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## **The Conception of Affectedness in English**

英語における Affectedness の概念

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## Abstract

Gropen et. al (1991) point out that speakers are not confined to labeling moving entities as “themes” or “patients” and linking them to the grammatical object; when a stationary entity undergoes a state change as the result of a motion, it can be represented as the main affected argument and thereby linked to the grammatical object instead. Furthermore they researched on affectedness and regards it as being caused to change. However, there are not a few passives in which it is not clear how the patient is affected, so further research on affectedness is needed. Furthermore, the conception of affectedness is difficult to understand for learners of English as a foreign language, which makes it difficult for the Japanese English learners to learn the English. For example, when they are supposed to say, *Mike helped her with her homework*, even good students are more likely to map *her homework* than *her* onto grammatical object. It seems that to grasp the verbs’ meaning in terms of affectedness facilitates practical English learning more than to grasp the verb’s meanings through translation.

The purpose of this research is to classify *affectedness* according to type, to establish the definition of *affectedness*, to clarify its conceptual structure and to show how the meaning of affectedness is extended from its prototypical meaning to peripheral meanings. As a research method for that, based on the hypotheses of Bolinger and Riddle et. al and others, and on the premise that the derived subject NP in Passive is necessarily affected or caused to change in some way, various examples are analyzed as to how the derived subject NP has changed or how people recognize the change and the principles behind it were searched for. Moreover to understand the characteristics of patient, based on Dowty’s preliminary lists of entailments that characterize the Patient Proto-Role, the derived subject NPs were analyzed as to what properties they contain. As a result, various types of affectedness were observed: roughly physical change and cognitive change. How does

cognitive change takes place? I show that the marked construction *pseudo-passive* enables the non-subject argument to be boosted to the main affected argument, which creates something new conventionally or conversationally, and therefore people recognize that the derived subject NP has been caused to change because of newly created information.

## Contents

<b>Chapter 1.</b> Introduction	1
<b>Chapter 2.</b> Method	6
2.1 Bolinger's (1974) Hypothesis	6
2.2 The Implied Quality Predication Hypothesis (IQPH) of Cureton (1979)	7
2.3 Riddle, Sheintouch and Ziv (1977)	7
2.4 Dowty (1991)	10
<b>Chapter 3.</b> Result and discussion	13
3.1 Affectedness as conceived by Gropen et. al	13
3.2 Information produced through the event	13
3.3 The meaning extension of affectedness	14
3.3.1 Location construed as a property	17
3.3.2 Perception emergence	19
3.3.3 Adjacency	25
3.4 Psychological change	27
3.4.1 Psychological damage by inference	27
3.4.2 Social responsibility	29
3.4.3 Psychological positive change by inference	30
3.5 Quality	30
3.5.1 Information by inference	31
3.5.2 Aura	34
3.5.3 Purpose	35

3.5.4	Possibility	36
3.5.5	Standard / Necessity	37
3.6	Adhesive materials / Dirt / Traces	38
3.6.0	Physical damage	40
3.7	Physical completion	40
3.7.0	Abstract completion	41
3.8	The difference in patienthood between true patient and not true patient	44
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>47</b>
References		51

## Introduction

Pinker (1989) states that there is a linking rule that always maps the argument signifying the causally affected entity onto the grammatical function of object (direct internal argument). Furthermore Gropen et. al (1991) points out that speakers are not confined to labeling moving entities as “themes” or “patients” and linking them to the grammatical object; when a stationary entity undergoes a state change as the result of a motion, it can be represented as the main affected argument and thereby linked to the grammatical object instead.

(1) a. Mike filled the glass with water. (Gropen et. al: 116)

b. \*Mike filled water into the glass.

(2) a. Betty poured water into the glass. (Gropen et. al: 116)

b. \*Betty poured the glass with water.

(3) a. Irv loaded hay onto the wagon. (Pinker 1989: 49)

b. Irv loaded wagon with hay.

For example, (1) and (2) describe the same situation but have two events: a location change of *water* and a state change of *glass*. The difference is that in (1) the state change of *glass* is foregrounded and in (2) the location change of *water* is foregrounded; in short in (1) *glass* is affected and in (2) *water* is affected. In contrast, *load* in (3) takes both hay and truck as a direct object, therefore, it is supposed that it can foreground both of them. Thus, Gropen et. al (1991: 154) state: Speakers are not confined to labeling moving entities as “theme” or “patient” and linking them to the grammatical object; when a stationary entity undergoes a state change as the result of a motion, it can be represented as the main affected argument and thereby linked to the grammatical object instead. In addition, Gropen et. al (1991) introduce that all locative verbs conform to a single principle governing the linking of semantic

arguments to grammatical functions, which they call “the Object Affectedness Linking Rule”: an argument is encodable as the direct object of a verb if its referent is specified as being affected in a specific way in the semantic representation of the verb. Furthermore, the principle can be seen to apply to constructions other than locative forms across languages. Verbs of causation of change of position (e.g. causative *slide*) or state (e.g. causative *slide, melt*), or verbs of ingestion (e.g. *eat*), are almost invariably transitive across languages, with patients as direct objects. In contrast, verbs that fall outside this broad semantic class show more variation within and across languages. As for verbs of emotion (*fear* vs. *frighten*) with argument appearing as direct object and verbs of perception (*see* vs. *look at*) or verbs of physical contact without a change in the contacted surface (*hit* vs. *hit at*) with non-agentive argument appearing as prepositional objects, we cannot say whether the arguments are affected or not (see Hopper & Thompson, 1980; Levin, 1985; and Talmy, 1985).

Now let us examine verbs of perception briefly.

(4) Even a causal passerby can see the old wallpaper through the paint. (Talmy 2000: 116)

Talmy (2000: 116) indicates that among the nonagentive vision verbs in English, *see* is lexicalized to take the Experiencer as subject and the Experienced as direct object, thereby promoting the interpretation of the Experiencer as Source. In other words, it is supposed that a Probe that the Experiencer emits reaches the Experienced. However, there are some difference among passive sentences.

(5) a. Do you see that table? (Bolinger 1977a: 75)

b. \*Is that table seen by you?

c. Was that table seen by you? (Bolinger 1977a: 75)

Bolinger (1977a: 75) argues that we easily metaphorize *see* and related verbs to the

sense of *perceive* and events in the past are readily reported. In fact, there are many passive examples including *see* or *hear*. A further application of this is discussed in the following chapter.

- (6) Suddenly on the road at the top of the high ground, artillery and troops in blue uniform were seen. These were the French. (War and Peace: 240)
- (7) On the French side, amid the groups with cannon, a cloud of smoke appeared, then a second and a third almost simultaneously, and at the moment when the first report was heard a fourth was seen. (War and Peace: 247)
- (8) Prince Andrew moved toward the door from whence voices were heard. (War and Peace: 283)
- (9) The feeling, "It has begun! Here it is!" was seen even on Prince Bagration's hard brown face with its half-closed, dull, sleepy eyes. (War and Peace: 303)
- (10) As he was leaving the battery, firing was heard on the left also, and as it was too far to the left flank for him to have time to go there himself, (War and Peace: 307)

In addition to this, there are differences as follows.

- (11) a. The two witnesses saw the man, and promptly testified. (Bolinger : 7)  
b. The man was seen by the two witnesses, who promptly testified.
- (12) a. The two boys saw the man, and promptly ran away.  
b. ?The man was seen by the two boys, who promptly ran away.

Conceptually, the witnesses' seeing the man affects the man; the boys' seeing the man affects the boys. An issue on passivization occurs not by a fact of grammar but by the great semantic range of that verb. (Bolinger 1977a: 76) It seems that whether a sentence can be passivized or not depends on cognitive issues. *See* itself has various meanings, therefore at times passivized and at other times not passivized. We



sometimes cannot understand why such phenomena happen. But in fact, they are based on a cognitive criterion.

Additionally, Pinker (1989: 91) describes the thematic core for the passive construction as follows: *X* is in the circumstance characterized by *Y*s acting on it (more generally, the circumstance for which *Y* is responsible; for now let me use the term “agent” to refer to this general sense of causal efficacy and “patient” to refer to the entity that it affects or defines the state of). From this, it is construed that a patient affected by an agent is mapped onto subject of the passive.

Among the passive including verbs of perception previously described, there are not a few sentences about which we don't understand how the patient is affected. Especially, the passives in which the subject is not physically affected, for instance pseudo-passives or passives treating space relations, are difficult to understand.

(13) The house has been lived in by several famous personages. (Bolinger 1974: 68)

(14) The winter is slept through by a good portion of the animal kingdom. (Cureton 1979: 46)

(15) The cake was topped by one lone cherry. (Bolinger 1974: 72)

There are some kinds of effects that we can not grasp easily: in (13) what kind of effect the house gets if it has been lived by several famous personages, in (14) what kind of effect the winter gets if it is slept through by a good portion of the animal kingdom, and in (15) what kind of effect the cake gets if it is topped by one lone cherry.

Moreover, the conception of affectedness is difficult to understand for learners of English as a foreign language. But to make it clear will help the learners to acquire the English. For example, *rob* or *steal*, which mean the same “taking away” and describe the same situation, are different in terms of affectedness. When Japanese Junior High School students are supposed to say, *I helped him with his homework*, even

good students are more likely to map *her homework* than *her* onto grammatical object. Why does this happen? It seems that the semantic structure of English verbs is different from that of Japanese verbs, so to grasp the verbs' meanings in terms of affectedness facilitates practical English learning more than to grasp the verb's meanings through translation.

