

Affectedness Constructions:
How languages indicate positive and negative events

by

Tomoko Yamashita Smith

B.S. (Doshisha Women's College) 1987

M.A. (San Jose State University) 1995

M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1997

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Eve E. Sweetser

Professor Soteria Svorou

Professor Charles J. Fillmore

Professor Yoko Hasegawa

Fall 2005

Affectedness Constructions:

How languages indicate positive and negative events

Copyright 2005

by

Tomoko Yamashita Smith

Abstract

Affectedness constructions:

How languages indicate positive and negative events

by

Tomoko Yamashita Smith

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Eve E. Sweetser, Chair

This dissertation is a cross-linguistic study of what I call “affectedness constructions” (ACs) that express the notions of benefit and adversity. Since there is little research dealing with both benefactives and adversatives at the same time, the main goal of this dissertation is to establish AC as a grammatical category.

First, many instances of ACs in the world are provided to show both the diversity of ACs and the consistent patterns among them. In some languages, a single construction indicates either benefit or adversity, depending on the context, while in others there is one or more individual benefactive and/or adversative construction(s). Since the event types that ACs indicate appear limited, I categorize the constructions by event type and discuss

the semantics and pragmatics of each type. Moreover, I compare and contrast the semantics and pragmatics of benefactive and adversative constructions in general.

In addition to ACs, “secondary affectedness constructions” (SACs) are identified. SACs’ primary functions are not to indicate the notions of affectedness, but they can and do also function to indicate or imply them. I have found that cross-linguistically common SACs are the passive, causative, and middle/reflexive constructions, and I discuss their semantics and pragmatics. Furthermore, some ACs and SACs imply the speaker’s attitude toward the event and/or affectee, and I propose that this is one of their important characteristics. I then hypothesize semantic relations between ACs and SACs in the form of networks. As a detailed case study, I also discuss the semantics and pragmatics of ACs and SACs in Japanese and posit a semantic network to describe their relations. In conclusion, I summarize the findings and make predictions about additional ACs and SACs that might eventually be found in the world’s languages.

To my late grandparents

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Main issues	1
1.2 Data	5
1.3 Organization of the dissertation	7
1.4 List of abbreviations	8
Chapter 2 General discussion of affectedness constructions	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Wierzbicka 1988	10
2.3 Definition of affectedness constructions	15
2.4 Speaker's attitude	17
2.5 The basic event schema for ACs	20
2.6 Affectedness constructions and secondary affectedness constructions	23
2.7 Dative constructions as ACs	25
2.7.1 Free dative	25
2.7.2 Ethical dative	30
2.7.3 Event schema for free datives	34
Chapter 3 Benefactive constructions	41
3.1 Introduction	41
3.2 Agentive benefactive constructions	42
3.2.1 Unrestricted agentive benefactives: 'X does something for someone'	45
3.2.2 Allocentric benefaction: 'X does something for the benefit of Y'	47
3.2.3 Egocentric benefaction	51
3.2.4 Shared-benefit construction: <i>-tse ʔm</i> in Lai	54
3.2.5 Discussion of agentive benefactive constructions	56
3.3 Event benefactive construction	59
3.3.1 Lai <i>piak</i> construction	59
3.3.2 Japanese <i>kureru</i> construction	60
3.3.3 Vietnamese and Thai benefactive passives	63
3.3.4 English <i>get to</i> construction	66
3.4 Discussion of benefactive constructions	68

3.5 Benefactive constructions extended to ACs	75
3.5.1 Data	75
3.5.2 Discussion of the extensions	81
3.6 Lexical sources of benefactive markers	85
Chapter 4 Adversative constructions	90
4.1 Introduction	90
4.2 Event adversative constructions	90
4.2.1 English <i>on</i> -affectee construction	91
4.2.2 Adversative constructions in Even	95
4.2.3 Vietnamese and Thai adversative passives	101
4.3 Malefactive construction: Lai <i>-hnoʔ</i> construction	103
4.4 Additional semantics	108
4.4.1 Lahu <i>šē</i> construction	108
4.4.2 Burmese <i>hya</i> construction	109
4.4.3 Lai <i>sual</i> construction	110
4.4.4 Mandarin <i>-ràng</i> and <i>jiào</i> passives	113
4.4.5 The <i>-bila</i> construction in the Dyirbal language	116
4.5 Event schemas for adversatives	117
4.6 Further remarks	121
4.7 Semantic network of ACs	125
Chapter 5 Secondary affectedness constructions: Passives	127
5.1 Introduction	127
5.2 English passives	128
5.2.1 The <i>get</i> passive	128
5.2.1.1 The <i>get</i> passive as SAC	128
5.2.1.2 Responsibility of the subject referent	134
5.2.1.3 Neutral uses of the <i>get</i> passive	138
5.2.1.4 Speaker's attitude	142
5.2.2 The <i>be</i> passive as SAC	147
5.3 The Indonesian <i>ke-an</i> passives	150
5.4 Korean irregular passives	154
5.5 Passives and adversity	157
5.5 Diachronic development of the Mandarin passives	161
5.7 Event schemas for passives as SACs	163

Chapter 6 Causatives and Middle/Reflexives as SACs	169
6.1 Introduction	169
6.2 Causatives as SACs	169
6.2.1 Benefactive causatives	170
6.2.1.1 Causer as the beneficiary	170
6.2.1.2 Causee as the beneficiary	175
6.2.2 Adversative causatives	181
6.2.3 Causative as a passive	185
6.2.4 Event schemas for causatives as SACs	189
6.3 Middle as SAC	192
6.3.1 Benefactive middle	193
6.3.2 Adversative middle	196
6.3.3 Speaker's disapproval	198
6.3.4 Emotion middle	200
6.4.5 Event schemas for the middle as SAC	201
6.4 The subject referent's control of the event	204
6.5 Semantic relations between ACs and SACs	208
Chapter 7 Japanese ACs and SACs	210
7.1 Introduction	210
7.2 Benefactive constructions in Japanese	212
7.2.1 Summary of the previous discussions of Japanese	212
7.2.2 <i>Morau</i> as a benefactive causative	214
7.2.2.1 Previous studies	214
7.2.2.2 Corpus study of the <i>morau</i> benefactive construction	219
7.3 Secondary adversative constructions in Japanese	223
7.3.1 Passive as adversative	223
7.3.1.1 The notion of involvement	223
7.3.1.2 Adversity and affectivity	229
7.3.1.3 Lack of control of the subject referent	235
7.3.1.4 Adversity vs. benefit	239
7.3.2 The <i>te simau</i> construction as adversative	243
7.3.2.1 Previous studies	243
7.3.2.2 Corpus study of the <i>te simau</i> construction	246
7.3.2.3 Cross-linguistic analysis	250
7.4 The <i>te kuru</i> construction as adversative	255

7.5 Semantic network of ACs and SACs in Japanese	258
Chapter 8 Conclusion	263
8.1 Summary	263
8.2 Further study	266

List of Figures

Figure 1	The basic event schema for AC	20
Figure 2	AC subtype that always includes the agent	21
Figure 3	Ethical dative	38
Figure 4	Empathic AC	39
Figure 5	Types of benefactives	69
Figure 6	Allocentric benefactive	70
Figure 7	Egocentric benefactive	70
Figure 8	Shared-benefit construction	71
Figure 9	The <i>kureru</i> benefactive construction	73
Figure 10	Malefactive construction	119
Figure 11	Adversative construction including the speaker's attitude	120
Figure 12	Semantic network of ACs	126
Figure 13	Passive as an SAC	164
Figure 14	Adversative passive with the speaker's attitude	165
Figure 15	Inanimate subject passive as SAC	166
Figure 16	Empathetic passive	168
Figure 17	Causer as the beneficiary	190

Figure 18	Causee as affectee	191
Figure 19	Causative as adversative	192
Figure 20	Tamil reflexive indicating the speaker's disapproval	204
Figure 21	The semantic space of change of event constructions with prototypes for each construction in place	206
Figure 22	The correlation of the affectedness and subject's control	207
Figure 23	Passive type	208
Figure 24	Causative type	209
Figure 25	Middle/Reflexive type	210
Figure 26	Semantic network of ACs and SACs in Japanese	

List of Tables

Table 1	Restrictions on the agent and affectee in benefactives	69
Table 2	Corpus types	130
Table 3	Distribution of <i>get</i> passive uses	130
Table 4	Possible attitudes of speaker in <i>get</i> passives	145
Table 5	The uses of the <i>morau</i> benefactive and their distributions	220
Table 6	The uses of the <i>te simau</i> construction and their distributions	246

Acknowledgements

I would first like to express my sincere gratitude to all of my committee members, Professors Eve Sweetser, Charles Fillmore, Yoko Hasegawa, and Roula Svorou. They have provided not only remarkable guidance but also countless instances of encouragement. I feel very lucky to have had the opportunity to be their student, and they have greatly inspired me to pursue my studies in the field of linguistics. I would also like to thank Professors Paul Kay and James Matisoff for their valuable support.

Many thanks to Belén Flores for assisting me enormously. She was very supportive and always had the answers to my questions about the whole Ph.D. process.

I would also like to thank Professor Seizi Iwata for giving me constructive comments on an earlier version of the manuscript. Also, I would like to extend special thanks to Cindy Daugherty for proofreading the manuscript and for being a great friend.

Finally, my family and friends, both in Japan and the US, especially Hisataka and Kei Yamashita, Naoko Yamashita, and Linda and Mark Wallace, have helped me tremendously. Their love and support are much appreciated. Finally, I am truly grateful to my husband, Tony Smith, for being patient and providing limitless assistance, including discussing the topics of this study and reading the manuscripts over and over, and I thank my son, Leo, for being just the way he is.

From the moment of birth every human being wants happiness and
wants to avoid suffering.
In this we are all the same.

Dalai Lama, Tibetan Portrait: The power of compassion

1. Introduction

1.1 Main issues

This dissertation is a cross-linguistic study of constructions that express the notions of benefit and adversity. I refer to these constructions collectively as “affectedness constructions”. In the literature, these constructions tend to be treated separately as “benefactives” as in (1) and (2) below, and “adversatives” as in (3) and (4), and not as belonging to a single broader category of affectedness constructions.

- (1) *Mark bought Linda a book.*

Japanese

- (2) *naoko wa kei ni susi o tukutte-morat-ta*
Naoko TOP Kei DAT sushi ACC make-RECEIVE-PST
'Naoko received the benefit of Kei making sushi for her.'

- (3) *The house burned down on me.*

Vietnamese

- (4) *john bị mọi người chú ý*
John ADV every person look at
'John was looked at by everyone; it's a bad thing.' (Wierzbicka 1988: 210)

Sentences (1) and (2) are examples of benefactive constructions from English and Japanese respectively. Sentence (3) is an example of what I call the “*on*-affectee” construction, where the preposition *on* introduces an extra participant who is negatively affected by the event of the house burning down. The last example, Sentence (4) is from Vietnamese. This construction is known as the adversative passive, and whenever *bi* is used, the sentence is interpreted as negative. Apparently, Sentences (1)-(2) and (3)-(4) express two opposing notions: one is that an event is good and the other is that an event is bad with respect to some participant(s). Thus, in this sense, the former and the latter are two different types of constructions. However, they belong to a broader shared category in that both express the idea that some individual(s) is/are affected by an event. In this dissertation, I argue that at a fundamental level such sentences need to be grouped together under what I call the category of affectedness constructions.

With regard to previous research related to the topic, there are many studies on individual languages and comparative studies of benefactives (e.g. Niedzielski 1979, Masuoka 1981, Shibatani 1994a, Goldberg 1995, Miyake 1996, Pardeshi 1998) and others on adversatives (e.g. Menn 1972, Clark 1974, Chappell 1986, Malchukov 1993, Davies 1993, 1995). As for cross-linguistic research, Shibatani (1996) and Yamada (1996) have done studies on benefactives. I also have found a few cross-linguistic studies on

adversatives (Wierzbicka 1979, 1988, Oehrle and Nishio 1981, Shibatani 1994b).

However, it appears that the previous research has focused either on benefactives or on adversatives. None compares and/or contrasts the two types of constructions, or treats the two in a unified way, except the study by Wierzbicka (1988: 210-23), where she briefly discusses the semantics of the two kinds of constructions in different languages.

In short, there seems to be no in-depth study dealing simultaneously with both benefactives and adversatives. I argue, however, that affectedness constructions form a natural category semantically, and this is proven by the fact that that they are sometimes formally realized by a single category, or their formal realizations overlap each other. For example, benefactive constructions are extended to express the notion of adversity in some languages such as Newari (Kiryu p.c.) and Japanese. It is commonly known that certain Indo-European languages make use of dative constructions to indicate both notions of benefit and adversity. The following examples are from German (e.g. Wierzbicka 1988, Janda 1993, Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996, Dąbrowska 1997, Matsumura and Hayashi 1997, Van Langendonck and Van Belle 1998).

- (5) *Heinz repariert mir da Auto*
Heinz repairs me-DAT the car
'Heinz repairs the car for me.' (Ogawa 1997: 2)

- (6) *Man hat ihm das Haus angezündet*
they have him-DAT the house set fire to
'They set fire to the house on him.' (Ogawa 1997: 2)

Moreover, historically, the adversative passives in Mandarin evolved out of more general constructions that simply indicate the notion of affectedness, either benefit or adversity (Chen 1994).

The main goal of this dissertation is to establish the grammatical category "affectedness construction". In so doing, I will focus on four central issues.

(I) I will show many constructions in the world's languages that are used to express the notion of affectedness. Moreover, as the event types that these constructions indicate seem to be limited, I would also like to categorize the constructions according to their event type and discuss the semantics and pragmatics of the various event types.

(II) I will discuss the semantics and pragmatics of three types of constructions: passive, causative, and middle/reflexive constructions, which are used to express/imply the notions of benefit and/or adversity cross-linguistically. Then I will compare and contrast these "secondary¹ affectedness constructions" with regular affectedness constructions. I will also try to explain what motivates the secondary constructions to express/imply the

¹ I chose the word 'secondary' to contrast with 'primary' function. In some cases, the function of indicating the notion of affectedness may be something other than secondary in importance, e.g. tertiary etc.

notion of affectedness. Although additional constructions that are related to affectedness constructions exist in the world's languages, they do not at this point appear common enough to constitute a cross-linguistic tendency.

(III) Using prototype semantics and based on finding from the cross-linguistics data, I will present basic hypotheses about affectedness constructions and secondary affectedness constructions.

(IV) I will discuss in detail the semantics and pragmatics of affectedness constructions and their secondary affectedness constructions in Japanese. In showing how some of the constructions relate to each other and how speakers of Japanese use some of the constructions in actual discourse, I will show the semantic network of affectedness constructions and secondary affectedness constructions in Japanese.

1.2 Data

This is the first in-depth cross-linguistic study of benefactives and adversatives. Although the two kinds of constructions have not been studied as much as other kinds of constructions, such as passives and causatives, the languages investigated were chosen so as to constitute as varied and representative a sample as possible. It should be emphasized here that this is a cross-linguistic study not a typological one, and the language samples are

limited in that they are not randomly selected and many of them are taken from European and Asian languages.² Nonetheless, the data has been taken from both genetically and geographically unrelated languages. Most of the data comes from linguistic literature, grammar reference books, dictionaries and corpora, as well as my knowledge of English and Japanese (my native language). However, in the case of Lai, a Tibeto-Burman language, I have had to rely upon the help of a language consultant, as this language has been little studied and no grammar reference book exists at present.³

Whenever only sketchy and incomplete grammatical descriptions exist for the affectedness constructions of a language, I have refrained from including them in the present work. Instead, I have included only sufficiently full grammatical descriptions, and I have screened data and analysis from my sources for accuracy to the best of my ability. Still some of the full grammatical descriptions that I have used may include data and analysis that are not completely accurate. However, as my discussion focuses on the recurring patterns found in many languages, such details should not affect the overall picture that I present.

² See Appendix for the list of the languages.

³ I am grateful that Kenneth Van Bik has provided me countless examples and variable comments on the data.

The data I have collected suggests that Asian languages are richer in affectedness constructions (they showed ‘more expressions’) than languages in other geographical areas. This could represent a real phenomenon; on the other hand, languages in geographical areas outside Asia might utilize many affectedness constructions that are not yet described as such in grammatical reference works and other linguistic literature. English, for example, has the *get to* construction, as in *I got to know him better*, which indicates the subject referent has “the opportunity of doing something” (Austin 1998), and is certainly a type of benefactive construction but it does not yet appear as such in reference works. Further empirical studies would help to provide a geographic characterization of affectedness constructions.

1.3 Organization of the dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation is arranged as follows. Chapter 2 presents a general discussion of affectedness constructions. The definitions of the affectedness construction and secondary affectedness constructions (e.g. passives and causatives) are given as well as the basic event schema for the affectedness construction. Some uses of dative constructions are considered to be affectedness constructions.

Chapters 3 and 4 contain semantic analysis of benefactive constructions and adversative constructions respectively. A number of types and subtypes of these two kinds of constructions are distinguished. In Chapter 5, some uses of passives are identified as secondary affectedness constructions. Chapter 6 discusses causatives and middle/reflexives as secondary affectedness constructions. Possible basic hypotheses about affectedness and secondary affectedness constructions are proposed at the end of the relevant sections in Chapters 3 through 6.

Chapter 7 explores Japanese affectedness constructions and secondary affectedness constructions and proposes a semantic network of these constructions. Chapter 8 summarizes the main result of this study, and identifies some issues for further investigation.

1.4 List of abbreviations⁴

ABS	absolute	OBJ	object
ACC	accusative	OM	direct object marker
ADV	adversative	PASS	passive
ADP	adverbial particle	PERF	perfective
AGT	agent	PD	past disjunct
ASP	aspectual	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
BEN	benefactive	PRES	present
CL	classifier	PST	past
CM	causative marker	PTCPL	participle
CMPL	complementizer	PTL	particle
COHORT	cohortative	PV	verb-particle
COM	completive	Q	question
CONN	connective	QUO	quotation
COP	copula	REFL	reflexive
DAT	dative	REL	exponent of relative or adjectival clause
DEC	declarative	SUB	subject
DEF	definite	TNS	tense
DES	desiderative	TOP	topic
EMP	emphatic	1s	first person singular
ERG	ergative	1p	first person plural
F	feminine		
FUT	future		
GEN	genitive		
INCH	inchoative		
IND	indicative		
INST	instrumental		
LOC	locative		
M	masculine		
MAL	malefactive		
MM	middle maker		
N	neutral		
NEG	negative		
NOM	nominative		
NONFUT	nonfuture		
NPST	near past		

⁴ In order to keep the interlinear glosses maximally transparent, some of the abbreviations of the glosses have been modified from the original ones into unified abbreviations.

2. General discussion of affectedness constructions

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, after discussing Wierzbicka (1988), I will provide my own definitions of affectedness constructions and secondary affectedness constructions. In addition, I will identify specific semantic properties that are relevant to affectedness constructions, and present a basic event schema for these constructions. Lastly, I will discuss affectedness constructions in several Indo-European languages, where dative constructions are used to express the notions of affectedness.

2.2 Wierzbicka 1988

As mentioned earlier, Wierzbicka (1988: 210-23) appears to be the only study that deals with both benefactives and adversatives, and this section introduces her analysis of these two kinds of constructions. However, before introducing her study, I will briefly describe Wierzbicka's basic approach (for details, see Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994). Wierzbicka believes that there exists a minimal set of indecomposable meanings, "semantic primitives", and that the primitives are non-arbitrary and can be found in the common core of natural languages. The primitives that she has proposed include I, SOMEONE, THINK, WANT, THIS, ONE, DO, IF, KIND OF, GOOD, and SMALL. She argues that

any complex meanings, not just lexical but also grammatical, can be analyzed in terms of the primitives.

Wierzbicka suggests that grammar is not semantically arbitrary and that grammatical distinctions are driven by semantic distinctions. By using her semantic primitives, she describes various grammatical semantics in different languages. She notes that some of the grammatical meanings may be restricted to one particular language; however, the differences can be precisely compared using the semantic primitives.

In her brief discussion of benefactives and adversatives, Wierzbicka (1988) points out:

[h]uman beings tend to see events in terms of good or bad. Natural languages reflect this perspective. The categorization of events as either good or bad is so widespread in natural language that it seems reasonable to hypothesize it as a linguistic universal. But of course different languages do it in different ways and to different degrees (1988: 210).

The data in her discussion include the Vietnamese benefactive and adversative passives, the Japanese adversative passive, the English *on*-affectee construction, and Indo-European dative constructions. Sentences (1) and (2) are given here to illustrate the English *on*-affectee construction and Vietnamese adversative passive.

(1) *Mike's car broke down on him.*

Vietnamese

- (2) *john bị mọi người chú ý*
John ADV every person look at
'John was looked at by everyone, it's a bad thing.' (Wierzbicka 1988: 210)

Wierzbicka provides semantic representations for some of the constructions, such as the following. Polish, for instance, can express both good and bad perspectives in the dative constructions.

Polish

- (3) *Matka mi umarła*
'Mother to-me died.' (Wierzbicka 1988: 212)
- (4) *Bielizna mi zmokła*
'Washing to-me got wet.' (Wierzbicka 1988: 211)
- (5) *Bielizna już mi wyschła*
'Washing already to-me got dry.' (Wierzbicka 1988: 212)⁵

Sentence (3) exemplifies what Wierzbicka calls the "dative of misfortune" construction. The following is its Wierzbicka style explication.

something bad happened to X's Y
one can think of it as something bad that happened to X

(Wierzbicka 1988: 213)

To clarify, substituting the participants of (3) above for Y and X would yield:

⁵ The gloss is mine.

something bad happened to X's Y (my mother)
one can think of it as something bad that happened to X (me)

(Wierzbicka 1988: 213)

Sentence (4) indicates that the speaker's laundry got wet again, instead of getting dried. In this construction, there is an agent⁶ who undergoes some unfortunate event, and Wierzbicka calls it the "unlucky-agent" construction. Its semantic representation follows.

something bad happened to Y
that X was doing something with
one can think of it as something bad that happened to X

(Wierzbicka 1988: 213)

The range of the positive constructions in Polish is limited in that they express situations where the positive event is at least partly due to the effort of the affected person. Sentence (5) indicates that the speaker is happy that the laundry that s/he did is already dry. Wierzbicka calls this positive construction the "lucky-agent" construction, and the semantic representation of this construction is:

something good happened to Y
that X was doing something with

⁶ In fact, the term 'agent' has a more restricted meaning than how Wierzbicka uses, but I will use this term to refer a doer who performs, initiates, or controls the event for the remainder of the dissertation.

X did something to cause it to happen
one can think of it as something good that happened to X

(Wierzbicka 1988: 213)

As shown in the above, Wierzbicka's study focuses on identifying the semantic components of different constructions, and she is not interested in their similarities. Common to all her semantic representations of these sorts of constructions is "something good/bad happened to X". I would like to go beyond her analysis and attempt to provide a more comprehensive characterization of the semantic category of affectedness constructions in terms of cognitive linguistics.

Moreover, Wierzbicka's treatment of all examples in the same manner also seems problematic: some constructions are dedicated to express the notion of affectedness, while others are not. In the latter, such notions result from real-world knowledge. When investigating a set of grammatical constructions, we need to make a distinction about whether a meaning of a particular construction is conventionally expressed or not, and I will take this point into account in my discussion.

Finally, Wierzbicka (1988) points out that English has the *on*-affectee construction, as in *My car broke down on me*, whose semantic representation is the same as that of the dative of misfortune above. She notes that this construction also lacks a positive

counterpart and suggests that asymmetry biased toward adversity seems to be characteristic of many languages. As we shall see in the later sections, however, many languages do possess some type of benefactive construction. The common assumption seems to hold that bad events happen in many ways, often without the control of the people involved, while good events usually result from intention, planning and the acts of people. This difference appears to be reflected in different kinds of grammatical constructions in languages. To put it linguistically, many benefactive constructions require an agent, whereas the agent is not often necessary in adversative constructions. We shall see such examples in Chapter 3 and 4.

2.3 Definition of affectedness constructions

Along the lines of Wierzbicka's work, I posit that an affectedness construction (hereafter AC) expresses that an event⁷ is either 'good' or 'bad' for some participant(s), which I shall call the "affectee". When an AC expresses that an event is 'good', it is a benefactive construction, and when it expresses that an event is 'bad', it is an adversative construction. For example, Sentence (6) is a benefactive construction, which I call the *get*

⁷ Not just an 'event' but a 'situation' or 'state of affairs' can also be presented as good or bad; however except for some uses of dative constructions, it is always the case that affectedness constructions describe events. Therefore, I will use the term 'event' throughout the dissertation.

to construction.⁸ In (6) the event is ‘visiting grandmother last week’ where the speaker is the affectee, and the speaker sees the event as good for him/herself. Sentence (7), on the other hand, is an example of an adversative construction, the *on*-affectee construction. In (7), the event is ‘John’s car breaking down’, the affectee is John, and the sentence describes that the event is bad for John.

(6) *I got to visit my grandmother last week.*

(7) *John’s car broke down on him.*

In addition to the affectee, the “agent” sometimes plays an important role in ACs. That is, some ACs always require an agent who instigates the event, as in the English benefactive *for* construction (e.g. *Mark did dishes for Linda*), so the agent will be included in the semantic representation for certain constructions.

Lastly, although morpho-syntactic properties of ACs may vary a great deal, the constructions I deal with all express the notion of benefit or adversity grammatically. Therefore, sentences such as, *He offended me*, *We praised them*, *She unfortunately arrived late*, which express positive or negative events strictly via lexical meaning, are not instances of affectedness constructions. Moreover, those that do not have an apparent grammatical marking are not considered ACs in this study. For example, there is a covert

⁸ I thank Eve Sweetser for drawing my attention to this construction.

affectee construction in English that makes use of the active voice, in which the subject referent is seen as an affectee who is negatively affected by the event, as in *I broke my leg* and *I cut my finger* (Nishimura 1993, 1997, Talmy 2000), and I do not treat this construction as an AC.

2.4 Speaker's attitude

Although the main function of ACs is to describe an event either as good or bad for some participant, they also sometimes indicate the speaker's feelings etc. and reveal the speaker's attitudes toward the affectee and/or event, such as regret, disapproval, and sympathy. Notice that the speaker almost always indicates his/her feelings etc., when the speaker is the affectee and describes his/her own experiences by using any kind of AC in a given language. However, the speaker also frequently indicates his/her feelings etc., when the affectee is the addressee (e.g. the speaker witnessed that the addressee stumbled over a stone and shows sympathy toward the addressee) or the speaker's in-group (e.g. the speaker happily announces that his/her sister got a promotion). This is because the notions of benefit and adversity are closely associated with affect, and describing an event as either good or bad reveals the speaker's emotions and attitude toward the event and/or participant(s) in the event. Even if the affectee is a stranger to the speaker, the emotions of

the speaker may be revealed with uses of ACs (e.g. *Sometimes people's medications run out on them due to the lack of public health care in the U.S.*). Interestingly, in some ACs, such implications of the speaker's attitude are conventionalized and clearly indicated by the constructions (or a few constructions appear to convey such senses inherently). For instance, the so-called "ethical dative" is used to express the speaker's attitude toward the event. This usage will be discussed in this chapter. Another example is the Japanese agentless *kureru* construction which always expresses the speaker's gratitude (discussed in Section 3.3.2).

Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) have done a cross-linguistic study of speakers' affective expressions in general. In their study, they have found various types of linguistic expressions of affect that are not just lexical items but also grammatical and discourse structures. For example, the Japanese pronoun *kisama* 'you (singular)' as opposed to the neutral *kimi* or *anata* is used among male speakers to show disrespect to the addressee. Kaluli makes use of suffixes on verbs and sentence particles, including *-lodo* 'sadness'. Ochs and Schieffelin argue that, "beyond the function of communicating referential information, languages are responsive to the fundamental need of speakers to convey and assess feelings, moods, dispositions and attitudes. This need is as critical and as human as that of describing events" (9).

In addition, some psychologists have argued that humans can have all sorts of immediate reactions to a person or event, including subjective evaluations of what is happening as either good or bad (for a detailed summary of such arguments, see Bargh 1997)⁹. This kind of evaluation seems to occur without conscious awareness, without intention, and without effort (Zajonc 1980, Isen 1984). For example, when we see a cat, we see not just ‘a cat’ but ‘a beautiful cat’, ‘a friendly cat’ or ‘a scraggly cat’. If this is the case, which I believe it to be, then the speaker’s attitude toward the event and the participants of the event may be a significant part of the semantics or pragmatics of utterances we produce, including affectedness constructions.

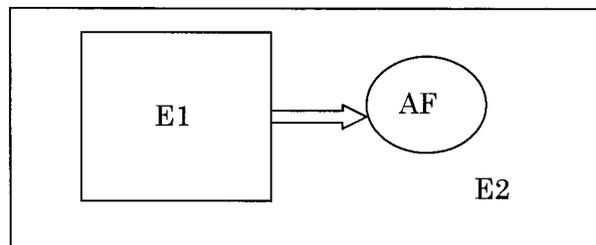
Thus, with such affectedness constructions, the speaker’s attitude needs to be distinguished from that of the affectee. Concerning affect, describing the event simply as good or bad seems sufficient enough with ACs, and the affectee’s attitude toward the event is not specified in the constructions of my data. Therefore, I predict that it is highly unlikely that anyone would ever find a construction that expresses, for example, the anger of the affectee in addition to the notion of adversity. In contrast, however, there are some constructions that express both the notion of adversity and the speaker’s regret. This fact

⁹ I assume that this term ‘good’ includes neutral situations. It may be more accurate to divide the evaluation as negative or non-negative.

suggests that the speaker's attitude is more significant than the attitude of other people in ACs.

2.5 The basic event schema for ACs

Although each AC has its own complex semantics, I argue that we can extract some fundamental properties shared by all ACs. As mentioned earlier, there are at least two basic elements in an AC: affecting event and affectee, and an AC indicates that an event is good or bad for the affectee. The relation between the two parts is schematized in the following.



AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

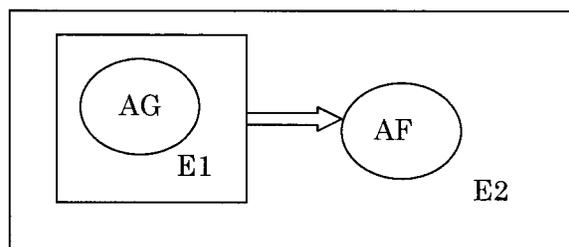
E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 1 The basic event schema for AC

In Figure 1, E1, the affecting event, is an event that affects the affectee. The arrow from E1 to the affectee indicates the direction of the effect. E2 is the whole event expressed by the

sentence. If we take Sentence (1) *Mike's car broke down on him* as an example, (1) is the E2, Mike is the affectee, AF, and Mike's car breaking down is the affecting event, E1.

There are three more important remarks on the basic event schema for ACs. First, the affecting event, E1, is unspecified, so that any kind of event can be described by ACs. As we will see in the following chapters, there are some ACs that have more restrictions on their semantics. For example, some benefactive constructions always include the agent in the affecting event, and in other cases, the affectee is always the agent who benefits himself. These ACs with more specific semantics require modified event schemas. For example, an AC that always includes the agent in the affecting event is provisionally represented in the following. The difference between Figures 1 and 2 is that Figure 2 contains an agent in E1 while Figure 1 does not.



AG: agent

AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 2 AC subtype that always includes the agent

Second, when the speaker's attitude is clearly expressed by the construction, it will be included in the schema, as in some special cases of ethical datives in Czech and Spanish where the speaker is placed outside of E2 (see Section 2.7.2).

Third, the affectee may or may not be directly involved in the affecting event in ACs. In (2) repeated here below, 'everyone looking at John' is the affecting event, and John, the affectee, is directly involved in it,¹⁰ while Mike is not directly involved in the affecting event 'Mike's mother died on him'.

- (2) *john* *bị* *mọi* *người* *chú* *ý*
 John ADV every person look at
 'John was looked at by everyone; it's a bad thing.' (Wierzbicka 1988: 210)

It has been suggested that the notion of adversity arises, when the event occurs independent of the participant who suffers from it (Wierzbicka 1979, Oehrle and Nishio 1981, Kuno 1983, Shibatani 1993, Washio 1993). This should be a valid account for some sentences with the adversative interpretation; however, I have not found any AC that makes a clear distinction about involvement (i.e. being involved in the event or not) grammatically. Therefore, I will not include the notion of involvement in my account of the semantic

¹⁰ In some uses of ACs and secondary affectedness constructions, if the affectee is directly involved in the affecting event, as in (2), the whole event may be construed differently based on how the event takes place (some sort of force is transferred from the agent to the affectee). However, the diagrams I present focus on affectedness and I will use the affecting event throughout this dissertation in order to distinguish the cause (affecting event) and the resultant state (whole event).

representations of ACs. I will further discuss this matter in Section 7.3.1.1, where I discuss the Japanese passive construction.

2.6 Affectedness constructions and secondary affectedness constructions

Among the constructions I will discuss in this dissertation, most are constructions that are dedicated to expressing the notion of affectedness — ACs. Sentences (6) and (7) are instances of such constructions. However, it should be mentioned that there are also cases in which ACs have been extended to express other sorts of meanings; nonetheless, if the main function of the construction is to express the notion of affectedness, I treat it as an AC. Yet, in addition, as I mentioned earlier, there are other constructions formally treated as different types of constructions, such as passives and causatives, which are used to express or imply the notion of affectedness; I call these secondary affectedness constructions (hereafter SAC). For example, the middle voice is sometimes used to express the notions of benefit, as well as other meanings, and Japanese direct passive sentences often conversationally imply the notion of adversity in spoken discourse (Yoshida 1996).

For a grammatical construction in a language to be admitted in this dissertation as a valid instance of an AC or SAC, previous linguistic literature, grammar reference books

and/or dictionaries must state that the construction expresses or implies the notion of affectedness. Native speakers' judgments are also used whenever necessary for clarification.¹¹

Stubbs (2001) reports on a corpus study of the uses of the verb *cause* in English, and he concludes that the object of the verb or the oblique complement of the noun is highly likely to refer to something negative, such as infection, death, injury and bankruptcy. Yet, we probably cannot say that the negative consequences are part of the lexical semantics of the verb *cause* in English; rather, we might say that the occasions that make people communicate about 'what causes what' tend to be limited to troubling developments in their lives. This is about the use of a word rather than any kind of grammatical construction; however, it is a good example to show that it is sometimes quite difficult to decide whether one is dealing with a convention of language or pragmatics — here, reasons for talking about something. Therefore, the scope of this dissertation admits only constructions whose meanings or implicatures have been recognized in linguistic literature.

As a consequence of this criterion, I will not discuss certain types of constructions

¹¹ As mentioned earlier, for Lai, since very little previous study is available, I have used a language consultant to verify whether certain constructions qualify as affectedness constructions. For the English *get to* construction, I rely on native speakers' intuition as well my own observations.

that may weakly or occasionally imply the notion of affectedness. For example, the obligation modal *have to* in English sometimes implies that the subject referent did not want to do the action, as in *Ken had to eat the ice cream that Mary made* (even though Ken likes ice cream, but he was too full to eat it, but he did anyway to be polite to Mary). Nonetheless, I will not treat this modal use as an instance of an SAC, since the implication is not conventionalized in English.¹²

2.7 Dative constructions as ACs

2.7.1 Free dative

It is well known that dative constructions are used to express the notions of affectedness in Indo-European languages (e.g., Wierzbicka 1988, Janda 1993, Van Belle and Van Langendonck 1996, Dąbrowska 1997, Matsumura and Hayashi 1997, Van Langendonck and Van Belle 1998). Typical examples of such uses, the so-called “*dativus commodi/incomodi*” (benefactive/adversative in Latin), taken from German, are given below. The former is an example of a benefactive and the latter, an adversative.

¹² Interestingly, one of the meanings of the Vietnamese submissive verb *bi* is ‘have to do something that the subject referent does not like’ (Lim 1969). Here, the verb *bi* always expresses that the event is bad for the affectee, and its semantics cover the area of obligation. The notion of obligation appears to be a good candidate for semantics related to the notion of affectedness; however, I will not go into a detailed discussion of this possibility for a lack of cross-linguistic data.

German

(8) *Monika hat uns einen Kuchen gebacken.*
Monika has us-DAT a cake baked
'Monika baked us a cake.' (Ogawa 1997: 2)

(9) *Das Haus ist ihm abgebrannt.*
the hous has him-DAT burned down
'The house burned down on him.' (Ogawa 1997: 3)

The uses of datives are diverse and complex. Some are lexically governed in that certain verbs must have their datives to make well-formed sentences, while others are called 'free datives' and they act as a free modifier. In general, a lexically governed dative cannot be paraphrased by a prepositional phrase or be omitted,¹³ while free datives can (Janda 1993). Compare the following examples from Czech. The true dative sentences with the verb meaning 'give' require the dative nominal, while the benefactive sentences with the verb meaning 'cook' do not have such a restriction.

Czech

(10) *ludmila mu dala kytku*
Ludmila-NOM him-DAT gave flower-ACC
'Ludmila gave him a flower.' (Janda 1993: 57)

(11) **ludmila dala kytku pro něj*
Ludmila-NOM gave flower-ACC for him-ACC
'Ludmila gave a flower for him.' (Janda 1993: 57)

¹³ As expected and as Janda (1993) and Rudzka-Ostyn (1996) point out, these syntactic criteria do not work perfectly. For instance, some lexically governed datives with verbs of communication can be deleted. However, in terms of semantics, communication always requires (a) hearer(s), and we can conclude such datives are not free.

- (12) **ludmila dala kytku*
 Ludmila-NOM gave flower-ACC
 ‘Ludmila gave a flower.’ (Janda 1993: 61)
- (13) *ludmila mu uvařila kaši*
 Ludmila-NOM him-DAT cooked kasha-ACC
 ‘Ludmila cooked kasha for him.’ (Janda 1993: 57)
- (14) *ludmila pro něj uvařila kaši*
 Ludmila-NOM for him-ACC cooked kasha-ACC
 ‘Ludmila cooked kasha for him.’ (Janda 1993: 57)
- (15) *ludmila uvařila kaši*
 Ludmila-NOM cooked kasha-ACC
 ‘Ludmila cooked kasha.’ (Janda 1993: 61)

This traditional distinction between “governed” and “free” datives plays an important role in discussing ACs in Indo European languages. Janda (1993) argues that free datives include beneficiaries of actions, possessors of objects and even interlocutors in Czech, and they are invariably evaluated as either positive or negative. For example, the dative expresses affectedness via body parts, kinship, possession, etc., as in (16) and (17).

- (16) *zlomil jí ruku*
 broke her-DAT arm-ACC
 ‘He broke her arm.’ (Janda 1993: 87)
- (17) *zemřela mu matka*
 died him-DAT mother-NOM
 ‘His mother died.’ (Janda 1993: 85)

After looking at data from other languages with dative constructions, such as German and Spanish, I have come to conclude that the main function of free datives in European languages is to express the notion of affectedness.¹⁴ It should be important to note here that the notions of affectedness are often already expressed by lexically governed dative sentences (e.g. with verbs meaning ‘give’, ‘satisfy’ and ‘harm’).

Free datives cover a wide range of semantics. For example, in Modern Hebrew, the dative preposition *le* expresses not only typical benefaction but also possession, source, and location, as the following examples indicate (Berman 1982). These dative sentences can be paraphrased with oblique object markers that do not express the notion of affectedness as the dative marker does. The paraphrased sentences are also given below for comparison.

Benefaction

(18) *dan hizmin la-nu mekomot*
 Dan ordered to-us seats
 ‘Dan ordered the seats for us.’ (Berman 1982: 48)¹⁵

(19) *dan hizmin mekomot bišvil-énu*
 Dan ordered seats for us
 ‘Dan ordered the seats for us.’ (Berman 1982: 48)

¹⁴ The languages I have examined are: Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Russian, and Modern Hebrew.

regular pronouns after *for* is marginally acceptable as in *?I work for me*, and normally reflexive pronouns are used. On the other hand, in Mandarin both regular and reflexive pronouns are grammatical, and self-benefactive sentences with regular pronouns are more emphatic than ones with reflexive pronouns.

Mandarin

(17) *wǒ gěi nǐ zuò chǎo fàn*
 I for you make fried rice
 ‘I’ll make fried rice for you.’ (Li and Thompson 1974:271)

(18) *wǒ gěi zìjǐ zuò chǎo fàn*
 I for self make fried rice
 ‘I’ll make fried rice for myself.’

(19) *wǒ gěi wǒ zuò chǎo fàn*
 I for I make fried rice
 ‘I’ll make fried rice for me.’

As expected and as the above examples indicate, there are some language-specific restrictions and variations on unrestricted agentive benefactive constructions.

3.2.2 Allocentric benefaction: ‘X does something for the benefit of Y’

Although it appears much less common than the unrestricted agentive benefactive constructions discussed above, there are some languages that have benefactive constructions whose affectee is not the agent him/herself but someone else. I will call this

Possession

(20) *ha tinok lixlex li et ha xulca*
the baby dirtied to-me OM the shirt
'The baby dirtied my shirt.' (Berman 1982: 48)¹⁶

(21) *ha tinok lixlex et ha xulca šel-i*
the baby dirtied OM the shirt of-me = my shirt
'The baby dirtied my shirt.' (Berman 1982: 48)

Source

(22) *hu ganav le rina harbe ra'ayonot*
he stole/took to Rina many idea
'He stole many ideas from Rina.' (Berman 1982: 48)

(23) *hu ganav harbe ra'ayonot mi rina*
he stole/took many idea from Rina
'He stole many ideas from Rina.' (Berman 1982: 48)

Location

(24) *ha azot sama lo talk*
the nurse put to-him powder
'The nurse put powder on him.' (Berman 1982: 48)

(25) *ha azot sama al-av talk*
the nurse put on-him powder
'The nurse put powder on him.' (Berman 1982: 48)

It is very important to note that some languages have more restrictions on their uses of free dative than other languages. For example, the benefactive dative in French has a narrower range of semantics than in German (Ogawa 1997). Janda (1993) points out that the uses of

¹⁵ The dative is translated as 'to-us' here, instead of the original translation 'for-us'.

¹⁶ The glosses are mine in Sentences (22) through (29).

free dative is more productive in Czech than in Russian in that Russian basically allows only inalienable possession with the dative of possession. The following two sentences in Russian are not grammatical but can be uttered in Czech. Compare the following sentences.¹⁷

Russian

(26) **rebenok* *nam* *plačet* *nočju*
 child-NOM us-DAT cries night-INST
 ‘The child cries at night (and we are affected by this).’ (Janda 1993: 131)

(27) **rebenok* *nam* *ušibsja*
 child-NOM us-DAT hurt-REFL
 ‘Our child got hurt.’ (Janda 1993: 131)

Czech

(28) *dítě* *nám* *v* *nocí* *pláče*
 child-NOM us-DAT in night-LOC cries
 ‘The child cries at night (and we are affected by this).’

(29) *dítě* *se* *nám* *poranilo*
 child-NOM REFL us-DAT prefix-hurt-PST
 ‘Our child got hurt.’

2.7.2 Ethical dative

In addition to the free datives discussed above, there are pragmatically motivated free datives, which have been known collectively as the ethical dative (Janda 1993, Draye

¹⁷ I thank Roula Svorou and Nikola Konecna for providing the Czech examples.

1996, Van Hoeske, 1996, Dąbrowska 1997). The use is usually limited to the first and second person, and it expresses the speaker's feeling toward the event, such as 'surprise', 'displeasure', and 'joy'. The following examples are from German, Portuguese and Modern Hebrew.

German

(30) *geh mir jetzt sofort ins bett!!*
 go me-DAT now immediately to bed
 'Go to bed immediately!!' (Ogawa 1997: 3)

(31) *plötzlich hat er mir zu flüstern angefangen.*
 suddenly has he me-DAT to whisper begun
 'To my dissatisfaction/surprise he suddenly began to whisper.'
 (Luk 1996: 183)

Portuguese

(32) *aquele la te saiu um belo idiota!*
 that one-SUBJ you-DAT came out a pretty idiot
 'That one showed himself to be a pretty idiot to you!'
 (de Andrade Berlinck 1996: 147)

(33) *conta-me bem essa história ao rapaz!*
 tell me-DAT well this story-ACC to the boy-DAT
 'Go and tell this story well to the boy!' (de Andrade Berlinck 1996: 147)

Hebrew

(34) *Ha yéled tamid kam lanu mukdam davka be šabat*
 the child always gets up to us early just on Saturday
 'The kid always wakes up early *on us* on the weekend (of all times)!'
 (Berman 1982:38)

This type of use appears to amplify the emotional involvement of the speaker (and the addressee) in the event, and it should be appropriate to consider this type as an extension from the benefactive and adversative datives. The notions of affectedness have entered into the level of the speech act.

