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Toward a Unified Analysis of Passives in Japanese: A Cartographic Minimalist Approach

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To my family and teachers. . .

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC:	accusative
ASP:	aspect marker
CAUS	causative morpheme
C:	complementizer
CL:	classifier
COM:	commitative
COP:	copula
DAT:	dative marker
DEP:	depictive marker
GEN:	genitive marker
GER:	gerundive
INSTR:	instrumental
LOC:	locative marker
NOM:	nominative marker
PASS:	passive morpheme
PL:	plural
PRES:	non-past tense
PAST:	past tense
Q:	question particle
SP:	sentence particle
TOP:	topic marker

it is now. I am also very much in debt to those who have worked on the phenomenon of Japanese passives over the years. Needless to say, the starting point of this research project is their insightful work.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Toward a Unified Analysis of Passives in Japanese: A Cartographic Minimalist Approach

by

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This dissertation reexamines and reanalyzes the extensively studied passive voice system in Japanese within a current version of Generative Grammar−Cartographic Minimalism. Contrary to the standard assumption that Japanese passives consist of (at least) two distinct types of passives, direct and indirect (gapless), this dissertation motivates a unified movement analysis and extends Collins' (2005) smuggling analysis to Japanese passives. It is shown here that a unified movement account is not only theoretically desirable but also feasible and independently supported.

This dissertation establishes the following: (i) the dichotomy between direct and indirect passives is not only unnecessary but also empirically inadequate, (ii) the derivation of all passives involves movement, (iii) the passive morpheme *-rare* never assigns a θ-role, and (iv) case-markers and postpositions disappear under movement−in both relativization and passivization−in Japanese. The last property makes it difficult to identify the source position of the derived subject in Japanese passives. It is shown here that the derived subject always originates in the complement domain of *-rare* and corresponds to an accusative, dative, genitive, or oblique source in the active counter-

part.

The analysis pursued here is a modular one in which interactions among the lexical properties of the morpheme *-(r)are*, independently-motivated principles of Universal Grammar, and the derivational path taken by the DP occupying the nominative position together give rise to different clusters of properties observed with different passive types. The dissertation also addresses the issues of interspeaker variability, the requirement of supportive context, and their implications for differences in individual grammars.

CHAPTER 1

The Passive Voice in Japanese

1.1 An Outline of the General Research Program

The passive voice is one of the most well-attested voice alternations in the world's languages, and its intricate properties have fascinated many linguists and have advanced and challenged syntactic theories (cf. Shibatani 1985, 1988, 1998). This thesis revisits and provides a thorough examination of the passive voice in Japanese, one of the most well-studied voice systems, within the current framework of what I will call "Cartographic Minimalism," a combination of the current framework of Generative Grammar and decompositional approaches to syntax (cf. Chomsky 1993, 1995, 2000, Rizzi 2004, Belletti 2004, Cinque 1999, 2004: inter alia). Specifically, this thesis motivates a novel unified raising analysis of all Japanese passives, rejecting the widely-accepted views that the passive morpheme *-(r)are* optionally introduces an external argument and that Japanese has two types of passive constructions: direct and indirect passives.

This thesis will take it as a point of departure that a uniform analysis for all Japanese passive constructions is a theoretically desirable hypothesis and pursue this hypothesis as far as possible. Indeed, the fact that the same *-rare* is used in the different passive constructions otherwise appears to be an unexplained accident. This will lead to a reevaluation of the numerous properties that are alleged to separate the different passive constructions as well as to a novel analysis of Japanese passives based on Collins (2005), which should capture all the complex properties that Japanese pas-

sives exhibit. In the course of this thesis, it will be shown that this project is not only feasible but also independently supported. I summarize below how we will deal with the major properties that have been argued to distinguish the two types of passives. Ample details, background, and discussion will be provided in the remainder of this introductory chapter as well as in the subsequent chapters.

First of all, the standard method of distinguishing Japanese passives is by whether they contain a gap (i.e. direct passives) or not (i.e. indirect or gapless passives). We will establish that the indirect or gapless passives do in fact have a gap, which corresponds to an oblique argument (dative, source, or genitive (or *no*-phrase)). The presence of a gap is difficult to diagnose on the surface because relativization and passivization in Japanese force the postpostion or case marker to disappear, leaving no overt clues to the derivation. A great deal of this thesis is dedicated to motivating the existence of the gap in all passives, using standard diagnostics for movement such as locality.

A second standard argument supporting the maintenance of a distinction between the two types of passives comes from the fact that *-rare* in indirect passives introduces a supplementary thematic role (i.e. AFFECTEE). I will show that there is in fact no evidence that this role is introduced by *-rare*. Furthermore, I will show that affectedness is in fact a derived property, which arises from particular structures.

A third argument concerns the distributional differences between the two *ni*-phrases −the Japanese *by*-phrases−contained in direct and indirect passives. It turns out that the well-known generalizations usually cited in reference to this are based on an incomplete version of the empirical paradigm. Once the paradigm is complete, we find that the generalizations no longer hold and the purported properties are not coextensive with one of the two passive types. Therefore, I conclude that the direct-indirect dichotomy is not only unnecessary but also empirically inadequate.

1.2 A Modular Approach

One of the major discoveries of modern syntax is the absence of constructions. Properties of particular constructions arise in a modular fashion, from the lexical properties of the building blocks appearing in the constructions that interact with independently motivated properties of the language and general principles of Universal Grammar. In particular, a modular approach has been adopted in order to analyze English passives since Chomsky (1981) (see Baker 1988, Jaeggli 1986, Baker and Roberts 1989, Collins 2005). This is also the approach adopted in this thesis; it allows us to pinpoint the properties shared across languages (i.e. create a universal characterization of the passive voice system), as well as to provide insight into complex systems within a given language, here Japanese.

1.3 Japanese Passives

Over the past 50 years of modern linguistics, the syntactic properties of Japanese have been widely studied, resulting in a substantial body of literature. Passives are a central topic in Japanese syntax, together with causatives, scrambling, relative constructions, multiple nominative constructions, and nominative/genitive (GA/NO) conversion (Kuno 1973, Kuroda 1979, Hoshi 1994, Murasugi 2000, Saito and Hoji 1983, Watanabe 1993, Miyagawa 1989, Shibatani 1990, Ura 1996: among many others). Japanese syntax exhibits various interesting phenomena, which are superficially quite different from those of well-studied western languages. Striking differences between Japanese and western languages have often resulted in a bifurcated view of languages (Western vs. Asian languages). The passive voice in Japanese is one such phenomenon, raising questions about the universal characterization of the passive voice and the precise locus of syntactic variation (cf. Huang 1999).

1.3.1 Introducing Japanese Passives and the Traditional Dichotomy

Japanese passive sentences contain a synthetic passive morpheme *-(r)are*, which attaches to transitive, ditransitive, and some intransitive predicates. The external argument of the predicate is introduced, sometimes optionally, by the dative *ni*-phrase. The Japanese passive voice system is extremely rich, and there is no consensus in terms of the precise number of passive types, let alone their syntactic structures (see Hoshi 1999 for reviews of controversy). However, all the existing literature commonly assumes that at least two distinct types of passives (or *-(r)are* morphemes) must be postulated to explain the different properties associated with Japanese passives: (i) the 'direct passive,' whose subject is related to an object gap in the predicate and (ii) the 'indirect passive' (also known as the adversative or gapless passive), whose subject is apparently not related to an object position in the predicate. Examples of the direct passive (coupled with its active counterpart) and the indirect passive are provided below:[1]

(1)   **Direct Passives**

    a.   *Keisatu-ga Ken-o   tsukamae-ta.*   [Active]
        police-NOM Ken-ACC catch-PAST
        'The police caught Ken.'

    b.   *Ken$_i$-ga   (keisatsu-ni) t$_i$ tsukamae-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
        Ken-NOM police-DAT   catch-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was caught by {the police/someone}.'

(2)   **Indirect Passive**

    a.   *Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*
        Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'

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[1]Most of the English translations of Japanese indirect passives tend to be awkward and even ungrammatical. I will often gloss them literally but no theoretical status should be attached: they are used in this thesis because they seem to me to be the best approximations.

b. *Ken-ga   (Naomi-ni) nige-rare-ta.*
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was escaped from by {Naomi/someone}.'

c. *Tokyo-ga   ooame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*
Tokyo-NOM heavy.rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Tokyo was descended upon by the heavy rain.'

d. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   nak-are-ta.*
Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

The traditional dichotomy capitalizes on apparent differences in the availability of an active source, as well as the availability of adversative connotations associated with the nominative DP (or the topic DP as in (2)) in the passive (in an adversative connotation, the nominative DP is adversely affected by the event denoted in the rest of the sentence).[2] In the standard analysis, their different clusters of properties are attributed to the lexical properties of two homophonous passive *-(r)are* morphemes: the *-rare* in the direct passive, as in (1-b), is alleged to reduce valency as in English-type passives, while the *-rare* in the indirect passive, as in (2), is assumed to lexically encode adversative effect and increase valency by introducing an EXPERIENCER or AFFECTEE argument, thus functioning more like a causative/applicative morpheme (Kuno 1973, among many others).

Contrary to the standard view, I will show that it is not only unnecessary but actually inadequate to posit two types of passives in Japanese: all the passives, including those in (2), are direct passives in the sense that they all contain a gap in the complement domain of *-rare* that corresponds to its subject. I will then develop a unified raising analysis of Japanese passives, assuming a single lexical entry of *-rare* with invariant lexical features.

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[2] I use the term the nominative DP as a cover term for the surface subject of passive sentences, encompassing both nominative and topic DPs in cases like (2) (in order to distinguish it from the external argument of the predicate embedded under *-rare*).

1.4 Coalescing the Two Types of Passives

Despite the common assumption, it is highly questionable whether *-rare* ever introduces an external argument for the following reasons: (i) *-rare* behaves like a prototypical synthetic passive morpheme in terms of its polysemic nature, and no other uses of *-rare*, which are reported to be historically related, introduce an argument; (ii) Japanese has a true argument introducer—a causative morpheme *-sase*, which is distributed quite differently from the passive *-rare* (see section 6.1 for more information). Furthermore, the distribution of the passive *-rare*, especially with regards to its complementation property could not be explained if its function were to introduce an external argument; and lastly (iii) the two purported defining properties of indirect passives—the lack of an active source and adversative connotations—do not necessarily coincide with traditionally recognized indirect passives, with the result that indirect passives would not constitute a natural class.

1.4.1 The Polysemic Nature of *-(r)are*

In quite a few languages, the synthetic passive morpheme is known to give rise to a number of different readings, such as reflexive, reciprocal, middle, and abilitive (see Shibatani 1985, Kazenin 2001:902). This is also the case with *-(r)are*: *-rare* has a number of usages, to wit (i) passive, (ii) ability (or potential), (iii) middle (or spontaneous), and (iii) subject honorific.[3] The different uses of *-rare* are known to be historically

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[3]Interestingly, *-rar*, a subpart of the morpheme *-rare*, often gives rise to a reflexive reading, as exemplified below:

    a.   *John-ga   moohu-ni   kurum.ar-ta.*
            John-NOM blanket-DAT warp.(R)AR-PAST
            'John wrapped himself in a blanket.
    b.   *John-ga   moohu-ni   kodomo-o kurun-da.*
            John-NOM blanket-DAT child-ACC wrap-PAST
            John wrapped a child in a blanket.

related, arising from a common source (see Shibatani 1985, Oshima 2006). The cross-linguistic polysemy and historical evidence strongly motivate a unified treatment of such morphemes (see section 2.1 for examples and more information). Significantly, the only use of *-rare* that introduces an additional argument into the structure is in the indirect passive, which makes the argument-introducing analysis of the (indirect) passive *-rare* highly suspicious. Ultimately we want to achieve a unified analysis of all the different uses of *-rare*, not only its passive uses.

1.4.2   The Distributional Differences between *-rare* and *-sase*

Let us now turn to the second reason why we want to unify the two types of passives. Japanese has a synthetic causative morpheme *-(s)ase*, which introduces a causer argument into the structure (see (3-b)). Interestingly, *-(r)are* is more selective than the causative *-(s)ase* in terms of the predicate to which it attaches; that is, *-(r)are* cannot combine with certain unergative predicates, such as *oyog* 'to swim,' *hatarak* 'to work,' and *odor* 'to dance,' whereas the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* can.[4]

(3)   a.   *Ken-wa   Naomi-ni   oyog-are-ta.*
           Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
           Int. 'Ken was affected by Naomi's swimming.'

    b.   *Ken-wa   Naomi-o   oyog-ase-ta.*
           Ken-TOP Naomi-ACC swim-CAUSE-PAST
           Ken {made/let} Naomi swim.

The reflexive use of *-rar* strongly suggests a decompositional approach to the passive morpheme *-rare*.

[4]I conducted a 5-point scale grammaticality judgment questionnaire (1-impossible, 5-acceptable) with 54 native speakers, and the mean rating of (3-a) was 1.39, that of (4-a) was 1.67, and that of (5-a) was 1.56. In contrast, the mean rating of (2-a) was 4.33, (2-b) was 4.93 and (2-d) was 4.52. All of these sentences were presented without supportive context (see section 1.8 for more information about the questionnaires).

(4) a. *_Ken-wa_ _tuma-ni_ _suupaa-de_ _hatrak-are-ta._
         Ken-TOP wife-DAT supermarket-LOC work-PASS-PAST
         Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his wife worked at a supermarket.'

     b. _Ken-wa_ _tsuma-o_ _suupaa-de_ _hatarak-ase-ta._
         Ken-TOP wife-ACC supermarket-LOC work-CAUS-PAST
         'Ken {made/let} his wife work at a supermarket.'

(5) a. *_Ken-wa_ _musume-ni_ _odor-are-ta._
         Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
         Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his daughter danced.'

     b. _Ken-wa_ _musume-o_ _odor-ase-ta._
         Ken-TOP daughter-ACC dance-CAUS-PAST
         'Ken {made/let} his daughter dance.'

The ungrammaticality of (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a) is unexpected and difficult to explain if _-(r)are_ were to introduce an external argument as _-sase_ does. We cannot attribute the ungrammaticality of (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a) to a selectional property of _-rare_ since it is not the case that _-(r)are_ is entirely incompatible with unergative predicates (see (2-d)).

The literature notes that some indirect passives (e.g. (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a)) require rich context that explicates how the surface subject of the passive is adversely affected by the event denoted in the rest of the sentence (Kubo 1992: inter alia). However, the indirect passives that are said to require rich context exhibit a considerable amount of interspeaker variability with respect to acceptability (see Shibatani 1994), and passives like (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a) are all unacceptable to me even when contextualized. (The role of supportive context and its implications for syntax will be systematically investigated in section 3.7 and chapter 7.) Even if they were acceptable with rich context, the contrast would still need to be accounted for: the passives in (2) (as well as the causative sentences containing unergative predicates) are always well-formed without context, while the passives in (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a) are unacceptable without context. What distinguishes the intransitive predicates contained in (2) from the ones like _oyog_

'to swim,' *hatarak* 'to work,' and *odor* 'to dance'? This question will be answered in the next section.

1.4.3 Indirect Passives are Pseudo- and Possessor Passives

Traditionally, the lack of an active source and the presence of strong adversative connotations have been the two principal reasons to distinguish indirect passives from direct passives. Contrary to this view, one of the contentious claims I make in this thesis is that not only direct passives but also indirect passives have an active source (i.e. the nominative DP is licensed in the complement domain of *-rare*). Specifically, I argue that all indirect passives are in fact instances of either English-like pseudo-passives or possessor passives. The pseudo-passive involves raising of the object in the pre-(or post-)positional phrase. Examples of Japanese and English pseudo-passives are given below:

(6) a. *John-ga* **Mary-{ni/*o}** *hohoen-da.*   `Active`
        John-NOM Mary-DAT/*ACC smile-PAST
        English: 'John smiled at Mary.'

     b. **Mary-ga** *John-ni hohoem-are-ta.*   `Passive`
        Mary-NOM John-DAT smile-PASS-PAST
        English: 'Mary was smiled at by John.'

The above examples illustrate an important difference between English and Japanese pseudo-passives; unlike in English, the moved element in Japanese neither retains nor strands Case-markers. This is also true for the possessor passive, whose derived subject is merged as a possessor of the (underlying) internal argument (traditionally known as 'possessive passives'; Kubo 1992, among others).

(7)   a.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-no kao-o   tatai-ta.* $\boxed{Active}$
           Naomi-NOM Ken-NO face-ACC hit-PAST
           'Naomi hit Ken's face.'

         b.   *Ken_i-(*no-)ga Naomi-ni $kao_{i/*j}$-o tatak-are-ta.* $\boxed{Poss\text{-}Acc\ Psv}$
           Ken-NO-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken_i was hit $(his)_{i/*j}$ face by Naomi.'

The absence of original Case under movement is in fact a general property of Japanese; it is also operative in relative constructions (see section 3.1.2.1). This property obscures the source of the nominative DP in the passive and has often misled linguists to conclude that the indirect passive is gapless.

With this understanding of the distribution of Case, I revisit in chapter 3 the representative examples of indirect passives and propose that in Japanese passives, various DPs contained in the lower VP shell−not only an underlying accusative DP, but also a source, dative, and possessor of the internal argument−can raise to the nominative position. Once we adopt this claim, the contrast in grammaticality between the passives in (2) and the ones in (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a) can be straightforwardly accounted for. Specifically, all the intransitive predicates contained in (2) are compatible with one of the potential sources of the nominative DP, thus the passives in (2)−unlike the ones in (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a)−have an active source. The proposed active sources for the passives in (2) are presented below (see section 3.5 for more information about pseudo-passives):

(8)   a.   **Naomi-no** *hahaoya-ga   sin-da.* $\boxed{Possessor}$
           Naomi-NO mother-NOM die-PAST
           'Naomi's mother died.'

         b.   *Naomi-ga*   **Ken-kara**   *nige-ta.* $\boxed{Source}$
           Naomi-NOM Ken-FROM escape-PAST
           'Naomi escaped from Ken.'

c. *Oo.ame-ga*   ***Tokyo-ni*** *hut-ta.*   on-Directional Dative
    Heavy.rain-NOM Tokyo-DAT descend-PAST
    'Heavy rain descended upon Tokyo.'

d. *Naomi-ga*   *{**sono shirase-ni**/#Ken-ni}* *nai-ta.*   Cause Dative
    Naomi-NOM {that news-DAT/ Ken-DAT} cry-PAST
    'Naomi cried over {the news/#Ken}.'

Crucially, the interpretation of the nominative DP of the passives given in (2) corresponds to the bold-faced argument of the proposed active sources given in (8). For example, (2-a) is infelicitous unless 'the mother' is Naomi's mother, and (2-b) is infelicitous unless the nominative DP 'Ken' is the source of Naomi's escaping. There are some complications with the Dative Cause argument of the predicate *nak-u* 'to cry,' which obscures the active source. That is, the Cause argument must be inanimate in the active sentence, while it must be animate once it appears in the nominative position in the passive (see section 3.5 for more information on this issue). Despite the animacy difference between the active and the passive counterparts, I argue that the nominative DP in (2-d) is indeed a Dative Cause argument selected by the verb *nak* 'to cry.' The following pair supports my claim:

(9) a. *Naomi-ga*   *{sono hanashi/#Ken}-ni nai-ta.*
         Naomi-NOM that   story/   Ken-DAT cry-PAST
         'Naomi cried over {that story/#Ken}.'

     b. *{Sono hanashi/#Ken}-ga (Naomi-ni-wa)   nak-e-ta.*
         that   story/   Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT-TOP cry-(R)E-PAST
         Lit. {'That story/# Ken} is cry-able (to Naomi).'
         (Int. 'That story is able to make Naomi cry.')

The predicate *nak-e-ru* 'cry-able' in (9-b) consists of the stem *nak* 'to cry' and a lexical intransitivizer (in recent work, understood as a first phase or low passive) *-(r)e*. The nominative DP in the low passive derived from *nak* 'to cry' is restricted to an inanimate

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DP, as illustrated in (9-b). However, the derivation must involve movement, since the lexical morpheme *-(r)e* does not select for an argument. This supports the idea that the Dative Cause argument is indeed an argument selected by *nak* 'to cry,' which can undergo movement to the nominative position.

In contrast, unergative verbs like *oyog* 'to swim,' *hatarak* 'to work,' and *odor* 'to dance' do not take a lower VP shell and are incompatible with Dative, Accusative, and Source DPs, as illustrated below (see section 3.5 for further discussion):

(10)   *Naomi-ga   (*Ken-{ni/kara/o})   oyoi-da.*
        Naomi-NOM Ken-{DAT/FROM/ACC} swim-PAST
        'Naomi swam (*{at/from/along?} Ken).'

Consequently, the passives in (3-a), (4-a), and (5-a) are ungrammatical because their nominative DPs remain unlicensed. If the proposal made here is correct, availability of an active source is no longer coextensive with indirect passives.

Likewise, the other purported defining property of indirect passives−adversative connotations−is not coextensive with indirect passives either. This is not a new finding: Alfonso (1971) and Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) use a number of examples to demonstrate very convincingly that the adversative connotations carried by many indirect passives are cancelable and not inherent to the indirect passive *-rare* . In addition, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) provide many examples of direct passives that carry strong adversative connotations (see section 6.4.3 for more information on this issue).

I take the above reasons to be sufficient to reject the argument-introducer *-rare* and conclude that the commonly adopted dichotomy−direct vs. indirect passives−is descriptively inadequate.

1.5 Research Questions

Subsuming indirect passives under direct passives allows us to see Japanese passives as a unitary phenomenon involving only one *-rare*. We now aim to understand the Japanese passive voice system by identifying the lexical properties of *-rare* and by examining the distribution and interpretation of the other pieces comprising the construction. Let us first distinguish several important research questions regarding (i) *-(r)are*, (ii) the nominative DP in the passive, and (iii) the external argument of the predicate embedded under *-rare*.

(11)   **The Passive Morpheme -*(r)are***

　　　(i) What is its syntactic category? (section 2.2)

　　　(ii) Where is it merged in the structure? What complements does it select? (section 2.3)

　　　(iii) Does it select a specifier? (sections 2.4.2 & 2.4)

　　　(iv) How does it relate to other uses of *-(r)are*? (section 2.5)

(12)   **The Nominative DP**

　　　(i) Where does it originate (i.e. what is the external merge position)? (chapter 3)

　　　(ii) Does it have to be an argument of the predicate with which *-(r)are* merges? (sections 3.5 & 3.6)

　　　(iii) If the source DP of the nominative DP has Case in the active, but not in the passive, what happens to the original Case? (section 3.1.2)

　　　(iv) How does the derivation proceed? (chapter 6)

　　　(v) When does it have affecteness connotations and when not? Where do they come from? (section 6.4.3.1)

(13)   **The External Argument of the Predicate That *-rare* Merges With**

(i) Is it present in the syntactic representation at all? (section 4.3)

(ii) How is it realized? What are its forms? (chapter 4)

(iii) Are there different distributional properties depending on the form, and if
so, how should these be analyzed? (chapter 4)

(iv) When can it be silent? When is it obligatorily pronounced and why?
(section 5.3.2.1)

These research questions guide the investigation of the passive in the subsequent chap-
ters. The questions enumerated in (11) are answered in chapter 2, (12) in chapters 3
and 6, and (13) in chapters 4 and 6.

1.6   Framework and Theoretical Tools

The analysis of the Japanese passive voice system proposed in this dissertation is
couched in terms of Cartographic Minimalism (Chomsky 1995, 2000, Rizzi 2004,
Belletti 2004, Cinque 1999, 2004: and many others). I would like to highlight some
of the assumptions made in this framework that are important for the current analysis.
I assume decompositional approaches, or more generally, cartographic approaches in
which the basic building blocks are tiny (see Cinque 1999, 2004, Koopman and Szabolcsi
2000, Rizzi 2004, and a host of others). The underlying assumption of this approach
is that all languages share the same rigidly-ordered functional categories (or universal
hierarchy of merger), as well as the same principles of phrase and clause composition
(Cinque 2004: 4). I also assume some version of the decompositional approach to
VP structure (Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002, Marantz 1997, Harley 1995b, Travis 2005,
Pylkkänen 2002: among others). The particular distinctions I adopt here are v_{AGENT}
that introduces an agent; v_{CAUSE} that introduces a cause (lower than agent); and an ac-

tive voice little *v* that combines with a big VP shell (process/result). The $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$ I assume is not necessarily agentive but more like an Austronesian active voice that is compatible with pure unaccusatives. Crucially, little *v* is not used as a category label here.

This thesis makes a number of choices concerning syntactic representations. Regarding whether Japanese is underlyingly head-initial or head-final. The syntactic trees drawn in this thesis are head-final; however, the analysis proposed here operates independently of the directionality of headedness. Also, the syntactic derivations are often represented in a somewhat simplified manner so as to illustrate the particular points I would like to highlight as directly as possible. Furthermore, current syntactic theories dispose of certain properties by implementing them in many different technical ways, with the result that the derivational options we face are often underdetermined. When confronted with this, I will use the most general independently available syntactic mechanisms (i.e. overt movement), instead of exploring other options (e.g. specific linearization algorithms, PF movement, LF movement, complex definitions about interventions, multiple agree, and so forth).

In this thesis I will show that -*rare* is a raising predicate and never introduces an argument (see section 2.2). Once we assume that -*rare* does not assign a θ-role and that all unequivocally well-formed passives have a gap in the complement domain of -*rare*, whose interpretation corresponds to the nominative DP in the passive, Japanese passives look very much like English passives. The classic puzzles with (English) passives are (i) what happens to the external argument and (ii) if the external argument is present, how the internal argument gets around the external argument to reach Spec,TP without violating Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) or the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1981, 1995:311); these are also critical problems with Japanese passives. The analysis of the Japanese passive voice system I develop in this and sub-

sequent chapters follows the smuggling analysis of English passivization proposed by Collins (2005), which involves the mechanism that moves a VP containing an internal argument around the external argument, with the result that the internal argument is brought closer to Spec,TP than the external argument. I show that the smuggling approach in fact accounts for otherwise puzzling complementation properties of the passive morpheme *-rare*.

The principles and parameters treatment of English passives (cf. Chomsky 1981) has always been a starting point in understanding the passive voice systems of other languages. This is also the case with Japanese. Therefore, in this section we will briefly review the traditional treatment of English passives and then discuss the benefit of adopting Collins' (2005) smuggling approach.

1.6.1 The Principles and Parameters Treatment of English Passives

The transformational rule-based approach to English passives (see Chomsky 1965) has been replaced with a modular-type approach by Chomsky (1981), which has subsequently been adopted as the standard way to analyze English passive sentences like that in (14-b) .

(14)   a.   He wrote the book.
        b.   The book was written (by him).

Chomsky (1981:124-125) assumes that the unique property of the passive morphology is that it in effect 'absorbs accusative Case.' This property of the passive morphology interacts with the following universal property of languages: if a V assigns no Case to its object, then it assigns no θ-role to its subject (also the case with unaccusative verbs). This apporach is also known as Burzio's (1986) Generalization:

(15)   **Burzio's Generalization** (Burzio 1986:178)
         All and only the verbs that can assign a θ-role to the subject can assign (ac-
         cusative) Case to an object [Subject=external argument]

The internal argument moves to Spec,TP by virtue of the Case filter. In this approach, the passive morphology itself does not directly trigger the movement. Yet this proposal leaves a number of questions open. For example, why do the two properties, the absence of a θ-role and the absence of Accusative Case, always go together?

In the late 1980s it was proposed that the English passive suffix *-en* itself is the argument that is assigned both Case and the external θ-role (see Jaeggli 1986, Roberts 1987, Baker 1988, Baker and Roberts 1989: and many others). The principal problem with this approach is the status of the external argument. Jaeggli (1986) points out that the DP in a passive *by*-phrase bears the external θ-role of the passivized verb. As shown in the examples below, it is not the case that a passive *by*-phrase is always interpreted as AGENT; rather, it is interpreted as AGENT only when the external θ-role assigned by the passivized verb is AGENT (examples are adopted from Jaeggli 1986:599, see also Lasnik 1988, Collins 2005:83)

(16)   a.   Bill was killed by Mary. (AGENT)

         b.   The package was sent by John. (SOURCE)

         c.   The letter was received by Bill. (GOAL)

         d.   That professor is feared by all students. (EXPERIENCER)

These examples suggest that the object of the *by*-phrase is in fact the external argument selected by the little *v*.

To account for the pattern illustrated in examples like (16), Jaeggli (1986) has proposed a well-known mechanism called 'θ-role transmission,' wherein the external θ-role is absorbed by the passive participle *-en* first and then transmitted to the *by*-phrase

(see also Fox and Grodzinsky 1998, among others). A shortcoming of this idea is that it is a construction-specific mechanism, which is difficult to establish independently. If this analysis were correct, the way the external θ-role is assigned to a *by*-phrase in the passive would be very complex and entirely different from the way it is done in the active, which violates UTAH (Baker 1988:46) and the Principle of Locality of Selection (Sportiche 1998, inter alia) in terms of θ-role assignment.

Given the data discussed in (16), it is plausible that a little *v* is present in the structure of the passive, and that the external argument headed by *by* is selected by the little *v* in the passive, as it is in the active. However, the locality problem still remains: how exactly can the internal argument move over a c-commanding external argument in the passive?

The little *v* is likewise present in Japanese passives, and is in fact morphologically transparent (see chapter 4). Furthermore, similar to the English *by*-phrase, the interpretation of the dative *by*-phrase in Japanese passives always matches the external θ-role assigned by the predicate embedded under *-rare*, suggesting that the DP headed by dative Case is an external argument selected by the little *v*. Consequently, the analysis of Japanese passives faces the same challenge as that of English passives. Positing a construction-specific complex mechanism like θ-role transmission cannot be the solution. Instead, I adopt the smuggling analysis proposed by Collins (2005).

1.6.2 Collins' (2005) Smuggling Analysis

Collins' (2005) analysis of English passives assumes that the external argument headed by *by* in the passive is generated the same way as the external argument in the active sentence is (i.e., Spec,*v*P) (see also Watanabe 1993:337, Mahajan 1995:27, Kural 1996, Goodall 1997 for similar proposals). His proposal is theoretically favorable since it conforms to UTAH (Baker 1988:46) or the Principle of Argument Realization (Larson

1988) and the Principle of Locality of Selection (Sportiche 1998, inter alia) in terms of θ-role assignment.

Collins' (2005) analysis involves the following assumptions:

(17)   a.   The external argument is selected by the little *v* and is merged into Spec,vP.

          b.   *'by'* instantiates the head of VoiceP and subcategorizes for vP.

          c.   The passive suffix '*-en*' heads a PartP and absorbs neither the external θ-role nor Case.

          d.   Part '*-en*' has uninterpretable features that must be checked by the Voice head.

          e.   Voice 'by' checks the Accusative Case of the DP in Spec,vP.

          f.   A-movement takes place through Spec,PartP (evidence is provided from French agreement patterns; see Collins 2005:85).

The following is the proposed structure and derivational steps. Clearly, a direct application of Collins' analysis of English passives to Japanese passives is not possible. For instance Japanese has a pronounced passive voice head, with the external argument being introduced by *-ni*. These therefore cannot be viewed as spell-out of the same syntactic head, but rather reveal a richer cartography, which contains both VOICE and Dative (i.e. *by*). This raises the difficult question of whether *ni* is higher or lower than *-rare*. I will eventually conclude that it is higher than *-rare* (cf. section 3.3.2.3 for further discussion). For these reasons, the assumptions and derivation given for English passives will be adjusted for Japanese.

(18)

TP
  DP
    The book
  T
  VP
    V
      be
    VoiceP
      <PartP>
        DP
        Part'
          V
            write
          Part
            -en
          VP
            V   DP
      Voice'
        Voice
          by
        vP
          DP
            him
          v'
            v   <PartP>
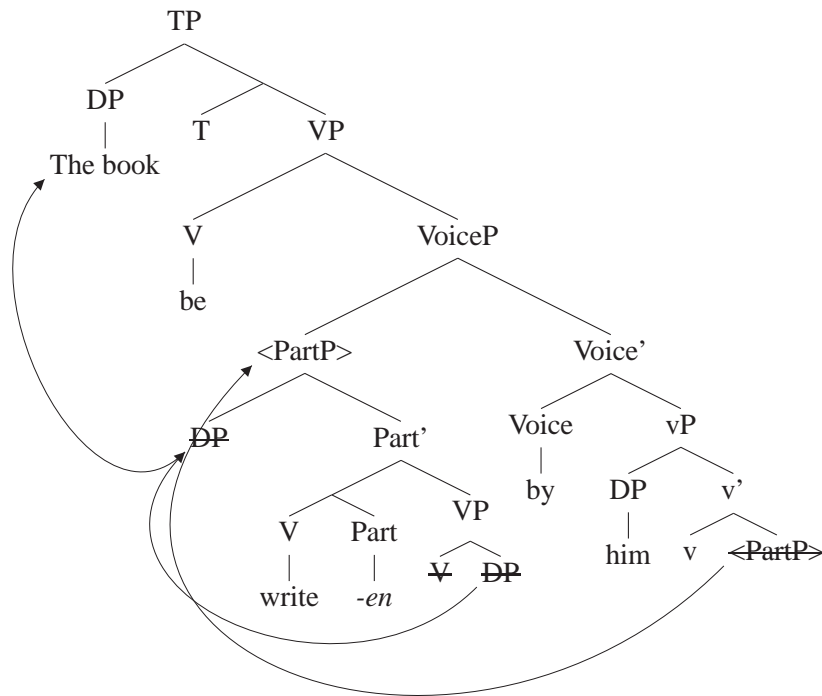
(19) **Derivational Steps**

(i)   PartP, whose head is *-en*, takes a VP complement.

(ii) The verb moves to adjoin to Part, yielding a passive participle.

(iii) *v* merges with PartP.

(iv) The external argument is selected for by the little *v* and is merged into Spec,vP.

(v)   *'by'* is merged as the head of VoiceP and checks the Accusative case of the DP in Spec,*v*P.

(vi) PartP moves to the specifier of VoiceP to check features of *-en* (i.e., PartP smuggles the internal argument past the external argument).

(vii) The internal argument DP is promoted to Spec,TP (A-movement) through Spec,PartP.

By adapting Collins' (2005) analysis of English passives, I will show that it is indeed possible to arrive at a unitary and principled account of the diverse and seemingly

inconsistent functions of the passive morpheme *-rare* in Japanese.

1.7 Proposed Analysis

By providing answers to the research questions enumerated in (11) to (13), I will establish a unified raising analysis of the voice system in Japanese, assuming simple and invariant lexical features of the passive morpheme *-rare*. The approach I take is a modular one, wherein interactions between the passive morphology *-(r)are*, the independently motivated properties of Japanese, and general principles of UG bring about the different clusters of properties observed in the different kinds of passive sentences containing *-rare*. This section outlines the key ideas of the proposed analysis.

1.7.1 Lexical Properties of *-rare*:

In chapter 2, I first establish that the syntactic category of *-rare* is Voice Head. This is supported by the fact that *-rare* can combine with causative and aspectual heads lower than Voice (e.g. *naos* 're-do'), but not with the heads higher than Voice in Cinque's (1999, 2004) hierarchy of functional heads (e.g. *tagar* 'want') (see section 2.3):

(20)   **Hierarchy of Functional Heads−Japanese** (cf. Cinque 2004:76, 93, 176)
       V >Repetitive II (*naos*)>Completive II (*oe, age, toge*)>Continuative II
       (*tsuzuke*)>Inceptive II (*hazime, das*)>Causative(*-sase*) >**Voice**(*-rare*)>
       Frustrative/Success (*sokone*) >Inceptive(*hazime, das*) >Prospective(*kake*)>
       Progressive(*te-i*)> Perfect(*te-i*)> Continuative(*tsuzuke*)>Volition(*ta-gar*)>
       PastTense(*ta*)

The lexical properties of *-rare* are then proposed. First, *-rare* has the following complementation properties: *-rare* selects for an active '*v*P,' and thus can never take a middle VP, a pure unaccusative VP, or a passivized VP as its complement (e.g. *war.e-ru* 'to

break$_{intr}$', *ochir-u* 'fall').

(21) **Taro-ga   musuko-ni kaidan-kara ochi-rare-ta.*
      Taro-NOM son-DAT   stairs-FROM fall-PASS-PAST
      Int. 'Taro$_i$ was affected by his$_i$ son's falling from the stairs.'

Second, *-(r)are* has the EPP (edge) feature that attracts the big VP shell, stranding *v*P (i.e. smuggling; Collins 2005). This is a true EPP property in the sense of Chomsky (1981); it is satisfied by an overt specifier. Since no expletive big VPs exist, this will restrict the distribution of *-rare* to those verbs that have a big VP shell containing pronounced material to satisfy the EPP property of *-rare*. Satisfying the EPP feature results in smuggling the internal argument contained in the big VP over the external one, bringing the internal argument closer to the *ga*-Case (Nom.) position, and thus overcoming a Minimality violation:

(22)   [[$_{VP}$ ~~DP~~ V]$_j$ [[$_{vP}$ PRO ~~VP~~ v] *rare*]]

The support for this proposal comes from the fact that *-rare* cannot combine with pure unergative verbs that lack a lower VP shell (e.g. (3-a); see 1.4.2). Assuming that there is a general ban on movement from complement to specifier position, as proposed by Abels (2003) and Kayne (2003), the EPP feature of *-rare* forces the complement structure of *-rare* to contain at least two separable VP shells with the lower shell containing overt lexical materials. This means that pure unergative verbs which spell out *v* cannot be complements of *-rare*, since they do not have the lower VP shell needed to satisfy the EPP feature of *-rare*.

Third, *-rare* (optionally) introduces a dative projection, which usually combines with the element selected by little *v*. The dative phrase must precede the elements in the smuggled VP, which shows that the dative selects for Voice as its complement

rather than the other way around. The structure is represented as follows:

(23)   Accusative Passive

    a.   *Ken$_i$-ga   keisatu-ni   t$_i$ tsukama.e-rare-ta.*
         Ken-NOM police-DAT   catch-PASS-PAST
         'Ken was caught by the police.'

    b.
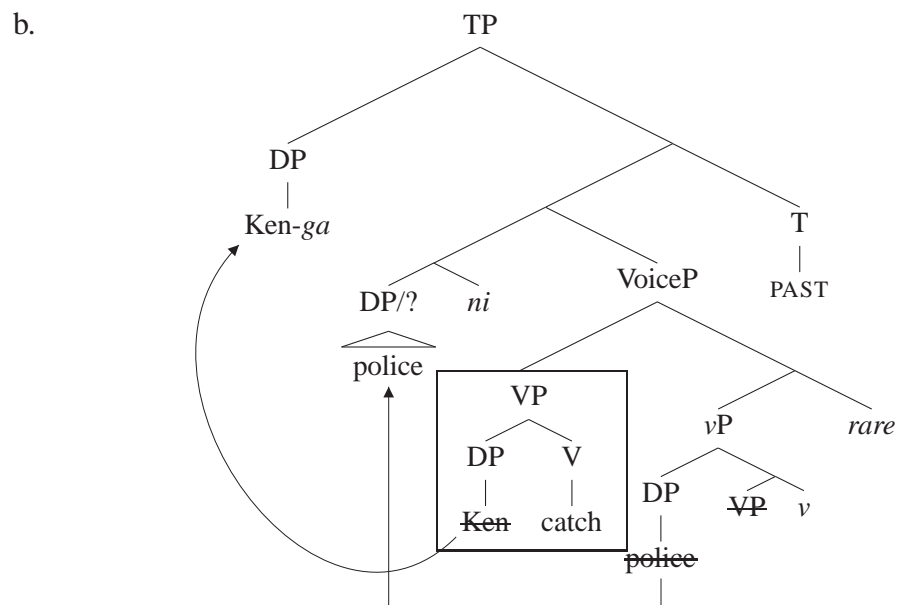
Note that this structure raises a Minimality problem when raising the DP from the big VP shell to the nominative position. To solve this problem, the dative phrase must not count as intervener, which is often technically achieved by assigning it some feature that makes it a non-intervener, or by making it inert for probing by *-ga*. I will propose a slightly different analysis in section 3.3.2.4.

1.7.2   General Properties Interacting with *-rare*

The lexical properties of *-rare* proposed above interact with general properties of Japanese, yielding a variety of passive sentences. First, as is well-known, Japanese

lacks an overt/covert expletive (Miyagawa 1989). Consequently, impersonal passives are not possible in Japanese (see section 3.1.1). Second, the Japanese matrix T has EPP features that require its specifier to be filled with a DP (Shibatani 1977). These two properties−the lack of expletives and EPP of T−trigger an obligatory DP movement to the nominative Case position. A movement derivation is supported by the availability of reconstruction effects (the situation regarding reconstruction effects is quite complex; see section 6.2 for further discussion):

(24)　　a.　*Dareka-ga　　dono-kyooshitu-de-mo　　sensei-ni　　nagur-are-ta.*
　　　　　　someone-NOM every-classroom-LOC-MO teacher-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　'Someone was hit by a teacher in every classroom.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

　　　　b.　*Hutari-no seito-ga　　dono kyooshitu-de-mo　　sensei-ni*
　　　　　　two.CL-NO student-NOM every classroom-LOC-MO teacher-DAT
　　　　　　nak-are-ta.
　　　　　　cry-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　'Two students were cried over by a teacher in every classroom.'
　　　　　　(2 >∀, ∀> 2)

In both (24-a) and (24-b), the universal quantifier in the locative phrase can have wide scope over the existential and numeral quantifiers in the subjects, suggesting that their subjects are derived by movement. Significantly, as briefly mentioned in section 1.4.3, the range of DPs that can occupy the nominative position in the passive is not restricted to underlying accusative DPs but includes underlying source DPs, various types of dative DPs (though not all dative DPs; see section 3.5), and possessor DPs of the internal argument. Different clusters of properties observed across various passive sentences stem from differences in the underlying source of the nominative DP.

1.7.3 What *-rare* Does Not Do

Contrary to the standard view that *-rare* in indirect passives selects a MALFACTIVE (Pylkkänen 2002), an EXPERIENCER (Hoshi 1991, 1995, 1999, Huang 1999), or an AFFECTEE argument (Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Goro 2006), I argue that *-rare* never selects for an argument. In addition, I argue that *-rare* in direct passives does not absorb Accusative Case. Some major reasons for these claims are outlined below.

1.7.3.1 *-rare* Does Not Assign a θ-role

The first claim—that *-rare* never selects for an argument—is supported by the following facts. First, unequivocally well-formed passives always contain a gap: without such a gap, the passive is unacceptable (at least without rich supportive context) (e.g. (3-a); see also section 3.5).

Second, as briefly mentioned in section 1.4.3, the interpretation of the nominative DP always matches the θ-role of the gapped DP (see section 3.5 for more information). Existing literature often translates *-rare* in indirect passives as 'be affected by,' which gives a false impression that *-rare* is a lexical verb (see section 2.2). However, 'be affected by' does not specify how the nominative DP in the passive is affected by the event. If *-rare* really means 'be affected by,' we would expect the sentence to be felicitous as long as the nominative DP is affected, regardless of the way it is affected. What is interesting is that if we look closely at translations of some well-cited indirect passive sentences, we often find that the translations reflect the the underlying θ-roles that I proposed in (8); thus, the nominative DP of the passive is interpreted to be affected in a certain way. Consider the following examples:

(25)   *Taro-ga   ame-ni   hur-are-ta.*
        Taro-NOM rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
        'Taro was rained on.'
        (Kuno 1973:300, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976, Miyagawa 1989:38)

(26)   *Kireina   ojoosan-ni nak-are-ru   to   chotto ureshii mono-da.*
        beautiful girl-DAT   cry-PASS-PRES and little   happy   thing-COP
        'It's kind of nice when a beautiful girl cries *because of* you.'
        (Alfonso cited in Wierzbicka 1988:259)

The translation suggests that *Taro* in (25) was affected in that he got wet because of the rain. If he had an umbrella and so didn't get wet from the rain, (25) is infelicitous. The silent argument *you* in (26) was affected because *you* were the *cause* of the girl's crying. Even though the active sources of these passives have never been acknowledged in the literature, the translations suggest that the nominative DP was indeed interpreted in such a way as to match its underlying θ-role. I take this to mean that the nominative DPs in these passives bear the θ-role assigned by the predicate embedded under *-rare*.