Although we find the expression *affected* in a lot of articles, the study about *affectedness* itself has not been done sufficiently. The purpose of this research is to classify *affectedness* according to type, to establish a definition of a conception of *affectedness*, to clarify the conceptual structure or to show how the meaning of affectedness is extended.

According to the dominant cognitive linguistic view, word meaning is extended from prototypical to peripheral meanings. Assuming that the conceptual structure of *affectedness* applies to this idea, how the meaning of affectedness is extended from its prototypical meaning to peripheral meanings is examined.

This paper is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, a research method and the hypotheses of Bolinger and Riddle et. al and others are presented. Furthermore in order to understand the feature of patient in passive, the preliminary lists of entailments that characterize two role types: P-AGENT and P-PATIENT by Dowty (1991) is introduced. In Chapter 3, various examples are analyzed as to how the derived subject NP has changed or how people recognize the change and they were classified according to the type. Chapter 4 concludes my suggestion in this paper.

## Chapter 2.

### Method

In this research, based on the hypotheses of Bolinger and Riddle et. al and others, and on the premise that the derived subject NP in Passive is necessarily affected or caused to change in some way, various examples are analyzed as to how the derived subject NP has changed or how people recognize the change and the principles behind it were searched for. For example, pseudo-passive or the passive treating space relation or the passive of verbs of judging and knowing are analyzed and classified according to the way the derived subject NP are affected. When analyzing them, the following theories were used.

#### 2.1 Bolinger's (1974) Hypothesis

Bolinger (1974: 67) proposes the hypothesis as follows. The subject in a passive construction is conceived to be true patient, i.e., to be genuinely affected by the action of the verb. If the grammatical object in the active construction is not conceived as a true patient, there will be no corresponding passive. The verbs may be simple or complex, and among the latter of course are prepositional verbs.

(16) a. The train approach me. (Bolinger 1974: 68)

b. \*I was approached by the train.

(17) a. Generations of lovers have walked under this bridge. (Bolinger 1974: 69)

b. This bridge has been walked under by generation of lovers.

The broad-range rule of passivization applies productively to all and only transitive verbs that have agents and patients. (cf. Pinker 1989: 136) *Approach* in (16a) is transitive, but (16b) is not well-formed, as a result *I* is a patient but not affected. *Walked* in (17a) is intransitive with a preposition, but (17b) is accepted, as a result *this*

*bridge* is truly affected. Bolinger hypothesized that if the entity is a true patient, passivization is possible regardless of the verbs' simple or complex.

## 2.2 The Implied Quality Predication Hypothesis (IQPH) by Cureton (1979)

An active sentence has a Passive counterpart in English if and only if from the various propositions expressed by the active sentence a listener, in the normal case, can infer another pragmatically significant proposition which predicates a quality of the object NP of that sentence.

(18) a. John wants that bike. (Cureton 1979: 42)

b. \*That bike is wanted by John.

(19) a. The police want Tom for murder.

b. Tom is wanted by the police for murder.

In (18b), we know that that bike is the thing which John wants, but we don't know about the quality of the bike; we cannot infer any pragmatically significant proposition which predicates a quality of that bike. Tom says, "I want this. I want that." He can say "I want that bike" whimsically, so *want* in (18b) describes Tom's personal desire. In contrast, in (19b) we can infer pragmatically significant propositions: Tom killed someone, so he is wanted by the police, which is significant information about Tom's quality. Thus, Cureton states that only when can we infer another pragmatically significant proposition which predicates a quality of the object NP of that sentence, a sentence can be passivized.

## 2.3 Riddle, Sheintuch and Ziv (1977)

The non-locative function of the prepositional phrase is similar to that of the experience-type direct object, whose referent is generally affected in some way by the

activity denoted by the verb.

(20) a. Ann has lived in the U.S.

b. \*The U.S. has been lived in by Ann.

(21) a. Napoleon has slept in this bed.

b. This bed has been slept in by Napoleon.

(22) Napoleon bought this bed.

In (20b), since *the U.S.* is recognized as just a location, it cannot be passivized. But in (21b), the non-locative function of *in this bed* is similar to the function of the experience-type-direct object like *this bed* in (22), so it can be passivized. What is experience-type-direct object? In (22), that *Napoleon bought this bed* means that ownership moves to Napoleon, therefore *this bed* is generally affected in some way by the activity denoted by the verb. On the other hand, *this bed* in (21b) has a special prominence because it is a historically important thing that Napoleon slept in this bed. As a result, *this bed* in (21b) has a function similar to experience-type direct object as *this bed* in (22). By contrast, pseudo-passive conveys that the sentence designates the “experiencer” of the effect of the activity denoted by the verb (cf. Riddle et. al 1977: 150).

Examples treated by this paper are chosen from various articles and from *Google*, and analyzed according to these theories. We can search the Internet to see examples as follows.

Orwell, George. *1984*

<http://www.online-literature.com/booksearch.php>

Carol Lewis. *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/carroll-lewis/alices-adventures-in-wonderland/>

Orwell, George. *Animal Farm*

<http://www.online-literature.com/orwell/animalfarm/>

Montgomery, Lucy Maud. *Anne of Avonlea*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/montgomery-lucy-maud/anne-of-avonlea/>

Montgomery, Lucy Maud. *Anne of Green Gables*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/montgomery-lucy-maud/anne-of-green-gables/>

London, Jack. *Call the wild*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/london-jack/the-call-of-the-wild/>

Stoker, Stoker. *Dracula*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/stoker-bram/dracula/>

Lawrence, D.H. *England, My England*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/lawrence-david-herbert/england-my-england/>

Shelley, Mary. *Frankenstein*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/shelley-mary/frankenstein/>

Dickens, Charles. *Great Expectations*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/dickens-charles/great-expectations/>

Alcott, Louisa May. *Little Women*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/alcott-louisa-may/little-women/>

Tolstoy, Leo. *Master and Man*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/tolstoy-leo/master-and-man/>

Lawrence, D.H. *Sons and Lovers*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/lawrence-david-herbert/sons-and-lovers/>

Twain, Mark. *The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/twain-mark/huckleberry/>

Collins, Wilkie. *The Haunted Hotel*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/collins-wilkie/the-haunted-hotel/>

Dickens, Charles. *The Origin of Species*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/darwin-charles/the-origin-of-species/>

Crane, Stephen. *The Red Badge of Courage*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/crane-stephen/the-red-badge-of-courage/>

Lawrence, D.H. *The Woman Who Rode Away*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/lawrence-david-herbert/the-woman-who-rode-away-and-other-stories/>

Tolstoy, Leo. *War and Peace*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/tolstoy-leo/war-and-peace/>

Bronte, Emily. *Wuthering Heights*

<http://www.lietrature.org/authours/bronte-emily/wuthering-heights/>

## 2.4 Dowty (1991)

### (23) Contributing properties for the Agent Proto-Role

- a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)
- c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
- d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)

### (24) Contributing properties for the Patient Proto-Role

- a. undergoes change of state  
ex) John made a mistake. / John moved the rock.
- b. incremental theme  
ex) John filled the glass with water. / John crossed the driveway.
- c. causally affected by another participant  
ex) Smoking causes cancer. / Teenage unemployment causes delinquency.

d. stationary relative to movement of another participant

ex) The bullet entered the target. / The bullet overtook the arrow.

(e. does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

ex) John built a house. / John erased an error.

To understand the features of patient in passive, the Dowty(1991)'s list, which brings the features concerning patient together is used. Dowty suggests that we can see that we really need only two role types to describe argument selection efficiently: PROTO-AGENT and PROTO-PATIENT. These two concepts have individually five features. However, here we will mainly limit to the explanation of Proto-patient.

#### **a. undergo change of state**

This means that the object has change of state or change of location and under this change of state, Dowty intend to include coming into existence, going out of existence, and both definite and indefinite change of state.

#### **b. incremental theme**

This means that the theme and the event are in the relation of 'homomorphism'. For example, in *John filled the glass with water* the glass is incremental theme; if there is no water in the glass, the event has not started, if the glass is filled with water halfway, the event is also halfway, and if the glass is full of water, then the event is finished. Thus, incremental theme can decide the aspect of the event.

As for the next three entailments, 24c–e, are converses of Proto-Agentive entailments 23c–e: if a verb has one of the first type for one argument, it necessarily has the corresponding one of the second type for another.

#### **c. causally affected by another participant**



Patient in (24c) has an entailment that is the converse of Proto-Agentive entailment in (23c). Causation is almost always accompanied by movement, but stative causatives and perhaps generic causatives (23c) would fill this slot. Movement is apparently an agent property only when not caused by another participant in the event named by the verb (*John threw the ball*), not when or interrupted (*John caught the ball*); in this sense, causation has priority over movement for distinguishing agents from patients.

**d. stationary relative to movement of another participant**

Patient in *d* has a property that it is stationary compared to the other participants.

**(e. does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)**

Dowty puts properties (23e) and (24e), which Keenan (1976, 1984) includes, in parentheses, because he is not sure to what extent they should be attributed to the discourse associations of subjecthood mentioned earlier.

