Language, p. 240) and Hockett (A Course in Modern Linguistics, p. 241). In the verb kaesu, the root is kae- and the stem is kaes-, as kae- underlies kae-su and kae-ru. Kae- underlies the paradigm of the verb kaes-u as kaesanai, kaesita, kaeseba, kaesu, and kaeso. Kaer- underlies the paradigm of the verb kaer-u as kaeranai, kaetta, kaereba, kaerus, and kaero.
its suffixes.

II. In the following group, the transitive-intransitive contrast is indicated by -asu or -asu and -u.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Intransitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>aruk-asu</td>
<td>akaNbo o aruk-asu</td>
<td>akaNbo ga aruk-u</td>
<td>one lets the baby walk the baby walks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>fuk-asu</td>
<td>tabako o fuk-asu</td>
<td>kaze ga fuk-u</td>
<td>one smokes a cigarette the wind blows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>fukuram-asu</td>
<td>fūseN o fukuram-asu</td>
<td>fūseN ga fukuram-u</td>
<td>one inflates a toy balloon a toy balloon is inflated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>hasir-asu</td>
<td>inu o hasir-asu</td>
<td>inu ga hasir-u</td>
<td>one makes a dog run a dog runs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>her-asu</td>
<td>taizyū o her-asu</td>
<td>taizyū ga her-u</td>
<td>one reduces one's weight one's weight is reduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>kawak-asu</td>
<td>kimono o kawak-asu</td>
<td>kimono ga kawak-u</td>
<td>one dries the clothes the clothes have dried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>kōr-asu</td>
<td>misu o kōr-asu</td>
<td>misu ga kōr-u</td>
<td>one freezes some water the water is frozen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>kor-asu</td>
<td>kata o kor-asu</td>
<td>kata ga kor-u</td>
<td>one stiffens one's shoulders one's shoulders grow stiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>kuram-asu</td>
<td>me o kuram-asu</td>
<td>me ga kuram-u</td>
<td>one covers one's traces one is dazzled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>nabik-asu</td>
<td>hata o nabik-asu</td>
<td>hata ga nabik-u</td>
<td>one lets the flag wave the flag waves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>nak-asu</td>
<td>kodomo o nak-asu</td>
<td>kodomo ga nak-u</td>
<td>one makes a child cry a child cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>nar-asu</td>
<td>taihō o nar-asu</td>
<td>taihō ga nar-u</td>
<td>one fires the cannon the cannon booms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>nemur-asu</td>
<td>byōnin o nemur-asu</td>
<td>byōnin ga nemur-u</td>
<td>one lets the sick sleep the sick person sleeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>oyog-asu</td>
<td>neko o oyog-asu</td>
<td>neko ga oyog-u</td>
<td>one lets the cat swim the cat swims</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. sek-asu -u  gakusei o sek-asu  gakusei ga sek-u  one urges a student to hurry up  a student hurries
16. suk-asu -u  onaka o suk-asu  onaka ga suk-u  it makes one hungry  one's stomach is empty
17. sum-asu -u  sigoto o sum-asu  sigoto ga sum-u  one finishes the job  the job comes to an end
18. ter-asu -u  heya o ter-asu  tuki ga ter-u  one lightens the room  the moon shines
19. tir-asu -u  hana o tir-asu  hana ga tir-u  one scatters flowers  the blossoms are scattered
20. tob-asu -u  hikōki o tob-asu  hikōki ga tob-u  one flies an airplane  an airplane flies
21. ugok-asu -u  kuruma o ugok-asu  kuruma ga ugok-u  one drives a car  a car moves
22. uk-asu -u  kanu o uk-asu  kanu ga uk-u  one floats a canoe  a canoe floats
23. wak-asu -u  furo o wak-asu  furo ga wak-u  one heats the bath  the bath is ready

(9) -wasu (t.v.)  vs.  -u (i.v.)
1. kayo-wasu -u  deNki o kayo-wasu  deNki ga kayo-u  one turns on the electricity  the electricity is turned on
2. mayo-wasu -u  kokoro o mayo-wasu  kokoro ga mayo-u  one leads one's mind astray  one is led astray

(10) -osu (t.v.)  vs.  -u (i.v.)
1. horob-osu -u  teki o horob-osu  teki ga horob-u  one destroys the enemy  the enemy is defeated
2. oyob-osu -u  eikyō o oyob-osu  eikyō ga oyob-u  one extends influence  influence is extended

The transitive verbs in the above groups have the suffixes -asu or -osu, the intransitive verbs have -u. Types (8) asu-u and (9) wasu-u
could be combined because the phoneme /w/ in the transitive suffix of type (9) only appears before /a/, and is dropped before /e, i, o, u/. The fact that this /w/ also appears in the paradigm of the intransitive verbs might support this assumption. The paradigm of the intransitive verbs of this type is:

kayo-u: kayowanai, kayou, kayotta, kayoeba, kayoo
mayo-u: mayowanai, mayou, mayotta, mayoeba, mayoo

Some of the transitive verbs in Group II may be used as causative verbs, resulting from the contraction of the regular causative forms. Some examples of these verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular Causative</th>
<th>Contracted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aruk-aseru</td>
<td>aruk-asu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuk-aseru</td>
<td>fuk-asu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasir-aseru</td>
<td>hasir-asu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, however, among the above list of verbs, some which cannot be considered as contracted forms of the regular causative because they are opposed in meaning. For example,

hana o tir-asu  one scatters flowers
hana o tir-aseru one forces somebody to scatter flowers

The phonemes /k, g, b, m, r/ precede the suffixes in type (8), /w/ precedes the suffixes in type (9), and /b/ precedes the suffixes in type (10).

III. In the following group, the transitive-intransitive contrast is indicated by -u and -eru or -aru.

(11) -u (t.v.) vs. -eru (i.v.)
| 1. | hag-u | kawa o hag-u | one takes off the skin |
|    | -eru  | kawa ga hag-eru | the skin comes off |
| 2. | hazik-u | geN o hazik-u | one touches the string |
|    | -eru  | saya ga hazik-eru | a pod splits open |
| 3. | hinekur-u | moNdai o hinekur-u | one plays with the question |
|    | -eru  | moNdai ga hinekur-eru | the question is distorted |
| 4. | hirak-u | mori o hirak-u | one clears the forest |
|    | -eru  | mori ga hirak-eru | the forest is cleared |
| 5. | hodok-u | seta o hodok-u | one unravels the sweater |
|    | -eru  | seta ga hodok-eru | the sweater is unravelled |
| 6. | kak-u | ziNzai o kak-u | one lacks a man of talent |
|    | -eru  | ziNzai ga kak-eru | a man of talent is lacking |
| 7. | kak-u | hetanazi o kak-u | one writes poorly |
|    | -eru  | hetanazi ga kak-eru | poor letters are written |
| 8. | kir-u | deNwa o kir-u | one hangs up the phone |
|    | -eru  | deNwa ga kir-eru | the phone is disconnected |
| 9. | kuzik-u | asi o kuzik-u | one strains one's leg |
|    | -eru  | asi ga kuzik-eru | one's leg is strained |
| 10. | mekur-u | pezi o mekur-u | one turns the pages |
|    | -eru  | pezi ga mekur-eru | the pages are turned |
| 11. | mog-u | totte o mog-u | one wrenches off the handle |
|    | -eru  | totte ga mog-eru | the handle is wrenched off |
| 12. | muk-u | riNgo o muk-u | one peels an apple |
|    | -eru  | riNgo ga muk-eru | an apple is peeled |
| 13. | nezir-u | te o nezir-u | one twists one's arm |
|    | -eru  | te ga nezir-eru | one's arm is twisted |
| 14. | nug-u | kutu o nug-u | one takes off one's shoes |
|    | -eru  | kutu ga nug-eru | one's shoes come off |
| 15. | nuk-u | ha o nuk-u | one pulls out a tooth |
|    | -eru  | ha ga nuk-eru | a tooth falls out |
| 16. | or-u | eda o or-u | one breaks a branch |
|    | -eru  | eda ga or-eru | a branch snaps |
| 17. | sabak-u | sinamono o sabak-u | one sells goods |
|    | -eru  | sinamono ga sabak-eru | goods sell |
| 18. | sak-u | ki o sak-u | one splits the tree |
|    | -eru  | ki ga sak-eru | the tree is split |
19. sir-u -ru
  siNso o sir-u siNso ga sir-ru
  one knows the truth
  the truth comes to light