Some uses of ethical datives seem to be completely pragmatic. Furthermore, they do not indicate that the dative referent is affected by the event, in the sense of benefit or adversity. For example, Janda (1993) discusses the ethical dative in Czech, and she divides it into two variations: the ethical dative and emotional dative. The term ‘ethical dative’ for Janda is very restricted in that it is used to capture the hearer’s attention and is translated into English as ‘hey, you know what?’, as in (35).

- (35) *ten Petr ti ukradl auto.*
that Peter-NOM you-DAT stole car-ACC
‘(‘Hey, you know what?) That Peter went and stole a car.’ (Janda 1993: 89)

I do not consider this use as an instance of AC. However, it is very interesting to see that the dative in Czech has been grammaticalized into a pure pragmatic marker.

On the other hand, I consider what Janda calls the emotional dative as an instance of AC. It is used to indicate that the speaker has a relationship to an event, even though he is not directly involved in it. For example, Janda notes that the following sentence “might

be uttered by a policeman while arresting thieves he has caught red-handed. The policeman need not have witnessed the event, nor need he be the possessor of the stolen goods. By his use of the dative he is asserting his authority in the given situation” (89).

- (36) *co jste nám tu ukradli?*
 what-ACC are-AUX us-DAT here stole
 ‘What have you stolen here (on us)? (Janda 1993: 90)

Janda introduces another example of the emotional dative, called the dative of solidarity. She notes that the speaker uses the first person plural to show solidarity or sympathy with the hearer even though the speaker is not affected by the event in the same way that the hearer is. The following sentence would be produced by a mother comforting her child, and is an interesting type of AC. Mothers can empathize with their children’s feeling easily, and thus they are also affected by the events.

- (37) *Ty-zlé-děti nám rozbily hračky, vid*
 those-mean-children-NOM us-DAT broke toys-ACC see
 ‘Those mean children broke our toys, did they?’ (Janda 1993: 90)

This last type of empathic use appears to be rare in other languages, but a similar use is found in Spanish (Wierzbicka 1988). In the following examples, taken from Wierzbicka (1988:221), the first person singular is used to express a mother’s empathy toward her daughter.

- (38) *me le robó la muñeca (a mi hija)*
to-me to-her he-stole the doll to my daughter
‘He stole my daughter’s doll to her and my grief.’
- (39) *me le reparó la muñeca (a mi hija)*
to-me to-her he-repaired the doll to my daughter
‘He repaired my daughter’s doll to her and my joy.’
- (40) *me le complicó la vida (a mi hija)*
to-me to-her he-complicated the life to my daughter
‘He complicated my daughter’s life to her and my grief.’
- (41) *me le mejoró la vida (a mi hija)*
to-me to-her he-improved the life to my daughter
‘He improved my daughter’s life to her and my joy.’

In both Czech and Spanish, this kind of use seems possible when the actual affectee of the event is especially close to the speaker, and hence, the speaker is also affected by the event.

I call this type of construction the “empathic” AC.

In conclusion, some uses of ethical dative are used to express that the speaker is the affectee in a way and the speaker’s attitude toward the event is revealed, and I consider them as instances of ACs.

2.7.3 Event schema for free datives

Thus far, I have discussed free datives, including the ethical dative, that express

the notions of affectedness in different languages. I will present three event schemas for free datives below. As noted earlier, languages have different ranges of uses for their free datives; some, such as Spanish, German, and Czech, are more productive than others. However, in general, it appears that free datives do not have many restrictions on their semantics of event types. The affecting event may or may not include the agent, and the agent can be anybody, as in the following examples in Czech.

(14) *ludmila mu uvařila kaši*
 Ludmila-NOM him-DAT cooked kasha-ACC
 ‘Ludmila cooked kasha for him.’ (Janda 1993: 57)

(42) *koupím si motorku*
 I-will buy REFL-DAT motorcycle-ACC
 ‘I’ll buy myself a motorcycle.’ (Janda 1993: 98)

Sentences (14), repeated here, and (42) are both benefactives, and in (14), the agent performs an act for another, while in (42) the sentence is reflexive and the agent performs an act for the agent him/herself. Sentences (43) and (44) are both adversatives, and in (43), the affectee is negatively affected by the agent breaking her arm, while (44) indicates that the agent broke her own glasses and was negatively affected by the affecting event. Interestingly, Janda (1993: 102) points out that a dative reflexive, as in (42), expresses “for one’s own good/comfort/enjoyment”, unless the verb denoting harm is used, as in (43). If

a dative reflexive sentence indicates the notion of adversity, then the reading is that the affecting event must have been accidental and the agent was careless. Thus, Sentence (44) indicates that mother broke her glasses by accident. This asymmetry toward benefaction with the reflexive dative is not surprising given that in normal circumstances people try to perform an action for their own benefit.¹⁸

(43) *zломil jí ruku*
 broke her-DAT arm-ACC
 ‘He broke her arm.’ (Janda 1993: 87)

(44) *matka si rozbila brýle*
 mother REFL-DAT broke glasses
 ‘Mother broke her glasses.’ (Janda 1993: 102)

As for agentless events, Wierzbicka (1988) argues that the dative can be used with agentless events only if the effect is bad. However, as Rudzka-Ostyn (1996) and Dąbrowska (1997) point out, the notion of benefit can also be expressed by the dative with agentless events. The following examples are from Modern Hebrew and Polish.

Modern Hebrew

(45) *rak še hi lo taxle li šuv axšav*
 just that she not will-sicken to-me again now
 ‘Just so she doesn’t go and get sick on me again now’

(Berman 1982:38)

¹⁸ Actions may be perceived as negative by others, such as suicide and quitting a job, but such actions are carried out to serve some purpose and are beneficial to oneself. For example, one may commit a

- (46) *Cémax ka ze yigdal lax/lexa bili be'ayot*
 plant like that will grow to you (F/M) without problems
 'That kind of plant will grow without any difficulty for you/for one.'
 (Berman 1982:38)

Polish

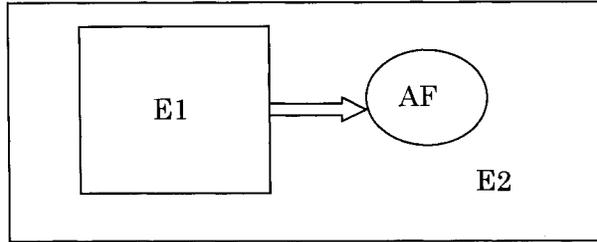
- (47) *dzieci im często chorują/zdrowo rosna*
 children-NOM them-DAT often are being sick/healthily grow
 'Their children are often sick / are growing up well.'
 (Rudzka-Ostyn 1996: 359)¹⁹

- (48) *wpadła mi w ręce bardzo ciekawa książka*
 fell into me-DAT in hands-ACC very interesting book-NOM
 'I (accidentally) came across a very interesting book'
 (Dąbrowska 1997: 183)

In sum, free datives cover both agentive and agentless events. When the agent is present, it can be anyone. Therefore, I suggest that free datives take the most basic event schema described in Figure 1 repeated here.

suicide to escape from physical or psychological pain.

¹⁹ I could not find the exact font for the kind of 'a' in the sentence.



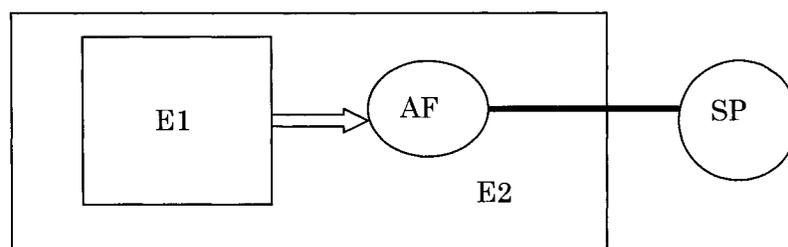
AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 1 The basic event schema for AC

As for ethical datives, the uses are limited to the first person or second person to express the speaker's feeling toward the event. Therefore, I include the speaker in the schema below. In Figure 3, the solid line between the affectee and speaker represents that the speaker is also the affectee, who is affected by the event in some way.



AF: affectee

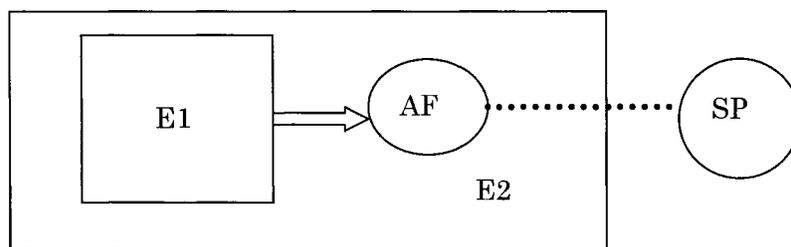
E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 3 Ethical dative

Finally, the empathic AC needs a separate treatment here. The speaker empathizes with the affectee who is directly affected by the affecting event. The dotted line between the affectee and speaker indicates the empathy of the speaker.



AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 4 Empathic AC

2.8 Benefactive vs. Adversative

In the previous sections, I discussed free datives in different languages as expressing the notions of affectedness. Notice that all the examples of free datives are from Indo-European languages, except Hebrew. This language is, however, most likely

influenced by Indo-European languages in this respect.²⁰ Therefore, this type of construction cannot be considered a cross-linguistic tendency. In my data, the two notions are frequently expressed by separate constructions in languages. Moreover, contrary to Wierzbicka (1988), my data yields far fewer adversative constructions than benefactive constructions. Recall that Wierzbicka does not distinguish adversatives and SACs, as I do; in this dissertation ‘adversatives’ are constructions that are dedicated to expressing the notion of adversity, while SACs are constructions whose meanings or implications are not limited to the notion of adversity or benefit. There are many SACs in languages, and they will be discussed in Chapter 5. Overall, however, benefactive constructions and their SACs appear to outnumber adversative constructions and their SACs in the world’s languages. My impression at this point is that it is much easier to find benefactives and SACs.

²⁰ Berman (1981) suggests that dative as an affectee marker is a relative innovation and is very likely influenced by Russian-Yiddish.

3. Benefactive constructions

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a sample of benefactive constructions from various languages. There are two basic types of benefactive constructions in my data. One type always includes an agent, and it expresses the idea that the agent intentionally carries out the act for the affectee, and the act is presented as good for the affectee. I refer to this type as the “agentive benefactive” construction. The other covers more general benefactive events, and I call this type the “event benefactive” construction. In my data, the event benefactives that are used to express an affecting event sometimes include the agent of the affecting event and sometimes do not. Please note that I have not identified any single type of benefactive construction that is always agentless. However, according to my data, whenever an event *is* agentless, it is always expressed by an event benefactive construction.

The most common semantic type of benefactive construction seems to be the agentive benefactive construction. Subtypes exist within it, but as far as I know, they have neither been treated collectively nor studied from a cross-linguistic perspective hitherto, and thus will be discussed in this dissertation. These subtypes are very important in the semantics of benefaction in general, because they represent the basic event types of

benefactive situations, and they need to be clearly distinguished and discussed. The following section, 3.2, discusses the previous studies on the agentive benefactive construction in general, and also systematically treats the subtypes of the agentive benefactive construction. Section 3.3 will present the event benefactive construction.

3.2 Agentive benefactive constructions

Heretofore, agentive benefactive constructions have drawn considerable attention in linguistics, though there are only a few cross-linguistics studies (Wierzbicka 1988, Shibatani 1996, Yamada 1996). For example, Shibatani (1996) provides a cognitive account of cross-linguistic variation between agentive benefactive constructions. In order to discuss some syntactic and semantic restrictions, he limits true benefactive constructions to those in which the beneficiaries are coded as an argument, not as an adjunct, as in the following four sentences. In some languages, such as English and Indonesian, the beneficiary is realized as the primary object of the double object construction, as in (1) and (2). In other languages, such as Mandarin and Sinhala, it is realized as the indirect object, as in (3) and (4).²¹

²¹ In case of Mandarin, it is controversial if the verb *gěi* has become a preposition to introduce an indirect object (Li and Thompson 1974).

English

(1) *Mark baked Linda a cake.*

Indonesian

(2) *saya membersih-kan ana halaman*
I clean-BEN garden
'I cleaned up the garden for Ana.' (Shibatani 1996: 171)

Mandarin

(3) *tā gěi wǒ zào-le yì dōng fángzi*
he/she GIVE me build-ASP one CL house
'He/she built a house for me.' (Newman 1996: 217)

Sinhala

(4) *ranjit Chitra-ta dora waha-la dun-na*
 DAT door open-PP GIVE-PST.IND
'Ranjit closed the door for Chitra.' (Shibatani 1996: 170)

This pattern is indeed common to agentive benefactives in many languages, but other significant patterns do exist and must be included to make a comprehensive description of the agentive benefactive construction in general. Thus, in my discussion, as long as some sort of benefactive marking is present, I treat it as a benefactive construction. For instance, in Japanese the beneficiary can be coded either as the indirect object or adjunct, as in the following examples.

Japanese

(5) *naoko wa kei ni hon o yonde-yat-ta*
Naoko TOP Kei DAT book ACC read-GIVE-PST
'Naoko read Kei a book.'

- (6) *naoko wa kei no tame ni hon o yonde-yat-ta*
 Naoko TOP Kei GEN sake DAT book ACC read-GIVE-PST
 ‘Naoko read a book for Kei.’

While the beneficiary is marked dative in (5), it is followed by the postpositional phrase, *no tame ni* ‘for the sake of’ in (6), yet both sentences include the benefactive auxiliary verb *-yaru*. Thus, I treat both as instances of benefactives. This sort of difference, the syntactic realizations of the beneficiary, does not influence the general semantics of benefactives, and I will not discuss the difference in further detail.²²

Among the agentive benefactive constructions, there are various configurations in which the agent can be the same as or different from the affectee. In some languages, a benefactive construction allows the affectee to be anyone including the agent him/herself, while in other languages the affectee must be someone other than the agent. Moreover, there are some languages that have a self-benefactive construction, where the agent only carries out the action for the benefit of him/herself. Lastly, I have found one construction that expresses a special kind of benefaction, ‘in addition to performing an action for his/her own benefit, one also performs it for the benefit of someone else’. The following sections illustrate and expound on these four types of constructions.

²² In fact, the two sentences can have different interpretations. With (5) the only interpretation is ‘Naoko read the book to Kei’. With (6) the same interpretation is possible, but it is also possible to

3.2.1 Unrestricted agentive benefactives: ‘X does something for someone’

It appears that the most common agentive benefactive construction type expresses a benefit to the agent him/herself or to another. There is no restriction on the affectee, which is to say the affectee can be anybody. I call this construction type the “unrestricted agentive benefactive”. English has an unrestricted agentive benefactive construction with the preposition *for*, and many other languages such as French, Polish, Arabic, and Thai have equivalent constructions, as in the following examples. French uses the preposition *pour*, and a Thai benefactive construction employs the GIVE verb *hây*, which has been grammaticalized to introduce the affectee.²³

English and French

(7) *Do it for your family.*
Fais-le pour ta famille. (Niedzielski 1981: 44)

(8) *He works for himself.*
Il travaille pour lui-même. (Niedzielski 1981: 44)

Thai

(9) *chán bòk thāaŋ hâi kháo*
I tell way GIVE he
‘I showed him the way.’ (Eda 1983)

interpret the sentence as ‘Naoko read the book to someone for Kei’.

²³ For more detailed discussion on the syntax and semantics of beneficiaries in some languages, see

- (10) *chán rɔɔŋ phleŋ hâi tuuaeŋ*
I sing song GIVE myself
'I sang a song for myself.'

In addition to marking the affectee with *for*, English has another benefactive construction, which is ditransitive, as follows.

- (11) *Mark wrote Linda a letter.*
(12) *Mark wrote himself a letter.*

This construction has more restrictions than the *for* construction above in that it takes a limited number of verbs (See Goldberg 1995 for the discussion on partial productivity of the ditransitive construction). Compare the following sentences.

- (13) *Mark baked Linda a pie.*
(14) *Mark baked a pie for Linda.*
(15) ^{??}*Mark sliced Linda a pie.*
(16) *Mark sliced a pie for Linda.*

When both constructions are acceptable, the *for* construction seems to be preferred for emphatic or stylistically marked statements (Niedzielski 1981).

It should also be mentioned that the above benefactive constructions are often syntactically reflexive when the agent and the affectee are identical. In English, taking

Niedzielski (1979: Polish and English) and Niedzielski (1981: French and English).

semantic type “allocentric benefaction” as opposed to “egocentric benefaction”, or what is commonly called self-benefaction.²⁴ For example, Marathi has different constructions that express the two types of benefaction. This section introduces some examples of the allocentric benefactive constructions in Marathi; its egocentric benefactive construction will be discussed in the following section.

In Marathi both the GIVE and SHOW verbs have been grammaticalized into the allocentric benefactive auxiliary verbs (Pardeshi 1998). The SHOW verb is used for situations involving audio-visual performance, such as singing a song or performing something for someone, as in (20) and (21); otherwise the GIVE verb is used, as in (22) and (23).

Marathi

(20) *mI tyA-lA gANe mhaN-Un dAkhaw-l-e*
 1s 3s-DAT song.N sing-PTCPL SHOW-PST-N
 ‘I sang a song for him.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 148)

(21) *mI tyA-lA nnakkal kar-Un dAkhaw-l-I*
 1s 3s-DAT mimicry.F do-PTCPL SHOW-PST-F
 ‘I performed mimicry for him.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 149)

(22) *rAm-ne sitA-lA aAykal ghe-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT bicycle.F take-PTCPL GIVE-PST-F
 ‘Ram bought Sita a bicycle.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 146)

²⁴ I thank Eve Sweetser for suggesting the term ‘allocentric’.

- (23) *rAm-ne sitA-lA kholI zAD-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT room.F sweep-PTCPL GIVE-PST-F
 ‘Ram swept/cleaned the room for Sita.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 146)

Indonesian employs the suffix *-kan* in its benefactive construction, where the affectee cannot be the agent him/herself, and the affectee is coded as the primary object as in (24) and (25).²⁵

Indonesian

- (24) *dia membuat-kan saya kursi itu*
 he make-BEN I chair this
 ‘He made me this chair.’ (Shibatani 1996: 160)

- (25) *saya membunuh-kan ana lipas*
 I kill-BEN centipede
 ‘I killed the centipede for Ana.’ (Shibatani 1996: 171)

Lastly there are two types of benefactive constructions in Japanese that are used to describe allocentric benefaction.²⁶ The first type makes use of the auxiliary verbs of GIVE, and the agent is coded as the subject, as in (26), while the second type makes use of the auxiliary verbs of RECEIVE, and the affectee is coded as the subject, as in (27).²⁷

²⁵ It is interesting that *-kan* is also used as a marker in causative constructions (Purwo 1997).

²⁶ Although there are three types of benefactive constructions all together in Japanese, one of them belongs to another type, not the allocentric benefactive construction, and it will be discussed in section 3.3.2.

²⁷ All three types of the benefactive construction have more than one auxiliary verb to serve various

Japanese

- (26) *watasi wa tarooni hon o yonde-age-ta*
I TOP Taro DAT book ACC read-GIVE-PST
'I did Taro the favor of reading a book.'

- (27) *watasi wa taroo ni hon o yonde-morat-ta*
I TOP Taro DAT book ACC read-RECEIVE-PST
'I received the favor of Taro reading a book for me.'

In order to describe egocentric benefaction, the postpositional phrase, *no tame ni* 'for the sake of' is used alone, as in (28), and the auxiliary verbs cannot be used, with a very few exceptions. Compare the following examples.

Japanese

- (28) *watasi wa zibun no tame ni hon o yon-da*
I TOP self GEN sake DAT book ACC read -PST
'I read a book for myself.'

- (29) ^{???}*watasi wa zibun ni hon o yonde-age-ta*
I TOP self DAT book ACC read-GIVE-PST
'I did myself the favor of reading a book.'

- (30) **watasi wa zibun ni hon o yonde-morat-ta*
I TOP self DAT book ACC read-RECEIVE-PST
'I received (appreciated) the favor of me reading a book for myself.'

- (31) [?]*watasi wa zibun o homete-age-tai*
I TOP self ACC praise-GIVE-DES
'I want to praise myself.'

sociolinguistic factors, such as honorification and speech levels.

- (32) *zibun ni yokuyatta to itte-yari-tai*
 self DAT did a great job QUO say-GIVE-DES
 'I want to say to myself that I did a great job.'
- (33) *?watasizisin ni yurusite-morai-tai*
 myself DAT forgive-RECEIVE-DES
 'I want myself to forgive me.'

As in (29) and (30), in general, neither kind of construction is used to express egocentric benefaction. However, highly marked statements like (31), (32), and (33) may be possible. For example, (31) and (32) may be uttered when the speaker has a special achievement to praise him/herself for, and these sentences are acceptable to me. Sentence (32) has another GIVE verb, *yaru*, which means to give something to someone inferior, and (32) is more acceptable than (31). Notice that in (31) and (32) the verb takes the desiderative auxiliary, *-tai*. If the verb takes the simple past tense instead, then the sentences are less acceptable than (31) and (32). Nonetheless, the exceptions are too few to allow us to conclude that this type of GIVE construction is also used to express egocentric benefaction. With RECEIVE verbs, exceptions such as (33) are harder to find than with the GIVE verbs. This is perhaps because the RECEIVE constructions are often used to express 'gratitude' to the agent, not just to describe a benefactive event. It seems unnecessary to express gratitude to oneself and perhaps inappropriate to do so in Japanese society. As we will see in later sections, Japanese benefactive constructions comprise a very complex system. I will not discuss

them further in this section, as the goal here is to introduce examples of allocentric benefactive constructions. In conclusion, the benefactive constructions in question are used to describe allocentric benefaction in Japanese.

3.2.3 Egocentric benefaction

This section deals with egocentric benefaction or self-benefaction, where the agent carries out an action for the benefit of him/herself. As with allocentric benefactives, egocentric benefactives seem to be much less common than unrestricted agentive benefactives. However, they are quite prevalent among Indic languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, and Tamil (Masica 1976, Pardeshi 2001a,b). The following are examples of the construction in Hindi and Marathi.²⁸

Hindi

- (34) *us-ne khat likh liyaa*
he-ERG letter.M write took.M
'He wrote the letter (for his own benefit).' (Pardeshi 2001b: 92)

Marathi

- (35) *tyaa-na daaDhi kar-un ghetli*
he-ERG beard.F do-CP took.F
'He shaved his beard/He got his beard shaved.' (Pardeshi 2001b: 92)

²⁸ These constructions are also used to express the notion of adversity (Pardeshi 2001b).

It should be noted here that both Hindi and Marathi have allocentric benefactive constructions as well, and recall the Marathi examples given in the previous section. Analogies to these egocentric benefactive constructions in Indo-European languages are the uses of Indo-European middle voice expressing self-benefaction. However, since middle voice covers a wider range of semantics, it will be discussed separately in Chapter 5.

Kewapi, the eastern dialect of the Kewa language in Papua New Guinea, has obligatory benefactive markings: egocentric or allocentric (Yarapea 1993, see also Franklin 1971 for the Kewa language in general). Sentences (36) and (38) are marked egocentric benefaction, while (37) and (39) are marked allocentric benefaction.²⁹

Kawapi

(36) *ne-me pea-lo.*

1s-ERG do-1s:PRES:EGOCENTRIC

‘I am doing (something) for myself.’ (Yarapea 1993: 96)

(37) *ne-me pea-ato.*

1s-ERG do-1s:PRES:ALLOCENTRIC

‘I am doing (something) for someone.’ (Yarapea 1993: 96)

(38) *naa enda na-ma.*

1p food eat-1p:NPST: EGOCENTRIC

‘We ate food.’ (Yarapea 1993: 99)

²⁹ Yarapea (1993) calls it altrocentric benefaction.

- (39) *naa-me enda na-arima.*
 1p-ERG food eat-1p:NPST: ALLOCENTRIC
 ‘We ate food on someone’s behalf.’ (Yarapea 1993: 99)

As the above examples show, the person-number-tense suffixes in Kewapi agree in person and number with the subject referent, indicate the tense of the verb, and mark benefaction. For example, the suffix *-lo* in (36) marks first person singular, the present tense, and egocentric benefaction, and the suffix *-arima* in (39) marks first person plural, the near past tense and allocentric benefaction.³⁰

As the examples from Section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 indicate, the egocentric and allocentric alternation appears to be an important semantic distinction in benefactive constructions. Up to the present time, I have not found many examples of both construction types existing in a single language; however, further study of benefactive constructions will shed light on the two types of benefaction in general.

3.2.4 Shared-benefit construction: *-tseʔm* in Lai

This section introduces another type of agentive benefactive construction I have found in Lai. As I will discuss further in Section 3.3.1, Lai has a regular benefactive construction that is often used to express allocentric benefaction, ‘X does something for the

³⁰ Yarapea (1993) notes that though these suffixes can be separated into individual categories, tense,

benefit of Y’, as in (40) (Smith 1998a, Peterson 1998). Egocentric benefaction is expressed with the middle marking, as in (41).

Lai

(40) *van-hree ni? vok ?a-ka-tsok-piak*
 Van Hree ERG pig 3s-1s-buy-BEN
 ‘Van Hree bought a pig for me.’

(41) *van-hree ni? vok ?aa-tsok*
 Van Hree ERG pig 3sg MM-buy
 ‘Van Hree bought a pig for himself.’

In addition, Lai has another benefactive construction, and I call it a “shared-benefit” construction. It expresses ‘X does something for the benefit of X himself and Y’, as in the following examples.

(42) *tsewmaŋ ni? they ?a-ka-lo?tsem?*
 Tsewmang ERG fruit 3s-1s-pick-BEN
 ‘Tsewmang picked fruits for me (in addition to picking them for himself).’

(43) *tsewmaŋ ni? thil ?a-ka-tsook-tsem?*
 Tsewmang ERG thing 3s-1s-buy-BEN
 ‘Tsewmang bought things for me (in addition to buying things for himself).’

In this construction, the subject referent is already performing the action denoted by the predicate. In addition to performing that action for his own benefit, he also performs it for

number, and person, it is economical to treat them as portmanteau morphemes.

the benefit of someone else. Though I have found only one language that has a grammatical construction of this sort, the semantics of this construction seems to be quite clear and practical. This type of benefactive situation occurs frequently in daily life: doing laundry for oneself and for other members of family, fixing breakfast for oneself and for a guest, or making photocopies for oneself and for a classmate. It should also be noted that the semantics of ‘X does something for the benefit of X himself and Y’, as exemplified in the shared-benefit construction in Lai, can probably only be expressed through the notions of egocentric and allocentric benefaction.

3.2.5 Discussion of agentive benefactive constructions

My data suggests that agentive benefactive constructions are quite common in languages. Many languages possess unrestricted agentive benefactives in which the affectee can be either the agent him/herself or another person. There are also allocentric and egocentric benefactives. In the former, the affectee is not the agent, while in the latter it is the agent him/herself. Lastly, Lai has a unique benefactive construction, where the agent referent performs an action not only for him/herself but also for someone else.

According to my data on agentive benefactive constructions, Japanese has only allocentric benefactives, and English has only unrestricted benefactives. I have not found

any language that possesses only egocentric benefactive constructions. Considering the data, I propose the following hierarchy to rank the likelihood of agentive benefactive construction types appearing in a given language.

- (I) unrestricted agentive benefactive > egocentric benefactive > (other types)
 allocentric benefactive

The hierarchy indicates that if a language has an agentive benefactive construction, then it is most likely to be an unrestricted agentive or allocentric benefactive construction. Languages with an unrestricted agentive or allocentric benefactive construction may also have an additional one, namely an egocentric benefactive construction. More data is required to make a firm conclusion concerning the other types. As discussed in the previous section, in addition to the shared benefit construction, Lai has a general benefactive construction that is often used to express allocentric benefaction, and its middle voice expresses egocentric benefaction. Therefore, at present, I suggest that if a language has both allocentric and egocentric benefactive constructions (or some kind of benefactive constructions that express both notions), then that language may also have another type of benefactive construction.

I treat the unrestricted and allocentric benefactives together as a group because the unrestricted benefactives are usually used to express allocentric benefaction. In many

unrestricted benefactive constructions, egocentric benefaction sentences are reflexive, and they can be considered as more marked than allocentric benefaction sentences, as in *I baked him a cake* and *I baked myself a cake*. Thus, the real contrast here is between allocentric and egocentric benefaction. I suggest that the reason why allocentric benefactive constructions are more common in languages than egocentric ones is because, with allocentric benefaction, we have to state clearly ‘who does what for whom’. By contrast, with egocentric benefaction, such a statement is not necessarily required, perhaps because our actions are often done for our own benefit, such as eating and going to school. In many languages, such activities are often expressed without any benefactive marking. Consider English sentences, such as *Mark ate dinner* and *Linda went to school in Mexico*. Both sentences describe events that the subject referent benefits from. Moreover, in English, there are some verbs for which the beneficiary is unspecified with egocentric benefaction, whereas it is specified with allocentric benefaction, as in *I bathed* vs. *I bathed Fluffy*. I will offer a further discussion about egocentric benefaction in the section on middle constructions in Chapter 5.

3.3 Event benefactive construction

3.3.1 Lai *piak* construction

Event benefactive constructions express that ‘X benefits from Event Z’, where the evaluator sees a certain event as good because the affectee benefits. In this type, the event does not have to include the agent. For example, as mentioned before, Lai has the *piak* construction that expresses not only allocentric benefaction, as in (44) and (45), but also agentless benefaction, as in (46) and (47).

Lai

- (44) *tsewmang tsa-ʔuk ka-tsook-piak*
Tsewmang book 1s-buy (II)-BEN
‘I bought Tsewmang a book.’
- (45) *tsewmang door ka-kal-piak*
Tsewmang market 1s-go-BEN
‘I went to market for Tsewmang.’
- (46) *paŋpaar niʔ ʔan-kan-paar-piak*
flowers ERG 3p-1p-bloom-BEN
‘The flowers bloomed for us.’
- (47) *ni niʔ ʔa-kan-tlaan-piak*
sun ERG 3s-1p-shine-BEN
‘The sun shines for us.’

The lexical GIVE verb in Lai is *peek*, and it is highly likely that *piak* has grammaticalized from *peek*. I suggest that the *piak* construction originated as the agentive benefactive

construction and later extended to express more general benefaction, namely agentless benefaction.

3.3.2 Japanese *kureru* construction

The Japanese *kureru* construction is different from the other two types discussed in Section 3.2.2 in that it also expresses agentless benefaction. Recall that the other two express only allocentric benefaction, as in the following examples repeated here.

Japanese

(48) *watasi wa tarooni hon o yonde-age-ta*
I TOP Taro DAT book ACC read-GIVE-PST
'I did Taro the favor of reading a book.'

(49) *watasi wa tarooni hon o yonde-morat-ta*
I TOP Taro DAT book ACC read-RECEIVE-PST
'I received the favor of Taro reading a book for me.'

Sentence (48) is an example with a GIVE verb, *ageru*, and sentence (49) is an example with a RECEIVE verb, *morau*.

Kureru is also a GIVE verb, but it is a counterpart of *ageru*, since the Japanese GIVE verbs have a deictic opposition: incoming GIVE (toward the speaker and/or his/her in-group) and non-incoming GIVE (either giving that is away from the speaker and/or his/her in-group or giving between people who are neither the speaker nor among those in

the speaker's in-group). Thus, *kureru* expresses incoming GIVE while *ageru* expresses non-incoming GIVE. With non-incoming GIVE verbs, the speaker (and/or his/her in-group) must be the agent as in (48) above and (50) below, while with the incoming GIVE verbs, the speaker (and/or his/her in-group) must be the affectee as in (51). Compare the following examples.

(50) *watasi wa tarooni susi o tukutte-age-ta*
 I TOP Taro DAT sushi ACC make-GIVE-PST
 'I did Taro the favor of making sushi.'

(51) *taroo wa watasi ni susi o tukutte-kure-ta*
 Taro TOP I DAT sushi ACC make-GIVE-PST
 'Taro did the favor of making sushi for me.'

(52) **taroo wa watasi ni susi o tukutte-age-ta*
 Taro TOP I DAT sushi ACC make-GIVE-PST
 'Taro did the favor of making sushi for me.'

(53) **watasi wa tarooni susi o tukutte-kure-ta*
 I TOP Taro DAT sushi ACC make-GIVE-PST
 'I did Taro the favor of making sushi.'

In present day Japanese, there are two in-coming GIVE verbs; *kudasaru* and *kureru*. Generally, the former is used when the agent is socially higher than the affectee; otherwise, the latter is used. The *kudasaru* benefactive expresses only allocentric benefaction. The *kureru* benefactive, however, can be used to express not only allocentric

benefaction, as in (51), but also benefactive events that do not include an agent, as the following examples indicate. These sentences express the gratitude of the speaker. In other words, the speaker is thankful for a certain event, such as ‘stop raining’ in (54) and ‘a child going to sleep’ in (56). It should be noted here that the auxiliary *kureru* may be omitted from these two sentences, and then the sentences are simply statements of the facts, as in (55) and (57).

(54) *ame ga yande-kure-ta*
 rain ACC stop-GIVE-PST
 ‘It stopped raining (and I am thankful for that).’

(55) *ame ga yan-da*
 rain ACC stop- PST
 ‘It stopped raining.’

(56) *kodomo ga nete-kure-ta*
 child ACC sleep-GIVE-PST
 ‘The kids fell asleep (finally and I am thankful for that).’

(57) *kodomo ga ne-ta*
 child ACC sleep- PST
 ‘The kids fell asleep.’

The *kureru* agentless benefactive sentences are more restricted than the *kureru* agentive benefactive sentences in that the affectee is always the speaker, and the affectee cannot be overtly stated in a sentence, as in the following examples.

- (58) **ame ga watasi ni/no tameni yande-kure-ta*
rain ACC I sg DAT/for the sake of stop-GIVE-PST
‘It stopped raining (and I am thankful for that).’

The sentences express that the speaker is thankful that an event occurred.³¹ As in the case of Lai’s *piak* construction, it seems that *kureru* has first been grammaticalized to express allocentric benefaction and later extended to express agentless benefaction.³² The fact that the lexical meaning of *kureru* is GIVE and its agentless benefactive uses are more restricted than the agentive benefactive uses supports this claim.

3.3.3 Vietnamese and Thai benefactive passives

The previous sections dealt with event benefactives in Lai and Japanese that take the affectee as the object. Now I will examine event benefactives that take the affectee as

³¹ There seems to be another explanation as to why the affectee must be the speaker. Characteristically, the Japanese language does not allow the speaker to report the psychological state of others in a direct form (e.g. Shibatani 1990, Hasegawa 1998). Compare the following examples.

- (59) *watasi wa uresii/samui*
I TOP glad/cold
‘I am glad/cold.’
- (60) **tanaka-san wa uresii/samui*
Tanaka-Mr. TOP glad/cold
‘Mr. Tanaka is glad/cold.’

I suggest that the most important function of the *kureru* agentless benefactive is to express the affectee’s gratitude. Since gratitude should be considered as one’s psychological state, the affectee is limited to the speaker. Only the speaker can directly state his/her own feeling of gratitude.

³² I am not including *kudasaru* in this account in order to make the point clear. More strictly speaking, both *kureru* and *kudasaru* may have acquired the allocentric benefactive use (distinguishing them on the grounds of social-relations), and further only *kureru* has acquired the agentless benefactive use.

the subject.³³

Vietnamese has a benefactive construction that expresses that the subject referent undergoes a pleasant experience (Clark 1974). In this construction, the speaker evaluates the event as good for the affectee, as in the following examples.

Vietnamese

(61) *ông đó được mua sách*
gentleman that undergo buy book
'He has the good fortune to be able to buy the books.' (Clark 1974: 81)

(62) *ông đó được mát*
gentleman that undergo cold
'That man has the good fortune of being cool.' (Clark 1974: 82)

(63) *Kim được John khen*
Kim John compliment
'Kim was complimented by John' (Siewierska 1984: 151)

(64) *John được Kim đánh*
John Kim hit
'John was hit by Kim (He liked it, it was good for him)'
(Siewierska 1984: 151)

Although the benefactive verb *được* has maintained the grammatical status of a full lexical verb (Liêm 1969, Clark 1974) with the most basic meanings 'receive, get, obtain' (Thompson 1965), its uses have been extended to take verbal complements as in the above

³³ The affectee is also coded as an adjunct in Japanese benefactives, as mentioned in Section 3.2.

examples. Since the sentences (63) and (64) can be analyzed as kinds of passive clauses, the *đuoc* construction has sometimes been treated as a real passive (Truitner 1972, Le 1976). Clark (1974), on the other hand, rejects such an analysis and suggests that the construction has a verb that requires a sentential complement as the underlying structure, and it undergoes Equi-NP deletion. My analysis of the construction is that all four sentences above can simply be regarded as instances of benefactive constructions with the verb *đuoc*, since it would be difficult to treat sentences like (61) and (62) as passives.³⁴

As with Vietnamese, Thai also has a construction that has been considered as the benefactive passive (Noss 1964, Davison 1980), as in the following examples. This construction always expresses the notion of the benefit to the subject referent. Therefore, I treat it as a benefactive construction, which covers the semantics of passives.

Thai

(65) *phǒm* *dâaj-ráp* *chəən*.
 I RECEIVE invite
 ‘I was invited.’ (Noss 1964: 124)

(66) *phǒm* *dâaj-ráp* *tɛ̀ɛŋtân* *pen* *prathaan*.
 I RECEIVE appoint be chairperson
 ‘I was appointed to be the chairperson.’

³⁴ Vietnamese has another construction that has been treated as the adversative passive and denotes the notion of a negative affect on the subject referent. I will discuss this construction later.

3.3.4 English *get to* construction

As noted earlier, I suggest that English uses the *get to* construction to express the notion of benefit. This construction, as Austin (1998) points out, has received little attention from linguistic researchers, perhaps because it is a fairly recent innovation and has not been frequently used. The OED includes only one section for intransitive *get* followed by *to*-infinitive (32a). It does not distinguish between the various meanings listed in the section. However, one of the meanings is ‘to secure an opportunity of (being or doing something)’, which includes the notion of benefit. The earliest example in the OED, sentence (67), can be interpreted according to this definition.³⁵ We can find clear instances in the 17th century.

- (67) *Then get they to be chaplines to honorable and noble personages* (Stubbes, Anat. Abus.II. 1583 (OED get 32a))
- (68) *All those that shall get to read them* (Ecliston, *Bechmen's Ep.* 1649 (OED get 32a))
- (69) *We...could never get to see it quick in the Microscope* (Power, Exp. Philos. 21. 1664. (OED get 32a))

In present day English, a few dictionaries include this use; Collins Concise Dictionary Plus (1983) provides a definition as ‘to manage or contrive’. Kimball (1973) and Gronemeyer (1999) both use the term ‘permission’ for this use. Gronemeyer notes that

³⁵ Another interpretation for (67) is ‘to come to’.

“I use permission in the standard sense of deontic modality, meaning that the subject is permitted by an external circumstance or force the possibility or opportunity of doing something. Closely related are the senses ‘manage to’ and ‘secure opportunity’ which I take to be contextually determined variants”(7). Her claim seems to be an accurate observation; however, the notion of benefit needs to be included in the semantics of *get to*. If one is permitted to do something or given an opportunity to do something, it is natural to think that one wanted to do it or is at least happy to do it.

In her corpus study, Gronemeyer states that the *get to* construction is infrequent in the Brown Corpus, and I have found a very few examples in the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Part One (Santa Barbara) and in the Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT). The following are examples of sentences found in the three corpora.³⁶

- (70) *I filled a five-gallon jug for him and brought it to the hospital. I don't think he ever **got to** drink any of it.* (Berg and Berg, *Molly and me* 1961) (Brown)
- (71) *I **get to** sit with my friends at lunch.* (Santa Barbara)
- (72) *Because I had to be a wife most of the time, but part of the time I **got to** be a worker, and do the really fun work.* (Santa Barbara)
- (73) *We didn't **get to** do anything good this year. It's all been boring.* (COLT)

Nonetheless, the instances I found all express the notion of benefit, except when speakers use the construction to express adversity as sarcasm, as in (74) and (75). In conclusion, I

³⁶ Sentence (109) from the Brown Corpus is taken from Gronemeyer (1999:7).

argue that the *get to* construction is used to express the notion of benefit.

(74) *Nope, I **get to** hand-wash everything.* (Santa Barbara)

(75) *Why do you **get to** have all the fun while I **get to** do all the worrying?*
(Gronemeyer 1999: 31)

Vietnamese, Thai and English all make use of GET/RECEIVE verbs in the above benefactive constructions. Since this type of grammaticalization has arisen from the lexical uses of GET/RECEIVE verbs, the affectee is always coded as the subject, and the syntactic realization is different from GIVE benefactive constructions.

3.4 Discussion of benefactive constructions

Previous sections have shown that there are two basic types: the agentive benefactive, where the agent carries out an action for the benefit of affectee, and the event benefactive where an agent may or may not be involved. The agentive benefactive has three basic subtypes: the unrestricted agentive benefactive, allocentric benefactive, and egocentric benefactive. In addition, Lai has a shared-benefit construction that expresses ‘X does something for the benefit of X and Y’. I summarize the types of benefactives in Figure 5 and restrictions on the agent and affectee in Table 1.

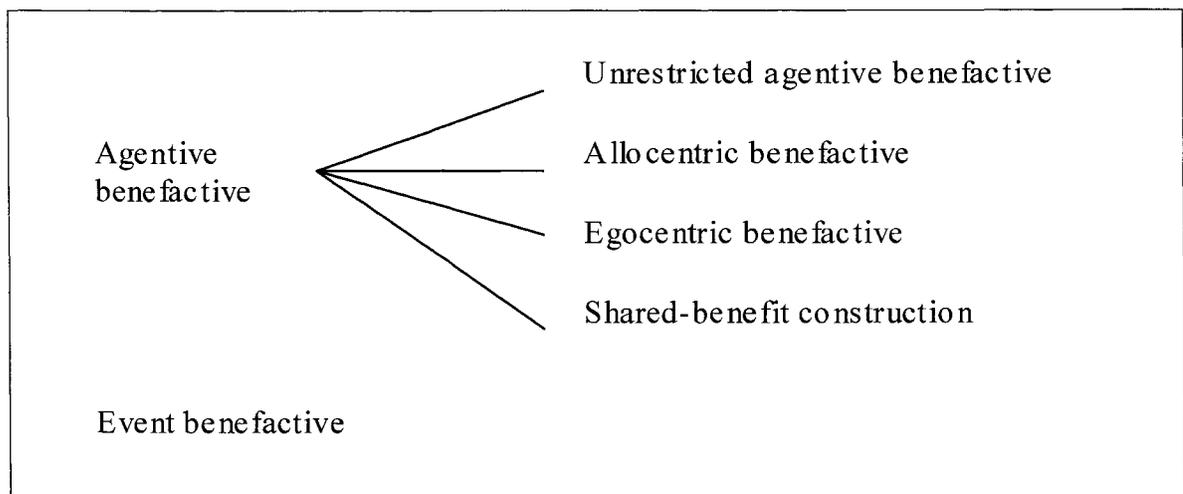


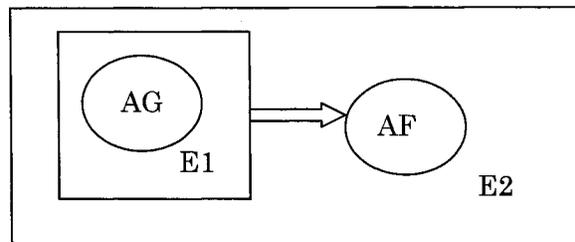
Figure 5 Types of benefactives

Table 1 Restrictions on the agent and affectee in benefactives

Type of construction	Is there an agent?	Who is the affectee?
Unrestricted agentive benefactive	yes	anyone
Allocentric benefactive	yes	not the agent
Egocentric benefactive	yes	agent
Shared-benefit construction	yes	agent and other(s)
Event benefactive	agentless is also OK	anyone

It should be clear that benefactives have two basic semantic types: the agentive benefactive and event benefactive. The former always requires the agent, while the latter does not. The agentive benefactive is further divided into two types, the allocentric and egocentric benefactives, and we can consider that the unrestricted agentive benefactive covers these two types of benefactives. In addition, Lai's shared-benefit construction needs to be treated separately.