Furthermore, Dowty proposes a principle: ARGUMENT SELECTION PRINCIPLE:

In predicates with grammatical subject and object, the argument for which the predicate entails the greatest number of Proto-Agent properties will be lexicalized as the subject of the predicate; the argument having the greatest number of Proto-Patient entailments will be lexicalized as the direct object.

However, Dowty himself suggests that these lists are not necessarily exhaustive or that they could be better partitioned in some other way.

## Chapter 3

### Result and discussion

#### 3.1 Affectedness as conceived by Gropen et. al

Gropen et. al (1991) state in the paper as follows:

The verb's object would be linked not to moving entity but to the argument specified as "affected" or caused to change as the main event in the verb's meaning. The change can either be one of location, resulting from motion in a particular manner, or of state, resulting from accommodating or reacting to a substance.

(1) *fill the glass with water*

(2) *pour water into the glass*

In (1) *fill the glass with water*, according to the meaning of the verb *fill* the state change of *glass* is the "main event" and the location change of *water* is a subsidiary "means" of achieving it. Furthermore, in (2) *pour water into the glass*, the location change of water is the main event. From the above, Gropen et. al regard affectedness as change of state or change of location.

#### 3.2 Information produced through the Event

As mentioned in the opening of this paper, Pinker (1989: 91) describes the thematic core for the passive construction as follows: *X* is in the circumstance characterized by *Y*s acting on it. However, some passives especially pseudo-passive etc., which are supposed not to be passivized, can be passivized. Therefore, in this research, based on the hypotheses of Bolinger and Riddle et. al and others, and on the premise that the derived subject NP in Passive is necessarily affected or caused to change in some way, various examples are analyzed as to how the derived subject NP has changed. Furthermore, when English speakers recognize the change is another significant point.

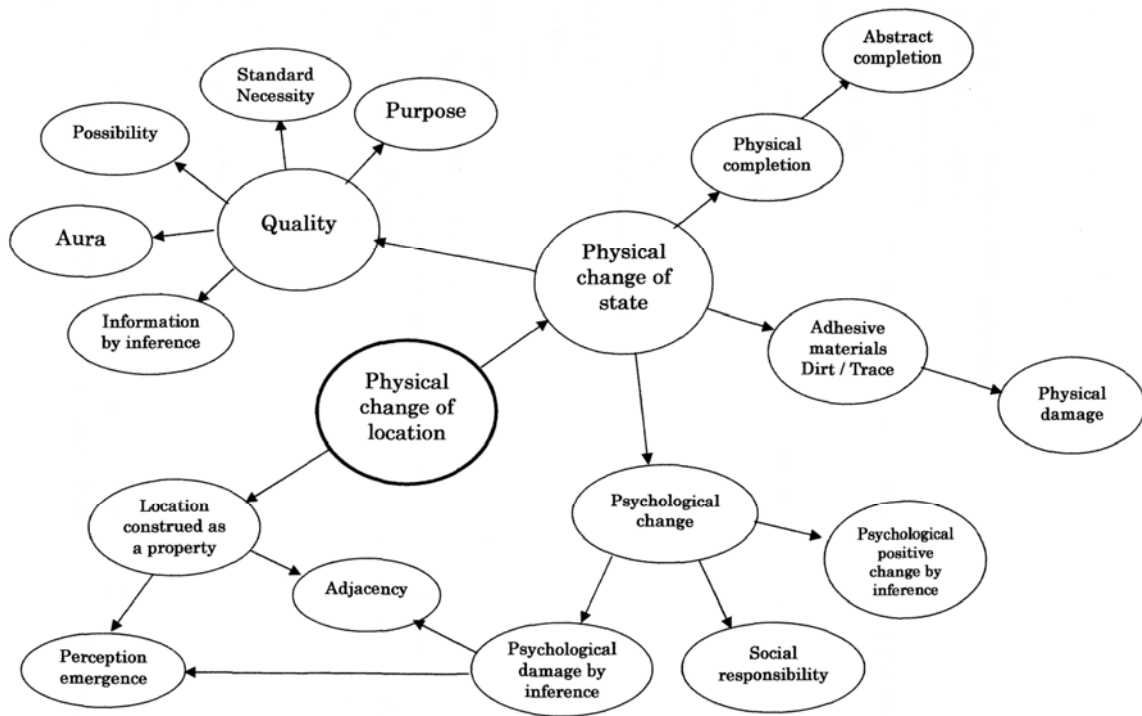
As previously mentioned, Cureton proposes that an active sentence has a Passive counterpart in English, if a listener can infer another pragmatically significant proposition which predicates a quality of the object NP of that sentence.

Why the term ‘produced’ dare to be used here is that when something is produced, it means something’s coming into existence from not existence; this is a kind of change applied to Dowty’s Proto-patient characterization, extending the interpretation of the change to abstract world by a general systematic metaphor (cf. P27). For this reason, something’s coming into existence is included in pragmatically significant proposition.

### **3.3 The meaning extension of affectedness**

As mentioned earlier, according to the dominant cognitive linguistic view, word meaning is extended from prototypical to peripheral meanings. It is natural that assuming that the conceptual structure of *affectedness* applies to this idea, the meaning of affectedness be also extended from prototypical to peripheral meanings. How the meaning of affectedness is extended is shown as follows. The word in each circle designates the information added to the derived subject NP, which has similarities to *pragmatically significant proposition that predicates a quality of the object in IQPH* of Cureton. It is recognized that if the object changes to another one by getting any information then the object becomes a true patient of Bolinger.

## The Meaning Extension of Affectedness



Gropen et. al (1991) state: The verb's object would be linked not to moving entity but to the argument specified as "affected" or caused to change as the main event in the verb's meaning. The change can either be one of location, resulting from motion in a particular manner, or of state, resulting from accommodating or reacting to a substance." However, it is necessary to choose either change as a prototypical meaning of affectedness for the reason as follows.

Levin and Rappaort Hovav (1991: 147) point out the impossibility of having a verb that denotes an event that is both bounded and not bounded in time. This is why result and directions, unlike means or manners, can be used to delimit the time course of an event; namely the notions of result and direction seem to be closely tied to the notion of telicity (boundedness in time).

The conclusion is that a locational change was placed in the center and two kinds of

experiments of Gropen(1991,1991) are given as evidence. In the first experiment, syntactic semantic knowledge of common locative verbs: *pour*, *fill*, *dump*, *empty*, *stuff* and *splash* was examined. Subjects were children from 2 years 6 months to five years 11 months and the undergraduate students and the graduate students of MIT, who were divided into four groups; each group has sixteen. In this experiment, research suggests that a child may be more likely to think that the meaning of *fill* involves pouring than it involves something being made full; likewise that *empty* involves dumping rather than that it involves something being made empty. In addition, the youngest children are more sensitive to the requirement that the container become increasingly full than to the requirement that it ends up completely full.

In the second experiment, which factor is contained in verbs, theme's manner (zig-zagging) or container's endstate (sagging, color change, being plugged with pegs), was examined. Subjects were children from 3 years 4 months to 8 years 6 months and the undergraduate students and the graduate students of MIT, who were divided into four groups; each group has sixteen. There were two patters in operations: figure's zig-zagging without endstate and container's endstate (sagging, color change, being plugged with pegs) without having manner. In a situation (the cloth bent) where endstate was not specified, it was likely that a child map figure on direct object and even in a situation (color change) where endstate was specified, about 20 % mapped figure on direct object, in a situation (being plugged with pegs) where endstate was specified, so did half the number. From the experiments Gropen et.al suggests that children (from 3 to 9) and adults, when faced with a locative verb and no syntactic information about how to use it, show no across-the-board tendency to express the caused-to-move or figure entity as the direct object.

From the above-mentioned, a locational change is placed in the center meaning of

affectedness. From here the discussion how the conception of affectedness is extended starts. From “physical change of location,” “location construed as a property” is derived. “Location construed as a property” has the function that specifies a place, which is the movement from a place not specified to a place specified.

### 3.3.1 Location construed as a property

- (3) The hall was situated on what was called "the lower road." (Anne of Avonlea: 72)
- (4) The Pavlograd Hussars were stationed two miles from Braunau. (War and Peace: 211)
- (5) They thoroughly understand the position in which they are placed; (The Haunted Hotel: 301)

These verbs show that something is there; representing property of the derived subject NP. In addition, in next examples the place can be specified directly from the event that the verb shows.

- (6) The dot is contained in the circle. (Jackendoff 1972)
- (7) a. The hall was so closely surrounded by fir woods that it was invisible unless you were near it. (Anne of Avonlea: 72)
- b. \*The little church was stood in front of by an office building. (Bolinger 1977a: 72)

*Contain and surround* in (6) and (7) denote that the derived subject NP is in some objects. As for *contain*, there is a phenomena that a sentence like \**A present was contained by the package* (Bolinger 1977a: 69) is not well-formed followed by *by* phrase.

However, I do not claim to provide an account here.

Concerning pseudo-passive, examples that show “location construed as a property” cannot be found, so it seems that pseudo-passive does not have the function that specifies a location.

On the other hand, pseudo-passive sentences that denote psychological damage by inference are as follows.

(8) a. I'd rather not be sat in front of at the movies. (Davison: 45)

b. \*The little church was stood in front of by an office building. (Bolinger 1977a: 72)

(9) All at once it seemed to him that he was being fired at. (War and Peace: 453)

(10) a. He was held a stick over. (Bolinger 1977a: 77)

b. \*The ground was held a stick over.