20. suk-u -ru
  kami o suk-u kami ga suk-ru
  one combs one's hair
  one's hair is combed

21. sur-u -ru
  sumi o sur-u sumi ga sur-ru
  one prepares the ink
  the ink is prepared

22. sur-u -ru
  meisi o sur-u meisi ga sur-ru
  one prints one's name card
  one's name card is printed

23. tek-u -ru
  goheN o tek-u goheN ga tek-ru
  one boils the rice
  the rice is ready

24. tok-u -ru
  moNdai o tok-te moNdai ga tok-ru
  one solves the problem
  the problem is solved

25. tor-u -ru
  maNteN o tor-te maNteN ga tor-ru
  one gets a perfect mark
  a perfect mark is attained

26. ur-u -ru
  ie o ur-te ie ga ur-ru
  one sells the house
  the house is sold

27. war-u -ru
  tyawaN o war-te tyawaN ga war-ru
  one breaks a teacup
  a teacup is broken

28. yak-u -ru
  moti o yak-te moti ga yak-ru
  one bakes a rice-cake
  a rice-cake is baked

29. yabuk-u -ru
  syozi o yabuk-te syozi ga yabuk-ru
  one tears a sliding paper door
  a sliding paper door is torn

30. yabur-u -ru
  syozi o yabur-te syozi ga yabur-ru
  one tears a sliding paper door
  a sliding paper door is torn

31. yozir-u -ru
  ude o yozir-te ude ga yozir-ru
  one twists one's arm
  one's arm is twisted

(12) -u (t.v.) vs. -aru (i.v.)

1. fusag-u -ru
  miti o fusag-te miti ga fusag-ru
  one blocks the way
  the way is blocked

2. karam-u -ru
  ito o karam-te ito ga karam-ru
  one coils the thread
  the thread becomes entangled

3. kurum-u -ru
  akatyan o kurum-te akatyan ga kurum-ru
  one tucks a baby in
  a baby is tucked in
4. mabus-u nukamiso o mabus-u one sprinkles rice-bran paste
   -aru nukamiso ga mabus-aru rice-bran paste is sprinkled

5. matag-u mizo o matag-u one steps over a ditch
   -aru kawa ga matag-aru a river extends over...

6. sas-u hari o sas-u one sticks a needle into...
   -aru hari ga sas-aru a needle sticks in...

7. tatam-u futoN o tatam-u one folds up the bedding
   -aru futoN ga tatam-aru the bedding is folded up

8. tukam-u sakana o tukam-u one catches fish
   -aru sakana ga tukam-aru fish are caught

9. tunag-u deNwa o tunag-u one connects the phone
   -aru deNwa ga tunag-aru the phone is connected

(13) -u (t.v.) vs. -oeru (i.v.)

1. kik-u oNgaku o kik-u one listens to music
   -oeru oNgaku ga kik-oeru music is heard

In Group III, the transitive verbs take only the -u suffix, but the
intransitive verbs take either -aru or -eru. The consonants /g, k, r/
occur directly before the suffix -eru, and /g, m, s/ occur before -aru.

IV. In the following group, the transitive-intransitive contrast is
indicated by -eru and -aru.

(14) -eru (t.v.) vs. -aru (i.v.)

1. ag-eru nedaN o ag-eru one raises the price
   -aru nedaN ga ag-aru the price goes up

2. aratam-eru taido o aratam-eru one reforms one's attitude
   -aru taido ga aratam-aru one's attitude is reformed

3. at-eru syōhiN o at-eru one wins the prize
   -aru syōhiN ga at-eru the prize is won

4. atatam-eru heya o atatam-eru one warms up the room
   -aru heya ga atatam-aru the room is warmed
| Number | Japanese | Meaning
|--------|---------|----------|
| 5.     | atum-eru  | one gathers people together  
|        | -aru   | people swarm  
| 6.     | awas-eru  | one puts sheets of paper together  
|        | -aru   | sheets of paper are put together  
| 7.     | fukam-eru  | one deepens one's knowledge  
|        | -aru   | one's knowledge is deepened  
| 8.     | hakak-eru  | one opens the lower skirt of one's kimono  
|        | -aru   | the lower skirt of one's kimono rises (in the wind)  
| 9.     | ham-eru  | one puts the car into...  
|        | -aru   | the car is mired in...  
| 10.    | hazim-eru  | one starts the class  
|        | -aru   | the class begins  
| 11.    | hirog-eru  | one widens one's business  
|        | -aru   | one's business is spread  
| 12.    | hirom-eru  | one spreads rumors  
|        | -aru   | rumors are circulated  
| 13.    | kabus-eru  | one covers... with earth  
|        | -aru   | earth covers...  
| 14.    | kak-eru  | one makes a phone call  
|        | -aru   | the telephone rings  
| 15.    | kasan-eru  | one piles the books  
|        | -aru   | the books are piled  
| 16.    | katam-eru  | one hardens the earth  
|        | -aru   | the soil settles  
| 17.    | kim-eru  | one fixes a time  
|        | -aru   | the time is decided  
| 18.    | kiwam-eru  | one reaches the truth  
|        | -aru   | fate is sealed  
| 19.    | mag-eru  | one curves a line  
|        | -aru   | a line is crooked  
| 20.    | mez-eru  | one mixes... with water  
|        | -aru   | water is mixed with...  
| 21.    | mituk-eru  | one finds the answer  
|        | -aru   | the answer is found  

22.  mōk-eru  kane o mōk-eru  one makes money
    -aru  kane ga mōk-aru  ...is profitable

23.  sadam-eru  daizin o sodom-eru  one appoints the minister
    -aru  daizin ga sodom-aru  the minister is appointed

24.  sag-eru  nedaN o sag-eru  one reduces the price
    -aru  nedaN ga sag-aru  the price is reduced

25.  sebem-eru  hani o sebem-eru  one restricts the limits
    -aru  hani ga sebem-aru  the limits are restricted

26.  sem-eru  teki o sem-eru  one attacks the enemy
    -aru  teki ga sem-aru  the enemy approaches

27.  sim-eru  mado o sim-eru  one closes the window
    -aru  mado ga sim-aru  the window is closed

28.  sizum-eru  ki o sizum-eru  one calms one's mind
    -aru  ki ga sizum-aru  one's mind is calmed

29.  som-eru  kami o som-eru  one dyes one's hair
    -aru  kami ga som-aru  one's hair is dyed

30.  takam-eru  kintyō o takam-eru  one increases the tension
    -aru  kintyō ga takam-aru  the tension is increased