The semantic types of agentive benefactives are schematized in the following diagrams. Recall that in the figures, the thick arrow shows the direction of effect.



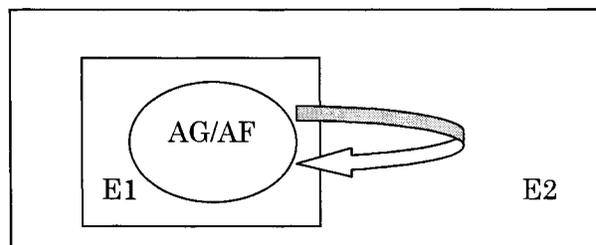
AG: agent

AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 6 Allocentric benefactive



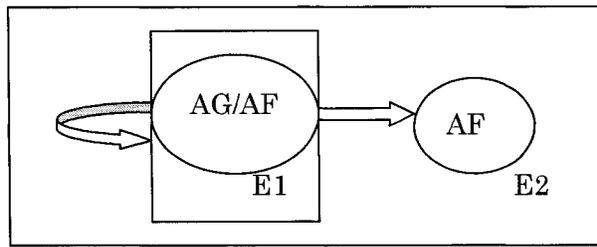
AG: agent

AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 7 Egocentric benefactive



AG: agent

AF: affectee

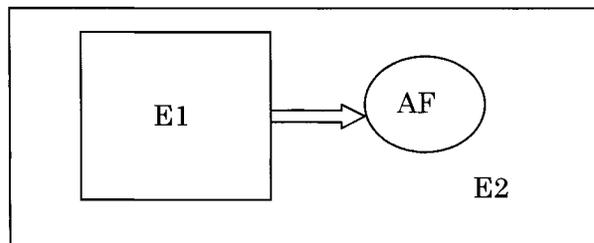
E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 8 Shared-benefit construction

As for the event benefactive, its schema is the same as the basic schema for AC in

Figure 1, repeated here.



AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 1 The basic event schema for AC

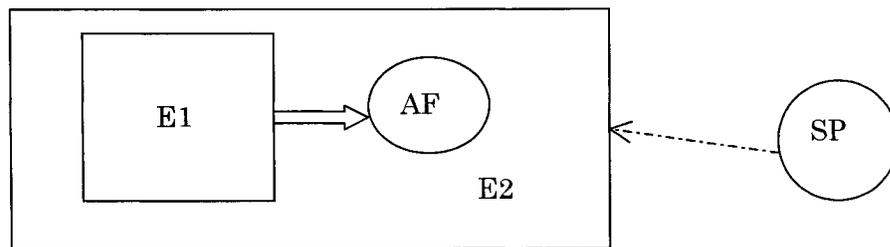
Finally, I would like to posit a separate schema for the Japanese *kureru* construction. This construction is an event benefactive, and I have suggested that it is used

to express the speaker's gratitude when used as an agentless benefactive. The affectee is limited to the speaker or his/her in-group in this construction, when used as an agentive benefactive. I would also like to point out that, in fact, this construction is often used to express the speaker's gratitude even when used as an allocentric benefactive and the affectee is not the speaker him/herself: the speaker is grateful that someone did a favor for his/her in-group (Tokunaga 1986). See the following examples.

(76) *taroo wa ootoo ni susi o tukutte-kure-ta*
 Taro TOP younger brother DAT sushi ACC make-GIVE-PST
 'Taro did the favor of making sushi for my younger brother.'

(77) *taroo wa imoto o okutte-kure-ta*
 Taro TOP younger sister ACC walk someone home-GIVE-PST
 'Taro did the favor of walking my sister home.'

Therefore, I conclude that the *kureru* construction always indicates the speaker's attitude to some degree, not a simple presentation of some favor-giving event. The speaker is included in the schema, in Figure 9, and the dotted arrow indicates the speaker's attitude toward the event, including his/her gratitude and joy.



AF: affectee

E1: event/action expressed by the predicate

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 9 The *kureru* benefactive construction

As has been pointed out, the most common benefactive type is the agentive benefactive, and this reflects the common assumption that good events usually result from intention, planning and the acts of people. In addition, some languages have event benefactive constructions, where the agent may not necessarily be involved. Occasionally one can experience good events without the intentional acts of people. We may recognize this kind of good event as an instance of rare luck. The English word *windfall* and the Japanese expression, *tana kara botamoti* (literally ‘a rice cake falls from a shelf’ with the meaning *windfall*), express this idea. Then, it should be expected that some languages have grammatical constructions that express good fortune, including agentless benefaction. Note that I have not found a single benefactive construction that is dedicated to expressing

only agentless benefaction, and this supports my claim that agentless benefaction is uncommon.

In my data, all the languages that have event benefactive constructions also possess one or more agentive benefactive constructions. I propose the following hierarchy to show the likelihood that benefactive construction types appear in a given language.

(II) Agentive benefactives > Event benefactives

This hierarchy predicts that if a language has the ‘X benefits from Event Z’ construction, then it should also possess at least one agentive benefactive construction. For example, English has the *get to* construction for the ‘X benefits from Event Z’ construction; and the *for* construction and the benefactive ditransitive construction as the agentive benefactives. Japanese has the *kureru* benefactive, whose semantics includes agentless benefaction, in addition to other agentive benefactive constructions. Note that there may be other types of agentless benefactive constructions to be found. Further study should shed light on our understanding of benefactive constructions in general.

3.5 Benefactive constructions extended to ACs

3.5.1 Data

In my data, the patterns of some languages that support benefactive meanings are used only to express situations favorable to the affectee. For example, an English sentence, *She burned John a steak*, is only acceptable if we assume that John likes his steaks burned (Green 1974, Goldberg 1995); otherwise it is understood as some sort of humor or sarcasm.³⁷ On the other hand, in other languages, the same form that makes the benefactive construction can also make an adversative construction, and it is used to express situations evaluated as unfavorable to the affectee. For instance, in Newari, sentence (78) exemplifies the benefactive use, while sentence (79) exemplifies the adversative use.³⁸ Sentence (80) can be interpreted as a benefactive or adversative, depending on the context.

Newari

(78) *rām-ān* *Gita-yāta* *lukha* *cāekā:* *bila*
Ram-ERG Gita-DAT door.ABS open.PP GIVE.PD
'Ram opened the door for Gita.'

³⁷ Shibatani (1996) mentions that it may be possible to get a malefactive reading with this sort of sentence. However, the malefactive reading appears to be very unusual and thus I will not treat it as a part of the semantics of the English benefactive construction.

³⁸ I thank Kazuyuki Kiryu for sharing Newari data with me.

(79) *jimi macā mhiga: sinā: bila*
 my child.ABS yesterday die.PP GIVE.PD
 ‘My child died on me yesterday.’

(80) *mata sinā: bila*
 light die.pp give.pd
 ‘The light went off for/on me.’

As in many other languages (e.g. Newman 1996, Smith 1998b), Newari makes use of the GIVE verb in its benefactive construction as an auxiliary verb. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that in Newari, the construction started as a benefactive and was eventually extended into a more general AC that can express notions of both benefit and adversity.

Perhaps because this kind of extension is contextual and the benefactive use is predominant in most languages, adversative uses have attracted little attention. Only Fageali (2000) seriously considered adversative uses in his discussion of benefactives in some West-African languages. However, it is important to recognize that benefactives and adversatives are closely related, and we need to account for the fact that these two opposing notions can be expressed by a single construction. Although the data available is very limited, the following examples clearly show that there are some semantic and pragmatic variations among adversative uses in different languages and even within one language itself.

In Lai, Sentence (81) is an example of regular benefactive use, while Sentences

(82)-(85) denote that the subject referent is negatively affected by the event. This use may be better termed ‘malefactive’ rather than simply ‘adversative’, since the language informant of Lai feels that at least part of the intention of the agent is to inflict damage on the subject referent, as in (82) and (83) (see also Peterson 1998).³⁹ Although the construction is also used to express unintentional misfortune, such as (84) and (85), overall it is more likely to be used as malefactive.

Lai

(81) *tsewmaŋ niʔ law ʔa-ka-thloʔ-piak*
 Tsewmang ERG field 3s-1s-weed-BEN
 ‘Tsewmang weeded the field for me.’

(82) *tsewmaŋ ʔa-vok ʔan-thaʔ-piak*
 Tsewmang 3s-pig 3p-kill-BEN
 ‘They killed Tsewmang’s pig on him.’

(83) *tsewmaŋ niʔ ka-rool ʔa-ka-ʔey-piak-(hram)*
 Tsewmang ERG 1s-food 3p-1s-eat-ADV-on purpose
 ‘Tsewmang ate my food on me (on purpose).’

(84) *tsewmaŋ niʔ ka-kheen ʔa-ka-khway-piak-(swal)*
 Tsewmang ERG 1s-food 3p-1s-brake-ADV-(accidentally)
 ‘Tsewmang broke my dish (accidentally) on me.’

(85) *zu ʔa-kan-riit-piak*
 liquor 3s-2p-drunken (II)-ADV
 ‘He got drunk on us.’ (sarcasm)

³⁹ In this dissertation, the term ‘malefactive’ is used to describe an intentional act to harm someone, while ‘adversative’ simply means an event is bad for someone.

In Japanese, some of the benefactive constructions are also used as both malefactive and adversatives.

Japanese

- (86) *taroo o izimete-yat-ta*
 Taro ACC pick on-GIVE-PST
 ‘I picked on Taro.’
- (87) *nagutte-kure-ru*
 beat-GIVE-PRS
 ‘I’ll beat you!’
- (88) *otooto ni hidoi koto o site-kure-ta-ne*
 younger brother DAT terrible thing ACC do-GIVE-PST-PTC
 ‘You did a terrible thing to my brother.’
- (89) *nagureru nara nagutte-mora-oo-ka*
 beat if beat-RECEIVE-COHORT-Q
 ‘Beat me, if you can!’
- (90) *wasurete-morat-tewa komaru*
 forget-RECEIVE-if have difficulty
 ‘It would be bad, if you forget (about it).’

As in (86), the *yaru* construction is used to express an intentional detriment to someone.

The auxiliary verb *yaru* is the informal form of the non-incoming GIVE. It is used when the affectee is equal or inferior to the agent, including plants and animals, and this must be why *yaru* is the only non-incoming GIVE verb with a malefactive extension. In addition, *kureru*

is also used as non-incoming malefactive GIVE, as in (87), but this is a remnant of an old usage. Originally as a full-fledged verb, *kureru* meant only non-incoming GIVE (Kogawa 1995), but now it means in-coming GIVE in present day Japanese.⁴⁰ As in the case with *yaru*, the malefactive extension of *kureru* is not unexpected, since its original meaning is ‘to give something to someone inferior’.

As an incoming GIVE, *kureru* is used as an adversative, when the speaker wants to blame or complain about the subject referent, as in (88). Similarly, the RECEIVE *morau* is used as an adversative, when the speaker wants to challenge the agent as in (89) or to show disapproval of something, as in (90). It should be noted that all these malefactive and adversative usages have a restriction. The subject referent must be the speaker in the malefactive GIVE as in (86) and (87), while with the adversative GIVE the affectee must be the speaker or his/her in-group, as in (88), (89) and (90). Thus, all of the sentences can be uttered only from the speaker’s point of view. I suggest that these malefactive and adversative uses all express the speaker’s negative feeling, and since the speaker can authoritatively express only his/her own feelings, not those of others in Japanese (Shibatani 1990, Hasegawa 1998), the uses must take the speaker’s point of view.

⁴⁰ In fact, some dialects have retained the original meaning (Hidaka 1997). However, as many including the common language have the new meaning, I treat *kureru* as in-coming GIVE in this dissertation. It is also interesting to note that although the use is disappearing, *kureru* can be still used as an non-incoming lexical GIVE, when it has a pejorative sense.

Lastly, it should be mentioned here that the phenomenon of benefactives extending to ACs appears to have some limitations. For example, Fagerli (2000) notes that in Fula both benefactive and adversative interpretations are quite normal, as in (91) and (92). By contrast, in Ewe and Akan the malefactive reading of GIVE constructions is marked, and the benefactive reading is preferred, as the Ewe example (93) indicates:

Fula

(91) *Abbo teɓ-an-i Didi manɲoro*
 Abbo pick-BEN-PERF Didi mango
 ‘Abbo picked a mango for/on Didi’ (Fagerli 2000:206)

(92) *Abbo teɓ-an-i Didi manɲoro nyolnde*
 Abbo pick-MAL-PERF Didi mango rotten
 ‘Abbo picked a rotten mango to Didi’ (Fagerli 2000:207)

Ewe

(93) *melɔ gbeɖuɖɔ na wo*
 I-collect rubbish GIVE you
 (i) ‘I collected rubbish for you.’ (benefactive)
 (ii) ‘?* I collected rubbish to you.’ (malefactive) (Fagerli 2000:213)

With Ewe, it is only when the sentence clearly expresses the notion of adversity, such as ‘lying to someone’ in (94), that the construction can have a clear malefactive interpretation.

Ewe

(94) *o ngma la zirii ko amai oi yideme yele*
 he cut A.M. lies GIVE Ama she house people matter
 ‘He lied to Ama about her family.’ (Fagerli 2000:214)

All the examples in this section illustrate that the context supplies the adversative reading, and the acceptability of adversative readings of benefactive constructions varies among languages.

3.5.2 Discussion of the extensions

First, the reason why a single construction can express two different meanings is that both the semantics of benefaction and adversity share the notion of ‘affectedness’. Thus benefaction and adversity can be analyzed as ‘affected positively’ or ‘affected negatively’. If we have a general AC, context can provide a proper reading: positive or negative.

Second, I suggest that in general the extension starts out from benefactives, not from adversatives. I have found only one case where a malefactive construction is also used to indicate a benefactive event. Generally in semantic change, pejorative development is far more common than ameliorative development (Ullman 1962), and I do not think that the extension from an adversative construction to an AC can easily occur.

As Fagerli (2000) suggests, one possible story of a benefactive acquiring an adversative use is when the notion of benefit has been weakened over time in a particular benefactive construction, and the construction has extended to a more general AC that

expresses not just the notion of benefit but also adversity. Perhaps, languages, such as Newari introduced earlier, might have undergone this sort of extension. However, as shown above, there are many different types of benefactive constructions in languages with complex semantics and pragmatics, and thus different motivations for the extensions should be expected.

I will attempt to account for the cases with the Japanese benefactive verbs, since data to draw meaningful conclusions about other languages is limited. Recall that there are two types of uses in Japanese: the malefactive uses with *yaru* and *kureru* (originally *kuru*) and the adversative uses with *kureru* and *morau*. As for the malefactive uses, both *kuru* (the older form of *kureru*) and *yaru* are used when the speaker looks down on someone and wants to harm or has already harmed that person. As mentioned earlier, this kind of extension should be unexpected, since the original meaning of *kuru* was to ‘give something to someone inferior’ (Kogawa 1995, Maeda 2001). Giving to an inferior leads to contemptuous or pejorative giving, which is a malefactive act.

On the other hand, the adversative extensions of *kureru* and *morau* appear to have a different type of motivation. Additional examples are given below.

Japanese

(95) *hidoi koto o yatte-kure-ta-ne*
terrible thing ACC do-GIVE-PST-PTL
'You did a terrible thing to me'

(96) *buteru nara butte-mora-oo*
beat if beat-RECEIVE-COHORT
'Beat me, if you can!'

(97) *ima kaette-morat-tewa komaru*
now return-RECEIVE-if have difficulty
'It would be bad, if you leave now.'

(98) *anata ni wa ii koto site-morat-ta-kara-ne*
you DAT TOP good thing do-RECEIVE-PST-because-PTL
'You did a nice thing for me (Sarcasm)' (Yamamoto 2002: 272)

In our lives, benefactive acts may be negatively evaluated. Although we do not know the intention of the agent, we can imagine a situation where the agent has tried to do something nice for the speaker, however, the speaker took it negatively. For this reason, Yamamoto (2001, 2002) treats the adversative uses of *kureru* and *morau* as a kind of sarcasm. Indeed, Japanese has a common expression *arigatameewaku*, which could be translated as 'unwanted favor', 'misplaced favor' or 'unwelcome favor'. As discussed in Hashimoto (2001) and Yamamoto (2001), as a general rule, speakers of Japanese are obliged to state benefactive acts as much as possible, when the speaker is the affectee, even if s/he does not in fact appreciate the act, but nonetheless feels that s/he owes some favor to the agent.

When the addressee is someone equal or inferior to the speaker, sarcastic statements, as in (98), can be made. However, not all adversative uses can be considered sarcastic, as Yamamoto suggests (2001, 2002). For example, Sentence (97) directly expresses the negative feeling of the speaker, instead of being sarcastic. In addition, Sentences (95) and (96) are more likely to be uttered as direct statements of adversity. Therefore, I suggest that the adversative uses *kureru* and *morau* first arose as sarcasm and later developed into direct statements of adversity.⁴¹ In addition, with *kureru*, the fact that its malefactive extension as an non-incoming GIVE had already started before its malefactive extension and this extension might have encouraged the adversative extension. In conclusion, I suggest that the two types of extensions are not instances of benefactives simply becoming more general ACs; rather the opposite meanings have arisen in certain contexts, and they have

⁴¹ Another way to look at this type of extension is to consider that the benefactive auxiliary verbs have become the markers of directionality of affectedness. This must be true for the reference-tracking in discourse, where these auxiliaries are used to facilitate the recovery of elliptical elements (Yamada 2001, Tanaka 2001). As Yamamoto (2002) points out, when *morau* is used in an if-clause, as in (97), it may simply function as the direction of the affectedness. *Morau* indicates that the speaker is the affectee, and the notion of adversity is mainly expressed by the main predicates, such as *komaru* ‘have difficulty’. However, the directionality alone sometimes cannot explain adversative uses, since marking directionality is not always necessary. Compare (99) and (100), where Sentence (100) may be uttered to indicate the speaker’s evil intention.

(99) *mata* *denwasuru-zo*
 again call-PTL
 ‘I’ll call you again.’

(100) *mata* *denwasite-yaru-zo*
 again call-GIVE-PTL
 ‘I’ll call you again (in order to annoy you, on purpose).’

become part of grammatical meanings.

I hope that the above data and discussion have reveal the close relationship between benefactive and adversative constructions in the frequent cases where benefactives have come also to express the notion of adversity. Although the semantics and pragmatics of the extension vary from language to language, the two opposing meanings share the notion of affectedness.

3.6 Lexical sources of benefactive markers

As we can see from the above data as well as cross-linguistic study of benefactive constructions by Yamada (1996, 2001), GIVE verbs appear to be one of the most common lexical sources for benefactive markers. Other languages that make use of a GIVE verb in their benefactive constructions include Fon, Nupe, Yoruba (Niger-Congo), Saramaccan (West African Creole), Thai, and Vietnamese (Smith 1998b).

In addition to the use of GIVE verbs, as expected, languages also have other ways of expressing the notion of benefit. Although it appears to be much less common than GIVE verbs, GET/RECEIVE verbs are also used in benefactive constructions in languages, including Japanese, English, and Vietnamese (Yamada 1996, 2001, Smith 1998b). In Japanese GET/RECEIVE verbs, such as *morau* have become benefactive auxiliary verbs, as in

the following example.

Japanese

- (101) *naoko wa kei ni hon o yonde-morat-ta*
Naoko TOP Kei DAT book ACC read-RECEIVE-PST
'Naoko received the favor of Kei's reading a book.'

In my data, the affectee is realized as the subject in GET/RECEIVE constructions, while it is realized as the object or adjunct in GIVE constructions. This pattern is expected, because the syntactic realization of the affectee in the lexical uses of GIVE and GET/RECEIVE may remain the same in grammaticalized uses. In other words, GIVE and GET/RECEIVE are two perspectives in a kind of TRANSFER frame and ACs that use them arrange the participants in the 'benefaction' in ways suggested (originally at least) by these separate perspectives.

Related to verbs of giving and receiving, some Indic languages, including Hindi and Marathi, make use of TAKE in the egocentric benefactive constructions. The examples are repeated here.

Hindi

- (34) *us-ne khat likh liyaa*
he-ERG letter.M write took.M
'He wrote the letter (for his own benefit).' (Pardeshi 2001b: 92)

Marathi

- (35) *tyaa-na daaDhi kar-un ghetli*
he-ERG beard.F do-CP took.F
'He shaved his beard/He got his beard shaved.' (Pardeshi 2001b: 92)

In addition to GIVE and TAKE, the SHOW verb has been grammaticalized into the benefactive auxiliary verbs in Marathi (Pardeshi 1998). The SHOW verb is used for situations involving audio-visual performance, while the GIVE verb is used for other kinds of benefactive acts, as in the following examples repeated here.

Marathi

(20) *mI tyA-lA gANe mhaN-Un dAkhaw-l-e*
 1s 3s-DAT song.N sing-PTCPL SHOW-PST-N
 ‘I sang a song for him.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 148)

(21) *mI tyA-lA nnakkal kar-Un dAkhaw-l-I*
 1s 3s-DAT mimicry.F do-PTCPL SHOW-PST-F
 ‘I performed mimicry for him.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 149)

(22) *rAm-ne sitA-lA aAykal ghe-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT bicycle.F take-PTCPL GIVE-PST-F
 ‘Ram bought Sita a bicycle.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 146)

(23) *rAm-ne sitA-lA kholl zAD-Un di-l-I*
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT room.F sweep-PTCPL GIVE-PST-F
 ‘Ram swept/cleaned the room for Sita.’ (Pardeshi 1998: 146)

The SHOW verb in Twi, *kyèrɛ́*, is used to introduce the recipient in a serial verb construction.

Moreover, it can also be used to introduce the beneficiary, as in (102) (Lord 1993).

Twi

- (102) *wó-tòw* *túo* *kyèrɛ́* *borohéne*
they-fire gun SHOW governor
'They fire guns in honor of the governor.'

(Christaller 1975 cited in Lord 1993:32)

A class of COME verbs is another lexical source of benefactive markers. Most of the Senufo languages (Niger-Congo) have a dative/benefactive and locative goal postposition that has been grammaticalized from the COME verb (Carlson 1991). In Lahu, both the COME and GIVE verbs have been grammaticalized to benefactive markers (Matisoff 1991). The benefactive verb particle *lá* (< 'come') indicates that the action denoted by the verb is for the benefit of (or impinges upon) a non-third person, as in (103), while the benefactive post-head versatile verb *pî* (< 'give') indicates that the action is for the benefit of (or impinges upon) a third person, as in (104).

Lahu

- (103) *chɔ lá* 'chop for me/us/you'
phɛ́ lá 'release me/us/you'
phə̀ɔ̃-mā lá 'confess to me/us/you' (Matisoff 1991: 396)
- (104) *chɔ pî* 'chop for him/her/them'
phɛ́ pî 'release him/her/them'
phə̀ɔ̃-mā pî 'confess to him/her/them' (Matisoff 1991: 396)

There should be more verbal sources for benefactive marking, and it would be interesting to find out what other sorts of verbs have been grammaticalized to express the notion of

benefit in other languages. Although I will not pursue other possible sources for benefactive marking in this study, I would like to point out that GIVE, GET/RECEIVE, TAKE, SHOW and COME all share the semantic feature of ‘directionality’. This suggests that ‘directionality’ may be a key element in the notion of benefaction. Indeed, one of the important functions of auxiliary GIVE and RECEIVE verbs in Japanese is to mark direction of affectedness. They are also used to facilitate the recovery of elliptical elements in discourse (Yamada 2001, Tanaka 2001).

4. Adversative constructions

4.1 Introduction

I have mentioned that, in general, adversative constructions are not as easily found as benefactive constructions, and there are fewer semantic types among adversatives than benefactives. The following sections introduce three types of adversative construction: the event adversative, malefactive, and adversative with additional semantics. The first type, the event adversative construction, covers the largest semantic area. It may or may not include an agent and simply indicates that the event is bad for the affectee. In the second type, the malefactive construction, there is a volitional agent who intentionally tries to harm the affectee. Lastly, there are some adversative constructions whose main functions are not just to describe negative events, but also to express additional semantics, such as ‘regret’ and ‘pity’.

4.2 Event adversative constructions

Among the adversative constructions in my data, the event adversative is the most common type. This type is the most general in the sense that it can refer to all kinds of adversative events, which may or may not include an agent. The following sections are composed of the English *on*-affectee construction, Even adversative constructions, and

adversative constructions in Vietnamese and Thai. As we will see in the following, the morpho-syntactic properties are quite different in each. For instance, the affectee is realized as adjunct in the *on*-affectee construction, whereas it is the subject in the Vietnamese *bi* construction. However, common to all is that their main function is to indicate that an event is bad for someone.

4.2.1 English *on*-affectee construction

As mentioned earlier, English has the *on*-affectee construction, which expresses that the evaluator sees an event as bad for the affectee. The following are some examples of the construction.

- (1) *John's bike broke down on him.*
- (2) *John ate the cake on me.*
- (3) *The store is going to close down on us.*

As the above examples indicate, the *on*-affectee construction describes many different situations. In some cases, the agent is involved, and in other cases, there is no agent. The affectee can be anybody, including *him*, *me*, and *us*, as in the above examples. Apart from these general remarks, previous studies have suggested semantic generalizations for the construction (Oehrle and Nishio 1981, Wierzbicka 1988); however, I find that their

generalizations cannot account for all instances of the *on*-affectee construction. Below, I will discuss the previous studies and posit alternative semantic generalizations for the construction.

Wierzbicka (1979, 1988) argues that ‘[t]his construction allows the speaker to present an event which directly involves someone or something (Y) related to a person (X) as indirectly involving that person (X) himself’ (1988: 211). The following is the semantic representation of the construction, which Wierzbicka has provided (1988: 211).

Something bad happened to X’s Y
One can think of it as something bad that happened to X

Thus, although the affecting event (something bad happened to X’s Y) occurs independently of the affectee (X), because X and Y have some kind of relationship, X is negatively affected by it. X typically holds a possessive or kinship relation to Y, but the relationship can be something else. Take Sentence (3), for example, ‘us’ (but hereafter referred to as ‘we’ and ‘our’) is X, and ‘the store’ is Y, and the relation between the two is ‘we’ are customers of the store, yet it is also X’s Y in the sense that from our perspective, the store is an amenity *of* ours, and ‘we’ will be negatively affected by the store closing: we will not be able to shop at the store.

Weirzbicka’s semantic representation works well with many examples of the

construction, such as the above; however it cannot account for sentences like the following. First of all, the affecting event does not always express ‘something bad happened to X’s Y’. For example, in the following example (4), we have to assume that Y refers to either John’s neighbor or the stereo, since they are the only participants of the affecting event, and we cannot say that something bad happened to John’s neighbor or the stereo in the affecting event.

(4) *John’s neighbor played the stereo all night on him again.*

Second, I find that the affectee is not necessarily independent of the affecting event. Menn (1972) notes that the affectee cannot be coreferential with any of the participants in the affecting event, and Oehrle and Nishio (1981) argue that this restriction is due to the semantics of the construction: the affectee is independent of the affecting event. The affectee suffers as a result of the affecting event. In this respect, their argument is the same as Wierzbicka’s. Indeed, the arguments of the previous studies hold in the above examples. For example, in (4), John is not directly involved in the event of his neighbor playing the stereo. However, closer observation of the construction reveals that the semantics of the *on*-affectee construction *does* permit sentences in which the affectee is directly involved in the event. Some examples of such sentences are:

- (5) *That crazy dentist pulled the wrong tooth on me.*
- (6) *John's immune system gave out on him.*
- (7) *Did John manage to get out of the submarine before it sank? No, he accidentally closed the hatch on himself.*
- (8) *Is he still trying to reach his goal? No, he quit on himself.*
- (9) *George, the hand model, ruined his hands on himself.*
- (10) *Did Tony, the master chef/glutton, manage to bring his entry to the competition this time? No, he ate the cake on himself again.*
- (11) *Is John ready to show the judges his nachos? No, he let the guacamole go off/bad turn brown on him.*
- (12) A: *What's up with that hole in your smile?*
 B: Well, you know that toothache I'd been complaining about?
 A: *Ya.*
 B: Well, I decided to save the money for the dentist and go with the "string-and-door-approach"
 A: *Only you pulled the wrong tooth on yourself?*
 B: (smiles sheepishly)

In all examples (5) through (12), the affectee is involved in the affecting event directly. For example, in (5), the tooth is the affectee's, and in (12) the affectee himself is the agent. Therefore, the previous studies fail to capture the whole picture of the construction in question. As mentioned earlier, the notion of 'involvement' is often used to account for many adversative constructions (e.g. Wierzbicka 1979, 1988, Oehrle and Nishio 1981, Kuno 1983, Shibatani 1990). I find that it explains some of the adversative constructions, but not others, including the English *on*-affectee construction. This construction often expresses affecting events in which the affectee is not directly involved. However, it also expresses affecting events where the affectee is directly involved. It seems that 'the event's

occurring beyond the affectee's control' is the key element in the semantics of the construction. Whether the affectee is directly or indirectly involved in the affecting event, s/he does not have any control to stop the event, or if s/he did, then the control was not complete; it was insufficient to prevent the affecting event from occurring.

4.2.2 Adversative constructions in Even

One of the Tungusic languages, Even, has a set of adversative constructions that are formed with the affix $-v$, and they all denote an action or event unfavorable to the subject referent (Malchukov 1993). Malchukov classifies them into five basic types. Adversative sentences and their non-adversative counterparts are given for contrast.⁴²

(a) NP {anim}_{NOM}-V₀ {meteo}_{ADV}

The first construction type involves a limited class of verbs, such as 'snow', 'rain' and 'get dark'. It denotes that the referent of the subject, which Malchukov calls the surface subject (hereafter SS), is unexpectedly and negatively affected by some type of atmospheric/meteorological phenomenon. The subject of the non-adversative counterpart, the initial subject (hereafter IS), is derived from the same root as the corresponding verb,

⁴² Most of the examples of non-adversative counterparts below also express the notion of adversity. However, it is expressed lexically not grammatically; the majority of verbs appearing in the construction

and it is an optional element in sentences. The IS is also optional in adversative sentences, but if it is present, it is marked as dative.

non-adversative

- (13) *(imanra-∅)* *iman-ra-n*
 (snow-DAT) snow-NONFUT-3s
 ‘It is snowing.’ (Malchukov 1993:2)

adversative

- (14) *etiken-∅* *(imanra-du)* *iman-v-ra-n*
 old man-NOM (snow-DAT) snow-ADV-NONFUT-3s
 ‘The old man is caught by the snowfall.’ (Malchukov 1993:2)

- (b) NP {anim}_{NOM} -NP_{ACC} -V_{INT AD}

The second type involves intransitive verbs such as ‘hurt’, ‘die’ and ‘burn down’, and the IS usually displays a kind of possessive relation to the SS (e.g. the IS refers to a body-part nominal). The construction denotes that something bad happens to the IS, and the SS is negatively affected. It also implies the SS inadvertently caused the affecting event.

non-adversative

- (15) *Huličan* *bodele-∅-n* *ene-le-re-n.*
 fox feet-NOM- POSS 3s hurt-INCH- NONFUT-3s
 ‘The fox’s paws began to hurt.’ (Malchukov 1993:2)

types express the notion of adversity lexically.

adversative

- (16) *Huličan-Ø* *bodel-Ø-i* *ene-le-v-re-n.*
fox-NOM feet-NOM-REFL POSS 3s hurt-INCH-ADV-NONFUT-3s
'The fox's paws began to hurt; he was negatively affected.'
(Novikova as cited in Malchukov 1993:2)

- (c) NP{anim}_{NOM} – NP{anim}_{DAT} – V_{INT}{motion}_{AD}

The third type involves mainly motion verbs, such as 'come', 'enter', and 'walk', and it denotes that the SS is negatively affected by the IS's sudden appearance. The affecting event is unexpected not only by the SS but also the speaker.

non-adversative

- (17) *arisag-Ø* *mut-tule* *eme-re-p*
ghost-DAT we-LOC come- NONFUT-1p
'The ghost came to us.' (Malchukov 1993:2)

adversative

- (18) *Mut-Ø* *arisag-du* *eme-v-re-p*
we-NOM ghost-DAT come-ADV-NONFUT-1p
'A ghost came to us; we were negatively affected.'
(Burykin as cited in Malchukov 1993:2)

- (d) NP{anim}_{NOM} – NP{anim}_{DAT} – NP_{ACC} – V_{TRANS} AD

The fourth type denotes that the IS acts upon someone or something, and the SS is negatively affected by the result of the action. The object referent in the affecting event stands in some sort of possessive relation to the SS, as in the old man and his friend below.

non-adversative

- (19) *nugde-Ø etiken gia-va-n ma-Ø-n*
bear-NOM old man friend-ACC-POSS.3s kill- NONFUT-3s
'The bear killed the old man's friend.' (Malchukov 1993:2)

adversative

- (20) *etiken-Ø nugde-du gia-o-j ma-v-ra-n*
old man-NOM bear-DAT friend-NOM-REF.POSS-3s kill-ADV-NONFUT-3s
'The bear killed the old man's friend; the old man was negatively affected.'
(Malchukov 1993:2)

- (e) NP{anim}_{NOM} – NP{anim}_{DAT} – V_{TRANS AD}

The last type, which has been traditionally identified as a canonical passive,

denotes that the SS is negatively affected by the action performed by the IS.

non-adversative

- (21) *nugde-Ø etike-m ma-Ø-n*
bear-NOM old man-ACC kill-NONFUT-3s
'The bear killed the old man.' (Malchukov 1993:3)

adversative

- (22) *etiken-Ø nugde-du ma-v-ra-n*
old man-NOM bear-DAT kill-ADV-NONFUT-3s
'The old man was killed by the bear.' (Malchukov 1993:3)

The above constructions have been traditionally treated as either passive or nonvolitional permissive-causative; however, as we can see above, the sentences show characteristics of both types of constructions. For example, as in causatives, there is an added argument in all types except type V. Type V resembles a passive construction.

Malchukov argues that these different types should be seen as existing along the passive-causative continuum, instead of having them fit into one class of construction, either passive or causative. Therefore, he uses the semantic primitives developed by Wierzbicka to account for various types of adversative constructions. He proposes that the invariant component of the semantics of the adversatives is “something (V) happened that someone (X) didn’t want to happen” (29) and claims that each type of adversative construction must include some additional components. The following are semantic representations of the basic type of adversative constructions proposed by Malchukov (1993: 30).

- (a) something (V) happened in the place where someone (X) was
that X didn’t want to happen
nobody thought that V would happen
- (b) something (V) happened to someone/something (Y) (or Y did V)
that someone else (X) didn’t want to happen
one can think of Y as X’s Y
- (c) someone (Y) did something (V) in the place where someone else (X) was
that X didn’t want Y to do
nobody thought that Y would do it
- (d) someone (Y) did something (V) to someone/something (Z)
that someone else (X) didn’t want Y to do
one can think of Z as X’s Z
- (e) someone (Y) did something (V) to someone else (X)
that X didn’t want Y to do

Malchukov concludes that semantically the constructions combine properties of

prototypical passives and nonvolitional permissives. As with passives, the asserted part of the meaning of adversatives includes only one proposition — not two — as in causal relations. Moreover, the presuppositional meaning of adversatives shares a common component with nonvolitional permissives, namely ‘X did not want V to happen’.

I consider Malchukov’s analysis to be very useful. As Malchokov suggests, these adversative construction types have various semantics, and it is important to analyze the semantics of adversative constructions in detail. Especially the notion of ‘counter-expectation’ (i.e. nobody thought that Y would do it in I and III above) seems to be important here. As I will discuss further in 4.4, this notion is often associated with the notion of adversity; there seems to be a common understanding that negative events are unexpected. We seek happiness in our lives, and we plan and carry out our acts so that every event we experience should have a positive outcome. Bad events, on the other hand, are often unexpected. For instance, car accidents, earthquakes, and murders are usually unexpected by the victims. Thus, I suggest that counter-expectation is one of the crucial notions related to adversity.

Lastly, I question the validity of what Malchukov posits as the core semantics of adversative constructions, ‘X did not want V to happen’. Perhaps it is often the case that the subject referent (X) did not want the affecting event (V) to occur. However, it is

perhaps more often the case that the subject referent does not expect the event to happen, which makes it impossible to ‘not want’. If unexpected, he can only be displeased (or upset, regretful, angry etc.) that it *did* happen. Furthermore, unless the speaker and the subject referent coincide, we cannot be certain that X did not want V to happen. Thus, instead of Malchukov’s core semantics above, I suggest that these adversative sentences simply express that the subject referent has undergone a bad experience, or at least that the speaker thinks he has.

4.2.3 Vietnamese and Thai adversative passives

In Section 3.3.3, I discussed the benefactive constructions in Vietnamese and Thai, previously known as benefactive passives. This section introduces their counterparts, what have been known as adversative passives in Vietnamese and Thai. Both Vietnamese and Thai have constructions that always express the notion of adversity, as in the following examples.

Vietnamese

(23) *nam bị nga đánh*
Nam Nga beat

‘Nam was beaten by Nga’ (Siewierska 1984: 149)

(24) *ông-ay bị (ho) cho nhiều do nang*
 he they give many thing heavy
 ‘He underwent adversely: they gave him many heavy things.’
 (Clark 1974: 96)

(25) *ông-ay bị mua nhiều do*
 he buy many thing
 ‘He underwent adversely: he bought many things.’ (Clark 1974: 95)

(26) *ông-ay bị đi thi*
 he go take exam
 ‘He underwent adversely: he took an exam.’ (Clark 1974: 96)

Thai

(27) *suk thūuk rôt chon*
 Sook car collide
 ‘Sook was hit by the car.’ (Siewierska 1984: 149)

(28) *sudaa thūuk khəmooy khân bāan*
 Suda thief enter house
 ‘Suda had his house entered into by a thief.’ (Siewierska 1984: 156)

In the above examples, only (23) and (27) are prototypical passive sentences, namely direct passives, and Sentences (24) and (28) are instances of indirect passives that correspond to the English *get* construction and *have* construction, as in *he had his watch stolen by her*.

As for Sentence (25) and (26), there is no way that we can consider them kinds of passive sentences. I am not against the idea that some of the above sentences are indeed passives.⁴³

However, we need to recognize that expressing adversity appears to be the main function of

⁴³ See Siewierska (1984) for discussion on direct and indirect passives in some Asian languages, and

the constructions. Therefore, I argue that it is best to treat these constructions as adversative constructions.

It should be clear by now that ACs and passive constructions are closely related, and many more passives in different languages are often used to express or imply the notion of affectedness, especially adversity, as in Mandarin, Lao and Cambodian (Clark 1974).

4.3 Malefactive construction: Lai *-hnoʔ* construction

This section introduces the Lai *-hnoʔ* construction that I consider to be a malefactive construction. Among the adversative constructions in my data, this is the only construction that predominantly expresses the notion of ‘malefaction’ or intention to harm. Others, such as the examples presented above, simply express that an event is bad for the affectee, so I consider them to be used as adversatives, and any accompanying malefaction is incidental.

According to the language consultant, this construction frequently indicates a malefactive act perpetrated on the affectee; the subject referents are intent on harming the object referents, as shown in the following examples. Typically, verbs of motion appear in

Keenan (1985) for the definition of basic passives.

this construction, and the construction indicates that the actions described by the verb are directed toward the affectee, as in (29) and (30).

(29) *kheej ?a-ka-hlo?n-hno?*
 dish 3s-1s-throw-ADV
 ‘She threw the dish at me.’

(30) *rul-ni? ka-?n-?a? ?a-ka-lu?hno?*
 snake-ERG 1s POSS-house-LOC 3s-1s enter-ADV
 ‘A snake came into my house on me.’

(31) *?a-fa ?a-ka-vel?hno?*
 3s-child 3s-1s-beat
 ‘He beat his child so that I would feel hurt.’

However, the construction also sometimes indicates simple adversative events, as in the following examples. The sentences below just express that the object referent is negatively affected by an event.

(32) *h?ak-tshia ni? ?a-kan-ta?hno?*
 baby ERG 3s-1p-cry-ADV
 ‘The baby cried on us.’

(33) *?an-nu ni? ?a-thi?hno?hna*
 3p-mother ERG 3s-die (II)-ADV- PL OBJ
 ‘Their mother died on them.’

(34) *ka-leej ni? ?a-ka-ro?hno?*
 1s-cart ERG 3s-1s-break (II)-ADV
 ‘My cart broke down on me.’

The data suggests that whether one should interpret a *-hnoʔ* construction as malefactive or adversative depends on the presence of a volitional agent. It is malefactive when there is a volitional agent, and it is adversative when there is no volitional agent.

In addition to the above malefactive and adversative uses, the construction has a third ‘non-negative’ function. Occasionally, it indicates both of the following at once: (i) the determination of the subject referent to carry out the action described by the predicate, and (ii) the physical direction of the action toward the affectee.⁴⁴ Here, the construction does not indicate any kind of adversity, and it even implies that the object referent benefits from the event. For example, Sentence (35) can be interpreted as ‘the angels simply came down to him’ or ‘he benefited from the event of the angels coming down to him’.

(35) *ʔi* *vaan-tsuŋ-mii-niʔ* *an-thaʔy-ʔi* *vaan-tsuŋ-mii-niʔ*
 and angel-ERG 3p-hear-CONN angel-ERG

ʔan-ruŋ-Tum-hnoʔ-ʔi

3p-DIRECTIONAL-desend-ADV-FOR/TO-CONN

‘And the angel heard about it and the angles came down to him, and...’ (Peterson 1998: 99)

According to the consultant, the following sentence is best interpreted as benefactive.

⁴⁴ Notice that due to the second meaning, the *hnoʔ* construction takes only verbs of motion in this usage.

- (36) *kan-ʔn ʔa-kaaŋ ʔi mii niʔ ʔan-kan-tshuaʔ-hnoʔ*
 2p-house 3s-burn CONN people ERG 3p-1p-come out-ADV
 ‘Our house burned and people came out toward us (for help).’

There are also a few cases where sentences with *hnoʔ* are ambiguous; the object referent can be negatively or positively affected by the event, as in (37).

- (37) *ʔn-thar kan-loom ʔi mii niʔ ʔan-kan-tshuaʔ-hnoʔ*
 house-new 2p-celebrate CONNpeople ERG 3p-1p-come out-ADV
 ‘We celebrated our new house (threw a party), and people came ‘to help/ ²on us.’

It seems that the interpretation as a benefactive is contextual in the above examples, not directly attributable to the construction. Therefore, I conclude that the strong determination of the agent and direction toward the affectee are the only meanings indicated by the third usage of the construction.

Since prototypical use of the *hnoʔ* construction indicates a malefactive action with a directed motion, I suggest that the other uses are extended from it. The adversative extension should be easy to understand. The malefactive use already indicates a bad effect on the affectee, and the construction has extended to simply express this part. As for the third extension, both the determination of the agent and the directionality are also parts of the prototypical meaning of the construction, so they are highlighted in this third usage.

Lastly, it should be noted here that the adversative marker indicating direction to

the goal is not unexpected. First, a common lexical source of benefactive markers in languages are verbs that express the notion of directionality, such as GIVE and COME, and the notion of directionality appears to be an important element of the semantics of affectedness. Secondly, as Oehrle and Nishio (1981) have discussed, the ‘what Y did to X was Z’ construction in English is sometimes used to express the notion of adversity, in which the preposition *to* introduces the affectee.⁴⁵

(38) *What John did to me was leave town before the agreement was signed.*
(Oehrle and Nishio 1981: 177)

(39) *What John did to Max was directly contact the administration.*
(Oehrle and Nishio 1981: 177)

To is one of the prepositions that marks direction in English, and from these examples we can also see that the notion of directionality and adversity are closely related.