(11) I could not bear to sit upon the coach and be spoken to. (Great Expectations: 453)

In (9), if you were fired at, you would feel a great deal of fear. In (10a) the human patient is being threatened, in (10b) the non-human one merely located. In (11), when the human patient was talked to, he felt unpleasant, so he feels psychological damage. As for (8a), the human patient feels psychological damage, in (8b) the little church is not human as well as the ground in (10b), so it is considered to show “location construed as a property” but not well-formed. How can we explain that *in front of* has no function to show “location construed as a property”?

In passive sentences involving the promotion of NP's out of prepositional phrases, various special properties are ascribed to the referent of the subject NP, particularly the ‘adversely’ or ‘notable’ properties (Davison: 49). Further, Bolinger (1977a: 62) states that one of the factors that determine whether the passive is acceptable or not is predictability of the noun from the verb. Compare the following gradient with reducing predictability:

(12) a. He has been told lies about.

b. ?He has been written lies about.

c. \*He has been published lies about.

The difference in acceptability (12a) to (12c) is due to the frequency of the verb itself: *tell* surpasses *publish*.

In addition, Cureton (1979: 42) suggests that the verb *want* can be passivised only when the meaning of *want* denotes the highly conventionalized purposes reflected in sentence (13b).

(13) a. \*That bike is wanted by John. (Cureton 1979: 42)

b. Tom is wanted by the police for murder.

*Want* in (13a) is used in the sense of ‘a personal desire for’, therefore, the purpose for which you want something is arbitrary. In contrast, *Want* in (13b) is ‘desire for a particular purpose’: we can infer what this purpose is: Tom would commit a crime and is being put on the wanted list by the police.

There is an interrelation between the conventionalized purpose and predictability of the noun from the verb; we can infer the object wanted easily if *want* denote conventionalized purpose as noted above and we can infer the derived subject NP easily if there is a certain predictability of the noun from the verb. It seems that we can get more precise information through the conventionalized purpose and the predictability.

When the preposition *in front of* is used as “location construed as a property,” it is ungrammatical; this is because *in front of* is unsuitable. *In front of* can not be used to localize Figures at a greater distance. It can be used when Figures is relatively adjacent to the Referent Object (Talmy 2000: 198)—that is, the range of *in front of* is very wide, therefore it seems that *in front of* is unsuitable for “location construed as a property.”

### 3.3.2 Perception emergence

From “location construed as a property,” “perception emergence” and “adjacency” are



derived. As mentioned above, we easily metaphorize *see* and related verbs to the sense of perceive and events in the past are readily reported (Bolinger 1977a: 75), therefore expanding the interpretation, capturing the object does not only mean that it comes into view but also mean that we realize what it is. The following are the examples.

- (14) Suddenly on the road at the top of the high ground, artillery and troops in blue uniform were seen. These were the French.(War and Peace: 240)
- (15) The feeling, "It has begun! Here it is!" was seen even on Prince Bagration's hard brown face with its half-closed, dull, sleepy eyes.( War and Peace: 303)
- (16) Introduced to Number Fourteen, the doctor looked round him with a certain appearance of interest which was noticed by everyone present. (The Haunted Hotel: 223)

However, how can we explain the following phenomenon?

- (17) Do you see that table? (Bolinger 1977a: 75)
- (18) \*Is that table seen by you?
- (19) Was that table seen by you? (Bolinger 1977a: 75)

Here, using Talmy's examples let us discuss about this.

- (20) a. The enemy can see us from where they're positioned. (Talmy 2000: 115)  
b. ?The enemy can see us from where we're standing.
- (21) a. We can be seen by the enemy from where they're positioned.  
b. We can be seen by the enemy from where we're standing.

As mentioned earlier, Talmy (2000: 116) indicates that among the nonagentive vision verbs in English, *see* is lexicalized to take the Experiencer as subject and the Experienced as direct object, thereby promoting the interpretation of the Experiencer as Source. Some speakers have difficulty with (20b)-type sentences with Experiencer

as Source. This difficulty, however, generally disappears for the counterpart passive sentence, as shown in (21b). It seems that in Passive the derived NP that is Experienced as direct object also promote the interpretation of the Experienced as Source, when metaphorization of *see* and related verbs to the sense of perceive might occur; we do not go into details here.

Sight is either treated as a probing system that emanates from or is projected forth by a viewer so as to detect some object at a distance, or it is treated as a visual quality that emanates from some distal object and arrives at an individual, thereby stimulating a visual experience (cf. Talmy 2000: 115). Either way, when we say *I see birds*, seeing birds flying in the sky, what matters is whether they are in sight or not, not whether I realize them or not.

As mentioned above, we easily metaphorize *see* and related verbs to the sense of perceive: *Is that table perceived by you?* And events in the past are readily reported: *Was that table seen by you?*, therefore expanding the interpretation, capturing the object does not only mean that it is in sight but also mean that you realize what it is. The difference between *I see birds* and *Was that table seen by you?* is whether *birds* or *that table* are recognized what they are. In fact, “perception emergence” of events at present as well as events in the past can be reported using Passive as follows.

- (22) He then explained to me that it was commonly believed that on a certain night of the year, last night, in fact, when all evil spirits are supposed to have unchecked sway, a blue flame is seen over any place where treasure has been concealed. (Dracula: 26)
- (23) There is a legend that a white lady is seen in one of the windows. (Dracula: 75)
- (24) We have arranged with certain officials that the instant the Czarina Catherine is seen, we are to be informed by a special messenger. (Dracula: 402)

- (25) Often, on bright sunny mornings, the men are seen trooping home again at ten, eleven, or twelve o'clock. No empty trucks stand at the pit-mouth. (Sons and Lovers: 24)
- (26) Natural instincts are lost under domestication: a remarkable instance of this is seen in those breeds of fowls which very rarely or never become 'broody', that is, never wish to sit on their eggs. (The Origin of Species: 537)
- (27) And it is not easy, in a country where every olive tree has eyes, and every slope is seen from afar, to go hidden, and have intercourse with the sun. (The Woman Who Rode Away: 77)

Each sentence in (22) to (27) represents "perception emergence" of events at present.

Furthermore, Talmy (2000: 115) states that generally no problem arises at all for nonvisual sensory paths—for example, those for audition or olfaction, as seen in (28).

- (28) a. I can hear/smell him all the way from where I'm standing.  
 b. We can hear/smell him all the way from where he's standing.

*Hear* and *smell* have the movement of Probe and Stimulus as well as *see*, and even in Active both Experiencer and Experienced can be Source as seen in (28b), therefore it is supposed that passivization is more likely to occur in audition and olfaction than in sight. However, at this point we have not found any positive evidence that bears on this question, so we leave it for further study.

- (29) From all sides were heard the footsteps and talk of the infantry, who were walking, driving past, and settling down all around. (War and Peace: 332)
- (30) Prince Andrew moved toward the door from whence voices were heard. (War and Peace: 283)
- (31) As he was leaving the battery, firing was heard on the left also, and as it was too far to the left flank for him to have time to go there himself,··· (War and Peace:

307)

- (32) She has a horror of chemical smells and explosions-- and she has banished me to these lower regions, so that my experiments may neither be smelt nor heard.  
(Frankenstein : 164)

We have many examples using *hear*, which has a property of “perception emergence” of events at present likewise.

- (33) I know now what men feel in battle when the call to action is heard. (Dracula : 406)

- (34) Her empty bed, her idle ball,  
Will never see her more;  
No gentle tap, no loving purr  
Is heard at the parlor door. (Little Women : 129)

- (35) "The enemy has quenched his fires and a continual noise is heard from his camp," said he. (War and Peace: 441)

- (36) Not only where you are- at the heart of affairs and of the world- is the talk all of war, even here amid fieldwork and the calm of nature- which townsfolk consider characteristic of the country- rumors of war are heard and painfully felt. (War and Peace: 157)

Still more, in a situation in which one does not want to have the object or the thing to be seen or heard, Passive using *see* and related verbs denotes psychological damage by inference.

- (37) a. The two witnesses saw the man, and promptly testified. (Bolinger1974: 75)  
b. The man was seen by the two witnesses, who promptly testified.
- (38) It would be very dagreeable to be stared at by all the people here.' (Great Expectations : 177)

In (37b), being testified by the two witnesses is against the man's interest, and in (38), he or she must be receiving the mental pressure from all the people here.

According to Jackendoff's Thematic Relations Hypothesis (1972, 1978, 1983), possession need not be literal; in accordance with the Thematic Relations Hypothesis, verbs of communication are treated as denoting the transfer of message or stimuli, which the recipient metaphorically possesses. Thus, it is possible to treat the transmission of words or other perception as the moving of message or stimuli.