31.  tam-eru  kane o tam-eru  one saves money
    -aru  kane ga tam-aru  money is saved

32.  tasuk-eru  tomodati o tasuk-eru  one rescues a friend
    -aru  tomodati ga tasuk-aru  a friend is rescued

33.  tizim-eru  inoti o tizim-eru  one shortens one's life
    -aru  inoti ga tizim-aru  one's life is shortened

34.  todom-eru  tomodati o todom-eru  one detains one's friend
    -aru  tomodati ga todom-aru  one's friend is detained

35.  tom-eru  zidōsya o tom-eru  one stops the car
    -aru  zidōsya ga tom-aru  the car stops

36.  tom-eru  kyaku o tom-eru  one gives a guest lodging
    -aru  kyaku ga tom-aru  a guest stays overnight

37.  tuk-eru  hakusai o tuk-eru  one pickles Chinese cabbages
    -aru  hakusai ga tuk-aru  Chinese cabbages are seasoned

38.  tum-eru  paipu o tum-eru  one fills a pipe
    -aru  paipu ga tum-aru  a pipe is clogged

39.  tutom-eru  sityō o tutom-eru  one serves as mayor
    -aru  sityō ga tutom-aru  one is fit to be mayor
(15) -eru (t.v.) vs. -waru (i.v.)

1. ka-eru
   -waru
   zyūnban o ka-eru
   zyūnban ga ka-waru
   one changes an order
   an order is altered

2. kuwa-eru
   -waru
   seiryoku o kuwa-eru
   seiryoku ga kuwa-waru
   one increases the power
   the power is increased

3. o-eru
   -waru
   sigoto o o-eru
   sigoto ga o-waru
   one finishes the job
   the job is completed

4. sona-eru
   -waru
   hituyōhiN o sona-eru
   hituyōhiN ga sona-waru
   necessities are furnished

5. su-eru
   -waru
   me o su-eru
   me ga su-waru
   one stares at...
   one's eyes are glassy

6. tuta-eru
   -waru
   zyōhō o tuta-eru
   zyōhō ga tuta-waru
   one gives information
   information is passed down

7. u-eru
   -aru
   kyūkoN o u-eru
   kyūkoN ga u-waru
   one plants bulbs
   bulbs are planted

Sections (14) and (15) could be classed together according to the statement made for the verbs in sections (8) and (9), previously.  

There are some verbs which take both -eru and -aru endings, and yet do not fit into the transitive-intransitive contrast, because both verbs take the particle o. The following are some examples:

1. azuk-eru
   kane o azuk-eru
   one deposits money

---

8 The phoneme /w/ is included in the root.
azuk-aru  kane o azuk-aru    one keeps money
2. iituk-aru  sigoto o iituk-aru    one orders one to do a job
      sigoto o iituk-aru    one is ordered to do a job
3. kotozuk-aru  tegami o kotozuk-aru    one asks one to deliver a letter
      tegami o kotozuk-aru    one is asked to deliver a letter
4. sazuk-aru  syōgō o sazuk-aru    one confers a title
      syōgō o sazuk-aru    one has a title bestowed

In the above examples, all of the verbs ending in -aru indicate that the actions are done by the real subjects, whereas the -eru ending verbs indicate that the actions are done to the subjects by somebody, or, in other words, the verbs do not indicate the direct action of the subject, but indicate its condition or state. This fact is justified by the existence of verbs with -aru endings—these verbs closely resemble intransitive verbs despite the fact that they require the particle o.

V. In the following, the transitive-intransitive contrast is indicated by -eru and -u.

(16) -eru (t.v.)    vs.    -u (i.v.)

1. ak-eru  to o ak-eru    one opens the door
      to ga ak-u    the door is open
2. dok-eru  kuruma o dok-eru    one moves the car
      kuruma ga dok-u    the car moves aside
3. hikkom-eru  kubi o hikkom-eru    one pulls in one's head
      kubi ga hikkom-u    one's head is withdrawn
4. itam-eru  te o itam-eru    one hurts one's hand
      te ga itam-u    one's hand aches
5. katamuk-eru  fune o katamuk-eru    one tilts the ship
      fune ga katamuk-u    the ship lists
6. katazuk-eru  heya o katazuk-eru    one straightens up the room
      heya ga katazuk-u    the room is in order
7. kurusim-eru gekusei o kurusim-eru one harasses the students
-u  gekusei ga kurusim-u the students suffer
8. matiga-eru kaNzi o matiga-eru one makes a mistake in writing
-u  kaNzi ga matiga-u the Chinese character is wrong
9. narab-eru hoN o narab-eru one arranges the books
-u  hoN ga narab-u the books are in a row
10. otituk-eru kokoro o otituk-eru one calms one's mind
-u  kokoro ga otituk-u one feels at home
11. sizum-eru fune o sizum-eru one sinks a vessel
-u  fune ga sizum-u a vessel is sunk
12. sodat-eru kodomo o sodat-eru one brings up a child
-u  kodomo ga sodat-u a child grows up
13. soro-eru kazu o soro-eru one completes the number
-u  kazu ga soro-u the number is complete
14. susum-eru tokei o susum-eru one puts a clock ahead
-u  tokei ga susum-u the clock is fast
15. tat-eru ie o tat-eru one builds a house
-u  ie ga tat-u a house is built
16. tiga-eru basyo o tiga-eru one changes the place
-u  basyo ga tiga-u the place is different
17. tikazuk-eru kuruma o tikazuk-eru one drives a car close to...
-u  kuruma ga tikazuk-u the car approaches...
18. tizim-eru fuku o tizim-eru one shortens one's clothes
-u  fuku ga tizim-u one's clothes shrink
19. todok-eru okurimono o todok-eru one sends a gift
-u  okurimono ga todok-u a gift is received
20. tuzuk-eru hanasi o tuzuk-eru one keeps talking
-u  hanasi ga tuzuk-u the speech continues
21. ukab-eru yotto o ukab-eru one launches the yacht
-u  yotto ga ukab-u the yacht floats
22. yam-eru hakusyu o yam-eru one stops hand-clapping
-u  hakusyu ga yam-u the hand-clapping stops
23. yurum-eru baNdo o yurum-eru one loosens the belt
-u  baNdo ga yurum-u the belt comes loose
If we compare the suffixes which appeared in the above lists (group I through group V), it becomes evident that the suffixes -uy and -eru appear with both transitive and intransitive verbs. On the other hand, the suffix -su and its variants (-asu, -osu, -usu, -esu) are used only with transitive verbs, and the suffixes -ru, -reru, -iru, and -aru are used only with intransitive verbs.

A transitive verb indicates that the action is performed according to the intention of the subject and the action affects the object denoted by the particle o. An intransitive verb, however, does not carry this meaning but indicates that the action happens without the intention of the subject without questioning whether or not the subject has any intention. For example:

1. tomodati o kae-su
   (He) let his friend go back.

2. hoN o kae-su
   (He) returns the book.

3. tomodati ga kae-ru
   A friend goes back.

4. hoN ga kae-ru
   A book is returned.

Sentence (1) indicates that 'his friend' goes back according to the intention or desire of the subject; and (2) indicates that 'he' wants to return a book; while (3) does not indicate whether or not 'a friend' wants to go back or not, it simply indicates the state of his going back. In (4), the state that 'a book' comes back to its owner is expressed--the owner might have wanted to have it back, or he might have allowed somebody to keep it longer, but 'a book' is now in the owner's hand.
I will cite a personal experience which might help to clarify the distinction between the transitiveness and intransitiveness of root-related verbs. When I noticed my four year old nephew spill his milk, I said to him:

5. miruku o kobosita na
   (You) spilt (your) milk, didn't you?