In sum, since the Lai *-hnoʔ* construction is used as a malefactive predominantly, I consider it a malefactive construction. When there is no volitional agent in its semantics,

⁴⁵ This construction does not always express adversative events; it sometimes describes a neutral event, as in (40).

(40) *What he did to the car was rewire it's ignition system.* (Oehrle and Nishio 1981: 177)

If one wants to describe a benefactive event, the preposition *for* is used instead of *to*. Compare (41) and (42).

(41) *What John did to me was leave town.* (Oehrle and Nishio 1981: 179)

(42) *What John did for me was leave town.* (Oehrle and Nishio 1981: 179)

the construction is also used as an adversative. In addition, it has another extended usage to express: (i) determination of the agent and (ii) direction toward the goal.

4.4 Additional semantics

There are some adversative constructions whose main functions are not just to describe negative events, but also to express additional semantics. One type is the speaker's attitude toward the affectee and/or event, such as 'regret' and 'pity', and the other type is some additional information about the event, such as 'accidental' or 'conditional'. These additional notions are strongly associated with adversative events.

4.4.1 Lahu *šē* construction

This frequently used construction generally indicates that the event described by the sentence is a cause for regret (Matisoff 1973). Thus, this construction expresses not only adversity, but also a more specific attitude of the speaker toward the event, namely 'regret'.

- (43) *chu* *šē* *e* *lɛ*
fat PV PTL
'continuing, alas, to get fat' (Matisoff 1973: 331)

Thus, English uses two different prepositions to express the opposed meanings of affectedness.

(44) *qhêʔ* *šē* *la* *tù* *ve* *yō*
 be chipped PV IRR PTL PTL
 ‘It’s about to chip off (which is regrettable)’ (Matisoff 1973: 331)

(45) *tê* *to* *ve* *jèʔ-nêʔ* *tí* *phêʔ* *šē* *ò*
 whole body GEN earth-wet only become completed action
 ‘Her whole body got covered with mud (and isn’t that too bad)’
 (Matisoff 1973: 331)

This instance of the construction suggests that regret is one of the prominent emotions associated with bad events.

4.4.2 Burmese *hya* construction

This Burmese adversative construction includes some extra semantics of emotion: pity, sympathy and/or compassion (Okell 1969). It expresses that the speaker feels sorry for the subject referent, as the following examples indicate.⁴⁶

(46) *ǎ hpañ hkañ-thwâ-yâ-hya-te*
 capture undergo-go-must-pity-V.S.
 ‘(He) was caught, poor fellow’ (Okell 1969: 314)

(47) *ǎmeici-ka-le thǎti ya-hya-pa-te*
 other-SUB-also remembrance have-pity-polite-V.S.
 ‘(My) dear old mother remembers (you)’ (Okell 1969: 314)

⁴⁶ Okell (1969) notes that this construction is usually used to refer to a third person, not the speaker or hearer.

- (48) *ǎ the' mǎ -hyei-hya-hpû*
 age not-be long-pity- V.S.
 'Unfortunately (he) did not live long.' (Okell 1969: 314)

It seems that feeling sorry is a very common attitude among humans. English has at least three nouns, 'pity', 'sympathy' and 'compassion' and many expressions, including 'oh, dear' and 'poor thing' to describe such a feeling. In addition, I observe that my 26-month-old son already understands the concept of sympathy to some degree, as he expresses it toward others at appropriate times.

4.4.3 Lai *sual* construction

In addition to the malefactive construction discussed in Section 4.3, Lai has another construction that expresses that something has occurred accidentally or inadvertently, and its outcome is somewhat negative. I consider it a kind of adversative construction. The construction makes use of the particle *sual*, and *sual* is also used as a full lexical verb meaning 'do bad things/be bad', as in the following example. Since the lexical meaning of *sual* is negative, it seems natural to be extended to an adversative marker.

- (49) *hi pa hi ?a-sual*
 this male TOP 3s-do bad
 'This man is bad.'

Firstly, although the construction is used to express only the notion of chance or accident in some generic statements as in (50) and (51), it is usually used as an adversative, as in (52)-(55). In adversative sentences, the construction also indicates the speaker's attitude toward the events or the affectee, such as 'regret' or 'sympathy' depending on the context.

- (50) *sal zoŋ booy ʔan-tsaŋ-sual-khow-kow*
 slave also chief 3p-become(I)-ACCIDENTAL-POTENTIAL-AFFIRMATIVE
 'A slave can also become a chief by chance.'
- (51) *mii-tha-thu zoŋ ʔan-rum-sual-khow-kow*
 person-lazy also 3p-rich-ACCIDENTAL-POTENTIAL-AFFIRMATIVE
 'A lazy person can also become rich by luck.'
- (52) *na-kheej ka-khway-sual*
 2-food 1s-break-ACCIDENTAL
 'I broke your dish accidentally (and I am sorry).'
- (53) *phaay-sa ka-philʔ-sual*
 money 1s-forget-ACCIDENTAL
 'I forget money accidentally (and I really regret it).'
- (54) *phaay-sa ʔa-thlaaw-sual*
 money 3s-lose-ACCIDENTAL
 'He lost money accidentally (and I feel sorry for him).'
- (55) *tsewmang niʔ ka-ke ʔa-ka-lamʔ-sual*
 Tsewmang ERG 1s-leg 3s-step on-ACCIDENTAL
 'Tsewmang stepped on my foot accidentally (and it is too bad).'

Even with verbs with positive meanings, the sentences with *sual* indicate that the outcome is somewhat negative, as in the following example.

- (56) *phaay-sa kaa-hmu?-sual*
 money 1s MM-see (II)-ACCIDENTAL
 ‘I found money accidentally, and it turned out bad’

In addition, the *sual* construction is used to indicate the speaker’s negative opinion about the affecting event despite the probable benefit to the affectee. In other words, it indicates the speaker’s view, ‘X happens to Y by chance, but Y does not deserve X’. I suggest that this use is an extension from the basic adversative use as described above.

- (57) *na-rum-sual*
 2s-rich-ACCIDENTAL
 ‘You happened to become rich (but in my opinion you shouldn’t have been able to).’

- (58) *ɲak-nu muy-do? ʔaa-ʔhit-sual*
 lady feature-beautiful 3sMM-marry-ACCIDENTAL
 ‘He married a beautiful lady by chance (but in my opinion he shouldn’t have been able to).’

- (59) *booy ʔa-tsaŋ-sual*
 chief 3s-become(I)-ACCIDENTAL
 ‘He became the chief by chance, (but in my opinion he does not deserve it).’

In sum, the main function of the *sual* construction is to express that the affecting event happens accidentally and its outcome is bad. It also indicates the speaker’s attitude

toward the events or the affectee, such as ‘regret’ or ‘sympathy’ depending on the context. There is an additional use of the construction, which indicates that the affecting event has occurred by chance and the subject referent does not deserve it. As will be discussed later, Japanese has a SAC whose functions are similar to the *sual* construction, and we should be able to say that accidental events tend to be evaluated as negative.

4.4.4 Mandarin *-ràng* and *jiào* passives

This section introduces two passives in Mandarin that express the notions of ‘avoidability’ and ‘unexpectedness’. In Modern Standard Chinese, there is the *bèi* construction, which is the most well known passive marker. This construction has been recognized as an adversative passive, and though the notion of adversity is not often present in its written use, it is retained in its spoken use (see Chappell (1986) for a summary of this issue in the literature).⁴⁷ In addition to *bèi*, there are three colloquial adversative passive markers in Mandarin dialects: *ràng*, *jiào*, and *gěi* (Tie 1986, Hashimoto 1988). Chappell (1986) has compared two of them, *ràng* and *jiào* with *bèi* and argues that *ràng* and *jiào* include certain semantic features that make them distinct from one another and from the *bèi* passive.

⁴⁷ The *bèi* passive is considered formal, as it is often used in written language (Chappell 1986,

According to Chappell, the *bèi* passive is used to express the serious nature of the adversity. On the other hand, in addition to expressing the notion of adversity, the *ràng* passive also expresses that the affecting event was avoidable but the subject referent failed to prevent it, and the *jiào* passive also expresses that the affecting event is unexpected and implies that everyone is surprised by its occurrence.

Firstly, the examples of the *ràng* and *bèi* passives are given below to show the difference. Chappell states

...for Zhang Chunqiao, a member of the so-called Gang of Four, who was arrested in 1976, put on trial in 1980, and convicted of having committed many crimes during the Cultural Revolution, such an event would not generally be expressed in terms of the *bèi* passive, unless it were his sympathizers or supporter who did so (1986:1040).

- (60) *zhāng chūnqiáo ràng (?bèi) rénjiā kòu-shàng-le fǎndǎng de maòzi*
 (name) RANG BEI everyone put-on-COM antiparty REL cap
 ‘Zhang Chunqiao got (?was) labeled an antiparty element.’
 (Chappell 1986:1040)

On the other hand, if the speaker considers the subject referent as an innocent and helpless victim of circumstance, then the *bèi* passive is used instead of the *ràng* passive (Chappell 1986). For example, the death of one of China’s child heroes, Wang Xiao’er, during the Anti-Japanese War (1937-45) should be stated using the *bèi* passive.

Hashimoto 1998).

- (61) *wáng xiǎo'er bèi (*ràng) guǐzi dǎ-sǐ-le*
 (name) BEI RANG devil strike-die-COM
 ‘Wang Xiao’er was (got) killed by the Japanese.’ (Chappell 1986: 1040)⁴⁸

Chappell points out that the unacceptability of the *ràng* passive in (61) has an additional reason. The implication of the *ràng* passive is that the subject referent is to blame for not preventing or trying to avoid the affecting event, and therefore, it often further implies that the subject referent deserves what happened to him/her.

As for the *jiào* passive, historical events, which are known to people, cannot be expressed by using the *jiào* passive, and the *bèi* passive is used instead.

- (62) *jiǎnbùzhai de yi dàpiān lǐngtǔ bèi (*jiào) yuènnán qīnzhàn-le*
 Kampuchean GEN onelarge territory BEI (*JIAO) Vietnam occupy-COM
 ‘A large part of Kampuchean territory was occupied by Vietnam.’
 (Chappell 1986: 1044)

The *jiào* passive is used when the affecting event is unexpected and newsworthy, as in the following example.

- (63) *ta jiào xuexiao kaichu-le*
 3s JIAO school expel-COM
 ‘She has just been expelled by the school!’ (Chappell 1986: 1046)

The two passives, thus, have additional implications about the affecting event, and each

⁴⁸ The word *guǐzi* ‘devil’ was used to mean ‘the Japanese’ during their occupation of China, 1937-1945.

construction is used differently.

4.4.5 The *-bila* construction in the Dyirbal language

According to Dixon (1972), this construction with the affix, *-bila*, roughly indicates that the event described by the sentence might take place, and that it would have unpleasant and undesirable consequences. If the consequences could be in any way pleasant, one would not use the construction (Dixon 1972). As shown in the following examples, all *-bila* sentences are conditional, and the construction is not used to simply state a negative event.

- (64) *ɲinda balan buni muymba baŋgun*
you-SA THERE-NOM-II fire-NOM put out-IMP THERE-ERG-II

dambundu buralbila
dambun-ERG see-BILA

‘You put out the fire lest the Dambun spirit sees it (i.e. and comes to torment us).’
(Dixon 1972: 113)

- (65) *ɲinda ɲaygu bulgugu wadilɲaɲu /ɲada*
you-SA I-GEN wife-DAT swive-ɲAY-REL-NOM I-SA

ɲinuna maɲa gunbalbila
you-O ear-NOM cut-BILA

‘If you swive my wife, I’ll cut off your ears.’ (Dixon 1972: 362)

- (66) *ḡada bala yugu madan wangagambilagu*
 I-SA THERE-NOM-IV stick-NOM throw-PRES/PST step over-BILA-GU
 ‘I chucked away the stick [that was lying across the path] otherwise I would have had to step over it.’ (Dixon 1972: 113)

Most of the *-bila* sentences are used to give a warning to someone so that s/he can avoid negative consequences. Moreover, according to Dixon (1972) *-bila* sentences are frequently semantically imperative. Together, these facts suggest that *-bila* sentences are admonitive. Perhaps this function is similar to the following sentences using *or else* in English.

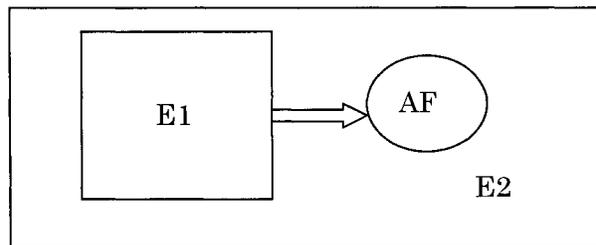
- (67) *Clean your room, or else you cannot go out to play.*
 (68) *You had better brush your teeth, or (else) you'll get cavities.*

If we accept that seeking positive consequences and preventing or avoiding negative consequences is a norm in our lives, it is not surprising that the latter has grammaticalized in some languages.

4.5 Event schemas for adversatives

Thus far, this chapter has introduced three types of adversative construction: the event adversative, malefactive, and adversative with additional semantics. The first type, the event adversative construction, which is the most general type, expresses ‘X is

negatively affected by event Z'. In this type of construction, an event is bad for the affectee, and the event does not have to include an agent. Figure 1, the basic event schema for AC, represents the semantics of this construction type.



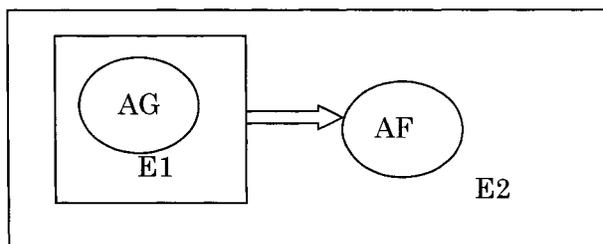
AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 1 The basic event schema for AC

The second type, the malefactive, is schematized in Figure 10. The agent is always present in this construction, and s/he intentionally acts on the affectee.



AG: agent

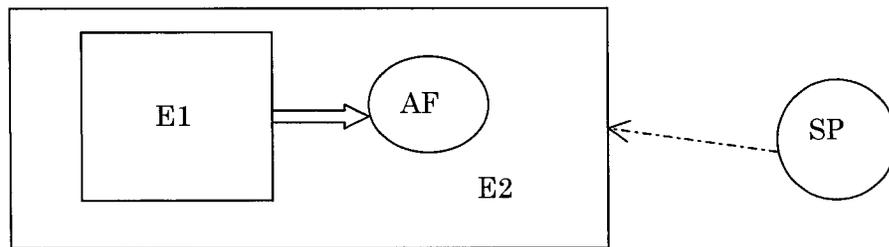
AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 10 Malefactive construction

As for the third type, we have seen some adversative constructions that include additional semantics: the speaker's attitude (e.g. regret and sympathy) and/or some additional information about the affecting event (e.g. accidental and conditional). I suggest that the former requires a separate schema, while the latter does not. The precise affective meanings are the speaker's, not the affectee's, so the speaker needs to be included in the schema in Figure 11. The dotted arrow indicates the speaker's attitude toward the affecting event.



AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 11 Adversative construction including the speaker's attitude

On the other hand, I consider the latter (ones with additional information about the affecting event) a subtype of the event adversative construction for the following reasons. First, there is no restriction on the affecting event in this type: there may be or may not be an agent, so we can consider that the basic semantics of adversatives that include this kind of additional semantics is the same as that of event adversatives. Moreover, such additional semantics do not alter the semantic representation in Figure 1; the fundamental semantic properties, such as kinds of participants and relations between the participants and events, are the same in both types.

4.6 Further remarks

Concerning the distribution of the three types, the event adversative construction type outnumbers the others. In my data, there are some examples of the third type, the adversative with additional semantics, and there is only one case of the second type, the malefactive. The fact that the event adversative is the most common type suggests that our common assumption about the world is that bad events just happen without the control of the affectee. It does not matter if an agent is involved in the affecting event or not; it only matters that if the affectee could have been capable of stopping the affecting event, s/he would have.

In addition, it appears that the act of malefaction is not very common in our ordinary lives, unless a country is in a war or some kind of political/economic crisis. Events with adverse effects on us, such as ‘forgetting the umbrella somewhere’ or ‘the bus being late again’ occur much more frequently than malefactive acts, such as ‘slapping someone’s face’ or ‘giving rotten food to someone on purpose’. As discussed in 3.5, some benefactive constructions (e.g. Japanese and Fula) are also used as malefactive constructions, and it seems that there are no special malefactive constructions in those languages. The notions of affectedness and strong agency (i.e. willingness of the agent) are shared by both benefactive and malefactive, and a single construction can indicate two

opposed meanings. Further research may uncover more cases of malefactive constructions; however, the current data suggests that a dedicated malefactive construction in a language is uncommon.

Based on this finding, I propose the following hierarchy to show the likelihood that adversative construction types appear in a given language.

(III) Adversative constructions > Malefactive constructions

Furthermore, having additional semantics seems to be a significant characteristic of adversative constructions that has not been observed in benefactive constructions. Recall that specifying ‘who did what for whom’ (allocentric and egocentric, for example) appears to be crucial for benefactives, and there is only one construction, the *kureru* construction, that is used to indicate the speaker’s gratitude. First, the additional semantics that express the speaker’s attitude toward the event or affectee are summarized below.

- (a) sympathy (*hya* in Burmese, *sual* in Lai)
- (b) disapproval (*sual* in Lai)
- (c) blame (*ràng* in Mandarin)
- (d) regret (*šē* in Lahu, *sual* in Lai)
- (e) counter-expectation (*sual* in Lai, *jiào* in Mandarin)

These affective meanings appear common reactions to bad events that we experience in our daily lives. Notice that event adversative constructions, not including additional semantics,

as in the English *on*-affectee construction and the Even adversative constructions, often imply such notions.

Among them, ‘sympathy’ and ‘regret’ are indicated when the speaker takes the affectee’s side, while ‘disapproval’ and ‘blame’ are indicated when the speaker does not. Counter-expectation is neutral in this respect. In spite of the cross-linguistic tendency to not specify precise affective meanings (i.e. it is enough to describe an event as just ‘good’ or ‘bad’: Ochs and Schieffelin 1989), I think that it is sometimes very important for the speaker to clearly state his/her attitude, such as sympathy, regret, and unexpectedness in order to make communication more functional and effective.

Second, the specific information of the affecting event is also very important in some situations. For example, the accidental occurrence of an event is often a crucial part of the information in order for a participant of the event to avoid full responsibility. As for conditionals, I believe that avoiding negative events is a fundamental act of human beings, and we do it all the time in our lives consciously and unconsciously. It seems natural that it is grammaticalized in Dyirbal, and it might well be found in other languages as well. I conclude that all of the additional semantics I have found are closely tied to the notion of affectedness, mostly adversity.

What should also be noted here is that adversative constructions are rarely used as

benefactives in my data; the only case is the Lai *hnoʔ* construction. The *hnoʔ* construction is predominantly used as a malefactive, but it is also used to indicate some positive event to the affectee. Yet, I have concluded that the strong determination of the agent and direction toward the affectee are the only senses that are expressed by the construction in such uses, and the notion of benefit is due to the lexical items of the sentences and/or context. As discussed in 3.5, it is not uncommon for benefactives also to be used as adversatives and/or malefactives, and I have suggested that in general the extension starts out from benefactives, not from adversatives. One reason for this asymmetry is that, generally in semantic change, pejorative development is far more common than ameliorative development (Ullman 1962), and the extension from an adversative construction to an AC cannot easily occur. Further study of adversative and malefactive constructions still remains to be done in order to determine if such an extension is indeed rare in languages.

Lastly, I did not find any cross-linguistically common lexical sources for adversative or malefactive constructions in my data. In some cases, markers are derived from lexical items that already have a negative meaning (*sual* ‘do bad things/be bad in Lai), but in other cases, the original meanings of the markers are not available. There appear to be diverse lexical sources for adversative and malefactive constructions. For instance, the *on*-affectee construction in English is probably motivated by the metaphor DIFFICULTIES

ARE BURDENS that is introduced by Lakoff (1993). Some other sentences motivated by this metaphor are given below, taken from Lakoff (1993:32).

- (69) *He's carrying quite a load.*
- (70) *He's weighed down by a lot of assignments.*
- (71) *He's been trying to shoulder all the responsibility.*
- (72) *Get off my back!*

The same kind of metaphor exists in Japanese, yet there is not any adversative or malefactive construction that is motivated by this metaphor.

As with benefactives, lexical items that indicate direction should be a good candidate for adversative or malefactive, since English *to* in 'what Y did to X was Z' is sometimes used to indicate the notion of adversity and the dative construction discussed earlier is used to indicate both benefit and adversity.

In conclusion, we need more precise information about the lexical source of adversative and malefactive constructions, and further empirical studies need to be done extensively.

4.7 Semantic network of ACs

This last section proposes a semantic network of ACs based on the findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4. The following diagram provides an overview of the entire

semantic relations of the construction types, and various constructions types are placed relative to one another based on the shared properties of the constructions.

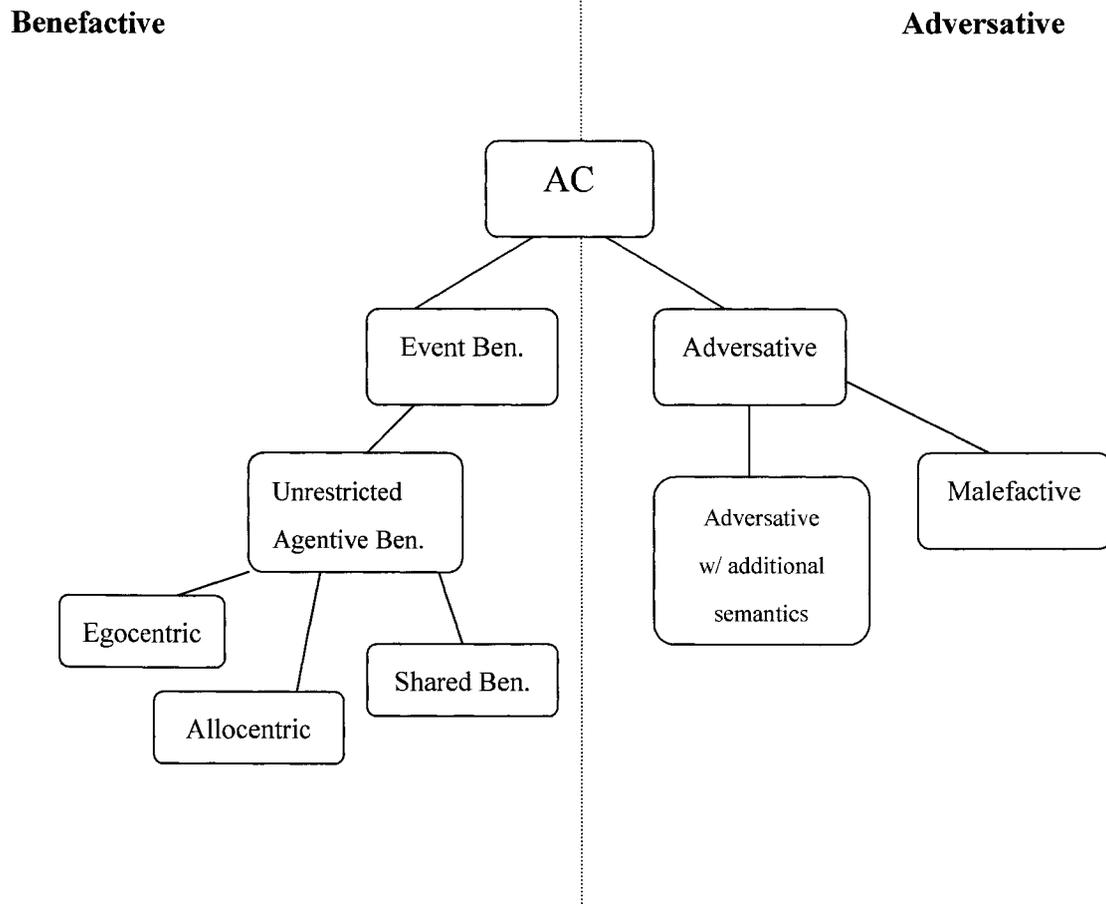


Figure 12 Semantic network of ACs

5 Secondary affectedness constructions: Passives

5.1 Introduction

As mentioned earlier, in addition to ACs, there are other constructions, which I refer to as SACs. SACs are not dedicated ACs. That is, they do have functions other than expressing affectedness. However, they are also used to indicate or imply the notion of affectedness. The cross-linguistically common SACs that I have found are passives, causatives, and the middle/reflexives. Although additional SACs exist in the world's languages, at this point, they do not appear common enough to constitute a cross-linguistic tendency.

I will discuss the semantics and pragmatics of passives in this chapter and causative and middle/reflexives in Chapter 6, and I will attempt to explain what motivates these SACs to express or imply the notion of affectedness.

Passives appear to be the most common SAC type in the world's languages. As seen in previous chapters, there are ACs that are frequently analyzed as passives. Recall, for example, that Vietnamese and Thai have both benefactive (see Section 3.3.3) and adversative passives (see Section 4.2.3). One type of adversative construction in Even is also traditionally classified as a canonical passive (see Section 4.2.2).

Passives indicating or implying the notions of affectedness are well attested in

languages (e.g. Clark 1974, Lee 1974, Siewierska 1984, Keenan 1985, Hashimoto 1988, Chen 1994), including Indonesian, Mandarin, Korean, Japanese, and English. This phenomenon seems to be highly concentrated in Asia, yet passives in English also imply the notion of affectedness. The same may be said of Seychelles Creole, an Indian Ocean Creole French dialect (Corne 1977).

The remaining sections introduce English passives, the Indonesian *ke-an* passives, and the Korean irregular passives to show that passives are frequently used as adversatives. Then, I will discuss the motivation for their adversity implication, and further present event schemas for passives as SACs.

5.2 English passives

5.2.1 The *get* passive

5.2.1.1 The *get* passive as SAC

Although the details of the analysis differ somewhat in each study, it has been claimed that the *get* passive is used to convey the notions of affectedness (e.g., Hatcher 1949, Lakoff 1971, Chappell 1980, Davison 1980, Givón and Yang 1994). First, Hatcher (1949) points out that the *get* passive is used only when the affecting event is perceived as either positive or negative. Robin Lakoff (1971) similarly suggests that “the *get*-passive in

English, unlike the *be*-passive, is frequently used to reflect the attitude of the speaker toward the events described in the sentence: whether he feels they are good or bad, or reflect well or poorly on him or the superficial subject of the sentence (for whom he thus expresses implicit sympathy)” (154). Chappell (1980) provides an extensive analysis of the *get* passive, and divides it into several subtypes of adversative and benefactive passives.

The notion of affectedness becomes clearer in certain sentences with the *get* passive. For examples, passives of transitive verbs that do not actually affect the secondary participant seem strange in a *get* passive sentence, or require special contexts for them to make sense.⁴⁹ Compare the following examples.

- (1) *He was remembered for it ten years later.*
- (2) *He got remembered for it ten years later.*

The first sentence sounds natural even if the subject referent is not alive ten years later, while, in the second sentence, s/he must be alive. In the latter case, the interpretation is that there must have been some reward for him/her in getting remembered, and for that s/he should have to be alive, or that he did something embarrassing and was remembered for it at a roast.

⁴⁹ I thank Charles Fillmore for pointing out this fact.

I have found four corpus-based studies in recent literature on the *get* passive (Collins 1996, Downing 1996, Yim 1998, Carter and McCarthy 1999). Since the databases used in the studies varies from one to another, as shown in Table 2, their findings are somewhat different; however, there is agreement on the way the *get* passive is used mainly as an adversative passive, and also occasionally as a benefactive passive. The findings are summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 2 Corpus types

Author(s)	Types of database
Collins 1996	Written English: British, Australian and American Spoken English: British and Australian
Downing 1996	Written and Spoken English: the Bank of English
Yim 1998	Various varieties of spoken American English
Carter and McCarthy 1999	Spoken British English: the CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English) corpus

Table 3 Distribution of *get* passive uses

Author(s)	Adversative	Benefactive	Neutral	Indeterminate	Total #
Collins	196 (67.4%)	68 (23.4%)	27 (9.3%)	0	291
Downing	600 (70.92%)	102 (12.05%)	106 (12.53%)	40 (4.73%)	846
Yim	93 (86.1%)	15 (13.9%)	17 (13.5%)	0	125
Carter and McCarthy	124 (89.2%)	less than 5%	a small #, could be neutral		139

Typical examples of the adversative use are drawn from Carter and McCarthy

(1999: 49).

- (3) [The halls are student halls of residence]
S1 Oh God that is a nightmare. Cos like loads of them aren't there, all, like they *got like kicked* off the halls.
S2 Mm I know. Trouble is they're all too interested in like drinking and socializing. [90026001]
- (4) Now after this they'd have to go back to the courts now, they haven't decided anything. No you've got to go right back to stage one. This poor bloke who *got charged* in nineteen eighty eight still is looking for justice now they haven't had the case yet. [90063003]

The notion of adversity is often intrinsically expressed by the lexical verbs in the sentences.

The following verbs typically occur.

- (5) *get abducted; abused; accused; ambushed; arrested; attacked; battered; beaten up; bitten; blackballed; blamed; broken; burgled; burned out; busted; caned; caught; chased; clamped; clobbered; cornered; criticized; crucified; cut off; damaged; dented; destroyed; expelled; fined; fired; hit; humiliated; hurt; injured; interrupted; kidnapped; killed; lured; maladministered; mauled; mugged; murdered; nabbed; nailed; overridden; punished; raped; rebuffed; ripped off; run over; robbed; snacked; screwed; scuttled; sentenced; shot; shafted; shelled; shoved around; sidetracked; smashed; spanked; spoiled; stabbed; stolen; straitjacketed; sued; thumped; thrown out; torn to pieces; tossed out; trodden on; turned away; vandalized.* (Downing 1996: 195)

The following exemplifies typical benefactive uses (Carter and McCarthy 1999:

50).

- (6) [The speakers are talking about S2's past successes as a tennis player]
 S1 And were those like junior matches or tournaments or county matches?
 S2 Er both country and er, well I played county championships and lost in the finals the first year and er I *got picked* for the county for that and then so I, I played county matches pretty much the same time.
 S1 Right, good. [900179001]
- (7) S1 You know for what I *get paid* absolutely megabucks for doing nothing. I look busy all day long and I drink cups of tea every five, ten minutes and yeah I feel I'm quite happy what I'm doing, just sitting around.
 S2 So what was it you do?
 S1 I'm a production bench operator, we just look after computers.
 [80269001]

Other verbs and verb phrases that are found in benefactive passives include: *get invited; fed; offered commission; interviewed; elected; educated; promoted* (Downing 1996: 196).

As in the above examples, the notion of affectedness may be attributable to the semantics of the verb (phrase) in the sentence; however, sometimes a larger context is needed to know the speaker's attitude toward the affecting event. For instance, being invited to the school ball is normally considered a good thing; however, S1 is actually not happy with it in the following example.

- (8) [Students talking about upcoming hectic social timetable]
 S1 I've *got invited* to the school ball as well.
 S2 Are you?
 S1 Don't really fancy it. [90051001]
 (Carter and McCarthy 1999: 50)

It should be emphasized here again that I am dealing with constructional meaning or implication in this study. This last example indicates that it is not just lexical items that provide the implication of the affectedness; the implication is made with construction as well. The use of the *get* passive is signaling that the subject referent is affected by the event.

Notice that the affectee normally coincides with the subject referent, but could be a different entity who is somehow related to the inanimate subject referent. For example, the affecting event is bad for John in (9) and (10), while it is good for him in (11) and (12).

- (9) *John got fired.*
- (10) *John's bike got stolen.*
- (11) *John got promoted.*
- (12) *John's bike got fixed.*

Chappell (1980) considers the notions of benefit and adversity part of the semantics of the *get* passives, and she treats the adversative *get* passive and benefactive *get* passive as two distinct constructions. To the contrary, I consider there to be simply one construction with two implications, either benefit or adversity. It seems more logical to treat the *get* passive as a single construction, which is an SAC that can be used mainly as an adversative but also as a benefactive. For example, we would not consider the lexical verb *get* as two separate verbs (positive and negative acquisition), as in *I got an A* and *I got an F*.

Carter and McCarthy (1999) have a slightly different conclusion from mine, and they state that:

...*get*, therefore, coincides mostly, but not exclusively, with verbs referring to unfortunate events, or at least events perceived as unfortunate for the speaker. It is equally capable of marking any event simply as noteworthy or of some significance to the speaker, including the very small number of cases where that significance is one of a perception of good fortune. (50-51)

I find the term ‘noteworthy’ too general. It is true that adversative and benefactive events are noteworthy in general, and noteworthy is often implied along with the notion of affectedness, as in ...*and got sued by the owners* (Carter and McCarthy 1999: 51 [70001001]). However, I believe that affectedness is the primary notion of the *get* passive, given that it, and predominantly the adversative reading, holds in the majority of the corpus data, and that the noteworthiness results from it.

5.2.1.2 Responsibility of the subject referent

In addition to the notions of affectedness, it has been argued that the *get* passive implies the subject referent’s responsibility, while the *be* passive does not (e.g., Hatcher 1949, Lakoff 1971, Barber 1975, Chappell 1980). Chappell (1980) notes, “in the *get*-passive, then, the subject is thought of as having more control in determining the

resulting situation than for the corresponding *be*-passive where the subject is purely an undergoer” (417).

Collins (1996) provides evidence to support this argument. He points out that *get* is strongly preferred over *be* in constructions, such as *try to get Ven*, *go and get Ven*, and *manage to get Ven*, which indicate the agency of the subject referent. Examples follow (Collin 1996: 51).

- (13) So it’s not worth *trying to get born* into the imperial family... what about entering Japanese politics. [ICE-GB-S2B-021-82]
- (14) Our advice is for both to *go and get involved* in the new technology and in shop-floor activities. [ACE-F19-3824]
- (15) Though he knew no more about military science and tactics than any other desk officer, he *managed to get transferred* to the combat forces. [BROWN-F22-260]

Collins provides more evidence, such as that *get* may not appear with verbs taking non-finite compliments in which the subject referent has no control over the affecting event.

- (16) *Tom was/*got understood to have asked for a refund.* (Collins 1996: 51)
- (17) *Mary was/*got heard to insult her parents.* (Collins 1996: 51)

Downing (1996) discusses the notion of responsibility in relation to the notions of affectedness. She notes that humans tend to seek a good rather than bad outcome for

themselves, and the bad outcome in the *get* passive may imply ‘misbehavior, carelessness or negligence or sheer bad luck’ on the part of the subject referent, as Barber (1975: 22) says if only by being in the wrong place at the wrong time. The following examples are from Downing (1996: 198).

- (18) He *gets shot* trying to escape.
- (19) Sometimes, a Hongkonger *gets taken for* another nationality and suffers for it.
- (20) So you always *get passed over* for promotion.
- (21) This raft and the people in it *get tossed around and splashed*
- (22) ...and Christ *gets crucified* every Friday afternoon.

Downing notes that if the outcome is beneficial, the receptive meaning and/or contriving meaning are often present in the *get* passive. In other words, the outcome can be attributed to the subject referent’s good fortune and/or to the referent’s efforts or contrivance to make that happen, as in the following examples (Downing 1996: 198).

- (23) He started *getting appointed* to Royal Commissions.
- (24) If we’re going to have any chance of *getting invited* to his party tomorrow night...

In the above examples, the subject referent is always an animate entity, and thus can be perceived to have some sort of responsibility for the outcome. This interpretation of responsibility actually may hold even when the subject referent is inanimate, or when there is perceived to be an underlying affectee who has a close relationship to the subject referent,

such as ownership (Chappell 1980), as in the following examples (Downing 1996: 199).

- (25) Those pears don't seem to be *getting eaten*.⁵⁰
- (26) The fine print sometimes *gets neglected*.
- (27) There by the back door, which *gets used* ten times a day
- (28) Would the Post Office *get flooded*?

Downing notes that in (25), the ownership relation can be easily understood, while in (28), it is not apparent how far the ownership relation might extend. However, I see that all the above examples retrieve some sort of affected entity, the owner(s) of the pears in (25), and the worker and/or user of the post office in (28).

In sum, the notion of responsibility is frequently implied by the *get* passive in English. The degree of responsibility may be high or low, depending on the context. This context is usually implied, even when the subject referent is inanimate. There are, however, a small number of cases, where the notion of responsibility is not implied. I will discuss these in the following section. I conclude that, although this notion is present in proto-typical uses of the *get* passive and it is one of the main implications of the construction, it is not an inherent part of the semantics of the construction.

⁵⁰ This one example is not taken from the Bank of English corpora, but is her personal observation.

5.2.1.3 Neutral uses of the *get* passive

In addition to the adversative and benefactive uses, small numbers of the *get* passives are classified as neutral in the corpus studies (Collins 1996, Downing 1996, Yim 1998). Downing (1996) states that the subject referent tends to be inanimate in the neutral uses, when the notion of responsibility is less in evidence, and the context in which such inanimate subjects are used may be classified as broadly ‘scientific’. Collins (1996) similarly points out that, in his data, there is a strong correlation between the neutral cases and the absence of the notion of responsibility. He states that the subject referent is inanimate in the following examples, and the notion of responsibility cannot be present, so the adversative/benefactive implicature is predictably absent.

- (29) The gospels, St Paul and the primitive Christian kerygma (which *gets quoted* in 1 Corinthians 15:3b-5, the early speeches in Acts and elsewhere in the New Testament). [ACE-D01-77]
- (30) You have special symbols for when you can’t actually hear something when you’re doing transcribing and that’s what *gets transcribed* you see [ICE-GB-S1A-047-133]
- (31) These er temples er *got abandoned* after well in fact after Medieval times [ICE-GB-S2A-024-13]

Although the *get* passive sentences, such as in the above, can be regarded as neutral passives, I suggest that some of them might have been uttered to imply the notion of affectedness. For instance, I could interpret Sentence (30) as indicating a positive effect on

the transcriber by providing symbols for problematic utterances, or Sentence (31) as indicating a sad event of abandoned temples. Whether or not an adversative or benefactive implication is present seems highly dependent on the context; however, as Downing and Collins suggest, neutral uses seem most likely to occur when the notion of responsibility is not present and the subject referent is inanimate.

Another possible explanation of the neutral use suggested by Downing (1996) is that it has an inchoative meaning, what she calls the “come to be X-ed”. This meaning becomes prominent when the notion of responsibility is not made clear by the context. It emphasizes “progression of the action (which may be iterative) through time, leading to a result”, which can be illustrated by the following examples, where the notion of progression through time is clarified by other parts of the sentences (202).

- (32) This power almost inevitably *gets used* less and less as the child grows.
- (33) By the time it reaches this country and *gets delivered* to the honey packer.
- (34) The sibling somehow *gets inserted* as a proxy attachment figure.

This last explanation of the *get* passive may be true in some cases, yet, as Downing herself points out, the ‘come to be X-ed’ sense is not incompatible with the notions of affectedness, and once again the context appears to be the only means of knowing if the two notions are implied or not.

Lastly, I will suggest an additional explanation for the neutral use. It has been recognized that the *get* passive is dynamic, while the *be* passive is at least ambiguously stative, as in *he got hurt* vs. *he is hurt* (e.g. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1983, Keenan 1985). In Yim (1998), almost all the verbs that have appeared in the *get* passives in the corpus (123 out of 125) are inherently non-stative punctual verbs.⁵¹ Yim concludes that “*get* co-occurs with punctual verbs denoting actions or processes, while *be* is more flexible in its usage as it can also co-occur with participles indicating durative states or conditions” (44). On the other hand, Downing (1996) states that the overwhelming majority of *get* passive sentences in her data clearly refers to an action or event even when *get* is replaced with *be*. She suggests that the difference between the *get* passive being dynamic and *be* passive being stative has probably been overstressed, and the disambiguating function of *get* is not sufficient enough to explain the phenomenon of the *get* passive.

Although, Downing’s suggestion above appears quite reasonable, we cannot deny the fact that the dynamic/punctual feature is (almost) always present in the *get* passive, as Yim’s corpus data confirms. This aspectual feature must be one of the important semantic properties of the *get* passive. Therefore, I suggest that *get* is preferred over *be*, when the speaker wants to emphasize the dynamics of the action or event that s/he is describing. I

⁵¹ The two exceptions are ambiguous cases: *get consumed by his feelings* and *get saddened by things*

also argue that an utterance becomes more vivid and lively when *get* is used instead of *be*.

It is important to note here that this aspectual emphasis is not incompatible with the notions of affectedness, and I find that the two often co-exist in the *get* passive, as in the following examples (Downing 1996: 185).

- (35) She'd merely *got splashed* with the lethal water and it hadn't entered her body.
- (36) The BBC journalist in the Overseas Service *got shafted* by an umbrella with a poisoned tip.

However, I have also observed cases where the *get* passive is used to reinforce the dynamic aspect. For example, one day, my son asked my husband, "Why is Spiderman strong?", and my husband replied, "He got bitten by a spider". Later, my husband and I discussed why he used *get* instead of *be* in his reply, and he said that he did not have any affective connotation in mind (good or bad to Spiderman) at the time of the utterance. We have watched the Spiderman movie so many times with our son, and my husband was simply stating the fact that Spiderman became strong because he was bitten by a spider. However, we think that he used *get* instead of *be* because he wanted to make the sentence dynamic, as a narrator of a story often does, by emphasizing strong physical manipulation.

Another example I consider is *Did you get baptized in a river*' taken from Collin

(Yim 1998: 39)

(1996: 52 [ACE-W10-1822]). This question concerns the location where the addressee is baptized, so it is unlikely that the speaker is concerned about whether the baptism itself has a good or bad effect on the addressee. This example also appears to have a connotation of strong physical manipulation reinforced by the use of *get*.

In sum, the notion of affectedness is not implied in some uses of *get* passives, and this is often found when the notion of responsibility is also not implied, especially with inanimate subjects. Another possible account for the neutral use suggested by Downing (1996) is that the ‘come to be X-ed’ is highlighted, and I have suggested that the neutral use also occurs when the dynamics of the action or event acquire prominence in discourse.

5.2.1.4 Speaker’s attitude

Downing (1996) states that the speaker’s attitude is said to be emotional rather than objective, and, for example, it indicates ‘sympathy’ for the affectee and/or ‘disapproval’ of the event when used as an adversative. Such notions seem appropriate to describe the implications of the *get* passive, and Chappell (1980) has discussed various implications in detail. Notice that the speaker’s negative attitude toward the event, such as sympathy and disapproval are also indicated by some adversative constructions discussed in Chapter 4. Interestingly, a positive attitude can also be implied in the case of the *get*

passive in English.

Consider the sentence *Chad got promoted*, for example. The speaker could utter this sentence with the implication of happiness or indignation about Chad and the event, depending on the situation.

- (37) *Chad got promoted! (He worked hard and deserves it and I am really happy for him!)*
- (38) *Chad got promoted, instead of me. (He worked hard to trick the boss and he does not deserve it.)*
- (39) *Chad got promoted! (Isn't he lucky! What good news! I am happy for him.)*
- (40) *Chad got promoted. (It's mere luck! I should've got promoted instead of him.)*

Here, I suggest that when the affectee is negatively affected by the event, the more the affectee holds responsibility, the stronger the chance of a negative evaluation of the affectee (e.g., *Chad lost his job, but he deserved it!*). As for the benefactive passive use, it seems that the affectee's responsibility does not influence the speaker's attitude toward the affectee. For instance, the following sentence indicates that lawyers benefit from their high fees, but also reveals the speaker's attitude toward lawyers, approval or disapproval, depending on what his/her belief is (which should be clear by context). The reason that the notion of responsibility does not play an important role in benefactive uses must be that the speaker's self-interest is more significant than the responsibility of the affectee.

- (41) S1 Do you know how much lawyers *get paid* for an hour the best ones?
S2 I don't I don't care
S1 Six hundred pound an hour.
S2 I don't care. [90064002]

(Carter and McCarthy 1999: 50)

Notice that these implications are possible only when the speaker is different from the affectee. If the speaker is the affectee, then the implication is that the speaker is basically happy or unhappy with the affecting event.