(39) I see by your eagerness, and the wonder and hope which your eyes express, my friend, that you expect to be informed of the secret with which I am acquainted; (Frankenstein: 43)

(40) Inquiring for his Parisian friends, he was informed that both the French gentlemen had left for Milan. (The Haunted Hotel: 249)

(41) Besides, she was correctly informed as to his professional position. (The Haunted Hotel: 113)

(42) Describing the man to the servant on entering the house, he was informed that a stranger with a large beard had been seen about the neighborhood for some days past. (The Haunted Hotel: 90)

(43) The Baron's object was announced, in the scientific columns of the newspapers, to be investigation into the present state of experimental chemistry in the great American republic. (The Haunted Hotel: 200)

(44) I imagined, for a moment, that this piece of eloquence was addressed to me; (Wuthering Heights: 15)

(45) and in court circles the possibility of marriage between Napoleon and one of Alexander's sisters was spoken of. (War and Peace: 710)

(46) towards morning had been perceived by a market-woman not far from the spot

where the body of the murdered child had been afterwards found.

(Frankenstein : 75)

(47) Because of the tattered soldier's question he now felt that his shame could be viewed. (The Red Badge of Courage: 65)

(48) 'No trace of Ferrari has been discovered in England,' she said. (The Haunted Hotel: 185)

(49) It was interesting to be in the quiet old town once more, and it was not disagreeable to be here and there suddenly recognized and stared after. (Great Expectations: 301)

(50) His absence was hardly noticed at the time. (The Haunted Hotel: 97)

(51) Introduced to Number Fourteen, the doctor looked round him with a certain appearance of interest which was noticed by everyone present. (The Haunted Hotel: 223)

(52) Ferrari's wife listened, without being convinced. (The Haunted Hotel: 154)

(53) As I applied so closely, it may be easily conceived that my progress was rapid. (Frankenstein: 41)

(54) If I and my brother and sister have seen nothing, how should Agnes Lockwood discover what was not revealed to us? (The Haunted Hotel: 250)

The sentences in (39) – (45) convey the movement of words and denote capturing the meaning of words. Those in (46) – (54) denote perceiving of sight or appearance of awareness.

### 3.3.3 Adjacency

(55) a. The wall was abutted by a large shed. (Bolinger 1974: 72)

b. The garden is adjoined by a graveyard. (Bolinger 1974: 72)

- c. The tenth is preceded by the ninth. (Bolinger 1974: 72)
- (56) a. The little church was stood next to by an office building. (Bolinger 1974: 72)
- b. \*The little church was stood in front of by an office building. (Bolinger 1974: 72)
- c. I'd rather not be sat in front of at the movies. (Davison: 45)

It is interesting to see that there is no detailed explanation in any papers by Bolinger or Cureton etc. Talmy(2000:198) indicates that *in front of* is the expression that is used to localize the Figure. In addition *in front of*, which takes an asymmetry object with front, back, left and right as Ground, can be used only when the Figure and the Ground are relatively near but can not be used to localize Figures at a greater distance or touching Grounds. On the other hand, examples in (55a, b, c) denote that the boundary is shared; the Figure and the Ground are touching. Furthermore the characteristic they have in common is having the meaning *next to*. In short, it is considered that adding the location *next to* as construed as a property *next to*, people recognize the object has changed: from the object without a property to that with the property. In contrast, it is assumed that *in front of* has no function denoting “location as construed as a property” (cf. 3.2.1) and only when added “psychological damage by inference,” Passivization occurs.

Next “psychological damage” is discussed, derived from “physical change of state”. As mentioned earlier, the evidence that physical state change derives from physical location change is shown based on Gropen et. al’s two experiments, we will see another piece of evidence.

Goldberg (1995: 83) uses a general systematic metaphor as the explanation of the Unique Path Constraint, which involves understanding a change of state in terms of movement to a new location. The mapping involved is simply this:

motion  $\longrightarrow$  change

location → state

English expressions reflecting this metaphor include:

- (57) a. The jello went from liquid to solid in a matter of minutes. (Goldberg: 1995)
- b. He couldn't manage to pull himself out of his miserable state.
- c. No one could help her as she slid into madness.

This metaphor makes it possible to construe psychological change as movement from old psychological state to new psychological state.

### 3.4 Psychological change

Psychological change includes the sentences as follows.

- (58) I was encouraged to hope my present attempts would at least lay the foundations of future success. (Frankenstein: 44)
- (59) My courage and my resolution is firm; but my hopes fluctuate and my spirits are often depressed. (Frankenstein: 6)
- (60) I was pleased to observe the 'missis,' an individual whose existence I had never previously suspected. (Wuthering Heights: 9)

These examples are apparent passive using Psych-Verbs, so we can understand psychological change directly.

However, “psychological damage by inference,” “social responsibility,” “psychological positive change” derive from “psychological change” and they are understood indirectly because no Psych-Verbs are used.

#### 3.4.1 Psychological damage by inference

- (61) a. I was approached by the stranger. (Bolinger 1974: 68)
- b. \*I was approached by the train.



(62) He did not like to be approached on his blind side. (Call of the Wild: 15)

(61a) is well-formed and (61b) is ungrammatical. But where does the difference come from? In (61a) if approached by the stranger, they would be afraid, and in (62) if approached on his blind side, they would feel unpleasant. However in (61b) *I* was recognized as just a place that the train reached. If the derived subject NP is supposed to have damage, Passive is well-formed.

(63) a. The teacher held a stick over him. (Bolinger 1977a: 77)

b. He was held a stick over.

c. The dowsers held a stick over the ground.

d. \*The ground was held a stick over.

*He* in (63b) is human and is being threatened, but *the ground* in (63d) is not human, having no feelings and not being “location construed as a property,” so it is ungrammatical.

(64) All at once it seemed to him that he was being fired at. (War and Peace: 453)

Being fired at, it is inferred that anyone feel a great deal of fear. This is “psychological damage.”

(65) that I could not bear to sit upon the coach and be spoken to; (GreatExpectations: 453)

That being spoken to is unpleasant thing for the person is inferred.

(66) I'd rather not be sat in front of at the movies. (Davison: 45)

(67) I don't want to be sat next to by an over-friendly stranger. (Davison: 45)

As mentioned earlier, *in front of* does not have “location construed as a property,” so in (66) “psychological damage by inference” is denoted; *I* did not like to be sat in front of at the movies. *Next to* in (56a) can be used to denote “location construed as a property.” However, here we can infer that *I* in (67) dislike being sat next to, so (67) denotes

“psychological damage by inference.”

### 3.4.2 Social responsibility

It is very difficult to understand how the derived subject NPs in the following are affected.

(68) ‘and if you only spoke when you were spoken to, and the other person always waited for *you* to begin, you see nobody would ever say anything, so that -- ‘  
(Alice’s Adventure in Wonderland: 194)

(69) “I have said nothing to you, but you have already been talked to. And I am sorry for that,” he went on. (War and Peace: 180)

Tuyn (1970: 61) states that prepositional verbs like *to speak to*= to address, to look for =to seek can be turned into Passives. Bolinger (1977a: 58) also indicates that prepositional verbs perform the same function as single verbs. Thus, we suppose that *you* in (68) and *you* in (69) are affected in some sense. However, if a person is spoken to, how does he or she change? A sentient subject would have psychological change caused; if spoken to, he or she feels psychological pressure to respond to it, which is one of psychological changes. In this case the derived subject NP must be human. Others are as follows.

(70) ‘What, feeling lonely, feeling lonely, little silly?’ said Nikita in answer to the low whinny with which he was greeted by the good-tempered, (Master and Man: 4)

If greeted, one has a social responsibility that he or she should return a greeting.

(71) Someone mentioned that Captain Tushin was bivouacking close to the village and had already been sent for. (War and Peace: 335)

(72) I beg pardon, your Majesty,’ he began, ‘for bringing these in: but I hadn’t quite finished my tea when I was sent for. (Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland: 86)

(73) "She has come and told me that the Chaplain of the English mission church has been sent for. (England, My England: 127)

(71) to (73) denote a social responsibility; if a person was sent for, the person would think he or she has to go back and do something.

(74) She was a Frenchwoman, and, on being appealed to, she settled the question in the swift, easy, rational French way. (The Haunted Hotel: 176)

In (74), when she was appealed to, she had a feeling to say something.

### 3.4.3 Psychological positive change by inference

Davison (1980: 53) states that the bad effects may be physical or psychological when the derived NP refers to a person, though this is not always true in certain contexts.

(75) Susan likes to be sat next to by Fred.

Here being sat next to is a joyful thing for Susan, so we cannot take the sentence as denoting damage.

Up to now, "psychological change," one of state changes has been discussed. From now on another one derived from change of state: "quality" is discussed. "Quality" is one piece of information on the object, so adding quality means that the object changes from one thing without quality to another with quality. Passive using verbs of judging and knowing such as *think, believe, consider, know, understand, expect, regard*, and so forth, is categorized under this group.

## 3.5 Quality

Information about the object must not be arbitrary, so passive sentences require that an object of *by*-phrase should refer to a large group of people (such as *everyone, most people*, etc.) and a person or select group of people who are judged to be experts on this

issue as follows.

- (76) a. Jimmy Carter is considered by most men on the street to be the greatest thing that ever happened to the Presidency. (Cureton 1979: 47)
- b. ?? Jimmy Carter is considered by Tom to be the greatest thing that ever happened to the Presidency. (Cureton 1979: 48)
- (77) In the street in front of it there was a statue of a man on horseback which was supposed to represent Oliver Cromwell. (1984: 78)

Similarly, the sentences denoting the quality of the derived subject NP are as follows.