He replied using a transitive verb first and then an intransitive one:

6. kobosita N zya nai no yo, koborettyatta no yo
   (I) didn't spill it, it spilt itself.

(5) and (6) could be rephrased as:

5' You spilt your milk on purpose, didn't you?
6' No, I didn't spill it purposely, (the glass fell over and) the milk spread naturally.

The speaker's selection of the transitive-intransitive verb would be:

1. One uses the transitive verb if one wants to make a direct reference to the intention of the performer in relation to the action taking place.
2. One uses the intransitive verb, if one does not want to make the above distinction, and if one simply wants to state the result of the action.

This distinction might be similar to the English speaker's selection of the active or passive voice. In fact, the transformation of the transitive verb sentence to the intransitive verb sentence in Japanese is identical with the transformation of the active voice to the passive voice in English. That is, the intransitive verb sentence can be obtained by changing the object in the transitive verb sentence into the subject in the intrans-
sitive verb sentence, and the transitive verb into the corresponding intransitive verb.

This relationship of the transitive-intransitive verb could account for the meaning "...is adversely affected by someone's action," which is apparent in some of the so-called passive forms in Japanese. The following three sentences might exemplify the above distinctions.

7. kodomo ga miruku o kobosita
   The child spilt a glass of milk.

8. miruku ga koboreta
   (My) milk spilt.

9. Okasan wa kodomo ni miruku o kobosareta
   The mother was adversely affected by her child spilling a glass of milk.

Sentence (7) indicates the actor and his action, refering to the intention of the actor in relation to the action taking place; sentence (8) expresses the condition or state of the glass of milk without reference to the actor; and sentence (9) indicates the actor, denoted by the particle ni, his action, and also his action reflects onto the subject, eg. wasted a glass of milk or ruined the rug.
CHAPTER III

I. PASSIVE FORM

It has been suggested by many grammarians that the Japanese passive voice is not exactly the same as that of European languages. In his book, Bernard Saint-Jacques deliberately avoided using the term 'passive voice' but instead used 'passive form' in reference to Japanese expressions similar to the passive voice in many European languages.¹ B. H. Chamberlain also said that "properly speaking, the so-called passive is not a passive at all, but an active in disguise."² This assertion seems to be based on the etymological reason that the passive suffix -rareru is derived from -ari (to be) and -eru (to get). For instance, for the verb utareru, Chamberlain parsed it into uti-ari-eru, 'to shoot-being-get', consequently, 'to get beaten'. Synchronically however, we do not analyze the passive form as above, but interpret it as a combination of a verb and its suffix which expresses the idea that an action falls on or affects the subject of a sentence. Some of the examples Chamberlain listed as passives are:

ottotsan ni okorareru yo.
Oh! You will have papa angry with you.

 compiled kyaku ni koraretya meiwaku simasu.
A man doesn't know what to do, when he has such guests as those come to his house.

kubi o hanerareta.
He got his head cut off.³

³Ibid., pp. 199-200.
The examples he gave in his book are of one type of passive only—the so-called adverse passive form, which has no equivalent among any European language. Subsequently, Chamberlain seemed to have felt that he should use an active form to express this type of idea in languages other than Japanese.

Chamberlain did not mention other types of the passive form, nor did he give any explanation on syntax.4

G. B. Sansom divided the passive forms into two, an 'ordinary passive' and an 'intransitive passive'. Sansom said:

The passive voice in English may be regarded as a purely grammatical device for describing an action without mentioning the agent. Passive verbs in Japanese, while they can perform this function, can have various additional significance. Thus in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to be struck</td>
<td><em>uta-ruru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be eaten</td>
<td><em>tabe-raruru</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

we have an ordinary passive. But, while in English only transitive verbs can be turned into the passive, in Japanese all verbs, without exception, can form a compound conjugation with the suffixes *-ru* or *-raru*. Thus taking an intransitive verb like *shinu*, 'to die', we can construct a sentence

haha ko ni shinaru

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4Chamberlain treats the potential form as a kind of passive. He remarked that "the passive often passes into a potential sense." *Ibid.*, p. 201.

I shall confine my discussion to the passive form and exclude the potential as well as the honorific forms. In most cases, it is easy to distinguish each form from the context, despite the fact that all three verb forms are constructed by using the suffix *(r)areru*. When this suffix is used for the potential, it is usually contracted to *(r)eru*, for example, we will get *kak-eru* from *kaku* (to write) instead of its regular form *kak-areru*.

Some grammarians like Susumu Ōno assume that the passive, potential and honorific forms are derived from one form. He thinks that during the early stages of Japanese, the suffix *(r)areru* (which was pronounced differently) was used to express 'something becomes so and so naturally', and this meaning was used to cover the passive, potential and honorific expressions. These expressions have, according to the Japanese way of thinking, several linguistic similarities among themselves. Susumu Ōno, "Nihonjin no Shiko to Gengo" (The Japanese Way of Thinking and the Language), *Bungaku*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967, Vol. 35), pp. 1283-1285.
meaning 'the mother suffers the death of the child'. The nearest rendering of this in English is, perhaps, 'the mother has her child die.'

The above comment by Sansom is misleading in two ways. First, he said that uta-ruru or tabe-raruru (-ruru and -raruru are old forms of -rareru and -reru) are ordinary passive verbs. These verbs, however, can have 'additional significance' depending on the context. For example,

boku wa okashi o tabe-rare-te
I candy eat—pass. past
'I had my candy eaten', or 'I was adversely affected by someone's eating my candy.'

Secondly, he said that "...in Japanese all verbs, without exception, can form a compound conjugation..." but this is not true. We cannot form the passive form from aru (to be), heru (to decrease), sigeru (to grow thick), kageru (to darken), oyog eru (to be able to swim), mieru (to be visible), and so on. The definition Sansom gave is ambiguous because he did not specify whether all transitive verbs have an additional significance or not, and whether intransitive verbs always have this additional significance or if they can have the ordinary meaning as well. These points were clarified by Bernard Bloch.

Refining the definition of the passive, Bernard Bloch stated that the class meaning of the passive is approximately defined as:

...'is affected by someone else's action', including the meanings 'is acted upon' (in the sense of the Latin or English passive) and 'is adversely affected by someone else's action'. The passive of a transitive verb may have either of these two subsidiary


6The passive suffix will be treated further on.
meanings; the passive of an intransitive verb has only the second meaning.7

I would like to add one more subsidiary meaning to the Japanese passive: that is, '...is favorably affected by someone else's action.' This meaning can be observed in the sentence:

sensei ni home-rare-ta
teacher praise--pass. past

(a) '(I) was favorably affected by my teacher's praising (me).' The above English translation (a) is rendered to the situation where the subject receives a favorable effect from the action the agent has performed. The above Japanese sentence can be interpreted in at least three more different ways. These are:

(b) '(I) was adversely affected by my teacher's praising (me).'</n
(c) '(I) was adversely affected by my teacher's praising (him).'</n
(d) '(I) was favorably affected by my teacher's praising (him).'</n
The situations where these expressions will be made are:

(b) The subject was expecting to be scolded by the teacher, but, on the contrary, was praised.

(c) The person who was praised by the teacher is not the subject, and the subject received some adverse effect from the teacher praising someone else.

(d) The person who was praised by the teacher was not the subject, and the subject received some favorable effect from the teacher's praising of someone else.