A third piece of evidence comes from the fact that a particular θ-role associated with 'every nominative DP' of passives containing *-rare* is not identifiable. The adversative connotations carried by some passives are just an implicature, which is cancelable and not inherent to the passive morpheme *-rare* (see section 6.4.3.1 for what is responsible for adversative connotations). Furthermore, the possible type of the nominative DP varies depending on the predicate to which *-rare* attaches, as illustrated below:

(27)   a.   *Sono gakko-wa   yuusyuuna gakusei-ni   nige-rare-ta.*
              that   school-TOP smart   student-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
              'That school was escaped from by smart children.'

        b.   **Sono gakko-wa   gakusei-ni   nak-are-ta.*
              that   school-TOP school-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
              'That school was cried over by students.'

The passive (27-b) is unacceptable even in a situation where the school was undergoing destruction, and the students who had graduated from the school cried. Setting aside why the Cause argument of *nak* 'to cry' is incompatible with an inanimate DP, the contrast between (27-a) and (27-b) is unexpected if 'that school' is an EXPERIENCER or AFFECTEE argument selected by *-rare*. This contrast strongly suggests that the nominative DP is not selected by *-rare*, but by the predicate embedded under it

1.7.3.2   *-rare* Does Not Absorb Accusative Case

I further propose that *-rare* does not absorb accusative Case because the DP that can satisfy the EPP of T is not restricted to an underlying accusative Case-marked argument in Japanese. As mentioned earlier, a wide variety of arguments can move to the nominative position as long as they are contained in the smuggled VP shell. For example, the derived subject is an underlying dative GOAL DP in (28-a), a POSSESSOR of the internal argument in (28-b), a dative-marked CAUSEE in (28-c), and a SOURCE DP in (28-d). In addition, as the following examples show, *-rare* is able to cooccur with an accusative marked argument:

(28)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   **otto-o**   syookai.s-are-ta   .*
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT husband-ACC introduce.do-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was introduced her*i* husband to by Naomi*i*.'

       b.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   **kao-o**   nagu-rare-ta.*
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
           'Ken had his face hit by Naomi.'

       c.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   **shigoto-o** yame-sase-rare-ta.*
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT job-ACC   quit-CAUS-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was made to quit his job by Naomi.'

    d.   *Ginkoo-ga nanimonoka-ni **kokyaku-no meibo-o***
        bank-NOM somebody-DAT customer-NO name.list-ACC
        nusum-are-ta.
        steal-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'The bank was stolen the customer list from by somebody.'

I assume that *o*-marking is optional but available in principle. On the other hand, passives like the ones below do not contain an *o*-marked DP. I assume that this is because the derivation with accusative Case does not converge because there is no argument satisfying the EPP of T if *Ken* is attracted to accusative Case, as in (29-b). In contrast, when the internal argument has a possessor, as in (29-c), the possessor DP can satisfy the EPP of T, and the structure converges.

(29)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   nagu-rare-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was hit by Naomi.'

        b.   **Naomi-ni   Ken-o   nagu-rare-ta.*
            Naomi-DAT Ken-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
            Lit. '(There) was hit Ken by Naomi.'

        c.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi-ni   t$_i$ kao-o   nagu-rare-ta*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Ken was hit his face by Naomi.'

Importantly, the Case filter is not a driving force for the A-movement in Japanese passives. This in fact seems to be a general property of Japanese. We find similar phenomena in ECM (raising to object) and possessor-raising constructions:

(30)   a.   *John-ga   Ken-{ga/o}   hataraki.mono-da-to omot-tei-ru.*
            John-NOM Ken-{NOM/ACC} diligent.man-COP-C   think-ASP-PRES
            'John thinks {that Ken is diligent / Ken that ~~Ken~~ is diligent}. ECM

        b.   *John-{ga/no}   atama-ga   ii.*
            John-{NOM/NO} brain-NOM smart
            'John('s) brain is smart.'   Possessor-raising

Japanese allows raising-to-object and possessor-raising in the same contexts where a nominative *-ga* and a genitive *-no* is possible.

This section summarizes the lexical properties of *-rare*. In the subsequent chapters, I will show that the proposed lexical properties of *-rare* together with some general properties of Japanese and Universal Grammar account for various distributional properties of the Japanese passive in a unified and principled manner.

1.8 The Data: Grammaticality Judgment Questionnaires

The properties and analysis established in this thesis are based largely on introspective data (cf. a native speaker of Japanese, Tokyo dialect). As I mentioned in section 1.1, however, the literature reports that there is a considerable amount of interspeaker variability in acceptance of certain types of passives, which are also alleged to require supportive context in order to be well-formed (Shibatani 1994). Following Shibatani 1994, let us call this type of passive the "extra-thematic passive" for reasons which will be made clear in section 3.7. I will call the unequivocally well-formed passives "core passives."

One of the goals of this thesis is to systematically investigate the issues centering on context requirement and interspeaker variability. I aim to account for the differences between the grammar of speakers who consistently reject "extra-thematic passives" versus that of speakers who consistently accept them. For this purpose, three experimental questionnaire studies, referred to as A, B, and C, were conducted with 74, 54, and 54 native Japanese speakers respectively, to gather objective information about grammaticality judgments from naïve non-linguist native speakers.

The judgment data were collected using a five-point scale task (1=impossible, 5=completely natural). Stimuli sentences are presented as examples throughout the

thesis, together with their questionnaire version and the mean rating given by partic-ipants. The mean ratings noted with the examples are meant to be interpreted as fol-lows: (31-a), which was presented in questionnaire version A, received a mean rating very close to five, and is therefore judged to be acceptable to many speakers without context. (31-b)'s mean rating is close to 1, so it is judged to be unacceptable to many speakers without context. (31-c)'s mean rating falls close to the middle of the scale, which indicates a high degree of speaker variability unless it is stated in the text that most of the participants rated the sentence as 3. Examples are given below:

(31) a. *Otto-ga tuma-ni nige-rare-ta.*
    husband-NOM wife-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
    'The husband was escaped from by his wife.'   [A:mean 4.82]

  b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni hasi-rare-ta.*
    Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'   [A:mean 1.09]

  c. *Densya-de Naomi-ga roozin-ni seki-o s-are-ta.*
    train-LOC Naomi-NOM old.man-DAT cough-ACC do-PASS-PAST
    'Naomi was coughed on by an old man in the train.' [A:mean 3.20]

Note that all sentences used as example in the thesis were presented to participants without supportive context unless specified otherwise. Whenever relevant, the distri-bution of ratings is provided in the text.

  Crucially, the thesis does not intend to correlate the value of the mean rating to the degree of well-formedness (see Den Dikken et al. 2007: for more information about the problem with this approach). A partial list of stimuli and results (including the distribution of ratings) can be found in the appendix (contact the author for a complete list). The methodology used in the questionnaires can be found in section 7.1, and the issue of individual variability will be extensively discussed in chapter 7, especially in section 7.4.

1.9 Outline of the Dissertation

This chapter has provided an overview of this thesis, highlighting major proposals including the lexical properties of *-rare*. The analysis and properties of the 'core passive'—the passive that is unequivocaly well-formed without supportive context—are established in chapters 2 to 6. Finally, chapter 7 provides a preliminary analysis of the 'extra-thematic passive' (i.e. the passive that exhibits a considerable amount of individual variability in terms of well-formedness).

Specifically, chapter 2 examines the properties and distribution of the passive morpheme *-rare* and answers the questions provided in section 1.5. The lexical properties of *-rare* introduced in this chapter are motivated in chapter 2. In addition, as a first step towards unifying different uses of *-rare*, the discussion is extended to subject honorific uses of *-rare*. I then demonstrate how the proposed lexical properties of *-rare* give rise to what looks like highly language-specific uses of the passive morpheme (see section 2.5).

Chapter 3 introduces two properties of Japanese that interact with the derivation of passives: the lack of null expletives (section 3.1) and Case disappearance under movement (section 3.1.2). Chapter 3 then uncovers properties of the nominative DP in the passive. In it, I revisit representative examples of indirect passives discussed in the literature and propose that they are instances of either English-like pseudo-passives (i.e. raising from an oblique position) or possessor passives. Given the analysis presented in this thesis, the nominative DP must be merged as the highest argument in the smuggled VP shell: I show in this chapter that it is exactly the case. The animacy restriction observed with some passives is also discussed in this chapter (section 3.3.2.2).

Chapter 4 focuses on the external argument of the predicate embedded under *-rare* and discusses the distributional and interpretational differences among the three types

of *by*-phrases—the dative *ni*-phrase, the *ni-yotte* phrase, and the *kara* (from) phrase. As mentioned at the end of section 1.6.1, I provide evidence showing that the little *v* is present in the syntactic representation of the Japanese passive and that the external argument headed by the dative is selected by the little *v* (section 4.1). I also present data showing that short passives also contain an argument, i.e. PRO (section 4.3).

Chapter 5 deals with the existing literature. The goal of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive survey of the previous analyses on Japanese passives but to discuss how the previously detected properties fall out from the proposed analysis. I first show how the traditional classification of the passive can be translated in the current partitioning of Japanese passives (here we distinguish the type of passive depending on the position where the nominative DP is originally merged; see section 5.1). I reexamine the arguments in favor of distinguishing direct and indirect passives. In this context, I propose a new generalization concerning Numeral Quantifier Floating in Japanese in order to account for its distribution in the passive (section 5.3.1). In addition, the issue of when short passives and *ni-yot-te* passives are and are not possible is addressed in this chapter (section 5.3.2.1).

Chapter 6 argues that the nominative DP selected within the smuggled big VP of the predicate embedded under *-rare* arrives in the nominative position via movement. The issues centering on scope and idiom reconstruction are discussed in section 6.2. Furthermore, I provide new evidence in favor of movement with respect to the binominal use of the distributive morpheme *zutu* 'each' (section 6.2.3). I also show that the passive construction behaves like an A-construction, not an A'-construction, contrary to Haung (1999) (section 6.3). Lastly, this chapter discusses the affected/adversative connotations that are carried by many passives in Japanese and investigates their source (section 6.4.3.1).

Exploiting the data collected through the questionnaires, Chapter 7 investigates

the 'extra-thematic passive' and the role of supportive context. First, the methodology of the questionnaires is reported (section 7.1). I then address the following questions: Does 'adversative context' really improve the acceptability of the 'extra-thematic passive'? What are the defining properties of 'adversative context'? Lastly, I propose a preliminary analysis of the grammar of speakers who consistently accept extra-thematic passives and account for the differences between their grammar and that of speakers who consistently reject those passives (section 7.3).

Chapter 8 discusses implications of this research program and concludes.

CHAPTER 2

The Passive Morpheme *-(r)are*

We aim to understand the properties of Japanese passives by examining the distributional properties of the pieces comprising the construction. The focus of this chapter is on the morpheme *-(r)are*.

As illustrated in the active-passive alternation below, the passive in Japanese contains an extra piece of verbal morphology—the passive morpheme *-(r)are* —which combines with the main predicate, forming one phonological 'word.'[1]

(1)   a.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-o   aishi-tei-ru.*   [Active]
            Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC love-ASP-PRES
            'Naomi loves Ken.'

        b.   *Ken$_i$-ga   (Naomi-ni) t$_i$ ais-are-tei-ru.*   [Passive]
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   love-PASS-ASP-PRES
            'Ken is loved by {Naomi/somebody}.

In the subsequent sections, I establish the properties and motivate the lexical entry of *-rare* by addressing the questions enumerated in chapter 1, (11). Section 2.1 introduces the different contexts (e.g. middles, potentials, subject honorifics) in which the morpheme *-rare* appears. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 establish that *-rare* is a functional element, specifically a passive Voice head. Section 2.4 motivates the lexical properties of *-rare*. In section 2.5, I extend the discussion to the subject honorific construction and pro-

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[1] The alternation between *-rare* and *-are* is phonological. The passive morpheme takes the form *rare* if it attaches to a vowel-ending stem (*tabe-rare* 'eat-PASS') whereas it takes the form *are* if the verb stem ends with a consonant (*tatak-are* 'hit-PASS').

pose a unified analysis of the passive and subject honorific uses of *-rare*, assuming a single lexical entry of the morpheme *-rare* with invariant features in Japanese. Lastly, section 2.6 summarizes the distributional properties and the lexical entry of *-rare* that are proposed in this chapter.

2.1 The Distribution of *-(r)are*

In quite a few languages, the passive morpheme occurs in different constructions where it gives rise to reflexive, reciprocal, middle, and abilitive readings (e.g. Russian *sja*, Romance *se/si*: Haspelmath 2001, Shibatani 1985:902, Kazenin 2001). This is also the case with the Japanese *-rare*: besides passives, *-rare* occurs in (i) middles (or traditionally known as 'spontaneous'), (ii) lexical passives /intransitivizers (in recent work, understood as a 'first phase' or 'low' passive; e.g. Harley 2005, Ramchand 2008), (iii) abilities (or potentials), and (iv) subject honorifics. Many of these uses are shared with the Romance *si/se*, but subject honorific use is quite unique (see section 2.5 for more information about how the surprising properties of subject honorifics follow under the proposed analysis).

(2) a. **Middle (Spontaneous)**

Mukasi-no   koto-ga   sinob-are-ru.
old.time-NO thing-NOM recall-RARE-PRES
'Things that happened a long time ago come to mind.' (Shibatani 1985:823)

b. **Low/Lexical passive (*or* intransitivizer)**

Ken-no huku-ga   yog-ore-ta.[2]
Ken-NO clothes-NOM soil-RARE-PAST
'Ken's clothes became soiled.'

c. **Abilitive (Potential)**

(i) *Kodomo-ga yoru ne-rare-nai.*
child-NOM night sleep-RARE-NEG
'(My) child is not able to sleep at night.'   [Agentive]

(ii) *(Watasi-ni-wa) kono huku-ga   moo   ki-rare-nai.*
I-DAT-TOP   this clothes-NOM already wear-RARE-NEG.
'This dress is no longer wearable (by me).'   [Non-agentive]

d. **Subject Honorific**

Matuda-sensei-ga waraw-are-ta.
Matuda-prof-NOM laugh-RARE-PAST
'Professor Matuda (honorably) laughed.'

Setting aside the agentive abilitive example (2-c-i) and the subject honorific sentence

(2-d) for the moment, it becomes clear how all the other uses of *-rare-* are related, when

we compare the above sentences in (2) with their following transitive counterparts.

(3)   a.   *Ken-ga   mukasi-no   koto-o   sinon-da.*
Ken-NOM old.time-NO thing-ACC recall-PAST
'Ken recalled things that happened a long time ago.'

b.   *Ken-ga   huku-o   yog-osi-ta.*
Ken-NOM clothes-ACC soil-(S)AS-PAST
'Ken soiled his clothes.'

c.   *Watashi-ga kono huku-o   ki-ta.*
I-NOM   this clothes-ACC wear-PAST
'I put on this dress.'

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[2]*-(r)are* is said to be realized as *-(r)ore* in *yog-ore* due to an earlier period of vowel harmony (Kuroda 1993:47). The transitive counterpart of *yog-ore* is *yog-os* 'to soil,' which comprises of the root *yog* and a low causative *(s)as*, which also undergoes vowel harmony and is realized as *(s)os* (see (3-b)). See Volpe (2005:126 fn. 30). The morpheme *-(r)ore* in (2-b) is called a lexical/low passive morpheme because the stem with which *-rare* combines (i.e., *yog*)−a verbal root−does not stand alone and cannot be directly merged with a tense morphology (e.g., **yog-ta*). Further, adding a low passive or causative to the root generally derives what in English looks like single simplex verbs, which in fact we now know are syntactically composed. Following Harley (2005a), I assume that a low causative is some kind of a little *v*.

The commonality is that the nominative DPs of the *-rare* constructions in (2) are all realized as the accusative Case-marked internal argument in (3). In other words, the contexts in which *-rare* appears all resemble the prototypical passive. The question arises if all the *-rare* constructions involve an identical morpheme *-rare* or not. At first blush, a unified treatment of *-rare* seems plausible for (2-a), (2-b), and (2-c-ii), but more difficult for (2-d) and (2-c-i), where the external argument−not the internal argument−of the predicate embedded under *-rare* appears as the surface subject of the sentence. Are the latter two *-rare* morphemes different from the rest? Given the contention of this thesis, I would like to provide a uniform account for all the *-rare* constructions, such that the apparent differences follow from its interaction between the properties of *-rare* and that of other elements comprising the constructions.

Historical evidence also strongly supports a unified treatment of *-rare*. Shibatani (1985) reports that the different uses of *-(r)are-* arose from a common source. According to (Oshima 2006: 150), the passive and spontaneous uses of *-(r)are* (and its predecessors *-(ra)r/-(ra)y*) are said to be the oldest among the four uses; this is why I focus on the passive construction in order to identify the core properties of *-rare*. The ambiguity between the passive and the spontaneous uses is present in records dating from the 8th century, and there is no consensus on which use is prior (Kiginuki 1991, Hashimoto 1969, cited in Oshima 2006). The potential use of *-(ra)y/-(ra)r* arose before the 9th century and was limited to negative contexts until the end of Heian period (A.D. 794-1192). The honorific use emerged in the Heian period (Oshima 2006: originally in Karashima 1993).

The cross-linguistic polysemy coupled with historical evidence strongly motivates a unified treatment of such morphemes as *-rare*. Despite some superficial differences across constructions, what is clear is that none of the occurrences of *-rare* must add an extra argument to the structure. I will thus pursue the hypothesis that *-rare* never

introduces an argument (as opposed to optionally introducing an argument as often assumed in the literature). In the remainder of this chapter, I will motivate the following lexical entry of *-rare*.

1. *-rare* is the functional head that instantiates Voice (cf. Cinque 1999, 2004).

2. It merges with 'active voice' little *v* as its complement.

3. It has the EPP feature that attracts a VP shell to its Specifier.
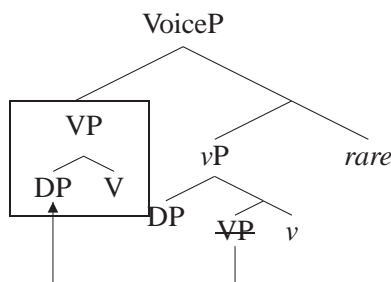
Although the main focus of the thesis is a unified analysis of *-rare* in the passive context, ultimately we would like to extend the analysis of all the *-rare* constructions. See section 2.5 as an illustration of how we can unify different uses of *-rare* assuming a single lexical entry of *-rare* with invariant features in Japanese.

2.2 The Passive *-rare* Is Always a Functional Element

It seems quite uncontroversial that *-rare* is a functional element: *-rare* is a bound morpheme, which needs to attach to some kind of a verbal host. The analytical questions are: (i) Is this functional element capable of assigning a θ-role? (ii) Does it have its own semantic value? The passive *-rare* (especially in the indirect passive context) is often translated as 'be affected by' in English. This is because direct English translations of Japanese passives are often unavailable, and Japanese passives tend to carry adversative connotations, such that the nominative DP is adversely affected by the event denoted in the complement of *-rare*. However, a convenient translation does not

mean that *-rare* actually semantically corresponds to the English passivized verb 'be affected by.'

Returning to the first question, as I mentioned in the previous section, I assume that *-rare* never assigns a θ-role (see section 6.4.3 for further discussion). As for the second question, I argue that *-rare* does not have any semantic value. It is difficult to tease apart the meaning of *-rare* from the predicate it attaches to, and it cannot be modified by an adverb, which is unexpected if it is a lexical verb meaning 'be affected by.' Consider the following examples containing a temporal adverb *nando-mo* 'many.times':

(4)　　a.　*Ken-ga　nando-mo　Naomi-ni　nagur-are-ta.*
　　　　　　Ken-NOM many.times-MO Naomi-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　(i) 'Ken was hit by Naomi many times.'
　　　　　　(ii) *Ken was affected many times by Naomi's (single) hitting.'

　　　　b.　*Ken-ga　nando-mo　Naomi-ni　nige-rare-ta.*
　　　　　　Ken-NOM many.times-MO Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　(i) 'Ken was escaped from by Naomi many times.'
　　　　　　(ii)'*Ken was affected many times by Naomi's (single) escaping.'

If *-rare* were a verb meaning 'be affected by,' the two readings—(i) and (ii)—should be in principle available depending on the scope of the adverb. Nevertheless, 'many times' can only modify the hitting and escaping events. (4-a) and (4-b) are incompatible with a situation where Naomi's hitting or escaping happened once, but Ken was affected by that event many times (e.g. (i) he was late for work; (ii) he had to see a doctor; (iii) he had to look for Naomi). In contrast, the ambiguity is present in the following English counterparts: (i) 'Ken was affected by the fact that Mary hit him many times' and (ii) 'Ken was affected by the fact that Mary escaped (from him) many times.' I take this to mean that *-rare* neither means 'be affected by' nor has any se-

mantic value that can be modified by an adverb. Then a question arises: Where does the adversative connotations come from? The answer to this question is provided in section 6.4.3.1.[3]

2.3 *-rare* as a Voice Head: Evidence from Long Passivization

We now turn to the question of what kind of functional category *-rare* is. My proposal is that Based on the distribution of *-rare* with respect to aspectual verbs, I propose that *-rare* is a Voice Head.[4] We adopt Cinque's (1999, 2006) cartography, which distinguishes the structural heights among aspectual verbs, and aim to understand the distribution of *-rare* and aspectual verbs in terms of their relative merged positions. It will be shown below that *-rare* can combine with the aspectual verbs that are merged below Voice but not with those that are merged higher than Voice. This observation strongly motivates the proposal that *-rare* instantiates Voice.

2.3.1 Establishing the Pattern with Long Passivization

It has been well-documented that a selective set of aspectual verbs, which participate in restructuring (also known as 'clause reduction') constructions, can be a complement of the passive *-rare*, yielding long passives (in long passives *-rare* attaches to the aspectual verb and the embedded object promotes to the nominative position) (Shibatani 1973b, 1978, Nishigauchi 1993, Kageyama 1993, 1999, Koizumi 1994, 1995, 1998, Matsumoto 1996, Wurmbrand 2003, Fukuda 2009a: among others).

   The literature recognizes three patterns with aspectual verbs: (i) compatible with

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[3]Thanks to Chad Vicenik for sharing his intuitions about these sentences.

[4]A plausible hypothesis is that *-rare* is decompositional (cf. f.n.3), and *-rar* is Voice and *(r)e* is probably a verbalizer. This proposal accounts for the complementation property of T: T in Japanese (e.g. *ta* 'past') needs to combine with verbs. The presence of the verbalizer *(r)e* allows *rare* to combine with T. In this thesis, however, I will simply treat *-rare* as Voice.

only long passives (obligatorily restructuring)[5]; (ii) both long and embedded passives (optionally restructuring); and (iii) only embedded passives (non-restructuring). The table 2.1 reports my own judgments about the compatibility of the commonly discussed aspectual verbs with long passivization (cf. Kageyama 1989, 1999, Nishigauchi 1993 for their own reported judgments), followed by some example sentences. The aspectual verbs in 'group I' can be a complement of *-rare*, allowing long passivization. In contrast, the aspectual verbs in 'group III' cannot be a complement of *-rare*. Instead, they can take *-rare* as a complement (hereafter, embedded passives). The aspectual verbs in 'group II' allow both long and embedded passives.

Table 2.1: Long. vs. Embedded Passives

I. Long (V-rare)	II. Long and Embedded	III. Embedded (-rare-V)
sase (cause), *wasure* (forget) *toger* (succeed), *naos* (redo) *oe* (finish) *age* (complete) *tsukus* (exhaust)	*tuzuke* (continue) *das* (start) *hajime* (begin)	*kake* (be about to) *sugi* (exceed) *tei* (progressive/perfect) *tagar* (want) *sokone* (fail)

I. Only long passives

(5)   **Causative:** [sase-rare] vs. [*rare-sase]

   a.   *Ken-ga   (Naomi-ni) John-o   tazune-ase-rare-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT John-ACC visit-CAUS-PASS-PAST
         'Ken was caused (by Naomi) to visit John .'

   b.   *[*?]Ken-ga   Naomi-o   (John-ni) tazune-rare-sase-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC John-DAT visit-PASS-CAUS-PAST
         'Ken caused Naomi to be visited (by John).'[6]

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[6] *Sase-rare* is the canonical order. The inverse order *rare-sase* is definitely marked but possible in some cases (e.g., *nagur-are-sase-ta* 'punch-PASS-CAUSE-PAST' (cause to be punched) is acceptable to me).

(6) **Forget:** [wasure-rare] vs. [*rare-wasure]

    a.   *Sono kanzya-wa isya-ni   {chiryoo.si-wasure-rare/*
         that patient-TOP doctor-DAT {treatment.do-forget-pass/
         chiryoo.s-are-wasure}-ta.
         *treatment.do-PASS-forget}-PAST   [Animate subject]
         Lit. 'That patient was forgotten to be treated by the doctor.'

    b.   *Ken-e-no tegami-ga {dasi-wasure-rare/*das-are-wasure}-ta.*
         Ken-to-NO letter-NOM {mail-forget-PASS/*mail-PASS-forget}-PAST
         Lit. 'The letter to Ken was forgotten to be mailed.' [Inanimate subject]

(7) **Succeed/Manage to:** [toge-rare] vs. [*rare-toge]

    *Nantoka sono sigoto-ga {yari-toge-rare/*yar-are-toge}-ta.*
    somehow that job-NOM {do-accomplish-PASS/do-PASS-accomplish}-PAST
    'Somehow that job was accomplished.'

(8) **Redo:** [naos-rare] vs. [*rare-naos]

    *Sono-syorui-wa   nandomo {kaki-naos-are/*kak-are-naosi}-ta.*
    that-document-TOP man.times write-redo-PASS/write-PASS-redo-PAST
    'That document was rewritten many times.'

(9) **Finish/complete:** [owe/age-rare] vs. [*rare-owe/age][7]

    *Ronbun-ga {kaki-owe/age-rare/*kak-are-owe/age}-ta.*
    paper-NOM {write-finish-PASS/write-PASS-finish}-PAST
    'The paper finished being written.'

(10)   **Exhaust:** [tsukus-are] vs. [*rare-tsukus]

    *Keeki-ga   tabe-{tsukus-are/*rare-tsukusi}-ta.*
    cake-NOM eat-{exhaust-PASS/PASS-exhaust}-PAST
    'The cake was eaten up.'

---

[7] There are disagreements in judgements with respect to *owe* 'finish.' While Shibatani (1973b, 1978), Nishigauchi (1993), and Matsumoto (1996) claim that *owe* 'finish' only allows for long passives, Kageyama (1993) reports that some speakers also allow embedded passives. Fukuda (2009a) conducted experimental questionnaires and reports that the ratings for long passives were significantly better than that for embedded passives with *owe* 'finish.' Likewise, I only allow for long passives with *owe* 'finish.'

II. Long and embedded passives

(11)   **Continue**: [tsuzuke-rare] vs. [rare-tsuzuke]

Sono hon-wa   ooku-no   hito-ni   {yomi-tsuzuke-rare/
that   book-TOP many-NO person-DAT {read-contiue-PASS/
yom-are-tsuzuke}-ru   daroo.
read-PASS-continue}-PRES perhaps
'Perhaps that book will continue to be read by many people.'

(12)   **Begin/start**: [das/hajime-rare] vs. [rare-das/hajime][8]

   a.   *Sinsyoohin-ga   uri-{hajime-rare/das-are}-ta.*
        new.product-NOM sell-{begin-PASS/start-PASS}-PAST
        'The new product started to be sold.'

   b.   *Sinsyoohin-ga   tsukaw-are-{hajime/dasi}-ta.*
        new.product-NOM use-PASS-{begin/start}-PAST
        'The new product started to be used.'

III. Only Embedded passives

(13)   **Be.about.to:**[*kake-rare] vs. [rare-kake]

*Ken-no zitensya-ga {*kowasi-kake-rare/   √kowas-are-kake}-ta.*
Ken-NO bike-NOM   break-be.about.to-PASS/ break-PASS-be.about.to-PAST
'Ken's bike was about to be broken.'

(14)   **Exceed:**[*sugi-rare] vs. [rare-sugi]

*Yosan-ga   {*tukai-sugi-rare/√tsukaw-are-sugi}-ta.*
budget-NO {use-exceed-PASS/use-PASS-exceed}-PAST
'The budget was over-used.'

---

[8]Drawing on Mamoru Saito's grammaticality judgment, Cinque (2004) notes that *das* is only compatible with long passivization. Conversely, Nishigauchi (1993) and Sugioka (1984) claim that *das* is only compatible with embedded passives. The choice of the verb stem seems to play some role in their judgments (Cinque uses the verb stem *tate-ru* 'to build,' and Nishigauchi uses the verb *nikum-u* 'to hate'). In my opinion, with the verb stems given in (12), *das* is entirely compatible with both long and embedded passives (see Yashima 2009:fn.16 for the same judgment).

Turning to the aspectual marker *tei*, it is known to have either a progressive or perfective interpretation depending on the inherent telicity of the verb to which it attaches (Kindaichi 1976, Jacobson:1992, Ogihara 1998, among others). With verbs that encode telic events (e.g. achievement verbs), *tei* gives rise to a perfective interpretation, whereas with verbs that encode atelic events (e.g. activity verbs), it gives rise to a progressive interpretation (examples below are slightly modified from Ogihara 1998).

(15)   a.   *Ken-ga   ima doa-o   sim.e-tei-ru.*
             Ken-NOM now door-ACC close.(S)E-ASP-PRES
             'Ken is closing the door now'   [Progressive]

        b.   *Doa-ga   ima simat-tei-ru.*
             door-NOM now close.(R)AR-ASP-PRES
             'The door is closed now.'   [Resultative]

The aspect *-tei* may take the passive *-rare* as a complement. The inverse order is not compatible with a passive interpretation; it only gives rise to an abilitive interpretation, as illustrated in (16-b).

(16)   **Aspect (progressive/perfect)**: [*tei-rare](vs. [rare-tei]
        (cf. [tei-rare] is OK as 'able' reading but not as a passive)

        a.   *Sono hon-wa   ooku-no hito-ni   {*yom-are-tei/*
             that   book-TOP many-NO person-DAT {read-PASS-PERF/
             √*yon-dei-rare}-ru.*
             read-ASP-RARE}-PRES
             'That book has been read by many people.'

        b.   *Sono hon-wa   nagaikoto yon-dei-rare-ru.*
             that   book-TOP long.thing read-ASP-PASS-PRES
             'That book is readable (*is being read) for a long time.'

As for the desirative *ta.gar* 'want.VERBALIZER (want, hereafter),' it is generally incompatible with long passives, as illustrated in (17-a), (17-b) and (17-c). The fol-

lowing examples are adapted from Miyagawa (1989:159):

(17)   **Want**: [*tagar-rare] vs. [rare-tagar]

     a.   *Kodomo-ga titioya-ni {*donari-tagar-are/$\sqrt{}$donar-are-tagar}-ta.*
        child-NOM father-by {shout-want-PASS/shout-PASS-want}-PAST
        'The child wanted his father to shout at him.'

     b.   *Kanozyo-ga Taroo-ni {*erabi-tagar-are/ $\sqrt{}$erab-are-tagar}-ta.*
        she-NOM   Taro-DAT {choose-want-PASS/ choose-PASS-want}-PAST
        'She wanted to be chosen by Taro.'

     c. *?*Karaa.terebi-ga minna-ni   kai-tagar-are-ta.*
        color.TV-NOM   everyone-by buy-want-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Color TVs were wanted by everyone to buy.'

However, there is a complication: *tagar* is a control predicate, which restricts its subject to sentient beings. This point is illustrated with examples in (18).

(18)   a.   *{Ken/Densya}-ga hasit-ta.*
        {Ken/train}-NOM run-PAST
        '{The train/Ken} ran.'

     b.   *{Ken/*Densya}-ga hasiri-tagar-ta.*
        {Ken/train}-NOM   run-want-PAST
        '{Ken/*The train} wanted to run.'

     c. **Ame-ga   huri-tagar-ta.*
        rain-NOM descend-want-PAST
        Int. ' Rain wanted to descend.'

This restriction is also at work with embedded passives (which are accpetable if the subject is a sentential being (see (17-a) and (17-b)), resulting in the ill-formedness of (19).

(19) ***Karaa.terebi-ga minna-ni   kaw-are-tagar-ta.*
     color.TV-NOM   everyone-by buy-PASS-want-PAST
     Lit. 'Color TVs were wanted by everyone (to buy).'

What is important is that the reasons for ill-formedness differ between (17-c) and (19). (17-c) is ill-formed because of the illicit ordering of elements, while (19) is ill-formed because of a non-sentient subject. Interestingly, there is a contrast in degree of ill-formedness: (19) is much worse than (17-c), but (17-c) is still ill-formed to me (and to Miyagawa 1989).[9]

The same pattern is observed with *sokone* 'to miss.' Although *sokone* can be a complement of *-rare*, it restricts its subject to sentient beings. Consequently, it is incompatible with inanimate subjects, as shown in (21).

(20) **Fail**: [*sokone-rare] vs. [rare-sokone]

    a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni*
       Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT
       *{*suisen.si-sokone-rare/suisen.s-are-sokone}-ta.*
       {recommend-fail-PASS/recommend-PASS-fail}-PAST
       'Ken failed to be recommended by Naomi.'

---

[9]Linguists disagree about whether passives with non-volitional subjects like (17-c) are compatible with long passives or not. Although Miyagawa (1989) and I reject passives like (17-c), Zushi (2008) and Nishigauchi (1993) report that long passives of *tagar* with non-volitional subjects are well-formed. Consider the following examples adapted from Nishigauchi (1993):

(i)   a.   *Mizu-ga   (minna-ni)   nomi-tagar-are-te-iru.*
           water-NOM everyone-DAT drink-want-PASS-TEI-PRES
           Lit: 'Water is wanted by everyone to drink.' (* to me)
      b.   *Kono kuruma-ga wakamono-ni nori-tagar-are-tei-ru.*
           this   car-NOM   youths-DAT   drive-want-PASS-PRES
           Lit: 'This car is wanted by young people to drive.' (*? to me)
      c.   *Sono hon-wa   minna-ni   yomi-tagar-are-tei-ru.*
           that   book-TOP everyone-DAT read-want-PASS-ASP-PRES.
           Lit: 'That book is wanted to be read by everyone.' (*? to me)

I only allow the verb *-tagar* with non-sentient subjects: (i-a) is absolutely unacceptable, and (i-b) and (i-c) are better than (i-a) but still much degraded than passives with sentient subjects like (17-a) and (17-b). The reason (i-b) and (i-c) are better than (i-a) is because, in general, regardless of the presence of *tagar* 'want', a passive with a non-sentient subject is better if it is a definite DP and the dative *by*-phrase is a non-specific DP. Presumably this has to do with the animacy hierarchy interacting with movement properties, but the exact reason for this contrast awaits future research.

b. *Sono eiga-wa   ookuno hito-ni*
   that   movie-TOP many   person-DAT
   mi-{*sokone-rare/*rare-sokone}-ta.
   watch-{fail-PASS/PASS-fail}-PAST
   'That movie failed to be watched by many people.'

(21)   Selectional Properties of *sokone*

   {*Densya/Ken}-wa hasiri-sokone-ta.
   {train/Ken}-TOP   run-fail-PAST
   '{*The train/Ken} failed to run.'

Note that table 2.1 did not include *ow.ar* 'come to an end,' which is one of the most commonly discussed aspectual verbs in Japanese. This is because I accept neither long nor embedded passives with *ow.ar*.[10] Examples are given below:

(22)   **Finish**: [*owar-are] vs. [*?rare-owar]

   a. *Kaizyoo-no isu-ga   katazuke-{*owar-are/ *?rare-owar}-ta.*
      hall-NO   chair-NOM remove-{finish-PASS/ PASS-finish}-PAST
      Lit: 'The chairs in the hall were finished being putting away.'

   b. *Syorui-ga   syokuin-ni   {*kubari-owar-are/*
      document-NOM employee-DAT {distribute-finish-PASS/
      *?kubar-are-owar}-ta
      distribute-PASS-finish}-PAST
      'Students left their desks once the papers were distributed.'

Given that the transitive counterpart of *ow.ar*−*ow.e* 'to finish'−allows for long passives, the incompatibility of *ow.ar* might be surprising. However, this is because of the complementation property of *-rare*. As we will see in section 2.4, *-rare* subcategorizes for Active Voice verbs (i.e. verbs that contain the little v_{AGENT} or v_{CAUSE}, which

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[10]Linguists disagree about whether *ow.ar* allows for long or embedded passives. For example, Matsumoto (1996) claims that *ow.ar* is compatible with embedded passives, while Fukuda (2009) conducted two grammaticality judgment questionnaires and found that the native speaker participants tend to accept neither long nor embedded passives with *owar*. Likewise, I can accept neither. The reason for the variability awaits future research.

license an external argument), and *ow.ar* does not qualify. The intransitive verb *ow.ar* 'to come to an end' consists of the verbal root *ow* and lexical/low passive (or intransitivizer) *-(r)ar*, which is not an Active Voice projection, thus it cannot be a complement of *-(r)are* (see section 2.4.1 for more information about complementation properties of *-rare*).

We now turn to the question of how we can make sense of the distribution of *-rare* with aspectual verbs.

2.3.2   *-rare* Instantiates Voice

In this section, I would like to demonstrate how the 'cartography approach' advanced by Cinque (1999, 2004) sheds new light on the complementation properties of the passive *-rare* and affords a deeper understanding of the distribution of aspectual verbs with *-rare* (see also Fukuda 2009b, Nishiyama and Ogawa 2009, Yashima 2009).

Cinque (2006) examines the typology of the order of functional heads including aspectual verbs and proposes that there is a universal hierarchy and a rigid order among the merged positions of elements. The following is a subset of the hierarchy developed by Cinque (1999: see Cinque 2006 for a finer-grained structural hierarchy):[11]

(23) $\text{TP(Past)} > \text{Mod}_{Volition} > \text{Asp}_{Continuative} > \text{Asp}_{Perfect} > \text{Asp}_{Progressive}$
$> \text{Asp}_{Prospective} > \text{Asp}_{Inceptive} > \text{Asp}_{Frustrative/Success} > \text{Asp}_{Completive(I)}$
$> \textbf{Voice} > \text{Causative} > \text{Asp}_{Inceptive(II)} > \text{Asp}_{Continuative(II)} > \text{Asp}_{Completive(II)}$
$> \text{Asp}_{Repetitive(II)} > \text{V}$[12]

Under this approach, the null hypothesis is that *-rare* instantiates Voice head. If this hypothesis is correct, the predication is that only the aspectual verbs that are merged

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[11]XP>YP indicates that YP is the complement of the head of XP.

[12]The list is taken from Cinque 2004:76, 93. Lower repetitive projection appears in two lists in Cinque (2006: 93 and 176).

lower than Voice can undergo long passivization since they can be embedded under -*rare* (see Cinque 2006:69). The data established in the previous section conforms with this prediction.

The table 2.1 summarizes the distribution of Japanese functional heads with respect to -*rare* (the table was construed mainly based on the data discussed in Nishiyama and Ogawa 2009 and Yashima 2009).[13]

Table 2.2: Japanese Functional Categories: Based on Cinque 1999, 2004

			English	Japanese	*V-rare*	*rare-V*
15	T(Past)		-ed	*ta*	*	ok
14	Mod-Volition		want	*ta-gar*	*	ok
13	Asp-Continuative		continue	*tsuzuke*	*	ok
12	Asp-Perfect		have -en	*te-i*	*	ok
11	Asp-Progressive		be -ing			
10	Asp-Prospective		be about to	*kake*	*	ok
9	Asp-Inceptive		begin	*hazime, das*	*	ok
8	Asp-Frustrative		not manage to	*sokone*	*	ok
7	Voice		by (Collins 2005)	-rare	—	—
6	Causative		make/let/cause	-sase	ok	?*
5	Asp-Inceptive (II)		begin	*hazime, das*	ok	*
4	Asp-Continuative (II)		continue	*tsuzuke*	ok	*
3	Asp-Completive (II)		finish	*oe, age*	ok	*
			complete	*toge*		
			not complete	*wasure*	ok	*
2	Asp-Repetitive (II)		again (do again)	*naos*	ok	*
1	V					

Assuming that *hazime, das* 'to begin' and *tsuzuke* 'to continue' each occupy two distinct positions in the hierarchy (with slightly different semantics or functions, which

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[13]The structural positions of *sugi* 'exceed' and *tsukus* 'exhaust' are not evident from their meanings. The former must occupy a position higher than -*rare*, and the latter lower than -*rare*. The goal of this section is to establish that -*rare* instantiates Voice within Cinque's (1999, 2006) cartography project. The relative ordering among other aspectual heads in table 2.2 needs to be established independently. Furthermore, I do not intend to propose a new analysis for the structure of V-V compounds here. Readers are referred to Nishiyama and Ogawa (2009) and Fukuda (2009b) for reviews of analyses.

I do not investigate further in this thesis), the distribution given in table 2.2 is straight-forwardly accounted for by the relative merged positions among elements proposed in Cinque (1999, 2006) if *-rare* is indeed specified as (passive) Voice head.

This proposal is superior to the traditional proposals in many ways. Traditionally, the distributional differences are attributed to whether a verb is a control predicate or a raising predicate, as in table 2.3, with long passives only possible with control predicates (Shibatan 1978, Kuno 1983, Nishigauchi 1993, Kageyama 1993, Koizumi 1995, 1998, Matsumoto 1996, Hasegawa 1999, Yashima 2009: among others).

Table 2.3: Control vs. Raising Verbs

Control	Control and Raising	Raising
oe 'finish'. *age* 'finish' *naos* 'redo', *wasur* 'forget' *tagar* 'want', *sokone* 'fail'	*hazime* 'begin', *das* 'start' *tuzuke* 'continue'	*sugi* 'exceed' *owar* 'come to an end' *kake* 'be about to'

This is because the traditional assumption is that *-rare* absorbs an external θ-role of a lexical verb presyntactically. Consequently, raising verbs cannot combine with *-rare*, because they lexically do not have the external θ-role that satisfies the property of *-rare*. Control predicates, on the other hand, assign an external θ-role, thus it is predicted that they can be embedded under *-rare*, allowing long passivization.[14] The verbs that are compatible with both long and embedded passives are alleged to be ambiguous between raising and control. However, this account does not explain the

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[14]As pointed out by Kageyama (1993) and Yashima (2009), among others, the control account has another problem, which is the traditional problem of long passivization with restructuring predicates. That is, in long passivization, the internal argument of the verb embedded under the control predicate should not be able to move to the matrix *ga*-position since PRO, which locates in the specifier of the embedded verb, intervenes, thus the derivation violates Relativized Minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990). The minimality might appear to be a problem for the present analysis: that is, in order to get to the matrix *ga*-position, the internal argument needs to cross either PRO or a trace in addition to the external argument of the aspectual verb. However, the smuggling analysis I pursue here can get around this problem by smuggling the big VP shell of the embedded clause, stranding the higher shell containing an external argument and PRO/trace. It might be the case that the availability of smuggling a big VP shell is in fact responsible for the cross-linguistic distribution of long passivization.

distribution of *-tagar* 'want' and *-sokone* 'fail,' which are traditionally considered as control verbs, but cannot be a complement of *-rare*. Furthermore, it does not account for why embedded passives are incompatible with control predicates, such as *owe/age* 'to finish,' *naos* 'to redo,' *wasure* 'to forget,' even when the subject is a sentient being.

In contrast to the traditional approach, I assume, with many others, that the argument structure of the verb is fully represented in the syntax and that there is no lexical absorption of an external θ-role (cf. Collins 2005). With the current approach, the status of the external argument, i.e. whether the external argument of the aspectual verb embedded under *-rare* is a base-generated lexical argument or a derived argument, does not determine the availability of the long passivization. The availability entirely depends on the structural merged position of the aspectual head relative to the Voice head *-rare*.