In addition, there are a small number of neutral uses with the *get* passive in which the event is stated objectively by the speaker. Obviously, in these cases too, attitude toward the subject referent is not the concern of the speaker, and thus, it should not be implied in such uses.

In Table 4 below are summarized the implications of the speaker's attitude discussed in this section. As Lakoff suggests, these implications are implicitly implied by the construction, and all sorts of implication, positive and negative, is possible: sympathy, disapproval, pride, and happiness. The *get* passive construction communicates that the speaker is highly interested in the event and is emotionally involved.

Table 4 Possible attitudes of speaker in *get* passives

the affecting event	Speaker = Affectee	Speaker ≠ Affectee	
		the affectee's responsibility	the speaker's attitude toward the affectee
good	happy	high: working hard	positive
		contriving	negative
		low: good luck	positive
			negative
bad	unhappy	high: the affectee's fault	negative: disapproval, blame, contempt etc.
		low: bad luck	positive: e.g., sympathy
neutral	NA	NA	

5.2.1.5 Summary and discussion of the *get* passive

Several corpus-based studies have proven that the *get* passive is most likely to imply the notion of adversity. It is also occasionally used in benefactive and neutral contexts. In addition to implying the notion of affectedness, the *get* passive also serves aspectual functions. Therefore, I conclude that the *get* passive is not a dedicated AC but an SAC that is frequently used as an adversative and occasionally as a benefactive. It is important that the two functions, affective and aspectual, are not mutually exclusive, and that both are often indicated in *get* passive sentences.

In addition to implying adversity or benefit, the construction also implies the speaker's attitude toward the affectee, whether the speaker feels good or bad about the affectee with respect to the event. Such attitudes include approval, disapproval, and sympathy.

Moreover, the notion of responsibility is frequently associated with the *get* passive. The subject referent is responsible for the affecting event: s/he had some control over the situation and has directly or indirectly caused the event to occur. This notion of responsibility is scalar: in some cases the strong responsibility of the subject referent is clearly implied, while in other cases weak responsibility is implied, such as when the subject referent is simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. Although the notion of responsibility and affectedness are closely tied in the implicature of the *get* passive, as discussed in 5.2.1.2, I suggest that the two notions are independent from each other. This means that the notion of responsibility did not arise from the notion of affectedness, or vice versa, in the *get* passive.

The notion of responsibility is most likely attributable from the diachronic origin of the *get* passive. By examining diachronic data, Givón and Yang (1994) suggest that the *get* passive has evolved from (or by analogy with) the transitive reflexive causative use of *get* (e.g. *He got himself arrested* > *He got arrested*). Their suggestion is very plausible,

because one of the common origins of passives is the causative (Haspelmath 1990). If this is the case, the implication of responsibility should be viewed as a natural consequence of the diachronic development (Givón and Yang 1994). Although the subject referent has lost its agency to some degree, its agentive nature has been retained in the *get* passive.

5.2.2 The *be* passive as SAC

Although it is less common than the *get* passive, the *be* passive in English is also used to imply the notion of affectedness. Firstly, Kirsner (1977) points out that *be* passive sentences with sensory verbs imply the notion of adversity (also discussed in Keenan 1985).

Compare the following active and passive pairs taken from Kirsner (1977: 166).

(42) *They saw Nureyev dance last night.*

(43) *Nureyev was seen to dance last night.*

(44) *During the Inauguration they saw the President-Elect put his hand on the Bible.*

(45) *During the Inauguration the President-Elect was seen to put his hand on the Bible.*

(46) *The jury heard the lawyer cross-examine the witness.*

(47) *The lawyer was heard to cross-examine the witness.*

(48) *They heard Sills sing at the Opera House.*

(49) *Sills was heard to sing at the Opera House.*

According to Kirsner (1977), unlike the active counterparts, the above passive sentences

indicate unplanned accidental events that the subject referent did not intend to be witnessed, consequently creating an adversative implication.

Secondly, Davison (1980) discusses the peculiar *be* passive uses with oblique subjects that imply extra meanings. One of the implications is the notion of adversity, as in the following examples.

(50) *John sat on this chair.*

(51) *This chair was sat on by John.* (Davison 1980: 43)

Davison states that in Sentence (50) the chair refers to a location, while Sentence (51) may suggest that the chair has sustained some damage as a result of John's sitting on it. Other similar examples follow.

(52) *That knife has been cut with too often without being sharpened.*

(53) *This spoon has been eaten with.*

(54) *Dinner was sat through by all in stony silence.* (Davison 1980: 45-6)

It is important to note here that the affectees in the above sentences are not the subject referent, because they are inanimate and normally not perceived as being affected negatively by the events described by the predicates. Instead, someone or people who have a kind of relation to the subject referent are affected. We can easily interpret that the owner of the chair in (51), the user of the spoon in (53), and people who have participated in the

dinner in (54) are affected negatively.

Davison discusses two other implications of the peculiar *be* passives: notable feature and possibility. The subject referent can have a notable feature, for example, such as when a famous person is mentioned as the agent, as in the following.

(55) *This porch was walked on by Teddy Roosevelt.*

(56) *This chair was sat on by Adolf Hitler.*

(57) *That cup was drunk out of by Napoleon (and carefully preserved for 150 years afterward).* (Davison 1980: 54)

Davison notes that the passive connotes that the subject referent has the quality of being interesting (at least to the speaker). But what is interesting/noteworthy about the subject referent, as mentioned earlier with reference to the *get* passive, is that it is deemed by the speaker to have been significantly affected, either positively or negatively (in almost every case) by the famous agent, and that evaluation carries over to the whole event. If the speaker is proud of the famous person, the event is normally evaluated positively. On the other hand, if the speaker dislikes/disrespects the famous person, the event may be evaluated as negative, as with Hitler in the above case.

The other implicature of the peculiar *be* passive, the notion of possibility, is demonstrated in the following.

(58) *The enemy base has been flown over several times.*

(59) *The valley has been marched through in two hours.* (Davison 1980: 54)

As has been discussed (Davison 1980, Shibatani 1985, Haspelmath 1990), the notion of possibility is associated with passives in many languages.

In sum, the notion of adversity appears to be one of the common implications of the *be* passive, and I consider the *be* passive to be an SAC. Herold (1986 cited in Givón and Yang 1994) conducts a contrastive study of the two passives in contemporary spoken American English. The study reports that in 82% of the instances of the *get* passive it is used as an adversative, while in 18% it is considered neutral. With the *be* passive, 40% of usages is adversative, while 60% is considered neutral⁵². Indeed, 40% is a lot less than 82%, but 40% is not insignificant. With these figures, it should be safe to conclude that the notion of adversity is the most common implication of the two passives in English.

5.3 The Indonesian *ke-an* passives

Indonesian has three passive constructions, and one of them, the *ke-an* passive, is used to express the notion of adversity (Morimura 1992, Yuasa 2000). Note that the other two passives, *ter* and *di* passives, as in (60)-(62), are rather neutral in terms of affectedness.

Compare the following examples.

⁵² Unfortunately, the benefactive sense is not included in the study. I assume that the neutral uses

- (60) *pintu kamar hanako tertutup*
 door room Hanako TER-close
 ‘The door of Hanako’s room is closed.’ (Yuasa 2000: 14)
- (61) *lafal saya dibetulkan oleh guru*
 pronunciation my DI-correct by teacher
 ‘My pronunciation was corrected by the teacher.’ (Tanaka 1991: 114)
- (62) *pintu itu tolong dibuka*
 door that please DI-open
 ‘Please open the door (lit. let the door be opened).’
 (Morimura 1981 cited in Yuasa 2000:16)
- (63) *taro kehujaanan*
 Taro KE-rain falls-AN
 ‘Taro was rained on.’ (Yuasa 2000: 13)
- (64) *taro kecopean dompet(nya)*
 Taro KE-pick-AN wallet-(his)
 ‘Taro had his wallet picked.’ (Yuasa 2000: 18)
- (65) *dia kedatangan tamu*
 he KE-come-AN guest
 ‘Taro was negatively affected by a guest coming.’ (Yuasa 2000: 13)

According to Morimura (1992), the *ke-an* construction may indicate the notion of benefit, as in *kebagian* ‘get one’s share’; however it is almost always used as an adversative. Since one or two instances of a non-adversative use is not sufficient to regard this construction as a general SAC, I treat it as an adversative passive.

include small numbers of benefactive uses, as was the case with the corpus studies of the *get* passive.

The affix *ke-an* is not only used as an adversative passive but is used to express other notions as well, as in the following examples (Morimura 1992).

(a) excess: 'too much'

ketinggian 'too expensive' *kepahitan* 'too bitter'

(b) potential passive

kelihatan 'can be seen' *kedengaran* 'can be heard'

(c) spontaneous

kelupaan 'slip one's mind, forget by accident'
ketiduran 'fall asleep'

(d) similarity

kemerahan 'reddish' *kehijauan* 'greenish' *kepuccatan* 'blueish'

I suggest that the notion of excess that is denoted in (a) is closely related to adversity, since excess sometimes indicates that the person who is involved in the state of affairs suffers from it. For example, eating too much makes one ill, and if a desired object is too expensive, then one cannot purchase it.

In (b), the potential passive expresses that something can be done, and this use is still a kind of passive. The notion of possibility is associated with passives in many languages, as in Hindi and Danish (e.g., Davison 1980, 1982, Shibatani 1985, Haspelmath 1990). The previous section has stated that one of the implications of the peculiar *be* passive is possibility. Shibatani (1985) suggests that agent defocusing appears to be the

basic motivation here for some reasons: it is not necessary or appropriate to mention the actual cause of the event. Examples of reasons can be: the agent is not salient enough to mention, it is unknown, or the subject referent is the topic of the discourse.

The spontaneous uses in (c) appear to have a similar motivation, namely agent defocusing, or strictly speaking, agent denying. Spontaneous events designate an entity undergoing a change, which is perceived as autonomous, and no entity is ascribed a causal role. This type of use is also one of the common additional uses of passive morphemes in languages (Shibatani 1985, Haspelmath 1990).

The potential and spontaneous passives are also closely related in other languages. For instance, Japanese makes use of the suffix *-(r)are* in the passive, potential and spontaneous constructions. Moreover, the middle/reflexives in languages are often extended to be potential passives (in other terms, quasi-passive or facilitative) and spontaneous (Geniušienė 1987, Peterson 1991, Kemmer 1993). In conclusion, I suggest that the two uses, expressions of potential and spontaneity are similar to the uses of ACs in that the affected entity is highlighted, rather than the agent.

The last type (d) similarity is not clear to me. The semantics may be related to (a), excess, in that both (a) and (d) qualify the descriptor. Usage (a) indicates that what the descriptor is supposed to be is surpassed (e.g. more bitter than is acceptable), while usage

(d) indicates “short of what the descriptor should be” (e.g. “almost” blue, approximately blue, not prototypically blue).

5.4 Korean irregular passives

In Korean, a set of irregular passive suffixes take certain classes of verbs that do not co-occur with the regular passive, the suffix *hi*⁵³ (Lee 1974, Davison 1980, Jung 1998). One of them, the *tangha* passive, is almost always used in an adversative context (Jung 1998). If the speaker does not evaluate the event as adversative, then the *pat* passive is used, in which case the event is usually evaluated as benefactive. The *mac* and *tʰ* passives are used in adversative context, but they are rare. Compare the following examples taken from Lee (1974: 151).

tangha ‘be subject to’

(66) *pholo-ka hənpiəŋ-eke kutha-tangha-əss-ta*
 POW-SUB MP-AGT beat-PASS-PST-DEC
 ‘The prisoner of war was beaten (subject to beating) by an MP’

e.g., *ningjok-tangha- ningjok-ha-* ‘to outrage’
kamkim-tangha kamkim-ha- ‘to imprison’
hayko-tangha- hayko-ha- ‘to dismiss’

⁵³ It surfaces as *i*, *ki*, *li* or *hi*, depending on context.

pat ‘receive’

- (67) *ki sənsayng-nin haksayng-til-eke conkjəng-pat-nin-ta*
the teacher-TOP student-PL-AGT respect-PASS-PRES-DEC
‘The teacher is respected by students.’

e.g., *hwanjəng-pat- hwanjəng-ha-* ‘to welcome’
chingchan-pat- chingchan-ha- ‘to praise’
chukpok-pat- chukpok-ha- ‘to bless’

mac ‘encounter’

- (68) *cə jəca-ka namphjən-eke sopak-mac-əss-ta*
that woman-SUB husband-AGT abandon-PASS-PST-DEC
‘That woman was abandoned by her husband.’

e.g., *tocək-mac tocək (cil)-ha-* ‘to steal’
thcca-mac thcca-noh- ‘to reject’
kupak-mac kupak-ha- ‘to maltreat’

tit ‘catch’

- (69) *ai-ka acəssi-eke kkucung-tit-əss-ta*
child-SUB uncle-AGT scold-PASS-PST-DEC
‘The child was scolded by the uncle.’

e.g., *mal(ssim)-tit mal(ssim)-ha-* ‘to scold’
kəkəng-tit kəkəng-ha- ‘to scold’
chaykmang-tit chaykmang-ha- ‘to scold’

First, I discuss the implication of the *pat* passive. According to Lee (1974), there is another passive type construction with *pat*, as in the following example.

- (70) *chəlsu-ka yənggi-eke chayk-lil ilk-e pat-əss-ta*
Cholsoo-SUB Younghee-AGT book-OM read-CMP RECEIVE-DEC
‘Cholsoo had a book read by Younghee.’ (Lee 1974: 152)

In Sentence (67), the subject referent does not have any causative force, while in (70) it may have a weak causative force or none. The passive status of Sentence (70) is not clear to me; however, the sentence clearly expresses the notion of benefit (Lee 1974). On the other hand, Jun (1998) points out that the *pat* passive is also used to imply the notion of adversity, as in *pinan-pat-ta* ‘be blamed’ and *ekap-pat-ta* ‘be pressured’. It seems that the main function of the *pat* passive is to indicate the notion of benefit, but it can also be used in a negative context.

The above examples may give an impression that the affective implication of the irregular passives in Korean is established solely by the lexical meaning of the verb. However, as Jun suggests, that is not entirely the case. For example, different constructions imply different degrees of adversity.

(71) *tom-un komwun-toy-essta*
 Tom-TOP torture-PASS-PST
 ‘Tom was tortured.’ (Jung 1998:196)

(72) *tom-un komwun-pat-assta*
 Tom-TOP torture-PASS-PST
 ‘Tom was tortured.’ (Jung 1998:196)

(73) *tom-un komwun-tangha-assta*
 Tom-TOP torture-PASS-PST
 ‘Tom was tortured against his wishes.’ (Jung 1998:196)

Jung introduces another irregular passive with *toy*. This passive, as in (71), is close to the neutral, but it connotes some sort of adversity. The passive with *pat* in (72) has a slightly stronger adversative connotation than the *toy* passive. In (73), the *tangha* passive has the strongest adversative connotation. Sentence (73) implies not only the strong negative connotation, but also the speaker's sympathy toward the subject referent: it implies that Tom was tortured despite his innocence. Jung points out that some verbs that have a very negative sense take only the *tangha* passive (not other types of passive), and this fact proves that the *tangha* passive is the most negative adversative passive.⁵⁴ In conclusion, the lexical meanings of the verbs in these passives obviously provide the adversative interpretation, yet different degrees of connotations of the passives confirm that the constructions also contribute to expressing the implication of affectedness.

5.5 Passives and adversity

My data shows that passives are most frequently associated with the notion of adversity cross-linguistically. As I will discuss in Chapter 7, the Japanese passives exhibit the same pattern. This section will try to account for this general tendency toward adversative interpretation in passive constructions.

⁵⁴ It may be, then, better to treat the *tangha* passive as an AC, not SAC. More data is required to make

In his diachronic study of passive morphology, Haspelmath (1990) suggests that the fundamental function of the passive is “inactivization” of the verbal situation. Inactive means “the opposite of active in the sense ‘agentive, actional’, i.e. ‘non-agentive’” (38). Haspelmath notes that the frequent connotation of affectedness associated with passives is a natural consequence of inactivization: the subject referent of an inactive dynamic situation is highly likely to be affected by it. In this way, the passive subject should be best described as the undergoer, “the argument which expresses that the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way” (Foley and Van Valin: 1984: 29). Yet, the function of inactivization still does not explain the asymmetry toward the adversative sense in passives.

Shibatani (1994b) provides a unified account on some extra-thematic argument constructions, such as the indirect/adversative passive in Japanese and dative constructions in European languages. He points out that the adversity reading of such constructions is due to the blocking effect of a distinct benefactive construction:

Whether the extra-thematic argument construction is exclusively associated with the adversity reading or it permits the benefactive reading depends to a great extent on whether or not a given language has a distinct benefactive construction. Japanese, for example, has a distinct benefactive construction, and therefore its indirect passive is

a firm conclusion.

typically associated with the adversity reading. (481)

This blocking account encounters a problem, however, when we look at passives in other languages. For example, English has a few independently existing benefactive constructions, as have been discussed in Ch 3, yet the *get* passive implies both adversity and benefit. In addition, Thai and Vietnamese have both regular benefactive constructions and benefactive passives.

Tsuboi (1997) has refined Wierzbicka's idea (1988) and states that "the adversity sense is a grammaticalized reflection of the pessimistic world view that it is rare for a beneficial event to take place without our effort while it is all too common for an unfavorable event to occur unexpectedly, i.e., that what happens around us that is not caused by our intentional action is adversative in nature" (291). This world view fits with the asymmetry toward adversity in passives, and this is probably one of the reasons why the passive is more likely to express the notion of adversity than benefit.

I believe, however, there is an additional linguistic motivation for the asymmetry. In discussing typological voice phenomena, Shibatani (1997:14) suggests "the principle of maximization of contrast" to account for the prototypes of each of the voice categories, as follows.

The principle of maximization of contrast:
Maximize the contrast of grammatical meaning

I argue that this principle of maximization of contrast is a very important motivation for the asymmetry toward adversity among the world's passives.

In prototypical transitive events, the agent is a volitional active instigator of the event (e.g. Lakoff 1977). Therefore, it should be normal to think that the action that is carried out by the agent is at least beneficial to the agent to some degree. For example, it is easy to see that acts such as brushing one's teeth and eating breakfast are beneficial to the agent. Moreover, even acts usually evaluated negatively, such as suicide, should be seen as beneficial to the agent in a sense, because the agent wanted to do them. Acts that are seemingly neutral are also fundamentally beneficial to the agent: walking the dog is beneficial to the agent to maintain the health of the dog (also often the health of the agent himself or herself).

This sense of benefit to the agent is usually not highlighted in the active voice.⁵⁵ For example, in English, as Fillmore (1968) observes, a benefactive argument requires an agent elsewhere in a sentence, and benefactive sentences convey the sense of surrogacy (Frawley 1992). However, I argue that the often only implicit sense of benefit to the agent

⁵⁵ An exception to this statement is when Kewapi, discussed in 3.3.1.3, has to mark benefaction of egocentric or allocentric obligatorily in active clauses.

is an important part of active sentences.

On the other hand, the patient or undergoer of the transitive event is not grammatically associated with the notion of benefit or adversity in active sentences, but we can interpret that it is positively or negatively affected by the agent's act via other factors. Sometimes the affective interpretation is obvious from the lexical meanings of the verb, such as *kill* and *hit* vs. *invite* and *praise*. At other times a clearer context is needed to know if the undergoer is positively or negatively affected by the agent's act, as in *Grandma kissed me*. As for passive sentences, it is occasionally the case that the subject referent is seen as positively affected, but the adversative interpretation is definitely dominant in languages. This asymmetry can be accounted for if we use the principle of maximization of contrast: maximize the contrast of grammatical meaning. I argue that since the subject referent (agent) of the active clause is usually the beneficiary, the passive is contrasted with active maximally in cases where the subject referent is affected negatively.

5.6 Diachronic development of the Mandarin passives

I have already discussed the fact that passives and ACs share some semantic similarity, this section goes further into that vein by introducing the diachronic development of Mandarin passives and showing that they are historically related.

Chen (1994) provides an historical explanation of why passives in Modern Mandarin are predominantly adversative. According to Chen, Mandarin originally had markers for the direction of transitivity and for expressing ‘affectedness’, i.e. the subject’s being affected by something ‘beyond his/her control’. The use of these markers can be found in the oracle-bone inscriptions from the 14th-11th C. BCE. Although initially this construction was a general AC, and affectedness could be interpreted as either benefactive or adversative, it came to be interpreted as only adversative. Then, by the 1st century BCE, these adversative markers had been reanalyzed as passive markers, yet they retained their adversative sense as well.

Hashimoto (1988) discusses more recent history of the passive marker *bei* in Mandarin. First, the passive use of *bei* originates from the lexical verb for ‘suffer/sustain’, and it is a kind of inflictive expression during the Han dynasty. It became common during the Wei-Jin period around the 4th to the 5th century AD. Hashimoto notes that non-adversative passives appeared only toward the end of the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD), after Chinese had come into contact with Western languages.

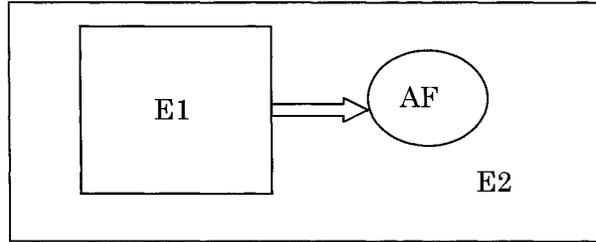
In conclusion, the adversative passives in Mandarin might have had the following development:

General AC > Adversative construction > Adversative passive > (SAC)

The current status of the *bei* passive is questionable in terms of whether it has become an SAC or not, since it is still used as an adversative passive predominantly in spoken discourse, but it is more commonly used as a neutral passive in written discourse.

5.7 Event schemas for passives as SACs

Passive constructions are used to imply the notions of affectedness cross-linguistically. Although the notion of adversity is more likely to be associated with passives, the beneficial interpretation also exists. In general, the passive subject is an animate entity (human in nearly every case), who is capable of being positively or negatively affected. There is some sort of agent (animate or inanimate) who brings about the affecting event, but it is defocused and often unmentioned in passives. For example, the agent is typically absent in the *get* passives in English (e.g., 92% in Collins 1996, 93% in Carter and McCarthy 1998). Therefore, I will leave the agent out in the schema below, but this does not mean that the affecting event cannot have an agent, only that it may or may not include it. Thus, the basic event schema for passives as SACs is represented as the following, which is the same as the basic schema for AC in Figure 1.



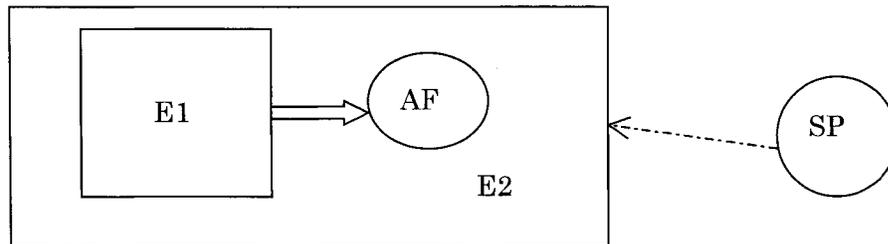
AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 13 Passive as an SAC

There are, however, three extended cases that we need to consider here. First, passive sentences imply the speaker's attitude in the English *get* passive (various attitudes toward the event and affectee) and Korean *tangha* passive (sympathy toward the affectee). Thus, the speaker needs to be included in their schema.



AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 14 Adversative passive with the speaker's attitude

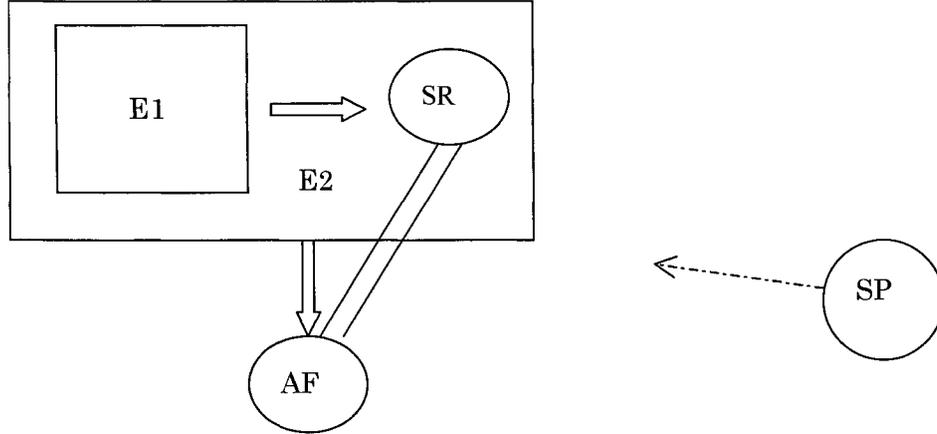
Second, the *get* passive sentences occasionally take inanimate subject referents, yet they still imply that someone is affected by the event described by the sentence, as in

Mike's bicycle got stolen, That proposal got accepted, and This chair was sat on by John.

In this case, as has been mentioned, we can interpret that the affectee is not the subject referent itself, but its owner or someone who has a close relationship to the subject referent

(Chappell 1980, Davison 1980 etc). Inanimate subject passive sentences are represented

below in Figure 15.



SR: subject referent

AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 15 Inanimate subject passive as SAC

In Figure 15, the affectee is not directly affected by the affecting event, but s/he is affected by it because s/he has a close relationship with the subject referent, which is represented by two lines connecting the two participants.

Third, I point out that not just inanimate subject but also animate subject passive sentences may have such interpretation with the English *get* passive, when the speaker has a close relation to the subject referent, such as kinship. Thus sentences, such as *My dog got hit by a car* and *Billy got admitted to the Royal Ballet School* (Billy = my son), imply that both the subject referent and the speaker are affected by the event. Recall the dative of

solidarity discussed in 2.6, where the speaker uses the first person plural to show solidarity or sympathy with the hearer even though the speaker is not affected by the event in the same way that the hearer is, as in (74) repeated here. A similar use is also found in Spanish as in (75) repeated here.⁵⁶

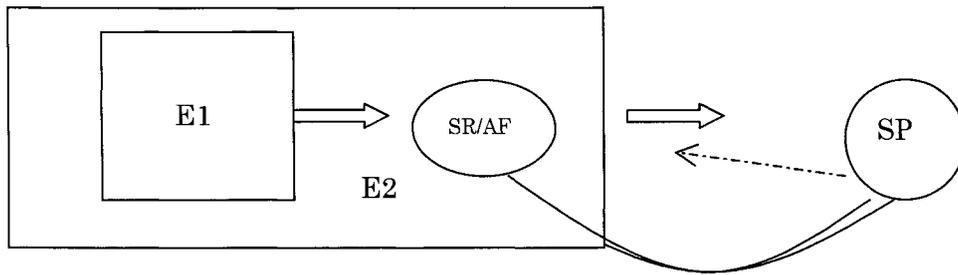
(74) *Ty-zlé-děti nám rozbily hračky, vid*
 those-mean-children-NOM us-DAT broke toys-ACC see
 ‘Those mean children broke our toys, did they?’ (Janda 1993: 90)

(75) *me le reparó la muñeca (a mi hija)*
 to-me to-her he-repaired the doll to my daughter
 ‘He repaired my daughter’s doll to her and my joy.’ (Wierzbicka 1988).

The two examples above clearly express that the speaker is also an affectee. While passive sentences of this kind include a possessive pronoun, *my* or *our*, at most, to express the possessive relation between the speaker and the passive subject, the speaker’s attitude is nevertheless the same in both cases: both empathize the subject referent. I call this type of passive the “empathetic passive”.

Below, I posit an event schema for the empathetic passive. The two lines between the affectee and the speaker indicate that they are closely related, and the white arrow outside E2 indicates that the speaker is also affected.

⁵⁶ Sentences (74) and (75) are (37) and (39) in Chapter 2.



SR: subject referent

AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 16 Empathetic passive

The last two figures represent some extended uses of passives as SACs in English; however,

I suggest that it should not be difficult to find similar uses in different languages.

6 Causatives and Middle/Reflexives as SACs

6.1 Introduction

Causatives and Middle/Reflexives are also used to express or imply the notions of affectedness. I will first discuss causatives as SACs, since their semantics and pragmatics are diverse and need closer attention. Causatives are used both as benefactives and adversatives in languages. Among benefactive causatives, the beneficiary is usually the causer, but in a few cases, it is the causee. With adversative causatives, the causer is negatively affected by the event, when the causer is seen as anywhere from remotely to totally responsible for the event.

As for middle/reflexives, it is well known that they often express egocentric benefaction. In addition, however, they are also used to describe adversative events.

6.2 Causatives as SACs

Although less common than passives and middles/reflexives, causative constructions are also used to indicate the notions of affectedness in some languages. Causatives as SACs can be divided into two types in my data. When there is a volitional causer who willingly instigates the event, a causative construction is used as a benefactive. On the other hand, if the causer does not wish the event to occur, yet the causer fails to

prevent the event from happening, then the construction is used as an adversative. The following sections introduce these two types and one benefactive construction in Japanese that is used as a kind of causative.

6.2.1 Benefactive causatives

6.2.1.1 Causer as the beneficiary

According to Babby (1993), Russian transitive sentences with what he calls transitive “service” verbs that denote a service which one normally performs for another have causative/non-causative ambiguity as in (1).

- (1) *Ona sšila sebe novoe plat'e u modnoj portnixi.*
 she-NOM sewed herself-DAT new dress-ACC AT
 stylish seamstress-GEN

(a) ‘She had a stylish seamstress make her a new dress.’

(b) ‘She made herself a new dress at a stylish seamstress.’

(Babby 1993: 345)

In the above sentence, the locative adjunct phrase is interpreted as the causee in the causative reading, as in (a), while it is interpreted as a locative phrase in the non-causative reading, as in (b). When it is interpreted as a causative, the subject is the causer and

beneficiary. The subject requests the causee to perform an action for the subject. The locative phrase is optional in such sentences, but they still have two interpretations without it. Some additional sentences are given below with benefactive causative readings (non-causative readings are possible as well).

(2) *babuška* *vstavila* *novye* *zuby*
 granny-NOM put in new teeth-ACC
 ‘Granny had new teeth made.’

(3) *ja* *xoču* *sdelat’* *pričesku*
 I-NOM want to make/do hairdo-ACC
 ‘I want to have my hair done.’

(4) *mne* *nužno* *počistit’* *kostjum*
 me-DAT necessary to clean suit-ACC
 ‘I have to have my suit cleaned.’

(5) *tabe* *nado* *proverit’* *glaza*
 you-DAT must check eyes
 ‘You must have your eyes checked.’

Although there is no causative marking in the above sentences, the causative reading is not surprising, because the verbs that appear in this construction denote a service one normally performs for another. Thus, the causative reading is more natural in some sentences, such as teeth-making and eye-checking.

In general, benefactive situations are sometimes expressed with non-coercive

causative constructions in languages. For example, the *have* construction in English has several functions, and one of them is to indicate non-coercive causative events (see Brugman 1988 for a detailed analysis on the *have* construction). I find that when the *have* construction is used as a causative, it often indicates situations where the causer requests the causee to perform an action for the benefit of the causer, as in the following examples.

- (6) *We had our friend Lisa make the wedding cake.*
- (7) *The manager had his secretary get his lunch.*
- (8) *I had my husband take our son to school.*
- (9) *I had my sister make a bag for Leo.*

In (6) and (7), the subject referents receive a benefit by having someone perform an action for themselves. The causee is a surrogate, or substitute performer for the subject referent.

In (8) and (9), the subject referent should be interpreted as a beneficiary who is indirectly benefited by the performance of the causee (e.g., the subject referent was too busy to perform the action herself). Notice that the notion of benefit may be implied even if we use a coercive causative construction, as in *I made my husband clean the living room.*

However, causation is strongly expressed with the use of *make* in such cases and that is the focus of the sentence, while causation is weakly expressed with the use of *have* and the notion of surrogacy is focused on in this kind of construction. Similar uses are found with the *get* causative construction, when the causee is not mentioned. See the following

examples.

(10) *I had her bring chips to the party.*

(11) *I had my bicycle fixed.*

(12) *I got my bicycle fixed.*

Interestingly, in Japanese, one kind of benefactive construction with RECEIVE verbs is often used to indicate causation (Kuno 1987, Ishihara 1991). I will discuss this causative use in more detail in Chapter 7, but a few examples are given below for this use.

(13) *haisya de ha o tiryosite-morat-ta*
dentist at tooth ACC treat-RECEIVE-PST
'I had my tooth treated at a dentist.'

(14) *tomodati ni kodomo o itizikan mite-morat-ta*
friend dat child acc 1 hour watch-RECEIVE-PST
'I had a friend watch my child for one hour.'

(15) *watasi wa haha ni huku o nutte-morat-ta*
I TOP mother DAT cloth ACC sew-RECEIVE-PST
'I received the benefit of my mother sewing a cloth for me.'

(16) *musume wa titi ni mukaenikite-morat-ta*
daughter TOP father DAT pick up-RECEIVE-PST
'The daughter received benefit of her father picking her up.'

In the above examples, the first two, (13) and (14) strongly indicate that the speaker is the instigator of the event, while the latter two (15) and (16) are ambiguous in that the subject can be interpreted as the instigator or not. As Ishihara (1991) points out, the *morau*

benefactive construction does not explicitly express the notion of causation; however, the use of *morau* is almost always preferred over the regular causative construction in situations where the causer is socially lower than the causee. For example, if one describes a benefactive event where a group of students had their teacher sing a song at a party, Sentence (17) with the *morau* benefactive is appropriate. Conversely, Sentence (18) is pragmatically unacceptable, unless the students force the teacher to sing.

(17) *enkai de gakusee wa sensee ni utatte-morat-ta*
 party at students TOP teacher DAT sing a song-RECEIVE-PAST
 ‘The students had their teacher sing a song for them at the party.’

(18) ^{??}*enkai de gakusee wa sensee ni utaw-ase-ta*
 party at students TOP teacher DAT sing a song-CAUSE-PAST
 ‘The students made their teacher sing a song at the party.’

In sum, the causer is also the beneficiary in some Russian causative sentences. Such causative events are also expressed by causative sentences in other languages. Moreover, the Japanese *morau* benefactive construction is often used as a causative. These uses highlight two types of benefactive events: voluntary benefactive events, where someone voluntarily takes an action for the affectee, and causative benefactive events that are instigated by the causer.

6.2.1.2 Causee as the beneficiary

Although the causer is often interpreted as the beneficiary, it is also possible for the causee to be realized as the beneficiary. This phenomenon, however, seems to be rare. First, Pederson (1991) discusses that there are a few languages whose causative markers are used to clearly express the “assistive” sense. That is, the causer helps the causee to perform an action, as in the following examples from Tsonga, a Bantu language (Baumbach 1987 cited in Pederson 1991).

- (19) *karhala* ‘become tired’
 karharisa ‘make tired’
- vona* ‘see’
 vonisa ‘let see, i.e. show’
- aka* ‘build’
 akisa ‘help to build’
- kukula* ‘sweep’
 kukurisa ‘let sweep; help to sweep’

(Baumbach 1987: 202-4)

According to Baumbach, the assistive sense does not have to mean actually performing the action with the causee (building or sweeping as in the above), but, instead, it could mean taking over a chore that might have prevented the causee from carrying out the task. For example, *kukurisa* ‘let sweep; help to sweep’ could be interpreted as looking after a baby,

while the mother is sweeping.

Another similar example is found in rGyarong, a Tibeto-Burman language. The following sentence may be interpreted as either a direct or manipulative causative or an assistive causative. The amount of physical manipulation might be similar in both interpretations; yet, the latter clearly indicates that the causee is the beneficiary.

- (20) *nga wu-yoke-sA-rwas ko*
1s 3s TNS-CM-rise-1s AUX
(a) ‘I will raise him’
(b) ‘I will help him rise.’ (Nagano 1983: 78)⁵⁷

The last instance is from Kashmiri, which has more specific semantics than simply assisting, but the construction also indicates that the causee benefits from the event described by the sentence. Syeed (1985) divides transitive verbs in Kashmiri semantically into two types: affective and non-affective.⁵⁸ Affective transitive verbs are semantically in-between transitive and intransitive, and they behave more like intransitive verbs than other transitive verbs syntactically (Masica 1976)

- (21) *hečhun* ‘to learn’
parun ‘to read’
wučhun ‘to see’
bōzun ‘to hear’

⁵⁷ The analysis of the causative morpheme is actually Perdersen’s (1991: 277-8).

⁵⁸ Masica (1976) calls this division, ingestive or non-ingestive.

kh'on 'to eat'
çon 'to drink'

This dichotomy between affective and non-affective plays a significant role in causative constructions in Kashmiri. When affective verbs are used in causative constructions, the sentence indicates that the causee is a beneficiary of the event.

(22) *təm'* *hechinōvus* *bi* *arībī*
 he learn-CAUSE me Arabic
 'He taught me Arabic.'

(23) *me* *parīnōv* *rasīd* *qorān*
 I read-CAUSE Rashid Quran
 'I taught Rashid to read the Quran.'

(24) *təm'* *kh'ōvus* *bi* *batī*
 he eat-CAUSE me food
 'He made me eat food.' (Syeed 1985: 57)

On the other hand, with non-affective transitive verbs, such as 'cut', 'wash' and 'ask', the event is interpreted as being more beneficial to the causer than the causee, as in the following examples.

(25) *me* *dagīnōv* *lasī* *masālī*
 I grind-CAUSE Lasa spices
 'I made Lasa grind the spices.' (Syeed 1985: 58)

(26) *me* *tsaṭīnōv* *lasī* *kul*
 I cut-CAUSE Lasa tree
 'I made Lasa cut the tree.' (Syeed 1985: 58)

These two types of verbs behave quite differently syntactically. First, affective verbs can co-occur with an agent marker (the post-position, *niš* ‘near’) with their non-causative forms.

(27) *me h'očh arībī tas niš*
 I learn Arabic him AGT⁵⁹
 ‘I learned Arabic from him.’

(28) *rasīdan chu pormuth qorān me niš*
 Rashid has read-CAUSE Quran me AGT
 ‘Rashid has learnt to read the Quran from me.’

(29) *me kh'v batī tas niš*
 I ate food him AGT
 ‘I ate food at his (place).’ (Syeed 1985: 57)

Non-affective transitive verbs do not take *niš* as the agent marker, and the sentence does not allow any causal interpretation. Thus, the following sentence only means that the speaker cut the tree near him or in his presence.

(30) *me tsof kul tas niš*
 I cut tree him near
 ‘I cut the tree near him.’ (Syeed 1985: 58)

Second, the causee cannot be marked as instrumental with affective verbs, while it

⁵⁹ The gloss AGT is mine.

can with non-affective verbs.

(31) **me kh' ayīnōv tas athi*
I eat-CAUSE he by

(32) *me tsatīnōv kul lasi athi*
I cut-CAUSE tree Lasa by
'I got the tree cut by Lasa.' (Syeed 1985: 65)

Third, the direct object can be omitted in a causative sentence with affective verbs,

but it cannot be with non-affective verbs. Compare the following examples.

(33) *me dagīnōv lasi masāli*
I grind-CAUSE Lasa spices
'I made Lasa grind the spices.' (Syeed 1985: 58)

(34) **me dagīnōv lasi*
I grind-CAUSE Lasa
'I made Lasa grind' (Syeed 1985: 58)

(35) *me hečhinōv lasi arībī*
I learn-CAUSE Lasa Arabic
'I taught Lasa Arabic.'

(36) *me hečhinōv lasi*
I learn-CAUSE Lasa
'I taught Lasa.'

Syeed (1985) suggests that affective verbs describe a single event, and the causer and causee are involved simultaneously, such that the causee is not just an actor but a

beneficiary.

It should be noted here that affectivity is not absolute but gradient, even to the degree that affective verbs can be used non-affectively, as in (37) and (38), and non-affective verbs can be used affectively (Syeed 1985). Sentence (37) indicates that the causer receives more benefit than the causee. In (38), the causee could be a palmist, for example, and the act of seeing is for the benefit of the customer, *Akram*, not for the causee him or herself. In these two examples, the affective verbs are used as non-affective verbs.

(37) *me parināṅ čīṭh' tas athi*
I read-CAUSE letter he by
'I made him read the letter.'

(38) *akīraman wučhinōv athi tas athi*
Akram see-CAUSE hand he by
'Akram had his hand seen by him.'

In sum, the causee with affective verbs can be understood as the beneficiary in Kashmiri.

Further investigation may find examples in other languages; however, this phenomenon is probably rare. Causative events described by affective verbs in Kashmiri are often lexical causative verbs in languages (e.g. *teach*, *feed*, and *show* in English). In fact, Kashmiri affective verbs have lexical causative counterparts. Affective verbs in Kashmiri clearly indicate that there are some basic actions that are carried out for the benefit of someone

other than the agent.

6.2.2 Adversative causatives

Causatives are also used to indicate the notion of adversity in some languages (Poppe 1954, Oehrle and Nisho 1981, Nisho 1982, Pederson 1991, Park 1994). When a causative is used as an adversative, it may be interpreted as a kind of permissive causative: it is not for typical permissive causative uses, as *My mother let me watch TV 30 minutes a day*, but rather it is an extended use of the permissive passive, where the subject referent is construed as an affectee not an actual causer. The implication is that the subject referent could have prevented the event from occurring, but s/he failed to do so. For example, Japanese has adversative causative sentences, as in the following examples.

(39) *noohu wa nagaame de yasai o kusa-rase-ta*
farmer TOP long rain because of vegetable ACC rot-CAUSE-PST
'The farmer had his vegetable rot on him because of the long rain.'

(40) *taroo wa sensoo de musuko o sin-ase-ta*
Taro TOP war because of son ACC die-CAUSE-PST
'Taro had his son die on him in the war.'

(41) *ken wa hukyoo de kaisya o toosans-ase-ta*
Ken TOP depression because of company ACC go broke-CAUSE-PST
'Ken had his company go broke on him because of the depression.'

In the above examples, the subject referent is not the causer of the resultant event, and s/he basically had no control over the event. The actual cause is something else, such as the long rain, war, and depression in the above examples. However these sentences are possible, because the subject referent is seen as somewhat responsible for the event.

A similar construction is found in Korean, and the following examples are taken from Park (1994: 191).

- (42) *i emi-ka casik-ul cwuk-i-ess-eyo*
 this mother-NOM child-ACC die-CAUSE-PST-IND
 ‘My child died because of me, (though not by my hand).’
 (Lit.: ‘This mother (= I, the seaker) killed my child)

- (43) *na-num tonglan-cwungey atul-ul twul ta cwuk-i-ess-tao*
 I-TOP Korean war-during son-ACC two all die-CAUSE-PST-IND
 ‘I lost my two sons during the Korean war.’
 (Lit.: ‘I killed my two sons during the Korean war.’)

Park states that according to a newspaper article, a Korean-American woman shouted Sentence (114) repeatedly when policemen came to her house to investigate her son’s death. The newspaper reported that the mother did not kill her son but rather that he died accidentally. However, the literal translation of the sentence was used as an important piece of evidence, and she was sentenced to twenty years’ imprisonment. Park points out that this sentence would have been uttered to present herself as responsible for not keeping

the accident from the child, just as other Korean mothers might have done. In this context, the sentence maximally highlights the mother's responsibility for the accident. As for Sentence (43), there are two interpretations. One is that the speaker was responsible for not preventing his/her sons' death, as in (42). The other is that the speaker's sons died on him/her, in which case the notion of adversity is maximally highlighted and the speaker is construed as an undergoer.

Mongolian also has similar examples (Poppe 1954). When the causee is marked as accusative in a causative sentence, there is a sense of ordering or permission, while when the causee is marked as dative-locative, the sentence implies that the subject referent was helpless to prevent the event described by the sentence. Compare the following two examples from Poppe (1954: 170-1).

(44) *bi noqaj-yi miqa idegölbe*
 1s dog-ACC meat eat-CAUSE-PST
 'I let the dog eat meat.'
 (i.e., I purposely gave the dog meat)

(45) *bi miqan-i noqaj-dur idegölbe*
 1s meat-ACC dog-DAT/LOC eat-CAUSE-PST
 'I could not help letting the dog eat meat.'
 (i.e., I did not give it to the dog but the dog itself took it and I was unable to prevent it from doing so.)