The ambiguity of the sentence 'seNsei ni homerarenta' is the result of the omission of the pronouns, and the interpretation will depend on the context. In any case, the sentence carries a strong emotional feeling which is peculiar to the Japanese passive form.

II. THE ORDINARY PASSIVE FORM

In this section, I would like to discuss the passive form which I call the 'ordinary passive form', that is, the form which has an ordinary meaning.

The 'ordinary passive form' is constructed from the active sentence in the same way as English. That is, the object of the active sentence is changed into the subject in the passive, and the active verb is converted to the passive verb by adding the passive suffix (r)areru. The passive suffix has two forms: 1) -areru, when the stem ends in a consonant, and 2) -rareru, when the stem of the verb ends in a vowel. Therefore, -areru and -rareru are in complementary distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tabe-ru</td>
<td>tabe-rareru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kak-u</td>
<td>kak-areru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subject of the active sentence may occur in the passive sentence to express the agent of the action followed by the particle -ni, which is similar to by in English. This phrase, however, is frequently omitted. The above statement can be formalized as:

Active: \( N_1 - wa + N_2 - o + V - \text{Tense} \)

Passive: \( N_2 - wa + N_1 - ni + V -(r)are-\text{Tense} \)

\[8\] This rule contains only those elements which will be affected by the
The active sentence and its corresponding passive sentence are as follows:

1-1 Active: ane ga setuko o ture-te ki-ta
   elder sister   accompany   come—past

   "Her elder sister came, accompanying Setsuko."

1-2 Passive: setuko ga ane ni ture-rare-te ki-ta
   Setsuko   older sister accompany—pass.   come—past

   "Setsuko came, accompanied by her elder sister."

2-1 Active: ōkina odoroki ga kare o osot-ta
   big surprise   him   attack—past

   "A big surprise startled him."

2-2 Passive: kare wa ōkina odoroki ni osow-are-ta
   he   big surprise attack—pass.   past

   "He was startled by a big surprise."

3-1 Active: kare ga ie o tate-ta
   he   house   build—past

   "He built a house."

3-2 Passive: ie ga tate-rare-ta
   house   build—pass.   past

   "A house was built."

4-1 Active: asahi ga koke o terasi-ta
   rising sun moss shine on—past

   "The rising sun shone on the moss."

4-2 Passive: koke wa asahi ni teras-are-ta
   moss   rising sun shine on—pass.   past

   "The moss was shone on by the rising sun."

transformation. Other elements, such as modifiers of subjects, objects and verbs, or adverbial clauses are left out.

N stands for a noun, and V for a transitive verb. The underlined words (wa, o, ni) are the functional particles. I used wa to indicate the nominative case, but other particles (ga, mo, no, or others) can be used. The particle ni is sometimes replaced by niyori, niyotte, or notameni, etc. to indicate the agent of the action.

All passive forms are from the novel Shinsei (The Newely Reborn), by Tōson Shimazaki, 1918. The active forms are mine.
The above four passive forms do not carry any strong emotional feelings and therefore can be classified into four types depending on:

A) A person who does an action, or a thing which affects something or somebody, hence the subject of an active.

B) A person who is affected by the action, or a thing which receives the action, hence the subject of a passive.

Type 1. A) ane 'an elder sister' - animate

B) setuko 'Setsuko' - animate

Type 2. A) odoroki 'surprise' - inanimate

B) kare 'he' - animate

Type 3. A) kare 'he' - animate

B) ie 'house' - inanimate

Type 4. A) asahi 'rising sun' - inanimate

B) koke 'moss' - inanimate

In types 3 and 4, the subject of the passive form (B) is inanimate. This type has been said to be foreign to Japanese as the subject of the passive was presumed as being animate. Akira Matsumura said in his Kindai no Bunpō that there were not many passive forms used before the Meiji period (starting from 1867), and,

...the passive form of that time expressed the adverse meaning, and the subject of the passive sentence was animate. In modern Japanese, the usage of the passive sentence is not limited to the adverse meaning only, but is used in a wider range. This seems to be the influence of the European languages introduced to Japan in the late 19th century.

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This assumption, however, was partly denied by Koichi Miyaji in his *Hijo no Ukemi Kō* (On the Inanimate Passive).\(^{12}\) Miyaji listed over one hundred examples from classical literature dating from the early 10th century, and proved that the inanimate subject was used in the passive sentence before the introduction of European languages.

Miyaji's discussion is limited to the inanimate passive sentence, which expresses an ordinary passive meaning. In addition to this, I would like to demonstrate that the animate passive sentence was also used to express the ordinary meaning in classical Japanese.

The following examples, which I obtained from some classical literature pieces, illustrate passive forms which do not carry any strong emotional feelings as classified in types 1 to 4 above.

Type 1. A) animate, B) animate

1. kono otoko...iya masari ni nomi obo-e-tutu...
   this man more and more only feel—pass.
   "The lady was considered more and more by this man..." (Ise)\(^{13}\)

2. koisiku nomi obo-e-kere-ba...
   lovely only feel—pass, past as
   "As she was felt to be just lovely to him..." (Ise)

3. hito niwa konoha no yōni omow-aruru-yo.
   people by splinter like reckon—pass.
   "I am thought of as good for nothing." (Tsurezure)\(^{14}\)

4. aruhito ni sasow-are-tatematurite...
   certain man invitè—pass, honorific
   "I was invited by a certain person..." (Tsurezure)


\(^{13}\)author unknown, *Ise Monogatari*, 905.

5. iro aru musume wa...hana wa mi-zu ni mi-rare-ni iku
lovely girls cherry blossoms see not watch—pass. go

"Lovely girls go out not to see cherry blossoms, but to be watched by men." (Kōshoku)

6. ware ga tanom-aruru wa sono buW niwa arazu
I ask—pass. that reason not

"The reason why I was asked to do it, is not that." (Kōshoku)

7. kano okeya ni tanom-are-si itazura kakā...
that cooper by ask—pass. past wicked woman

"That wicked woman who was asked by the cooper..." (Kōshoku)

8. kokoroyasuku tanom-are-te...
intimately ask—pass.

"She was asked in an intimate manner..." (Kōshoku)

Type 2. A) inanimate, B) animate

9. mimakuhosisa ni izanaw-are-tutu...
the desire to see tempt—pass.

"I was tempted by the desire to see (you)..." (Ise)

10. oHna no kamisuzi o yoreru tuna niwa ōō mo yoku tunag-are... woman hair braid rope by big elephant well tether—pass.

"A big elephant is well tethered by a rope which is made of woman's hair..." (Tsurezure)

11. kore niwa rinKibukaki oHna mo tunag-aru...
this by jealous woman even tie—pass.

"Even a jealous woman is tied by this..." (Kōshoku)

Type 3. A) animate, B) inanimate

12. aukoto wa tamanoo bakari omoho-o-te...
meeting short time only think—pass.

"It was thought that our meeting is only for a short time..." (Ise)

13. turaki kokoro no nagaku mi-yu-ramu
painful feeling long time see—pass.

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15 Monzaemon Chikamatsu, Kōshoku Gonin Onna, 1685.
"It seems that a painful feeling lingers for a long time." (Ise)

14. mekaru to mo omo-ho-e-nakuni...
    being separated think--pass. never

"It was never thought as separation..." (Ise)

15. kuni no sokonaw-aruru omo sirazu...
    country ruin--pass. even not realizing

"Not realizing that the country is ruined..." (Tsurezure)

16. kano tamesi omoiide-rare haberisi ni...
    that incident recollect--pass. humble

"As that incident was recollected..." (Tsurezure)

17. sayõ no tokoro nite koso yorozu ni kokorozukai se-raru-re
    that point at very in general care take--pass.