2.4   Lexical Properties of *-rare*

This section will establish further lexical properties of the passive Voice *-rare*: i.e. what it takes as complement (or merges with) and what EPP properties it has. First, *-rare* has the following complementation properties: it selects for an active '*v*P,' thus it cannot take a middle, a pure unaccusative, or a passivized verb as its complement. Second, *-rare* has EPP (edge) features that attract the big VP shell, stranding *v*P (i.e. smuggling: Collins, 2005). Third, *-rare* (optionally) licenses a dative projection, which usually checks off the external argument of the predicate to which *-rare* attaches. The three properties are illustrated in turn below.

2.4.1 Complementation Properties of *-rare*

In section 2.3.1, we have seen one complementation property of *-rare*. Namely, it cannot take aspectual verbs that are merged higher than the passive Voice head *-rare*. Now we turn to another important complementation property.

Japanese passives are extremely productive; the passive morpheme *-(r)are* combines with transitive (e.g. *nagur-u* 'hit,' *aisu-ru* 'love,' and *hihansu-ru* 'criticize'), ditransitive (e.g. *watas-u* 'hand/give', *syookaisu-ru* 'introduce', and *okur-u* 'send'), and some intransitive predicates comprising both unaccusative and unergative predicates (e.g. *sin-u* 'die', *nak-u* 'cry', and *nige-ru* 'escape'). Nevertheless, *-rare* is not compatible with *all* intransitive and transitive predicates. Quite a few verbs−generally intransitives−resist *-rare* (e.g. **ak-are-ru* 'open$_{intr.}$-PASS', **itam-are-ru* 'hurt$_{intr.}$-PASS' **war.e-rare-ru* 'break$_{intr.}$-PASS'). Others are compatible but yield interpretations other than passives (e.g. Subject honorifics−*sube-rare-ru* 'honorifically slide,' *oti-rare-ru* 'honorifically fall'; Middles/Abilitives−*hag-are-ru* '{spontaneously/be able to} come off/*peel-PASS'). In the next section, I consider what kind of verbs can be embedded under *-rare*.

2.4.1.1 *-rare* Selects for Active Voice *v*P

My proposed generalization is that the passive *-rare* selects for an Active Voice verb. This proposal is consistent with the observations made by Washio (1989) and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), who point out that the passive *-rare* is incompatible with middle voice intransitive verbs like *war.e-ru* 'break$_{intr.}$ (spontaneously break)' and *mitsuk.ar.-u* 'be.found.'[15]

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[15] Drawing on the classification proposed by Motoori Haruniwa (1763-1828), Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) have classified intransitive verbs into two kinds: 'active' intransitives, *mizukara sikasuru* (to do so volitionally) and 'inactive' intransitives, *onozukara sikaru* (to happen thus spontaneously). The dichotomy between Active Voice and non-Active Voice verbs (i.e. Middles and Passives) proposed here roughly matches their Active-Inactive verb distinction. However, they define active intransitives as verbs that select for a subject with volition, which seems not to be the defining property of the verbs

Combining *-rare-* with a middle voice verb yields an illicit string regardless of the choice of arguments, the type of the external argument (either a dative *by*-phrase or a *ni-yotte* phrase), and tense (e.g. **war.e-rare-ta, *mitsuk.ar-rare-ru*), as exemplified below. Examples from (24-b) to (24-f) are taken and slightly modified from Washio (1989):

(24)   a. **Naomi-ga raburetaa-ni mituk.ar-are-ta.*
            Naomi-NOM love.letter-DAT find.(R)AR-PASS-PAST
            Int. 'It happened to Naomi that her love letter was found.'

      b. **Ken-wa itumo megane-ni kumor–are-ru.*
            Ken-TOP always glasses-DAT collect.moisture-PASS-PRES
            Int. 'It always happens to Ken that his eyeglasses collect moisture.'

      c. **Naomi-wa hon-no peezi-ni yabur.e-rare-ta.*
            Naomi-TOP book-NO page-DAT tear.(R)E-PASS-PAST
            Int. 'It happened to Naomi that the book-page tore.'

      d. **Ken-ga totsuzen mado-ni war.e-rare-ta.*
            Ken-NOM suddenly window-DAT break.(R)E-PASS-PAST
            Int. 'Ken experienced the window's sudden breaking.'

      e. **Ken-wa kutu-no himo-ni hodok.e-rare-ta.*
            Ken-TOP shoe-NO lace-DAT untie.(R)E-PASS-PAST
            Int. 'It happened to Ken that his shoelace untied.'

      f. **Ken-wa zubon-ni nug.e-rare-ta.*
            Ken-TOP pants-DAT undress.(R)E-PASS-PAST
             Int. 'It happened to Ken that his pants fell off.'

Additionally, Washio (1989) points out that *-rare* cannot combine with a passivized verb, as illustrated below (adopted from Washio 1989:232):

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that can be a complement of *-rare*. Some verbs that do not require volition (but they are Active Voice verbs) are still compatible with it (e.g. *hur-u* '(rain) descend', *nak-u* 'cry (doesn't require volition)').

(25) *Watashi-wa musuko-ga (dareka-ni) nagur-are-rare-ta.
I-TOP son-NOM (someone-DAT) hit-PASS-PASS-PAST
Int. 'I was affected by the fact that my son was hit (by someone).

How can we understand the incompatibility of non-active voice verbs−middle and passive voice verbs−with *-rare* in light of the complementation property of *-rare*? I will implement this in terms of selection: *-rare* selects for an active Voice little *v* complement (i.e. little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$), which I take to be a little *v* with a DP occupying its Spec.[16] The compatibility of *-rare* with raising predicates indicates that the DP occupying the specifier of an active Voice *v*P can be a derived argument, i.e. a product of raising as in the case of long passives.

We can further substantiate the notion of active voice *v*P by adopting the idea advanced by Harley (1995), Marantz (1997), among others that little *v* comes in three varieties: little v_{DO} or v_{CAUSE} (i.e. little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$) and little v_{BECOME} (i.e. little $v_{[-\text{ACTIVE}]}$). Japanese verbs are often morphologically complex, and the function of each morpheme is quite transparent. Many verbs exhibit a transitive-intransitive alternation and consist of a verbal root and either a low/lexical causative (e.g. '-(s)as-', '-(s)e') or a low/lexical passive (e.g. '-(r)are', '-(r)ar', '-(r)e') (Shibatani 1990, Miyagawa 1999, Harley 1995a, Jacobsen 1992, Volpe 2005: among others). Following Harley (2005:28) and many others, I assume that the low causative morphemes instantiate little v_{AGENT} (or v_{DO}) or v_{CAUSE} and the low passive morphemes instantiate ittle v_{BECOME}. Table 2.4 provides some transitive verb examples consisting of a verbal root (i.e. $\sqrt{\text{V}}$) and little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$. The verbs in row (i) take a null little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$ and those in (ii) take *-(s)as*.

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[16]I leave aside the question of whether this selectional property *-rare* can be further derived.

Table 2.4: Transitive Verbs Comprising of a Root and Little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$

Composition	*-rare*	Transitive Verb Examples
(i) $\sqrt{V}$-⊘	ok	*war-ru, or-ru* (break), *tigir-u* (tear off) *ni-ru* (boil), *tok-ru* (melt), *sak-ru* (tear)
(ii) $\sqrt{V}$-(s)as		*kog-as-u* (scorch), *hiy-as-u* (make cool) *kar-as-u* (wither), *bar-as-u* (expose), *iy-as-ru* (heal)

All the verbs in table 2.4 can be embedded under *-rare*. They have an intransitive counterpart containing little $v_{[-\text{ACTIVE}]}$ spelled out as *-(r)e*.

Table 2.5: Middle Voice Verbs Containing Little $v_{[-\text{ACTIVE}]}$

Composition	*-rare*	Intransitive Examples
$\sqrt{V}$-(r)e	*	*war-e-ru, or-e-ru* (break), *tigir-e-ru* (become torn off) *ni-e-ru* (boil), *tok-e-ru* (melt), *sak-e-ru* (tear)
		kog-e-ru (become scorched), *hi-e-ru* (become cool) *kar-e-ru* (wither), *bar-e-ru* (come to light), *i-e-ru* (heal)

All of the verbs in table 2.5 are incompatible with the passive *-rare*. The property established in this section, i.e. *-rare* takes active voice little *v* as its complement, is very important in order to explain the intricate distribution of the passive construction. We will come back to this property in section 2.4.2.1 and show that this property indeed accounts for otherwise puzzling distribution of the passive.

2.4.2 The EPP Feature of *-rare*

In this section, I motivate another lexical property of *-rare*; that is, it has EPP (edge) features that attract the big VP shell, stranding *v*P (i.e. smuggling; Collins, 2005). The VP is smuggled to the edge of the phrase, demoting the external argument. As far as the derivation is concerned, the highest DP within the VP will be attracted to the nominative Case position.

(26)
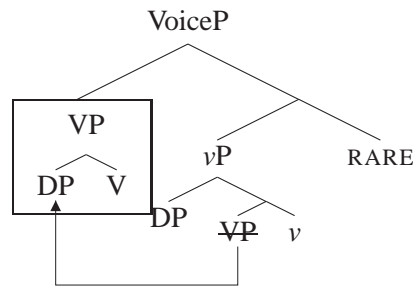
The support for this proposal comes from the fact that *-rare* cannot merge with pure unergative verbs that lack a big VP shell, such as *oyog* 'to swim,' *hatarak* 'to work,' and *odor* 'to dance.'

(27)   a. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   oyog-are-ta.*   [C:mean 1.39]
             Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
             Lit. 'Ken was swum by Naomi.'
             Int.'Ken was affected by Naomi's swimming.'

       b. *Ken-wa tuma-ni suupaa-de   hatrak-are-ta.*   [B:mean 1.67]
             Ken-TOP wife-DAT supermarket-LOC work-PASS-PAST
             Lit. 'Ken was worked at the supermarket by his wife.'
             Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his wife worked at a supermarket.'

       c. *Ken-wa musume-ni   odor-are-ta.*   [C:mean 1.56]
             Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
             Lit. 'Ken was danced by his daughter.'
             Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his daughter danced.'

The ungrammaticality of these sentences cannot be explained by the incompatibility of *-rare* with unergative verbs, since *-rare* can take *nak-u* 'to cry,' (analyzed as a pseudo-passive in section 3.5):

(28)   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   nak-are-ta.*
           Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

We can understand the ungrammaticality of sentences like (27-a), (27-b), and (27-c) if we assume the general ban on movement from complement to its specifier position, as

proposed by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), Abels (2003) and Kayne (2003). Namely, when an unergative verb spells out *v*, the general ban on movement prohibits *v*P itself to satisfy the EPP of *-rare*, and there is no big VP shell that can do so.

(29)

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
                  /        \
                vP          RARE
               /  \
             DP    v
              |    |
           Naomi  swim
```
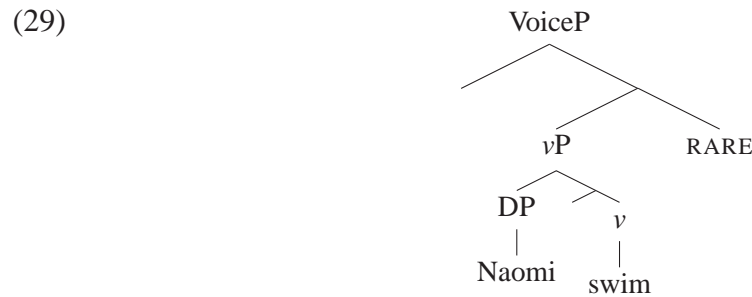
On the other hand, as briefly discussed in section 1.7.3.1, the unergative verb *nak-u* 'to cry' is compatible with a VP shell that contains a CAUSE argument that is promotable to the nominative DP in the passive. The verb *nak-u* has a transitive-like structure in this use, and the structure is basically the same as the one given in (26) (see section 3.5.2.4 for more information).

Moving a VP shell containing no overt material will not satisfy the EPP of *-rare*. Consequently, a structure that has both a *v*P and some DP material in the big VP shell will yield a converging passive construction. In short, the EPP property of *-rare* and the general ban on movement in effect force the complement structure of *-rare* to contain at least two separable VP shells. The higher shell must be little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$, and the big VP shell must contain some DP material. More support for the proposal of EPP features of *-rare* will be given in section 3.6.

2.4.2.1 Interim Summary and Consequences

In the previous two sections, I have established the following lexical properties of *-rare*:

(30)   1) It selects for an active little *v*.
        2) It has the EPP feature that attracts the complement of little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$ to its
        specifier, stranding the *v*P.

These two properties determine what predicate can be embedded under *-rare*. The first property rules out predicates that contain little $v_{[-\text{ACTIVE}]}$, such as *ot.i-ru* 'to fall' (cf. Harley (2005b) proposes that the morpheme 'i' corresponds to little v_{BECOME}):

(31)   *Taroo-ga   musuko-ni kaidan-kara ot.i-rare-ta.*
        Taro-NOM son-DAT   stairs-from   fall-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Taro was fallen by his son from the stairs.   [A: mean 1.09]

Significantly, presence of the active voice *v*P does not coincide with unaccusativity. For example, unaccusative verbs, such as *sin-u* 'to die' or *nige-ru* 'to escape' can be a complement of the passive *-rare*, as illustrated below:

(32)   a.   *Naomi-wa   hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*
              Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
              Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'   [A: mean 4.68]

        b.   *Otto-ga   tuma-ni   nige-rare-ta.*
              husband-NOM wife-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
              Lit. 'The husband was escaped from by his wife.'   [A:mean 4.82]

This suggests that unlike *oti-ru* 'to fall,' unaccusative verbs like *sin-u* 'to die' or *nige-ru* 'to escape' contain (or at least can optionally contain) an active voice little *v*P layer in addition to the big VP.

Let us now turn to the second lexical property of *-rare*. I have already shown in the previous section that the EPP feature disallows *-rare* to combine with pure unergative verbs that lack a VP shell (e.g. *oyog* 'to swim,' *hatarak* 'to work,' and *odor* 'to dance'; see (27-a), (27-b), and (27-c)). Furthermore, the EPP feature of *-rare* accounts for the

incompatibility of *-rare* with verbs taking a small clause complement instead of a VP (e.g. *tuk-u* 'to arrive'), as exemplified below:

(33) **Taroo_i-ga tomodachi-ni zibun_i-no ie-ni   tuk-are-ta.*
      Taro-NOM friend-DAT   self-NO home-DAT arrive-PASS-PAST
      Lit. 'Taro_i was arrived at self's_i house by his friend.'   [A: mean 1.07]

The problem with the verb *tuk-u* 'to arrive' is that it does not have the right type of complement: the EPP feature of *-rare* needs to be satisfied with a VP shell, not by a PP or small clause complement. The verb *tuk-u* takes a SC complement, which cannot satisfy the EPP of *-rare*:

(34)
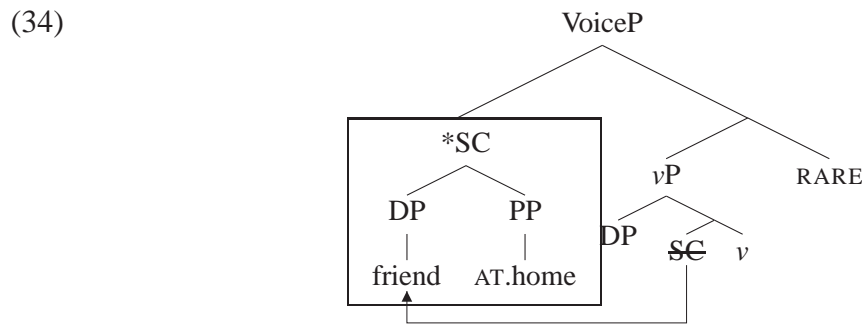
Lastly, *-rare* cannot directly merge with a verbal root, which is in fact ruled out by both of the properties just discussed. It lacks active voice *v*P that *-rare* selects for, and it also lacks a complement VP shell that is needed to satisfy the EPP of *-rare*. Directly combining *-rare* with a verbal root or a structure that does not have two VP shells results in an illicit string or yields a non-passive interpretation, to wit middle, abilitive, subject honorific interpretations. For example, in (35-a) *-rare* is directly merged with a verbal root and yields a middle voice interpretation. (35-b), on the other hand, yields an illicit string *bar-are-ru*.

(35)   a. *Ken-no huku-ga   yog-ore-ta.*
           Ken-NO clothes-NOM soil-RARE-PAST
           'Ken's clothes became soiled.' (cf. *yog.os.u* 'make soiled')

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b. *Himitu-ga   bar-are-ru.
   secret-NOM expose-RARE-PRES
   'The secret was exposed.' (cf. *bar.e.ru* 'come to light,' *bar.as.u* 'expose')

Similarly, some transitive verbs cannot be a complement of the passive *-rare* if the size of the verb is too small (i.e. not consisting of two VP shells). The verb *hag-u* 'to peel' is one such example. The transitive verb *hag-u* seems to be structurally very small, since it can combine with the low causative and low passive morphemes (i.e. little *v*) and yield a lexical intransitive and a transitive predicate respectively.[17] The following is the transitive-intransitive alternation with *hag-u* 'to peel':

Table 2.6: Tr.-Intr. Alternation of *hag-u* 'to peel'

Root	Intansitive	Transitive
hag-u (peel)	*hag.e-ru* (go bald, come off)	*hag.as-u* (peel/remove from the surface)

Combining *-rare-* with *hag-u* 'to peel' does not yield a passive interpretation but only a middle (spontaneous) or abilitive reading.[18]

(36)   a.   *Ryooshi-ga kemono-no kawa-o   hag-u.*
            hunter-NOM beast-NO   skin-ACC peel-PRES
            'The hunter skins a beast (lit: peels a beast's skin).'   [Active]

       b.   *Kemono-no kawa-ga   (*ryooshi-ni(-yot-te)) hag-are-ru.*
            beast-NO   skin-NOM hunter-DAT-YOT-TE   peel-(R)ARE-PRES
            'The beast's skin {comes off/is able to come off} (*by the hunter).'
                                                                    [Middle/Abilitive]

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[17]Adding the little v_{BECOME} *-(r)e-* to the root *hag-u* yields a middle voice reading, whereas adding the little v_{DO} *-(s)as-* yields another transitive verb 'to peel.' The two transitive verbs slightly differ in usages. The canonical use of *hag-u* is 'to skin', while *hag-as-u* is used more generally to mean 'to peel (a sticker, a wallpaper, etc).' *hag-e-ru* is used in situations where one goes bald or paintings come off/fade, and so forth. *hag-are-ru* is a middle counterpart of the transitive verb *hag-as-u*, meaning '(a sticker, a wallpaper, etc) (spontaneously) to come off' (see (37-a)).

[18] Presumably the verb *hag-u* 'to peel' is compatible with a silent low causative head, which allows it to function as a transitive verb in (36-a), but restrict its meaning to 'to skin.'

The morpheme *-rare* needs to merge with *hag-as-u*, which contains little v_{DO}, in order to be interpreted as the passive voice, as shown in (37-b).

(37)   a.   *Siiru-ga   (*Ken-{ni/ni-yot-te}) hag-are-ta.*
                 sticker-NOM Ken-DAT-YOT-TE   come.off-MID-PAST
                 'The sticker {(spontaneously) came off/was able to come off}'
                 '*The sticker was peeled off by Ken.'

         b.   *Kemono-no kawa/siiru-ga   Ken-ni-yot-te   hag-as-are-ta.*
                 Beast-NO   skin/sticker-NOM Ken-DAT-YOT-TE peel-TR-PASS-PAST
                 'The {beast's skin/sticker} was peeled off by Ken.'

Assuming that *-(s)as* in *hag-as-u* is little v_{DO} 'peel', the verb *hag-u* must lack an active voice *v*P shell. The contrast shown in (37) supports the proposal that the passive morpheme *-rare-* neesds to merge with a minimum structure that consists of two VP shells, one of which is active voice little *v*.

2.4.3   Introducing a Dative Projection

This section introduces the last lexical property of *-rare*. Namely, *-rare* (optionally) introduces dative Case for the DP in *v*P, as the following active-passive pair shows:

(38)   a.   *John-ga   Mary-no imooto-o   tasuke-ta.* $\boxed{Active}$
                 John-NOM Mary-NO sister-ACC help-PAST
                 'John helped Mary's sister.'

         b.   *Mary-ga **John-ni** imooto-o   tasuke-rare-ta.* $\boxed{Passive}$
                 Mary-NOM John-DAT sister-ACC help-PASS-PAST
                 'Mary was helped her sister by John.'

The dative *by*-phrase (i.e. the dative phrase that corresponds to the external argument of the predicate embedded under *-rare*) and the so-called *ni-yotte* phrase will be discussed in chapter 4.

Note that while Collins (2005) proposes that English 'by' is an instance of Voice (which alternates with a silent voice), this option is not available in Japanese, where *-rare* seems to lexicalize Voice. If dative is a separate projection that *comes with* passive voice, there are two options available: either (i) Voice selects for dative, which selects for active voice *v*P, yielding the order of merger $[v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]} > \text{Dat} > rare]$ or (ii) dative selects for Voice, which selects for active voice *v*P, yielding the order of merger $[\text{Dat}>v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]} > rare]$. These questions are addressed in section 3.3.2.3 .

2.5   Subject Honorifics

The previous sections have established the lexical properties of *-rare*. Although the focus of the thesis is on the passive uses of *-rare*, my research program assumes that the lexical properties of *-rare* itself is invariant across all the *-rare* constructions. We should be able to propose a unified analysis (see section 2.1).

In this section, as a first step toward a unified treatment of *-rare*, I extend the analysis of passive uses of *-rare* to the subject honorific use. In subject honorific sentences, the passive morpheme *-rare* is used to express the speaker's sense of respect toward the referent of the subject. Unlike the passive use of *-rare*, subject honorific constructions are incomptible with an overt dative *by*-phrase. Examples of subject honorifics are presented below:

(39)   a.   *Sensei-ga   hashi-rare-ta.*
              teacher-NOM run-PASS-PAST
              'The teacher (honorably) ran.

       b.   *Sensei-ga   moohu-ni   kurum.ar-are-ta.*
              teacher-NOM blanket-DAT wrap.(r)ar-PASS-PAST
              'The teacher (honorably) wrapped himself in the blanket.'

       c.   *Kato-san-ga   kaidan-kara oti-rare-ta.*
              Kato-Mr.-NOM stairs-from   fall-PASS-PAST
              Mr. Kato (honorably) fell from the stairs.'

What is striking with above examples is the fact that honorific *-rare* can combine with predicates that is incompatible with the passive *-rare*. In other cases, *-rare* is ambiguous between the passive and subject honorific uses:

(40) a. *Sensei-ga kodomo-o sikar-are-ta.*
    teacher-NOM child-ACC scold-PASS-PAST
    [Poss-Acc. PSV] 'The teacher had his child scolded.'
    [Sub. Honorific] 'The teacher honorably scolded the child.

   b. *{Sensei/Ken}-ga waraw-are-ta.*
    teacher/Ken-NOM laugh-PASS-PAST
    [Acc. Passive]'{The teacher/Ken} was laughed at.'
    [Sub. Honorific]'{The teacher/Ken} honorably laughed.'

There have been previous attempts to relate subject honorific *-rare* to (direct) passive *-rare*: Hasegawa (1988), Kubo (1992), and Toyoshima (2008) propose that subject honorifics are the direct passive of the underlying subject (i.e. they are the raising construction), as illustrated below:

(41) *Sensei-ga [$_{vP}$ ~~sensei~~ ot.i]-rare-ta.*
   teacher-NOM t fall-PASS-PAST
   'The teacher honorably fell.'

This analysis seems highly unsatisfactory. There are many remaining questions: Where does the honorific interpretation come from? Why does the subject honorific construction involve the passive morpheme, which is certainly unique from a crosslinguistic point of view? Toyoshima (2008) argues that the honorific meaning is pragmatic, dependent on the lexical choice of the main verb and the referent of the surface subject. However, the honorific interpretation is available even if the referent of the surface subject is not a teacher but anyone who is honorable (this is a sociological factor independent of language) (see (39-c)). Further, (40-a) and (40-b) do not carry honorific

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connotations even though the surface subject refers to an honorable person, 'a teacher.' Therefore, it is not sufficient to attribute the honorific interpretation to pragmatic reasons.

Under a unified analysis of *-rare*, the *-rare* in subject honorifics *must* be the same *-rare* as the one in the passive construction. Thus, it takes an active vP complement and attracts a VP shell to its specifier. The nominative DP must be raised from the smuggled shell, i.e. 'teacher' in (41) must have been contained in the complement of little $v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$. This means that the subject honorific construction must contain a silent active little vP shell, which itself takes a wide variety of complements. Given the meaning of this construction, we can understand this silent predicate as having the semantics of 'to HONOR,' which introduces a silent subject, say SPEAKER (cf. Kayne for proposals about silent elements).[19] Thus, minimally, the subject honorific passive has the structure sketched below:

(42) $_{VoiceP}[[_{VP}$ teacher fall $]_i$ [[SPEAKER $[_{VP}$ teacher fall$]_i$ HONOR] rare]]

The predicate is embedded under this silent predicate HONOR, followed by the merger of *-rare*, yielding the order of merge [$rare>v_{[+\text{ACTIVE}]}$HONOR>fall]. The VP shell 'to fall' moves to Spec of *-rare*, and the highest argument of the predicate, 'teacher', is subsequently attracted to the nominative position to satisfy the EPP of T in a regular fashion, yielding a string-vacuous movement.

This derivation accounts for an important distributional property of subject hon-

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[19]Thanks to Hilda Koopman (person. comm.) for suggesting this idea. The external argument could be PRO$_{arb}$ instead of SPEAKER: what exactly the silent external argument does not play a critical role for the proposal here. Alternatively it is also plausible that the structure involves object control and a subject PRO in the embedded clause. ([teacher$_i$ [SPEAKER t_i [PRO$_i$ fall] HONOR] rare T]). However, what is important for the proposal here is that the silent predicate HONOR introduces an active vP layer, which allows *-rare* to combine with a wider range of predicate than the one appearing in the passive context.

orifics. In the subject honorific construction, *-rare* merges with a wider range of predicates than it does in the passive constructions. We have seen in section 2.4 that the passive use of *-rare* cannot combine with little $v_{[-\text{ACTIVE}]}$ (e.g. *otir-u* 'to fall') or pure unergative verbs that lack the big VP shell (e.g. *hashi-ru* or *odor-u* 'to dance'). In contrast, the subject honorific use of *-rare* is compatible with such predicates (see (41)). The distribution straightforwardly follows from the proposed derivation: the presence of the silent projection [HONOR] results in introducing an active voice *v*P shell, which satisfies the complementation property and the two-shell requirement of *-rare*, thus allowing the derivation to converge.

2.6 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, various properties of the passive *-rare* have been discussed.[20] First, in section 2.3 I discuss the distribution of long passives and show that *-rare* cannot combine with the aspectual verbs whose merged positions in Cinque's (1999, 2006) hierarchy are higher than that of the passive *-rare*. Based on this property, I propose that the passive morpheme *-rare* instantiates the Voice projection. In section 2.4, I establish the following lexical properties of *-rare*:

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[20]Although I did not discuss in this chapter, *-rare* also has aspectual effects on the predicate with which it merges.

(i)   a.   *John-ga   tabe-tei-ru.*
                John-NOM eat-ASP-PRES
                'John is eating.' (Progressive reading)
    b.   *Gohan-ga tabe-rare-tei-ru.*
                rice-NOM eat-PASS-ASP-PRES
                'The rice has been eaten.' (Perfective/Resultative reading)

(ii)   a.   *John-ga   Ken-o   nagut-tei-ru.*
                John-NOM Ken-ACC hit-ASP-PRES
                'John is hitting Ken.' (Progressive)
    b.   *Ken-ga   John-ni   nagur-are-tei-ru.*
                Ken-NOM John-DAT hit-PASS-ASP-PRES
                'Ken is being hit by John.' (Progressive)

(43)   **Lexical Properties of *-rare-***

    1. It instantiates Passive Voice.

    2. It merges with 'active voice' little *v* as its complement.

    3. It has the EPP feature that attracts a VP verbal shell to its Specifier.

    4. It comes with an optional dative projection.

Lastly, in section 2.5 I propose an analysis of subject honorifics, assuming that *-rare* contained in subject honorifics is the same one appearing in the passive. Specifically I argue that in subject honorific constructions, *-rare* merges with a silent active voice predicate HONOR, which combines with the *v*P/VP and show how this structure accounts for the distributional properties of the subject honorific construction.

As shown in (i-b), the attachment of *-rare* to an accomplishment verb yields a resultative interpretation. In contrast, the attachment to an activity verb preserves the activity reading, as shown in (ii-b). I do not discuss this property of *-rare* in the chapter, but further structural distinctions among the transitive predicates seem to be necessary in order to account for different interpretations associated with the attachment of the passive *-rare*.

CHAPTER 3

The Derived Subject in the Passive

This chapter is concerned with the behavior of the nominative DP−the derived subject. I start the discussion by introducing some general properties of Japanese. Then I address the following questions regarding the derived subject: What is the source (or external merge) position of the derived subject? How is the nominative DP interpreted? What is the nominative DP selected by? Given my thesis that passivization is achieved by smuggling and the general theory outlined in chapter 2, it must be the case that the nominative DP is merged as the highest argument within a smuggled VP shell. This sets boundary conditions on the analytical options that can be entertained.

3.1 General Properties of Japanese

This section introduces two properties of Japanese that are relevant to the discussion of the passive voice system−the lack of expletives and the behavior of adpositional Case markers under movement.

3.1.1 Japanese Lacks an Expletive

As is well known, many languages including Dutch, German, Latin, Classical Greek, North Russian dialects, Shona (Bantu), Turkish, and Taramahua (Uto-Aztecan) allow 'the impersonal passive,' which is the passive derived from an intransitive predicate

(see). Some impersonal passives have an expletive in the subject position, and others are subjectless (or having an expletive *pro*). The examples given below are taken from ():

(1)   a.   *Er   wordt (door de jongens)   gefloten.*
            there became (by   the young.men) whistled
            Lit. 'There was whistled by the boys.'   [Dutch]

       b.   *Gestern   wurde   getanzt.*
            yesterday became danced
            'Yesterday there was dancing.'   [German]

       c.   *Ankara-ya gid-il-di.*
            Ankara-to go-PASS-PAST
            'It was gone to Ankara / There was a trip to Ankara.'   [Turkish]

       d.   *Tashi goci-ru.*
            not   sleep-PASS
            'One doesn't sleep.'   [Taramahua]

Japanese, on the other hand, allows neither subjectless nor expletive impersonal passives (), as demonstrated below:

(2)   a. **Kinoo   (syoonen-{ni/niyot-te}) odo-rare-ta.*
           yesterday boy-{DAT/NI-YOTTE} dance-PASS-PAST
           Int: 'Yesterday there was danced by {the boy/somebody}.'
           (cf. Miyagawa 1989:170)

       b. **Pari-ni   ik-are-ta.*
           Paris-DAT go-PASS-PAST
           Int: 'It was gone to Paris.'

       c. **Ooku-no hito-ni   sin-are-ta.*
           many-NO people-DAT die-PASS-PAST
           Int. 'There was died by many people.'

The EPP feature of *-rare* discussed in section 2.4.2.1 straightforwardly rules out (2-a) (the lower VP shell does not contain overt material) and (2-b) (the lower shell is not the right kind; it is not a VP but a PP small clause). In contrast, the lexical properties of *-rare* given in 2.4.2.1 cannot explain the unacceptability of (2-c), as *sin* 'to die' by itself can be passivized. Following Heycock (1993:195), Fukui (1986), Miyagawa (1989:170), Terada (1990:216), among others, I assume that (2-c) is unacceptable because Japanese lacks null (or overt) expletives. Without an expletive, moving a DP to Spec,TP is the only way to satisfy the EPP of T in Japanese passives.

Independent support for this claim is provided by Terada (1990:216). Predicates such as *omo-u* 'think,' *shinji-ru* 'believe,' and *i-u* 'say' *optionally* participate in the ECM construction in Japanese, where the subject of the embedded clause can alternate between *ga-* and *o*-markings as long as the embedded clause contains an individual-level predicate (see section 6.3 for more information about the ECM construction in Japanese). Consider the following paradigm:

(3)   a.   *Hitobito-ga $_{CP}$[John-ga teki-da-to]   omot-tei-ru.*
           people-NOM John-NOM   enemy-COP-C think-ASP-PRES
           'People think that John is an enemy.   [Active]

       b.   *Hitobito-ga John$_i$-o $_{CP}$[t$_i$ teki-da-to]   omot-tei-ru.*
           people-NOM John-ACC   enemy-COP-C think-ASP-PRES
           'People think that John is an enemy.   [Raising to Object]

       c.   *$*^?$Hitobito-ni $_{CP}$[John-ga teki-da-to]   omow-are-tei-ru.*
           people-DAT   John-NOM   enemy-COP-C think-PASS-ASP-PRES
           'It is thought by people that John is an enemy.'   [No 'it CP' expletive]

       d.   *John-ga   hitobito-ni   t$_i$ teki-da-to   omow-are-tei-ru.*
           John-NOM people-DAT   enemy-COP-C think-PASS-ASP-PRES
           'John is thought by people to be an enemy.'   [Passive]

In basic agreement with Terada (1990:217), I find (3-c) very awkward, whereas (3-d), which is the passive corresponding to the *-o* variant, is completely natural. Terada

(1990) claims that (3-d) is an instance of 'obligatory' raising from inside the lower clause to fill the matrix subject position. Significantly, raising to the matrix clause is no longer optional, which strongly suggests that there is no expletive in Japanese that can satisfy the EPP of T.

In contrast, linguists such as Kuroda (1978), Takahashi (2000), and Hiraiwa (2005), argue that Japanese has a null expletive, drawing on the examples like the following:

(4)　　a.　*Shigure-te-ki-ta.*
　　　　　shower-GER-start-PAST
　　　　　'It started to shower.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Kuroda 1978)

　　　　b.　*Kaigi-de(-wa)　　department-no　samazamana mondai-ni-tsuite*
　　　　　meeting-LOC-(TOP) department-NO various　　　problems-DAT-about
　　　　　hanasiaw-are-ta.
　　　　　discuss-PASS-PAST
　　　　　Lit. 'It was discussed about various problems of the department at the meeting.'

The sentence (4-a) containing the verb *shigurer-u*, which is a verb derived from a noun *shigure*, indeed seems to be acceptable without a subject. Nevertheless, even if (4-a) contained an expletive, it would be a weather expletive, which is a pronoun selected by a restricted set of weather predicates and is different from a true 'there' expletive. (4-b), on the other hand, can be analyzed as containing an overt subject with a dropped -*ga* (and possibly the silent -*ga* is headed by a silent nominal head THING; cf. Kayne 2003). To me, the following passive with an overt *ga*-marking is also entirely grammatical:

(5)　*Kaigi-de(-wa)　　[department-no samazamana mondai-ni-tsuite]-ga*
　　　meeting-LOC(-TOP) department-NO　various　　　problems-DAT-about-NOM
　　　hanasiaw-are-ta.
　　　talk-PASS-PAST
　　　'(About) various problems of the department were discussed at the meeting.'

Since the evidence in favor of expletives in Japanese is inconclusive, I assume, in accordance with Shibatani (1977), Kishimoto (2001:603), Miyagawa (2001), and many others, that Japanese does not have expletives and that the matrix nominative *ga*-position must be filled by a non-expletive item by PF in Japanese.

It is these two independent properties of Japanese−the EPP of T and the lack of expletive−that trigger the obligatory raising of the DP in the Japanese passive, but crucially not the Case filter, as in my proposal *-rare* does not absorb Case (see 1.7.3.2). Since the *ga*-position is a non-thematic position, the next question to address is what can be the source position of the *ga*-marked DP. This is not always transparent because of the properties of Japanese Case that will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.2   Case and Movement in Japanese

Generally, it is very difficult to identify whether a derivation involves movement or base-generation in Japanese. There are two reasons for this. One is that Japanese makes frequent uses of silent arguments, involving topic drop and null pronouns. Thus, whether a gap is a trace or a null pronoun is always a matter of debate. Examples are given below:

(6)   a.   *Kinoo   Ken-ga   kat-ta.*
           yesterday Ken-NOM buy-PAST
           'Yesterday Ken bought it.'   [Topic Drop]

      b.   *Ken$_i$-ga [kinoo   pro$_{i/j}$ hon-o   nakushi-ta-to] Naomi-ni*
           Ken-NOM yesterday   book-ACC lose-PAST-C   Naomi-DAT
           tsuge-ta.
           tell-PAST
           'Ken told Naomi that (he) lost a book yesterday'.   [Null Pronoun]

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The other reason is that Japanese in general allows neither double-Case marking (e.g. *hon-ni-ga* 'book-DAT-NOM') nor Case stranding in any movement configuration, not restricted to passives. Let me first illustrate this point with examples from relativization (see also Kameshima 1989:13, who discusses disappearance of Case under relativization).

3.1.2.1 Relativization in Japanese

Relative clauses in Japanese are prenominal. They lack relative pronouns, and they are finite (i.e. they contain the nominative *ga* and a tense marker (e.g. *-ta* 'PAST', *-ru* 'NON-PAST')), which is said to be crosslinguistically rare (see Keenan 1985b).[1]

The relativized head marks only the Case in the matrix clause. The following examples illustrate relativization from different sources:

(7)　a.　***ga*-marked** AGENT
　　　　Hisyo-ga　　*[[~~repoota-ga~~ seijika-o*　　*koogekisi-ta] repoota$_i$]-o*
　　　　secretary-NOM　　　　statesman-ACC attack-PAST　reporter-ACC
　　　　oikake-ta.
　　　　chase-PAST
　　　　'The secretary chased the reporter who attacked the statesman.'

　　　b.　***o*-marked** THEME
　　　　[[Seijika-ga　　~~*repoota-o*~~ *koogekisi-ta] repoota$_i$]-ga*　*hisyo-o*
　　　　statesman-NOM　　　　attack-PAST　reporter-NOM secretary-ACC
　　　　home-ta.
　　　　praise-PAST
　　　　'The reporter who the statesman attacked praised the secretary.'

---

[1]The relative clause construction in Japanese has been extensively studied (e.g. Kuno 1973, Kameshima 1989, Murasugi 2000: among many others), but I do not intend to provide a comprehensive review of Japanese relative clauses in this section (see Ishizuka 2009: for more information).

(8)   a.   ***ni*-marked GOAL**
       [[Seijika-ga   ~~repootaa-ni~~ tomodachi-o syookaisi-ta]   repootaa]-ga
       statesman-NOM   friend-ACC   introduce-PAST reporter-NOM
       hisyo-o   home-ta.
       secretary-ACC praise-PAST
       'The reporter who the statesman introduced his friend to praised the sec-
       retary.'

   b.   ***kara*-marked SOURCE**
       [[Doroboo-ga ~~ginkoo-kara~~ Naomi-no   yokin-o   nusun-da]
       thief-NOM   Naomi-NO savings-ACC steal-PAST
       ginkoo]-wa hyooban-ga   yoku-nai.
       bank-TOP   reputation-NOM good-NEG
       'The bank from which a thief stole Naomi's savings had a bad reputation.'

   c.   ***no*-marked POSSESSOR**
       [[~~Syoozyo-no~~ kaban-ga nakunat-ta]   syoozyo]-ga nai-ta.
                       bag-NOM disappear-PAST girl-NOM   cry-PAST
       'The girl whose bag disappeared cried.'

   d.   ***de*-marked INSTRUMENTAL**
       [[Naomi-ga ~~naifu de~~ niku-o   kit-ta]   naifu-wa togat-tei-ta.
       Naomi-NOM   meat-ACC cut-PAST] knife-TOP sharp-ASP-PAST
       'The knife which Naomi cut meat with was sharp.'

   e.   ***de*-marked LOCATIVE**
       [[Ken-ga ~~mise-de~~ hon-o   kat-ta]   mise]-ga   atarashii.
       Ken-NOM   book-ACC buy-PAST shop-NOM be.new
       'The shop where Ken bought the book is new.'

   f.   ***de*-marked MANNER**
       [[Ken-ga ~~hoohoo de~~ mondai-o   toi-ta]   hoohoo]-ga siri-tai.
       Ken-NOM   problem-ACC solve-PAST way-NOM   want-PRES
       '(I) want to know the way Ken solved the problem.'

   g.   ***de*-marked REASON**
       [[Ken-ga ~~riyuu de~~ kaet-ta]   riyuu]-ga   wakat-ta.
       Ken-NOM   go.home-PAST reason-NOM understand-PAST
       '(I) understood the reason Ken went home.'

h. ***ni*-marked** TEMPORAL

[[Ken-ga ~~hi-ni~~ hon-o   kat-ta]   hi]-o   omoidashi-ta.
Ken-NOM   book-ACC buy-PAST day-ACC remember-PAST
'(I) remembered the day Ken bought the book.'

As illustrated above, the original *ga-*, *o-*, *ni-*, *kara-*, *no-*, and *de*-markings are oblig-atory absent.[2] It is not very surprising that the *ga-* and *o*-marking disappears under relativization (see (7)), since this is also the case with English relativization. What is unexpected is the disappearance of *ni-*, *kara-*, *no-*, and *de*-markings (see the corre-sponding English translations involving P-stranding in (8)). Because of the absence of the original Case-markings or postpositions, it is often difficult to identify a gap corre-sponding to the relativized head. In fact, many relative clauses are alleged to be gapless because of this reason, and many linguists have analyzed Japanese relative clauses as derived by base-generation (Perlmutter 1972, Murasugi 2000, Fukui and Takano 2000: among others). However, as shown below, Japanese relative clauses exhibit reconstruc-tion effects in terms of pronominal/anaphor binding, effects that are considered to be a reliable diagnostic for movement (see also Ishii 1991, Hoshi 2004, Ishizuka 2008):[3]

(9)   a.   *[Ken$_i$-ga   t$_i$ mituke-ta] kare-zisin$_i$-no syasin*
            Ken-NOM   find-PAST him-self-NO   picture
            'the picture of himself$_i$ which Ken$_i$ found'

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[2]Note that this does not mean that all the arguments with *ni-*, *de-*, *kara-*, and *no*-markings can undergo relativization.

[3]There are well-known cases that appear to violate subjacency (Kuno 1973, among many others). However, I show in Ishizuka (2009) that they are cases of local relativization with a *pro* inside the relative island (see Han and Kim 2004, Ishizuka 2009: for further discussion). Additionally, I argue that the following well-known gapless example is a relative clause corresponding to the English 'when' relative:

(i)   *sakana-ga yakeru   nioi*
        [fish-NOM is.grilled] smell
        'the smell when a fish is grilled'

The Japanese phrase means exactly what the English translation means. Even in English, there is no obvious gap that corresponds to the head noun 'smell.' The actual meaning of this phrase is 'the smell (that comes about) when a fish is grilled.' Presumably, the Japanese phrase (i) contains the same silent materials as its English counterpart does in addition to a silent head 'TIME' (cf. Kayne 2003).

b. *[[Dare-mo$_i$(-ga) mada t$_i$ sira-nai] zibun$_i$-no kekkonaite]-no e*
indet-MO(-NOM) yet know-NEG self-NO spouse-NO picture
'the picture of self's$_i$ spouse whom no one$_i$ knows yet'

The availability of reconstruction effects proves that the derivation of relative clauses in Japanese involves movement despite the fact that the moved DP does not retain its original Case-marking. We will see below that the situation with Case under passivization in Japanese is very similar to relativization and very different from languages like Icelandic, where (inherent) Case is preserved under passivization (cf. Zaenen et al. 1985, Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002).

3.1.2.2 Disappearance of Case Under Passivization

We have already seen examples in which accusative Case of the DP in the active voice disappears in the passive counterpart, which I refer to as the accusative passive. This is a core property of passive constructions crosslinguistically.

(10) a. *Naomi-ga Ken-**o** tatai-ta.*   [Active]
            Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC hit-PAST
            'Naomi hit Ken.'

         b. *Ken-**ga** Naomi-ni tatak-are–ta.*   [Passive]
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was hit by Naomi.'   [A:mean 4.88]

What is surprising is that the same pattern holds with the Dative *ni-* and Genitive *no-* markings.[4] (11-b) and (12-b) are instances of *ni*-deletion, while (13-b) is an instance of *no*-deletion triggered by passivization. The θ-role of the nominative DP in (11-b) and (12-b) corresponds to GOAL in (11-a) and DIRECTIONAL in (12-a) respectively.

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[4]Unlike relativization, the locative *de*-marked DP cannot raise to the nominative position in the passive.

The θ-role of the nominative DP in (13-b) corresponds to POSSESSOR in its active counterpart.

(11)   a.   *Ken-ga   Mary-ni   hon-o   watasi-ta.*   [Active]
                          Ken-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC hand-PAST
                          'Ken handed Mary a book.'

           b.   *Mary-(*ni)-ga   Ken-ni   hon-o   watas-are-ta.*   [Passive]
                          Mary-(*DAT)-NOM Ken-DAT book-ACC hand-PASS-PAST
                          'Mary was handed a book by Ken.'

(12)   a.   *Mary-ga   John-**ni**   hohoen-da.*   [Active]
                          Mary-NOM John-DAT smile-PAST
                          'Mary smiled at John.'   [A: mean 4.93]

           b.   *John-(*ni)-ga   Mary-ni   hohoem-are-ta.*   [Passive]
                          John-(*DAT)-NOM Mary-DAT smile-PASS-PAST
                          'John was smiled at by Mary.'   [A:mean 3.38]

(13)   a.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-**no** kao-o   tatai-ta.*
                          Naomi-NOM Ken-NO face-ACC hit-PAST
                          'Naomi hit Ken's face.'   [Active]

           b.   *Ken$_i$-(*no)-ga   Naomi-ni   kao$_{i/*j}$-o tatak-are-ta.*   [Passive]
                          Ken-(*NO)-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
                          Lit. 'Ken was hit (his) face by Naomi.'   [A:mean 4.82]

If we compare the Japanese sentence (12-b) with its English translation, the difference between the two languages is evident: in English it is easy to identify where the derived subject originates because of the stranded overt preposition 'at.'

Comparing the Japanese pattern with languages like Icelandic further highlights the uniqueness of this phenomenon in Japanese. In Icelandic, where the Case marking shows up DP internally and not DP externally as in Japanese, dative Case is preserved under (verbal) passivization, as illustrated below (Zaenen et al. (1985)):

(14) a. *Skipstjórinn   sökkti skipinu*   (Zaenen and Maling 1990:143)
the.captan.NOM sank   the.ship.DAT
'The captain sank the ship.'   Active

b. *Skipinu   var sökkt af skipstjóranum*
the.ship.DAT was sunk by the.captain.DAT
'The ship was sunk by the captain.'   Passive

In contrast to Icelandic, the derived subject in Japanese always carries the Case of the derived position, i.e. nominative, or if it further undergoes topicalization, the topic marker -*wa*.

The disappearance of Case-markers under movement is a general property of Japanese and is not restricted to relativization and passivization. The same pattern holds with the Multiple Nominative Construction that derivationally involves possessor-raising. A genitive-nominative alternation pair is provided below (see Kuno 1973, Fukuda 1991, Ura 1994, Akiyama 2004, Ishizuka 2009, 2010: among others):

(15) a. *Ken-no se-ga   takai.*   Possessor
Ken-NO height-NOM tall
'Ken's height is tall.'

b. *Ken-(*no)-ga se-ga   takai.*   Multiple Nominative
Ken-NO-NOM height-NOM tall
'Ken, (his) height is tall.'

As with relativization, many passives are alleged to be gapless due to the apparent lack of a gap corresponding to the nominative DP. The literature has accounted for the different properties observed among passives by distinguishing many different kinds of Japanese passives, including direct passives, indirect passives, possessor passives, *ni*-passives, and *ni-yotte* passives.

In cases like accusative passives, identifying an active source of the nominative DP is straightforward. The question is whether all Japanese passives can be analyzed as having an active source. If 'yes,' then a unified analysis is within reach. This is exactly the direction I pursue in this thesis. One of the goals of this chapter is to show that many purported indirect gapless passives are passives involving movement of the DP out of an oblique position to the *ga*-position with an absence of the original postposition. The remainder of this chapter focuses on identifying the active source of the derived subject in the passive, by examining its interpretation. One of the major findings is that the potential active source for the derived subject in the passive is not restricted to THEME but in fact corresponds to a wider variety of arguments.

Section 3.2 examines the accusative passive that is derived from a transitive predicate. Section 3.3 discusses passives that contain ditransitive predicates. Section 3.4 investigates passivization of causatives. Section 3.5 deals with the psuedo-passive that contains intransitive predicates. Section 3.6 discusses the possessor passive, whose nominative DP corresponds to the possessor of the (underlying) internal argument of the embedded predicate. Lastly, section 3.7 deals with the extra-thematic passive, whose nominative DP indeed lacks an active source.

3.2 Accusative Passives Derived from Transitive Verbs

The accusative passives that are given in (16-a) and (17-a) are proto-typical passives, where a THEME argument bearing accusative Case in the active voice occupies the nominative position in the passive:[5]

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[5]Many examples in this section contain an overt dative *by*-phrase without a parenthesis, but this does not mean that the *by*-phrase cannot be omitted in all of these cases. See section 5.3.2.1, which discusses the omittability of the dative *by*-phrase in Japanese passives.

(16)   a.   *Ken-ga   keisatsu-ni tsukamae-rare-ta.*   [Accusative Passive]
              Ken-NOM police-DAT catch-PASS-PAST
              'Ken was caught by the police.'

       b.   *Keisatu-ga Ken-o   tsukamae-ta.*   [Active]
              police-NOM Ken-ACC catch-PAST
              'The police caught Ken.'

(17)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   ais-are-tei-ru.*   [Accusative Passive]
              Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT love-PASS-ASP-PAST
              'Ken is loved by Naomi.'

       b.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-o   aishi-tei-ru.*   [Active]
              Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC love-ASP-PRES
              'Naomi loves Ken.'

Animate DPs (e.g. (16-a) and (17-a)) are not the only type of DP that can occupy the nominative position. Inanimate DPs, abstract DPs, and sentential DPs may also occupy this position. All the passive examples below include an overt dative *by*-phrase (i.e. a *ni*-phrase which has the same interpretive relation to the predicate as the *ga*-phrase in the active):

(18)   **Inanimate DP**

       a.   *Ken-no omocya-ga Naomi-ni   kowas-are-ta.*   [Passive]
              Ken-no toy-NOM   Naomi-DAT break-PASS-PAST
              'Ken's toy was broken by Naomi.'

       b.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-no omocya-o kowasi-ta.*   [Active]
              Naomi-NOM Ken-no toy-ACC   break-PAST
              'Naomi broke Ken's toy.'

(19)   **Abstract DP**

       a.   *Naomi-no doryoku-ga ryooshin-ni yatto mitome-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
              Naomi-no effort-NOM parents-DAT at.last acknowledge-PASS-PAST
              'Naomi's efforts were finally acknowledged by her parents.'

b. *Ryooshin-ga yatto Naomi-no doryoku-o mitome-ta.* [Active]
   parents-NOM at.last Naomi-no efforts-ACC acknowledge-PAST
   'Naomi's parents finally acknowledge her efforts.

(20) **Sentential DP**

   a. *[Ken-ga heya-o deteit-ta-no]-{ga/wa} Naomi-ni*
      Ken-NOM room-ACC went.out-PAST-no-{NOM/TOP} Naomi-DAT
      mokugeki-s-are-ta.
      witness-do-PASS-PAST
      'That Ken went out of the room was witnessed by Naomi.' [Passive]

   b. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ga heya-o deteit-ta-no]-o mokugeki-si-ta.*
      Naomi-NOM Ken-NOM room-ACC went.out-no-ACC witness-do-PAST
      'Naomi witnessed that Ken went out of the room' [Active]

All the above passives are completely natural to me (see section 6.4.2 for more examples with a non-animate derived subjects). These examples show that *-rare* does not select for an animate argument. Some linguists, such as Kuroda (1979), Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), Hoshi (1994), Huang (1999), argue that *-rare* always assigns an EXPERIENCER or AFFECTEE θ-role and propose a control analysis (see section 6.4.3.1 for more discussion), but if so, the above examples are unexpected.[6] The nominative DPs in (18-a), (19-a), and (20-a) are uniquely selected by the verb embedded under *-rare*. The derivation, therefore, must involve movement (more evidence for movement is given in chapter 6). The lexical properties of *-rare* established in chapter 2 and the properties of accusative passives discussed above yield the following derivation.

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[6]Although there are many cases where the nominative DP can be an inanimate or abstract DP or proposition, as shown in (20-a), there are also cases where an inanimate/abstract DP is awkward with an overt dative *by*-phrase. Nevertheless, this is not because *-rare* subcategorizes for animate or sentient DPs but is due to the structure of the complement of *-rare*. The cases where the derived subject appears to be incompatible with inanimate or abstract DPs will be extensively discussed in section 3.3.2.

(21)   Accusative Passive

    a. *Ken$_i$-ga   keisatu-ni t$_i$ tsukama.e-rare-ta.*
       Ken-NOM police-DAT   catch-PASS-PAST
       'Ken was caught by the police.'

    b.