- (78) Jack is liked by many people. (Siewierska: 189)
- (79) The results were doubted by everyone. (Siewieska: 190)
- (80) Help is needed by the elderly. (Siewieska: 191)
- (81) He behaved very well in the regiment but was not liked; (War and Peace: 215)
- (82) The distance had been measured off, (Call of the Wild: 75)

The sentences using *liked* in (78), *doubted* in (79), or *needed*, in (80) etc. denote quality based on relation with society, and in (82) through the event *measured* we can know size or distance; this is one of properties of the object.

### 3.5.1 Information by inference

From “quality” derive “information by inference,” “possibility,” “aura,” “purpose” construed as a property. First of all, let us see the following example.

- (83) The swimming pool has never been swum in before. (Siewierska: 196)

From this sentence, we can get two pieces of information: one is that they have never swum in this pool before and the other is that this pool is new. We Japanese as an English learner as a foreign language get the latter information indirectly by inference. This may be a little different from Cureton’s IQPH in that the term *quality of the object*

is vague as to whether it includes only the thing's inherent property or not. Information by inference denotes both inherent property and acquired property. The following examples are seen one by one.

(84) The house has just been gone out of by the whole family. (Siewierska: 196)

(85) The woods were all gloried through with sunset and the warm splendor of it streamed down through the hill gaps in the west. (Anne of Green Gables: 310)

(86) The sun was going down. Every open evening, the hills of Derbyshire were blazed over with red sunset. (Sons and Lovers: 50)

Both *glory* in (85) and *blaze* in (86) are intransitive verbs and the derived subject NPs are originally objects of preposition, so syntactically it is difficult to passivize; however, both *the woods* and *the hills of Derbyshire* are experiencers of the effect of the activity denoted by the verb; *the woods* in (85) has received the warm splendor of sunset and *the hills of Derbyshire* in (86) has received red sunset.

(87) There was a light burning in a little shanty that hadn't been lived in for a long time, (The Adventure of Huckleberry Finne: 69)

(88) The house has just been gone out of by the whole family. (Siewierska: 196)

Through the activity denoted by the verb, we can infer the property of the houses in (88) and (89): emptiness.

(89) a. The old hotel had never been stayed at by so many people before. (Bolinger 1977a: 74)

b \*The old hotel was stayed at by him.

If many people stayed at the hotel, it is affected in some way, for example, the workers there become busy or we can infer the size of the hotel.

(90) a. The winter is slept through by a good portion of the animal kingdom. (Riddle et. al 1977: 151)

- b \*The winter was slept through by the bear. (incremental, stationary)
- c. the clocks of the Eastward churches were striking five, the candles were wasted out, the fire was dead, (Great Expectations: 403)
- d. There's no bus service to that remote mountain village during the winter. (E-DIC)

In (90d), the winter is just the time when the event takes place. However, the winter in (90a) is not so; it is regarded as if it were a reducing thing like the candles in (90c), namely the winter is crucial to the activity in that it designates “the assets” that were used up in the activity, which we recognize change. The winter in (90a) is an incremental theme in Dowty's Patient Proto-Role and the winter in (90b) is also an incremental theme. However the sentence in (90a) is well-formed and the sentence in (90b) is not well-formed. The difference is stated in 3.7.

- (91) a. The enemy were contained by a superior force. (Bolinger 1974: 69)
- b. \*A present was contained by the package.

In (91a), not only does the sentence say that the enemy were the members of a superior force but also it says that there is more to it: “restraint”. As for (91b) see 3.2.1.

- (92) a. The stream is overhung by a beetling cliff. (Bolinger 1974: 72)
- b. \*The stream is overhung by a tree.

- (93) a. The peaceful valley is overlooked by an awesome mountain. (Bolinger 1974: 72)

- b. \*The broad expanse of lake is overlooked by a little shrub.

- (94) The formation is overlain (\*underlain) by an almost impenetrable layer of hardpan. (Bolinger 1974: 74)

(92)–(94) denote neither “psychological damage by inference” nor “location construed as a property” but dominance: *a beetling cliff*, *an awesome mountain*, and *an almost*

*impenetrable layer of hardpan* are more powerful, influential, or noticeable than other things. Bolinger (1974: 74) states that relative size and position etc. are factors to decide which is dominant.

(95) Winston noticed that the furniture was still arranged as though the room were meant to be lived in. (1984: 66)

In (95), we can infer how the room was; the room was prepared enough to live in, which we recognize as change.

### 3.5.2 Aura

(96) a. The house has been lived in by several famous personages (Bolinger 1974: 68)  
b. \*Chicago has been lived in by my brother.

(97) a. The bridge has been walked under by generations of lovers. (Bolinger 1974: 69)  
b. \*The bridge was walked under by the dog.

(98) This bed was slept in by Napoleon. (Cureton 1979: 45)

As for (96a) and (98) Riddle et. al (1979: 150) give a significant explanation, which is similar to that of (91a). That *several famous personages have lived in the house* and that *Napoleon slept in this bed* are historically very significant events, so *in the house* and *in this bed* are not merely places where the events take place but they are the experiencers of the effects of the activities denoted by the verbs. Therefore, the house and the bed change to something new: something which has an aura; the property change. “Aura” can be included in “information by inference”. However, there is a common characteristic that *by*-phrase is followed by celebrities or many famous dignitaries, so that the derived NP has aura: positive property.

### 3.5.3 Purpose

“Purpose” is one of the things which derives from “quality.” Examples of this are as follows.

(99) a. Tom is wanted by the police for murder. (Cureton 1979: 42)

b. Bill is wanted by the FBI for his involvement in the drug traffic on the East Coast.

(100) a. Bill is wanted in the Oval Office by the President. (Cureton 1979: 43)

b. Bill is wanted on the phone by somebody.

(101) \*That bike is wanted by John.

(102) I should think she'd hate to poke herself where she isn't wanted," said Jo crossly,  
(Little Women: 91)

(103) As they are wanted for immediate service, will you throw your eye over them?  
(Great Expectations: 36)

(104) You are to go and stand there, boy, till you are wanted. (Great Expectations: 96)

Cureton (1979: 43) states about the verb *want* as follows: “these reasons(=reasons why people can want anything) can be totally dependent on the whim of the wanter and totally independent of the qualities of the object wanted. People can want nonexistent, imaginary objects or normally useful objects for perverse, totally non-utilitarian purposes.” Therefore (101) is ungrammatical. On the other hand, (99a) has enough information through which the thing that is wanted can be inferred: Tom must have committed something criminal and so he is wanted, namely we can know Tom’s quality. In (100a), the purpose for which Bill works in the office and in (100b) the purpose for which Bill answers the telephone are inferred, which are not arbitrary purposes, but conventional purposes, so hearer can infer them. Here, it seems that information about purpose is added to the sentence, which is a change.



### 3.5.4 Possibility

In English, not passivized originally, some sentences can be passivized by using the present perfect or an auxiliary verb. Examples are as follows. Davison (1980: 54) points that there are two ways to indicate that the event is possible using passive: one is with the present perfect and the other is with an auxiliary *can*. The case with the present perfect entails something that the event is possible by asserting that the event occurred.

(105) That bridge has been flown under by Smilin' Jack. (Davison 1980: 54)

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

(107) The valley has been marched through in two hours.

These sentences convey what is directly asserted below:

(108) a. This bridge can be flown under by Smilin' Jack. (Davison 1980: 54)

b. It is possible for Smilin' Jack to fly under this bridge.

(109) a. The enemy base can be flown over several times.

b. It is possible to fly over the enemy base several times.

(110) a. The valley can be marched through in two hours.

b. It is possible (for someone) to march through the valley in two hours.

In (108)–(110), (a) predicates ability of the agent and (b) predicates possibility of the whole proposition. the passive in (105)–(107) could in principle be either the (a) or (b) versions in (108)–(110). However, what is conversationally conveyed is the (a) version of the sentence. The non-subject NP, promoted to subject position and role, also assumes the role of topic. Information that the topic is an underlying non-subject, and the fact that the construction is 'marked', narrow down the range of possible entailments which the speaker intends to convey at the point of the utterance (Davison 1980: 55).

As mentioned above, it seems (105)–(107) convey that the event is possible — something which is normally entailed by asserting that the event occurred at the point of utterance. The possibility of the event is one piece of information about the derived subject NP. “Quality” is a type of information about the object, so adding quality means that the object changes from one thing without quality to another with quality.

### 3.5.5 Standard / Necessity

In English not passivized originally, some sentences as the examples given below can be passivized using auxiliary verbs as well as described earlier. This is why the meaning of the auxiliary verb is added as meaningful information.

(111) a. \*Publicity was shunned by George. (Bolinger 1974: 73)

b. Publicity should be religiously shunned.

c. How many times does that train have to be missed before they fix the schedules?

Here let us think about the meaning of *should* and *have to*. Talmy (2000: 448) states about *should* and *have to* from the standpoint of the force dynamics. According to Talmy, the *should* construction and the semantic components of *should* is as follows respectively in (112) and in (113). Here E' stands for some entity within *should*'s total reference that holds the implied beliefs and values noted. Usually this entity is “I,” the speaker, or alternatively perhaps, some conception of generalized societal authority. Another entity E stands for the subject of VP.

(112) E' holds that E should VP.

(113) a. E does not VP or has not VPed.

b. In E' belief system, E's VPing would benefit E or others.

c. In E's value system, E would be a better person if she or he VPed.

d. Because of (b–c), E' wants E to VP.