Pederson (1991) discusses this Mongolian adversative causative, and he notes that this type

of causative is rare and it represents an extreme extended end of the continuum of causal relations proposed by Li (1991). In one end of the causal continuum, the causer has full responsibility and control over the resultant event: coercive causative. At the other end, the causer has relatively little responsibility and control, and the causee has more: permissive causative. Therefore, the Mongolian, Korean, and Japanese adversative causatives should be considered as extended cases of the permissive causative. Although the causer has (almost) no control over the situation in the adversative causatives, we interpret that the causer has some responsibility over the resultant event: the subject referent has failed to prevent the resultant event. There is no other explicit marker in the sentence, but the use of the causative construction strongly indicates that the subject referent is affected by the event adversely.

As Lakoff (1977) has pointed out and others (Pederson 1991, Nishimura 1993, 1997) have further discussed, the notion of responsibility plays an important role in causation, and this notion must be the motivation to use a causative construction to indicate the notion of adversity (Park 1994). Similarly, as mentioned earlier, English sometimes uses lexical causatives to describe events that adversely affect the subject referents in transitive sentences (Nishimura 1993, 1997, Talmy 2000), as in the following examples from Talmy (2000).

- (46) *The hapless fellow (by misfortune) broke his arm when he fell.*
(47) *I caught my sweater on a nail.*
(48) *I lost my pen (somewhere in the kitchen).*

Nishimura (1993, 1997) argues that the notion of responsibility is the key factor here. In these sentences, it can be interpreted that the subject referent is responsible for the event: s/he failed to prevent the event from occurring, and consequently s/he is negatively affected by it. A responsible person who should and could have prevented the event from occurring is construed as the agent. I do not consider these English sentences as SACs at this point, since this study is limited to constructions that include some kind of grammatical marking for the notion of affectedness, and these transitive sentences do not have any marker. Yet, it seems that the same motivation plays a role in indicating the notion of adversity in both causative constructions and the active voice.

In sum, a conventionalized implicature of causative constructions in three languages is that the causer suffers from the event described by the sentence, and s/he is seen as somehow responsible for the event.

6.2.3 Causative as a passive

It is relatively well known that causative constructions in some languages are used

to indicate a passive sense (e.g., Washio 1993, Park 1994). My data suggests that cross-linguistically a causative that is used as a passive indicates the notion of adversity.

English

(49) *I had my motorcycle fixed.* (causative)

(50) *I had my motorcycle stolen.* (passive)

French (Washio 1993: 65)

(51) *jean a fait broyer la voiture par un camion*
 Jean has made crush the car by a truck
 ‘Jean had the car crushed by a truck.’ (causative)

(52) *jean s’est fait broyer par un camion*
 Jean himself is made crush by a truck
 ‘Jean was crushed by a truck.’ (passive)

Korean (Park 1994: 188)

(53) *emma-ka aki-eykey cec-ul mul-li-ess-ta*
 mother-NOM baby-DAT breast-ACC bite/hold.with.lips-CAUSE-PST-IND

- (a) ‘The mother made her baby hold her breast with his lips.’ (causative)
 (Idiomatically: ‘The mother breast-fed her baby.’)
 (b) ‘The mother got her breast bitten by her baby.’ (passive)

The degrees of adversative connotations are different in different languages. Korean adversative passive sentences such as the above strongly indicate the notion of affectedness, and Park (1994) argues that the notion of adversity has been conventionalized and grammaticalized as part of the constructional semantics of the Korean *hi* passive. On the other hand, the notion of adversity indicated in the above English and French sentences

does not express as strong a sense of adversity as Korean does.

Moreover, the degrees of adversative connotation may vary among subtypes of a causative construction in one language, as in Korean (Park 1994). For example, Sentence (54) is always interpreted as adversative, while Sentence (55) is typically interpreted as adversative, if there is no element indicating that the subject referent was volitional or could control what had happened to him/her. The difference between the two sentences is that the former includes an accusative NP, while the latter does not.

(54) *inho-ka mina-eykey son-ul cap-hi-ess-ta*
Inho-NOM Mina-DAT hand-ACC catch-CAUSE-PST-IND
'Inho got his hand caught by Mina.' (Park 1994: 177)

(55) *inho-ka mina-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta*
Inho-NOM Mina-DAT catch-CAUSE-PST-IND
'Inho got caught by Mina.' (Park 1994: 177)

Interestingly, this construction has been further grammaticalized into a (more) neutral passive construction. The agent is marked with the particle *ey.uhay(se)* 'by', not with the dative in the above examples. The particle also marks the agent in the syntactic passive in Korean.

(56) *inho-ka mina-ey.uhay cap-hi-ess-ta*
Inho-NOM Mina-by catch-CAUSE-PST-IND
'Inho got caught by Mina.' (Park 1994: 210)

- (57) *mun-i inho-ey.uyhayse yel-li-ess-ta*
 door-NOM Inho-by open-CAUSE-PST-IND
 ‘The door was opened by Inho.’ (Park 1994: 210)

The adversity implication in causatives arises when a causative interpretation is not possible, and a non-causative interpretation, namely passive interpretation, is available.

When the subject referent is not the causer and does not have any control over the event, then we interpret the sentence as a kind of passive where the subject referent is negatively affected. As I have discussed in 5.5, I argue that the principle of maximization of contrast also plays an important role here. When the constructions in question are used as regular causatives, the subject referent is not only the causer, but also interpretable as the beneficiary of the event, as in *I had my printer fixed*. Then, the passive interpretation is contrasted with the causative interpretation maximally if the passive’s subject referent is affected negatively.

It should be important to note that passive interpretations are possible with these causative constructions only when the subject referent is ‘included’ in the resultant event such that the subject himself/herself, his/her body part(s) or his/her belonging(s), undergoes a change (Washio 1993:62). This means that the subject referent and another participant, who is the undergoer of the event, must be somehow related, if not identical.

The relationship of the two is that the undergoer belongs to the subject referent, and therefore we can interpret that the subject referent has responsibility for the resultant event.

The degrees of responsibility indicated by each construction may vary, but the notion is present and motivates the causative construction to be used as a passive.

In addition, as Washio suggests, causative and passive interpretations are not so different, if we consider the relation between a person and an event, as in the following diagram (58).

(58) Causative: Person \rightarrow Event
Passive: Person \leftarrow Event

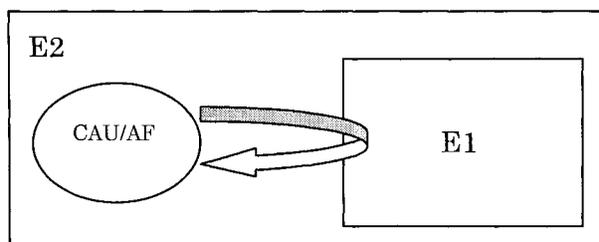
In causatives, a person is the starting point of the event or the initiator, while in passives, a person is the endpoint. The only difference between the two interpretations is the direction of effect,⁶⁰ and it is not so surprising for causatives to indicate a passive sense.

6.2.4 Event schemas for causatives as SACs

In sum, there are three causative situation types that are used to indicate the notion of affectedness. The first type is the case in which the causer is the beneficiary and s/he instigates the event for the benefit of him/herself. The semantics is schematized in the

⁶⁰ I use the term 'effect' here, instead of 'affectedness', since affectedness in this dissertation is used to

following diagram. The thick arrow indicates that the causer is both the initiator and endpoint of the event.



CAU: causer

AF: affectee

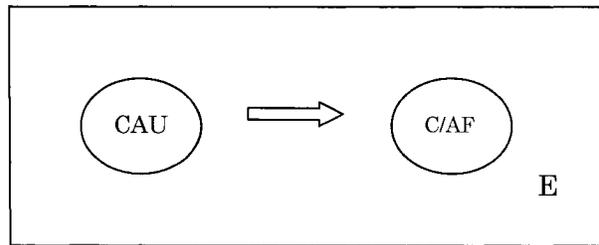
E1: event/action expressed by the predicate

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 17 Causer as the beneficiary

Second, the causee may be understood as the beneficiary, where the causer performs an act for the benefit of the causee. Since the acts that are described in different constructions vary (e.g. helping to build a house with the causee, doing dishes for the causee so s/he can sweep the floor, or simply teaching the causee), the direction of affectedness is simply represented in the diagram.

mean adversity or benefit.



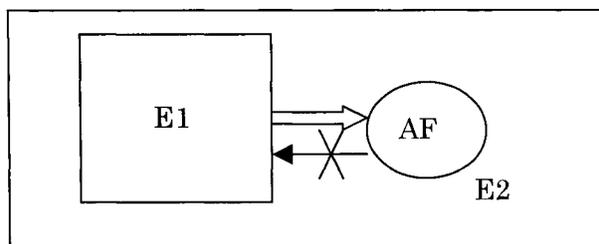
CAU: causer

C/AF: causee/affectee

E: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 18 Causee as affectee

Lastly, causative constructions can also indicate the notion of adversity. In this case, the subject referent is not an actual causer, but merely the affectee, who is negatively affected by the event. Although the subject referent does not have control over the event, there is a sense of responsibility in such uses. It seems that the stronger the sense of responsibility is indicated, the stronger the sense of adversity is also indicated, as in the Japanese and Mongolian causatives. When the sense of responsibility is not prominent, the passive sense is expressed by the construction, as in the English *have* sentence *he had his bike stolen*. The semantics of the adversative causative is schematized in the following diagram. The narrow arrow with two crossing lines represents the affectee's responsibility: s/he could have prevented the event from occurring, but he failed to do so.



AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 19 Causative as adversative

6.3 Middle as SAC

There are many event/situation types that the middle expresses in languages, but the core semantics of the middle voice/reflexive constructions is characterized as “the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb or his interests” (Lyons 1969: 373).⁶¹ Kemmer (1993) characterizes the middle as “a semantic area comprising events in which (a) the Initiator is also an Endpoint or affected entity” (243). What they mean by ‘affected’ is more general than benefit or adversity; however, cross-linguistically, the middle voice is

⁶¹ Since the central semantics of the middle appears to be reflexive (i.e. the agent and the undergoer of an event is the same entity) and the middle marker is often identical or similar to the reflexive maker in many languages, the middle is also called reflexive constructions in some previous studies (Geniušienė 1987, Pederson 1991).

commonly used to indicate egocentric benefaction (Geniušienė 1987, Kemmer 1993). In addition, the middle voice or reflexive constructions are also used to imply the notion of adversity in some languages, when a sentence describes an unintentional and accidental event (Pederson 1991). In addition, the middle is used to indicate the speaker's disapproval in Tamil. Lastly, I discuss that cross-linguistically the middle is used to mark emotion verbs, such as 'pity and 'fear'.

6.3.1 Benefactive middle

Kemmer (1993) discusses two types of egocentric benefactive events in her discussion of the middle voice: the indirect reflexive and indirect middle.⁶² First, the indirect reflexive prototypically describes the situation where the agent acts on the patient for the benefit of the agent him/herself. The following examples are taken from Geniušienė (1987: 292).

Bulgarian

(59) *toy mi kupi kniga*
he I-DAT brought book
'He bought me a book.'

⁶² In contrast, 'direct' means acting on him/herself.

- (60) *toy si kupi kniga*
 he REFL bought book
 ‘He bought himself a book.’

Spanish

- (61) *juan se constryó una casa*
 Juan REFL built a house
 ‘Juan built himself a house.’

French

- (62) *hélène s'-achète les livres*
 Helen REFL-buys the books
 ‘Helen buys herself books.’

Second, similar to the indirect reflexive, the indirect reflexive middle involves a situation where the agent is the beneficiary of the act, but actions are understood as normally or necessarily performed for one’s own benefit, such as ‘pray’, ‘get’ and ‘ask’. Kemmer (1993: 78) lists some indirect middle verbs and some of the roots, which they are derived from, are also provided.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------------|--|
| (63) | Classical Greek | <i>hairâ-sthai</i> | ‘choose’ (<i>haireîn</i> ‘take’) |
| | | <i>ktâ-sthai</i> | ‘acquire for oneself’ |
| | | <i>eúkhe-sthai</i> | ‘pray’ (deponent) |
| | | <i>lisse-sthai</i> | ‘pray’ |
| | | <i>goúne-sthai</i> | ‘beseech, beg for mercy’ |
| | | <i>hikneî-sthai</i> | ‘attain, reach’ |
| | Latin | <i>leceo-r</i> | ‘acquire by bidding’
(<i>liceo</i> ‘put up for bidding’) |
| | | <i>apīscō-r</i> | ‘get’ (deponent) |
| | | <i>potio-r</i> | ‘get possession of’ |

Old Norse	<i>eigna-sk</i>	‘acquire, claim’ (<i>eigna</i> ‘own, acquire’)
Turkish	<i>ed-in-</i>	‘acquire’ (<i>ed-</i> ‘do, make’)
Hungarian	<i>kéredz-ked-</i>	‘ask, request’ (<i>kéredz-</i> ‘ibid.’)
Sanskrit	<i>labhat-e</i>	‘obtains, receives, gains possession of’
	<i>yajat-e</i>	‘offers a sacrifice for himself’
		(<i>yajat-I</i> ‘offer a sacrifice’ [said of a priest])

Further investigation is needed to have a more complete list of verbs that describe inherit benefit for the subject.

In addition, I suggest that the middle uses of grooming or body care verbs (e.g. ‘wash’, ‘get dressed’ and ‘shave’) are semantically related to indirect reflexive middles in that they also describe actions that benefit the subject referent him/herself. The following list of verbs of grooming actions is taken from Kemmer (1993: 54).

(64)	Vedic Sanskrit	<i>ankt-e</i>	‘applies ointment to oneself’
	Cl. Greek	<i>keí re-sthai</i>	‘cut off one’s hair’
	Latin	<i>orno-r</i>	‘adorn oneself’
		<i>perluo-r</i>	‘bathe’
	Ayacucho Quechua	<i>arma-ku-y</i>	‘bathe’
		<i>ufa-ku-y</i>	‘wash one’s face’
	Kanuri	<i>kàsàl-t-èné</i>	‘bathe yourself’
	Turkish	<i>yık-an</i>	‘wash’
		<i>giy-in</i>	‘dress’
	Hungarian	<i>mosa-kod-</i>	‘wash, cleanse oneself’
		<i>vet-köz-</i>	‘undress’
	German	<i>sich anziehen</i>	‘dress’
		<i>sich baden</i>	‘bathe’
	French	<i>s’-habiller</i>	‘dress’
		<i>se boutonner</i>	‘button one’s clothes’
	Acoolí	<i>lwòk-ê</i>	‘wash, take a bath’

Djola	<i>-pas-o</i>	‘wash’
Bahasa Indonesia	<i>ber-dandan</i>	‘get dressed’

Furthermore, Pederson (1991) notes that the middle can be used to indicate egocentric benefaction with many verbs regardless of the valence of the verb in the sentence. For example, Lithuanian has developed uses of the reflexive marking with intransitive verbs that do not normally require it (Pederson 1991: 87).

(65)	<i>pa-slidineti</i>	‘ski for a while’
	<i>pa-si-slidineti</i>	‘ski for one’s pleasure for a while’
	<i>su-begti</i>	‘come running together’
	<i>su-si-begti</i>	‘come running together for a purpose’

Lastly, the middle may be used as a marker of politeness whenever its use is optional (Pederson 1991). Hebrew, for example, uses the middle inflection of an imperative verb to suggest that carrying out the action would be to the benefit of the addressee, as opposed to the benefit of the speaker, thus making the utterance sound more polite.

6.3.2 Adversative middle

The use of the reflexive marker may imply that the event took place unexpectedly (Maldonado 1988: 153).

(66) *La pelota (*se) cayó de la mesa como era esperado.*

‘The ball fell down from the table as was expected.’

(67) *La pelota se (*Ø) cayó de la mesa inesperadamente.*

‘The ball fell down from the table unexpectedly.’

If there is an animate entity that undergoes a change, the use of the reflexive construction may deny the subject referent’s intention and control over the event, and consequently it expresses that the event occurs accidentally and/or unintentionally. For example, Sentence (68) is interpreted as an intended event, and thus the reflexive *se* is not permitted in the sentence, while Sentence (69) requires the reflexive marker and the only interpretation is that the action is accidental.

(68) *Juan (*se) cayo al agua con toda elegancia.*

‘Juan fell into the water with elegance.’

(69) *Juan se (*Ø) cayo al agua vestido.*

‘Juan fell into the water dressed.’

If the action is not intended by the subject referent and is accidental, then the natural implication that follows is that the subject is negatively affected by it.

In Lithuanian, when the use of the reflexive marker is optional, a sense of unexpectedness arises, as in the following examples, in which Sentence (70) is synonymous with Sentence (71) (Geniušienė 1987).

- (70) *daug pinig-u iš-si-eikovojo*
 much money-GEN PERF-REFL-spent
 ‘A lot of money got spent.’
- (71) *netčia (netiketai) daug pinig-u išeikvo-j-au*
 by.chance (unexpectedly) much money-GEN PERF-spend-PS.1S
 ‘I have unexpectedly spent much money’

In sum, although the middle is more often used for egocentric benefaction, it is also sometimes used to indicate the notion of adversity. In prototypical middle situations, the subject referent is a volitional agent who intentionally performs an action. When the agent’s intention and control are not present, the middle voice may express that the event occurs accidentally and someone may be affected by it negatively.

6.3.3 Speaker’s disapproval

There is an interesting use of the reflexive marker in Tamil that expresses the speaker’s disapproval of the subject referent’s action (Pederson 1991: 87).

- (72) *appā etiril veṃlai pōṭṭukkoṇṭār.*
 father opposite-LOC betel.leaf put.PTL-REFL-PST-3S.POLITE
 ‘Father went and chewed betel right in front [of me].’

The use of the reflexive marker indicates that “the subject performed an action on its initiative, contrary to the speaker’s expectations, and/or for its own benefit (a.k.a.

selfishly)” (87). This use has become conventionalized and it is obligatory for certain morphemes that are used only in disapproving or irritated speech.

(73) *rāmaṇ tūkkattil iraiṭṭai maṇṭaiyai muṭṭikkonṭāṇ*
 Rama sleep-LOC cleft skull-ACC hit head PTL-REFL-PST-3SM
 ‘Rama went and knocked his fat head in his sleep’

(74) **rāmaṇ tūkkattil iraiṭṭai maṇṭaiyai muṭṭināṇ*
 Rama sleep-LOC cleft skull-ACC hit head-PST-3SM

(75) *anta mūtēvi innoru kurankaip penukkonṭāl*
 that lazy bitch another monkey-ACC beget-PTL-REFL-PST-3SF

atukkuc cāppātu pōṭa muiṭyatātē!
 3SN-DAT food put be possible-FUT.NEG-3SN

‘That lazy bitch went and had herself another lousy child. It’s not going to be possible to feed it!’

(76) ??*anta mūtēvi innoru kurankaip perrāl*
 that lazy bitch another monkey-ACC beget- PST-3SF

atukkuc cāppātu pōṭa muiṭyatātē!
 3SN-DAT food put be possible-FUT.NEG-3SN

As the above examples indicate, it is not always clear that the subject referent benefits from the event, as in (75), and, moreover, Sentence (73) indicates that the subject referent suffers from the event. It seem that the crucial implication is that the speaker was surprised that the event occurred and the subject referent is responsible for the event.

6.3.4 Emotion middle

The middle marks emotion verbs cross-linguistically, as in the following list taken

from Kemmer (1993: 131).

(77)	Guugu Yimidhirr	<i>dumba-adhi</i>	‘get a shock or fright’
	German	<i>sich fürchten</i>	‘be/become frightened’
	A. Quechua	<i>arwi-ku-y</i>	‘gozarse’ [‘rejoice’]
		<i>cheqni-ku-y</i>	‘odiar’ [‘hate’]
	Mohave	<i>mat iθa:v</i>	‘be angry’
	Old Norse	<i>undra-sk</i>	‘wonder (at)’
		<i>hata-sk</i>	‘hate, feel enmity towards’
	Latin	<i>consōlo-r</i>	‘take consolation’
		<i>dēlecto-r</i>	‘delight in’
		<i>misereo-r</i>	‘pity’
	Changana	<i>ku ti-tsakela</i>	‘alegrarse’ [‘be, become glad’]
	Lingala	<i>-panga-na</i>	‘care, worry’
		<i>-tataba-na</i>	‘be troubled, astonished’
	Kanuri	<i>lám̄bí-t-in</i>	‘need, be troubled over’
		<i>báyé-t-în</i>	‘feel extreme jealousy’
		<i>kúrnó-t-în</i>	‘be happy’
	Hungarian	<i>dühös-köd-</i>	‘rage, furious’
		<i>gyűlöl-köd-</i>	‘bear malice, bear a grudge’
		<i>bán-köd-</i>	‘grieve, mourn’
	Twi	<i>onũ- ne-hõ</i>	‘he repents’
	Rumanian	<i>a se multumi</i>	‘be satisfied’
		<i>a se alarma</i>	‘be alarmed’
		<i>a se cai</i>	‘regret’
	Sanskrit	<i>toṣat-e</i>	‘is satisfied’
		<i>bhunkt-e</i>	‘enjoys’
		<i>ramat-e</i>	‘is pleased, rejoices’

It should be clear that emotion or affect is closely related to the notions of benefit and adversity, since benefactive and adversative events evoke the emotions of the affectee.

Benefactive events are associated with positive affect, while adversative events are associated with negative affect.

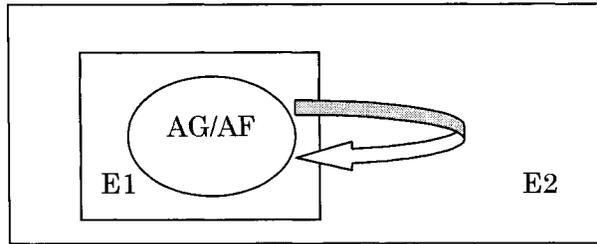
Aspectual status of the middle marking may vary in languages (Kemmer 1993).⁶³

In some languages, including modern Indo-European languages, it marks causative-inchoative oppositions (e.g. Spanish *asustar* ‘frighten’, *asustar-se* ‘become frightened’), but in other languages middle-marked emotion verbs designate a state rather than a change of state. Further investigation is necessary. At present, I conclude that middle marking with emotion verbs clearly shows that some participant is affected, and this use is closely related to the middle uses as SAC.

6.3.5 Event schemas for the middle as SAC

When a middle marker is used to indicate the notion of benefit, its semantics are essentially the same as the egocentric benefactive construction. The semantic representation for egocentric benefactive in Figure 7 is repeated below.

⁶³ In fact, some examples’ glosses are originally in Spanish and Portuguese, and Kemmer could not



AG: agent

AF: affectee

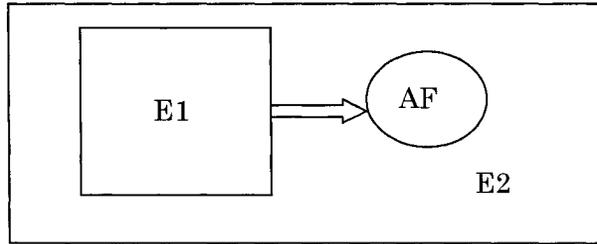
E1: event/action expressed by the predicate

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 7 Egocentric benefactive

As for the adversative middle/reflexive, the source of accidental events may vary: it might be an animate participant who inadvertently causes the event to occur, or it might be an inanimate entity that undergoes a change that affects an animate participant negatively. Therefore, the basic event schema for an AC, repeated below, represents the semantics of the adversative middle/reflexive.

determine the aspectual properties of the verbs.



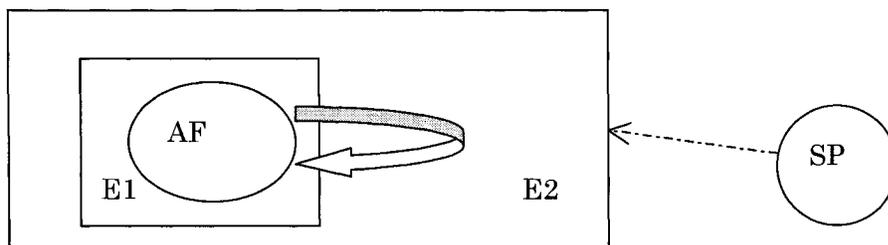
AF: affectee

E1: affecting event

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

Figure 1 The basic event schema for AC

As for the use in Tamil that indicates the speaker's disapproval, the affectee is affected either positively or negatively depending on the context, but the affectee is also seen as the instigator of the event, the one who is responsible for the event's occurrence. The speaker's attitude toward the event and affectee is included in the diagram.



AF: affectee

E1: event/action expressed by the predicate

E2: whole event expressed by the sentence

SP: speaker

Figure 20 Tamil Reflexive indicating the speaker's disapproval

6.4 The subject referent's control of the event

Using prototype semantics, Kemmer (1988, 1993) and Pederson (1991) propose semantic networks for various types of constructions, including passives and middle/reflexives. For instance, Kemmer (1998, 1993) presents a semantic network for middle and other situation types, and she suggests that “the passive is midway between a two- and a one-participant event in the sense that like the prototypical transitive event, it has two participants, but like the intransitive, the event is treated as having only one salient entity, which is brought into grammatical focus” (205). She also points out that both spontaneous events and passive middles are semantically relatively distant from the

prototypical middle uses, such as the benefactive middle and grooming middle. The former simply focuses on the affectee, while the latter indicates that the agent is the affectee.

Pederson (1991) proposes the following diagram, in which constructions are placed in terms of transitivity and the subject referent's responsibility for the event. Causatives prototypically express that the subject referent has full responsibility for the event. Also, with middle/reflexives, the subject is usually understood as responsible, or at least, they indicate that no other agent is responsible for the event. On the other hand, passives normally assume that the subject referent, who is the patient, is not responsible for the event.

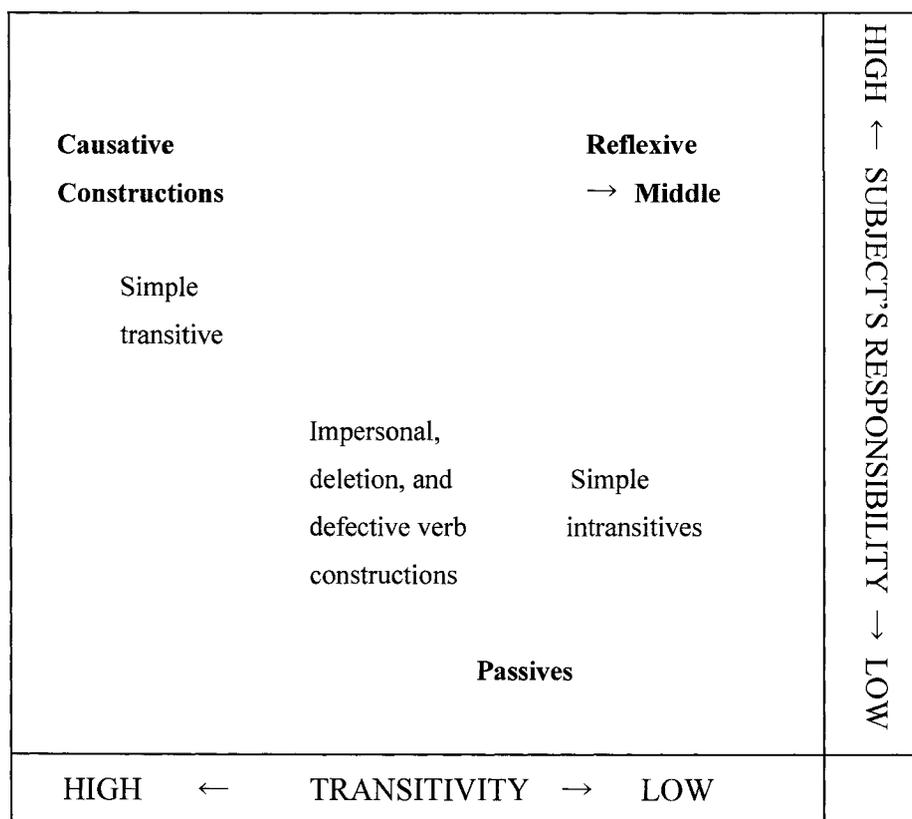


Figure 21 The semantic space of change of event constructions with prototypes for each construction in place (Pederson 1991: 357)

Both Kemmer and Pederson stress that their two dimensional representations are a part of multidimensional phenomena. Indeed, the notion of responsibility seems conceptually central, when discussing the semantics of these constructions in general, yet I would propose that the subject referent's control of the event appears crucial in discussing causatives and middle/reflexives as SACs. For example, one can be responsible for an adversative event and also be affected by it negatively. What is indicated by many instances of SACs used as adversatives is that the affectee had no or very little control over

the event that affected him/her.

Based on Kemmer and Peterson's studies and my findings, I propose that with both causatives and middle/reflexives, when the subject referent has control over the event, the sentence is likely to be understood as a benefactive, while when the subject referent has no or very little control, the sentence is likely to be understood as an adversative. Moreover, with both causatives and middle/reflexives, the subject referent prototypically has control, and cases where a lack of control is indicated appear to be extensions from the prototypical uses. The following diagram represents the shared properties of the two types of construction.

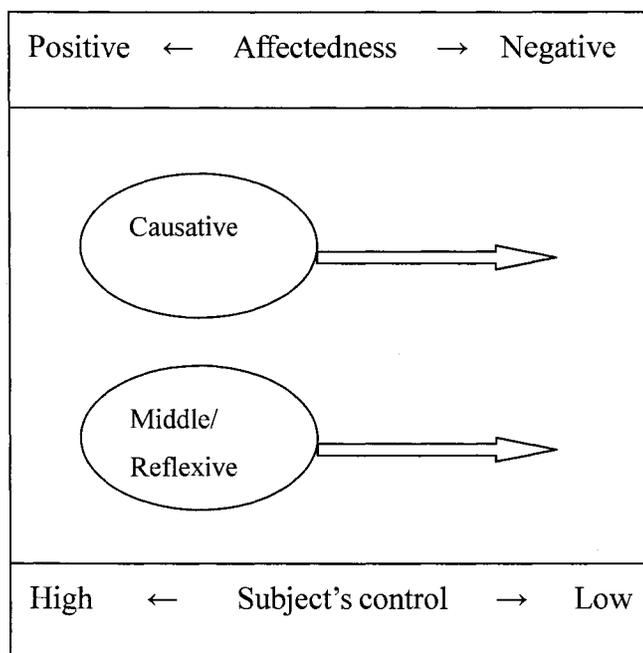


Figure 22 The correlation of affectedness and subject's control

6.5 Semantic relations between ACs and SACs

This last section presents the semantic types of ACs that are indicated or implied by the three SAC types discussed in this dissertation. The following diagrams represent the semantics and pragmatics of each SAC type. First, the passive type takes more area in the adversative domain, and it is connected to the event benefactive, adversative, and adversative with additional semantics.

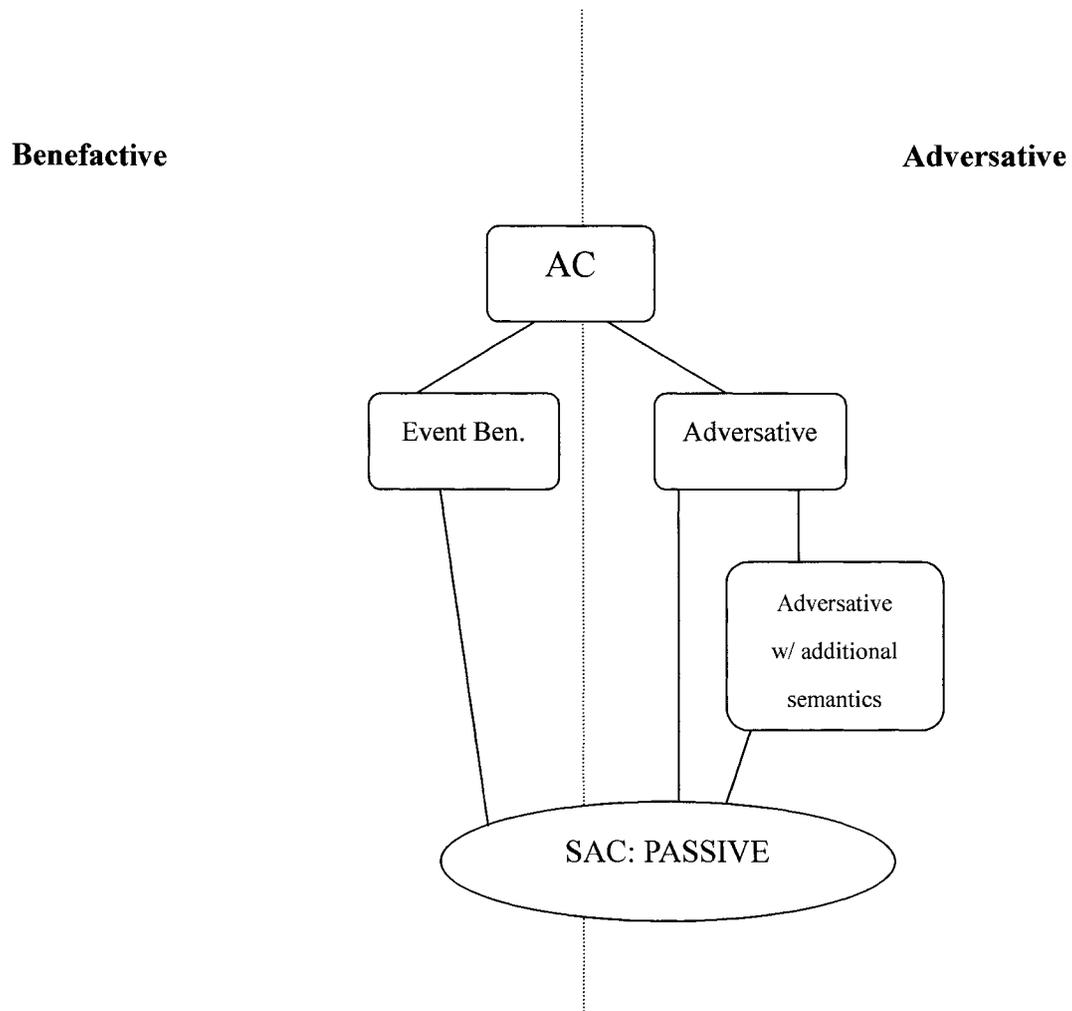


Figure 23 Passive type

Second, the causative type takes more area in benefactive domain, and it is connected to the unrestricted agentive benefactive, adversative, and adversative with additional semantics. Recall that when a causative is used as an adversative, the notion is strongly indicated, and the subject referent's responsibility is also indicated, which is considered to be an instance of additional semantics.

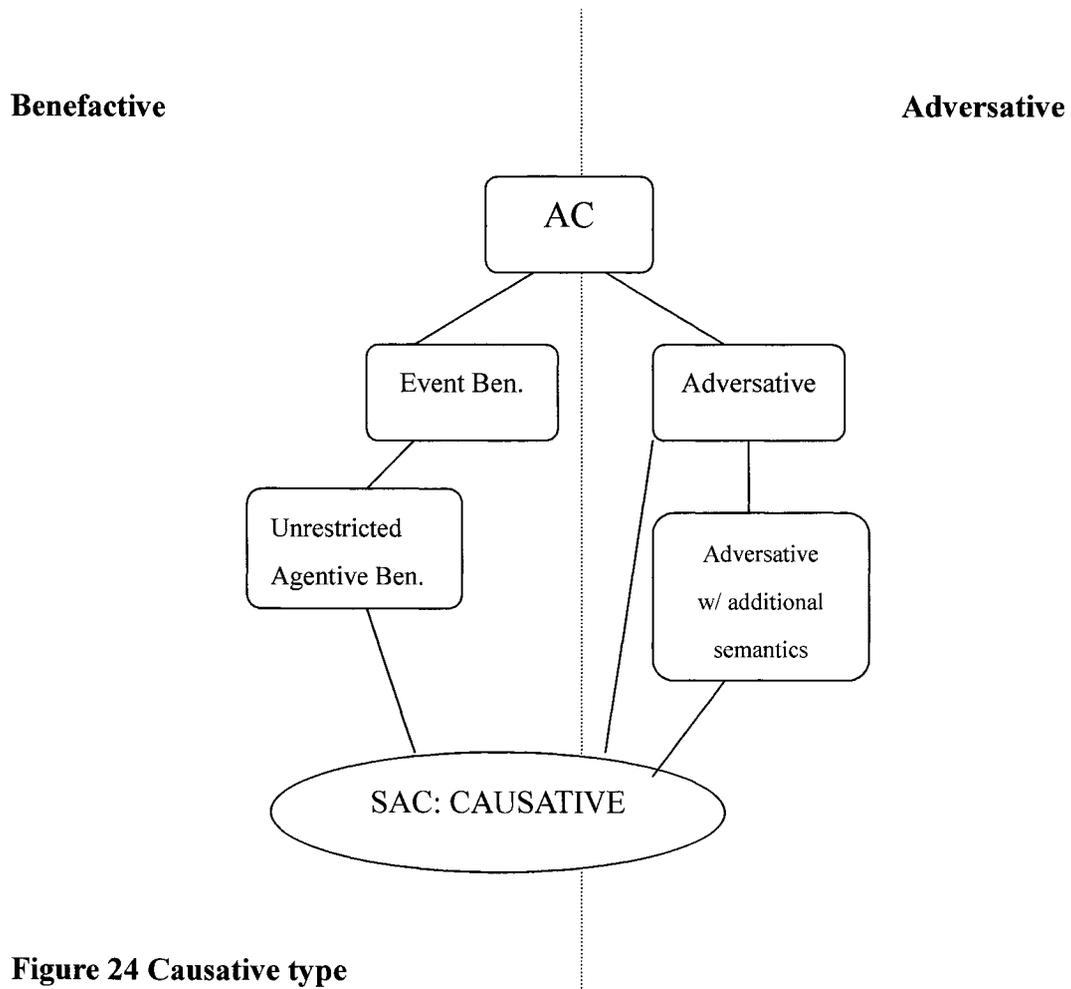


Figure 24 Causative type

Finally, the middle/reflexive type is mainly placed in the benefactive domain, and it is connected to the egocentric benefactive, adversative, and adversative with additional semantics.

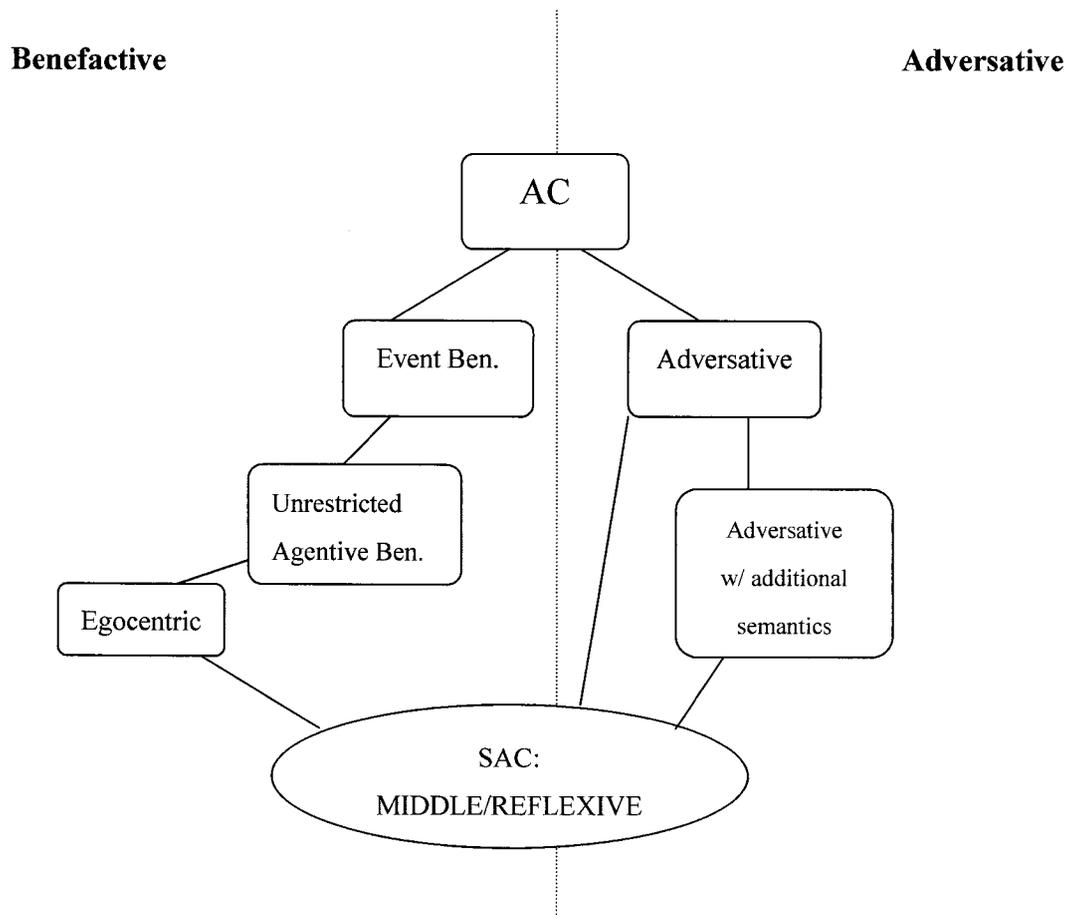


Figure 25 Middle/Reflexive type

7 Japanese ACs and SACs

7.1 Introduction

I have introduced and discussed Japanese benefactives in Sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.2, and I have mentioned that I regard the Japanese adversative as an SAC in Section 5.1. In addition, it has been discussed that the *morau* benefactive is used as a causative in Section 6.3.1.1 and the adversative causative in Section 6.3.2. In this chapter, I will further discuss these constructions and introduce two more SACs in Japanese. They are not included in Chapters 5 and 6, since those chapters are limited to cross-linguistically common constructions.

First, I summarize the uses of benefactive constructions, their adversative and malefactive uses. Second, I discuss that the *morau* benefactive construction is used to indicate causation, and I provide a corpus study to support the argument. Third, I discuss that some Japanese passives are used as general SACs, both benefactive and adversative, but predominantly adversative, and attempt to account for this asymmetry toward adversity. Forth, I will introduce two new SACs in Japanese, the *te simau* construction and *te kuru* construction that can be used to indicate the notion of adversity. Finally a semantic network of ACs and SACs in Japanese is provided to show the relationships between various constructions.

7.2 Benefactive constructions in Japanese

7.2.1 Summary of the previous discussions of Japanese

Japanese has an elaborate system of benefactive constructions, and there are three types of benefactive auxiliary verbs; each type includes more than one verb and together they form a system that serves various socio-linguistic functions, such as expressing levels of formality and indicating the relative social standing between the speaker and listener. The first type of benefactive auxiliary verb is composed of the non-incoming GIVE verbs, *yaru*, *ageru*, and *sasiageru*. When the speaker and/or his/her in-group member(s) is the agent in a benefactive event, the sentence must take this type of verb. The second type is composed of the incoming GIVE verbs, *kureru* and *kudasaru*, and with these verbs the speaker and/or his/her in-group member(s) must be the beneficiary. The third type consists of the RECEIVE verbs, *morau* and *itadaku*.⁶⁴

In general, all benefactive constructions in Japanese are used to express allocentric benefaction.

- (1) *kei wa taroo ni uta o utatte-age-ta*
Kei TOP Taro DAT song ACC sing-GIVE-PST
'Kei did Taro the favor of singing a song.'

⁶⁴ In addition to these seven verbs, there are two additional RECEIVE verbs, *tamau* and *tyoodaisuru*. However, their uses are limited to making a request.

- (2) *kei wa ootoo no heya o soozisite-yat-ta*
 Kei TOP younger brother GEN room ACC clean-GIVE-PST
 ‘Kei did her younger brother the favor of cleaning his room.’
- (3) *kei wa haha ni yuusyoku o tukutte-morat-ta*
 Kei TOP mother DAT dinner ACC make-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘Kei received the favor of her mother making dinner for her.’
- (4) *watasi wa sensee ni ronbun o yonde-itadai-ta*
 I TOP teacher DAT paper ACC read-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I received the favor of my teacher reading a paper for me.’
- (5) *sensee wa watasi no ronbun o yonde-kudasat-ta*
 teacher TOP I GEN paper ACC read-GIVE-PST
 ‘The teacher did the favor of reading my paper.’
- (6) *taroo wa watasi ni uta o utatte-kure-ta*
 Taro TOP I DAT song ACC sing-GIVE-PST
 ‘Taro did the favor of singing a song for me.’