```
                                TP
                 ┌───────────────┴───────────┐
                DP                          ┌─┴───────┐
                │                        VoiceP        T
              Ken-ga                  ┌────┴────┐      │
                 ↑                  VP          vP    PAST
                 │             ┌────────┐     ┌──┴──┐  │
                 │            DP    V    DP    VP  v  -rare
                 │            │    │     │     │
                 │           Ken  catch police VP
```

VP [boxed: DP Ken, V catch]
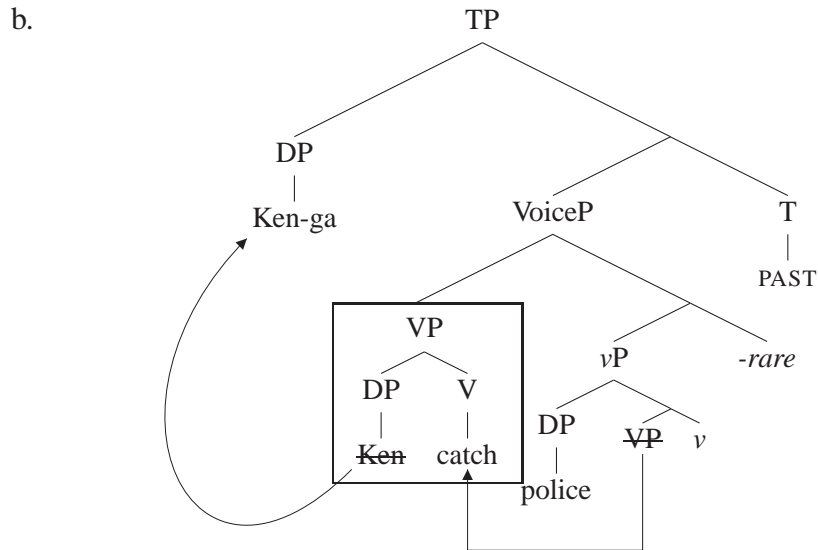
This derivation does not show how the external argument receives the dative marking−a matter that I will defer until section 3.3.2.4.

3.3   Dative and Source Passives Derived from Ditransitive Verbs

As is well-documented, the Japanese passive allows raising of the GOAL argument of ditransitive predicates, such as *atae-ru* 'to give/provide,' *okur-u* 'to send/present,' *suisen.su-ru* 'to recommend,' *syookaisu-ru* 'to introduce,' and *watas-u* 'to give (by hand)' (e.g. Inoue 1976:77-79, Shibatani 1978:141, Kubo 1992, Kazenin 2001:902). Examples coupled with their active counterparts are given below:

(22)   a. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni labuletaa-o   watas-are-ta.*   [A:mean 3.89]
       Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT love.letter-ACC hand-PASS-PAST
       'Ken was handed a love letter by Naomi.' | Goal Passive |

b.   *Naomi-ga*   *Ken-ni*   *labuletaa-o*   *watasi-ta.*   [A:mean 4.96]
        Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT love.letter-ACC hand-PAST
        'Naomi handed Ken a love letter.' $\boxed{\text{Active}}$

(23)   a.   *Ken-ga*   *Naomi-ni*   *koibito-o*   *syookai.s-are-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT boyfriend-ACC introduce.do-PASS-PAST
         Lit: 'Ken was introduced her boyfriend to by Naomi.' $\boxed{\text{Goal Passive}}$

       b.   *Naomi-ga*   *Ken-ni*   *koibito-o*   *syookai.si-ta.*
         Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT boyfriend-ACC introduce.do-PAST
         'Naomi introduced her boyfriend to Ken.' $\boxed{\text{Active}}$

The raising of the GOAL of the ditransitive predicate is always possible in Japanese passives. This suggests that the goal must have been the highest DP in a smuggled shell; therefore, the derivation must have the following minimal properties:

(24)   a.   *Ken-ga*   *Naomi-ni*   *hon-o*   *watas-are-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT book-ACC hand-PASS-PAST
         'Ken was handed a book by Naomi.'

       b.
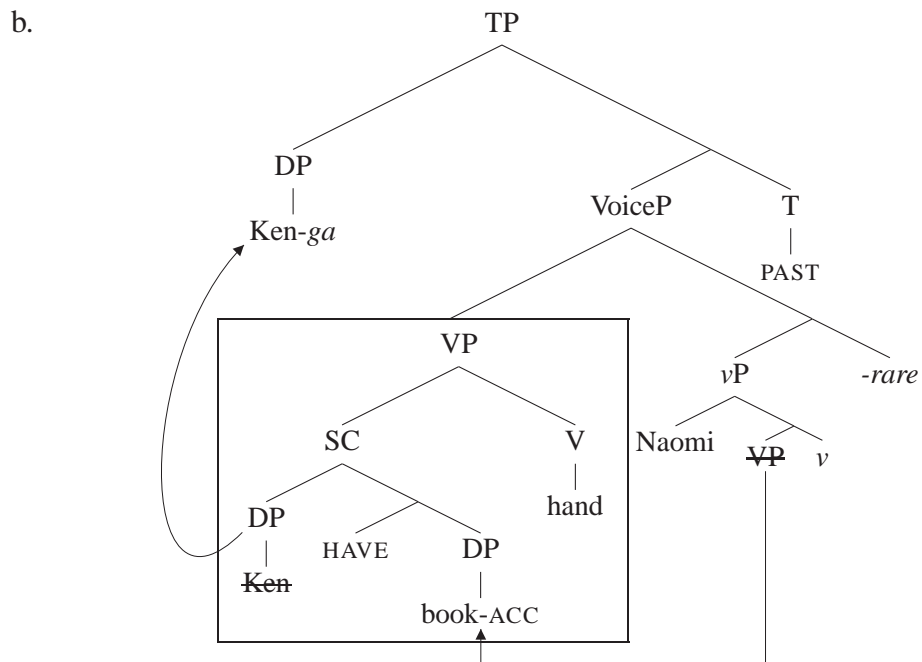
- The THEME DP receives *o*-marking as it always does in the active voice ditransitive construction.

- *-rare* merges with active voice little *v*, satisfying the complementation property of *-rare*.

- *-rare* attracts the lower VP shell containing the accusative DP to its specifier, stranding the higher *v*P shell (this step satisfies the EPP feature of *-rare*).

- The GOAL, *Ken*, moves out of the small clause as it always does in the derivation of the active voice ditransitive construction, and it raises to Spec,TP satisfying the EPP of T.[7]

3.3.1 Addressee in 'Verbs of Speaking'

In addition to the GOAL of regular ditransitive verbs, the dative object of 'verbs of speaking' can be a source of the nominative DP in the passive. The dative object of 'verbs of speaking' is an ADDRESSEE (or RECEPIENT of information); speech is always directed to an addressee. Even in cases where a speaker is talking to himself, this speaker has a second role as an ADDRESSEE. This class of verb includes *ziman.su-ru* 'to boast,' *kokuhaku.su-ru* 'to confess,' *sasayak-u* 'to whisper,' *sengen.su-ru* 'to announce,' *shir.ase-ru* 'to inform,' *happyoo.su-ru* 'to announce,' *hookoku.su-ru* 'to report,' and so forth, and these verbs often contain a light verb *su-ru* 'to do.' Some examples are given below ((26-a) is adapted from (Kuno 1973)):

(25) a. *Bokusi-ga Ken-ni tumi-o kokuhaku.s-are-ta.*   Passive
          priest-NOM Ken-DAT sin-ACC confession.do-PASS-PAST
          'The priest was confessed Ken's sin to by Ken.'   [A:mean 3.82]

      b. *Ken-ga   bokusi-ni tumi-o kokuhakuk.si-ta.*   Active
          Ken-NOM priest-DAT sin-ACC confession.do-PAST
          'Ken confessed his sin to a priest.'   [A: mean 4.99]

---

[7]The minimality problem of moving 'book' over the intervening 'Ken' to the accusative projection is probably solved by predicate inversion (Den Dikken and Næss 1993), which is not shown in the tree. We will come back to this issue in section 3.3.2.3.

(26)   a.   *John-ga   Mary$_i$-ni   zibun$_i$-no koto-o   ziman.s-are-ta.* Passive
                John-NOM Mary-DAT self-no   matter-ACC boast.do-PASS-PAST
                'John was bragged to by Mary about self's (=Mary's) matter.'

                                                                [A:mean 3.19]

       b.   *Mary$_i$-ga   John-ni   zibun$_i$-no koto-o   ziman.si-ta*   Active
                Mary-NOM John-DAT self-no   matter-ACC boast.do-PAST
                'Mary bragged about self's matter (=Mary's) to John.'   [A:mean 4.55]

Many instances of passives containing a 'verb of speaking' are said to be gapless. The ADDRESSEE of 'verbs of speaking' is considered neither a core argument of the verb nor as a potential source of the derived subject. Without an active source, it is commonly treated as an EXPERIENCER or AFFECTEE selected by the passive morpheme *-(r)are*. Kuno's (1973) well-cited example (26-a) is a representative case. Kuno (1973) refers to (26-a) as an example of the indirect passive, whose nominative DP does not have a corresponding active source bearing the same θ-role. However, since the nominative DPs in (26-a) and (25-a) must be interpreted as addressees for the passives to be felicitous, I conclude that they are licensed as the ADDRESSEE argument of the 'verb of speaking.'

3.3.2   Theme Raising of the Passivized Ditransitive Verb

What has not been discussed in the literature is what happens if one tries to raise the THEME of the ditransitive predicate in the Japanese passive that contains an overt dative GOAL phrase. Interestingly, the THEME of the passivized ditransitive verb cannot move to the nominative position if the GOAL and AGENT are both overt.

(27)   a.   *Hanataba-ga Ken-ni   (kinoo)   Naomi-ni   watas-are-ta.*
                bouquet-NOM Ken-DAT yesterday Naomi-DAT hand-PASS-PAST
                'The flower bouquet was given to Naomi by Ken yesterday.'

       b.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   (kinoo)   hanataba-o   watasi-ta.*
                Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT yesterday flower.bouquet-ACC hand-PAST
                'Ken gave Naomi flower bouquet yesterday.'

(28)　a.　*_Naomi-ga_　_tomodachi-ni_ _(kinoo)_　_Ken-ni_　_syookais-are-ta._
　　　　　Naomi-NOM friend-DAT　yesterday Ken-DAT introduce-PASS-PAST
　　　　　Int. 'Naomi was introduced to Ken by (her) friend yesterday.'

　　　b.　_Tomodachi-ga_ _Ken-ni_　_(kinoo)_　_Naomi-o_　_syookaisi-ta._
　　　　　friend-NOM　　Ken-DAT yesterday Naomi-ACC introduce-PAST
　　　　　'The friend introduced Naomi to Ken.'

Inserting _kinoo_ 'yesterday' between the two dative phrases does not improve the grammaticality of the sentence, which indicates that the two accusative passives are not degraded because of the linear adjacency of dative phrases. Furthermore, (28-a) shows that regardless of the animacy of the derived subject, accusative passives with an overt GOAL and AGENT DP are not acceptable. I will simply characterize this phenomenon as a ban against double datives in the Japanese passive:

(29)　**Double-_ni_ Constraint on Japanese Passives**

　　　Two datives cannot surface in a passive sentence in Japanese.

As expected, the same pattern holds with the passive derived from a 'verb of speaking,' which I refer to as the pseudo-ditransitive verb.

(30)　a.　*_Ken-no_ _himitu-ga_　_otooto-ni_　_tomodachi-ni_ _baras-are-ta._
　　　　　Ken-NO secret-NOM brother-DAT friend-DAT　reveal-PASS-PAST
　　　　　Int. 'Ken's secret was revealed to his friend by his brother.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[A:mean: 2.22 (s.d. 1.36)]
　　　b.　_Otooto-ga_　_tomodachi-ni_ _Ken-no_ _himitu-o_　_barasi-ta._　 Active
　　　　　brother-NOM friend-DAT　Ken-NO secret-ACC reveal-PAST
　　　　　'The brother revealed Ken's secret to his friend.'

(31)　a.　*_Syuusen-ga_　　_daitooryoo-ni_ _kokumin-ni_ _sengens-are-ta._
　　　　　end.of.war-NOM president-DAT people-DAT announce-PASS-PAST
　　　　　Int. 'The end of the war was announced to the people by the president.'

b. *Daitooryoo-ga kokumin-ni syuusen-o   sengensi-ta.*   Active

      president-NOM people-DAT end.of.war-ACC announce-PAST

      'The president announced the end of the war to the people.'

                                           [C:mean: 4.89 (s.d. 0.46)]

Both (30-a) and (31-a) are entirely unacceptable to me.[8] Then what happens if one of the two dative phrases is suppressed? The next section addresses this question.

3.3.2.1   When One of the Two Dative Phrases Is Suppressed

When one of the two dative DPs is suppressed in the passive derived from a (pseudo)-ditransitive verb, the passive becomes well-formed, but the dative DP can only be interpreted as the indirect object (or internal argument), to wit the GOAL or ADDRESSEE. The dative *by*-phrase (external argument) reading is unavailable (or at least very difficult to obtain).

(32)   The Accusative Passive Containing a Ditransitive

    a. *Hanataba-ga Naomi-ni   watas-are-ta.*

       bouquet-NOM Naomi-DAT hand-PASS-PAST

       'The flower bouquet was given {to/*by} Naomi (by someone) yesterday.'

    b. *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   syookais-are-ta.*

       Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT introduce-PASS-PAST

       Int. 'Naomi was introduced {to/*by} Ken (by someone) yesterday.'

(33)   The Accusative Passive Containing a 'Verb of Speaking'

    a. *Ken-no himitu-ga   Naomi-ni   baras-are-ta.*

       Ken-NO secret-NOM Naomi-DAT reveal-PASS-PAST

       'Ken's secret was revealed {to/*by} Naomi.'   [A: mean 4.50 (s.d. .89)]

---

[8]The high standard deviation from the questionnaire reveals a considerable amount of speaker variability with respect to the acceptability of (30-a), but the majority rejected the sentence: 49 out of 74 participants rated (30-a) as 1 or 2. 11 participants rated it as 3, and 14 participants rated it as 4 or 5.

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b. *Syuusen-ga* **kokumin-ni** *sengens-are-ta.*
   end.of.war-NOM people-DAT announce-PASS-PAST
   'The end of the war was announced to the people'

   [C:mean 4.44 (s.d. 1.06)]

c. *Syuusen-ga* **daitooryoo-ni** *sengens-are-ta.*
   end.of.war-NOM president-DAT announce-PASS-PAST
   'The end of the war was announced {to/*by} the president.'

   [B:mean 3.19 (s.d. 1.43)]

The dative DPs in the above passives are compatible with the GOAL or ADDRESSEE reading, but not with the dative *by*-phrase reading. Although the mean ratings from the questionnaire do not reveal how the participants interpreted the dative phrase, the contrast between (33-b) and (33-c) is insightful. The two passives were designed to manipulate the real-world plausibility by choosing different dative phrases. The dative phrase 'people' in (33-b) is a plausible addressee but an implausible agent. Whereas the dative phrase 'president' in (33-c) is ambiguous: the agentive reading is the more plausible, but the addressee interpretation is also available. A somewhat lower mean rating and the larger variability in (33-c) can be understood as the conflict between the real-world plausibility and the available reading that the syntax allows. Namely, some participants found the President as a plausible agent, but the agent reading of the dative P was not available, thus resulting in a larger variability and the lower mean rating.

The observation made above is a very important property of Japanese passives, which is summarized below:

(34)   **The Dative DP in the Ditransitive Passive Must Be a Goal**

In Japanese passives, whenever the complement of *-rare* is a (pseudo-)ditransitive verb, the dative phrase in the passive is interpreted as the internal dative argument and not as the external argument.

3.3.2.2 Traditional Characterization of the Property: Sensitivity to Animacy

The distribution of the accusative passive derived from a ditransitive predicate has been characterized somewhat differently from (34) in the literature. It has been taken to show that an inanimate or abstract DP cannot be the nominative DP in the passive when it contains an overt dative *by*-phrase (traditionally, referred to as the *ni*-passive). Their generalization seems to be based on two facts underlying the phenomenon given in (34). First, the THEME of the ditransitive predicate is usually an inanimate or abstract DP (e.g. (32-a), (33-a), and (33-b)). Second, the dative phrase in the accusative passive derived from a (pseudo-)ditransitive predicate is incompatible with an agentive *by*-phrase reading (i.e. (34)). Consequently, their generalization holds only when the accusative passive is derived from a (pseudo-)ditransitive predicate, which we already know from counter-examples like (18-a), (19-a), and (20-a).

The purported generalization that the passive is sensitive to animacy has played an important role in the existing literature: it has led linguists, such as Kuroda (1979), Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), and Hoshi (1994), to treat *ni*-passives as a natural class and distinguish them from those that do not contain a dative *by*-phrase (which is not a distinction I adopt here) (see chapter 4). Moreover, it has been used to argue in favor of a 'control' analysis of Japanese passives. However, neither the generalization nor the control analysis accounts for when the animacy restriction holds and when it does not.

The following is a well-cited example, which is used as illustrating the sensitivity to animacy (originally from Inoue 1976:83; also cited in Kuroda 1979, Hoshi 1994, Goro 2006:187, Park and Whitman 2003, among others):

(35) *Kaikai-ga   gityoo-ni   sengen.s-are-ta.
       opening-NOM chairman-DAT announce.do-PASS-PAST
       Int. 'The opening of the meeting was announced by the chairman.'
       (but the reading 'to the chairman' is *ok*)

In agreement with the literature, I find (35) unacceptable with the intended *by*-phrase reading of the dative DP. However, note that the complement of *-rare* is *sengensu-ru* 'to announce'—a 'verb of speaking'—the same predicate as the one contained in (33-b) and (33-c). The reason (35) is awkward is basically the same reason discussed in the context of (33-c). The only available reading of the dative phrase is ADDRESSEE, but our real-world knowledge tells us that *gicyoo* 'chairman' should be the agent. The conflict between the available reading of the dative phrase and the real-world plausibility gives us an impression that (35) is ungrammatical. As predicted, once we change the dative phrase to a plausible addressee, the passive becomes acceptable with the addressee interpretation of the dative phrase, as shown below:

(36) Kaikai-ga   sensyu-ni   sengen.s-are-ta.
       opening-NOM players-DAT announce.do-PASS-PAST
       Int. 'The opening of the meeting was announced {to/*by} the players.'

The bias to interpret the dative DP as the internal argument of the embedded predicate is a pervasive and very important property of Japanese passives, since it has yielded a false impression that *-rare* in *ni*-passives is incompatible with inanimate or abstract DPs (however, recall the counter-examples, i.e. (18), (19-a), and (20)).

The following two examples are also well-cited in the literature to illustrate the animacy effect in the passive:

(37) a. Fermat-no teiri-ga   John-ni   shoomei.s-are-ta.
           Fermat-NO theorem-NOM John-DAT prove.do-PASS-PAST
           'Fermat's theorem was proved {to/*by} John.' (Kuroda 1992:206)

b. *Siroi booru-ga Oo-ni takadakato utiage-rare-ta.*
white ball-NOM Oh-DAT high hit.up-PASS-PAST
Int. 'A white ball was hit high in the air {to/*by} Oh.' (Kuroda 1979:309)

Although it is not immediately obvious, both of the predicates embedded under *-rare* are pseudo-ditransitives, which are compatible with an internal dative DP. The predicate contained in the first example assigns THEME and (optionally) GOAL, as the following examples show:

(38)　a. *Ken-ga John-ni Fermat-no teiri-o shoomei.si-ta.*
Ken-NOM John-DAT Fermat-NO theorem-ACC prove.do-PAST
'Ken proved Fermat's theorem to John.'

　　b. *Bengoshi-ga kenji-ni syoonen-no muzitu-o*
attroney-NOM prosecutor-DAT boy-NO innocence-ACC
syoomei.si-ta.
prove-PAST
'The attroney proved the boy's innocence to a prosecutor.

The dative goal in the active can raise and occupy the nominative position in the passive:

(39)　a. *John-ga Ken-ni Fermat-no teiri-o shoomei.s-are-ta.*
John-NOM Ken-DAT Fermat-NO theorem-ACC prove.do-PASS-PAST
Lit: 'John was proved the Fermat's theorem to by Ken.' ⃞Dat. PSV⃞

　　b. *Kenji-ga bengoshi-ni syoonen-no muzitu-o*
prosecutor-NOM lawyer-DAT boy-NO innocence-ACC
syoomei.s-are-ta.
prove.do-PASS-PAST　　　　　　　　　　⃞Dat. PSV⃞
Lit: 'The prosecutor was proved the boy's innocence to by the lawyer.

Similarly, the predicate *utiage-ru* 'to hit up' in (37-b) involves directed motion, and verbs of directed motion are in general compatible with a directional dative phrase.

The following examples illustrate this point:

(40)   a.   *Oo-ga   siroi booru-o gaiyaseki-ni   utiage-ta.*   [Active]
            Oh-NOM white ball-ACC outfield.bleacher-DAT hit.up-PAST
            Lit. 'Oh (the player) hit the white ball to the outfield bleachers.'

       b.   *Siroi booru-ga (Oo-ni-yot-te) gaiyaseki-ni*
            white ball-NOM Oh-NI-YOTTE outfield.bleacher-DAT
            utiage-rare-ta.
            hit.up–PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'The white ball was hit to the outerfield bleachers (by means of Oh).'

The sentence (40-a) shows that the verb *utiage-ru* 'to hit.up' is compatible with a
directional dative phrase. (40-b) shows that the dative phrase in the passive is indeed
interpreted as a directional phrase.[9] The problem with (37-a) and (37-b) is that a
by-phrase reading of the dative phrases *John-ni* and *Oo-ni* is blocked because of the
presence of the indirect object dative DP. This is also the case with creation verbs,
such as *tate-ru* to build,' *kak-u* 'to write,' *tukur-u* 'to make/prepre,' and *ryoorisu-ru* 'to
cook.'

(41)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   ie-o   tate-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT house-ACC build-PAST
            'Ken build a house for Naomi.'

       b.   *Ie-ga   Naomi-ni   tate-rare-ta.*
            house-NOM Naomi-DAT build-PASS-PAST
            'The house was built {for/*by} Naomi.'

   The analytical question is why dative Case must map onto the internal argument
in the passive and may not map onto the external argument in this configuration. This

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[9]*ni-yot-te* 'DAT-CAUSE-GER' is another way to introduce the agent of the embedded predicate. The
different forms used to introduce the external argument of the complement of *-rare* and their distribu-
tions will be discussed in section 4. Although the indirect object that expresses the endpoint of directed
motion blocks the *by*-phrase reading of the dative DP in the passive, it cannot be promoted to the nomi-
native DP in the passive. The reason for this contrast will be left to future research.

thesis pursues a minimalist answer and tries to reduce it to necessary properties of the derivation.

3.3.2.3 Deriving the Accusative Passive out of a Ditransitive Verb

In the previous sections I have established the following two properties of the ditransitive passive: (i) two datives cannot surface in a passive sentence in Japanese (cf. (29)), and (ii) dative Case must map onto the internal argument, and not onto the external argument. We will address these properties below and implement them into the structure.

As for the first property−why Japanese passives disallow two dative Cases (i.e. one from the embedded predicate and one from *-rare*), my proposal is that the indirect object dative Case introduced by the ditransitive predicate is a dependent Case (i.e. its availability is contingent on the presence of accusative Case). Therefore, the dative Case is unavailable in accusative passives, since they do not contain an accusative DP. This is also the case with the dative in the causative construction. In Homer and Ishizuka (2009), we compare Japanese and French causative constructions and propose that dative Case in the Japanese causative is a dependent Case, as is the dative in the French causative: it becomes available only when accusative Case is consumed in the structure (i.e. a sentence contains an overt accusative DP) (see Homer and Ishizuka 2009: for more information). In the traditional causative literature, this effect is characterized as the manifestation of a well-known 'Double-*o* Constraint'−more than one occurrence of *o* in a simplex clause is prohibited (Harada 1973).[10]

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[10]There are interspeaker variabilities with respect to accepting *ni* causee in intransitive causatives (see Homer and Ishizuka (2009) for more information): the judgments provided here are mine.

(42) a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-{[?*]ni/o}   odor-ase-ta.*
          Ken-NOM Naomi-{*DAT/ACC} dance-CAUS-PAST
          'Ken made Naomi dance.'

      b. *Ken-ga   Naomi-{ni/*o}   dansu-o   odor-ase-ta.*
          Ken-NOM Naomi-{DAT/*ACC} dance-ACC dance-CAUS-PAST
          'Ken made Naomi dance a dance.'

If the indirect object dative Case in Japanese is also a dependent Case, it will be no longer available in the accusative passive, since this passive does not contain an accusative DP. Consequently, only one dative Case, which is dependent on the presence of *-rare*, is available in the accusative passive.

Unavailability of a *by*-phrase reading of the dative DP shows that the dative Case provided by *-rare* is "used up" by the goal DP in this configuration, leaving PRO as the only option for the external argument.[11] How can this derivation be achieved, conforming to the analysis developed thus far in this thesis? This property can be accounted for if the dative projection is higher than *-rare* (i.e. the dative selects for Voice). In this structure, the GOAL argument, not the external argument, must move to the dative projection provided by *-rare*, because the GOAL DP contained in the smuggled VP is closer to the dative projection than the external argument embedded under the *v*P shell. Namely, the goal is attracted to Spec,DatP by virtue of the principle of attract closest. This structure is sketched below:

(43) a. *Hon-ga   Naomi-ni   watas-are-ta.*
          book-NOM Naomi-DAT hand-PASS-PAST
          'The book was handed to Naomi.'

      b. [Naomi-DAT [[_{VP} [_{SC} ~~Naomi~~ book] V]_j [[_{vP} PRO ~~VP~~ *v*] *rare*]]

Although this derivation successfully accounts for the obligatory GOAL reading of the

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[11]*Ni-yot-te* is a clausal adjunct (see section 4.3.2), and the DP in the *ni-yot-te* is selected by the verb *yor* 'to cause.'

dative phrase, it creates a new problem for minimality: in this derivation, the THEME must move out of the smuggled VP and map onto the *ga*-Case position crossing *Naomi-ni*.

One option is to assume, as is often the case in the literature, that both merger orders−[GOAL THEME] and [THEME GOAL]−are available in Japanese (e.g. Miyagawa 1997, Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004, Kishimoto 2008), and that the accusative passive derived from a transitive predicate contains the latter configuration, that of the small clause. However, there are at least two problems with this solution. First, the THEME DP can always reconstruct under the GOAL DP in Japanese ditransitive passives (which will be discussed extensively in section 6.2), thus the THEME must be lower than the GOAL at one point in the derivation. Second, the Case alignment in Japanese is always DP-DAT DP-ACC: I was unable to find an idiom which has the inverse DP-ACC DP-DAT order. This is unexpected if both orders are available.

(44)　a.　*tateita-ni　　mizu*
　　　　　 standing.board-DAT(at) water
　　　　　 'to speak fluently/eloquently'　　　　　[Locative Small Clause]

　　　 b.　*oni-ni　　kanaboo*
　　　　　 orge-DAT(with) iron.stick
　　　　　 'to make a strong person even stronger'　[Possessive Small Clause]

If we were to posit the [THEME-GOAL] order in order to avoid minimality effects, we would have to say that this configuration appears only in the accusative 'passive' context, since the [DP-ACC DP-DAT] order never surfaces in the active voice (except scrambling constructions).[12] Therefore, I do not pursue this option in this thesis. Then In this case, how can we get around the minimality problem? Importantly, this is also a problem for the active ditransitive construction: assuming that the accusative

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[12]I do not intend to give a comprehensive review about the ditransitive construction, but the evidence for two base-orders seem to me inconclusive. However, if it turns out that both orders were indeed available, we would no longer have the problem of minimality but the availability of the reconstruction effects would remain to be accounted for.

projection is higher than the merged position of the GOAL, moving the THEME over the GOAL to the accusativeP also faces this problem (i.e. [-acc [GOAL THEME]]). The standard solution to this problem in the ditransitive construction is Equidistance (Chomsky 1993), which is contingent on V movement. An alternative solution then would be to force the V to move higher than the dative. Another plausible option is to assume that the ditransitive construction in Japanese involves predicate inversion (Den Dikken and Næss 1993). I will leave this issue for future research. The following tree represents the structure (how the minimality problem is solved is not shown):

(45)   Accusative Passive (with ditransitive verbs)

     a.   *Hon-ga   Naomi-ni   watas-are-ta.*
           book-NOM Naomi-DAT hand-PASS-PAST
           'The book was handed to Naomi.'

     b.
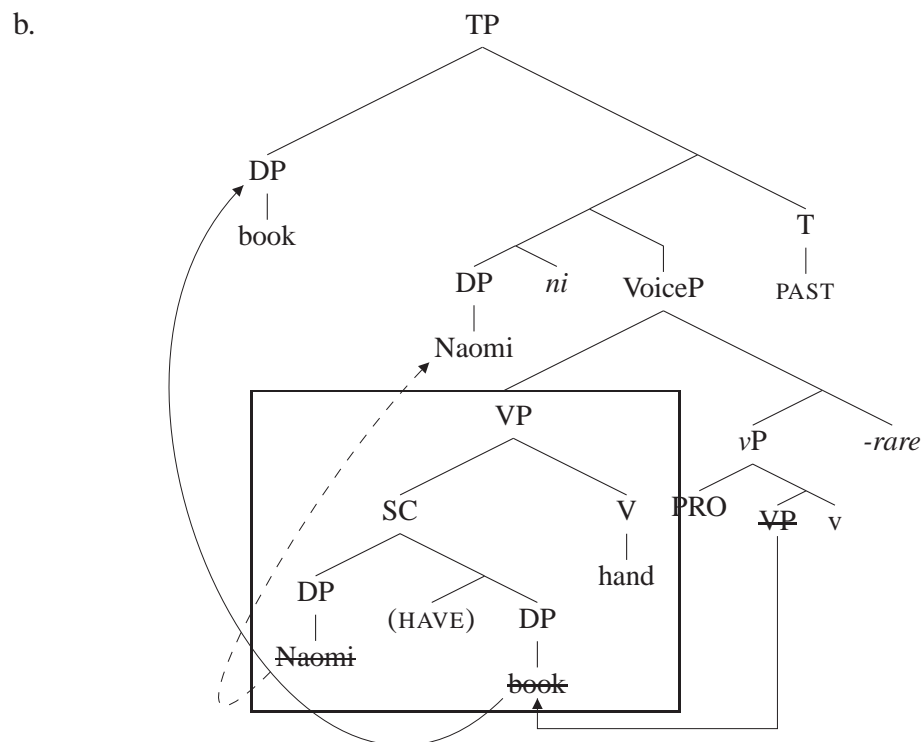
This derivation accounts for the obligatory internal argument interpretation of the da-

tive phrase. Two important consequences of this derivation are that the dative goal must always be syntactically present in the ditransitive passive and that this dative goal must map to a Case position. (Alternatively the goal can never be PRO, thus it needs to be case-marked.) In this configuration, only one dative Case dependent on the presence of *-rare* is available, which bleeds the possibility of Case-marking the external argument. This then leaves PRO as the only possible option for the external argument.

3.3.2.4 The Dative *by*-Phrase in Proto-typical Passives

In the previous section, I established that the dative projection selects for VoiceP (i.e. the order of merger is [Dative<*rare*]). Recall the minimal structure for the accusative passive proposed in section 3.2 (the VP smuggles and the DP in the smuggled VP moves to the *ga*-position). Integrating the dative projection into the structure yields a minimality violation. Namely, if the external argument moves to the *ni*-position, the next step of the derivation (moving the THEME DP (*Ken* below) out of the smuggled constituent and raising it to the *ga*-position) would cross the external argument, as sketched below:

(46)　　a.　*Ken-ga　keisatsu-ni tsukamae-rare-ta.*　　　　　[Accusative Passive]
　　　　　　Ken-NOM police-DAT catch-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　'Ken was caught by the police.'

　　　　b.　*　[police-DAT [[VP ~~Ken~~ V]$_i$ [[$_{vP}$ ~~police~~ VP$_i$ v] *rare*]]

In order to avoid the minimality violation, I adopt the generalized smuggling approach argued for by Koopman (2008). In a series of work by Koopman (2008, 2009, 2010), she generalizes the smuggling analysis in the passive context to the mechanism that smuggles shells and uses it in order to get around minimality violations in the context of Samoan ergatives and accusatives (see Koopman 2008, 2010 for more information). Adopting the generalized smuggling approach leads to the proposal that the little *v*P

containing the external argument moves to the dative projection. This step makes the Case-marking on the DP more akin to the [for DP to VP] structure (i.e. [DP v] *ni rare*).

(47)
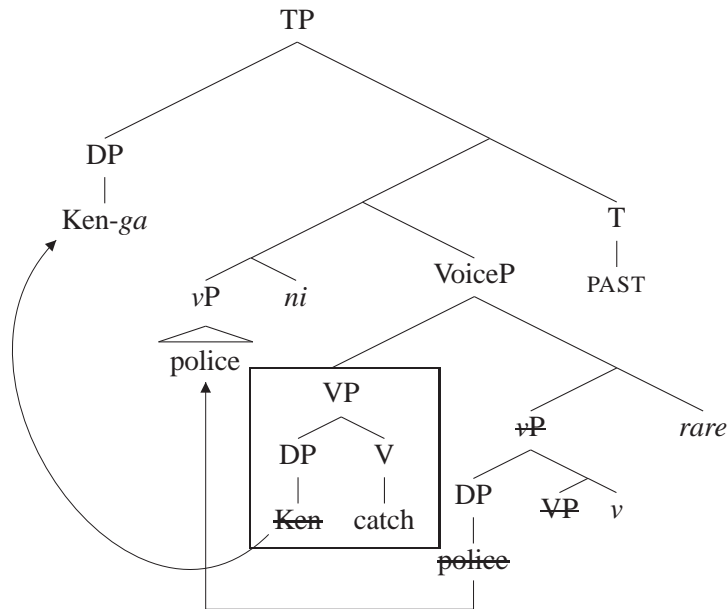
This solution−that the *v*P rather than the DP 'police' moves to Spec,DatP−might seem like a rather unusual solution. However, this derivation accounts for one important distributional property of the dative *by*-phrase: the dative *by*-phrase in Japanese passives, unlike other dative DPs, cannot be relativized:

(48)   Relativization of the dative *by*-phrase

    a. *[[Ken-ga t$_i$ tsukama.e-rare-ta] keisatu.kan$_i$]-ga yuumei-ni
       Ken-NOM   catch-PASS-PAST   police.man-NOM famous-DAT
       nat-ta.
       become-PAST
       Int. 'The policeman by whom Ken was caught became famous.'

    b. *[[John-ga t$_i$ hon-o   watas-are-ta]   syoozyo$_i$]-wa kawaii.
       John-NOM   book-ACC hand-PASS-PAST girl-TOP   cute.
       'The girl by whom John was given a book is cute.'

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(49)   Relativization of the dative goal DP in the Active/Passive

    a.   *[[John-ga t_i hon-o   watasi-ta] syoozyo_i]-wa yorokon-da.*
        John-NOM   book-ACC hand-PAST girl-NOM   be.pleased-PAST
        'The girl to whom John gave a book was pleased.'

    b.   *[[Hanataba-ga   t_i watas-are-ta]   syoozyo_i]-ga kawaikat-ta.*
        flower.bouquet-NOM   hand-PASS-PAST girl-NOM   cute-PAST
        'The girl to whom the flower bouquet was handed was cute.'

The sentences (48-a) and (48-b) show that the dative *by*-phrase cannot undergo relativization, while the sentences (49-a) and (49-b) show that the dative GOAL DP can undergo relativization both in the active and passive sentences (see 3.1.2.1 for more cases involving relativization of a dative-marked DP). The contrast between the dative GOAL phrase and the dative *by*-phrase in the passive construction is captured by (45) and (47). The two dative DPs have different structures: [DP]-*ni* vs. [$_{vP}$ DP *v*]-*ni*, and only the former structure can be relativized. We can rule out the relativization of the dative *by*-phrase as a that-trace-effect (i.e. the DP is in a that-trace-like configuration). If the DP cannot extract from the *v*P in the dative *by*-phrase context, impossibility of relativization follows: that is, relatives need DP heads, not *v*P heads.

3.3.3 The Source Passive

Understanding all the ingredients necessary for the derivation, let us now turn to another type of ditransitive passives. Not only the GOAL and ADDRESSEE (i.e. the dative DP), but also the SOURCE argument of the ditransitive verb (e.g. '*nusum-u* 'to steal,' *tor-u* 'to take/steal') can be promoted to the nominative. I refer to these passives as 'source passives.' Although this is not standardly assumed, this proposal is unsurprising from the perspective of this thesis, since SOURCE is basically the counterpart of GOAL, minimally differing in directionality.

(50) a. *Doroboo-ga Ken-kara okane-o nusun-da.* $\boxed{Active}$
      thief-NOM Ken-FROM money-ACC steal-PAST
      'A thief stole money from Ken.'   [A:mean 4.66]

     b. *Ken-ga doroboo-ni okane-o nusum-are-ta.* $\boxed{Passive}$
        Ken-NOM thief-DAT money-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was stolen his money from by a thief.'   [A:mean 4.77]

(51) a. *Otto-ga   tsuma-kara hesokuri-o   tor-ta.* $\boxed{Active}$
      husband-NOM wife-from secret.savings-ACC take-PAST
      'The husband took the secret savings from his wife.' [A:mean 4.76]

     b. *Tsuma-ga otto-ni   hesokuri-o   tor-are-ta.* $\boxed{Passive}$
        wife-NOM husband-DAT secret.savings-ACC take-PASS-PAST
        'The wife was taken her secret savings from by her husband.'
                                                          [A:mean 4.77]

Kubo (1992) analyzes a passive similar to (51-b), which contains the verb *tor-u*, as a possessive passive, where the derived subject relates to POSSESSOR of the accusative DP. Since the *ga*-marked DP and the *o*-marked DP of the source passive generally stand in a possessive relation, it is not easy to determine whether the active source of the derived subject is a POSSESSOR or a SOURCE. My proposal that the SOURCE is the underlying active source of the nominative DP in (50-b) and (51-b) is motivated by three facts about Japanese passives. First, the source passive allows an overt possessor of the accusative DP that is distinct from the nominative DP without a need of further contextual support.[13]

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[13]We cannot, of course, rule out the following structure as a potential active source for (52).

(i) *Doroboo-ga **ginkoo-no** Ken-no okane-o   nusun-da.*
     thief-NOM   bank-NO   Ken-NO money-ACC steal-PAST
     'The thief stole bank's Ken's money (Ken's money which was at the bank).'

However, what is important here is that (52) does not require any contextual support, which is usually the case if the active source of the nominative is a stacked possessor. See section 3.6.1 for further discussion about stacked possessors.

(52)　　*Ginkoo-ga doroboo-ni Ken-no okane-o　　nusum-are-ta.*
　　　　　bank-NOM thief-DAT　Ken-NO money-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
　　　　　Lit. 'The bank was stolen Ken's money from by a thief.'

Second, the passive is degraded if it contains an overt SOURCE DP.

(53)　???*Ken-ga　　doroboo-ni ginkoo-kara okane-o　　nusum-are-ta.*
　　　　　Ken-NOM thief-DAT　bank-from　money-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
　　　　　'Ken was stolen the money from the bank.'

Third, we observe the same intervention effect as we observed with the GOAL of the ditransitive predicate (see 3.3.2) if we try to raise a theme DP to the nominative position, as shown below:

(54)　　a.　*Okane-ga　　doroboo-ni Ken-kara　　　　nusum-are-ta.* ‖Acc. PSV‖
　　　　　　　money-NOM wife-from　secret.savings-ACC take-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　　'The money was stolen from Ken by a thief.'　　　[A:mean 1.43]

　　　　b.　*Hesokuri-ga　　　otto-ni　　　tsuma-kara tor-are-ta.* ‖Acc. PSV‖
　　　　　　　secret.savings-NOM husband-DAT wife-from　take-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　　'The secret savings were taken from the wife by her husband.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[A:mean 1.57]

The passives (54-a) and (54-b) are unacceptable to me and to many native speakers who participated in the questionnaire A study.[14] (Compare the mean ratings of the accusative passives, (54-a) and (54-b), and that of the corresponding source passives, (50-b) and (51-b).) Thus, I conclude that the derivations of (50-b) and (51-b) involve raising of the SOURCE instead of the POSSESSOR.[15]

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[14]Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) also independently report that a direct object with the verb *tor-u* 'to take' cannot be promoted to the nominative DP in the passive, while only the source DP can (see p.218). However, they do not generalize this property to the goal argument of the ditransitive predicate.

[15]This property, i.e. that the THEME cannot be a nominative in the passive when SOURCE and AGENT are both overt, cannot be explained by the ban on double-datives proposed in (29). Given that the

3.4 Passivization of Causatives

We have established in section 2.3 that *-rare* can take *-(s)ase* as a complement. The causative morpheme *-sase* introduces a causer DP and takes an active *v*P as its complement (see Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002). Merging *-rare* with *-sase* results in the prediction that the *v*P will be smuggled, stranding the *-sase* shell containing the CAUSER DP, and that the highest argument in the *v*P will subsequently move to the *ga*-position. The prediction is borne out, as the following paradigm illustrates.

(55)   a.   *Naomi-ga Ken-o   tukama.e-ta.*   [Transitive]
             Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC catch-PAST
             'Naomi caught Ken.'   Active

        b.   *John-ga Naomi-ni Ken-o   tukama.e-sase-ta.* [Causative]
             John-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-ACC catch-CAUS-PAST
             'John made Naomi catch Ken.'   Active

        c.   *Naomi-ga John-ni Ken-o   tsukama.e-sase-rare-ta.*
             Naomi-NOM John-DAT Ken-ACC catch-CAUS-PASS-PAST
             'Naomi was made to catch Ken by John'   Dative PSV

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same pattern holds with GOAL and SOURCE, this phenomenon suggests some kind of intervention effect within the big VP domain. The distribution of ditransitive passives involving the GOAL differs from that of those involving the SOURCE when the dative phrase is suppressed: unlike the case with passivized ditransitives involving the GOAL, it is clearly the SOURCE that blocks raising of the THEME to the *ga*-position:

(i)   a.   *Hesokuri-ga   otto-ni   tor-are-ta*   [with a suppressed source]
           secret.savings-NOM husband-DAT take-PASS-PAST
           'The secret savings were taken {by/*from} my husband.'
        b. ?**Hesokuri-ga   tsuma-kara tor-are-ta.*
           secret.savings-NOM wife-FROM take-PASS-PAST
           'The secret savings were taken from the wife.'   [with a silent agent]

(i-a) is well-formed, but (i-b) is degraded to me. If the accusative passive of the source ditransitive is derived the same way as that of the goal ditransitive, then we would expect that the dative phrase in (i-a) gives rise to the source interpretation. However, this is not the case. I will leave the exact implementation of this property for future research.

In (55-c), the causer 'John' maps onto dative Case and the highest argument 'Naomi' (i.e. AGENT) in the *v*P promotes to the nominative position. Since *-rare* does not assign a θ-role, the interpretation of the nominative DP is contingent on the θ-role of the highest argument in the smuggled VP shell (assuming the 'thematic hierarchy' or its implementations in *v*P shell structures; i.e. agent<experiencer<goal/source location<theme (Grimshaw 1990)). (55-c) involves raising of an AGENT, while the following passive derived from a (low) causative involves raising of an EXPERIENCER argument:

(56)   a.   *Ken-ga   odoroi-ta.*
             Ken-NOM be.surprised-PAST
             'Ken was surprised.'

       b.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-o   odorok-as(e)-ta.*
             Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC be.surprised-CAUS-PAST
             'Naomi surprised Ken.'

       c.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   odorok-as(e-r)are-ta.*
             Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT be.surprised-CAUS-PAST
             'Ken was surprised by Naomi.'

The derivation of the passive derived from a causative predicate basically mirrors that of the dative GOAL passive derived from a ditransitive verb (see (24)).[16] The passivization pattern is very systematic: in general, the second highest DP of the com-

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[16]The THEME DP cannot raise to the nominative position in the passive derived from a causative. Unlike the ditransitive accusative passive examined in section 3.3.2, suppressing one dative DP does not make the passive well-formed.