Next the *have to* construction and the semantic components of *have to* is as follows respectively in (114) and in (115) as follows.

(114) E' holds that E have to VP.

(115) a. E wants not to VP.

b. Not VPing has consequences that E wants even less (the “or else” constituent)

c. E opts to VP as the lesser displeasure

(d. Some E' wants E to VP, and would initiate the unpleasant consequences of E's not VPing)

As shown in (113) and (115), *should* and *have to* have force dynamic properties. In (111b) “standard” and in (111c) “necessity” is denoted, in contrast in (111a) nothing about *publicity* is mentioned but about *George*. Both “standard” and “necessity” are properties of an object as well as “possibility.” The derived subject NP changes to another object with information of the properties.

### 3.6 Adhesive materials / Dirt / Traces

So far abstract state change has been discussed. From now concrete state change is discussed.

(116) The glass has been drunk out of (by someone). (Davison: 53)

(117) The cave has clearly been lived in by woodchucks. (Davison: 53)

(118) This porch was walked on (by that rotten kid next door). (Davison: 54)

The passive here conveys that the derived subject NP has an effect resulting from the event, which is something perceptible like trace of life in (117), mark of drink and lips in (116), and footprints in (118). These did not exist before the event denoted by the verb, so the derived subject NP has changed from one object without these traces to another

with them.

(120) Rostov, leaning his head on both hands, sat at the table which was scrawled over with figures, wet with spilled wine, and littered with cards. (War and Peace: 571)

Similarly, scrawls on the table in (120) are perceptible.

(121) This bed has been slept in! (Riddle et al. 1977: 151)

Riddle et. al (1977: 151) state about (121): This sentence is appropriate only in a situation where the bed has been affected in a way, that the effects are apparent. For example, a person having checked into a hotel, upon entering his hotel room the first time could utter (121) if he notices that the sheets on the bed are rumpled.

(122) That bridge has been flown under by Smilin' Jack. (Davison: 54) (=105)

This sentence, quoted earlier, can also be used to convey that the event is possible. However, if the bridge bore traces of damage caused by planes flying under it, this sentence could have extra meaning.

(123) a. The cave has clearly been lived in by woodchucks. (Davison: 53)

b. The cave has had woodchucks live in it.

c. Woodchucks have lived in the cave.

The passive sentence in (123a) conveys something rather different from the (b) and (c) sentences. In the absence of specific information, one assumes that the cave in (123a) is littered with signs of occupancy (cf. Davison: 53).

(124) a. These stairs have been run up so much that the carpet is threadbare.

(Bolinger 1974: 69)

b. \*The stairs were run up by Jane.

The sentence in (124a) conveys that the carpet on the stairs is worn-out, which is a perceptible state of affairs.

### 3.6.0 Physical damage

From “adhesive materials”, “dirt” and “traces,” “physical damage” derives. “Adhesive materials”, “dirt” and “traces” are perceptible, so Pseudo-passive is used to convey the effects resulting from the events. However, “physical damage” conveys that the derived subject NP suffered some damage from the event.

- (125) a. This lake is not to be camped beside by anybody! (Bolinger 1974: 69)  
b. \*The lake was camped beside by my sister.

Here it is assumed that being camped causes some damage to the lake.

- (126) a. The garage was entered by the two thieves. (Bolinger 1977a: 73)  
b. \*The garage was entered by the *VW*.

- (127) The two horses had just lain down when a brood of ducklings, which had lost their mother, filed into the barn, cheeping feebly and wandering from side to side to find some place where they would not be trodden on. (Animal Farm: 2)

*The garage* in (126a) and *on a brood of ducklings* in (127) are not merely location where the events take place but are true-patients, where physical damages are caused.

One of state changes discussed from now on is abstract change state, so not perceptible but similar in that we can recognize endstates. Physical completion and abstract completion are categorized here.

### 3.7 Physical completion

“Adhesive materials”, “dirt” and “traces” are perceptible and their endstates are clear. The state change discussed in this section is abstract state change, so not perceptible but similar in that we can recognize endstates. “Physical completion” and “abstract completion” are categorized here.

- (128) a. The cake was topped by one lone cherry. (Bolinger 1974: 72))

b. \*The cake was topped by a cherry.

(129) The building is topped by a 30-foot pole.

(128a) is well-formed and (128b) is not well-formed. Where does the difference come from? The cake in (128b) is construed as merely location. On the other hand, the cake in (128a) is recognized as an incremental theme; namely in (128a) what is conveyed is not that a cherry was topped on the cake but that the cake has been completed. Topping one lone cherry makes the cake completed; the cake has changed from the one not completed to another completed. In (129) someone is painting the building and 30-foot pole as a finishing touch makes the whole completed.

### 3.7.0 Abstract completion

Getting to the goal or reaching a conclusion is not physical but abstract and conveys that the event has been completed.

(130) a. The conclusion was arrived at by five o'clock. (Bolinger 1974: 68)

b. \*The house was arrived at by five o'clock.

(130a) is well-formed and (130b) is not well-formed. What is the difference? In (130a) there is no conclusion before arriving at it; as soon as someone arrives at the conclusion, it is completed, which is state change from the one not completed to another completed. On the other hand, the house in (130b) had existed in space, if arrived at, there appears no change.

(131) And we are led to this conclusion, which has been arrived at by many naturalists under the designation of single centres of creation, by some general considerations, (The Origin of Species: 362)

It is construed that when arrived at, the conclusion has been completed.

(132) since almost any adjectival meaning could be arrived at by adding-ful to a noun-verb. (1984: 210)

In (132), the meaning of adjectival changed from not completed one to the completed one; it conveys the completion of adjectival meaning.

(133) A place that far away can't be got to in a short time. (Bolinger 1974: 69)

This sentence shows that a place is recognized as an objective to be reached, so the way to the place is an incremental theme.

(134) He took them up into a loft which could only be reached by a ladder from the harness-room, (Animal Farm: 15)

(134) can be classified into the category of “information by inference” because we can infer another pragmatically significant proposition which predicates a quality of the direct NP *a loft*. However I will classify it into the category of “abstract completion,” that is goal to be reached on the basis of the following evidence. In Passive using *reach* or *arrive at*, there are many examples which denote the means or difficulty to reach the destination, which are for example the following sentences.

(135) She also pointed out that NGO area was inadequate because it could only be reached by climbing steps.

([www.dinf.ne.jp/doc/japanese/rights/adhoc/Summary%20No\\_%204.htm](http://www.dinf.ne.jp/doc/japanese/rights/adhoc/Summary%20No_%204.htm)

- 25k -)

(136) The temple is located in Mukojima (Mukoojima 向島), an island that could only be reached by boat during the Edo period in the times of Issa.

([darumapilgrim.blogspot.com/2006/10/mokubo-ji-and-umewakamaru.ht](http://darumapilgrim.blogspot.com/2006/10/mokubo-ji-and-umewakamaru.html)

ml-32k)

- (137) Though not far from Kyoto, the capital of Japan until the year 1869, Kumano could only be reached by overcoming ranges of steep, rugged mountains. ([search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/fv19990812a1.html](http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/fv19990812a1.html) -)
- (138) The best reefs are reached by boat, making island hopping excursions on Shedwan, Shaab El-Erg, Shaab Abu Ramada, Careless Reef and Abu Rimata (nicknamed 'The Aquarium') the best way for advanced divers to explore rich coral life. ... ([www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6573](http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6573) - 47k -)
- (139) Subject homepage is reached by selecting a subject from the subject tree on the Homepage. ... ([www.blackwellreference.com/public/guided\\_tour](http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/guided_tour) - 12k -)

The sentences seen in (130a), however, do not always denote the means or difficulty, instead it has a grammatical subject *the conclusion*, which has an image of goal. The other examples are seen in (140) to (142).

- (140) An agreement to hold defense consultative talks between senior officials of the two defense departments was reached by the two heads of state of China and the U.S. during President Jiang Zheming's state visit to the United States in ... ([www.china-embassy.org/eng//zmgx/zmgx/Military%20Relationship/t35738.htm](http://www.china-embassy.org/eng//zmgx/zmgx/Military%20Relationship/t35738.htm) - 14k -)



(141) Recycling goal expected to be reached by 2000 from Vermont Business Magazine in Array provided free by LookSmart Find Articles.

([findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qa3675/is\\_199606/ai\\_n8756970](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3675/is_199606/ai_n8756970) - 27k -)

(142) And yet that is the conclusion that was arrived at by past presidents and past rich people like Rockefeller and Carnegie - that we must remove the dumbwits from the society, and do so via eugenics. Do I support eugenics? No. ...

([filmgarmott.blogspot.com/2007\\_11\\_01\\_archive.html](http://filmgarmott.blogspot.com/2007_11_01_archive.html) - 187k -)

It is construed that these two phenomena are associated with the rule that a patient affected by an agent is mapped onto the subject of the passive. Affectedness or the change can be specified by denoting endstate of the event; here endstate is reaching the goal or the conclusion. There is no conclusion before arriving at it; as soon as someone arrives at it, the conclusion is completed, which is state change from the one not completed to another completed. Therefore it is supposed that in order for the place to obtain the property as a goal to be reached, a process or a means to get there should be specified, which increases the acceptability of Passive. (143) denotes by using the present perfect form that *intersection No.33* is the goal to be reached.