In addition, the *kureru* construction is also used to express agentless benefaction: it serves as an event benefactive construction

- (7) *yuki ga hutte-kure-ta*
 snow ACC fall-GIVE-PST
 ‘It snowed (and I am thankful for that).’
- (8) *kiniiranakatta kabin ga zisin de warete-kure-ta*
 disliked vase ACC earthquake by break-GIVE-PST
 ‘The vase that I didn’t like broke in the earthquake (and I am thankful for that).’

Recall that when the *kureru* construction is used as an agentless benefactive, the affectee

must be the speaker.

Moreover, two of the GIVE verbs, *yaru* and *kureru*, and one of the RECEIVE verbs, *morau*, are also used to express the notions of adversity or malefaction.

Malefactive

(9) *taroo o nagutte-yat-ta*
Taro ACC beat-GIVE-PST
'I beat up Taro.'

(10) *keritobasite-kure-ru*
kick-GIVE-PRS
'I'll kick you and send you flying!'

Adversative

(11) *hidoi koto o itte-kure-ta-ne*
terrible thing ACC say-GIVE-PST-PTC
'You said a terrible thing to me'

(12) *buteru nara butte-mora-oo-ka*
slap if slap-RECEIVE-COHORT-Q
'Slap me, if you can!'

7.2.2 *Morau* as a benefactive causative

7.2.2.1 Previous studies

As discussed in Section 6.2.1.1, it has been argued that the *morau* construction in Japanese is often used to indicate causation (e.g. Teramura 1982, Kuno 1987, Ishihara 1991). For instance, Kuno (1987) states that generally with the auxiliary use of *morau*, the

event described by the sentence is originally initiated by the subject referent. The following example can be paraphrased as ‘I asked of, and received from, Yamada (the favor of) singing a song’ (252). In other words, the *morau* benefactive usually indicates non-coercive causation.

- (13) *boku ga yamada-kun ni uta o utatte-morrat-ta.*
 I NOM Yamada DAT song ACC sing-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I received from Yamada (the favor of his) singing a song.’
 (Kuno 1987: 252)

However, some instances of the *morau* construction are definitely non-causative, as in (14) and (15).

- (14) *kyoo otoosan ni homete-morat-ta. bikkurisi-ta-yo.*
 today father DAT praise-RECEIVE-PST be surprised-PST-PTL
 ‘My father praised me today. I was surprised.’
- (15) *gakkoo de tanaka sensee ni seebutu o osiete-morat-ta*
 school at Tanaka teacher DAT biology ACC teach-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka taught biology for us at school.’

With these examples, the implied subject referent cannot be regarded as the instigator of the event (i.e. the person did not request or ask for anything) and s/he is merely an undergoer of the event who receives a benefit. Therefore, some studies suggest that there are two types of *morau* benefactives: causative and non-causative (e.g. Masuoka 1981,

Okutsu and Jo 1982, Nitta 1991).

Yamada (1999) points out that the *morau* benefactive is also used as a permissive benefactive, as in the following examples. The subject referent in these cases is not the instigator of the event, nor does s/he have any active role in bringing about the event; rather, s/he just allowed the event to happen or unfold.

- (16) *kare ga yametai to itta node watasi wa*
he NOM want to quit QUO said since I TOP
sonomama nanimo iwazu yamete-moratta-dake-da
as it is nothing not saying quit-RECEIVE-only-COP
'Since he said he wanted to quit, I just let him quit without saying anything.'

- (17) *tukareteiru-yoo-dat-ta kara sonomama nete-morat-ta*
being tired-like-COP-PST because as it is sleep-RECEIVE-PST
'Because (s/he) looked tired, I let (him/her) sleep more.'

Yamada concludes that there are three kinds of *morau* benefactive constructions: "request" (*iraiteki*) benefactive, "receptive" (*tanzyun zyueeteki*) benefactive, and "permissive" (*kyoyooteiki*) benefactive.

Yamada's claim that the *morau* benefactive can serve as a permissive causative is convincing, however, there are a few points to be discussed. First, Yamada claims that: (a) verbs whose results are not controllable, such as *omoidasu* 'recall', *wasuresu* 'forget', and *otituku* 'calm down' should not be used as causative benefactives but as permissive or

receptive benefactives; and (b) non-volitional verbs, such as *akiru* ‘get bored’ and *tukareru* ‘get tired’ should not be used as causative or permissive benefactives but only as receptive benefactives. However, the following sentences are possible when the beneficiary takes an active role, such as asking to remember something in (18) and getting a child to run around to tire him/her out (21).

(18) *nando mo tanonde namae o omoidasite-morat-ta*
 many times EMP ask name ACC remember-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I asked (him) to remember the name many times and (he) did it for me’

(19) *otya o noma-sete otituite-morat-ta*
 tea ACC DRINK-CAUSE calm down-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I had him drink tea and calm down.’

(20) *tumaranai hanasi o site akite-morae-ba-ii*
 uninteresting story ACC do get bored-RECEIVE-if-good
 ‘It would be good if we told (him) a dull story to get him bored.’

(21) *kodomo o takusan hasir-asete tukarete-morat-ta*
 child ACC a lot run-CAUSE get tired-RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I had a child run a lot and get him/her tired.’

Second, though it is not a prototypical causative, the permissive benefactive is still a kind of causative in that the beneficiary is capable of preventing the occurrence of the event, but did not exercise the capability. In this sense, it contrasts with the receptive benefactive, where the beneficiary is simply an undergoer. Thus I suggest that the *morau*

benefactive should be divided into two types: causative and non-causative, and that the causative benefactive should be further subdivided into request and permissive causatives.

Third, Yamada (1999), using examples mostly taken from Japanese novels and newspaper articles, notes that it is often hard to determine the use of the *morau* construction, and ambiguous sentences are indeed prevalent in his data. He, therefore, concludes that causation is not a fundamental meaning property of the *morau* benefactive construction. It is, however, problematic that Yamada does not provide any specific figures for the distributions of each type of example. As mentioned earlier, some linguists, including Teramura (1982) and Kuno (1987), have suggested that the causative uses are more common than non-causative. Furthermore, based on the unacceptability of the negated sentences below, I argue that causation is a part of the semantics of the *morau* benefactive.

(22) **onegaisi-nakat-ta noni utatte-morat-ta*
request-NEG-PST though sing a song-RECEIVE-PST
'I did not ask him to, but he sang a song for me.'

(23) **onegaisi-nakat-ta noni tukutte-morat-ta*
request-NEG-PST though make-RECEIVE-PST
'I did not ask him to do so, but he made it for me.'

In order to negate causation of such events, we need to use the *kureru* (in-coming GIVE)

benefactive or *moraeru* ('be able to receive') benefactive that denies the causal role of the beneficiary, as in the following examples.

- (24) *onegaisi-nakat-ta noni utatte-morae-ta*
 request-NEG-PST though sing a song-CAN RECEIVE-PST
 'I did not ask him, but he sang a song for me.'
- (25) *onegaisi-nakat-ta noni utatte-kure-ta*
 request-NEG-PST though sing a song-GIVE-PST
 'I did not ask him, but he sang a song for me.'
- (26) *nanimo si-nakat-ta noni nete-morae-ta*
 anything do-NEG-PST though sleep-CAN RECEIVE-PST
 'I did not do anything, but he went to sleep (and I am grateful).'
- (27) *nanimo si-nakat-ta noni nete-kure-ta*
 anything do-NEG-PST though sleep-GIVE-PST
 'I did not do anything, but he went to sleep (and I am grateful).'

In sum, it appears that there are two uses of the benefactive *morau* construction: causative and non-causative. The former is further divided into request and permissive causatives. In addition, I have argued that the causal role of the beneficiary is fundamental to the semantics of the *morau* benefactive.

7.2.2.2 Corpus study of the *morau* benefactive construction

I have examined spoken corpus data to determine how the *morau* construction is

actually used in informal Japanese conversation. The data is a collection of transcripts of telephone conversations from a spoken corpus called CallHome Japanese. I have found 178 instances of the *morau* benefactive construction in it, which I believe is a sufficiently representative sample to suggest a conclusion. The distribution of the uses is shown in Table 4. The dominant use of the *morau* benefactive is the request causative, which accounts for 64% of the total. The non-causative, which is the receptive benefactive, is uncommon, represented only by 8%. I did not find any clear instance of permissive causatives or adversative use. Finally, ambiguous examples that can be interpreted as either type account for 31.5%.

Table 5 The uses of the *morau* benefactive and their distributions

Type	Numbers	%
Request causative	114	64.0
Non-causative	8	4.5
Ambiguous	56	31.5
Total	178	100

First, there are many utterances (114 examples) that are clearly request causatives in the data. For example, Sentence (28) takes the cohortative ending and expresses the intention of the speaker to take an action.

- (28) *un kaite-mora-oo*
 yes write-BEN-COHORT
 ‘Yes, let’s have him write a letter.’

Other frequent endings include the *te* form, *moratte* (a request form), and *moraebaii* ('it would be nice/you should'). Sentence (29) is a question about whether the addressee had a medical check up, which requires the addressee to be the instigator. Sentence (30) expresses the speaker's concern if someone could look at a particular magazine.

(29) *sirabete-morat-ta?*

check-BEN-PST

'Have you had (your doctor) check (your lungs)?'

(30) *sore mite-morau wake ni ikan-ka-na*

that look-BEN reason LOC go.NEG-Q-PTC

'Would it not be all right to have him/her to look at that (magazine)?'

On the other hand, examples that are clearly non-causative are very few, numbering only 8, or accounting for 4.5 % of the total. These are as follows.

(31) *aa uresii, soo itte-mora-eru-to*

oh happy so say-CAN RECEIVE-POTENTIAL-TO

'Oh, I'm very glad that you said so.'

(32) *atti de kiniitte-morae-reba...*

there LOC like-CAN RECEIVE-if

'If they like my presentation there...'

(33) *ano koo okazu ga ne, ooku tukuri-sugite-simat-ta*

well this way food NOM PTC much make-too-SHIMAU-PST

toki dat-tara mottekite-moratte-mo ii-kedo-sa

when COP-TARA bring-RECEIVE-also good-PTC-PTC

'If they make too much food, it would be all right to bring the extra to us.'

Although there are quite a few ambiguous examples (56 cases representing 31.5%), they still account for less than half of the causative use. The conversations in the data are between families and friends, and the shared knowledge is sometimes unspoken. Thus, some sentences simply lack the necessary details to determine if the beneficiary had an active role by asking the agent to do the favor.

(34) *ano watasi mae osiete-morat-ta-kedo-sa,...*
 well I before tell-BEN-PST-PTL-PTL
 ‘Well, you told me that before (you gave me your e-mail address before)’

(35) *sorede okutte-morat-ta-no*
 then send-BEN-PST-PTL
 ‘Then s/he took us home.’

(36) *oziiyan toka tetudatte-moratte,...*
 grandpa etc. help-BEN
 ‘Grandpa helped me, and...’

In conclusion, this corpus study shows that the prototypical use of the *morau* benefactive construction is the causative use and the non-causative use is rare in spoken Japanese. This finding suggests that the causal sense is quite salient to the *morau* benefactive construction. Since the corpus that I have used is a collection of casual telephone conversations, different types of spoken data may reveal slightly different results. We need more corpus studies to draw a firm conclusion about the semantics and functions

of this construction.

7.3 Secondary adversative constructions in Japanese

7.3.1 Passive as adversative

7.3.1.1 The notion of involvement

In Chapter 5, I have shown that passives are often used as adversatives in many languages, and the Japanese passives are no exception. In Japanese, the notion of adversity has traditionally been recognized only with the so-called “indirect” passive, which does not have an active counterpart, whereas the regular “direct” passive does not require an adversity interpretation (e.g. Kuno 1973, Teramura 1982).⁶⁵ Compare the following examples. Sentence (37) is an example of the direct passive with a transitive verb, where the subject is the direct object of its active counterpart. In Sentence (38), on the other hand, the verb is intransitive, the subject is an added argument, and there is no active counterpart.

- (37) *takesi wa hitomi ni hagemas-are-ta*
Takesi TOP Hitomi DAT encourage-PASS-PST
‘Takeshi was encouraged by Hitomi.’

⁶⁵ See also, for example, Kuroda (1965), N. McCawley (1972), Kuno (1973) and Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) for syntactic discussions of Japanese passives.

- (38) *takesi wa hitomi ni nak-are-ta*
 Takeshi TOP Hitomi DAT cry-PASS-PST
 ‘Takeshi was adversely affected by Hitomi crying.’

Other studies claim that the notion of adversity arises regardless of the syntactic structures of the passive sentences, and the adversative interpretation arises when the subject referent is not involved in the described event and thus not directly affected by the event (Wierzbicka 1979, Oehrle and Nishio 1981, Kuno 1983, Shibatani 1993, Moriyama 1988, Washio 1993). For examples, in Sentence (39), the subject referent has nothing to do with the neighbor playing the piano (i.e. s/he is not directly involved in the affecting event), and our interpretation is that the subject referent is negatively affected by the neighbor’s playing the piano. Moreover, Sentence (40) is a direct passive sentence, yet it must be interpreted as adversative, because the subject referent, the kindergarten, is not directly involved in its employee, Ken, quitting without permission.

- (39) *tonari no hito ni mata piano o hik-are-ta*
 next door GEN person DAT again piano ACC play-PASS-PST
 ‘I was adversely affected by the neighbor playing the piano again.’

- (40) *hawaii daigaku wa sato sensee ni yammer-are-ta*
 Hawaii university TOP Sato Prof. DAT quit-PASS-PST
 ‘The university of Hawaii was adversely affected by Prof. Sato quitting.’ (Kuno 1983: 206)⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Notice the definition of involvement is not clearly given by Kuno, and it has been argued that the subject referent in (40) is actually involved in the event (Tsuboi 1997). I will discuss this matter soon.

Notice, when the subject referent is directly involved in the event, such as being hit or teased, sentences are treated as neutral passives, which Washio (1993) calls “lexical adversity”, where the semantics of the verb feed the adversative interpretation of passive sentences, as in (41). In such cases, it has been claimed that the adversity interpretation is not attributable to the passive construction. On the other hand, when the subject referent is excluded from the event, we obtain the adversity interpretation, as in (42).

(41) *reo wa eigo ni nagur-are-ta*
 Leo TOP Eigo DAT hit-PASS-PST
 ‘Leo was hit by Eigo.’

(42) *watasi wa reo ni sakini ik-are-ta*
 I TOP Leo DAT first go-PASS-PST
 ‘I was adversely affected by Leo leaving first.’

Although the notion of involvement is useful and widely accepted to account for many passive sentences that have the adversative interpretation, there are some issues to be discussed. First, the notion of involvement has not clearly been defined. For example, Kuno (1983) suggests that passives with psychological verbs (e.g. ‘love’, ‘admire’ and ‘dislike’) indicate that the subject referent is directly involved and thus they do not have an adversative interpretation, as in (43), while passives with sensory verbs (e.g. ‘see’ and ‘hear’) do not indicate the subject referent’s involvement and thus they need to have an

adversative interpretation, as in (44).

- (43) *yumi wa ken ni ais-are-ta*
Yumi TOP Ken DAT love-PASS-PST
'Yumi was loved by Ken.'

- (44) *kyoto de yumi wa ken ni mir-are-ta*
Kyoto LOC Yumi TOP Ken DAT see-PASS-PST
'Yumi was seen by Ken in Kyoto.'

However, it seems strange to treat only psychological verbs as involvement verbs, excluding sensory verbs. In both types, the subject referents appear to be equally involved in the event. Moreover, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the subject referent is directly involved or not. For example, we may interpret Prof. Sato's quitting the university in (40) as an instance of an event in which the university is quite involved and directly affected. Another such example should be the following, where the subject appears to be directly involved in the event, since *kuru* 'come' refers to the whole event of, for example, Hanako coming and Yamada answering the door.

- (45) *yamada wa hanako ni apaato ni kor-are-ta*
Yamada TOP Hanako DAT apartment LOC come-PASS-PST
'Yamada was negatively affected by Hanako coming to his apartment.'
(Kuno 1983: 205)

Second, as Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) point out and Kuno (1983)

also acknowledges, some direct passive sentences have an adversative implication, despite the fact that the subject referent is directly involved in the event and their active counterparts remain neutral.

- (46) *oya wa kodomo o nihon ni nokosi-ta*
 parent TOP child ACC Japan LOC leave-PST
 ‘The parent left his child in Japan.’
 (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976: 210)

- (47) *kodomo wa oya ni nihon ni nooks-are-ta*
 child TOP parent DAT Japan LOC leave-PASS-PST
 ‘The child was left in Japan by his parent.’
 (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976: 210)

- (48) *butyoo wa satoo o zinzika ni mawasi-ta*
 director TOP Sato ACC personnel LOC transfer-PST
 ‘The director transferred Sato to the personal section.’
 (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976: 211)

- (49) *satoo wa butyoo ni zinzika ni mawas-are-ta*
 director TOP Sato DAT personnel LOC transfer-PASS-PST
 ‘The director transferred Sato to the personal section.’
 (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976: 211)

Kuno argues that the above lexical verbs have an implication of adversity already in their active counterparts, and such implication is amplified in the passive sentences. This explanation is unsatisfactory, however, since Sentence (48) is neutral or it could even be said when Sato benefits from the event.

Moreover, although the subject referent is directly involved and therefore the sentence should be interpreted as neutral passives, some situations, such as getting a haircut or having a dentist pull out a decayed tooth, must be interpreted as negative in passive sentences (Tanaka 1997). For example, in (50) and (51), the adversative interpretation cannot be attributed to any lexical item. In both cases, the sentence indicates that the event occurred despite Taro's will. Compare them with neutral passives, as in (52) and (53).

(50) *taroo wa biyoosi ni kami o kir-are-ta*
 Taro TOP hairdresser DAT hair ACC cut-PASS-PST
 'Taro was adversely affected by a hairdresser cutting his hair.'

(51) *taroo wa haisya ni ha o nuk-are-ta*
 Taro TOP dentist DAT teeth ACC pull out-PASS-PST
 'Taro was adversely affected by a dentist pulling out his tooth.'

(52) *taroo wa sensei ni namae o yob-are-ta*
 Taro TOP teacher DAT name ACC call-PASS-PST
 'Taro's name was called by the teacher.'

(53) *taroo wa tomodati ni e o homer-are-ta*
 Taro TOP friend DAT painting ACC praise-PASS-PST
 'Taro's painting was complimented by a friend.'

These examples suggest that the passive construction itself is responsible for the adversity interpretation in some cases, and the notion of involvement cannot account for such cases.

7.3.1.2 Adversity and affectivity

Some studies have suggested that one of the functions of the Japanese passives is to indicate the notion of affectedness regardless of the involvement of the subject referent. Matsushita (1930) discusses two types of passives in Japanese. One is the “affective” passive (*rigai no hidoo* in Japanese), where the subject referent is either positively or negative affected, and the agent is marked with the dative *ni*. Matsushita suggests that the subject referents in affective passive sentences are limited to sentient beings, and that the affective passive may structurally be direct or indirect, as in (54) and (55) respectively. The other is the “neutral” passive (*tanzyn no hidoo*) that does not indicate the notion of affectedness, and this type may take *ni yotte* (dative plus the *te* form of *yoru* ‘owe to’; often translated simply as ‘by’ in English) to introduce the agent, instead of the dative *ni*. Since they do not indicate the notions of affectedness, the subject referent may be an inanimate entity. Compare the following examples.

affective passive

- (54) *sono* *ko* *wa* *inu* *ni* *kam-are-ta*
 that child TOP dog DAT bite-PASS-PST
 ‘That child was bitten by a dog.’

- (55) *teesyu wa nyooboo ni sin-are-ta*
 husband TOP wife DAT die-PASS-PST
 ‘The husband was adversely affected by his wife dying.’

neutral passive

- (56) *seeto wa (kyoosi ni yotte) kootee ni atumer-are-ta*
 student TOP teacher field LOC gather-PASS-PST
 ‘The students were gathered at the field (by the teacher).’

- (57) *toosan yooosi wa (kyoosi ni yotte) kubar-are-ta*
 answer sheet TOP teacher BY distribute-PASS-PST
 ‘The answer sheets were distributed (by the teacher).’

These two types of passives, the *ni* passive and *ni yotte* passive are further discussed by Kuroda in detail (1979, 1985). Kuroda introduced the term “affectivity” (*sayoosei* in Japanese) to characterize the *ni* passive. This is a broader notion than Matsushita’s (benefit and adversity) and is defined as the subject referent physically and/or psychologically undergoing a change as a result of an event. Kuroda also points out that *ni yotte* passive sentences are never affective, while *ni* passive sentences may be either affective or neutral.

Klaiman (1987) discusses the semantics of Japanese passive sentences. Klaiman categorizes two types of passive: the affective passive, which describes “the impact of what is done with regard to an affected participant” and non-affective passive, which describes

“what is or comes about” (420).⁶⁷ For Klaiman, the affective passive includes both direct and indirect passives, such as (54) and (55) above, and the non-affective passive includes the *ni yotte* passive, as in (56) and (57) above and the neutral *ni* passive sentences in (58)-(60) below.

(58) *tyokoreeto wa kodomo ni suk-are-ru*
 chocolate TOP child DAT like-PASS-PRES
 ‘Chocolate is liked by children’ (Klaiman 1987: 420)

(59) *sono hon wa ooku no hito ni yom-are-ta*
 that book TOP many GEN person DAT read-PASS-PST
 ‘That book was read by many people.’

(60) *rikopin wa tomato ni ooku hukum-are-ru*
 licopin TOP tomato DAT much contain-PASS-PNT
 ‘A lot of licopin is contained in tomatoes.’

Klaiman argues that the affective/non-affective distinction is neither purely lexical nor structural, and she suggests that the distinction “depends on the speaker’s global understanding of how the denoted action takes place, an understanding conditioned by the presuppositions and implications which accrue to sentences in ordinary use” (424). For example, the following sentences that are discussed by Klaiman (1987: 423-4) all contain

⁶⁷ Similarly, Mauoka (1987) divides Japanese passives into two types: “promotional” passives (*ni* passives), in which a non-agent referent is foregrounded, and “demotional” passives, in which the agent is backgrounded and is marked with *ni yotte* when it is mentioned in the sentence. The promotional passives are further divided into “affective” and “attributive” types

the same lexical verb *taberu* ‘eat’. Sentence (61) is not acceptable, because the subject referent is an inanimate object, which is not capable of being affected.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Sentence (62) is acceptable and it is an instance of the affective passive, where the subject referent is negatively affected. Moreover, Sentence (63) is an instance of non-affective passive, which lacks the special emotive nuance, as Sentence (62) indicates.

(61) **keeki wa kodomo ni tabe-rare-ta*
 cake TOP child DAT eat-PASS-PST
 ‘The cake was eaten up by the child.’

(62) *senkyoosi wa hitokui ni tabe-rare-ta*
 missionary TOP cannibal DAT eat-PASS-PST
 ‘The missionary was eaten by cannibals.’

(63) *sono ki wa siroari ni (yotte) tabe-rare-ta*
 that wood TOP termite DAT eat-PASS-PST
 ‘The cake was eaten up by the child.’

Klaiman’s categorization of two types of passives, regardless of their structures, seems convincing. As I have discussed earlier, some direct passive sentences are used to indicate the notion of affectedness.

Finally, Yoshida (1996) has done a corpus study of Japanese passive sentences in

⁶⁸ Of course, inanimate subject referent can be affected, as in *My reputation was affected*, but in such cases, the referent must be closely associated with an animate entity, such as a person.

oral conversations.⁶⁹ She suggests two discourse functions of the passive: static and dynamic. The static function is used for back-grounding information, occurring independent of the interaction between the interlocutors, and it is characterized as descriptive and attributive. On the other hand, the dynamic function is used to “communicate the speaker’s expressiveness toward the interlocutor, focusing their interaction.” (90) and is characterized as affective. Yoshida finds that though there are a few instances of the neutral attitude (i.e. surprise), most of the examples describe negative events, and the subject referent may or may not be involved in the event. Thus, she concludes that the notion of adversity is context-dependent: it does not result simply from the lexical semantics of the verb, the structure of passives, or the subject referent being uninvolved in the event. For example, Yoshida points out that the interpretation of passives with neutral verbs must depend on the context. In the following example, two verbs, *iu* ‘say’ and *katazukeru* ‘put away’ can be used as neutral or negative.

- (64) *konnyaku o tukatte to iw-aremasite*
 konnyaku ACC use QUO say-PASS-POLITE
 ‘(I) was told to use konnyaku.’ (Yoshida 1996: 55)

⁶⁹ Her data consists of 243 instances of passives extracted from 19 hours of audio-taped daily conversations, including both telephone and face-to-face conversations.

- (65) *sensee siteru kara katai no yo tte iw-aremasite*
 teacher do because hard PTL PTL QUO say-PASS-POLITE
 ‘(I) was told “(you) are hard-headed because (you) are a teacher”.’
 (Yoshida 1996: 56)
- (66) *katazakeru isi ga aru, katazaker-are-nakerebanaranai*
 put away will NOM exist put away-PASS-must
- mono ga aru*
 thing NOM exit
 ‘There is a will to put things away, there are things that must be put away.’
 (Yoshida 1996: 56)
- (67) *moo okaasan wa hanasi ni narani*
 EMP mother TOP talking CMPL become-NEG
- no yo tte katazaker-arete...*
 PTL PTL QUO put away-PASS
 ‘(I) was put to a stop by my daughter saying, “you are impossible
 (to deal with)”.’⁷⁰ (Yoshida 1996: 56)

In sum, it seems that one of the central functions of Japanese passives is to indicate the notion of affectedness, and passives commonly indicates the notion of adversity. It has been argued that this function is not limited to indirect passive sentences or cases in which the subject referent is not involved in the event. I suggest that the notion of affectedness is salient in the semantics of affective passives. I would like to point out that passive sentences are acceptable only when the subject referent is strongly affected.

⁷⁰ This translation is mine.

For example, the lexical verb *osieru* ‘teach’ has a counterpart, *osowaru*, which has a passive sense ‘be taught’. Therefore, *osieru* cannot be passivized, unless we interpret that the subject referent is significantly affected. That is, the subject referent truly learned something from someone and was positively affected by the event. Compare the examples.

(68) *??taroo wa sensee ni eego o osie-rare-ta*
 Taro TOP teacher DAT English acc teach-PASS-PST
 ‘Taro was taught English by the teacher.’

(69) *taroo wa sensee ni eego o osowat-ta*
 Taro TOP teacher DAT English acc be taught- PST
 ‘Taro was taught English by the teacher.’

(70) *taroo wa sensee ni eego no taisetusa o osie-rare-ta*
 Taro TOP teacher DAT English GEN importance ACC teach-PASS-PST
 ‘Taro was taught the importance of English by the teacher.’

(71) *taroo wa sensee ni eego no taisetusa o osowat-ta*
 Taro TOP teacher DAT English GEN importance ACC be taught- PST
 ‘Taro was taught the importance of English by the teacher.’

7.3.1.3 Lack of control of the subject referent

There are at least a few studies that suggest that the lack of control of the subject referent over the event is responsible for the affective interpretation of the Japanese passives. Jacobsen (1991) and Tokunaga (1992) both argue for the semantic affinity between passive constructions and other non-passive constructions (e.g. ‘spontaneous’,

‘potential’, and ‘honorific’) that use the morpheme (*r*)*are*, suggesting that all the constructions indicate that there is no control on the part of the subject referent. An interpretation of adversity is the result of a common association between lack of control over an event and contrary to one’s interest.⁷¹

Tanaka (1997) also discusses that the notion of adversity in the Japanese passive is a pragmatic inference that an event occurred unexpectedly or despite the subject referent’s will. He points out that some passive sentences with lexical items that are not inherently negative need to be interpreted as negative, because they take the passive morpheme. As mentioned earlier, in the following passive examples, the actions described by the predicates (getting hair cut and having cancer removed) themselves normally are not interpreted as negative, rather they should be thought of as beneficial. Yet, the sentences must be interpreted as negative events. In (72), the interpretations would be that the barber cut Taro’s hair wrongly or contrary to his instruction or hope, and in (73), Taro’s cancer was removed despite his wish of keeping it.

- (72) *taroo wa tokoyasan ni kami o kir-are-ta*
 Taro TOP barber DAT hair ACC cut-PASS-PST
 ‘Taro was adversely affected by a barber cutting his hair.’ (Tanaka 1997: 62)

⁷¹ Jacobsen also recognizes situations where events outside one’s control might coincide with one’s own interests.

- (73) *taroo wa isya ni gan o tor-are-ta*
 Taro TOP doctor DAT cancer ACC remove-PASS-PST
 ‘Taro was adversely affected by a doctor removing his cancer.’
 (Tanaka 1997: 62)

The use of the passive construction indicates a unidirectional act from the agent, and an event in which the subject referent has some sort of control cannot be neutrally described with passive sentences. Therefore, the above sentences have negative interpretations: the agent carried out the act despite the subject referent’s will.

In addition, I point out that verbs, such as *kekonsuru* ‘get marry’ and *uru* ‘sell’, indicate that the two participants have more or less equal control over the event, and that the events normally occur when the participants agree to make them occur.⁷² In the following example, therefore, only the indirect passive with adversative sense is available, such as Ken marrying someone else than Makiko.

- (74) **makiko wa ken ni kekkons-are-ta*
 Makiko TOP Ken DAT get marry-PASS-PST
 ‘Makiko was married to Ken.’ (intended)
- (75) **makiko wa ken ni kuruma o ur-are-ta*
 Makiko TOP Ken DAT car ACC sell-PASS-PST
 ‘Makiko was sold a car by Ken.’ (intended)

⁷² Interestingly, Japanese has another lexical verb, *uritokeru* ‘sell forcefully’, and this verb can be passivized.

It seems that ‘lack of control’ is more satisfactory than ‘not being involved’ to account for the affective interpretation of passive sentences, because the former notion subsumes the latter notion: if one is not involved in an event in any way, s/he does not have any control over the event either. Moreover, the concept accounts for the prototypical passive usage of both direct and indirect passives. However, I point out that this notion needs to be discussed further. For example, passive sentences may include expressions indicating that the subject referent has some control over the situation, as in (76) and (77). Sentence (76), for example, can be uttered, when Taro is the father of Ken and physically stronger than Ken and thus Taro let Ken hit him intentionally in roughhousing.

(76) *taroo wa wazato ken ni nagu-rare-ta*
 Taro TOP intentionally Ken DAT hit-PASS-PST
 ‘Taro was intentionally hit by Ken.’

(77) *iroiro doryokusite yatto butyoo ni mitome-rare-ta*
 variously make efforts finally manager DAT recognize-PASS-PST
 ‘After making various efforts, finally I was recognized by the manager.’

I suggest that the uses of affective passive sentences reveal our understanding of events involving the agent and the undergoer. Specifically, they reveal that no matter how much control the undergoer has over the situation, the agent has ultimate control: the agent needs to take an action based on his own decision.

In sum, the affective nature of direct and indirect passives is explained in terms of control. Moreover, this notion accounts for why certain verbs are used only in indirect passives.

7.3.1.4 Adversity vs. benefit

It has been recognized that Japanese passive sentences are used to indicate that the subject referent is positively affected, as in the following examples (e.g. Matsushita 1930, Alfonso 1966, 1971, N. McCawley 1972, Wierzbicka 1979, 1988).

(78) *taroo wa keekan ni tasuker-are-ta*
 Taro TOP police officer DAT rescue-PASS-PST
 ‘Taro was rescued by the police officer.’

(79) *taroo wa kireena ko ni nak-are-ta*
 Taro TOP pretty girl DAT cry-PASS-PST
 ‘A pretty girl cried over Taro.’

However, the adversative uses appear dominant, and, as mentioned earlier, Yoshida (1996) finds that when passives are used as affective in the corpus, most of the examples describe negative events. Moreover, lexical verbs with negative senses are much more frequently used than ones with positive senses in her data. Then, another important question to be raised is why the adversative, not benefactive reading, is dominant when it comes to

Japanese passives.

First, Shibatani (1993) suggests that the independently existing benefactive construction in Japanese produces a blocking effect, which could explain this dominance. He does not state any specific benefactive construction or provide any examples in his discussion. I assume that the *morau* construction was what he was referring to. This suggestion can explain why the following Sentences (80) and (82) have the adversative reading instead of the benefactive reading, and why we need to use the *morau* benefactive construction (or *kureru* construction) in order to indicate the notion of benefit, as in (81) and (83).

(80) *masako wa ken ni hon o kaes-are-ta*
Masako TOP Ken DAT book ACC return-PASS-PST
'Masako was negatively affected by Ken returning the book to her.'

(81) *masako wa ken ni hon o kaesite-morat-ta*
Masako TOP Ken DAT book ACC return-RECEIVE-PST
'Masako had Ken return her book.'

(82) *taroo wa titioya ni mukasi no hanasi o s-are-ta*
Taro TOP father DAT old GEN story ACC do-PASS-PST
'Taro was adversely affected by his father telling old stories.'

(83) *taroo wa titioya ni mukasi no hanasi o sitemoratt-ta*
Taro TOP father DAT old GEN story ACC do-RECEIVE-PST
'Taro received from his father the favor of his telling old stories.'

Second, as mentioned in 5.5, Wierzbicka (1979, 1988) suggests that our pessimistic world view reflects the asymmetry toward adversity: “bad events come in all forms — some may be due to someone’s evil intentions, but others ‘just happen’; good events, on the other hand, do not ‘just happen’ — they have to be caused, at least partly by intentional action.” (1988: 218-9). This worldview appears to hold in the Japanese passives.

Third, Tsuboi (1997) proposes an alternative account. He suggests that there is an adversative passive construction, which is a distinct extension form of the regular passive that expresses that “[t]he subject is annoyed by the act done to him or her by the *ni*-marked NP” (289). He further suggests a cognitive model concerning causation in which the responsibility of the *ni*-marked NP referent (i.e. not being able to have prevented the affecting event) is attributable to the adversative interpretation. He suggests that:

...when an event that should not occur turns out to have occurred, we conceive of the culprit who has caused it to occur, whereas when an event that is not [need not have been] prevented from occurring turns out to have occurred, we do not bother to think of the person who has caused it to occur, although objectively both adversative events and beneficial events equally require causes (294)

His account is interesting; however, positing an extra semantics of annoyance seems problematic. It is true that passive sentences of this sort often indicate annoyance, as in the

case of the neighbor blaring the stereo, but they also imply the sadness of the speaker, as when he lost his loving wife, as in (84), and other feelings including disappointment, such as when an elementary school child might say Sentence (85) to describe how someone else solved a math problem before the speaker did. These sentences could have an implication of annoyance, but they could simply communicate the speaker's disappointment.

(84) *saiai no tuma ni sakidat-are-ta*
 most loved GEN wife ACC die-PASS-PST
 'I lost my loving wife (and I am very sad).'

(85) *aa yottyān ni sakini tok-are-ta*
 oh Yocchan DAT before solve-RECEIVE-PST
 'Oh, Yocchan solved (the problem) before me!'

Another problem with his account is that it contradicts the fact that Japanese has a very complex system of benefactive constructions and they are used very frequently. Thus, we cannot say, as Tsuboi suggests, that when events we did not have to prevent from occurring (i.e. benefactive events) occur, we do not have to think of the doer of the event. Rather, the speakers of Japanese have to state benefactive events as much as possible in order not to be considered unappreciative and rude.

Finally, as I suggest in 5.5, the principle of maximization of contrast motivates the asymmetry toward adversity in the Japanese passive, as with other languages in the world.

The passive contrasts with the active maximally, when the subject referent is negatively affected, since the subject referent (agent) of the active clause is typically a beneficiary.⁷³

As there is a tendency for passives to be associated with the notion of adversity cross-linguistically, we need a motivation such as the principle of maximization of contrast to avoid arbitrary convention in a particular language.

In sum, there are at least three plausible motivations for the asymmetry toward adversity in the Japanese passives. They are the blocking effect by other benefactive constructions, the pessimistic worldview, and the principle of maximization of contrast.

7.3.2 The *te simau* construction as adversative

7.3.2.1 Previous studies

It has been widely recognized that the Japanese auxiliary construction *te simau* serves as an adversative marker as well as completive aspectual marker.⁷⁴ As a full-lexical verb, *simau* means ‘put away’, and it has also been grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb to indicate a completion of an event or situation, as in (86).⁷⁵

⁷³ As discussed earlier, agents of active sentences typically act for their own benefit.

⁷⁴ Most dictionaries, including a dictionary of basic Japanese grammar (Makino and Tsutusi, 1986) list these two functions.

⁷⁵ It has colloquial variants *tyau* or *dyau*.

- (86) *moo ano hon o yonde-simat-ta*
 already that book ACC read-SIMAU-PST
 'I've finished reading that book.'

In addition, it has been also grammaticalized into an affective marker that expresses the speaker's negative attitude toward an event. It implies the speaker's subtle feelings toward the event, such as 'regret' about what the speaker has done, as in (82) or 'criticism' about someone's action or about a situation, as in (83).

- (87) *osake o nomisugite-simat-ta*
 alcohol ACC drink-SIMAU-PST
 'I drank too much.'

- (88) *reo ga mata syatu o yogosite-simat-ta*
 Leo NOM again shirt ACC make dirty- SIMAU-PST
 'Leo made his shirt dirty again!'

There are quite a few studies of the *te simau* construction with respect to its pragmatic functions and/or grammaticalization (Ono and Suzuki 1992, Strauss 1994, 1996, Yoshida 1994, Strauss and Sohn 1998), using authentic data, spoken and/or written. They have recognized that *simau* has been further grammaticalized to indicate the speaker's guilt about having a positive attitude about a situation where only the speaker has benefited. For example, the following sentence indicates the speaker's mixed feeling of happiness and guilt, since the speaker had a good time with two girls without the addressee.

- (89) *uno o yatte-simai-masi-ta-yo*
 Uno ACC do- SIMAU-POLITE-PST-PTL
 ‘(I) played Uno (with the two girls)’ (Ono and Suzuki 1992: 208)

Regarding the same example, Hasegawa (1996) goes on to point out that the above use indicates the speaker’s negative attitude toward the speech act, the act of telling, and not toward the described event.

Other senses that are implied by the construction include: ‘inability to undo’, ‘surprise’, ‘unexpectedness’, and ‘spontaneous’ occurrence of events without the speaker’s control or volition. Most of these senses accompany affective senses, such as ‘regret’ and ‘guilt’.

Although the studies mentioned above use authentic data, they do not discuss the distributions of the uses. There is, however, one insightful study of the first language acquisition of *simau* by Suzuki (1999). Suzuki uses the transcripts of audio-recorded conversations between one mother-child pair. She finds 67 instances of *simau* or *tyau* and notes that the negative attitude toward the event is typically indicated in the mother’s speech, rather than just indicating the completion of an event. There is no instance of other implications of ‘guilt’ or ‘spontaneity’.⁷⁶ Thus, Suzuki suggests that the earliest sense of the construction may be negative attitude toward the event.

⁷⁶ The term ‘automatic’ is used in her study.

7.3.2.2 Corpus study of the *te simau* construction

I have conducted a corpus study of *simau*, in order to determine the distributions of the uses of *simau* in spoken Japanese. The data consist of the spoken corpus CallHome Japanese, which I have also used to examine the *morau* construction.

I have found 119 instances of the *te simau* construction in the data. The distribution of the uses is shown in Table 6. Since this study focuses on the affective nature of *simau*, I have categorized the uses into four types: ‘neutral’, ‘negative’, ‘positive’ and ‘other’. The neutral type simply indicates the completion of an event and does not include the speaker’s attitude toward the event. The negative and positive types indicate the speaker’s attitude toward the event, as well as the completion of the event. The last type, ‘Other’, contains examples that are neutral with respect to affectivity, but they do not tend to focus on the completion of an event but, rather, are used to indicate some other sense, including ‘surprise’ and ‘spontaneity’.

Table 6 The uses of the *te simau* construction and their distributions

Type	Numbers	%
Neutral	31	26.0
Negative	75	63.0
Positive	3	2.5
Other	10	8.5
Total	119	100

As shown in Table 6, the dominant use of the *te simau* construction is to indicate the speaker's negative attitude toward the event, which accounts for 63% of the uses. One example is given from the data.

- (90) *atama ga dookanatte-simat-ta*
 head NOM become wrong-SHIMAU-PST
 'He lost his mind.'

The neutral use accounts for 26 % of the instances, which is a significant portion. Some of the examples in this category might actually have been uttered to indicate the speaker's attitude toward the event, but their contexts are not detailed enough to make a categorization of the affective sense definite.

- (91) *sukaato moo tukutte-simat-ta*
 skirt already make-SIMAU-PST
 'I've already made the skirt.'

- (92) *aa, moo zyuugohun tatte-simau-n-dak-ke*
 Oh, already 15 min. pass-SIMAU-NOM-COP-PTL
 'Oh, 15 min. has already passed?'

Clearly positive uses are only three in the data. One of them indicates the speaker's guilt along with the happy feeling, as in (93).

- (93) *konna watasi ga, konna iikagenna yatu ga natte*
 such I NOM such irresponsible fellow NOM become

iinkana toka omot-tyau
 is it all right etc. think-SIMAU
 ‘(I) wonder if it is all right to become (something), despite the fact that I am such an irresponsible person.’

The next two sentences indicate that the speaker finds the described event surprising, incredible, or great. For example, in (94), the speaker talks about her sister who is in her 90’s but has bone density similar to that of a young person.

- (94) ...*wakaimono sokkuri no hone datte iwaret-tyatte-yo*
 ...young person just like GEN bones COP be told-SIMAU-PTL
 ‘She was told (by the doctor) that her bones are just like a young person’s.’

In (95), the speaker talks about how an incredible new product came out on the market, which is seen as a positive and very surprising event.

- (95) ...*tukatte-ite, sore o erai hito ga nozoite,*
 use-prog it ACC great person NOM look

a, kore wa benri-da-na-tte kotode sonomama
 oh, this TOP useful-COP-PTC-QUO such that like that

dondon haitte seisikini sapootosi, dasi-tyat-ta-nda-yone
 quickly enter officially support put out- SIMAU-PST-COP-PTL
 ‘(it was being) used, and the higher person looked at it and found it useful, and quickly got the formal support to put it out onto the market, right?’

The last two examples are very important in that the construction is used in a truly positive way, not just hedging the happy feeling of the speaker, as in (93). This use is possible because the speaker is talking about an event s/he is not involved in, whereas the speaker must be humble about his/her own fortune, thus one needs to express a sense of guilt.

The fourth type, ‘Other’, consists of four ‘spontaneous’ examples, as in (96), two ‘surprise’ examples, as in (97), and four ‘social’ examples, as in (98) and (99). The ‘spontaneous’ and ‘surprise’ uses do not need further discussion. As for the social use, it signals “an added stance of informality, camaraderie, and a kind of in-group relationship” (Strauss and Sohn 1998: 229).

Spontaneous

- (96) *okasiku-nat-tyau-no*
 funny-become-SIMAU-PTL
 ‘I think it’s funny/it makes me laugh.’

Surprise

- (97) *ki-tyat-ta-no*
 come-SIMAU-PST-Q
 ‘(A big turkey) appeared?’

Social

- (98) *aa, sonnahuuni it-tyau-no*
 oh, that way say-SHIMAU-Q
 ‘Oh, they say like that?’

- (99) *sorede sutikku o seot-tyatte-sa,*
 then stick ACC carry on one's shoulders-SIMAU-PTL,

sorede boosi o kabut-tyatte,...
 then hat ACC wear-SIMAU
 'Then she was carrying the stick on her shoulders and wearing the hat...'

In conclusion, the *te simau* construction is most frequently used to indicate the speaker's negative attitude toward the event. There are some neutral uses that focus on the completion of an event, but the positive evaluation is rare.