"At that point, care should be taken in general." (Tsurezure)

18. inisie no koto mo tatikaeri koisyû omoiide-raruru
    old days incident come back affectionately recollect--pass.

"Incidents from long ago come back and are affectionately recollected." (Tsurezure)

19. waga okotari omoi-rare-te...
    my negligence realize--pass.

"My negligence was realized..." (Tsurezure)

20. sukosi wa mukasi no omo-bare...
    a little old times thinkof--pass.

"My old days are thought of a little..." (Kôshoku)

21. konokoto kinikake-rare-si ori kara...
    this matter weigh on one's mind time from

"From the time when this matter was felt uneasily..." (Kôshoku)

Type 4. A) inanimate, B) inanimate

22. sono ie no menkokodomo idete ukimiru no nami ni yose-rare-taru
    that house girls go out seaweed wave by bring near--pass. past
    hiroite...
    pick up

"Girls of that house went out and gathered the seaweed which was brought
in by the waves..." (Ise)

23. (narihisago ga) kaze ni fuk-are-te...
bottle gourd wind by blow—pass.

"Bottle gourds are blown by the wind..." (Tsurezure)

24. yosamu no kaze ni sasow-are kuru karadakimono no nihohi...
cold night wind by carry—pass. come incense fragrance

"On a cold night, the fragrance of incense was carried by the wind..." (Tsurezure)

25. sore wa yoku ni hik-aruru koi zokasi
that avarice by draw—pass. love I tell you

"I tell you that love is based on avarice." (Koshoku)

In some of the above sentences, such as in 3 and 5, one can find cases of adverse meaning. However, in general, I believe that they can be interpreted as ordinary passives.

The three novels I referred to are of uneven length, and, thus we cannot compare the number of such occurrences, according to the time when they were written. The subject matters dealt with in these novels are diversified: Ise Monogatari contains many poems and tells us the situations surrounding them; Tsurezuregusa is a collection of essays the author wrote about the changes of seasons and of the world; Kōshoku Gonin Onna is a story of the affairs between men and women.

What we can assume from these examples is that the ordinary passive form—the form which has been said to be foreign to classical Japanese—was used before the introduction of European languages to Japan, and that the inanimate subject, as well as the animate, was employed in the ordinary passive form. I do not deny, however, that European languages strongly influenced the Japanese on their usage of the ordinary passive form.

The next table indicates the increase of the ordinary passive forms
since the 19th century. I limited the length of each source (D to K) to one hundred pages (which contain approximately 70,000 characters).

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<td>Type 3</td>
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<td>Type 4</td>
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<td>77</td>
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The occurrences of Type 3 (inanimate as a subject and animate as an agent) in the sources D to K are far more frequent than the other types. In Type 3, there are many examples which could be termed as a typical 'translation style', that is influenced by Western syntax. Some examples are:

26. biiru no akibini ire-rare-ta mugiyu ga...ido ni hosoi beer empty bottle put in--pass. past barley tea well in fine
tuna de turusite hiyas-are-te atta string by hang cool--pass. existed

"Barley tea which was put in an empty beer bottle was lowered into the well by a fine string and thus was cooled." (From G)

The nature of each type is as follows:

Type 1: Subject - animate Agent - animate
Type 2: Subject - animate Agent - inanimate
Type 3: Subject - inanimate Agent - animate
Type 4: Subject - inanimate Agent - inanimate

The headings A to K indicate the following works written by the authors in the year shown below.

A) Ise Monogatari, author unknown, 905.
B) Tsurezuregusa, Kenkō Yoshida, 1330.
C) Kōshoku Gonin Onna, Monzaemon Chikamatsu, 1685.
D) Gakumon no Susume, Yukichi Fukuzawa, 1871.
E) Ukigumo, Shimei Futabatei, 1890.
F) Hototogisu, Roka Tokutomi, 1899.
G) Inaka Kyōshi, Katai Tayama, 1909.
H) Shinsei, Tōson Shimezaki, 1918.
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27. ...tukue no ue ni wa myoozyoo buNgeikurabu nado ga...ok-are-te aru
desk of top on 'Myōjo' 'Bungeikurabu' so on place--pass. exist

"On top of the desk, Myōjo, Bungeikurabu, and others are placed."
(From G)

28. aizyoo wa osanai kare no kokoro ni fukaku kizamituke-rare-ta
affection childish his mind in deeply ingrain--pass. past

"Affection was deeply ingrained in his childish mind."
(From H)

29. watakushi no ayumi wa...roziguti ni muke-rare-ru node aru
my step alley mouth to direct--pass. present

"My steps are directed towards the mouth of the alley."
(From I)

These sentences are Japanese, and every native Japanese speaker will have
no difficulty in understanding them. And yet, they are different from
ordinary Japanese.

In sentence 26, I would expect non-passive intransitive verbs haitta
(...was in) and hieteita (...was cool) for irerareta (...was confined) and
hiyasareteatta (...was cooled) to be used. The reason for this way of think­
ing is that the passive verbs used in these sentences lead the reader to
interpreting these as adverse passives, because, upon reading these examples
the reader experiences a strong emotional feeling. Irerareta is usually
used to mean 'somebody was confined in someplace by force', and hiyasareta
as 'someone (or one's body) was compelled to be cooled'. On the other hand,
the verbs haitta and hieteita can state a fact or result without causing the
reader to consider the performer of the action, as discussed in Chapter II.
The selection of the passive verbs in sentence 26 strikes the reader as
strange in this situation. The rewritten sentence would be:

biiru no akibiN ni haitta mugiyu ga...hieteita.

"The barley tea which was in the beer bottle...was cold."

In the examples taken from classical literature (sentences 1-25), the passive
verbs are not used in conflict with their corresponding active verb types
which express similar meaning, so that there is not any confusion when stating the result or condition of the subject without indicating the intention of a performer. These passive verbs state the result of a natural phenomenon, or an inevitable consequence, of a certain subject.

For sentence 27, I would expect oitearu (...is placed), thus eliminating the occurrence of an adverse meaning. The verb oitearu is a derivation of the transitive verb oku (to put, to place), and can express the result of a subject without referring to the performer. However, in sentences 28 and 29, I feel these sentences are foreign not because of their selection of verbs, but because of the combination of words; the relations of aizyoo (affection)—kizamitukerareta (was ingrained) and ayumi (one's step)—mukerareta (was directed) are artificial and clumsy. Our intuition will balk at the unfamiliar, unnatural and novel expressions.

This translation style appeared in the late 19th century when European culture was introduced into Japan. Ever since, novelists have created new expressions and adopted this style to aid their rhetorical purposes. The compulsory English lesson at school might be added as a supporting factor for the prevalence of the new style—students translate English sentences literally into Japanese. Some of these translation styles, however, are accepted by many people, especially by the young, and are assimilated into everyday Japanese. Today's newspapers are full of such

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17On the influence of English to Japanese:

18On the influence of English to Japanese, Bernard Saint-Jacques discusses in his Structural Analysis of Modern Japanese, the fact that "numerous translations of foreign plays, novels and movies into Japanese have a greater influence" on the Japanese than their study of English. The popularity of
okina hamoN ga okiru koto ga yosōs-are-ru
big uproar occur thing predict--pass.