(i)   a.   *Otto-ga   tuma-ni   shigoto-o yame-sase-ta.*
             husband-NOM wife-DAT job-ACC   quit-CAUS-PAST
             'The husband made his wife quit the job.'
      b.   *Tsuma-ga otto-ni   shigoto-o yame-sase-rare-ta.*
             wife-NOM husband-DAT job-ACC   quit-CAUS-PASS-PAST
             'The wife was made to quit the job by her husband.' | Dative PSV |
      c.   **Shigoto-ga (otto-ni)   tsuma-ni yame-sase-rare-ta.*
             job-NOM   husband-DAT wife-DAT leave-CAUS-PASS-PAST
             'Int. ?The job was caused to be left by Naomi.'

plement of *-rare* is realized as the derived subject in the passive. What appears as the nominative DP depends on the structural configuration, but not on the lexical properties of *-rare* or the embedded predicate. This property further supports the movement analysis of the passive.

3.5 Pseudo-Passives: Passives with Intransitives

As we have seen in section 2.4.1, *-(r)are* combines with some intransitive predicates encompassing both unergatives and unaccusatives (e.g. *nak-u* 'to cry', *niger-u* 'to escape,' *sin-u* 'to die'). These intransitive passives are traditionally known as indirect or gapless passives, lacking an active counterpart. Under the unified smuggling analysis of passives, the derived subject in the passive must always be merged as an argument within the smugggled VP. Now the questions arise: Where is the nominative DP originally merged? What is the active source? Here I argue that these passives are like English pseudo-passives−the passive involving movement of a DP from an oblique position. This is hard to diagnose in Japanese because of the property that Case-markers disappear under movement (see section 3.1.2). I will first cast the Japanese discussion against the background of English pseudo-passives.

3.5.1 English Pseudo-Passives

English is known to allow pseudo-passives (or prepositional passives), where an object of a prepositional phrase is raised to the subject in the passive, stranding the preposition

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Interestingly, when one of the dative Ps is suppressed as in (i-c), the other dativeP gives rise to the causer reading, and not the embedded agent reading (but the sentence as a whole does not make sense, and is thus ungrammatical). This is a pattern different from the one observed with the ditransitive verb (with a goal) in (45). It might be the case that in (i-c) *-rare* attracts the big VP shell instead of the *v*P of the predicate embedded under *-sase*, and the agent DP cannot receive Case (the dative in the causative is a dependent Case) thus the derivation does not converge.

(Chomsky 1975, 1981, Van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986, Baltin and Postal 1996, Bresnan 1982, Davison 1980, Hornstein and Weinberg 1981, Riddle and Sheintuch 1983, Postal 1986, 2004: among others). Examples below are taken from Postal (2004), Baltin and Postal (1996), Davison (1980), Collins (2005):

(57)   a.   The problem was referred to by Myron.

          b.   Pauline's thesis was talked about by the committee.

          c.   John was spoken to by the teacher.

          d.   John was spoken to by Mary.

          e.   Harry was cared for.

          f.   The crown was laughed at by the children.

          g.   The bed has been slept in (by the children).

          h.   This pen has been written with.

          i.   That house should not be lived in by handicapped people.

These examples show that a wide variety of prepositional objects ranging from idiomatic/subcategorized Ps to directional locatives/instrumental Ps feed into pseudo-passives in English (cf. Davison 1980:44-45). However, as is well-known, the distribution is quite restricted: for example, this construction is more readily available when the verb-preposition combination is somehow verb-like in its semantic properties. Further, a modifier cannot intervene between the verb and the P, as shown below (see Chomsky 1981):

(58)   a.   *John was spoken angrily to (by the teacher)

          b.   The bed was slept (right) in.

The traditional treatment of pseudo-passives is the 'reanalysis approach': the preposition is incorporated to yield a complex verb with the complement of P taking on the status of a direct object of the complex verb (see Chomsky 1981, Hornstein and Weinberg 1981, Van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986, *inter alia*). However, Postal (2004) and Baltin and Postal (1996) convincingly show that the reanalysis approach is untenable (see Baltin and Postal 1996 and Postal 2004 for arguments against the reanalysis approach).[17]

It is not my goal here to propose a novel analysis for English pseudo-passives, but simply to discuss the logic of the smuggling approach. In the smuggling approach, the DP that moves to Spec,TP is always the highest DP in a smuggled participle VP shell. Therefore, the VP shell must contain the P and its complement. In other words, only the PPs which are present in the big VP and which have no intervening DP can in principle be raised to Spec,TP.

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[17]One of counter-arguments for the reanalysis approach is the presence of pseudo-passives involving non-linear adjacency between the verb and the preposition (the following examples are adopted from Postal 2004:261):

(i)   a.   The bridge was climbed *onto* by the gorilla and then, a few minutes later, *off of* by the chimp.
        b.   The bridge was flown *over* on Sunday by Sheila and*under* on Saturday by Louise.

In (i-a) 'off of' is not adjacent to the verb 'climb' and in (i-b), 'under' is not adjacent to 'flown,' thus it is unlikely that incorporation involves in these cases (see Baltin and Postal 1996 and Postal 2004 for more arguments against the reanalysis approach).

(59)

TP
├─ DP
│   └─ This pen
└─ T
   ├─ T
   │ └─ VP
   │   ├─ V
   │   │ └─ be
   │   └─ VoiceP
   │   ├─ ⟨PartP⟩
   │   │ ├─ DP
   │   │ └─ Part'
   │   │   ├─ V
   │   │   │ └─ write
   │   │   ├─ Part
   │   │   │ └─ -en
   │   │   └─ VP
   │   │   ├─ V
   │   │   └─ PP
   │   │   ├─ P
   │   │   │ └─ with
   │   │   └─ DP
   │   └─ Voice'
   │   ├─ Voice
   │   │ └─ by
   │   └─ vP
   │   ├─ DP
   │   │ └─ him
   │   └─ v'
   │   ├─ v
   │   └─ ⟨PartP⟩
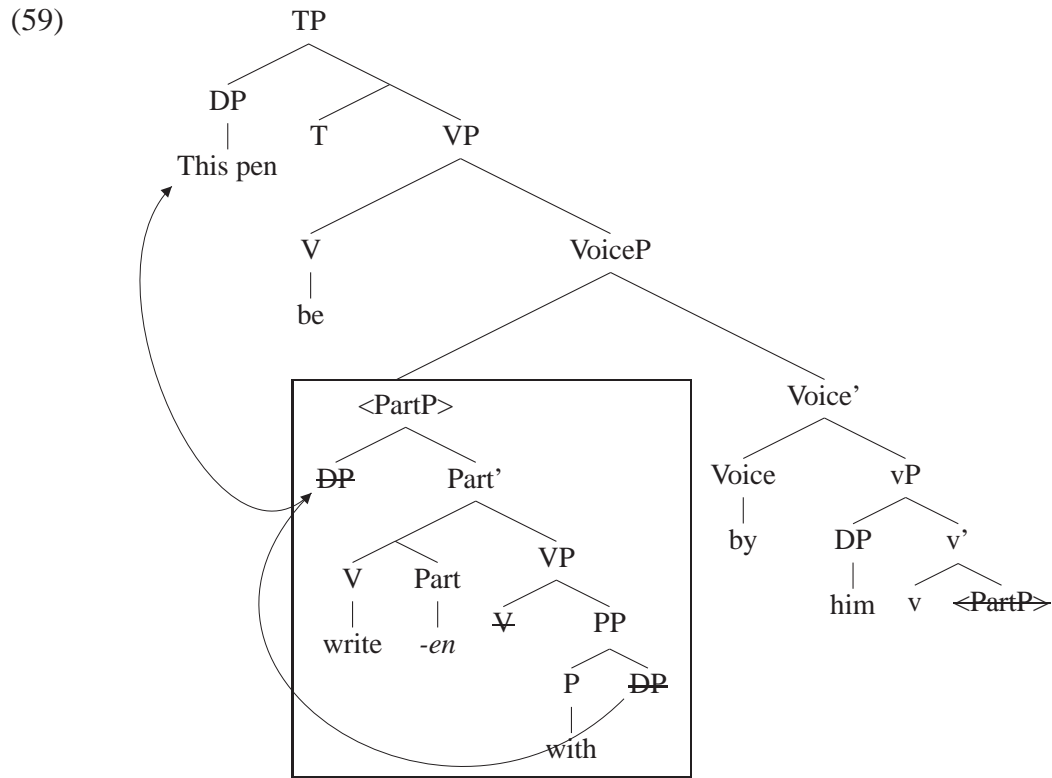
Now, what happens if the same mechanism (i.e. a VP smuggles PP over the external argument) is applied in a language where the adpositional Case systematically disappears under movement? We get a class of passives that appears to be gapless—the passive that has been called indirect passives or adversity/gapless passives in Japanese.

3.5.2 Japanese Passives Derived from Obliques

Given the logic of the analysis developed thus far, the derived subject in Japanese must always be merged as an argument within the smuggled VP shell. This necessitates finding evidence that the intransitive predicates under discussion indeed allow for such low PPs. A pseudo-passive treatment has been occasionally proposed for particular passive sentences (e.g. (60); c.f. Kuno 1973:347, Kubo 1992, Iwasaki 2002). An example of the pseudo-passive coupled with its active counterpart is given below:

(60) a. *Mary-ga John-ni hohoen-da.*   [Active]
    Mary-NOM John-DAT smile-PAST
    'Mary smiled at John'   [A: mean 4.93]

  b. *John-ga Mary-ni ~~John-ni~~ hohoem-are-ta.* [Passive]
    John-NOM Mary-DAT   smile-PASS-PAST
    'John was smiled at by Mary.'   [A: mean 3.38]

The pseudo-passive approach can be directly extended to much more cases, including passives that have been traditionally analyzed as indirect passives. Specifically, I will show that various *ni*-marked DPs (i.e. dative THEME, AT/ON-DIRECTIONAL, and CAUSE) and SOURCE arguments, which are the Ps subcategorized by the verb, can move to the nominative position in Japanese passives. We will examine them in turn below.

3.5.2.1 Dative Theme Is the Active Source

In Japanese the direct object of a substantial number of verbs is realized not as an accusative DP but as a dative DP, and these dative DPs can be promoted to the nominative position in the passive.[18] Many (but not all) of these predicates are complex, consisting of a light verb and an optionally accusative-marked nominal object: e.g. *kisu(-o).su-ru* 'to kiss,' *intavyu(-o) su-ru* 'to interview,' *denwa-o kake-ru* 'to call/phone,' *tori.tuk-u* 'to haunt,' *fure-ru* 'to (lightly) touch or feel', and *butukar-u* 'to bump.'[19]

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[18]Some verbs, such as *sawar-u* 'to touch,' *tayor-u* 'to rely on,' and *tsukisow-u* 'to accompany' can take either an accusative or a dative direct object. There are some semantic difference between dative and accusative objects (and possibly syntactic, according to Fukuda 2009). I will leave the differences between dative and accusative objects for future research.

[19]The availability of dative objects might seem inconsistent with the claim that the dative Case in ditransitive, passive, and causative constructions in Japanese is a dependent Case (i.e. it is contingent on the presence of accusative Case; see section 3.3.2.3). However, the decomposition of many of these verbs (i.e. the light verb and the optionally accusative-marked nominal object) suggests that (silent) accusative Case is involved, e.g. [DP-ni [kiss]-o kiss-do], thus I assume that the dative object construction is basically the same as the ditransitive verbs with an unrealized accusative Case.

(61) **Dative: Dative Theme**

    a.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   kisu(-o)   si-ta.*   [Active]
           'Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT kiss-(ACC) do-PAST
           'Naomi kissed Ken.'

    b.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   kisu(-o)   s-are-ta.*   [Passive]
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT kiss-(ACC) do-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was kissed by Naomi.'

(62)   a.   *Yopparai-ga   Ken-{ni/*o}   butuk.ar-ta.*   [Active]
           drunkard-NOM Ken-{DAT/ACC} bump-PAST
           A drunkard bumped Ken.'   [A: mean 4.93]

    b.   *Ken-ga   yopparai-ni   butuk.ar-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
           Ken-NOM drunkard-DAT bump-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was bumped by a drunkard.'   [A: mean 3.99]

The following is a simplified tree for (62-b) (the step raising *v*P to Spec,DativeP is omitted; see (47) for a full tree):[20]

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[20] The verb *butuk.ar-u* contains the low passive morpheme '-(r)ar,' which functions like a reflexivizer (i.e. a drunkard bumped himself into Ken). The verbal structure presented in the tree is simplified.

(63)   Dative Theme Passive
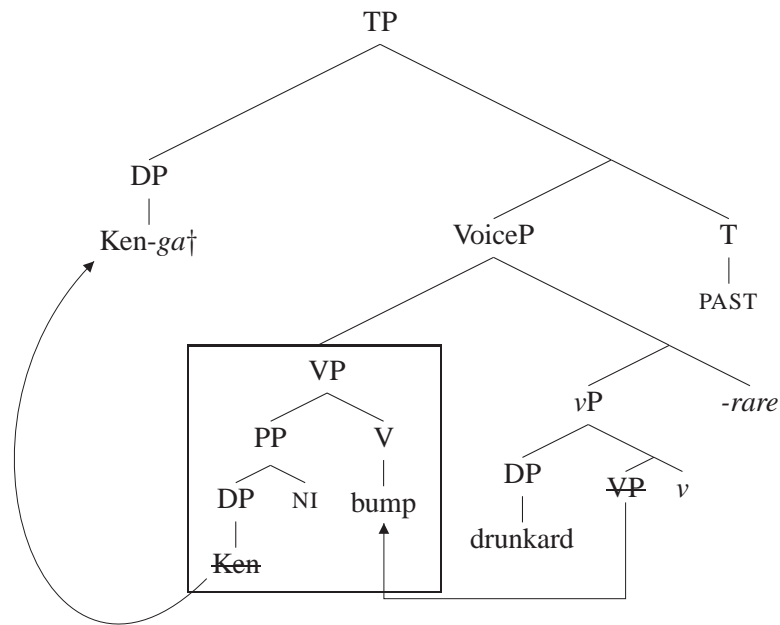
The dative THEME is contained in the smuggled VP, and it raises to the *ga*-position.
No new mechanism is needed in order to derive the dative THEME passive.

3.5.2.2   *at*-Directional Dative DP

As in English pseudo-passives, Japanese allows raising of the directional DP. The *ni*-marked DPs in (60-a), (64-a), and (65-a) correspond to an 'at-Directional PP' in English.

(64)   **Dative: at-Directional**

    a.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   donat-ta.*   [Active]
          'Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT yell-PAST
          'Naomi yelled at Ken.'

    b.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   donar-are-ta.*   [Passive]
          Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT yell-PASS-PAST
          'Ken was yelled at by Naomi.'

(65) a. *Inu-ga   Naomi-ni   hoe-ta.*   [Active]
          dog-NOM Naomi-DAT bark-PAST
          'The dog barked at Naomi,'   [A:mean:4.89]

      b. *Naomi-ga   inu-ni   hoe-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
          Naomi-NOM dog-DAT bark-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Naomi was barked at by a dog.'   [A:mean:4.68]

The class of Japanese intransitive verbs that takes a *ni*-marked at-Directional DP in-
cludes verbs such as *hohoem-u* 'to smile,' *donar-u* 'to yell,' *uinku.su-ru* 'to (do) wink,'
and *hoer-u* 'to bark.' Iwasaki (2002:133) refers to a passive containing *hoe-ru* 'to bark'
(cf. (65-b)) as a typical example of the indirect passive, where the subject (Naomi) is
selected as an AFFECTEE argument by -*(r)are*. However, both (65-b) and the proposed
active counterpart (65-a) denote the same event, i.e. a dog's barking at Naomi, and
Naomi is interpreted as an 'at-Directional' argument in both sentences. Consequently,
I conclude that *Naomi-ga* in (65-b) is the 'at-Directional' dative argument uniquely
selected by the verb *hoe-ru*. This straightforwardly leads to a movement analysis with
the deletion of the P. Under the current analysis, the *ni*-marked 'at-Directional DP'
must have been contained in the smuggled VP before it raises to the nominative po-
sition. This is expected, as 'directionals' in general are small clause complements of
V (Hoekstra and Mulder 1990). Smuggling the VP containing the 'at-Directional' DP
and moving the DP to the nominative position, accompanied by the deletion of the P
yield the following (simplified) structure:

(66)   [Naomi-*ga* [[VP [SC ~~Naomi-ni~~ V]*j* [[*vP* dog ~~VP~~*j* *v*] *rare*]]

The derivation I assume for 'at-Directional' dative passives is fundamentally the same
as the one I will propose for 'on-Directional' Dative passives in section 3.5.2.3, (see
(74) for a tree).

Although *ni*-marked 'at-Directional' DPs are optional, it is not the case that any intransitive verb is compatible with an 'at-Directional' DP. It has to be selected by the verb in some sense. For example, it is not implausible for *Naomi* to wait for *Ken* at the finishing point of his swimming, yet (67-a) is not well-formed. This is because *oyog-u* 'to swim' in Japanese is a manner verb, lacking the directional (i.e. path) component. In addition, as shown in (67-b), *oyog-u* 'to swim' in Japanese is incompatible with an accusative or source argument.[21] Therefore, the passive derived from this unergative verb is impossible since its lower VP shell is unable to provide the DP that satisfies the EPP of T (see (67-c)).

(67)   a.   *Naomi-wa   Ken-ni   oyoi-da.   [Active]
            Naomi-TOP Ken-DAT swim-PAST
            Int: 'Ken was swum at by Naomi.'   [B:mean:1.19]

       b.   *Naomi-wa   Ken-{o/kara}   oyoi-da.
             Naomi-TOP Ken-{ACC/FROM} swim-PAST
            Int: 'Naomi was swum on/from Naomi.'

       c.   *Ken-wa   Naomi-ni   oyog-are-ta   [Passive]
            Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
            'Ken$_i$ had Naomi swim on him$_i$.'   [C:mean 1.39]

(67-c) is a clear example of a gapless passive. As shown by the low mean rating, (67-c) is ill-formed to many speakers (51 out of 54 speakers gave it a 1 or 2; sd. 0.66). The contrast between (65-b) and (67-c) strongly supports the current proposal that the nominative DP in Japanese passives always needs a clause-internal active source.

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[21]Here we do not consider adverbial accusative DPs (e.g. *3-kilo-o*, *taiheiyoo-o* 'Pacific Ocean-ACC'). The adverbial accusative DP cannot be promoted to the nominative position in the passive.

3.5.2.3 *on*-Directional Dative DP

In addition to *ni*-marked 'at-Directional' DPs, I propose that *ni*-marked 'on-Directional' DPs can be promoted to the nominative position in the Japanese passive. 'On-directional' arguments ususally appear in the frame of [NP-ACC do] with a light verb, as exemplified in *seki-o su-ru* 'to do cough,' *kusyami-o su-ru* 'to do sneeze,' and *onara-o su-ru* 'to do fart.' This light-verb construction seems to allow optional 'on-Directional DP.' Many of the indirect gapless passives discussed in the literature as well as the ones used as stimuli in acquisition studies (e.g. Sugisaki 1999) are, in fact, instances of raising from a *ni*-marked 'on-Directional.' Some examples of '*on*-Directional' dative passives are given below:

(68) **Dative: *on*-Directional**

    a.   *Densya-de roozin-ga   Naomi-ni   seki-o   si-ta.*   [Active]
        train-LOC old.man-NOM Naomi-DAT cough-ACC do-PAST
        'Naomi was coughed on by an old man in the train.'
                                    [A; mean 2.99 (sd. 1.33)]
    b.   *Densya-de Naomi-ga   roozin-ni   seki-o   s-are-ta.*
        train-LOC Naomi-NOM old.man-DAT cough-ACC do-PASS-PAST
        'Naomi was coughed on by an old man in the train.
                                      [A: mean 3.20 (sd. 1.38)]

(69)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   onara-o si-ta.*   [Active]
          Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT fart-ACC do-PAST
          'Ken farted on Naomi.'   [A: mean 3.05 (sd. 1.53)]

       b.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   onara-o s-are-ta.*   [Passive]
          Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT fart-ACC do-PASS-PAST
          'Naomi was farted on by Ken.'   [A: mean 3.51 (sd. 1.34)]

Interestingly, the results from the questionnaire exhibit a considerable amount of variability in terms of the acceptability of *on*-Directional constructions, for both the active and passive counterparts. To me, both active and passive *on*-Directionals are slightly

degraded, and I would give them a 3 out of 5. The variability itself is not a problem with the proposed smuggling analysis. What the current analysis predicts is some correlation between the passive and the active counterparts; that is, the speakers who accept the passive should accept the active counterpart as well. The correlation of the within-speaker behaviors between the active and the passive is a fascinating research topic, which needs to be tested independently with more items in the future.

Significantly, passives involving 'on-Directional' DPs commonly carry strong adversative connotations; this is due to the directionality of a rather unfavorable event (i.e. the event happens 'to' the nominative DP). However, I want to stress the fact that the adversative connotations are just an implicature. We can follow the passives (68-b) and (69-b) with a string, *demo kanozyo-wa ne-tei-te kizuka-nakat-ta.* 'but she was sleeping and didn't notice that,' and the sentences are still felicitous (see section 6.4.3 for further discussion on affectedness).

The Well-Cited 'Rain' Example

My analysis of 'on-Directional' dative passive extends to the following well-cited '*rain*' example, which is presented in the literature as the prototypical case of indirect adversity passive (e.g. Kuno 1973, Miyagawa 1979).

(70)   a.   *(Megumi-no) ame-ga   watasi.tachi-ni hut-ta.*   [Active]
            benefit-NO   rain-NOM we-DAT   descend-PAST
            'A beneficial rain descended upon us.'   [A: mean 4.03]

       b.   *Watasi.tachi-wa ame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
            we-TOP   rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'We were descended upon by rain.'   [A: mean 3.79]

       c.   *Ken-wa   ame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
            Ken-TOP rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was rained on.'   [B:mean 4.28]

I propose that the active counterpart of (70-b) is (70-a) without *megumi-no* 'beneficial.' The high mean rating of (70-a) shows that the verb *hur-u* 'to descend' is compatible with an 'on-Directional' dative phrase. Note that the presence of a modifier *megumi-no* is irrelevant here.[22]

This analysis extends directly to an example like (71-a). The *ni*-phrase in (71-a) is never a locative PP but always a 'on-Directional' argument, as the reading suggests.

(71)   a.   *Tokyoo-ga ooame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
                Tokyo-NOM heavy.rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
                Lit. 'Tokyo was descended upon by heavy rain.

       b.   *Ooame-ga   Tokyoo-ni hut-ta.*   &boxed;on-Directional&boxed;
                heavy.rain-NOM Tokyo-DAT descend-PAST
                Lit. 'Heavy rain descended upon Tokyo.   [A: mean 4.62]

       c.   *Tokyo-de   ooame-ga   hut-ta.*   &boxed;Locative&boxed;
                Tokyo-LOC heavy.rain-NOM descend-PAST
                'Heavy rain descended in Tokyo.'   [A: mean 4.88]

Japanese has two locative postpositions '*de*' and '*ni*,' and they are in complementary distribution: '*ni*' is used with stative verbs and '*de*' is used with eventive verbs (see also Naku 1998, who argues that '*ni*' is for the location of a 'thing,' while '*de*' is the location of a 'situation' including events and states).[23] The complement of neither locative *ni* nor *de* can move to the nominative position in the passive.

(72)   a.   *Kyoko-wa ima Osaka-{ni/*de} ir-u.*
                Kyoko-TOP now Osaka-LOC   exist-PRES
                'Kyoko is in Osaka now.'   [A: mean with *de* 1.23; *ni* 4.89]

---

[22]The dative on *watasi-tachi* is not a benefactive *ni*: the benefactive *ni*-DP cannot be realized as the nominative DP in the passive (see 3.5.3).

[23]As expected, once a stative aspectual verb 'tei-ru' is added to an eventive verb, both *ni* and *de* become available.

b. *Kyoko-wa   heya-{*ni/de} odot-ta.*
Kyoko-TOP room-LOC   dance-PAST
'Kyoko danced in her room.'   [A: mean with *de* 4.95; *ni* 1.07]

(73)   a. **Osaka-ga   Kyoko-ni   ir-are-ta.*
Osaka-NOM Kyoko-DAT exist-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Osaka was existed in by Kyoko.'   [A: mean 1.04]

b. **Heya-ga   Kyoko-ni   odo-rare-ta.*
room-NOM Kyoko-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
'The room was danced in by Kyoko.'   [A: mean 1.04]

Significantly, the verb *hur-u* 'to descend' is an eventive predicate and takes *de*, not *ni*, to express the location where the raining takes place (see (71-b)). Therefore, we can conclude that the *ni*-marked DP in the rain examples is the 'on-Directional' DP.

I propose the following (simplified) derivation for the rain passive:

(74)   Directional Passive

a. *Watasi.tachi-ga ame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*
we-NOM   rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'We were descended upon by rain.'

b.

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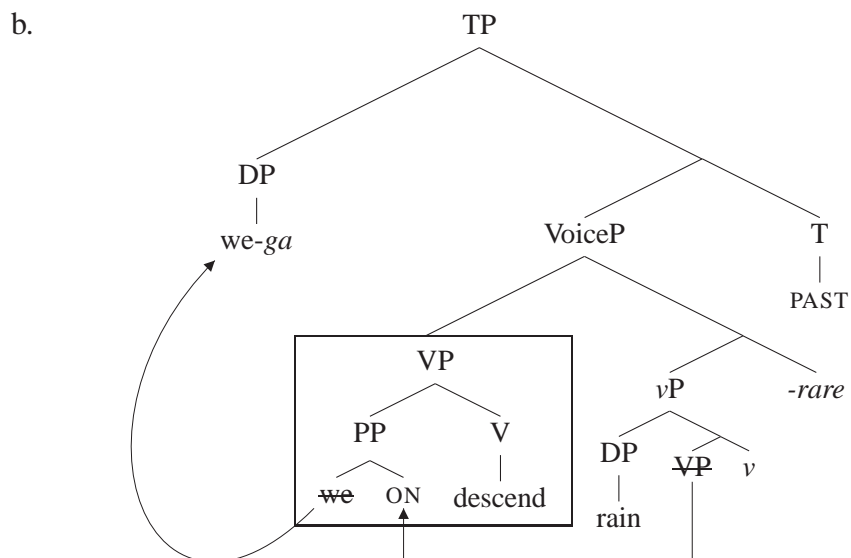
The fact that *-rare* can attach to *hur-u* 'to descend' shows that *hur-u* must contain an active voice *v*, which satisfies the complementation property of *-rare* (recall that *-rare* cannot combine with *oti-ru* 'to fall,' see chapter 2). The VP shell containing the directional PP smuggles over 'rain,' and *watasitachi* 'us' subsequently moves to the nominative position. The dative *by*-phrase in the rain passive is obligatory. This is because there is no PRO counterpart for 'rain'; *ame-ga hur-u* 'rain descend' is like an idiom, with 'rain' merged in Spec,*v*P, and 'rain' must be marked by *ni*.

3.5.2.4 *ni*-Marked Cause DP

Finally, let us turn to cases in which the active source for the nominative DP is the *ni*-marked CAUSE argument. As is well-known, object experiencer psych-predicates, such as *odorok-u* 'to.be.surprised,' take a *ni*-marked CAUSE argument (see Hasegawa 2001), and raising from the dative CAUSE DP is possible in Japanese passives:[24]

(75)   a.   *Ken-ga   {Naomi/sono nyusu}-{ni/*o} odoroi-ta.*
                 Ken-NOM {Naomi/that news}-DAT   surprise-PAST
                 'Ken was surprised at {Naomi/that news}.' [Active]

---

[24]It is not the case that all CAUSE arguments of psych-predicates can move to the nominative position in the passive. Some predicates like *kurusim-u* 'to suffer' contains an inactive voice, and are thus incompatible with *-rare*, while other predicates like *okor-u* 'to get.angry' allow both dative and accusative objects with different semantics. The one that promotes to the nominative in the passive is the accusative DP, as shown by the translation in (i-c):

(i)   a.   *Ken-ga   {Naomi/sono nyusu}-ni   okot-ta.*
                 Ken-NOM {Naomi/that news}-DAT be.angry-PAST

                 Ken is angry at {Naomi/that news.}   `ni-Active`
      b.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-o   okot-ta.*
                 Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC scold-PAST

                 'Ken scolded Naomi.'   `o-Active`
      c.   *{Naomi/*sono nyusu}-ga   Ken-ni   oko-rare-ta.*
                 {Naomi/*that news}-NOM Ken-DAT angry-PASS-PAST

                 'Naomi was scolded by Ken.'   `Passive`

b. *{Naomi/*sono nyusu}-ga Ken-ni*
{Naomi/that news}-NOM Ken-DAT
odorok-are-ta.
be.surprised-PASS-PAST
'Naomi was surprised at by Ken.' [Passive]

Interestingly, the *ni*-marked CAUSE is compatible with both animate and inanimate DPs, whereas the derived subject in the passive is incompatible with inanimate DPs. Despite this animacy restriction, both the dative phrase in the active sentence and the derived subject in the passive are evidently the CAUSE of Ken's surprise, and the *ni*-marked CAUSE PP is contained in the smuggled VP shell and raised to the nominative position.

(76)   [Naomi-*ga* [[VP [PP ~~Naomi-ni~~] V]*j* [[*vP* Ken ~~VP~~*j* *v*] *rare*]]]

 We can extend this analysis to the well-cited 'cry' examples of Japanese passives.

The Well-Cited 'Cry' Passive

In addition to the 'rain' passive discussed in the previous section, the passive derived from an unergative predicate *nak-u* 'to cry' has been taken in the literature as a representative example of gapless/adversative passive:

(77)   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak-are-ta.*   [Passive]
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
Lit: 'Ken was cried over by Naomi'   [C:mean 4.52]

A close inspection reveals that the nominative DP must be interpreted as the 'cause' (i.e. Naomi cried because of Ken) for the passive to be felicitous. As shown by the high mean rating of the following example, the predicate *nak-u* 'to cry' is compatible

with a *ni*-marked CAUSE DP:

(78)   *Toosyu-wa kyuukaiura-no   shittoo-ni   nai-ta.*[B:mean 4.74]
        pitcher-TOP bottom.of.the.ninth-NO careless.pitch-DAT cry-PAST
        'The pitcher cried over the poor pitching at the bottom of the ninth.'

Therefore, I propose that the active source of the derived subject in (77) is the *ni*-marked CAUSE DP. This active source, however, is very difficult to identify because similar to the passive derived from *odorok-u* 'to surprise,' there is a complication with respect to 'animacy': the *ni*-marked CAUSE in the active sentence must be inanimate, whereas the derived subject in the passive must be animate:

(79)   a.   *Naomi-ga Ken-*(no uragiri)-ni nai-ta.*   [Active]
            Naomi-NOM Ken-NO   betrayal-DAT cry-PAST
            Lit: 'Naomi cried over Ken's betrayal.'

        b.   *Ken-(*no uragiri)-ga   Naomi-ni   nak-are-ta.*   [Passive]
            Ken-NO   betrayal-NOM Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
            Lit: 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

Despite the animacy difference between the active and the passive counterparts, I argue that the nominative DP in (77) is indeed a Dative CAUSE argument selected by the verb *nak* 'to cry.' The following pair supports my claim:

(80)   a.   *Naomi-ga   {sono hanashi/ *Ken}-ni nai-ta.*
            Naomi-NOM that   story/   Ken-DAT cry-PAST
            'Naomi cried over {that story/*Ken}.'

        b.   *{Sono hanashi/ *Ken}-ga (Naomi-ni-wa)   nak-e-ta.*
            that   story/   Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT-TOP cry-RE-PAST
            Lit: '{That story/*Ken} is cry-able (to Naomi).'
            (Int. That story is able to make Naomi cry.)

The predicate *nak-e-ru* 'cry-able' in (80-b) consists of the stem *nak* 'to cry' and a low passive morpheme *-re*. Since *-re* does not select for an argument, the derivation of (80-b) must involve raising. (80-b) shows evidence that raising from the *ni*-marked CAUSE DP is indeed possible and the CAUSE DP does show up in the nominative position in a passive-like construction in Japanese.

I consider the animacy restriction to be independent of the lexical property of *-rare* as well as the derivation of passivization. The structure of psych-predicates, as in (75-a) and (79-a), are probably very complex: it must derivationally involve low passivization that brings the nominative THEME over the *ni*-marked CAUSE, assuming the thematic hierarchy [CAUSE>THEME]. Here, I will simply assume that the animacy restrictions come about from the interaction between the passive morpheme *-rare* and the structure of the complement of *-rare* that involves low passivization. What is important for us is that the 'cry' passive can be derived solely by the mechanism developed thus far. The CAUSE nominative DP was licensed within the smuggled VP shell and moves to the nominative position to satisfy the EPP of T in the passive (see (76) for the derivation).

3.5.2.5   The Source DP

The last case of pseudo-passives involves the SOURCE DP:

(81)   **Source: *from*-marked DP**

    a.   *Naomi-ga   Ken-kara   nige-ta.*   [Active]
        Naomi-NOM Ken-FROM escape-PAST
        'Naomi escaped from Ken.'

    b.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   nige-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST   [C:mean 4.93]
        'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'

We have established in section 3.3.3 that the SOURCE DP can be promoted to the nominative in the passive in the context of ditransitive predicate. I propose that (81-b) is also an instance of raising from the *kara* DP, as the English translation suggests.

Independent support for the fact that the gap corresponding to *Ken-ga* is indeed contained in the big VP shell comes from the interpretation of a temporal adverb. Consider the following example:

(82) *Ken-ga   [Naomi-ni sando   nige]-rare-ta.*
      Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT three.time escape-PASS-PAST
      (i) 'Ken was escaped from by Naomi three times.'
      (ii) '*Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi escaped from different men three times.'

If this sentence does not contain the trace of the derived subject 'Ken,' the temporal adverb *sando* should be able to modify the event of 'Naomi's escaping' to the exclusion of 'Ken.' This means that (82) should be compatible with a situation where Naomi escaped from different men three times (but somehow Ken was affected by her three escapes). However, (82) is infelicitous in such a situation. For the sentence to be felicitous, 'Ken' has to be the source of 'Naomi's escaping' all three times.[25] I take this as a piece of evidence that the complement of *-rare* (i.e. the smuggled VP shell) contains the trace of the derived subject.

The source passive (81-b) contains an unaccusative predicate *niger-u* 'to escape,' thus its underlying subject 'Naomi' is originally licensed a a THEME at the specifier of V. Furthermore, like the dative goal in the passive, the dative phrase of the escape passive can undergo relativization (see (49)), as exemplified below:

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[25]Alternatively possessor-raising from the source DP is also possible (e.g. '(Naomi escaped) from Ken's hospital,' and Ken promotes to the nominative position), but even in this case, Ken has to relate to the source (the hospital which Ken owned/introduced to her, etc) (see the next section for more information about possessor passives.)

(83) *[[Ken-ga t*ᵢ *nige-rare-ta]   onna]-wa totemo kawai.kat-ta.*
      Ken-NOM   escape-PASS-PAST girl-TOP   very   cute-PAST
      'The girl from whom Ken was escaped was very cute.'

This suggests that the derivation of the source passive derived from the verb *niger-u* 'to escape' mirrors the derivation of accusative passives derived from a ditransitive verb. Namely, the DP, not the *v*P, maps onto the dative projection. The derivation is not straightforward given that our definition of active voice little *v* is a filled Spec. Here in order to provide a derivational account for the observed properties, we use the copy and deletion theory of movement with spell-out of the highest copy under c-command. The proposed structure is sketched below:

(84)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   nige-rare-ta.*   [Passive]
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST   [C:mean 4.93]
            'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'

       b.
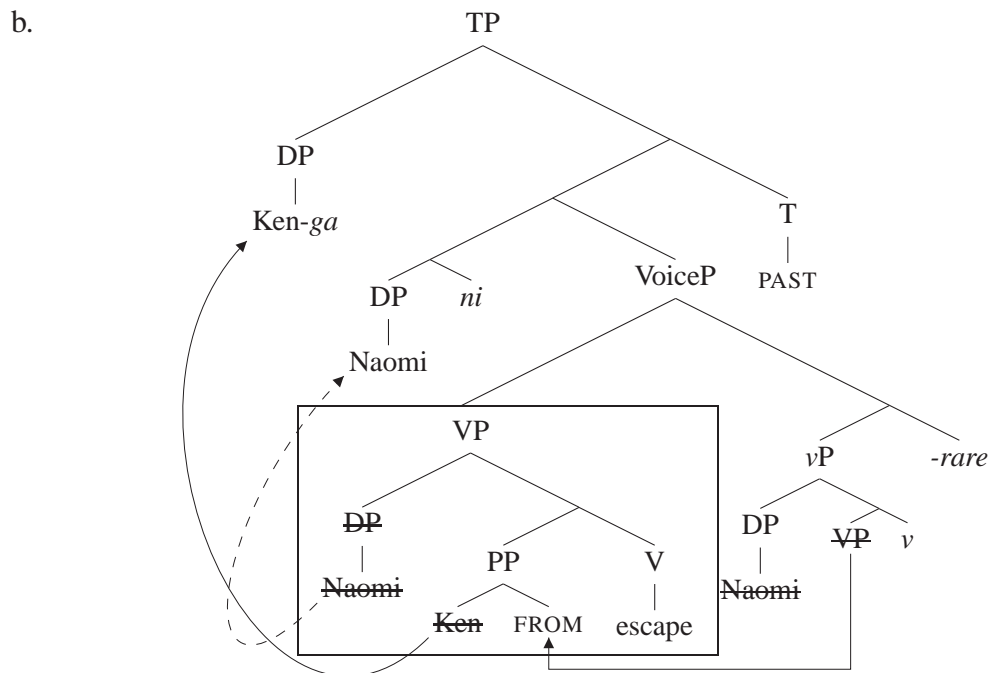
The derivation involves the following steps:

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- The V *nige* takes a THEME and a PP complement.

- The active little *v* merges with the VP, and 'Naomi' is attracted to Spec,*v*P, leaving the copy in the big VP domain (this is due to the property of the active voice little *v*: the specifier needs to be filled).

- The Voice *-rare* merges with the little *v* and attracts the VP to its specifier.

- *Naomi* in the smuggled VP shell moves to the dative projection, and the highest copy deletes all the lower copies of '*Naomi*' under c-command.

- Lastly, *Ken* moves to the nominative position, accompanied by the deletion of the P (the minimality problem of THEME crossing over SOURCE is not solved by this structure; see the derivation of the accusative passive containing ditransitives in (45) for further discussion).

So far, I have reviewed various Ps that allow their complements to move to the nominative position in the passive. Now I briefly discuss the Ps that do not.

3.5.3 Postpositional Objects Incompatible with Pseudo-Passives

The types of postpositional objects that can be promoted to the nominative position in Japanese passives are much more restricted than English pseudo-passives. We have seen earlier in (72) and (73) that neither the complement of *ni*-locative nor that of *de*-locative can be the derived subject. In Japanese, dative phrases can encode a wide variety of meanings (see Sadakane and Koizumi 1995: Appendix for a complete list). Although many of the *ni*-marked DPs can undergo movement to the nominative position in the passive, not all can. The *ni*-marked benefactive argument is one such DP.

(85)   a. ??*Ken-ga   Mary-ni   keeki-o   yak-are-ta.*
           Ken-NOM Mary-DAT cake-ACC bake-PASS-PAST
           Int: 'Ken was baked a cake by Mary.'

    b. *Mary-ga   Ken-(no-tame-)ni   keeki-o   yai-ta.*
          Mary-NOM Ken-(no-benefit)-DAT cake-ACC bake-PAST
          'Mary baked Ken a cake.'

(86)   a. ??*Naomi-ga   hahaoya-ni huku-o   kaw-are-ta.*
            Naomi-NOM mother-DAT clothes-ACC buy-PASS-PAST
            Int: Naomi was bought the dress by her mother.'

      b.   *Hahaoya-ga Naomi-ni   huku-o   kat-ta.*
            mother-NOM Naomi-DAT clothes-ACC buy-PAST
            'Mother bought Naomi the dress.'

In addition, unlike English pseudo-passives, the *de*-marked instrumental P cannot be the derived subject in the passive:

(87)   *Kono pen-ga   ~~kono pen-de~~ (tegami-o) kak-are-ta.*   Instrumental
       this   pen-NOM   letter-ACC write-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'This pen has been written (the letter) with.

What distinguishes the Ps that feed into passivization from those that do not (i.e. locative and benefactive dative and the locative and instrumental *de*)? This is not an easy question to answer. One possible approach would be to say that dative Ps come in two different categories−1) Case and 2) full-fledged Ps−and only the complement of the former can undergo movement. However, as will become evident later in section 5.3.1.2, evidence for distinguishing the two types of Dative-markers is inconclusive. A more promising approach is to attribute the distributional differences to the structural height of the P. Given the analysis developed so far, the derived subject must be contained in the smuggled VP shell. If the P is merged higher than the VP (say, *v*P domain), it cannot be smuggled over the external argument and cannot move to the nominative position.[26] Consequently, the structure does not converge.

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[26]In section 6.2 I will present independent evidence in favor of the claim that the locative P is higher than the external argument. Namely, the THEME in the nominative position can reconstruct as low as the LOCATIVE P (and the GOAL P) but not as low as the external argument.

3.6 The Possessor Passive

The last potential active source of the derived subject is a possessor. Japanese allows possessor-raising (i.e. an operation that moves a possessor to a Case-position external to the possessive DP in which it is licensed), and possessor-raising feeds into passivization. Since a seminal work by Kubo (1992), the possessive passive where the nominative DP and the accusative DP stand in a possessive relation have been recognized as a natural class. I will refer to this type of passive as Possessor-Accusative Passives. Examples are provided below:

(88)   **Possessor-Accusative Passive**

  a.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi-ni   kao$_i$-o   tatak-are-ta.*
       Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Ken was hit (his) face by Naomi.   [A:mean 4.82]

  b.   *Ken$_i$-ga   toorigakari-no hito-ni   kami$_i$-o   ki-rare-ta.*
       Ken-NOM passing.by-NO person-DAT hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST
       Lit: 'Ken was cut (his) hair by a stranger passing by.'   [A:mean 4.14]

  c.   *Naomi$_i$-wa (rinzin-ni)   inu$_i$-o   koros-are-ta.*
       Naomi-TOP neighbor-DAT dog-ACC kill-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Naomi was killed (her) dog (by a neighbor).'   [A:mean 4.85]

  d.   *Yuumeizyoyuu$_i$-ga   (kameraman-ni)   syasin$_i$-o   tor-are-ta.*
       famous.actress-NOM photographer-DAT picture-ACC take-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'The famous actress was taken (her) picture (by a photographer).'
                                                                  [A:mean 4.78]

The existence of these passives is not surprising given the analysis developed in this thesis: as long as the *ga*-marked DP occurs as the highest DP within the smuggled VP shell, the derivation should converge. The structure for (88-a) is sketched below (the step where *v*P raises to DativeP is omitted, and finer details of possessor raising are not addressed here):

(89)   a.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi-ni   kao$_i$-o   tatak-are-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Ken was hit (his) face by Naomi.'

   b.
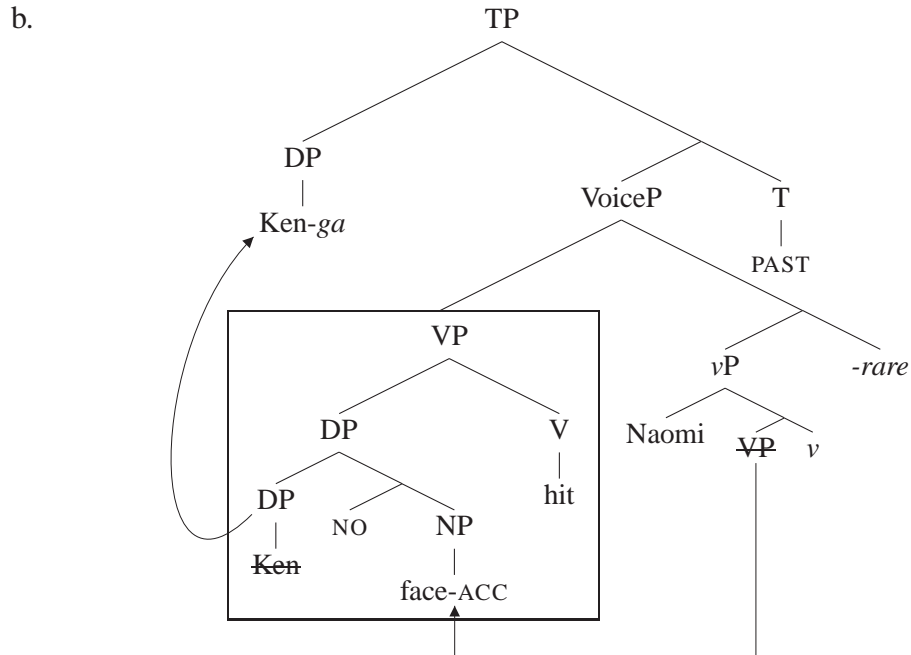
Are there other cases of possessor passives? Again this question is a priori difficult to answer as the original case marker disappears under movement. However, my answer to this question is Yes. The intransitive passives in (90), which have traditionally been analyzed as indirect or gapless passives (Kubo 1992, Shibatani 1990, Washio 1993: *inter alia*), are what I call Possessor-Dative passives.

(90)   **Possessor-Dative Passive**[27]

   a.   *Naomi-wa   ~~Naomi-no~~ hahaoya-ni   sin-are-ta.*
        Naomi-TOP   mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.' [A:mean 4.68, C:4.33]
        (Active Source: Ken's mother died.)

   b.   *Ken-wa   ~~Ken-no~~ hahaoya-ni   nyuuin.s-are-ta.*
        Ken-TOP   mother-DAT hospitalize.do-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was being.hospitalized by (his) mother.'
        (Active Source: Ken's mother was.hospitalized.')

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c. *Ken-wa* ~~*Ken-no*~~ *kaisya-ni*   *toosan.s-are-ta.*