7.3.2.3 Cross-linguistic analysis

I have not included the *te simau* construction in the discussion of SACs in Chapter 5 or 6, because at this point there are only three languages in my data whose completive aspectual markers exhibit this additional function, and two of them, Japanese and Korean, below, are geographically very close. Nevertheless, this semantic domain of completion is a very good candidate for AC or SAC. For example, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) suggest that completive markers cross-linguistically often describe actions with some emphasis or surprise value.

In Korean, the full-lexical verb *pelita*, meaning 'throw away' or 'spoil', has become an aspectual marker to indicate the event as being completely done.

- (100) *ku ciph-un tha-peli-ess-supnita*
 that straw-SUB burn-PELI-PST-SE
 ‘The straw burned up.’

Strauss (1994, 1996) and Strauss and Sohn (1998) note that *pelita*, as an auxiliary verb, is used as an affective marker to show the speaker’s negative attitude toward the event, as in the following example; though it occurs much less frequently than *simau*. Strauss (1996) suggests that the *a/e pelita* construction is more negatively oriented than *simau*, because its lexical meaning is ‘throw away’ or ‘soiling something’, which is already associated with a negative feeling, as opposed to ‘put away’, which is more or less neutral.

- (101) *ku nun ka-peli-ess-ta*
 he top go-PELI-PST
 ‘To my regret, he went away.’ (Lee 1993: 239)

Strauss (1994) also points out the similarities among the uses of the *te simau* construction, *a/e pelita* construction, and Romance reflexive or middle voice phenomenon. She then suggests that these all serve as intensifiers of the notion of completion, as in the following examples.

- (102) *okasi o tabete-simai-masi-ta*
 cake ACC eat-SIMAU-POLITE-PST
 ‘s/he ate up the cake (and I am relieved, happy, upset, etc).’
 (Strauss 1994: 259)

- (103) *ppang ul ta mek-e peli-ess-ta*
 cake ACC all eat PELI-PST-SE
 ‘s/he ate up the cake (and I am relieved, happy, upset, etc).’
 (Strauss 1994: 259)

- (104) *se comino el pastel*
 REFL eat PST the cake
 ‘s/he ate up the cake (and I am relieved, happy, upset, etc).’
 (Strauss 1994: 262)

Furthermore, Strauss (1996) remarks that the *te simau* construction, *a/e pelita* construction, and middle voice phenomenon are also similar in that they all indicate events occurring unexpectedly, as I discussed with the middle uses in 6.3.2. Sentences (105) and (107), repeated here,⁷⁷ have been translated into Japanese by using *simau*, as in (106) and (108). Also compare Sentence (109) from Spanish and (110) from Korean.

Spanish

- (105) *Juan se (*Ø) cayo al agua vestido.*
 ‘Juan fell into the water dressed.’

- (106) *juan ga fuku o kitamama mizu ni otite-simat-ta*
 Juan NOM cloth ACC wearing water to fall-SIMAU-PST
 ‘Juan fell into the water dressed.’

Lithuanian

- (107) *daug pinig-u iš-si-eikovojo*
 much money-GEN PERF-REFL-spent
 ‘A lot of money got spent.’ = ‘I have unexpectedly spent a lot of money’

⁷⁷ They are numbered (69) and (70) in 6.3.2.

- (108) *okane o takusan tukatte-simat-ta*
 money ACC much use-SIMAU-PST
 ‘(I regret that) I have spent a lot of money.’

Spanish

- (109) *En la primavera, las hojas se cayeron de los árboles.*
 ‘In spring, the leaves fell from the trees.’

- (110) *pom ey-num namwu eyes iph-i ttele-cye-peli-ess-ta*
 spring in-TOP trees from leaves-SUB fall-PELITA
 ‘In spring, the leaves fell from the tree.’ (Strauss 1996: 412)

In sum, the functions of the *te simau* construction and *a/e pelita* construction overlap with the uses of the middle voice constructions.

Lastly, there is another instance, where an auxiliary verb in Bengali indicates the speaker’s negative attitude as well as the notion of completion (Ghameshi 1991). As a full-lexical verb, *fele* means ‘throw or cast away’ or ‘drop or cause to fall’. When it is used as an auxiliary, it intensifies or stresses the verbal action and indicates the completion of the verbal action, as in (111) and (112).

- (111) *ami kee fele cʰ-i*
 I eat-PTCPL throw-PTCPL be-PRES-1p
 ‘I’ve already eaten.’ (Ghameshi 1991: 347)

- (112) *ali hasan-ke ragie fele cʰ-i-lo*
 Ali Hassan-OBJ make angry-PTCPL throw-PTCPL be-PST-3p
 ‘Ali [finally] made Hassan angry (after two hours of trying, for example).’
 (Ghameshi 1991: 347)

The *fela* construction also indicates that the subject referent did something that s/he was not supposed to do.

- (113) *amina boi-ti dekhe fele č^hi-l-o*
 Amina book-DEF see-PTCPL throw-PTCPL be-PST-3p
 ‘Amina saw the book [and she wasn’t supposed to].’
 (Ghomeshi 1991: 349)

- (114) *ami heše fele č^hi-l-am*
 I laugh-PTCPL throw-PTCPL be-PST-1p
 ‘I laughed [and I wasn’t supposed to].’
 (Ghomeshi 1991: 349)

In addition, the construction can be used to describe unexpected events, such as the following. These examples can be uttered without *fela*, but are more likely to be uttered with it.

- (115) *bataš fuldani-ti b^heḡe fele č^hi-l-o*
 wind vase-DEF break (pp) throw (pp) be-PST-3p
 ‘The wind [completely] broke the vase.’ (Ghomeshi 1991: 351)

- (116) *agun g^hor-ti pu.æ fele č^hi-l-o*
 fire house-DEF burn (pp) throw (pp) be-PST-3p
 ‘Fire [completely] burned the house.’ (Ghomeshi 1991: 352)

In conclusion, the uses of the *fela* construction appear to be very similar to the uses of the *te simau* and *a/e pelita* constructions in that they all indicate the notion of completion

and the speaker's negative attitude toward the event.

7.4 The *te kuru* construction as adversative

Tokunaga (1986) discusses one of the uses of the auxiliary verb *kuru* 'come' as adversative.⁷⁸ In Japanese, there is a class of verbs that express an act directed from the subject referent to another participant, such as *uru* 'sell', *syookaisuru* 'introduce', and *kasu* 'lend', and it is pragmatically awkward for sentences with these verbs to have the speaker as the indirect object without indicating the action is directed toward the speaker. For example, Sentence (117), where non-first person is the goal of the action, is acceptable, while Sentence (118), where the speaker is the goal, is pragmatically unacceptable.⁷⁹ Instead of Sentence (118), the speaker may utter either Sentence (119) with the auxiliary verb *kureru* (INCOMING-GIVE), if s/he is grateful to the subject referent, or Sentence (120) with *kuru*, if s/he is not appreciative.

- (117) *yukiko ga yukio ni hon o kasi-ta*
Yukiko NOM Yukio DAT book ACC lend-PST
'Yukiko lent a book to Yukio.'

⁷⁸ I thank Yoko Hasegawa for introducing Tokunaga's work to me.

⁷⁹ If this kind of sentence is ever uttered, then the sentence indicates that the speaker is negatively

- (118) ??*yukiko ga watasi ni hon o kasi-ta*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT book ACC lend-PST
 ‘Yukiko lent me a book.’
- (119) *yukiko ga watasi ni hon o kasite-kure-ta*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT book ACC lend-GIVE-PST
 ‘Yukiko lent me a book (and I am grateful to her).’
- (120) *yukiko ga watasi ni hon o kasite-k-ita*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT book ACC lend-COME-PST
 ‘Yukiko lent me a book (although I did not ask her to).’

Tokunaga suggests that this use of *kuru* denotes that action was taken of the agent’s own free will, despite the speaker’s wishes. Additional examples are given below.

- (121) *yukiko ga watasi ni hon o utte-k-ita*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT book ACC sell-COME-PST
 ‘Yukiko sold me a book (although I did not ask her to).’
- (122) *yukiko ga watasi ni midori o syookaisite-k-ita*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT Midori ACC introduce-COME-PST
 ‘Yukiko introduced Midori to me (although I did not ask her to).’
- (123) *yukiko ga watasi ni henna hon o okutte-k-ita*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT strange book ACC send-COME-PST
 ‘Yukiko send me a strange book (although I did not ask her to).’

Although, Tokunaga’s observation is correct with certain examples, I find that some uses with *kuru* are rather neutral and just mark a direction (the action is directed toward the

affected by the event or at least it shows that the speaker is blunt or rude in speech (Tokunaga 1986).

speaker), as in the following examples.

(124) *obaatyan ga oisii mikan o okutte-k-ita*
grandma NOM tasty orange ACC send-COME-PST
'Grandma sent (me) tasty oranges.'

(125) *noriko ga watasi ni rokuzi goro denwasite-k-ita*
Noriko NOM I DAT 6 o'clockaround call-COME-PST
'Noriko called me around 6 o'clock.'

(126) *imooto ga watasi ni soodansite-k-ita*
sister NOM I DAT consult-COME-PST
'My sister asked me for advice.'

I argue that when a verb prototypically takes the goal as the beneficiary, the benefactive auxiliary *kureru* must be used, and lack of *kureru* in the sentences provides the implication of adversity. Thus, *kuru* is used in either positive or negative context, as in (127) and (128) respectively, where the verb does not prototypically require the beneficiary of an event. On the other hand, *kuru* is used only in a negative context with verbs, including *uru* 'sell' and *kasu* 'lend', in which the goal is prototypically the beneficiary, as in (129), and *kureru* must be used instead of *kuru* to express the benefit of the speaker, as in (130).

(127) *sutekina hito ga watasi ni hanasikakete-k-ita*
pleasant person NOM I DAT talk-COME-PST
'A pleasant person talked me.'

- (128) *iyana hito ga watasi ni hanasikakete-k-ita*
 unpleasant person NOM I DAT talk-COME-PST
 ‘An unpleasant person talked me.’
- (129) *yukiko ga watasi ni okane o kasite-k-ita*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT money ACC lend-COME-PST
 ‘Yukiko lent me money (although I did not ask her to).’
- (130) *yukiko ga watasi ni okane o kasite-kure-ta*
 Yukiko NOM I DAT money ACC lend-GIVE-PST
 ‘Yukiko lent me money (and I am grateful to her).’

Thus, I conclude that the *kuru* construction is a kind of SAC that sometimes implies the notion of adversity to the speaker. The implication of adversity is not always indicated and is not so strong compared to other SACs, such as the passive and causative as adversative. This fact suggests that the implication is loosely associated with the construction. It may be rather the result of contrasting with the use of *kureru*: the speaker should communicate his/her gratitude as much as possible to be polite in speech, and if s/he does not, s/he is indicating some other feeling instead, a negative affect on him/her.

7.5 Semantic network of ACs and SACs in Japanese

Having discussed ACs and SACs in Japanese, I will discuss in this section how they are related. In the following figure, there are three semantic domains of causative, passive, and middle that are circled. Although Japanese does not have any special

grammatical marker for the middle voice, and the middle voice phenomenon is not clearly defined in Japanese (Kageyama 1998), I have placed the function of the middle voice domain to show that the *te simau* construction overlaps with it. The dotted line separates the benefactive domain above and the adversative domain below. ACs are distinguished from SACs in that the former is designated in a rectangle with round corners, while the latter is in a rectangular with sharp corners. Notice the causative domain covers more area in the benefactive domain, while the passive domain covers more in the adversative domain. The three arrows that go down from the *yaru*, *kureru*, and *morau* constructions into the adversative domain indicate that they are normally used as benefactive, but also used as malefactive or adversative. Arrows are used in these cases, because the malefactive and adversative uses are extensions from the benefactive use.

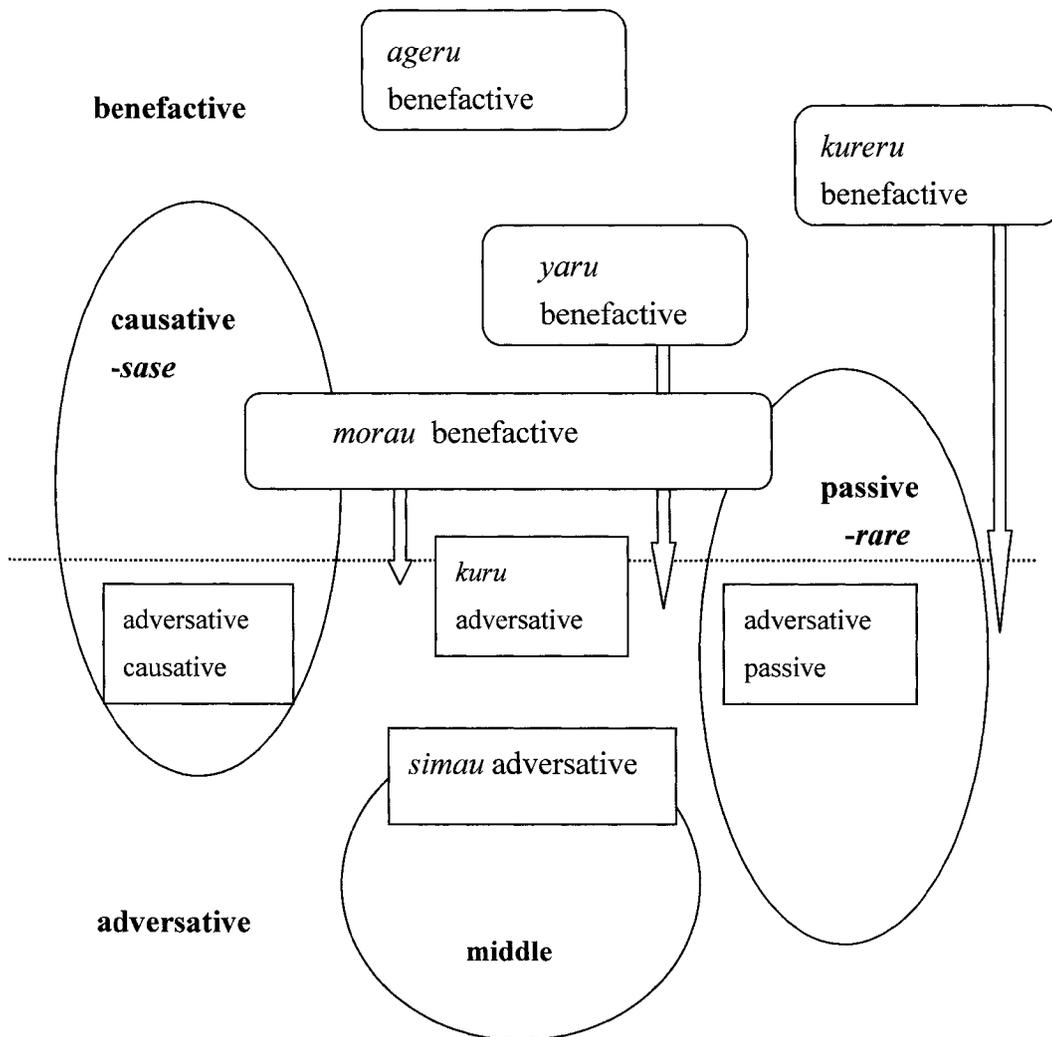


Figure 26 Semantic network of ACs and SACs in Japanese

In the benefactive domain, the *morau* benefactive overlaps with both causative and passive. Recall that the *morau* benefactive is predominantly used as causative, but it is also used to describe events wherein the affectee simply receives a benefit from another's act. In this way, it is similar to passives. For example, being rescued by a stranger can be

described by using either the benefactive *morau* or the passive *rare*, although the former explicitly indicates the benefit of the subject referent.

(131) *siranai hito ni tasukete-morat-ta*
 unkown person DAT rescue-GIVE- PST
 ‘I had a benefit of a stranger rescuing me.’

(132) *siranai hito ni tasuke-rare-ta*
 unkown person DAT rescue-PASS- PST
 ‘I was rescued by a stranger.’

It should be important to note here that if a benefit of someone (especially the speaker and his/her in-group member) is obvious to the speaker, simple transitive sentences are not appropriate and the *kureru* benefactive construction is normally used instead, as in the following example, where the same rescuing situation is described.

(133) *siranai hito ga watasi o tasukete-kure-ta*
 unkown person NOM I ACC rescue-GIVE- PST
 ‘A stranger rescued me.’

(134) ??*siranai hito ga watasi o tasuke-ta*
 unkown person NOM I ACC rescue-PST
 ‘A stranger rescued me.’

In the adversative domain, the *te simau* construction overlaps with the middle domain. It may describe events that the middle domain covers in some languages: the subject referent inadvertently causes a bad event to occur, or some negative events occur

unexpectedly without the control of the subject referent.

Finally, the *kuru* construction is placed mainly in the adversative domain, but it also covers the benefactive domain, since it is used in a neutral and benefactive context.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Summary

The main goal of this study is to establish a new grammatical category—affectedness construction (AC). The existence of the category is induced from the large number of constructions I have found in the world’s languages that, in one way or another, express ‘affectedness’. I have devoted a large portion of this study to introducing many such instances of AC (Chapters 2-4), as well as SACs (Chapters 5 and 6), and I believe that I have made a first step in establishing and characterizing the overarching category AC, as well as its subcategories. Of course, the presence of ACs has yet even to be sought in most of the world’s languages, but I predict that if sought, a great many new examples will be found, and possibly additional construction types discovered. My findings are summarized below.

1. There are two main subcategories of AC. One type can be used to express both the notion of benefit and the notion adversity (but not at the same time, of course), such as the free dative in some Indo-European languages. The other can be used to express only one of the notions (or predominantly expresses one of them), so it is classified as being either benefactive or adversative.
2. With benefactive constructions, specification of **who** did what for **whom** is crucial.

These benefactive constructions are classified into two types, one that requires an agent (the agentive benefactive) and one that does not (the event benefactive); the agentive benefactive is further classified into four subtypes: unrestricted agent benefactive, allocentric benefactive, egocentric benefactive, and the shared-benefit construction.

3. Adversative constructions are classified into two types. One type is the malefactive construction that requires a volitional agent who intentionally tries to harm the affectee. This type appears to be extremely rare. The other type is the event adversative, which indicates an adversative event that does not necessarily include an agent (although it may include one); this is the most common type of adversative construction in my data. The second type may be accompanied by additional semantics, including ‘regret’ and ‘pity’, and these additional semantics are a characteristic of adversative constructions. With adversatives, indicating the speaker’s attitude toward the event and/or affectee or other information regarding the event is important in some speech situations.
4. Three cross-linguistically common SACs are the passive, causative, and middle voice. Passives are most likely to be used as adversatives, although there are some instances of benefactive passives. Causatives are more likely to be interpreted as benefactive causatives: either the causer

or the causee benefits from the event. They can also be used as permissive causatives to indicate the notion of adversity, and they describe that the causer inadvertently let the bad event occur.

Regarding the middle voice or reflexive constructions, egocentric benefaction is frequently expressed. In addition, middles and reflexives can be used to indicate the notion of adversity: the event is conceived as an unexpected and/or accidental happening.

5. Some constructions, including ethical datives and some SACs, indicate or imply the speaker's attitude toward the event and/or the affectee. This is a much more common phenomenon with adversatives and their SACs than benefactives and their SACs. Among adversatives, the speaker's attitude may be either positive (e.g. sympathy) or negative (e.g. disapproval), as in the *sual* construction discussed in 4.4.4. In contrast, only positive attitudes (the speaker's gratitude and joy) are found in benefactives. Occasionally benefactives are extended to indicate a negative attitude on the part of the speaker, but, in such cases, the constructions are actually used as adversatives, as in the Japanese *morau* construction discussed in 3.5.2. As for SACs (both benefactive and adversative uses), they can be positive or negatives, as in the *get* passive discussed Section 5.2.1.

6. Japanese ACs and SACs have been discussed to show how these constructions are related to each other. I have conducted two corpus studies and cited one corpus study of passives (Yoshida 1996) to discuss their actual uses. The uses of Japanese ACs and SACs overlap with the semantic domain of causative, passive, and/or middle voice.⁸⁰

8.2 Further study

In order to fully understand the category of AC, most importantly, a great deal of empirical work, including corpus studies, remains to be done. Corpus studies are valuable in determining the actual uses of SACs in context, as evidenced in the corpus studies of the *get* passive and the *morau* benefactive presented earlier.

Future studies may find more semantic areas that are related to the notion of affectedness. As I mentioned earlier, the notion of obligatoriness is a good candidate, since one could imagine a situation where we do something we actually do not want to and suffer from it. Indeed, one of the meanings of the *bi* construction in Vietnamese is ‘have to do something that the subject referent does not like’ (Lim 1969). This construction always expresses the notion of adversity, so the notion of obligation is associated with the notion

⁸⁰ It should be interesting to note that the causative, *morau* benefactive, and adversative passive have the same syntactic structure, and they have been analyzed in a unified way by the present author (Radetzky and Smith 1996).

of adversity at least in Vietnamese.

Another candidate is the notion of completion. According to Ono and Suzuki (1992), the implication of adversity arises in many cases from another implication, ‘inability to undo’, that has come from the notion of completion, such as the *-te simau* construction in Japanese possessives. Similar constructions are also found in Korean and Bengali.

Related to the notion of completion, it would be interesting to further investigate the ways in which aspect interacts with ACs and SACs. It seems that punctuality is associated with some ACs and SACs, since they are used to indicate a change of state in some participant in an event.

In addition, the speaker’s attitude needs to be studied further. Many examples in the data suggest that the speaker’s attitude and the notions of affectedness are closely related. When the speaker describes a positive or negative event, s/he tends to reveal his/her emotions as well. We need to determine whether such emotions are more likely just implied or clearly expressed by a construction. Moreover, it appears that specific emotions are indicated with negative events, such as sympathy⁸¹ and regret, but they are not with

⁸¹ It is interesting that the word ‘sympathy’ tends to be associated with negative events, not positive ones, in English, and it is always associated with negative events in Japanese. There seems to be no positive single-word counterpart indicating that one feels happy for another who is affected by an event positively in English or Japanese, although there are the expressions in English, *X is happy for Y* and

positive events. What sort of specific emotions can be expressed in ACs and SACs also needs to be investigated further. There is one auxiliary verb *yagaru* in Japanese that expresses the speaker's attitude of disapproving of another's act.

(1) *ore* *o* *naguri-yagat-ta*
 I ACC beat-YAGARU-PST
 'He beat me!'

(2) *aitu* *huzake-yagatte*
 he be silly-YAGARU
 'That fool, behaving stupidly!'

This construction sometimes indicates events in which one entity is negatively affected by the act of another, as in (1), and sometimes it indicates an action, which the speaker disapproves of but which does not obviously affect another entity, as in (2). Thus, there are certain constructions that serve mainly to indicate the speaker's attitude, but also express the notion of affectedness. Further investigation of such constructions is necessary.

Finally, although I have included a few diachronic studies of ACs and SACs, more studies will shed more light on their nature. For example, such research might help answer some questions that remain regarding ACs such as, "Is it really the case that basically only

Good for you, and *Congratulations* or *omedetoo* in Japanese can be said in certain contexts.

benefactive constructions extend to more general ACs, not vice versa?” and “What are other common lexical sources for ACs?” I will leave these questions to future studies.

References

- Alfonso, Anthony. 1966. *Japanese language patterns*. Tokyo: Sophia University.
- _____. 1971. On the Adversative passive in Japanese. *Association of Teachers of Japanese, Journal-newsletter* 8: 1-7.
- Austin, Frances. 1988. Points of modern English usage LXXIV. *English studies* 79:73-81.
- Babby, Leonard H. 1993. Hybrid causative constructions: Benefactive causative and adversity passive. *Causatives and transitivity*, ed. by Bernard Comrie and Maria Polinsky. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 343-68.
- Barber, E. J. W. 1975. Voice: beyond the passive. *BLS* 1:16-24.
- Bargh, John. 1997. The automaticity of everyday life. *Advances in social cognition, vol. 10*, ed. by Robert S. Wyer. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 1-61.
- Berman, Ruth A. 1981. Dative marking of the affected in modern Hebrew. *MIT working papers in linguistics* 3:153-79.
- _____. 1982. Dative marking of the affectee role: Data from modern Hebrew. *Hebrew annual review* 6:35-59.
- Brugman, Claudia M. 1988. *The syntax and semantics of HAVE and its complements*. UC Berkeley dissertation.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar*.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Carter, Ronald, and Michael McCarthy. 1999. The English *get*-passive in spoken discourse: description and implications for an interpersonal grammar. *English language and linguistics* 3.1:41-58.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne, and Diane Larsen-Freeman 1983. *The grammar book: An ESL/EFL teacher's course*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Chappell, Hilary. 1980. Is the *get*-passive adversative? *Papers in linguistics* 13:411-52.

_____. 1986. Formal and colloquial adversity passives in standard Chinese. *Linguistics* 24:1025-52.

Chen, Lilly Lee. 1994. The origin of adversative passives. *BLS* 20:113-24.

Clark, Marybeth. 1974. Submissive verbs as adversatives in some Asian languages. *South-East Asian linguistic Studies*, ed. by Nguyễn Đăng Liêm. Canberra: The Australian National University. 89-110.

Cole, Peter. 1975. The synchronic and diachronic status of conversational implicature. *Speech acts* (Syntax and semantics Vol. 3), ed. by Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan. New York: Academic Press. 257-88.

Collins, Peter. 1996. *Get*-passives in English. *World Englishes* 15:43-56.

Corne, Chris. 1977. "Get V-ed" in Indian Ocean Creole. *Journal of Creole studies*

2:219-35.

Dąbrowska, Ewa. 1997. *Cognitive semantics and the Polish dative*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Davies, William D. 1993. Javanese adversatives, the 1-advancement exclusiveness law and mapping theory. *BLS* 19:101-11.

_____. 1995. Javanese adversatives, passives and mapping theory. *Journal of linguistics* 31:15-51.

Davison, Alice. 1980. Peculiar passives. *Language* 56:42-66.

Dixon, R. M. W. *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Downing, Angela. 1996. The semantics of get-passives. *Functional descriptions: Theory in practice*. ed. by Ruqaiya Hasan, Carmel Cloran, and David Butt. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 179-205.

Draye, Luk. 1996. The German dative. *The Dative. Vol. 1, Descriptive studies*, ed. by William Van Belle and Willy Van Langendonck. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 155-215.

Eda, Sumire. 1983. *Te-yaru, te-kureru, te-morau to taigo no hyôgen: hâi no yôhō ni chûmoku shite*. *Nihongo kyôiku* 49:119-132.

- Fagerli, Ole Torfinn. 2000. Malefactive by means of GIVE. *A cognitive approach to the verb: Morphological and constructional perspective*, ed. By Hanne Gram Simonsen and Rolf Theil Endresen. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 203-22.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1968. The case for case. *Universals in linguistics theory*, ed. by Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1-88.
- Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. 1984. *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, Karl J. 1971. *A grammar of Kewa, New Guinea*. Pacific linguistics C, 16. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Frawley, William. 1992. *Linguistic semantics*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Geis, Michael L., and Arnold M. Zwicky. 1971. On invited inferences. *Linguistic inquiry* 11: 561-6.
- Geniušienė, Emma. 1987. *The typology of reflexive*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ghomeshi, Jila. 1991. The semantics of the Bengali verb *fela*. *Canadian journal of linguistics* 36:337-61.
- Givón, T, and Lynne Yang. 1994. The rise of the English get-passive. *Voice: Form and function*, ed. by Barbara Fox and Paul J. Hopper. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

119-49.

Goddard, Cliff, and Anna Wierzbicka, eds. 1994. *Semantic and lexical universals: Theory and empirical findings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: A construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gronemeyer, Claire. 1999. On deriving complex polysemy: The grammaticalization of *get*. *English language and linguistics* 3.1:1-39.

Hasegawa, Yoko. 1996. *A study of Japanese clause linkage: The connective TE in Japanese*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

_____. 1998. Linguistic systems and social models: A case study of Japanese. *BLS* 24:117-28.

Hashimoto, Mantaro J. 1988. The structure and typology of the Chinese passive construction. *Passive and voice*, ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 329-54.

Hashimoto, Yoshiaki. 2001. Juju hyôgen no goyôron. *Gengo* 30:46-51.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. The grammaticalization of passive morphology. *Studies in language* 14:25-72.

Hatcher, Anna Granville. 1949. To be/get invited. *Modern language notes* 64.7:433-46.

- Hidaka, Mizuho. 1997. Systematic change of benefactive verbs in some Eastern dialects of Japan. *Kokugogaku* 190:24-38.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, eds. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Howard, Irwin, and A. M. Niyekawa-Howard. 1976. Passivization. *Japanese generative grammar, Syntax and semantics* 5, ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani. New York: Academic Press. 201-37.
- Ishihara, Yoshito. 1991. Hyôgen naiyô o jûshishita bunkei no teishutsu junjo: *Te morau* hyôgen o megutte. *Nihongokyôiku* 74:86-97.
- Jacobsen, W. M. 1991. *The transitive structure of events in Japanese*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers.
- Janda, Laura A. 1993. *A geography of case semantics: The Czech dative and the Russian instrumental*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jung, Woo-Hyon. 1998. A contrastive discourse analysis of passives in English and Korean. *Papers and studies in contrastive linguistics* 34:187-98.
- Kageyama, Taro. 1998. Nihongo to eigo. *Atarashii nihongo kenkyû o manabu hitotachi no tameni*, ed. by Fumio Tamamura. Tokyo: Sekaishisôsha.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1985. Passive in the world's languages. *Language typology and*

- syntactic description*, ed. by Timothy Shopen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 243-81.
- Kemmer, Suzanne. 1988. *Middle voice systems in typological and diachronic perspective*. Stanford dissertation.
- _____. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kimball, John P. 1973. Get. *Syntax and semantics, Vol. 2*. ed. by John P. Kimball. New York: Seminar Press. 205-15.
- Kirsner, Robert S. 1977. On the passive of sensory verb complement sentences. *Linguistic inquiry* 8.1:173-9.
- Klaiman, M. H. 1987. Aktionsart, semantics, and function in the Japanese “passive”. *Studies in language* 11.2:401-34.
- Kogawa, Toshio. 1995. Juju dôshi *kururu yaru* no shiteki hensen. *Hiroshima daigaku kyoiku gakubu kiyo* 44: 193-200.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- _____. 1983. *Shin nihon bûnpô kenkyû*. Tokyo: Taishûkan.
- _____. 1987. *Functional syntax: Anaphora, discourse and empathy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuroda, Shige-Yuki. 1965. *Generative grammatical studies in the Japanese language*.

MIT dissertation.

_____. 1979. On Japanese passives. *Explorations in linguistics: Papers in honor of Kazuko Inoue*, ed. by G. Bedell, E. Kobayashi, and M. Muraki. Tokyo: Kenkyûsha.

_____. 1985. Ukemi ni tsuite no Kuno setsu o kaishakusuru. *Nihongogaku* 4:69-76.

Lakoff, George. 1977. Linguistic gestalts. *CLS* 13:236-87.

_____. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor. *Metaphor and thought*, 2nd edn., ed.

by Andrew Ortony. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, Robin. Passive resistance. *CLS* 7:149-62.

Lee, Chung-Min. 1974. *Abstract syntax and Korean with reference to English*. Seoul: Pan Korea.

Lee, Keedong. 1993. *A Korean grammar on semantic-pragmatic principle*. Seoul: Hangeuk Moon Hwasa.

Li, Charles N., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1974. Co-verb in Mandarin Chinese: Verbs or prepositions? *Journal of Chinese linguistics* 2:257-78.

Li, Fengxiang. 1991. An examination of causative morphology from a cross-linguistic and diachronic perspective. *CLS* 27:344-59.

Liêm, Nguyễn Đăng. 1969. *Vietnamese grammar: A combined tagmemic and transformational approach*, Pacific linguistics, series C. No. 4. Canberra: The

Australian National University.

Lord, Carol. 1993. *Historical change in serial verb constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Maeda, Tomiyoshi. 2001. *Ageru kureru seiritsu no nazo: yaru kudasaru nado to no kakawari de*. *Gengo* 30:34-40.

Makino, Seiichi and Michio Tsutusi. 1986. *A dictionary of basic Japanese grammar*. Tokyo: The Japan Times.

Malchukov, Andrej L. 1993. The syntax and semantics of adversative constructions in Even. *Gengo kenkyû* 103:1-36.

Maldonado, Ricardo. 1988. Energetic reflexives in Spanish. *BLS* 14:153-65.

Masica, Colin. 1976. *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Masuoka, Takashi. 1981. Semantics of the benefactive constructions in Japanese. *Descriptive and applied linguistics* 14:67-78.

Matisoff, James A. 1973. *The grammar of Lahu*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____. 1991. Areal and universal dimensions of grammaticalization in Lahu. *Approaches to grammaticalization*, ed. by Elizabeth Traugott and Bernd Heine. Amsterdam: John

- Benjamins. 383-453.
- Matsumura, Kazuto, and Tooru Hayasi, eds. 1997. *The dative and related phenomena*.
Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
- Matsushita, Daizaburo. 1930. *Hyôjun nihon kôgo hô*. Tokyo; Chûbunkan Shoten.
- McCawley, Noriko Akatsuka. 1972. On the treatment of Japanese passives. *CLS*
8:259-70.
- Menn, Lise. 1972. On me. *Linguistic inquiry* 3:228-33.
- Miyake, Tomohiro. 1996. On benefactive constructions in Japanese. *Kokugogaku*
186:104-91.
- Morimura, Shigeru. 1992. Indonesiago ni mirareru kansetu judôteki hyôgen. *Journal of*
Osaka university of foreign studies, New series 8:19-30.
- Moriyama, Takuro. 1988. *Nihongo dôshi jutsugobun no kenkyû*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Nagano, Yasuhito. 1983. *A historical study of the rGyarong verb system*. UC Berkeley
dissertation.
- Newman, John. 1996. *Give: A cognitive linguistic study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Niedzielski, Henry. 1979. Lexical realization of benefactive and beneficiary in Polish and
English. *Papers and studies in contrastive linguistics* 9:165-80.
- _____. 1981. Lexical realizations of benefactive and beneficiary in English and French.

Review of applied linguistics 53:37-52.

Nishimura, Yoshiki. 1993. Agentivity in cognitive grammar. *Conceptualization and mental processing in language*, ed by R. A. Geiger and B. Rudzka-Ostyn. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 487-530.

_____. 1997. Agentivity and causation in cognitive linguistics. *The locus of meaning*, ed by K. Yamanaka and T. Ohori. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers. 277-92.

Nishio, Hiroko. *Multiple nominative and adversity constructions in Japanese*. University of Arizona dissertation.

Nitta, Yoshio. 1991. Boisuteki hyôgen to jikoseigyosei. *Nihongo no boisu to tadôsei*, ed. by Nitta Yoshio. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers. 31-57.

Noss, Richard B. 1964. *Thai reference grammar*. Washington DC: U.S. Foreign Service Institute.

Ochs, Elinor, and Bambi Schieffelin. 1989. Language has a heart. *Text* 7:7-25.

Oehrle, Richard T., and Hiroko Nishio. 1981. Adversity. *Coyote papers: Working papers in linguistics from A → Z* 2:163-85.

Ogawa, Akio. 1997. On the syntax and semantics of the German dative. *The dative and related phenomena*, ed. by Kazuto Matsumura and Tooru Hayasi. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo. 1-30.

- Okell, John. 1969. *A reference grammar of colloquial Burmese*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Okutsu, Keiichiro, and Xu Chang-Hua. 1982. *-Te morau* in Japanese and its corresponding expressions in Chinese. *Nihongo kyôiku* 46:92-104.
- Ono, Tsuyoshi, and Ryoko Suzuki. 1992. The development of a marker of speaker's attitude: The pragmatic use of the Japanese grammaticized verb shimau in conversation. *BLS* 18:204-13.
- Pardeshi, Prashant. 1998. A contrastive study of benefactive constructions in Japanese and Marathi. *Sekai no nihongo kyôiku* 8:141-65.
- _____. 2001a. Vector verbs in South Asian languages: where do they come from and what they do? *Paper presented at 21st South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable held at Konstanz University*.
- _____. 2001b. Taking of the veil of the janus-faced 'take': the story of 'take' as a vector in Indic languages. *Proceeding of the 123rd meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan held at Kyûshû University*. 92-7.
- Park, Jeong-Woon. 1994. *Morphological causatives in Korean: Problems in grammatical polysemy and constructional relations*. UC Berkeley dissertation.
- Pederson, Eric. 1991. *Subtle semantics: Universals in the polysemy of reflexive and*

causative constructions. UC Berkeley dissertation.

Peterson, David. 1998. The morphosyntax of transitivization in Lai (Haka Chin).

Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area 21.1:87-153.

Poppe, Nicholas. 1954. *Grammar of written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Purwo, Bambang Kaswanti. 1997. The direct object in bi-transitive clauses in Indonesian.

Grammatical Relations: A functionalist perspective, ed. by T. Givón. Amsterdam:

John Benjamins.

Radetzky, Paula Kadose, and Tomoko Yamashita Smith. 1997. A unified account of the

Japanese causative, moraw-benefactive, and passive constructions. *BLS* 23

Rudzka-Ostyn, Brygida. 1996. The Polish dative. *The Dative. Vol. 1, Descriptive studies*,

ed. by William Van Belle and Willy Willy Van Langendonck. Amsterdam: John

Benjamins. 341-94.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions: A prototype analysis.

Language 61:821-48.

_____. 1990. *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1994a. Benefactive constructions: A Japanese-Korean comparative perspective.

Japanese-Korean linguistics 4:39-74.

_____. 1994b. An integrational approach to possessor raising, ethical datives, and

- adversative passives. *BLS* 20:461-85.
- _____. 1996. Applicatives and benefactives: A cognitive account. *Grammatical constructions: Their form and meaning*, ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani and Sandra Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 157-94.
- _____. 1997. Gengo no kinô to kôzo to ruikai. *Gengo kenkyû* 112:1-31.
- Siewierska, Anna. 1984. *The passive: A comparative linguistic analysis*. London: Croom Helm.
- Smith, Tomoko Yamashita. 1998a. The middle voice in Lai. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area* 21.1:1-52.
- _____. 1998b. How 'give' and 'receive' provide structure for more abstract notions: The case of benefactives, adversatives, causatives, and passives. *BLS* 24:219-31.
- Strauss, Susan. 1994. A cross-linguistic analysis of Japanese, Korean, and Spanish: *-te shimau*, *-a/e pelita*, and the 'Romance' reflexive *se*. *Japanese/Korean linguistics, Vol. 4*, ed. by Noriko Akatsuka. Stanford: CSLI Publications. 257-73.
- _____. 1996. Metaphors of 'total enclosure' grammaticizing into middle voice markers. *The construal of space in language and thought*, ed. by Marin Pütz and René Dirven. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 395-416.
- _____. and Sung-Ock Sohn. 1998. Grammaticalization, aspect, and emotion: The case of

- Japanese *-te shimau* and Korean *-a/e pelita*. *Japanese/Korean linguistics* 8, ed. by David James Silva. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 217-30.
- Stubbs, Michael. 2001. *Words and phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Suzuki, Tomomi. 1998. The meaning of the Japanese auxiliary verb *shimau*. *Nihongo kyôiku* 97:48-59.
- _____. 1999. Language socialization through morphology: The affective suffix *-CHAU* in Japanese. *Journal of pragmatics* 31:1423-41.
- Syeed, Sayyid M. 1985. *Morphological causatives and the problems of the transformational approach*. transformational approach. Bloomington: Indiana university linguistics club.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a cognitive semantics. Vol. 1, Concept structuring systems*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Tanaka, Mari. 1991. Indoneshiago o bogo to suru gakushôsha no sakubun ni arawareru ukemi ni tsuite no kôsetsu. *Nihongo kyôiku* 74:109-21.
- _____. 2001. desukôsu to nihongo kyôiku. *Ninchibunron*, ed. by Yôichi Hirasawa. Tokyo: Ôfû. 183-229.
- Tanaka, Yuji. 1997. Nihongo judôbun no higaisei ni tsuite. *Proceedings of the 115th*

meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan. 59-64.

Teramura, Hideo. 1982. *Nihongo no shintakusu to imi, 1.* Tokyo: Kuroshio shuppan.

Thompson, Laurence C. 1965. *A Vietnamese grammar.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Tiee, Henry Hung-Yeh. 1986. *A reference grammar of Chinese sentences with exercises.* Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.

Tokunaga, Misato. 1986. *Affective deixis in Japanese: A case study of directional verbs.* University of Michigan dissertation.

_____. 1992. Dichotomy in the structures of honorifics of Japanese. *Pragmatics* 2.2:127-40.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65:31-55.

Tsuboi, Eijiro. 1977. Cognitive models in transitive construal in the Japanese adversative passive. *Constructions in cognitive linguistics.* Selected papers from the fifth international cognitive linguistics conference, ed. by As Foolen and Frederike Van Der Leek. 283-300.

Ullman, S. 1962. Change of meaning. *Semantics: An introduction to the science of meaning*, ed. by Stephen Ullmann. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Van Belle, William, and Willy Van Langendonck, eds. 1996. *The Dative. Vol. 1, Descriptive studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Van Hoecke, Willy. The Latin dative. *The Dative. Vol. 1, Descriptive studies*, ed. by William Van Belle and Willy Willy Van Langendonck. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 155-215.
- Van Langendonck, Willy, and William Van Belle, eds. 1998. *The Dative. Vol. 2, Theoretical and contrastive studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Washio, Ryuichi. 1993. When causatives mean passive: A cross-linguistic perspective. *Journal of East Asian linguistics* 2:45-90.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1979. Are grammatical categories vague or polysemous? The Japanese 'adversative' passive in a typological context. *Papers in linguistics* 12:111-62.
- _____. 1988. *The semantics of grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yamada, Toshihiro 1996. Some universal features of benefactive constructions. *Nihongakuhô* 15:27-45.
- _____. 1999. On the causativity of temorau construction. *Handai Nihongo Kenkyû* 11:37-57.
- _____. 2001. Nihongo ni okeru benefakutebu no kijutsuteki kenkyû. *Nihongogaku* 20.1:84-93.

- Yamamoto, Yûko. 2001. *Te kureru no kinô ni tsuite: taijin chôsetsu teki na kinô ni chûmoku shite. Kotoba to bunka* 3:127-44.
- _____. 2002. *Te morau no kinô ni tsuite: te kureru to taihi shite. Nagoya joshi daigaku kiyô* 48:263-76.
- Yarapea, Apoi. 1993. Kewapi verbal morphology and semantics. *Language and linguistics in Melanesia* 24:95-110.
- Yim, Boki. *A contextual analysis of the get-passive in spoken American English*. UCLA MA thesis.
- Yoshida, Eri. 1994. Speaker's subjectivity and the use of shimau in Japanese spoken narratives. *Japanese/Korean linguistics 4*, ed. by Noriko Akatsuka. Stanford: CSLI. 183-99.
- _____. 1996. *A discourse study of passives in Japanese conversation*. UCLA dissertation.
- Yuasa, Akiko. 2000. A study on passive voice, comparing Japanese with Indonesian: Whether "daisansha no ukemi" should be marked. *Proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual meeting of Kansai Linguistic Society*. 12-22.

Appendix: Languages surveyed

The following list does not include all the languages cited from Kemmer (1993) for middle uses.

INDO-EUROPEAN

English, German, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, Czech, Lithuanian, Hindi, Kashmiri, Sinhala, Marathi

CAUCASIAN

Georgian

AFRO-ASIATIC

Arabic, Hebrew

NIGER-CONGO

Yoruba, Ewe, Akan, Fon, Nupe, Tsonga, Senufo, Fula, Twi

DRAVIDIAN

Tamil

ALTAIC

Mongolian, Even

SINO-TIBETAN

Mandarin, Lahu, Burmese, Lai, rGyarong, Newari

TAI

Thai, Lao

AUSTRO-ASIATIC

Vietnamese, Cambodian

AUSTRONESIAN

Indonesian

INDO-PACIFIC

Kewapi (the eastern dialect of the Kewa language)

AUSTRALIAN

Dyirbal

ISOLATED

Japanese, Korean

CREOLES

Saramaccan (West African), Seychelles (Indian Ocean)