"It is predicted that there will be a big uproar."

toriatukai ga tyūmokus-are-ru
treatment pay attention--pass. present

"The treatment (of the government) attracts their attention."

keturon ga manzyōtti de das-are-ta
conclusion with one concert draw--pass. past

"The conclusion was decided unanimously."

tetuzuki ga tor-are-ta
procedure take--pass. past

"The procedure was taken."

These passive forms used by the press show no sign of emotional feelings, as the reporters try to refrain as much as possible from expressing their personal opinions. These emotionally neutral passive forms are best suited for fulfilling this purpose.

III. THE ADVERSE PASSIVE FORM

I have selected the expression 'adverse passive form' to cover the passives of the second section. However, it should be noted that these 'adverse passive forms' also include a few cases where the meaning is not adverse to the subject, but is favorable to it. The 'adverse passive forms' are far more frequent than the 'favorable ones' and therefore I have included both of them in this section. This form can be classified into the following


19 From the Asahi Shinbun ('The Morning Sun'), (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, April 7, 1971).
four categories:

(1) This group is syntactically similar to the ordinary passive forms. That is, the subject of an active sentence becomes an agent in the passive form with the particle ni, the object of an active sentence becomes a subject in the passive form followed by a nominative particle, and the transitive verb is changed to the passive verb by adding the suffix (r)are ru.

Active: \[ N_1 - wa + N_2 - o + V - \text{Tense} \]

Passive: \[ N_2 - wa + N_1 - ni + V - (r)are - \text{Tense} \]

Some of the examples which belong to this class are:

1 - a. Active: titi wa kare o heya ni yuhei-si-ta
   father him room in confine--past
   "His father confined him in the room."

1 - l. Passive: kare wa titi ni heya ni yuhei-sare-ta
   he father room confine--pass.
   "He was confined in the room by his father." Or, "He was adversely affected by his father's confining him in the room."^20
   (From K)^21

2 - a. Active: zyuNsa wa watakusi o yobitome-ta
   policeman me summon--past
   "A policeman summoned me."

2 - l. Passive: watasi wa zyuNsa ni yobitome-rare-ta
   I policeman summon--pass. past
   "I was summoned by a policeman." Or, "I was adversely affected by a policeman's summoning me." (From I)

3 - a. Active: razio ga soko o samatage-ta
   radio draft prevent--past
   "The (noise of the) radio prevented me from writing my notes."

^20 In the English translation, the expression 'adversely' is used to convey the meaning of the Japanese passive form. The sentence means, 'He was confined in the room by his father and he suffered from it.'

^21 The sources from which examples are obtained are listed on p. 78.
3 - 1. Passive: sōkō wa razio ni samatage-rare-ta
draft radio by prevent--pass. past

"(I) was adversely affected by the noise of the radio which
prevented me from writing my notes." (From I)

The existence of this class creates the ambiguity in deciding whether
a passive form is an ordinary one or an adverse one, as there is no syntactic
difference between them. Therefore, the judgement would be made according
to the context in which a passive form is to be used.

(2) The following class presents: a syntactic peculiarity which will indicate
an adverse meaning in the passive form. The object of the active form (a
noun with the particle o) remains in the passive form instead of being
changed to the subjective. The subject of the passive form is the possessor
of an object, or a person (or a thing) who has some relation to the object.
The converted subject may or may not be present in the active form. If it
is present, it usually appears with the possessive particle no. The subject
of an active form is changed to an agent in the passive form, and is denoted
by the particle ni.

Active:  N₁ - wa + (N₂ - no) + N₃ - o + V - Tense
Passive:  N₂ - wa + N₁ - ni + N₃ - o + V - (r)are - Tense

4 - a. Active: kanozyo wa kao o mitume-ta
she face stare at--past

"She stared at (my) face."

4 - 2. Passive: watasi wa kanozyo ni kao o mitume-rare-ta
I she face stare at--pass. past

"I was adversely affected by her staring at my face." (From I)

5 - a. Active: zyuNsa ga namee o kii-ta
policeman name ask--past

"A policeman asked (my) name."
As can be seen in the above examples, the passive forms of this class express the idea that the action of the agent performed on a person (or a thing) adversely affects the other person (who is the subject of the passive sentence), because of the subject's relation to the receiver of the action.

The difference of this class (2) and the previous one (1) is that in the latter, the subject himself is the receiver of an action of the agent and this same person (or thing) suffers from it. In class (2), the action
of the agent is not directed towards the subject, but to somebody or something else, and the subject feels the adverse effect resulting from the action of the agent.

It is possible to construct a passive form of class (1) from the active forms in class (2), or class (2) passive forms from the active forms in class (1). Using example 1-a, we can construct a passive form of the class (2) type, in which *tuma* (one's wife) is used as a subject.

1 - a. *titi* wa *kare* o *heya* ni *yūheisi-ta
   "His father confined him in the room."

1 - 1. *kare* wa *titi* ni *heya* ni *yūheis-are-ta
   "He was adversely affected by his father's confining him in the room."

1 - 2. *tuma* wa *titi* ni *kare* o *heya* ni *yūheis-are-ta
   "His wife was adversely affected by his father's confining him in the room."

If we compare sentences 1-1 and 1-2, the difference which exists in class (1) and class (2) will become clear. In 1-1, the action of the father is directed to his son, and the action affects only his son, whereas in 1-2, the action of the father done to his son reflects onto the wife and affects her, as she suffers from her husband's being confined in the room.

Using the example 7-a in class (2), we will get a passive form of class (1) by eliminating *kare* (he—a father of the child).

7 - a. *seNsei* ga *kodomo* o *sikat-ta*
   "The teacher scolded the child."

7 - 1. *kodomo* wa *seNsei* ni *sikar-are-ta
   "The child was adversely affected by the teacher's scolding him."

7 - 2. *kare* wa *seNsei* ni *kodomo* o *sikar-are-ta
"He (the father) was adversely affected by the teacher’s scolding his child."

In sentence 7-1, the person who is affected by the teacher’s action is only the child, but in 7-2, both the father and his son are affected by the teacher’s action, and the sentence emphasizes the miserable condition of the father.

(3) The passive form of class (3) is syntactically identical to the one in class (2). The difference between (2) and (3) exists in the nature of the phrase followed by o. That is, in class (2), the phrase N-o is connected to a person who is affected by an action, whereas in class (3), N-o has a connection with a person who performs an action. This distinction is apparent in the active form of each class.22 The active and passive forms of class (3) are:

Active: \( N_1 - wa + (N_2 - ni) + N_3 - o + V - \text{Tense} \)

Passive: \( N_2 - wa + N_1 - ni + N_3 - o + V - (r)\text{are} - \text{Tense} \)

Some of the examples belonging to this class are:

9 - a. eNtaku ga (watasi ni) koe o kake-ta
   taxi me voice call—past

   "The taxi (driver) called out (to me)."

9 - 3. (watasi wa) eNtaku ni koe o kake-rare-ta
   I taxi by voice call—pass. past

   "(I) was adversely affected by the taxi (driver's) calling out to me." (From G)

10 - a. kumo wa doku no siru o taityū e sasikono-da
   spider poisonous virus inside one's body insert—past

   "A spider transmitted a virus to him."

22The active form of class (2) is:
Active: \( N_1 - wa + (N_2 - na) + N_3 - o + V - \text{Tense} \)
10 - 3. kare wa kumo ni doku no siru o taityū e sasikom-re-ta
he spider poisonous virus in one's body insert--pass. past

"He was adversely affected by a spider's transmitting a virus to him." (From H)

11 - a. kare wa watasi ni kitte o kawase-ta
he me to stamp force to buy--past

"He forced me to buy a stamp."