Ken-TOP   company-DAT bankrupt.do-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was gone bankrupt by (his) company.'
(Active Souce: Ken's company went.bankrupt.)

d. *Ken-wa* ~~*Ken-no*~~ *musume-ni*   *zisatu.s-are-ta.*   [A:mean 3.91]
Ken-TOP   daughter-DAT commit.suicide.do-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by (his) daughter.'
(Active Source: Ken's daughter committed.suicide.)

What is important in these passives is that there must be a possessor relation between the nominative and the dative DPs. This point can be shown by manipulating the relation between the two DPs.

(91)   a. **Naomi-wa Lisa-no hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*   [A:mean 1.69]
        Naomi-TOP Lisa-NO mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'

   b. **Ken-wa Naomi-no kaisya-ni*   *toosan.s-are-ta.*   [C:mean1.81]
        Ken-TOP Naomi-no company-DAT bankrupt.do-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was gone bankrupt by Naomi's company.'

   c. **Ken-wa*   *misiranuhito-ni zisatus-are-ta.*
        Ken-TOP stranger-DAT   commit.suicide-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
                                    [A:mean 1.55, C:mean 1.59]

The passives in (91) were chosen to eliminate the potential internal source for the nominative DP by adding an overt possessor of the dative DP in (91-a) and (91-b) (compare them with (90-a) and (90-c)) and by using a dative phrase (i.e. stranger) that is semantically incompatible with a possessor in (91-c) (compare it with (90-d)). The

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[27]Some of the verbs used in (90) consist of a nominal object and the light verb 'do'. The nominal object here is incompatible with accusative Case (*nyuuin-(*o) sur-u*, 'to hospitalize') unlike the unergative light verb construction (*bekyoo-(o) sur-u* 'to study'), and the incompatibility with 'o' is one of the well-known diagnostics for unaccusativity in Japanese (see Miyagawa 1979). Further evidence for unaccusativity is given in f.n.28.

contrast between the passives in (90) and those in (91) shows that the grammaticality of the passives in (90) is contingent on the possessor relationship. This property strongly suggests that the active source of the derived subjects in these possessor-dative passives is the possessor, and the derivation involves a step of possessor-raising.

However, the structure of the possessive-dative passive is not that straightforward: the derivation requires that the possessor remains in the smuggled VP, while the possessed NP appears in Spec,*v*P. Note that the verbs contained in the examples in (90) are all active unaccusative verbs, thus the underlying subject−the dative phrase−is merged as an argument of the big V.[28] The following is a tentative derivation of the possessor-daitive passive:

(92)   **Possessor-Dative Passive**

    a.   *Naomi-ga   hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*
         Naomi-NOM mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
         'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'

---

[28]In Japanese, the numeral quantifier can sometimes appear outside the NP that it modifies (i.e. floated numeral quantifier; FNQ) (Miyagawa 1989:21, 38). Standardly, the compatibility with FNQ has been taken as a a piece of evidence for unaccusativity (see section 5.3.1 for further discussion on FNQ). All the verbs in (91) are compatible with FNQ, as shown below:

(i)   a.   *Seito-ga   kyonen huta-ri nyuuin.si-ta.*
             student-NOM last.year 2-CL   hospitalize.do-PAST
             'Two students hospitalized last year.'
    b.   *Kaisya-ga   kyonenn {san-sya/mit-tu} toosan.si-ta.*
             company-NOM last.year 3-CL   bankrupt.do-PAST
             'Three companies went bankrupt last year.'
    c.   *Kookoosei-ga   kyonen go-nin zisatu.si-ta.*
             high.school.student-NOM last.year 5-CL   commit.suicide-do-PAST
             'Five high school students commit suicide last year.'

Therefore, I conclude that *nyuuin.su-ru*, 'to hospitalize,' *toosan.su-ru* 'go bankrupt,' and *zisatusu-ru* 'to commit suicide' are all unaccusative verbs. (Note that the classifier for company is *'-sya'* but in daily conversation, *'-tu'* (a basic classifier for various objects) is very often used instead.)

b.

TP

DP

Naomi-*ga*   DatP   T

PAST

vP   *ni*   VoiceP

DP   ~~VP~~ v   VP   ~~vP~~ -*rare*

DP   HAVE NP   DP   V

~~Naomi~~   mother   DP   HAVE NP   die
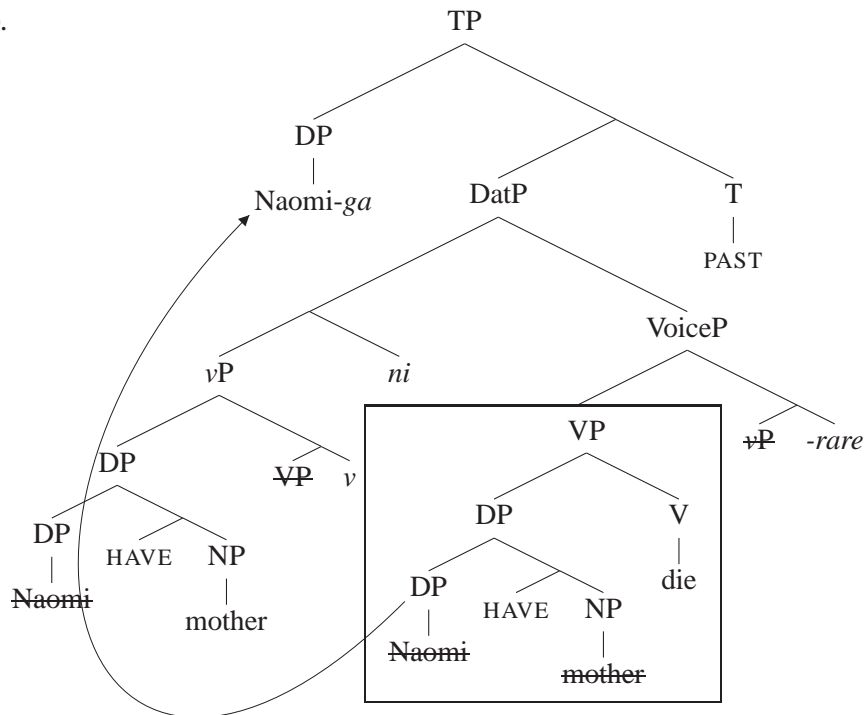
~~Naomi~~   ~~mother~~

In this derivation, the possessive DP [*Naomi-no mother*] starts out as an argument of the big V. There are two options for the first step: either 'mother' moves to Spec,*v*P by predicate inversion or the entire DP raises to Spec,*v*P, leaving a copy in the big VP domain. The first option raises the problem of motivating predicate inversion, and it predicts that in Multiple Nominative Constructions, the surface order would be: **Mother-ga Naomi-ga died*. However, this is the wrong order; it should be *Naomi-ga mother-ga died*. I will therefore pursue the second option and examine what we expect to happen under the copy and deletion theory of movement, with spell out of the highest copy under c-command.

In the grammatical active *Naomi's mother died*, the copy of *Naomi's mother* in the big VP is deleted under c-command (i.e. [Naomi-no mother]-ga [VP ~~[Naomi-no mother]~~ die]-PAST). In the passive, [Naomi-no mother] moves to Specifier of the active *v*, leaving the copy in the big VP domain, and the big VP smuggles over *v*P (see (93-a)). Then the *v*P containing [Naomi-no mother] is attracted to the dative P (see

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(93-b)). Subsequently, 'Naomi' in the smuggled big VP moves to the *ga*-position, and this highest copy deletes the other copies of 'Naomi,' one in the *v*P and one in the VP under c-command (see (93-c)). The copy of 'mother' in the smuggled VP cannot get Case and needs to be deleted under reconstruction (otherwise the structure does not converge). What remains is the *ga*-marked 'Naomi' and *ni*-marked 'mother.' The following summarizes the derivational steps:

(93) a. [$_{VP}$ Naomi-no mother V] [Naomi-no mother V̶P̶ v]

   b. [$_{vP}$ Naomi-no mother V̶P̶ v]-ni [$_{VP}$ Naomi-no mother V] v̶P̶

   c. Naomi-ga [$_{vP}$ N̶a̶o̶m̶i̶-no mother V̶P̶ v]-ni [$_{VP}$ N̶a̶o̶m̶i̶-no mother V] v̶P̶[29]

   d. Naomi-ga [$_{vP}$ N̶a̶o̶m̶i̶-no mother V̶P̶ v]-ni [$_{VP}$ N̶a̶o̶m̶i̶-no m̶o̶t̶h̶e̶r̶ V] v̶P̶
      (mother in VP is deleted under reconstruction)

Significantly, the current smuggling analysis accounts for an important derivational property of Japanese passives. Namely, the passive cannot be derived from pure unergative verbs, as illustrated below:[30]

(94) a. *Ken-wa   musuko-ni oyog-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.61]
        Ken-TOP son-DAT   swim-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was swum by his son.'

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[29]Although *Naomi* in the *v*P is closer to the nominative position than the one in the VP, it cannot move out of the *v*P since the *v*P is an island. This looks like a parasitic gap configuration.

[30]The verbs contained in (94), such as *oyog-u* 'to swim' and *odor-u* 'to dance,' are incompatible with FNQ, as illustrated in (i) below. The incompatibility with FNQ confirms that they are unergative predicates.

(ii) a. *Seito-ga   kinoo   san-nin oyoi-da.
        student-NOM yesterday 3-CL   swim-PAST
        'Three students swam yesterday.
      b. *Syoozyo-ga kinoo   san-nin odo-ta.
        girls-NOM   yesterday 3-CL   dance-PAST
        'Three girls danced yesterday.

b. *Ken-wa musume-ni   odor-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.56]
   Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was danced by his daughter.'(Hoshi 1994: 40)

c. *Ken-wa tuma-ni suupaa-de   hatrak-are-ta.
   Ken-TOP wife-DAT supermarket-LOC work-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was worked by his wife at a supermarket.'   [C:mean 1.67]

d. *?Ken-wa osanai musume-ni   hitodoori-no ooi   tokoro-de
   Ken-TOP small daughter-DAT people-NO   many place-LOC
   hasir-are-ta.
   run-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was run by his young girl in a crowded place.' [C:mean 2.17]

All the passives in (94) exhibit a possessive relation (i.e. kinship) between the nomina-
tive and dative DPs, but they are entirely ill-formed to me (even with rich adversative
contexts) and to many of the native speakers who participated in the questionnaires, as
shown by their low mean ratings. As discussed in section 2.4.2 the ungrammaticality
of the passives in (94) is due to the fact that the pure unergative predicates lack a big
VP shell that is needed to satisfy the EPP property of *-rare*:

(95)
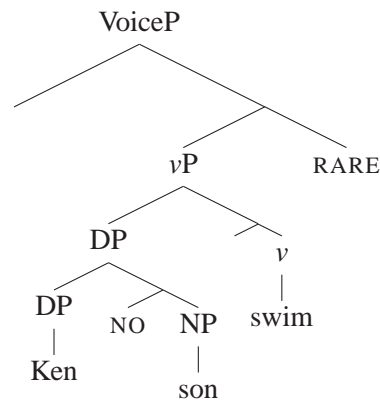
Furthermore, possessor-raising out of the external argument of the transitive verb
embedded under *-rare* is impossible.

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(96)   a.   *Ken-ga   otooto-ni   misiranu-hito-o   koros-are-ta.
            Ken-NOM brother-DAT stranger-person-ACC kill-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Ken was killed a stranger by (his) brother.'

       b.   *Naomi-ga   musuko-ni sensei-o   nagu-rare-ta.
            Naomi-NOM son-DAT   teacher-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Naomi was hit his teacher by (her) son.'

This is also understandable given the adopted smuggling analysis. Consider the following structure illustrating (96-b):

(97)   Possessor-raising from the External Argument

TP
 ├─ DP
 │   *Naomi-ga
 └─ ┬ VoiceP
    │ ├─ VP
    │ │   ├─ DP — teacher
    │ │   └─ V — hit
    │ └─ ┬ vP
    │   │ ├─ DP
    │   │ │   ├─ DP — Naomi
    │   │ │   └─ ┬ NO
    │   │ │   └─ NP — son
    │   │ └─ VP   v
    │   └─ -rare
    └─ T
        PAST
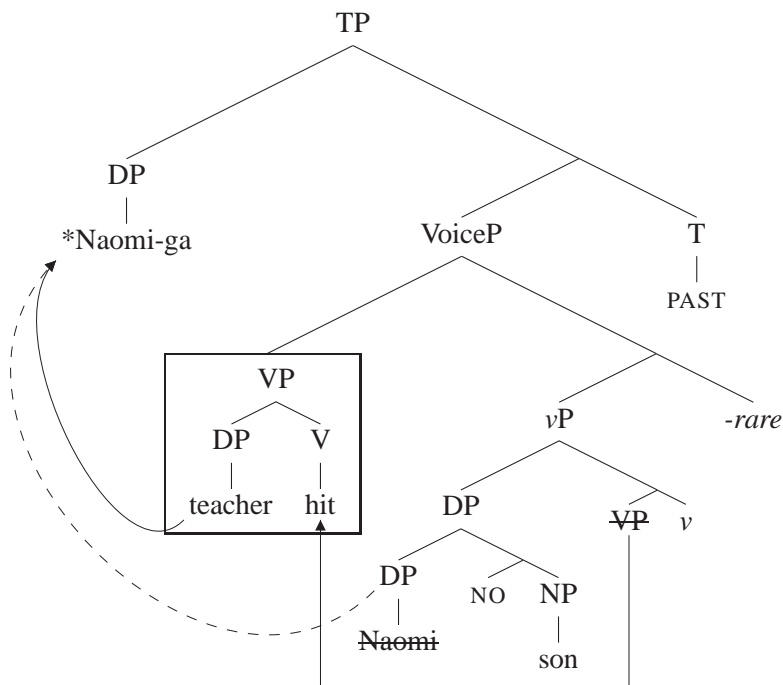
In this derivation the EPP-property of *-rare* is satisfied, but minimality is a problem: the internal argument *teacher* is closer to the nominative position than the possessor of the external argument *son*. Consequently, the derivation does not converge.

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We can summarize the properties discussed above as the following general property of possessor passives:

(98)   The subject of the possessor passive must be merged as a possessor of the (underlying) internal argument (an element of the big VP shell).[31]

The traditional analysis in which *-rare* introduces an EXPERIENCER (or an AFFECTEE) argument cannot explain this generalization. So far, raising from [DP-no (NP)] in the passive only occurs from DP themes. This is consistent with a well-known typological generalization: if a language allows for possessor-raising, it allows it at least for the THEME (Landau 1999, Baker 1988).

3.6.1   Possessor Passives Disguised: Passives Requiring Context

Possessor-accusative passives (or Kubo's (1992) possessive passives) have been extensively discussed in the literature (Kubo 1992: among others). Nevertheless, the possessive relationship that underlies this type of passives and that has been discussed in the literature turns out to be quite restrictive: only the passive that exhibits a prototypical possessive relation, to wit, kinship, body-part, and ownership, has been classified as the possessive passive. Contrary to the previous literature, I define the 'possessive' relation as a particular syntactic configuration. This configuration encodes a much broader range of relations, as discussed in 3.6.1.1. We expect these possessors to be

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[31]This generalization also holds for the passive derived from a causative sentence, as illustrated below:

(i)   [?*]*Ken-ga [sensei-ni   [Ken no musuko-o hasr]-as]-are-ta.*
        Ken-NOM teacher-DAT   son-ACC run-CAUS-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was made his son run by the teacher.'

In (i), the nominative DP Ken is merged as a possessor of the *o*-marked DP, which is the external argument of the verb *hashir-u* embedded under the causative *sase*, but (i) is still ungrammatical. The smuggling analysis itself does not account for the ill-formedness of this passive. This phenomenon requires further understanding of the causative construction in Japanese.

also able to undergo possessor-raising in the right configuration. As I shall show below, this definition of possession allows us to analyze many purported gapless passives as possessor passives, and to thus further reduce the number of candidates for 'indirect' passives.

3.6.1.1   NO-Phrases in Japanese

Japanese encodes possessive relations in a 'DP-no NP' frame, with a possessor preceding a possessed NP (e.g. *Ken-no hon* 'Ken's book'). Various proposals have been made about the nature of *-no*: genitive Case (*no* = 's) (e.g. Kuno 1973, Saito 1982, Murasugi 1991), a modification marker (Kitagawa and Ross 1982), the D introducing a (reduced) relative (e.g. Den Dikken and Singhapreecha 2004, Koike 1999, Ishizuka 2008), and so forth. A wide variety of relations can be encoded in 'DP-no NP,' *especially* with appropriate supportive contexts (see Table 3.1 for major relations). In addition, what counts as a possessive relation seems to vary across speakers: some people have more tolerance than others, allowing very loose relationships between the two arguments (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992, Shibatani 1994, among others). The current syntactic approach to possession predicts that the same variability will carry over to the possessor passive. This prediction is borne out (we will discuss the issue of variability with respect to possessor passives in section 3.6.1.2).

Although very flexible, the interpretation of *no*-phrases is not entirely free: of all the readings crosslinguistically available for genitives, not all seem to be available. For example, the 'cause' interpretation, which is available with a genitive phrase in Greek (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001), is unavailable in Japanese.

(99)   a. *(kanozyo-no) uragiri-no   ikari*
               her-NO   betrayal-NO anger
               Int: 'anger due to (her) betrayal

Table 3.1: A partial list of 'DP-*no* NP' phrase relation

relation	*no*-phrases	translation
whole-part	*ringo-no kawa*	apple skin
(body-part)	*Mary-no ude*	Mary's arm
kinship	*Naomi-no ane*	Naomi's older sister
legal owner	*John-no kuruma*	John's car
social relation	*syacyoo-no hisyo*	presidential secretary
agent	*Mary-no dansu*	Mary's dance
experiencer	*Ken-no ikari*	Ken's anger
affected object	*sinrin-no hakai*	destruction of the forests
creator	*Bill-no novel*	a novel written by Bill
theme	*Lisa-no syasin*	a picture that depicts Lisa
	consaato-no infomeisyon	information about the concert
origin	*Afurika-no gakusei*	a student from Africa/African student
purpose	*neko-no sara*	a dish used for the cat (i.e. cat dish)
benefactive	*Naomi-no puresento*	a present for Naomi
property	*Sarah-no utukusisa*	Sarah's beauty
locative	*NyuYoku-no hakubutukan*	a museum that exists in NY
spatial	*mae-no seato*	seats in the front
partitive	*hon-no san.satu*	three of the books [lit. book-no 3-cl]
numeral	*ip.pai-no koohii*	a cup of coffee [lit. 1cl-no coffee]
temporal	*kinoo-no sinbun*	a newspaper distributed yesterday
material	*uuru-no moohu*	a blanket made of wool/woolen blanket
source	*sakana-no nioi*	fish smell/smell fish brings about
habitual	*Tom-no basu*	the bus that Tom regularly takes
member	*zyuunin-no kurasu*	a class consisting of 10 people
non-restrictive	*kasyu-no Naomi*	Naomi, who is a singer
demonstrative	*so-no/a-no/ko-no/do-no*	that, that, this, which one
PP-no DP	*John-kara-no purezento*	a present from John
	hoshi-ni-tsuite-no eiga	a movie about stars

b. *(kare-no) uso-no wakare
    he-NO   uso-NO break.up
    Int: 'a break-up due to (his) lies'
    (Instead, this means '(his) fake break-up')

Unavailability of such readings suggests that the interpretation of *no*-phrases is not determined meta-linguistically. Instead, I would like to pursue the idea that the flexible interpretations come from *no*-phrases being (reduced) relative clauses containing silent primitive predicates, such as HAVE, DO, MAKE, and BECOME, and that *no* is the D that introduces a (reduced) relative clauses (cf. Kayne 1994 for French *de*, and English postnominal genitives). This approach straightforwardly accounts for unique properties of Japanese *no*: (i) *no* introduces a non-restrictive modifier (e.g. *kasyu-no Naomi*, 'Naomi, who is a singer,' and (ii) it combines with a PP (e.g. *John-kara-no tegami* 'a letter from John').[32]

In what follows, I will introduce four properties of Japanese *no*-phrases that are relevant for our discussion of possessor passives, which I relabel as 'genitive passives' hereafter. The first important property is its recursivity (cf. Fukui 1986): multiple *no*-phrases can cooccur in a single DP. The stacking of *no*-phrases is much more flexible than English -*'s*, as shown in (100) (the meaning of multiple *no*-phrases becomes clear when they are translated as relative clauses).

(100)   a. *[John-no otoosan]-no kuruma*
            John-NO father-NO   car
            John's father's car

        b. *John-no [kinoo-no   sinbun]*
            John-NO yesterday-NO newspaper
            *John's yesterday's newspaper−(English counterpart)
            'the newspaper which was published yesterday which John owns/wrote'

---

[32]What is not included in table 3.1 is the fact that while *no* does not attach to adjectival predicates when the head noun is overt, it can do so when the adjective is focused or the head noun is dropped (e.g. *atui-dake-no pizza* 'hot-only-no pizza,' *atui-no* 'the hot one'; Ishizuka (in prep))

Despite the number of NO-phrases, parsing DPs like (101-a) and (101-b), is effortless.

(101)   a.   *[[[[John-no otoosan]-no [migi-no asi]]-no tume]-no iro]*
              John-NO   father-NO   right-NO foot-NO nail-NO   color
              'the nail color of John's father's right foot'[33]

    b.   *[[NY-no hakubutukan]-no [John-no [Picaso-no [uma-no e]]]]*
              NY-no   museum-no   John-no Picasso-no horse-no picture
              'the picture of a horse that was painted by Picasso which is in John's
              possession which is in the museum in NY'

The second property is the rigid relative ordering among *no*-phrases. *Naomi-no e* 'Naomi's picture' is ambiguous: *Naomi* can be a legal owner, creator, or theme argument of the picture. However, once *no*-phrases are stacked, the ambiguity disappears (see also (101-b)).

(102)   *Naomi-no*   *Picaso-no*   *syoozyo-no*   *e*
          Naomi-NO   Picasso-NO   girl-NO   picture
          [owner/*creator] [creator/*owner] [theme/*creator] [NP]
          'a picture of a girl which Picasso painted which Naomi owns'

Native speakers have strong intuitions about the order of these *no*-phrases. The interpretation of the *no*-phrases is rigidly ordered regardless of the real-world plausibility: owner-creator-theme.

(103)   *Naomi-no*   *syoozyo-no*   *Picasso-no*   *e*
          Naomi-NO   girl-NO   Picasso-NO   picture
          [owner/*creator] [creator/*owner] [theme/*creator] [NP]
          'a picture of Picasso which a girl painted which Naomi owns'

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[33] As the English translation of (101-a) shows, some *no*-phrases are naturally translated into English as a compound (e.g. *tume-no iro* 'nail color,' *migi-no asi* 'right foot'). This shows that what can be realized as a compound in Japanese is much more restricted than that in English.

Despite the plausibility of 'Picasso' being a creator, 'Picasso' can only be the theme of the picture. Similarly, 'Naomi' must be the owner, and 'a girl' must be the theme of the picture (see also Kamiya 2007).

Thirdly, the linear order among the DP-*no* phrases matches the hierarchical structure (see Murasugi 1991: 6). The reflexive *zibun* 'self' in the creator DP can be bound by the owner as shown in (104), and *zibun* in the theme can be bound by both the owner and the creator.

(104)   *Ken$_i$-no   [zibun$_i$-no musuko]-no e*
         Ken-NO   self-NO   son-NO   picture
    a.   [owner]   [creator]   NP
         'a picture which was painted by self's son which was owned by Ken'
    b.   [owner/creator] [theme]
         'a picture of self's son which was created/owned by Ken'

If we switch *Ken-no* and *zibun-no* 'self-NO,' the string becomes ungrammatical. This shows the hierarchical structure [owner>creator>theme], which is consistent with the hierarchical order established for Romance (Cinque 1980; Giorgi and Longobardi. 1991, *inter alia*).

Given the above properties of *no*-phrases, the raising analysis makes the predictions that (i) only the highest possessor can raise to the nominative position, and (ii) an embedded possessor cannot raise to the nominative position in passives, as expected from the principle of Relativized Minimality. As the following sentences show, these predictions are borne out.

(105)   a.   *Mary-ga   John-no Picaso-no boot-no e-o   hihansi-ta.*
              Mary-NOM John-NO Picasso-NO boat-NO picture-ACC criticize-PAST
                        [owner] [creator] [theme] NP
              'Mary criticized a picture of a boat that Picasso painted which John
              owns.'   Active

b. *Picaso-ga Mary-ni John-no boot-no e-o   hihans-are-ta.*
P-NOM   M-DAT J-NO   boat-NO picture-ACC criticize-PASS-PAST
[owner/*creator]   [creator] [theme] NP
'Picasso (owner/*painter) was criticized his picture of a boat which John painted by Mary.' | Genitive PSV |

Despite the plausibility, the nominative *Picasso* cannot be taken as a creator in (105-b); rather, it corresponds to the highest argument, the owner. Once one of the animate DP-phrases is dropped, the creator reading of *Picasso* becomes available, resulting in ambiguity between the owner and creator readings.

(106)   a.   *Mary-ga   Picaso-no   boot-no e-o   hihansi-ta.*
Mary-NOM Picasso-NO   boat-NO picture-ACC criticize-PAST
[owner/creator] [theme]   NP
'Mary criticized a picture of a boat that Picasso {painted/owned}.'

b.   *Picaso-ga   Mary-ni   boot-no e-o   hihans-are-ta.*
Picasso-NOM Mary-DAT boat-NO picture-ACC criticize-PASS-PAST
[owner/creator]   [theme]   NP
'Picasso (owner/painter) was criticized his picture of a boat by Mary.'

The theme DP can also raise out of a *no*-phrase to the nominative position in the passive, as long as it is the highest possessor in the DP, as illustrated below:

(107)   a.   *Kameraman-ga   yuumei.jyoyuu-no syasin-o   tot-ta.*
photographer-NOM famous.actress-NO picture-ACC take-PASS-PAST
'A photographer took a picture of a famous actress.'
[A:mean 4.91]
b.   *Yuumei.jyoyuu-ga   kameraman-ni   syasin-o   tor-are-ta.*
famous.actress-NOM photographer-DAT picture-ACC take-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'The famous actress was taken the picture of by the photographer.'
[A:mean 4.78]

Lastly, *no*-phrases can express meanings equivalent to relative clauses. Consider the following examples and their intended meanings:

(108)   a.   *Naomi-ga   [Ken-no [tosyokan-no hon]]-o   kari-ta.*
             Naomi-NOM Ken-NO library-NO   book-ACC check.out-PAST
             Int. 'Naomi checked out the book from the library that Ken wanted to
             check out.'

        b.   *Koibito$_i$-ga   [Ken-no kami]-o   kit-ta.*
             girl.friend-NOM Ken-NO hair-ACC cut-PAST
             Int: 'Ken's girl friend cut her hair that Ken loves.'

The relations 'Ken-*no*' encodes in these sentences are not straightforward possessor relations. This relative-clause-like property of the *no*-phrase will play an important role when identifying the active counterpart of a given passive, as we will see below.

3.6.1.2   Genitive Passives Disguised

In the preceding section, we have seen that *no*-phrases can encode a wide variety of relationships between two arguments, and multiple *no*-phrases can occur in a single DP. These properties of *no*-phrases coupled with the obligatory deletion of *no* particle under movement (cf. section 3.1.2) often obscures the *no*-phrase source of the derived subject in the passive. This section deals with a number of specific examples that have been presented in the literature as arguments for the existence of indirect or gapless passives, i.e. passives that do not have an active source. The goal of this section is to show not only that the proposed analysis can handle these cases but also that the analysis makes the right predictions.

Let us start with Watanabe's (1996:116) example of an indirect passive.

(109)   *Mary-ga   John-ni   sono tegami-o   yom-are-ta.*
         Mary-NOM John-DAT that   letter-ACC read-PASS-PAST
         Lit. 'Mary was read that letter {of hers /about her} by John.'

The passive (109) is felicitous only if Mary is an owner, writer, or theme of 'that letter.' Therefore, I propose that (109) is an instance of the genitive-accusative passive derived from the following active counterpart:

(110)   *John-ga   [Mary-no [sono tegami]]-o yon-da.*
         John-NOM Mary-NO that   letter-ACC read-PAST
         'John read that letter {of Mary's/about Mary}.'   Active

The sentence (110) is well-formed, and the relation between 'Mary' and 'that letter' can be an owner, creator, or theme relation. The readings in (109) are straightforwardly derived under the present account, as 'Mary-no (that letter)' is the highest *no*-phrase in the DP in each of these readings. Nothing special needs to be said for this case (I address the question of where the adversative connotations come from in section 6.4.3.1).

   We now turn to an example involving structural ambiguity. The following passive is unacceptable, but it becomes better with certain contexts.

(111)   **Taroo-wa [otooto-no inu]-ni   sin-are-ta.*
         Taro-TOP   brother-NO dog-DAT die-PASS-PAST
         Lit. 'Taro$_i$ was died by a dog owned by his$_i$ brother.'   [A:mean 1.66]

The potential active counterpart for this sentence is (112-a). Its nominative DP contains two NO-phrases and is structurally ambiguous. The two structures are given as (112-b) and (112-c):

(112)   a.   *[Taroo_i-no otooto-no inu]-ga   sin-da.*
                 Taro-NO   brother-NO dog-NOM die-PAST
                 Int. 'Taro's brother's dog died.'   Active

        b.   *Taroo_i-no [pro_i otooto-no inu]*
                 Taro-NO   [(his) brother-NO dog]
                 Int. 'the dog kept by Taro's brother that is temporary owned by Taro'

        c.   *[Taroo-no otooto]-no inu*
                 [Taro-NO brother]-NO dog
                 'the dog that Taro's brother keeps'

Because of Minimality only *Taroo* in (112-b), not the embedded one in (112-c), is predicted to be able to undergo possessor-raising and move to the nominative position in the passive. Since *otooto* 'brother' is a relational noun, without context, there is a strong bias towards the structure (112-c). (112-b) requires additional contextual support. A semantical difference between the two structures is that in (112-c) there is no direct relation between 'Taro' and 'the dog,' whereas in (112-b) 'Taro' has some *no*-phrase relation with 'his brother's dog.' We can see below that providing a context inducing a *no*-phrase relation between 'Taro' and 'his brother's dog' primes the structure given in (112-b) and significantly improves the acceptability of (111).

(113)   Possessive Context Taro was asked to take care of his brother's dog for a few days, but the dog died when Taro was in charge.

        a.   *[Taroo_i-no [pro_i otooto-no inu]]-ga sin-da.*   Active
                 Taro-NO   brother-NO dog-NOM die-PAST
                 Int. 'The dog owned by Taro's brother which was temporary owned by Taro died.'   [A:mean 4.72]

        b.   *Taroo-ga [~~Taroo no~~ [otooto-no inu]]-ni sin-are-ta.*   *Passive*
                 Taro-NOM   brother-NO dog-DAT die-PASS-PAST
                 Lit. 'Taro_i was died by his brother's dog that he temporary owned.'   [A:mean 3.11]

The following context, which was designed not to induce direct possessive relation between 'Taro' and 'the dog,' was also presented with the two sentences.

(114) Non-Possessive Context Taro's brother's dog died, and his brother was very upset. As a brother, Taro had to comfort and support his brother and ended up missing his favorite baseball game.

 a. *[[Taroo-no otooto]-no inu]-ga sin-da* Active
  Taro-NO brother-NO dog-NO, die-PAST
  Int. 'The dog owned by Taro's younger brother died. [A:mean 4.58]

 b. ?*Taroo-ga [[~~Taroo-no~~ otooto]-no inu]]-ni sin-are-ta.* Passive
  Taro-NOM brother-NO dog-DAT die-PASS-PAST
  Lit. 'Taro was died by his younger brother's dog.' [A:mean 2.73]

To me the contrast between the two contexts is sharp: the passive is only compatible with a situation like (113) and not with (114). Although the mean ratings for (113-b) and (114-b) are close, the paired one-tail T-test shows that the score for (114-b) is significantly lower than that of (113-b), $t(73)=2.36$, p=0.01.[34] In this case, the relevant active source for the passive is simply difficult to access. However, when a supporting context that primes the appropriate active source is constructed, the passive becomes acceptable. Crucially, context helps only if it induces the structure in which the movement derivation converges, as expected under the current analysis.

As discussed in section 3.6, the relations expressed in the [DP-no NP] form are very flexible (i.e. 'relative clause'-like), and contexts help establish a *no*-phrase relation between arguments when such a relation is difficult to construe. Significantly, establishing a *no*-phrase relation has syntactic effects: it provides the nominative DP with a clause-internal source (as a *no*-phrase) and makes an otherwise ungrammatical

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[34]For speakers who could accept (114-b), the context (114) was probably sufficient to construe a *no*-phrase relation between 'Taro' and the 'dog.' There is clearly inter-speaker variability in terms of licensing *no*-phrase relations: some speakers are much more tolerant than others.

passive grammatical. Traditionally, such passives are said to require 'adversative' context (the nominative DP is adversely affected by the event) to be well-formed. However, I will show below that it is '*no*-relation-inducing' contexts but not adversative contexts that make passives well-formed.

Consider (115-a), which is well-formed for me only if 'Ken' and the 'library book' stand in some kind of a *no*-phrase relation (e.g. the library book which Ken intended to check out or the book that Ken has checked out from the library). The proposed active counterpart is given in (115-b).

(115)   a.   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   tosyokan-no hon-o   kari-rare-ta.*
                Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT library-NO   book-ACC check.out-PASS-PAST
                Lit. 'Ken was checked out the book from the library that he wanted to check out by Mary.'   [B:mean 2.22 (s.d.1.34)]

         b.   *Naomi-ga   [Ken-no [tosyokan-no hon]]-o   kari-ta.*
                Naomi-NOM Ken-NO library-NO   book-ACC check.out-PAST
                'Naomi checked out the library book that Ken wanted to check out.'[35]

The result of the grammaticality judgment for (115-a), which was presented without a context, exhibits considerable inter-speaker variability (cf. the standard deviation is 1.34). Out of 54 participants, 15 (22.3%) gave it a 4 or 5, 10 (18.5%) gave a 3, and 32 (59.3%) gave a 1 or 2 (see the table below). This suggests that 15 speakers were able to construe a *no*-phrase relation between 'Ken' and the 'library book' even without contextual support, whereas 32 speakers were not.

If the well-formedness of this sentence is indeed contingent on the accessibility of a *no*-phrase relation between 'Ken' and the 'library book,' we would expect higher acceptability with supportive context that induces a *no*-relation interpretation between

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[35]The interpretation for (115-b) suggests that there might be some kind of ellipsis in the reduced relative. [Ken wanted to check out the ~~[book from the library]~~] no [book from the library] What is relevant here is that (115-b) has the same meaning as (115-a).

the two arguments. In order to test this hypothesis, (115-a) was also presented in the questionnaires with two different contexts in which Ken was affected by the event: (116-a) was designed to induce a *no*-phrase relation while (116-b) was not.

(116)   a.   Ken went to the library to check out a book, which he needed to write a report for his college class. However, the book was not available, and he found that Naomi, who was taking the same class as him, had already checked it out.   [B:mean 3.74 (s.d. 1.39)]

         b.   Ken had an appointment with Naomi, but she was 30 minutes late. This was because she went to the library before the appointment and checked out a book, which took time. Ken was busy and had difficulty making time for this appointment, so he got angry.   [C:mean 1.83 (s.d. 1.22)]

Although there is inter-speaker variability, the prediction is basically borne out. The following table summarizes the ratings from the participants:

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	2.22	1.34	25	7	10	9	3	54
%			(46.3)	13.0)	(18.5)	(16.7)	(5.6)	(100)
context (116-a)	3.74	1.39	6	5	9	11	23	54
%			(11.1)	(9.3)	(16.7)	(20.4)	(42.6)	(100)
context (116-b)	1.83	1.22	30	14	3	4	4	54
%			(55.6)	(25.9)	(5.6)	(5.6)	(7.4)	(100)

With the possession-inducing context (116-a), 34 (63%) out of 54 rated (115-a) as 4 or 5. 9 participants (16.7%) gave it a 3. 11 participants (20.4%) gave it a 1 or 2, and the mean score was 3.74. With the non-possessive adversative context (116-b), 44 (81.5%) out of 54 rated the same sentence as 1 or 2 and the mean rating was 1.83. Interestingly, some speakers who accepted (115-a) in a null context rejected it with

context (116-b).[36]

We now turn to an example that involves even looser *no*-phrase relations between the nominative DP and the accusative DP. The passive (117) is compatible with two readings, which are given in the English translations:

(117)   *Ken-ga   koibito-ni   kami-o   ki-rare-ta*   [A:mean 4.21]
      Ken-NOM girl.friend-DAT hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST
      (a) Lit. 'Ken was cut his hair by his girlfriend.'
      (b) Lit. 'Ken was cut his [his girlfriend hair] by his girlfriend$_i$.'

The first reading comes from the structure of a regular genitive-accusative passive. Here, we are interested in the second reading. It is a much harder to get this reading unless prompted. The (b) reading is compatible with the situation where Ken likes his girlfriend's hair very much (i.e. he has a strong attachment to his girlfriend's hair), and his girlfriend cut her hair. This context allows me to establish a *no*-phrase relation between *Ken* and *kami* 'hair': the hair belongs to Ken's girlfriend, but it is Ken's hair in the sense that Ken is obsessed about it. The proposed active counterparts for the two readings are given below:

(118)   a.   *Koibito-ga   [Ken-no kami]-o ki-ta.*
          girl.friend-NOM Ken-NO hair-ACC cut-PAST
          'Ken's girlfriend cut Ken's hair.'

      b.   *Koibitoi-ga   [Ken-no [pro kami]]-o kit-ta.*
          girl.friend-NOM Ken-NO (her) hair-ACC cut-PAST
          Int: 'Ken's girlfriend cut her hair that Ken loves.'

64 out of 74 participants rated (117) as 3, 4 or 5. 32 out of those 64 reported that they could get the ambiguity between (a) and (b). Among the 32 people who did not get the

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[36] Although context (116-a) was sufficient for me to license a possessive *no* relation, it was probably not for 11 speakers who gave (115-a) a 1 or 2.

ambiguity, 31 only accepted the (a) reading, whereas one reported that he could only accept the (b) reading. In the cumulative total, 63 got the (a) reading, whereas 33 got the (b) reading.

All the passive sentences examined in this section are traditionally considered indirect passives, whose nominative DPs lack an active source. As shown, however, they are just instances of raising from a DP-*no* phrase. Furthermore, I have shown that it is not adversative contexts but the context that induces a DP-*no* source that increases the acceptability of such passives: this is because establishing a NO-relation between a nominative DP and an argument in the smuggled big VP provides a clause-internal source for the nominative DP as a NO-phrase. In addition, the data presented here show that only the highest NO-phrase can map to the nominative DP in the passive, which I take to be strong evidence for a movement derivation.[37] We have also seen that there is a considerable amount of inter-speaker variability with respect to what counts as a *no*-phrase relation. If the analysis here is correct, the variability in licensing the *no*-phrase

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[37] One argument against the movement approach to possessor passives comes from availability of an overt reflexive *'zibun'* in the possessed DP:

(i) a. *Ken-ga (zibun-no) titioya-ni   sin-are-ta.*
         Ken-NOM self-NO   father-DAT die-PASS-PAST
         Lit. 'Ken was died by (his) himself's$_i$ father.'
     b. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni (zibun-no) titioya-o   koros-are-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   father-ACC kill-PASS-PAST
         Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was killed (his) himself's$_i$ father killed by Naomi.'

It is possible to preserve the grammaticality as well as the meaning of the genitive passive by adding *zibun*-no 'self-no' in the position of the trace especially when a possessed NP is a kinship term. My proposal is that *zibun* in (i-a) and (i-b) is in fact an emphatic use of *zibun* 'self', and their underlying active counterparts are presented below:

(ii) a. *[Ken-no [zibun-no titioya]]-ga sin-da.*
          Ken-NO self-NO   father-NOM die-PAST
          Lit: 'Ken's himself's father died.'
      b. *Naomi-ga   [Ken-no [zibun-no titioya]]-o korosi-ta.*
          Naomi-NOM Ken-NO self-NO   father-ACC kill-PAST
          Lit: Naomi killed Ken's himself's father.'

If this analysis is correct, the availability of *zibun* in the trace position does not necessarily provide a counter-argument to the movement derivation of genitive passives.

is expected to be directly reflected in the variability in accepting the genitive passive.

This chapter thus far has shown that the derived subject in the Japanese passive has a wide variety of active sources. Table 3.2 summarizes the sort of DPs that can be promoted in the Japanese passive.

Table 3.2: The Active Source of the Derived Subject in Japanese Passives

Source of Nom.	Thematic role	Examples of the verb stem
DP-ACC	Theme/Patient	*ker-u* 'kick'; *tabe-ru* 'eat,' *kowas-u* 'break'
DP-DAT	Dative Theme	*butukar-u*† 'bump'; *hure-ru* 'touch'
	at-Directional	*hoe-ru* 'bark'; *donaru* 'yell', *uinkusu-ru* '(do) wink' *hohoem-u* 'smile'
	on-Directional	*seki-o su-ru* 'cough'; *hur-u* '(rain) descend'
	Cause	*nak-u* 'cry'; *odorok-u* 'be.surprised'
	Goal	*watas-u* 'hand'; *syookaisu-ru* 'introduce' *zimansu-ru* 'brag', *kokuhaku.su-ru* 'confess'
DP-ABL	Source	*nige-ru* 'escape' *tor-u* 'take'; *nusum-u* 'steal'
DP-NO	Possessor-Theme	Transitive verbs
		sin-u 'to die'; *nyuuin.su-ru* 'to be.hospitalized'