(143) a. Intersection No.33 hasn't been gone through yet. (Bolinger 1974: 69)

b. \*Intersection No. 33 was gone through.

In (143b) intersection No.33 had been in space, and if gone through, there is no change there; it has only a locative function. However, intersection No.33 in (143a) is

considered as an objective point to be gone through; if each runner has gone through it, the objective is achieved.

### 3.8 The difference in patienthood between true patient and not true patient

In this section pairs of verbs and pairs of simple verbs plus prepositions, which are different in acceptability in passivization or in patienthood, was collected and compared. In parentheses, the characterizations of patienthood are given. In this case, using a general systematic metaphor, state change in recognition is also included in change of state. Examples are as follows.

- (135) a. I was approached by the stranger. (change of state, stationary)  
b. \*I was approached by the train. (stationary)
- (136) a. The lake is not to be camped beside by anybody! (change of state, stationary)  
b. \*The lake was camped beside by my sister. (stationary)
- (137) a. The conclusion was arrived at by five o'clock. (change of state, does not exist independently of the event)  
b. \*The house was arrived at by five o'clock. (stationary)
- (138) a. The stream is overhung by a beetling cliff. (change of state, stationary)  
b. \*The stream is overhung by a tree. (stationary)
- (139) a. The winter is slept through by a good portion of the animal kingdom.  
(change of state, incremental, stationary) (Cureton)  
b. \*The winter was slept through by the bear. (incremental, stationary)
- (140) a. These stairs have been run up so much that the carpet is threadbare.  
(change of state, incremental, stationary)  
b. \*The stairs were run up by Jane. (incremental, stationary)
- (141) a. The cake was topped by one lone cherry. (change of state, incremental,

stationary)

b \*The cake was topped by a cherry. (stationary)

(142) a. Was that table seen by you? (change of state, does not exist independently of the event)

b.\*Is that table seen by you? (stationary)

(143) a. Tom is wanted by the police for murder. (change of state, stationary) (Cureton)

b. \*That bike is wanted by John. (stationary)

The examples taken up here are Bolinger's except (139) and (143). Bolinger (1974: 67) proposes the hypothesis that the subject in a passive construction is conceived to be a true patient, so here let us think about true patient.

(142b) is a passive sentence of *Do you see that table?* However it is not well-formed. Pinker (1989: 63) states: There is a linking rule that always maps the argument signifying the causally affected entity onto the grammatical function of object (direct internal argument). However, as seen in (142) and (143), the same two verbs behave differently, so of the two arguments which are mapped onto grammatical objects, one is a true patient and the other is not. Commonly, the sentence whose counterpart passive is not well-formed always has an entailment of stationary and do not have an entailment of "undergo change of state." In (139b) and (140b), the sentences have entailments of "incremental theme," However their counterpart passive are not well-formed, so both *winter* and *stairs* are not affected, where the derived subject NP is recognized as merely location or time, namely physical objects, space and time have existed, where the events occur, no effects resulting from the events. Therefore, it seems that there are two types of incremental theme: an incremental theme as an experiencer of the effect of the activity denoted by the verb and an incremental theme as a non-experiencer.

In contrast, the sentence whose counterpart passive is well-formed always has an entailment of “change of state,” and sometimes has other entailments. The physical objects, space and time express the places or time in which not only the events take place but also undergo change through the events. This is what true patient is supposed to be.

#### **Chapter 4 Conclusion**

Pinker (1989: 91) describes the thematic core for the passive construction as follows: *X* is in the circumstance characterized by *Y*'s acting on it, however, some passive especially pseudo-passive etc. which is supposed not to be passivized but can be passivized. Furthermore Gropen et. al consider affectedness as the change. Therefore, in this research through hypotheses of Bolinger or Riddle et. al, on the premise that subjects in passive are necessarily affected in some way, how the derived subject NP changes or why it can be considered to be changed is analyzed. The result is that even though the physical change is not specified, we find that some information is added to it, for example, damages, aura, quality, information by inference, completion, adhesive materials etc., which cause a certain kind of change in cognitive system. They are resulting from the event and represent the change of patient, which bare similarity to affectedness: physical state change and physical location change on patient.

From the above mentioned, affectedness is considered to be patient's change: physical change and cognitive change. And furthermore, applied to Dowty's

Proto-patient characterization, extending the interpretation of change to abstract world by a general systematic metaphor, which involves understanding a change of state in terms of movement to a new location, it is supposed that *undergoes change of state* is the necessary and sufficient condition.

According to the dominant cognitive linguistic view, word meaning is extended from prototypical to peripheral meanings. In this research, affectedness is taken from this point of view, its conceptual structure is clarified and how the meaning of affectedness is extended from its prototypical meaning to peripheral meanings is shown.

Gropen et. al (1991) state: The verb's object would be linked not to moving entity but to the argument specified as "affected" or caused to change as the main event in the verb's meaning. The change can either be one of location, resulting from motion in a particular manner, or one of state, resulting from accommodating or reacting to a substance." In this research, however, physical change of location is centered as a prototypical meaning of affectedness for such a reason as Levin and Rappaort Hovav (1991: 147) point out the impossibility of having a verb that denotes an event that is both bounded and not bounded in time. How the meaning of affectedness is extended from its prototypical to peripheral meanings is shown on the page 15.

Here, let us move our eyes onto the page 15. The word in each circle designates information added to the derived subject NP, which has similarities to *pragmatically significant proposition that predicates a quality of the object in IQPH* of Cureton. It is recognized that if the object changes to another one by getting any information, then the object becomes a true patient of Bolinger and the experiencer of the effect of the activity denoted by the verb of Riddle et. al.

In this research, various changes on the derived subject NP are observed; physical change is easy to be seen, on the other hand the change by inference is difficult to

understand how an object is affected. The change by inference includes information as follows: information by inference, aura, possibility, purpose, physical completion, abstract completion, etc.

If physical change is caused, we can see the effect directly, however even if abstract change is caused we might not see the resultant state directly. So I show that the situation the passive denotes must be construed to have the same interpretation because we use words to convey information—when a passive sentence is uttered, the same information must be received by each hearer. This influences whether the passive is well-formed or not. The following sentences are given as the examples which are difficult to convey information exactly.

First as for location, seen in (1)–(4), we can not find any examples representing “location construed as a property” except for the meaning of containing, surrounding, adjoining. *In front of* or other prepositions are unsuitable for “location construed as a property” because the places by these prepositions are not specified clearly.

- (1) The dot is contained in the circle. (Jackendoff 1972)
- (2) The hall was so closely surrounded by fir woods that it was invisible unless you were near it. (Anne of Avonlea: 72)
- (3) \*The little church was stood in front of by an office building. (Bolinger 1974: 72)
- (4) a. The wall was abutted by a large shed. (Bolinger 1974: 72)  
b. The garden is adjoined by a graveyard.  
c. The tenth is preceded by the ninth.

Second, “quality” as information on the object must not be arbitrary, so passive sentences require that the object of *by*-phrase should refer to a large group of people (such as *everyone*, *most people*, etc.) and a person or select group of people who are judged to be experts on this issue as follows.

(5) a. Ali is thought by most people to be the greatest fighter of all time. (Cureton 1979: 48)

b. ?? Ali is thought by John to be greatest fighter of all time.

Third, it is required that when *want* is passivized, the purpose for which an object is wanted must be clear, therefore that the purpose is inferable from the situation or it is conventionalized purpose.

(6) a. Tom is wanted by the police for murder. (Cureton 1979: 42)

b. Bill is wanted on the phone by somebody

(7) \*That bike is wanted by John.

Fourth, as for “psychological damage by inference” or “physical damage by inference,” it is required that the damage be obviously inferred.

(8) a. I was approached by the stranger. (Bolinger 1974: 68)

b. \*I was approached by the train.

(9) a. He was held a stick over. (Bolinger 1977a: 77)

b. \*The ground was held a stick over.

(10) a. This lake is not to be camped beside by anybody! (Bolinger 1974: 69)

b. \*The lake was camped beside by my sister.

And last, some passives have particular conveyed information CONVERSATIONALLY: for example, the following sentence has possible entailment.

(11) This bridge has been flown under by Bob Tuck, but I bet you it can't be flown under by anybody else. (Davison: 55)

Thus, affectedness is caused in a situation where anybody can perceive the same change.

Here let us think about the object affectedness linking rule called by Gropen et. al.

THE OBJECT AFEECTEDNESS LINKING RULE: “An argument is encodable as the direct

object of a verb if its referent is specified as being affected in a specific way in the semantic representation of the verb. Gropen et. al state that as for verbs of emotion (*fear* vs. *frighten*) with argument appearing as direct object and verbs of perception (*see* vs. *look at*) or verbs of physical contact without a change in the contacted surface (*hit* vs. *hit at*) with non-agentive argument appearing as prepositional objects, we can not say whether the arguments are affected or not.” However I propose that when thinking by the viewpoint of affectedness, if any information about the arguments: psychological damage, perception emergence and so on is conveyed, we can say the arguments are affected.

How does a cognitive change take place? I show that the marked construction of pseudo-passive enables the non-subject argument to be boosted to the main affected argument, which creates something new conventionally or conversationally, and therefore people recognize that the derived subject NP has been caused to change because of newly created information.

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