11 - 3. watasi wa kitte o kawas-are-ta
I stamp force to buy--pass. past

"I was adversely affected by (his) forcing me to buy a stamp." (From I)

12 - a. karera ga watasi ni higekitekina seikatu o kaNzyu-sase-ta
they me to tragical life force to receive an impression of--past

"They forced me to see a tragic side of life."

12 - 3. higekitekina seikatu o karera ni kaNzyu-sase-rare-ta
tragic life them by force to receive an impression of--pass. past

"I was adversely affected by their forcing me to see a tragic side of life." (From H)

13 - a. otona wa watasi ni kitaina omotya o ategat-ta
grown-up me to strange toy give--past

"A grown-up gave me a strange toy."

13 - 3. watasi wa otona ni kitaina omotya o ategaw-are-ta
I grown-up strange toy give--pass. past

"I was adversely affected by a grown-up's giving me a strange toy."

The transitive verbs of this class have one characteristic feature—they indicate that something moves from one person to the other, by taking two objective cases—the so-called direct and indirect objects. A noun used as a direct object (indicated by the particle o) is a property of, or has some relation with, a person who performs the action. For example, in the sentence 9-3, koe (voice) is the property of the taxi driver, in 10-3, doku no siru (virus) is a possession of the spider, and in 11-3, kitte (stamp) belonged
to the person who wanted to sell it. Therefore, the passive forms of class (3) express an adverse feeling directly connected with a person, who has no relation to the receiver of the action. This class has a similar meaning to class (1), despite its syntactic resemblance with class (2).

(4) The passive form of the fourth class is expressed by an intransitive verb. The nature of an intransitive verb is, as is discussed in Chapter II, one which states the subject—what it does or its condition—and does not state an influence of one on the other. When an intransitive verb is converted into the passive form, it affects someone who is not the original subject of the verb. The relationship between a non-passive and a passive form is:

Non-passive: \[ N_1 \text{ wa } V_i \text{ Tense}\]

Passive: \[ N_2 \text{ wa } N_1 \text{ ni } V_i \text{ (r)are-Tense}\]

The intransitive verb with the passive suffix \((r)\)are expresses the fact that somebody or something \((N_2)\) is adversely or favorably affected by a person or a thing \((N_1)\). Although \(N_2\) is not directly affected by \(N_1\), it experiences some inconvenience (or convenience) as a result of what \(N_1\) does. The following examples of intransitive passive forms which appeared in the classical and modern works on page 78 will demonstrate the nature of the intransitive passive form.

14 - a. mune ga sawag-u
mind be disturbed—present

"My mind is disturbed."24

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23 Here, \(V_i\) stands for an intransitive verb.

24 In the translation of Japanese intransitive verbs, I found it difficult to use English intransitive verbs. This is without doubt, due to the very special nature of Japanese intransitive verbs. See pp. 72-75 for a discussion of Japanese intransitive verbs. B. H. Chamberlain said in his Handbook
"If I do not say it, I am adversely affected by my mind's being disturbed." Or, "If I do not say it, I feel uneasy." (From A)

"Fame and wealth are haunting." (From B)

"(He) is favorably affected by Osei's smiling sweetly." (From E)

"You go on and on very eloquently." (From E)
Or, "I am tired of your incessant talking." (From F)

19 - a. bebi ga risu ni matuwar-u
snake  squirrel dangle about—present

"A snake dangles about a squirrel."

19 - 4. risu ga bebi ni matuwar-aru-ru
squirrel  snake  dangle about—pass. present

"The squirrel is adversely affected by the snake's dangling about it." (From F)

20 - a. namiko ga haha no ryōbuN ni fumikom-u
Namiko  mother  domain  break into—present

"Namiko infringes on her mother's domain."

20 - 4. haha wa namiko ni zisiN no ryōbuN ni fumikom-are-ru
mother  Namiko  by one's own domain in break into—pass. present

"Mother is adversely affected by Namiko's infringing on her domain." (From F)

21 - a. kodomo ga setuko ni matoituk-u
child  Setsuko  dangle around—present

"The child hangs around Setsuko."

21 - 4. setuko wa kodomo ni matoituk-are-ru
Setsuko  child  by  dangle around—pass. present

"Setsuko is adversely affected by the child's hanging around." (From F)

22 - a. yonin no kodomo ga nakidas-i-ta
four  child  start crying—past

"Four children started crying."

22 - 4. yonin no kodomo ni nakidas-are-ta
four  child  by  start crying—pass. past

"(We) were adversely affected by four children's having started crying." (From G)

23 - a. tegami o kaku hituyō ga semat-ta
letter  to  write  necessity  be urgent—past

"It was urgent to write a letter."

23 - 4. kare wa tegami o kaku hituyō ni semar-are-ta
he  letter  to  write  necessity  drive—pass. past
"He was adversely affected by the pressure on him to write a letter." (From G)

24 - a. miroku kara ame ga fut-ta
Miroku from rain fall—past

"Rain fell from Miroku."

24 - 4. miroku kara ame ni fur-are-ta
Miroku from rain fall—pass. past

"(He) was adversely affected by the rain's falling from Miroku." (From H)

25 - a. koinyōbō ga taneda ni sakidat-ta
one's beloved wife Taneda die before—past

"His beloved wife died before Mr. Taneda."

25 - 4. taneda wa koinyōbō ni sakidat-are-ta
Taneda one's beloved wife by die before—pass. past

"Mr. Taneda was adversely affected by his beloved wife's death." (From I)

26 - a. kyodaina tyō ga nige-ta
huge butterfly fly away—past

"A huge butterfly flew away."

26 - 4. kare wa kyodaina tyō ni nige-are-ta
he huge butterfly fly away—pass. past

"He was adversely affected by a huge butterfly's flying away." (From K)

27 - a. yuki ga kusa no ue ni fur-u
snow plant on fall—present

"Snow falls on the plant."

27 - 4. kusa wa yuki ni fur-are-ru
plant snow by fall—pass. present

"The plant is adversely affected by the snow's falling." Or, "The plant is damaged by the snow." (From F)

All the intransitive passive forms listed above express an adverse or a favorable meaning perceived by the subject. The subject of these sentences has to feel the adverse or favorable effect from what has happened, so the
subject is animate. In 27-h, however, we have an inanimate subject, kusa (a plant). The case here is personification—the speaker of the sentence presuming that the plant is able to feel what is done to it.

There are not very many intransitive passive forms used in the texts quoted on page 78. In fact, twenty sentences are considered to have intransitive verbs, of which fourteen examples are listed above, and the others make use of the same verbs.

The characteristic feature of the adverse passive forms of both transitive and intransitive verbs is that they express the emotional feeling of the subject. Therefore, most of the subjects are animate, or inanimate as the result of personification. The following chart indicates the number of the adverse passives and their nature of subjects used in the classical and modern works (A to K, p. 78).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53+2</td>
<td>53+5</td>
<td>36+2</td>
<td>21+1</td>
<td>35+2</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1+1</td>
<td>1+1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11+1</td>
<td>16+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>12+1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59+2</td>
<td>67+6</td>
<td>54+3</td>
<td>34+2</td>
<td>39+3</td>
<td>92+1</td>
<td>45+1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 1: Subject—animate  Agent—animate
Type 2: Subject—animate  Agent—inanimate
Type 3: Subject—inanimate  Agent—animate
Type 4: Subject—inanimate  Agent—inanimate

The numbers after + sign indicate the occurrences of the intransitive passive forms.
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