Are there any passives whose nominative DPs do not correspond to any of the active sources given in table 3.2? In other words, are there true gapless passives? There are indeed such passives−i.e. the extra-thematic passive. We will discuss the extra-thematic passive in the next section.

3.7   Extra-Thematic Nominative DPs

This final section deals with the extra-thematic passive−the passive whose nominative DP lacks an active source. The proposed smuggling analysis of Japanese passives does not generate this type of passive, which in fact is a desirable result given that the extra-thematic passive is ungrammatical to me. Examples of the extra-thematic passive are

given below (note the low mean ratings):

(119) a. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni oyog-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.39]
           Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was swum by Naomi.'
           (Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi swam.')

       b. *Ken-wa musume-ni odor-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.56]
           Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was danced by (his) daughter.'
           (Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his daughter danced.')
           (Hoshi 1994: 40)

       c. *Ken-ga Naomi-**ni** hasi-rare-ta.   [A:mean 1.09]
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was run by Naomi.'
           (Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi ran.')

The term 'extra-thematic' is adopted from Shibatani (1994), and it means a situation where an argument exists that is not part of the case frame of the verb with which it occurs, or that does not bear a θ-role specified by the verb or the possessed NP (cf. Shibatani 1994:465; see Chapter 7 for further discussion).

As the low mean ratings show, the extra-thematic passive is not readily acceptable unlike the core passive we have seen so far. Adversative contexts, which make it clear how the nominative DP is affected by the event, are said to make (119)-type extra-thematic passives well-formed (Kubo 1992, Shibatani 1994: p.147 *inter alia*). However, I have been unable to come up with a context that makes the extra-themtaic passives in (119) well-formed. In the following examples, how the nominative DP is affected is entirely transparent, yet they are still ill-formed to many speakers (see also (94-c) discussed in section 3.6):

(120)   a. *Naomi-wa musuko-ni kikenna   yama-ni   nobo-rare-ta
            Naomi-TOP son-DAT   dangerous mountain-DAT climb-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Naomi was climbed on a dangerous mountain by her son.'

                                                                    [C:mean 1.70]

        b. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   sinkoosyuukyoo-o hajim.e-rare-ta.
            Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT new.religion-ACC begin-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Ken was joined a new cult by Naomi.'   [C:mean 1.69]

Note that the word *sinkoosyuukyo* 'cult' in (120-b) has a negative connotation in Japanese, and it is highly plausible that if someone becomes a member of *sinkoosyuukyo*, people close to him/her are severely affected. Kubo (1992) (and also Pylkkänen (2002) citing Kubo) gives (120-b) as a representative example of gapless passives, but she does not state that the passive requires further contextualization.

The low acceptability of these passives raises the questions: Are adversative contexts a sufficient condition for licensing an extra-thematic passive? And if so, what are the defining properties of affected contexts that are needed to make the extra thematic passive well-formed. I defer the answers to these questions until chapter 7. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 concentrate on the analysis of core passives.

3.8   Summary of the Chapter

I have shown in this chapter that the nominative DP in the core passive always has an active source. This was accomplished by extending the range of potential active source. Specifically, I have proposed that the ADDRESSEE of verbs of speaking, the SOUCE, various types of dative DPs (i.e. THEME, ON/AT-DIRECTIONAL, CAUSE), and the *no*-phrase of the internal argument) can raise to the nominative position in the passive, as long as it is the highest DP in the smuggled big VP. I have further shown in section 3.6.1.2 that many instances of gapless passives in fact belong to genitive passives. Identifying the position of the gap in indirect/gapless passives allows us to

subsume the indirect passive under the direct passive and to unify the two types of passives,

The remaining question is how the nominative DP that is licensed within the smuggled big VP domain ends up in the nominative position in the passive. Assuming the principle of 'Locality of Selection' (Sportiche 1988), the derivation of Japanese passives must involve movement. The arguments and evidence for the movement analysis is given in chapter 6. The movement analysis raises another question: Where do the adversative/affected connotations available with many passives come from? This issue is also addressed in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 4

Ni-passives, *Ni-yotte*-Passives, and Short Passives

In the preceding chapters, I have established that *-rare* takes an active *v* as its comple-
ment and attracts a big VP shell in its Spec. The dative *ni* selects for *-rare* and attracts
the little *v*P shell containing the external argument. In accusative passives derived from
(pseudo)-ditransitives (verbs of speaking or creation), *ni* selects for the dative GOAL
DP (see section 3.3.2). In this chapter, I will discuss the issue of other ways the ex-
ternal argument can be marked, or whether it can be left unmarked, i.e. what happens
with short passives in Japanese.

The external DP in Spec,*v*P can be marked in three ways: *ni*, *kara* 'from,' or *ni-
yotte* 'by means of' (e.g. Kubo 1992). The three forms are presented below:

(1)   a.   *Ken-wa   tomodachi-{ni/*kara/ni-yot-te}   zitensya-o kowas-are-ta.*
           Ken-TOP friend-{DAT/FROM/NI-YOT-TE} bike-ACC break-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken was broken (his) bike {by/by means of} his friend.'

      b.   *Ken-wa   sensei-{ni/kara/*$^?$ni-yot-te}   kiraw-are-ta.*
           Ken-TOP teacher-{DAT/FROM/NI-YOT-TE} hate-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was disliked {from/by} his teacher.'

      c.   *Sono tosyokan-wa yuumei-na kenchikuka-{*ni/*kara/ni-yot-te}*
           that   library-TOP famous   architect-{*DAT/*FROM/NI-YOT-TE}
           tate-rare-ta.
           build-PASS-PAST
           'That library was built by means of a famous architect.'[1]

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[1]Recall that the Dative DP can be interpreted only as a benefactive phrase and not as an agentive
phrase with creation verbs like *tate-ru* 'to build' (see section 3.3.2 in chapter 3).

Note that *ni*, *kara*, and *ni-yotte* are not always interchangeable. *Kara* generally introduces a source argument. *Ni-yotte* is a complex phrase consisting of *ni* followed by a gerundive form of a verb *yor-u* 'going via.' According to Kinsui (1997), *ni-yori-(te)*, the earlier form of *ni-yotte*, has roughly two meanings—'cause/reason' and 'means/way.'[2] He reports that *ni-yotte* arose from the necessity of translating the two meanings of the Dutch passive preposition *door* 'through' into Japanese. This is important since even in contemporary Japanese, as we will see below, both the 'cause/reason' and 'means/way' readings remain. Furthermore, the external argument can sometimes be omitted (e.g. in (1-a) and (1-c) but not in (1-b)), yielding an interpretation comparable to English short passives, which I will treat as some kind of PRO following Collins (2005).

The table 4.1 summarizes the rather complex distribution of the external argument of the predicate embedded under *-(r)are* (the data in table 4.1 are expanded version of the data presented by Kubo 1992, Kinsui 1997). An important generalization drawn from the table is that the *ni-yotte* phrase and suppressed *by*-phrase distribute in the same fashion, which is in fact pointed out by Kubo 1992.[3]

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[2] *Ni-yori*, the earlier form of *ni-yotte*, sounds formal but is still used.

[3] However, Kubo's judgements fundamentally differ from mine: she claims that the *ni-yotte* phrase is always available with direct and possessive passives. However, I found contrast even among direct (or accusative) passives, and some instances of short passives seem to involve topic drop rather than PRO. Fukuda (2009b) also reports experimental results that show that many participants did not accept the *ni-yotte* phrase with experiencer arguments of verbs like *kiraw-u* ' to hate.'

Table 4.1: The Distribution of External Arguments

	Verb-type	Complement of *-rare*	ni	kara	niyotte	-
(i)	Achieve-Result	*koros-u* 'kill', *kowas-u* 'break' *tsukamae-ru* 'catch', *war-u* 'split'	ok	*	ok	ok
(ii)	Manner of Activity	*ker-u* 'kick', *tatak-u* 'hit' *sawar-u* 'touch,' *os-u* 'push'	ok	*	*	*
(iii)	Transition of Emotion or Perception	*aisur-u* 'love', *nikum-u* 'hate' *kiraw-u* 'dislike,' *sonkei.su-ru* 'admire,' *mi-ru* 'see,' *kik-u* 'hear'	ok	ok	*?	*
(iv)	Ditransitives[†] (Dative PSV)	*okur-u* 'send,' *watas-u* 'hand' *syookai.su-ru* 'introduce'	ok	ok	*	*?
(v)	V of Speaking[†] (Dative PSV)	*senkoku.su-ru* 'declare' *suisen.su-ru* 'recommend'	ok	ok	*	*?
(vi)	Ditransitives[†] (Accusative PSV)	*okur-u* 'send,' *watas-u* 'hand' *syookai.su-ru* 'introduce'	*	ok	ok	ok
(vii)	V of Speaking[†] (Accusative PSV)	*senkoku.su-ru* 'declare' *suisen.su-ru* 'recommend'	*	ok	ok	ok
(viii)	Creation	*tate-ru* 'build', *kak-u* 'write' *tukur-u* 'make'	*	*	ok	ok

[†] Note that ditransitives and 'verbs of speaking' (i.e. pseudo-ditransitives) appear twice, but this is because the distribution differs depending on whether the nominative is an underlying goal/addressee or theme, as we have seen in section 3.3.2 in chapter 3.

The table shows that the *ni*-phrase has the widest distribution, as expected from the proposed analysis. The *kara*-phrase (source) is only compatible with predicates that seem to license a source external argument (e.g. a source of the transition of emotion, etc). *Ni-yotte* passives and short passives seem to pattern in the same way.

While the judgments of *ni*-passives and *kara*-passives are fairly clear, the *ni-yotte* passives and short passives involve subtle grammaticality judgements. The results from the questionnaire exhibit a considerable amount of interspeaker variability with respect to the compatibility with a *ni-yotte* phrase, as illustrated below:[4]

[4]Kinsui reports that a *ni-yotte* phrase with type (i) verbs sounds rather literal and formal. In addition, he gives * to stative verbs in type (iii), such as *aisu-ru* 'to love,' *nikum-u* 'to hate.'

(2) a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-**ni**   tatak-are-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
         'Ken was hit by Naomi.'   [A:mean 4.88]

     b. ?*Ken-ga   Naomi-**ni-yot-te**   tatak-are-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-NI-YOT-TE hit-PASS-PAST
         'Ken was hit by means of Naomi.'   [A:mean 2.85]

     c. Distribution

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
(2-a)	4.88	0.52	0	2	0	3	69	74
%			(0)	(2.7)	(0)	(4.1)	(93.2)	(100)
(2-b)	2.85	1.27	11	23	15	16	9	74
%			(14.9)	(31.1)	(20.3)	(21.6)	(12.2)	(100)

The passive (2-b) is quite unnatural to me, as do all *ni-yotte* passives derived from 'manner of activity' verbs. The interpretation of the grammaticality judgement of short passives is difficult, as Japanese allows 'topic drop.' Without contextual support, only the short/*ni-yotte* passives derived from type (i) and (viii) predicates are fully well-formed (Note that these verbs denote achievement that yields a result state):[5]

(3) a. *John-ga   (nanimonoka-ni-yot-te) koros-are-ta.*
         John-NOM (someone-NI-YOT-TE) kill-PASS-PAST
         'John was killed (by means of someone).'

     b. *Atarashii tosyokan-ga (shi-ni-yot-te)   tate-rare-ta.*
         new   library-NOM (city-NI-YOT-TE) build-PASS-PAST
         'The new library was built (by means of the city).

In contrast, if the passives derived from type (ii-v) predicates are uttered without context, a follow-up question is necessary to find out who the particular agent is. I take this to mean that the omission of the *by*-phrase in these cases involves 'topic drop,' and they are incompatible with short passives.

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[5]The complication with (vi)-(viii) types of verbs is that the *ni*-phrase in the passive cannot introduce an external argument of the complement of -*rare*. The only way to introduce the external argument is by *ni-yotte* phrase. (see section 3.3.2)

(4) a. *#Kinoo   John-ga   ke-rare-ta.*
         yesterday John-NOM kick-PASS-PAST
         'Yesterday John was kicked.'

     b. *#Kinoo   John-ga   tatak-are-ta.*
         yesterday John-NOM hit-PASS-PAST
         'Yesterday john was hit.'

I observe that short and *ni-yotte* passives are the most natural when they are derived from 'incremental theme' verbs (e.g. eat, build, destroy, break, and kill) or 'change of state' verbs (e.g. steal, escape) (see section 5.3.2.1 in chapter 5 for more examples). All of these verbs denote an achievement that yields a result-state. In contrast, short/*ni-yotte* passives are not quite compatible with 'manner of activity' verbs (e.g. hit, kick), which do not allow this result-state reading.

The analytical question is what distinguishes the 'result-state' predicates from 'manner of activity' predicates. We have already established in chapter 2 that *-rare* needs to merge with a structure that at least contains a little *v* or an equivalent, and hence both types of predicates should have an active little *v*. The difference is that the result-state predicates are compatible with CAUSE arguments, while the predicates expressing 'manner of activity' assert the existence of an AGENT.

Another important property of result-state predicates is that they are also compatible with eventive (or achievement) interpretations, especially when the passive contains an overt *ni*-phrase, as demonstrated below:

(5) a. *Ken-no konpyuutaa-ga kowas-are-tei-ru,*
         Ken-NO computer-NOM break-PASS-ASP-PRES
         'Ken's computer has been broken.' State & Progressive
         'Ken's computer is being broken (by someone).'

     b. *Ken-no konpyuutaa-ga Naomi-ni   kowas-are-tei-ru.*
         Ken-NO computer-NOM Naomi-DAT break-PASS-ASP-PRES
         'Ken's computer is being broken by Naomi.' Progressive

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This leads to the natural hypothesis that predicates of result-state have a substructure of 'manner of activity' or eventive predicates. Following Fujita (1996) and Travis (2005) among others, I assume that external arguments—AGENTS and CAUSES—are introduced in two distinct positions: the CAUSE is realized in a position that is asymmetrically c-commanded by the AGENT. Thus, we can distinguish the two types of predicates by the structure of their little v. My idea is that the predicates that denote achievement yielding a result state always contain a little v_{CAUSE}, and can optionally introduce a little v_{AGENT}. Whereas, the manner of activity predicates never come with a little v_{CAUSE} alone but always bundled with a little v_{AGENT} layer. In order to license short or *ni-yotte* phrases, *-rare* needs to combine with the predicate with a little v introducing CAUSE.[6]

The proposal that short and *ni-yotte* passives need to combine with v_{CAUSE} is supported by the following fact: once the manner of activity predicate is embedded under a causative morpheme, short and *ni-yotte* passives become possible, as shown below:

(6)   *Ken-ga   (Naomi-ni-yot-te)   kooen-o   hashir-ase-rare-ta.*
        Ken-NOM Naomi-NI-YOT-TE park-ACC run-CAUS-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was made to run in the park (by means of Naomi).'

That the addition of a causative morpheme can make sentences like (6) grammatical supports the idea that what licenses *ni-yotte* passives and short passives is compatibility with little v_{CAUSE}. Furthermore, this proposal is consistent with the fact that *ni-yotte* means 'cause/reason.' Now the question is whether or not the v_{CAUSE} introduces an

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[6]Another way to implement this idea is to assume that little v comes in different varieties, v_{CAUSE} and v_{DO}, and v_{MAKE} (Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002), and PRO can be introduced only by v_{CAUSE}. Resultative predicates are compatible with both v_{CAUSE} and v_{DO}, whereas the manner of activity predicates are only compatible with v_{DO}.

argument−PRO−in short and *ni-yotte* passives. We will address this question in sections 4.3 and 4.3.2.

In what follows, the four ways to introduce the external argument of the complement of *-rare* (*ni-*, *kara-*, *ni-yotte*-phrases, and silent cases) will be analyzed in turn.

4.1 The *ni*-phrase

As shown in table 4.1 and expected from the analysis so far, the *ni*-phrase exhibits the widest distribution among the three phrases, and it is not selective about the kind of θ-roles of the DP it introduces. It is compatible with AGENT, CAUSE, CAUSER (in causative constructions), EXPERIENCER, SOURCE, and GOAL, as exemplified below (see also Kubo 1992:251 fn13, Miyagawa 1989:40):

(7) **Agent**

    a. *Keisatu-ga Ken-o   tsukamae-ta.*   [Active]
        police-NOM Ken-ACC catch-PAST
        'The police caught Ken.'

    b. *Ken-ga   (keisatsu-ni) tsukamae-rare-ta.*   [Accusative PSV]
        Ken-NOM police-DAT   catch-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was caught (by the police).'

(8) **Cause**

    a. *[Kaisya-ga   toosan.si-ta   to-iu zizitu]-ga Ken-o   uchinomesi-ta.*
        company-NOM bankrupt-PAST C-say fact-NOM Ken-ACC damage-PAST
        'The fact that his company went bankrupt damaged Ken.'   [Active]

    b. *Ken-ga   [kaisya-ga   toosan.si-ta   to-iu zizitu]-ni*
        Ken-NOM company-NOM bankrupt-PAST C-say fact-DAT
        uchinomes-are-ta.
        damage-PASS-PAST   [Acc. PSV]
        'Ken was damaged by the fact that his company went bankrupt.'

a. *Taifuu-ga   ie-o   hukitobasi-ta.*
'typhoon-NOM house-ACC blow-PAST
'The typhoon blew the house away.'   [Active]

b. *Ie-ga   taifuu-ni   fukitobas-are-ta.*
house-NOM typhoon-DAT blow-PASS-PAST
'The house was blown away by the typhoon.'   [Acc. PSV]

(9) **Causer**

a. *John-ga Naomi-ni Ken-o   tukama.e-sase-ta.*   Causative
John-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-ACC catch-caus-PAST
'John made Naomi catch Ken.'   [Active]

b. *Naomi-ga John-ni Ken-o   tsukama.e-sase-rare-ta.*
Naomi-NOM John-DAT Ken-ACC catch-CAUS-PASS-PAST
'Naomi was made to catch Ken by John'   [Dative PSV]

(10)   **Experiencer**

a. *Gakuseitachi-ga sono koojyu-o   kowagar-ta.*
students-NOM   that professor-ACC fear-PAST
'The students feared that professor.'   [Active]

b. *Sono kyoojyu-ga   gakuseitachi-ni kowagar-are-ta.*
that professor-NOM students-DAT   fear-PASS-PAST
'That professor was feared by the students.'   [Accusative PSV]

(11)   **Source**

a. *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   hanataba-o oku-ta.*
Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT flower-ACC send-PAST
'Naomi sent Ken some a flower bouquet.'   [Active]

b. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hanataba-o oku-rare-ta.*
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT flower-ACC send-PASS-PAST
'Ken was sent a flower bouquet by Naomi.'   [Dative PSV]

(12)   **Goal**

a. *Ken-ga   inu-o   morat-ta.*
Ken-NOM dog-ACC receive-PAST
'Ken received a dog.'   [Active]

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b. *Sono inu-wa   Ken-ni   moraw-are-ta.*
   that   dog-TOP Ken-DAT receive-PASS-PAST
   'That dog was received by Ken.'   [Accusative PSV]

The exceptions are cases in which the *ni*-phrase is incompatible with the *by*-phrase reading (i.e. accusative passives derived from type (vi), (vii), (viii) pseudo-ditransitive verbs). As discussed in chapter 3, section 3.3.2, in these cases, the GOAL, ADDRESSEE, or BENEFACTIVE argument in the smuggled VP maps onto *ni*, as it is structurally closer than the external argument in the *v*P.

One important characteristic of the *ni*-phrase in Japanese, which was reviewed in chapter 3 section 3.3.2.4, is its resistance to relativization. This is true for the dative *by*-phrase of most transitive, ditransitive, and intransitive passives, as exemplified below:

(13)   Relativization of the dative *by*-phrase of Accusative Passives

   a. **[[Ken-ga t$_i$ tsukama.e-rare-ta] keisatu.kan$_i$]-ga yuumei-ni*
      Ken-NOM   catch-PASS-PAST   police.man-NOM famous-DAT
      nat-ta.
      become-PAST
      Int. 'The policeman by whom Ken was caught became famous.'

   b. **[[John-ga t$_i$ hon-o   watas-are-ta]   syoozyo$_i$]-wa kawaii.*
      John-NOM   book-ACC hand-PASS-PAST girl-TOP   cute.
      'The girl by whom John was given a book is cute.'

(14)   Relativization of the dative *by*-phrase of Intransitive Passives

   a. **[[Ken-ga hu-rare-ta]   ame]-wa tumetakat-ta.*[7]
      Ken-NOM descend-PASS-PAST rain-TOP cold-PAST
      Lit. 'The rain by which Ken was descended upon was cold.'
                                          [on-Directional Dat PSV]
   b. **[[Naomi-ga sin-are-ta]   hahoya]-wa ysasikat-ta.*
      Naomi-NOM die-PASS-PAST mother-TOP kind-PAST
      Lit. 'The mother by whom Naomi was died was kind.' [Gen-Dat PSV]

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c. *[[Ken-ga nak-are-ta]   kodomo]-wa kawaikat-ta.
    Ken-NOM cry-PASS-PAST child-TOP   cute-PAST
    Lit. 'The child by whom Ken was cried because of was cute.'
                                            [Cause Dat PSV]

The exceptions are the dative phrases in the passive denoting SOURCE and GOAL: when the dative P is a GOAL or a SOURCE argument, it can undergo relativization. Further, the regular GOAL argument in the active can undergo relativization.

(15)   Relativization of the dative goal DP in the Active/Passive

    a. *[[Ken-ga t_i nige-rare-ta]   onna]-wa totemo kawai.kat-ta.*
        Ken-NOM   escape-PASS-PAST girl-TOP   very   cute-PAST
        'The girl from whom Ken was escaped was very cute.'

    b. *[[John-ga t_i hon-o   watasi-ta] syoozyo$_i$]-wa yorokon-da.*
        John-NOM   book-ACC hand-PAST girl-NOM   be.pleased-PAST
        'The girl to whom John gave a book was pleased.'

    c. *[[Hanataba-ga t_i watas-are-ta]   syoozyo$_i$]-ga kawaikat-ta.*
        flower.bouquet-NOM   hand-PASS-PAST girl-NOM   cute-PAST
        'The girl to whom the flower bouquet was handed was cute.'

I have proposed a derivational account for this contrast; that is, the GOAL and SOURCE *ni*-phrase is a DP, while the dative *by*-phrase is a DP contained in the *v*P shell which behaves like an island (see chapter 2, section 3.3.2).

4.2   The *kara*-phrase

As shown in table 4.1, the use of *kara* is restricted to predicates whose external arguments are the SOURCE of the transition of emotion/perception (i.e. type-(iii)), entities (i.e. type-(iv)), or verbal information (i.e. type-(v)). That is, the compatibility of *kara*

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[7]Note that *ame* 'rain' can be relativized in the active voice. (e.g. *[[Sono machi-ni hut-ta] ame]* 'the rain which descended on that city').

is contingent on the SOURCE θ-role of the highest argument of the complement of *-rare*. This semantic restriction contrasts with the case with the *ni*-phrase, which suggests that *kara* is not a projection dependent on *-rare*. Additionally, table 4.1 shows that unlike *ni-yotte*-phrases, the external argument of the predicates that are compatible with *kara* (i.e. verbs of types (iii), (iv), and (v)) cannot be suppressed. This suggests that the statuses of *kara* and *ni-yotte* differ, as arguments of *ni-yotte* can (sometimes) be suppressed. Following Emonds (1985:Ch.7) and Kubo (1992:278), I tentatively assume that *kara* is a realization of the lexical postposition selected as part of the SOURCE argument, and it is dropped when it is merged with a Case marker like *ni*.

Before turning to the *ni-yotte*-phrase, I will first discuss short passives that do not contain an overt *by*-phrase.

4.3   Short Passives and *Ni-yotte* Passives

4.3.1   Short Passives

This section deals with the classic puzzle of whether or not the external argument of the complement of *-rare* is present (i.e. PRO in Collins' analysis 2005). In my analysis, short passives must contain a silent external argument, simply because *-rare* must take an active little *v*P, which has a filled Specifier. As will be shown below, this assumption is independently supported by the distribution of volition (or subject)-oriented adverbials, depictives, and the ability to control into adjunct clauses.

A silent external argument can license volition-oriented adverbials. (16-a) shows that *wazato* 'deliberately' is incompatible with non-sentient beings. In contrast, all the short passives in (16) are well-formed with *wazato*:

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(16) a. #*Hune-ga wazato   sizun-da.* $\boxed{\textit{Inchoative}}$
          ship-NOM deliberately sink$_{\text{INTR}}$-PAST
          'The ship sank deliberately.'

      b. *Hune-ga wazato   sizum.e-rare-ta.* $\boxed{\textit{Acc.PSV}}$
          ship-NOM deliberately sink$_{\text{TR}}$-PASS-PAST
          'The ship was sunk deliberately (by somebody.)'   [A: mean 3.41]

      c. *Konpyutaa-ga wazato   kowa.s-are-ta.* $\boxed{\textit{Acc.PSV}}$
          computer-NOM deliberately break$_{\text{TR}}$-PASS-PAST
          'The computer was deliberately broken (by somebody.)'

      d. *Sono hon-wa   iyaiya   kak-are-ta.* $\boxed{\textit{Acc.PSV}}$
          that book-TOP unwillingly write-PASS-PAST
          'That book was written unwillingly (by somebody.)'

      e. *Sono omocya-wa iyaiya   sute-rare-ta.* $\boxed{\textit{Acc.PSV}}$
          that toy-TOP   unwillingly throw.away-PASS-PAST
          'That toy was unwillingly thrown away (by somebody.)'

As expected, the following passive derived from the causative predicate is also well-formed under the reading where *wazato* modifies the causative morpheme *sase* (i.e. intentionally making him do so):

(17) *Ken-ga   wazato   shippai.s-ase-rare-ta.*
      Ken-NOM deliberately mistake.do-CAUS-PASS-PAST
      'Ken was deliberately made to make a mistake (by someone).

The second piece of evidence that the external argument is present comes from the compatibility of short passives with depictive phrases (contra Pylkkänen 2002: (47-b)). Depictive phrases describe a state of an argument of the verb during the event described by the verb, and they are formed with an NP followed by *–de* in Japanese. It is said that only argument NPs and not the NP inside the PP can license the depictive phrase (cf. Koizumi 1994, Yatsushiro 1999, Pylkkänen 2002, among others). The following short passive is compatible with a depictive phrase, while (18-b), which lacks a volitional licenser of the depictive phrase, is ungrammatical.

(18)   a.   *Sono e-wa   PRO$_i$ hadaka-de$_i$ kak-are-ta.*
            that picture-TOP   naked-DEP draw-PASS-PAST
            'That letter was written naked.'   [Acc. PSV]

    b.   *Sono e-wa   (*hadaka-de) yabu.re-ta.*
            that picture-TOP naked-DEP   tear$_{INTR}$-past
            'That picture tore naked.'   [Inchoative]

Lastly, the silent external argument can control the subject in temporal adjunct *while* clauses, which shows that there must be a syntactic controller in the structure, as opposed to sentences like (19-b), which contains an inchoative predicate:

(19)   a.   *Sono tegami-wa PRO naki-nagara kak-are-ta.*
            that letter-TOP   cry-while   write-PASS-PAST
            'That letter was written (by someone) while crying.'   [Acc. PSV]

    b. **Sono tegami-wa naki-nagara yabu.re-ta.*
          that letter-TOP cry-while   tear$_{INTR}$-PAST
          'That letter tore while crying.'   [Inchoative]

The properties of short passives discussed above suffice to conclude that the silent external argument of the complement of *-rare* is syntactically represented (i.e. PRO) in the Japanese short passive. Then a question arises: where is PRO? Does it stay in the external merged position (i.e. Spec,*v*P), or can it occur in the same position as the *ni*-phrase? Before answering these questions, let us examine the structure of *ni-yotte* passives first.

4.3.2 *Ni-yotte* **Passives**

Following many linguists (Park and Whitman 2003, Oshima 2006, Goro 2006, Fukuda 2008, 2009b), we treat *ni-yotte* as an adjunct/modifier: i.e. the DP in the *ni-yotte* phrase is not merged as an argument of the predicate embedded under *-rare*, but as an argument of the verb *yor* 'to cause' in *ni-yotte*, with the gerund controlling a silent

argument, PRO. This accounts for the observation that the *ni-yotte*-passives essentially behave like short passives. In addition *'ni-yotte'* seems to modify cause *v*P, suggesting that the gerund is an adjunct to the little *v*P CAUSE. If so, this accounts for why the *ni-yotte* phrase is incompatible with agentive predicates (see table 4.1). The examples below show that the *ni*-yotte phrase is not specific to the passive *-rare* construction but indeed modifies the CAUSE.

(20)   a.   *Kinoo   ziko-ni-yot-te   dai-zyutai-ga*
                yesterday accident-NI-YOT-TE big-traffic_jam-NOM
                okita.[A:mean 4.62]
                happen-PAST
                Lit. 'The heavy traffic jam occurred yesterday by means of the accident.'

    b.   *Taroo-no titioya-ga   koutuu.jiko-ni-yot-te   nakunat-ta.*
                Taro-NO father-NOM car.accident-NI-YOT-TE die-PAST
                'Taro's father died by means of the car accident.'   [A: mean 4.48]

Furthermore, a *ni*-phrase and a *ni-yotte* phrase can cooccur in a single passive, a fact which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been noted before.[8]

(21)   a.   *Doroboo-ga keikan-ni   konboo-ni-yot-te nagur-are-ta.*
                thief-NOM   policeman-DAT stick-NI-YOT-TE hit-PASS-PAST
                'A thief was hit by a policeman by means of a stick.'

    b.   *Hikooki-ga   terorisuto-ni bakudan-ni-yot-te hakais-are-ta*
                airplane-NOM terrorist-DAT bomb-NI-YOT-TE destroy-PASS-PAST
                'That airplane was destroyed by a terrorist using a bomb.' [A: mean 3.16]

The following sentences in (22) show that *ni-yotte* and *ni* are not interchangeable, suggesting that they are related to different arguments: *ni-yotte* modifies a CAUSE or

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[8]Kuroda (1979) argues that passive with a dative *by*-phrase and the passive with a *ni-yotte*-phrase is derived differently and has introduced a new dichotomy, *ni-* versus *ni-yotte*-passives. However, this dichotomy is no longer tenable because of examples like the passives give in (21), where the two phrases cooccur in a single passive. Differences between *ni-* and *ni-yotte*-passives with respect to reconstruction are discussed in section 6.2.

MEANS argument, but never an AGENT, whereas *ni* in (21) attracts the highest argument of the complement of *-rare* regardless of its θ-role, as a direct consequence of the fact that *-rare* combine with active voice verbs (see section 4.1.) Consequently, *ni-yotte* ends up being lower in the structure. (Note that without 'bomb-ni' (22-a) is well-formed, since the AGENT is also a CAUSE.):

(22)   a.   *Hikooki-ga   terorisuto-ni-yot-te (*bakudan-ni) hakais-are-ta.*
            airplane-NOM terrorist-NI-YOT-TE bomb-DAT   destroy-PASS-PAST
            Int. 'That airplane was destroyed by a bomb because of a terrorist.'
                                                            [A:mean 1.66]

       b.   **Hikooki-ga   bakudan-ni terorisuto-ni-yot-te hakais-are-ta*
            airplane-NOM bomb-DAT terrorist-NI-YOT-TE destroy-PASS-PAST
            'That airplane was destroyed by a bomb because of a terrorist.'
                                                            [A:mean 1.47]

The literature reports various differences between the *ni*-phrase and the *ni-yotte* phrase. Here we briefly review three properties discussed in the literature and discuss how to account for these distributional differences within the line of argumentation taken here.

First, the *ni-yotte* phrase is incompatible with volition-oriented adverbials. The distribution of the *ni-yotte* phrase contrasts with that of the dative *ni*-phrase, as shown below (c.f. Park and Whitman 2003):

(23)   a.   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni iyaiya   hanataba-o*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT unwillingly flower.bouquet-ACC
            oku-rare-ta.
            present-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was sent a flower bouquet by Naomi unwillingly.'

       b.   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni-yot-te iyaiya   hanataba-o*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-NI-YOT-TE unwillingly flower.bouquet-ACC
            oku-rare-ta.
            present-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was presented a flower bouquet by means of Naomi unwillingly.'

The sentence (23-a) is ambiguous: *iyaiya* 'unwillingly' can associate with either 'Ken' or 'Naomi.' In contrast, (23-b) is unambiguous, and *iyaiya* 'uniwillingly' must associate with the surface subject 'Ken.' How can we account for the difference? The following anaphor-binding fact shows that the linear order (see (21)) matches the hierarchical structural:

(24) *Hikooki-ga   terorisuto$_i$-ni karera.zisin$_i$-no bakudan-ni-yot-te*
      airplane-NOM terrorist-DAT themselves-NO bomb-NI-YOT-TE
      hakais-are-ta
      destroy-PASS-PAST
      'That airplane was destroyed by a terrorist using themselves' bomb.'

The *ni-yotte*-phrase in (24) must be merged lower than the *ni*-phrase that is selected for as an argument of little *v*P AGENT under the reading in (23-a). Namely, it modifies little *v*P cause. Then we can understand the distribution of volition-oriented adverbials to mean that the *ni*-phrase is high enough in the structure to associate with the volitional adverb, whereas the *ni-yotte*-DP which modifies little *v*P CAUSE is too low in the structure to associate with volition-oriented adverbs like *iyaiya* 'unwillingly.'

The second piece of evidence that *ni-* and *ni-yotte*-phrases show different distribution comes from the behavior with respect to the depictive *de*-phrase (see also Fukuda 2009b: who came to the conclusion that the *ni*-marked DP is an argument while the *ni-yotte*-marked DP is a PP adjunct.) The *ni*-phrase can license depictive phrases, while the *ni-yotte*-phrase cannot.

(25) a. *Taroo$_i$-ga sensei$_j$-ni   makkana-kao-de$_{i/j}$ okor-are-ta.*
          taroo-NOM teacher-DAT red.face-DEP   scold-PASS-PAST
          'Taro$_i$ was scolded by the teacher$_j$ red-faced$_{i/j}$.

      b. *Taroo$_i$-ga sensei$_j$-ni-yot-te   makkana.kao-de$_{i/*j}$ okor-are-ta.*
          Taro-NOM teacher-NI-YOT-TE red.face-DEP   scold-PASS-PAST
          'Taro$_i$ was scolded by means of the teacher$_j$ red-faced$_{i/*j}$.'

Likewise, the *ni*-phrase can license a PRO inside an adjunct clause, while the *ni-yotte*-phrase cannot (Fukuda 2009b: 43):

(26)   a.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni ~~Ken ni~~ [PRO$_{i/j}$ warai-nagara] kisu.s-are-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   laugh-while   kiss-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was kissed by Naomi, while laughing.' [Dative Passive]

    b.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni-yot-te   ~~Ken ni~~ [PRO$_{i/*j}$ warai-nagara]*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-NI-YOT-TE   laugh-while
            kisu.s-are-ta.
            kiss-PASS-PAST
            'Ken was kissed by means of Naomi, while laughing.' [Dative Passive]

The distribution of *ni*-passives, short passives, and *ni-yotte* passives with respect to volitional adverbs, depictives, and control is summarized in the following table:

Table 4.2: Distribution of *by*-phrases

	Volitional Adverbs	Depictives	PRO in Adjunct
Ni-Passive	ok	ok	ok
Short-Passie	ok	ok	ok
Ni-yotte-Passive	*	*	*

Given that *ni-yotte* passives contain PRO, which is able to license depictive *de*-phrases and control PRO in short passives, the distribution of the *ni-yotte*-phrase is puzzling. I have shown in section 3.5.2.1 that the *de*-phrase is structurally quite high. We independently know that temporal adjuncts are also structurally high (cf Cinque 1999, Collins 2005). Therefore, one possibility is that depictives are simply never c-commanded by PRO. Furthermore, it must be the case that the height of *ni-yotte* restricts the height of PRO in the context of *ni-yotte* passives: PRO must remain low and never raise high enough in the structure to be able to associate with the depictive or to control the subject of the temporal adjunct. Given these findings, we are led to the following structure of *ni-yotte*-passives:

(27)   The *ni-yotte*-Passive: 'The computer was broken by means of John.'
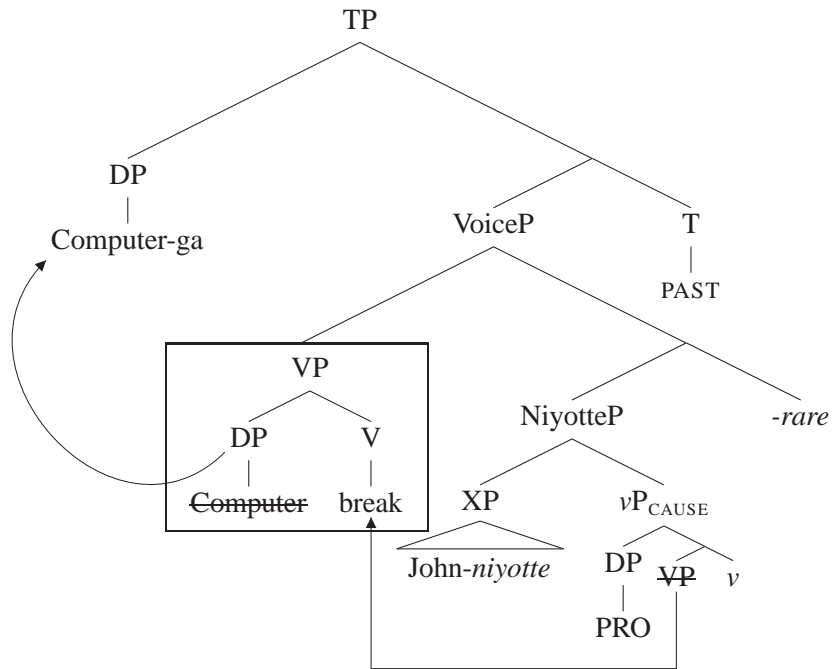
One consequence of this analysis is that when short passives allow for depictives, volitional adverbs, and controlling the subject of temporal adjuncts, it must be the case that PRO raises high enough in the structure, i.e. PRO moves to the same structural position as where an overt *ni*-phrase is, possibly in order to receive a null Case (cf. Chomsky 1995, Collins 2005).[9] The proposed structure of the short passive is given below:

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[9]Alternatively, the presence of depictives and volitional adverbs and the need to control the silent subject in temporal adjuncts force PRO to raise. Yet, why PRO remains low in *ni-yotte*-passives still needs to be explained. I will leave these questions open here.

(28)   The Short Passive: 'The computer was broken.'

TP
DP
Computer-ga
vP
PRO
VP
DP
Computer
V
break
VoiceP
T
PAST
vP
DP
PRO
VP
v
-rare
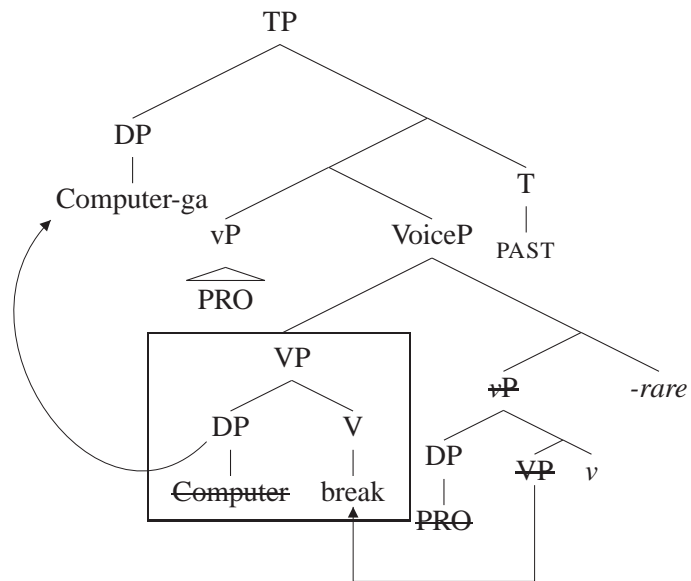
What is important in my proposal is that *-rare* never absorbs an external θ-role, thus the external argument of the predicate with which *-rare* merges is always syntactically represented, if not as a *ni*-phrase as a PRO.

CHAPTER 5

Existing Literature and Unifying the Passives

The thesis thus far has shown that a unified analysis of direct and indirect passives is not only theoretically desirable but also possible. In particular, I have demonstrated that the most important defining property of indirect passives (i.e. the lack of an active counterpart) does not reliably exist. In this chapter, evaluating the arguments presented in the literature in favor of distinguishing indirect passives from direct passives, I will show that the dichotomy is not only unnecessary but also empirically inadequate, further motivating a unified treatment of Japanese passives.

This chapter is organized as follows. I begin with a brief literature review and demonstrate how the traditional classification of passives can be translated into the current proposal. Next I reexamine various properties that are alleged to set the two types of passives apart. Section 5.3.1 deals with the distribution of Numeral Quantifier Floating, section 5.3.2.1 deals with compatibility with short and *ni-yotte*-passives, and section 5.3.2.2 addresses the distribution of self-binding.

It turns out that the properties previously considered to support a direct-indirect distinction reflect a partial view of the paradigm. Once a complete set of facts is considered, a different picture arises: namely, the properties are not coextensive with one of the two passive types, suggesting that the distributional differences stem from other factors. I sketch an account for some of these properties but will be unable to present a full account in this thesis. However, I will clearly demonstrate that there is no need to divide Japanese passives into two types.

5.1 The Traditional Classification

As is well-known from the early days of generative grammar, Japanese has two types of passives (Kuno 1973, Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1978, Kubo 1992: among others; see Hoshi 1999 for a review): (i) the 'direct' passive, which is called the accusative or dative (goal) passive in this thesis; and (ii) the 'indirect' passive, which comes in two varieties— (a) the 'possessive' passive, which I refer to as the possessor-accusative passive, and (b) the 'gapless' passive, whose subject appears not to relate to any positions or arguments of the predicate with which *-rare* merges (in my analysis, the gapless passive encompasses dative, source, and genitive-dative passives). Examples of each type of passive are provided below (the name of the type under the current approach is also provided below the mean rating):

(1) **Direct passive**   [A:mean 4.88]
Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   tatak-are–ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
'Ken was hit by Naomi.' | Accusative PSV |

(2) **Indirect passive**

    a. **Possessive passive**   [A:mean 4.82]
      Ken_i-ga   Naomi-ni $kao_{i/*j}$-o tatak-are-ta.
      Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
      Lit.'Ken was hit the face by Naomi. | Gen-Acc PSV |

    b. **Gapless passive**
    (1) *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni   waraw-are-ta.* | Accusative PSV |
       Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT laugh-PASS-PAST
       'Taro was laughed at by Hanako .'   (Pylkkänen 2000)[1]

---

[1]The verb *waraw-u* 'to laugh' has a transitive use meaning 'to mock.' Although Pylkkänen regards (2-b) as a gapless passive, it should be treated as an instance of accusative passives (or 'direct passives'). The active counterpart of (2-b-1) is given below:

(i)   *Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   waraw-ta.*
     Hanako-NOM Taro-ACC laugh-PAST
     'Hanako {mocked/made fun of} Taro.'

(2)   *Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*   [A:mean 4.68, C:4.33]
       Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'   Gen-Dat PSV

(3)   *Mary-ga   John-ni   sono tegami-o yom-are-ta.*
       Mary-NOM John-DAT that letter-ACC read-PASS-PAST   Gen-Acc PSV
       Lit. 'Mary was read that letter of hers by John.'   (Watanabe 1996: 116)

(4)   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   nige-rare-ta*
       Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST   [C:mean 4.93]
       'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'   Source PSV

(5)   *Naomi-ga   inu-ni   hoe-rare-ta.*   [A:mean:4.68]
       Naomi-NOM dog-DAT bark-PASS-PAST
       'Naomi was barked at by a dog.'   at-Directional Dative PSV

(6)   *Bokura-wa soto-de   suzusii kaze-ni   huk-are-ta.*
       we-TOP   outside-LOC cool   wind-DAT blow-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'We were blown at by the cold wind outside.'
       (from Washio 1993: 63)   at-Directional Dative PSV

(7)   *Ken-wa ame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*
       Ken-TOP rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST   [B:mean 4.28]
       Lit. 'Ken was rained on.'   on-Directional Dative PSV

(8)   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   nak-are-ta.*   [C:mean 4.52]
       Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'   Cause Dative PSV

(9)   **Ken-ga   kyuu-ni Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*   [A:mean 1.65]
       Ken-NOM suddenly Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
       Lit. Ken was run suddenly by Naomi.'   (from Shibatani 1998)
       Int. 'Ken experienced Naomi's sudden run.'   Extra-thematic

(10)   **Ken-wa Naomi-ni   sinkoosyuukyoo-o hajime-rare-ta.*[C:mean 1.69]
       Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT new_religion-ACC begin-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Ken was joined a new cult by Naomi.'   (from Kubo 1992)
       Int. 'Ken experienced Naomi's joining a new cult.'   Extra-thematic

Within the broad classification of direct and indirect passives, linguists argue for many different subdivisions. Not all linguists agree that the 'possessive passive' form a natural class, and many linguists, including Kuroda (1979), Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), and Fukuda (2006), subsume the possessive passive under the (gapless) indirect passive. Among those linguists who consider the possessive passive a natural class (e.g. Kubo 1992, Shibatani 1990, Pylkkänen 2002), what counts as the 'possessive passive' is restricted to the possessor of accusative-marked DPs. In this thesis, passives with a *no*-phrase source have a much wider distribution (cf. 3.6). I have shown that the source of the nominative corresponds to the outermost *no*-phrase in the DP, provided the DP originates in the big VP shell.

The following table summarizes the correspondence between the traditional classification and the proposed classification of the core passive (extra-thematic passives are excluded).

Table 5.1: Traditional Classification vs. The Core Passive

Traditional passive	Predicates *-rare* merges with	Source of Nom.	θ-role
Direct	Tr: *ker-u* 'kick'; *tabe-ru* 'eat'	DP-ACC	Theme/Patient
	Ditr: *watas-u* 'hand'	DP-DAT	Goal/Addressee
Gapless	verbs of speaking: *zimansu-ru* 'brag'		
	butukar-u 'bump'; *kisusu-ru* 'kiss'		Dative Theme
	hoe-ru 'bark'; *hur-u* 'descend'		at/on-Directional
	nak-u 'cry'; *odorok-u* 'surprise'		Cause
	Intr: *nige-ru* 'escape'	DP-FROM	Source[†]
Possessive	Ditr: *tor-u* 'take'; *nusum-u* 'steal'		
	Tr: *yom-u* 'read'	DP-NO	Possessor of Theme
Gapless	Need "possessive context"		
	unaccusatives: *sin-u* 'die'		(outer *no*-phrases)

[†]The verbs that license *source* include both intransitive and ditransitive verbs. The passive with a ditransitive verb, *tor-u* 'steal' is analyzed as an instance of the possessive passive by Kubo (1992).

5.2 Existing Analyses of Passives

Since the 1960s, there have been two competing analyses of Japanese passives: the 'uniform theory', which derives both direct and indirect passives from a common complementation substructure that involves optional Control (Kuroda 1965, 1979, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976: and many others), and the 'non-uniform theory,' which posits that direct and indirect passives have distinct structures (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972, Shibatani 1978: and many others). Both theories basically agree on the structure of the indirect passive: the passive *-rare* assigns an external θ-role and takes a clausal complement. They differ, however, in the structure of the direct passive. The uniform theory assumes that the direct passive also involves Control, whereas the non-uniform theory assumes that it involves Movement.

A more recent treatment of the direct passive is what I refer to as a 'Hybrid Approach' proposed by Hoshi (1994) and Huang (1999), which involves both Movement and Control (see sections 5.2.2.3 and 5.2.2.4) (the two linguists disagree about the type of movement, A or A'). I briefly outline the leading analyses of indirect and direct passives as well as Kubo's (1992) analysis of possessive passives below.

5.2.1 The Standard Analysis of Indirect Passives

The standard analysis of indirect passives is presented below (translated in modern terms with a VP shell structure) (Kuroda 1965, 1979, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976: and many others):

(3)   *[Ken-ga [$_{vP}$ Naomi-ni nak]-are-ta].*
         Ken-NOM [$_{vP}$ Naomi-DAT cry]-PASS-PAST | dative Cause PSV |
         'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'   [C:mean 4.93]

TP
├── DP_i
│   └── Ken-ga
└── T'
    ├── vP
    │   ├── DP_i
    │   │   └── ~~Ken~~
    │   └── v'
    │   ├── vP
    │   │   └── Naomi-ni   cry
    │   └── v
    │   └── -rare
    └── T
        └── PAST
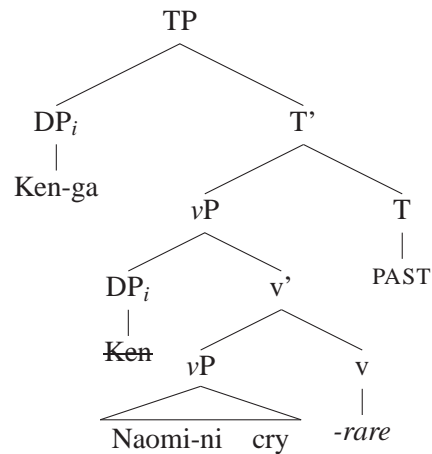
The same structure is also assumed for gapless passives (cf. Kubo 1992). How exactly the embedded external argument receives dative Case remains unclear: the earlier proposals are Kuroda's (1965: 170) Constituent Subject Extraction, which extracts an embedded subject from the embedded sentential complement to the matrix clause, and Kuno's (1973:349) Agentive-*Ni* attachment, which marks the subject of the complement clause with *ni*.

There are many reasons to reject this analysis. I discuss the following three principal reasons. Firstly, this structure over-generates passives, not distinguishing core passives from extra-thematic passives. As discussed in section 3.7, not all indirect (or gapless) passives are acceptable to native speakers to the same degree (see the mean ratings for the passives in (2)). This analysis cannot account for the contrast between the core and extra-thematic passives.

Secondly, this analysis does not account for the semantic restriction of the nominative DP. According to the standard analysis, the nominative DP is selected as an AFFECTEE argument, thus the sentence should be felicitous as long as *Ken* is affected by the event denoted by the complement clause regardless of the 'way' that happens. However, the interpretation of the nominative DP must match the interpretation of the gap contained in the big VP domain (see chapter 3). For example, *Ken* in (3) must be

affected (if affected at all) because he is a CAUSE of Naomi's crying: (3) is infelicitous in the event that Ken loves Naomi and he is upset because he saw her crying. All the analyses in which *-rare* selects for an AFFECTEE (or MALFACTIVE/EXPERIENCER) external argument (e.g. Pylkkänen's (2000) high applicative analysis)run into these two problems .

The structure of indirect passives given in (3) resembles that of Japanese causatives and also English 'have' or 'get' causatives. For this reason, indirect passives have often been considered a variant of causative constructions with the causative morpheme (or *-rare*) responsible for the dative Case (in essence Hoshi 1994, Oshima 2006, Shibatani 1973a: 342).[2] Nevertheless, as discussed in section 2.4.2, the passive does not show the same distribution as the causative construction. Specifically, *-rare* cannot merge with pure unergative verbs that lack a big VP shell, such as *oyog* 'to swim,' *hatarak* 'to work,' and *odor* 'to dance,' while the causative morpheme *-sase* does not have such a restriction. The uniform analysis of indirect passives cannot capture the difference between unergatives that can and cannot be passivized (see section 6.1, for further distributional differences between the passive and causative sentences). I will discuss the behavior of indirect passives with respect to movement diagnostics in chapter 6.

5.2.2 Existing Analyses of Direct Passives

I now turn to some leading existing analyses of the direct passive, beginning with a review of the two traditional analyses, non-uniform and uniform theories, followed by a discussion of the more recent Hybrid Approach to direct passives that involves both movement and control (Huang 1999 and Hoshi 1994).

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[2]There are many different recent proposals for Japanese causatives, which I do not address here (see Harley 1995a, Miyagawa 1994, 1999, Harley 2005b, Homer and Ishizuka 2009: *inter alia*).

5.2.2.1 Non-Uniform Theory: Movement Approach

Under the non-uniform theory, direct passives are derived just like English passives. Most linguists assume *-rare* absorbs structural case and the external θ-role (cf. Fukuda 2006, Goro 2006: *inter alia*). In essence, this is an extension of Chomsky's LGB 1981, Jaeggli 1986, Baker and Roberts 1989, or current minimalist approaches in which the little *v* in the passive does not project an external argument (also see section 1.6.1). As far as I know I am the first to propose a smuggling analysis to Japanese passives.

5.2.2.2 Uniform Theory: Control Analysis

The 'uniform theory' (Kuroda 1965, 1979, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Goro 2006) assumes that the passive *-rare* morpheme is the same as the one contained in the indirect passive in that it selects for an AFFECTEE external argument and a clausal complement. However, the derivation of the direct passive involves an additional mechanism compared to that of the indirect passive due to the presence of a gap: the nominative DP (i.e. the AFFECTEE argument of *-rare*) controls for the accusative *pro* contained in the complement domain of *-rare*. The relevant part of the structure is given below:

(4)   a.   *Ken$_i$-ga   [Naomi-ni pro$_i$ ke]-rare-ta.*
           Ken$_i$-NOM Naomi-DAT him$_i$ kick-PASS-PAST
           'Ken was kicked by Naomi.
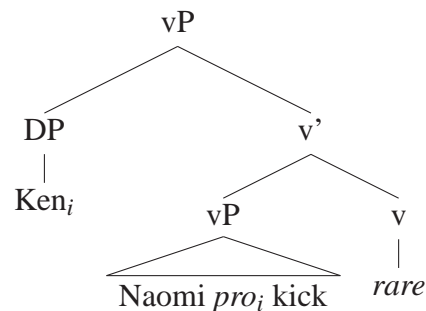
The problem with the uniform theory is the obligatory deletion of the embedded

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accusative object, as pointed out by Huang (1999) and Hoshi (1994). The embedded object is alleged to be an A-bound *pro*, and whether an A-bound *pro* is possible in the embedded object position is controversial (see Huang 1984, 1989, 1999, Hasegawa 1984: among others). I will revisit this issue in section 6.1. Variants of the uniform analyses−Hybrid Analyses−that have been proposed by Hoshi (1994) and Huang (1999) to deal with this problem will be reviewed in the next two sections.

5.2.2.3   Hoshi 1991, 1994: Low A-movement and Control

Hoshi (1994) proposes that the null object is not a *pro* but a PRO, which moves to Spec of *v*P (the subject of the embedded clause) in order to receive null Case (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993) where it is then controlled by the affectee argument of the matrix verb *-rare*. As in standard analyses, the passive morpheme *-rare* absorbs accusative Case and suppresses the external argument of its complement. This is why PRO can move into Spec,*v*P , which is the process Hoshi (1994) calls VP-internal passivization. The relevant part of the structure is given below.

(5)   *Ken-ga   [PRO Naomi-ni   ~~PRO~~ ke]-rare-ta.*
        Ken-NOM   Naomi-DAT   kick-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was kicked by Naomi.
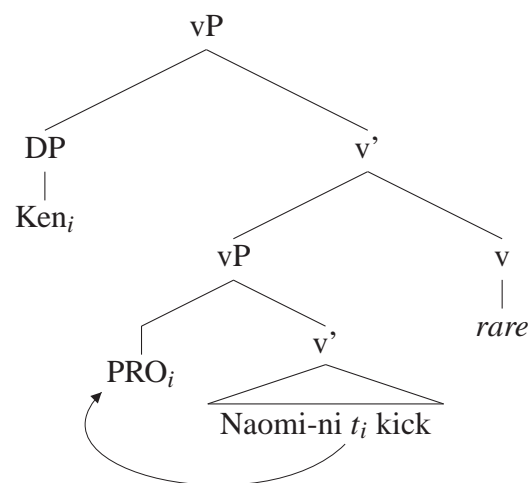
In this analysis, the suppression of the external argument plays a crucial role in licensing PRO, since it provides a position for PRO to move into. Hence, the direct passive is restricted to raising of structural Case-marked DPs. In indirect passives, external argument suppression and Case absorption do not occur. The problem with this analysis is that in principle an object *pro* should be able to occur in the indirect passive context, but a *pro* reading of the gap in the indirect passive is never available. An object *pro* always gives rise to a direct passive interpretation (i.e. the accusative gap obligatory refers to the nominative DP), as illustrated below:

(6)   *Ken$_i$-ga   [Naomi$_j$-ni   pro$_{i/*j/*k}$ ke]-rare-ta.*
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   kick-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was kicked by Naomi.'
        (Int.*'Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi hit him/her.')

Although in this analysis the passive *-rare* morpheme behaves the same in direct and indirect passives in that it selects an external argument, the differences between the two types of passive are non-trivial: stipulating optional features of the passive *rare* morpheme−which triggers external argument suppression and Case absorption (resulting in VP passivization) in the direct passive but not in the indirect passive−is essentially the same as proposing two distinct *-rare* morphemes.

5.2.2.4   Huang 1999, Toyoshima 1996: A'-movement and Control

Huang (1999), building on Feng's (1995) tough construction analysis of Chinese passives, also proposes an analysis of direct passives which involves movement (but this time A'-movement of an operator) and complementation. The analysis of tough constructions is illustrated below (cf. Chomsky 1981):

(7)   This problem$_i$ is easy [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ for you to solve ~~OP~~$_i$].

The relevant part of the structure proposed for Japanese direct passive is given below:

(8)   *Ken-ga   [OP [Naomi-ni   ~~OP~~ ke]]-rare-ta.*
        Ken-NOM   Naomi-DAT   kick-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was kicked by Naomi.

Huang's and Hoshi's analyses are distinct in whether the movement in the complement of *-rare* is A- or A'-movement. As will become evident in section 6.3, data in favor of A'-movement are inconclusive (see also Ishizuka 2010).

Both the control (or uniform) analysis and the hybrid approach differ from the proposed smuggling analysis in a critical way. Namely, *-rare* selects for an argument in the former analyses and not in the latter. If *-rare* indeed selects for an argument, we would expect some consistent semantic value associated with every occurrence of the passive *-rare*. However, it will be shown in section 6.4.3 that a consistent semantic value (or θ-role) is not identifiable (affected connotations associated with some passives are just an implicature). We now turn to the existing analyses of possessive passives below.

5.2.3 Existing Analyses of Possessive Passives

Treatments of 'possessive passives' differ depending on the analysis. Uniform theory-type analyses subsume the possessive passive under gapless indirect passives, assuming that it contains no possessor gap corresponding to the nominative DP (Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Kuroda 1979, Fukuda 2006 among others). This approach, however, falls short of accounting for the obligatory possessive interpretation of the relationship between the nominative DP and the internal argument of the predicate with which *-rare* merges. Furthermore, treating possessive passives as a subset of indirect passives is problematic from a typological perspective since possessor passives appear to behave as a natural class in other languages: Korean and Mandarin are known to have possessive passives but lack the other type of indirect passives available in Japanese (understood as dative/source passives and extra-thematic passives under the current approach). Positing the same complementation structure for possessive and indirect passives would fail to explain the typological distribution (Shibatani 1990, Washio 1993, Huang 1999, *inter alia*).

In the next section, I review Kubo's (1992) movement approach to possessive passives.

5.2.3.1 Movement (Non-Uniform-Type) Analysis

Kubo (1992:288) proposes the following lexical entry for the passive morpheme *-rare*:

(9)   *rare*, V,   +V ___   [Direct & Possessive Passives]

              +VP ___. [malefative]   [Gapless Passives]

The passive morpheme *-rare* in the direct and possessive passives subcategorizes a X^0-level category V and does not have any θ-role to assign, whereas *-rare* in the gapless

indirect passive subcategorizes a complement phrase VP and has an external θ-role to assign (basically the same structure as the one proposed in the Uniform Analysis of indirect passives given in (3)). Under this proposal, the external argument of the predicate is realized as a PP adjunct form because the lexical verb−*tatae* 'to praise' in (10) below−is not the head of the VP.[3] The representation of the possessive passive is given below (Kubo 1992:290):

(10) *Ken-ga   hitobito-ni yuuki-o   tatae-rare-ta.*
      Ken-NOM people-DAT courage-ACC praise-PASS-PAST
      'Ken had his courage praised by people.'

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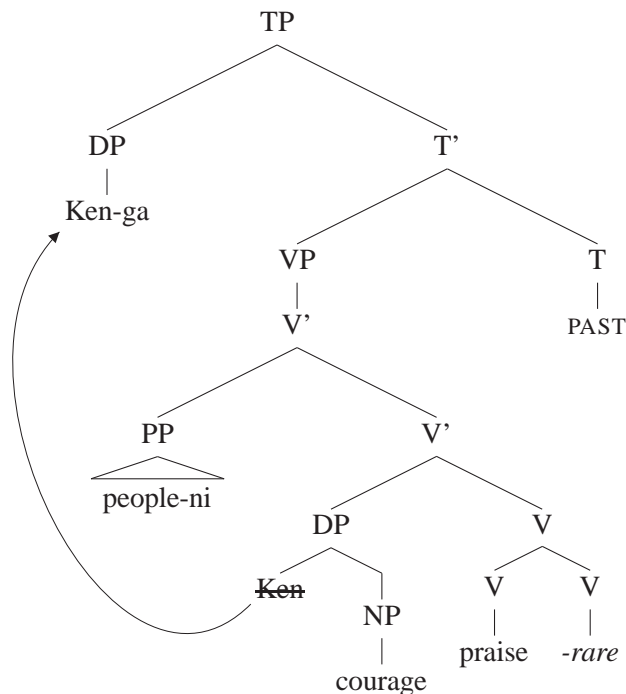
[3]Kubo (1992:290) proposes that the external argument is realized as a PP adjunct because of the following principle:

(i)   An external θ-role can be realized in an adjunct as a last resort (i.e. as a less economic representation than in Spec (VP)).

Kubo (1992) assumes similarly to the current proposal that Japanese lacks expletives and proposes that the promotion takes place because movement is the only way to satisfy the EPP of T.

Note that the internal argument 'Ken's courage' is merged as an argument of the complex predicate 'praise-RARE' and not as the complement of 'praise.' This is a violation of the principle of Locality of Selection (Sportiche 1998), and hence is not a possible analytical option in this thesis.

5.3   Are Indirect Passives Special?

The previous section has provided a brief summary of some leading proposals of Japanese direct, indirect, and possessive passives. It is difficult to evaluate the existing analyses given that the current approach partitions Japanese passives differently from the traditional three-way classification. Under the current approach, indirect passives are no longer considered a natural class but analyzed as passives containing a gap in an oblique position or a *no*-phrase position (i.e. they are simply a subclass of 'direct passives'). Both direct and indirect (and possessive) passives contain the same lexical item *-rare* and involve raising from the smuggled big VP domain of *-rare*. They minimally differ in the external merge position of the argument that raises to the nominative position.

The literature thus far has focused on differentiating direct and indirect passives. Although the line between the two types of passives is not very clear, they are said to behave differently in the following respects: (i) the availability of an active source, (ii) the availability of strong adversative/affected connotations, (iii) the distribution in terms of Numeral Quantifiers (NQ, hereafter), and (iv) the distribution of the dative *by* phrase. I have already shown in section 3.5 that the nominative DP in indirect pas-

sives must have an active source in the smuggled big VP domain, which determines its interpretation; otherwise the derivation does not converge. As for the adversative connotations, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) have convincingly shown that they are not specific to indirect passives. The source of the adversative connotations carried by many passives will be discussed extensively in section 6.4.3.

In what follows, I reexamine the last two properties assumed to differentiate direct and indirect passives—the distribution of Numeral Quantifier Floating and the behavior of *ni*-phrases.

5.3.1 Numeral Quantifier Floating

Numeral Quantifier Floating (NQF, hereafter) has been extensively studied and has played an important role in distinguishing between direct and indirect passives (Miyagawa 1989, Miyagawa and Arikawa 2007, Shibatani 1977, Kuno 1978, Haig 1980, Terada 1990, Fitzpatrick 2006, Watanabe 2006: among many others). In addition, NQF has typically been used as a diagnostic for movement (see Miyagawa 1989). Before examining the behavior of NFQ and laying out what its distribution might reveal about the derivation in the passive context, I present a basic description of NQF in Japanese.

Numeral Quantifiers (NQs) are numerals followed by a classifier that agrees in type with the associated NP (i.e. Num-CL).[4] They show a variety of surface patterns, as illustrated below (note that all the forms involve Case-markers):

(11)   a.   [3-CL-*no* car]-*o*

   Ken-ga   [san.dai-no kuruma]-o nusun-da.
   Ken-NOM 3.CL-NO   car-ACC   steal-PAST
   'Ken stole three cars.'   [Local$_{no}$]

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[4]For example, the classifier for people is *-nin*, for books *-hon*, for cars *-dai*, and so forth.

b.   [Car 3-CL]-*o*

      Ken-ga   *[kuruma san.dai]-o nusun-da.*
      Ken-NOM car   3.CL-ACC   steal-PAST
      'Ken stole three cars.'   [Local]

c.   <u>[Car]-*o* [3-CL]</u>

      Ken-ga   *kuruma-o san.dai nusun-da.*
      Ken-NOM car-ACC   3.CL   steal-PAST
      'Ken stole cars, three.'   NQF*short*

d.   <u>[Car]-*o* . . . [3-CL]</u>

      Kuruma-o Ken-ga   ~~*kuruma-o*~~ *san.dai nusun-da.*
      car-ACC   Ken-NOM   3.CL   steal-PAST
      Lit. 'Cars, Ken stole three.'   NQF*long*

The last two boxed patterns are pertinent to the discussion here. In these forms, the NQ either immediately follows the Case-marker (NQF-short) or is separated from the Case-marker by intervening material (NQF-long). Local configurations always yield a grammatical string, while NQF-short and NQF-long cases do not. Linguists in general seem to agree that NQF-long involves movement, but the status of NQF-short is unclear.[5]

As is well-known, Miyagawa (1989) has proposed that the NQ must be in a strict sisterhood relation with its associated NP (in traditional terms, a mutual c-command relation). However, NQF-short, which satisfies this requirement, is not always acceptable, as exemplified in (13-a) (see the mean ratings):

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[5]Traditionally, (11-c) has been analyzed as being derived from (11-a) by NQF (Shibatani 1977, Kuno 1978: among others). Here, it is not important whether (11-a) or (11-b) underlies (11-c). Furthermore, not all linguists agree with the movement derivation of NQF-short. For example, Watanabe (2006) and Fitzpatrick (2006) assume that (11-c) is a single constituent. However, I do not adopt Watanabe's approach because NQF-short is not always possible.

(12) **NQF from a Theme Accusative DP**

    a. *Naomi-wa tomodachi-ni [omiyage]$_i$-o huta-tu$_i$ watasi-ta.* NQF$_{short}$
       Naomi-TOP friend-DAT   souvenir-ACC 2-CL   hand-PAST
       'Naomi handed two souvenirs to her friend.'   [B: mean 4.89]

    b. *Naomi-wa tomodachi-ni [omiyage huta-tu]-o watasi-ta.* Local
       Naomi-TOP friend-DAT   souvenir 2-CL-ACC hand-PAST
       'Naomi handed two souvenirs to her friend.'   [B: mean 4.37]

(13) **NQF from a Goal Dative DP**

    a. *Naomi-wa [tomodachi]$_i$-ni huta-ri$_i$ omiyage-o*
       Naomi-TOP friend-DAT   2-CL   souvenir-ACC
       watasi-ta. NQF$_{short}$
       hand-PAST
       'Naomi handed the souvenir to two friends.'   [C: mean: 1.61][6]

    b. *Naomi-wa [tomodachi huta-ri]-ni omiyage-o   watasi-ta.* Local
       Naomi-TOP friend   2-CL-DAT souvenir-ACC hand-PAST
       'Naomi handed the souvenir to two friends.'   [C: mean: 4.98]

The low mean rating of (13-a) shows that many speakers reject NQF from a dative GOAL DP. There is simply no explanation in the literature that accounts for the contrast between (12-a) and (13-a). A common assumption is that NQF-short is possible only if the particle is a Case-marker, and not a postposition. In other words, a DP can host a NQ only if it is an argument, and not an adjunct/postpositional phrase, (e.g. Sadakane and Koizumi 1995). However, (13-a) involves NQF-short from a goal DP, which is in general taken to be an argument, and hence the data do not conform to the generalization.

The complication is that the grammaticality of sentences containing NQF often involves subtle judgments and gradations, and not all linguists agree with the data

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[6]Miyagawa (1988, 1996) argues that NQF from a dative phrase is possible only if the dative phrase precedes the accusative phrase. The results from the questionnaire do not confirm Miyagawa's judgments. Although the dative phrase precedes the accusative phrase in (13-a), the sentence is not well-formed to many participants.

critical to the leading proposals, which makes the analysis of NQF very difficult. For Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) sentences like (13-a), in which NQF-short is derived from a dative GOAL DP are well-formed. While it is unclear if the variability implies that there are different Japanese dialects among speakers, at least for many speakers (including myself) such examples are simply impossible, and the literature does not have an account for that fact.

It is impossible to evaluate the NQF data in the passive without understanding its distribution in the active sentences. While I am able to present a new generalization that captures the distribution of NQF in the active and the passive sentences within the assumptions defended in this thesis, I will be unable to go beyond the description to explain why the generalization hold: we have to leave a theoretical understanding of why NQF-short is possible from certain context and not others for future research. In the next section, I propose a new generalization regarding the distribution of NQF-short in the active and then discuss what is predicted to happen once the active sentences are fed into passivization.

5.3.1.1   New Generalization and Prediction

I will establish the following two points in this section:

(14)   a.   NQF-short is only possible from a nominative or accusative-marked (underlying) THEME. It is impossible from an (underlying) external, dative, source, or *no*-phrase DP.

        b.   The behavior of NQF-short in the active determines the behavior of NQF in the passive counterpart. If NQF-short is not possible, NQF in the passive counterpart is not possible either.

The first generalization simply comes from introspective data (see also Terada 1990, who has an idea similar to (14-a)). Note that this generalization has nothing to say about the possible type and number of phrases that can intervene between the NQ and its associated NP. I assume that once NQF-short is formed, the NQ and the associated NP can be further apart, and other independent principles, such as scrambling, determine the distribution of long NQF.

This generalization is consistent with most of the data reported in the literature and a well-known generalization regarding NQF. Namely, NQF is possible from the subject of unaccusatives and direct passives (i.e. accusative passives), but not from the subject of unergatives. The examples below are taken from Miyagawa and Arikawa (2007:646) and Miyagawa (1989):

(15)   a.   ***Kuruma**$_i$-ga doroboo-ni t$_i$ **ni-dai** nusum-are-ta.*
            car-NOM   thief-DAT   2-CL steal-PASS-PAST
            'Two cars were stolen by a thief.' | Acc. PSV |

    b.   ***Doa**$_i$-ga kono kagi-de **huta-tu**$_i$ ai-ta.*
            door-NOM this   key-INSTR 2-CL   open-PAST
            'Two doors opened with this key.' | Unaccusative |

    c.   ***Gakusei**$_i$-ga ofisu-ni **huta-ri**$_i$ kit-ta.*
            student$_i$-NOM office-DAT 2-CL$_i$ come-PAST
            'Two students came to the office.' | Unaccusative |

    d. *****Kodomo**$_i$-ga   geragerato **san-nin**$_i$ warat-ta.*
            children$_i$-NOM *mimetics*   3-CL$_i$ laugh-PAST
            'Two children laughed (loudly).'[7] | Unergative |

The judgments do not change when there is no intervening material between the NQ and its associated NP ((15-d) sounds a little better in NQF-short but still unacceptable

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[7]Note that the ungrammaticality of (15-d) is not contingent on the presence of the intervening low manner adverb *geragerato*. Substituting *geragerato* with a temporal adverb *kinoo* 'yesterday' or locative P *kyooshitu-de* 'in the classroom' does not make the sentence grammatical (contra Ko 2005).

to me).

NQF-long examples like those above have been taken as evidence for a movement derivation in the unaccusative and direct passive constructions; the strict sisterhood requirement is satisfied with the trace of the moved element (see Miyagawa and Arikawa 2007, Miyagawa 1989).[8] The proposed generalization straightforwardly accounts for the contrast observed in (15): in (15-a), (15-b), and (15-c), NQF takes place from the

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[8]Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) argue that Miyagawa's NQF argument does not exclude the possibility of the gap being a base-generated empty pronominal (*pro* or PRO) (examples are from Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992:(16)(17)):

(i)   At the library:
Kongetu-no   sinkansyo   desu-ka? Kinoo   Yamada-sensei-ga   pro nisatu
this.month-NOM newly.published.books COP-Q   yesterday Yamada-teacher-NOM   two-CL
karidasimasi-ta yo.
check.out-PAST SP
'You mean this month's newly published books? Prof. Yamada came and checked out two of them yesterday.'   Discourse-*pro*

(ii)   *Syuuzin-ga   yuube   mata [kono ryuutizyo kara PRO sannin   nigeyoo-to]*
prisoner-NOM last.night again this   prison   from   three-people escape-VOL-C
kuwadate/kokoromi-ta.
attempt-PAST

'Three prisoners again attempted to escape from this prison last night.'   Control-PRO

Kitagawa and Kuroda (1993) argue that, in the discourse example (i) and the control construction (ii), the licensers of the NQs are the base-generated *pro* and PRO respectively. Nevertheless, in the topic construction (i), there is no guarantee that *pro* is a base-generated DP internal to the NQ phrase. The DP 'newly published books' may be a *pro* that has been A'-moved and dropped at the left-periphery, as illustrated below:

(iii)   *pro$_i$ Kinoo   Yamada-sensei-ga   t$_i$ ni-satu karidasimasi-ta yo.*
        yesterday Yamada-teacher-NOM   two-cl. check.out-PAST SP
'Prof. Yamada came and checked out two of them yesterday.'

In (iii), the gap is a trace; thus (i) does not necessarily show that *pro* can license NQF.

Turning to the example with PRO, the structure in (ii) does not match the interpretation available for the sentence. The proposed structure in this account should give rise to the following interpretation: the prisoners$_i$ attempted that three of them$_i$ escaped last night. This interpretation should allow the number of prisoners who did the attempting to vary from the number of prisoners who tried escaping. However, that is not possible: the number of the prisoners who did the attempting must match the number of prisoners who tried escaping. (ii) can only mean that 'Three prisoners again tried to escape from this prison last night.' Therefore, NQF must take place from the matrix nominative DP *syuuzin-ga* 'prisoner-NOM' and everything else must have scrambled out, yielding the surface string given in (ii). Consequently, this sentence does not show that PRO licenses NQF: if the NQ modifies the matrix subject, as I argue, the NQ in (ii) is licensed by the trace.

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underlying THEME arguments, while in (15-d), NQF must take place from the external argument.

The situation with transitive predicates is a bit more complex. The literature agrees on the judgments in examples like (16-a) and (16-b) but differs from my judgments in examples like (16-c).

(16) a. *[Gakusei san-nin]-ga sake-o   non-da.*
          student   3-CL-NOM   sake-ACC drink-PAST
          'Three students drank sake.' | Local |

      b. **Gakusei$_i$-ga sake-o   san-nin$_i$ non-da.* | NQF$_{long}$ |
          student-NOM sake-ACC 3-CL   drink-PAST
          'Three students drank sake.'

      c. *?*Gakusei-ga   san-nin sake-o   non-da.*
          student-NOM 3-CL   sake-ACC drink-PAST
          'Three students drank sake.' (*ok* in the literature) | NQF$_{short}$ |

Unfortunately, (16-c) was not included in the questionnaire, and we do not know whether my judgment is the general pattern among native speakers. However, NQF from the external argument is never well-formed to me, and the contrast between (16-c) and (16-a) is sharp.

Turning to the second point in (14), the distribution of NQF in the passive directly falls out from the proposed movement analysis. I assume the following structures for local and for NQF-short:

(17) **Structure**

      a. [DP Num.cl] K [DP Num.cl] | Before floating |

      b. DP K [DP Num.cl]) | NQF |

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As illustrated by the contrast between (12-a) and (13-a), it is not the case that NQF-short is always possible. We can understand this contrast as a manifestation of the extractability from a [DP Num.cl] constituent. Namely, if the DP can move out of a constituent [DP Num.cl], stranding NQ, then NQF-short is possible. In contrast, if the DP cannot move out of a constituent, neither NQF-short nor NQF-long is possible. Crucially, I assume that (11-d) is derived from (11-c), and therefore that the well-formedness of NQF-short is a prerequisite for NQF-long to be well-formed (but not vice versa). (Usually, the judgments become sharper if there is overt intervening material between the NQ and its associated NP.)

This idea can be straightforwardly extended to passivization. Given the movement analysis this thesis pursues, it is predicted that only the structure that allows NQF-short in the active should allow NQF in the passive (i.e. the possibility of NQF-short in the active is a prerequisite for NQF-short/long in the passive counterpart). This is so because in order to independently move to the nominative position, the DP must be a constituent independent of the NQ in the active source.

In order to test the prediction, I will systematically compare my classification of passives with their active counterparts and show that the distribution of NQF in the passive is identical to that of NQF-short in the active. I will then conclude that NQF in the passive is possible if and only if the NQ can follow the Case-marker in the active, regardless of whether the derivation involves movement or not.

(18)   Accusative Passive

    a.   ***Kuruma$_i$-ga doroboo-ni t ni-dai$_i$ nusum-are-ta.***
        car-NOM   thief-DAT   2-CL   steal-PASS-PAST
        'Two cars were stolen by a thief.'   Passive

    b.   *Doroboo-ga **kuruma$_i$**-o **ni-dai$_i$** nusun-da.*
        thief-NOM   car-ACC   2-CL   steal-PAST
        'The thief stole two cars.'   Active

(19)   Genitive-Accusative Passive (NQF from the Nominative DP)

a.   *__Kodomo__-ga   John-ni   t __huta-ri__ zitensya-o nusum-are-ta.
       children-NOM John-DAT   2-CL   bike-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
       Lit: 'Two children were stolen (their) bikes by John.' $\boxed{\text{Passive}}$

b.   *__John__-ga   __kodomo__$_i$-no __huta-ri__$_i$ zitensya-o nusun-da.
       John-NOM child-NO   2-CL   bike-ACC steal-PAST
       'John stole two children's bikes.' $\boxed{\text{Active}}$

(20)   Genitive-Accusative Passive (NQF from the Accusative DP)

a.   __Ken-ga__   __yakuza-ni__   __yubi-o__   __san-bon__ or-are-ta.
       Ken-NOM Japanese.mafia-DAT finger-ACC 3-CL   break-PASS-PAST
       'Ken was broken (his) three fingers by a Japanese.mafia.' $\boxed{\text{NQF}_{short}}$

b.   __Yakuza-ga Ken-no yubi-o__   __san-bon__ ot-ta.
       Mafia-NOM Ken-NO finger-ACC 3-CL   break-PAST
       'A Japanese.mafia broke Ken's three fingers.' $\boxed{\text{Active}}$

(21)   Genitive-Dative Passive

a.   *__Seito__$_i$-ga   inu-ni   __san-nin__$_i$ sin-are-ta.
       student-NOM dog-DAT 3-CL   die-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Three students were died by their dogs.'

b.   *__Seito__-no   __san-nin__-no inu-ga   sin-da.
       student-NO 3-CL-NO   dog-NOM die-PAST
       Lit. 'Three students' dog died.'

(22)   Source Passive

a.   *__Keimusyo__$_i$-ga syuujin-ni   t __huta-tu__$_i$ nige-rare-ta.
       prison-NOM   prisoner-DAT 2-CL   escape-PASS-PAST
       'Two prisons were escaped from by (their) prisoners.' $\boxed{\text{Passive}}$

b.   *__Syuujin-ga__   __keimusyo__-kara __huta-tu__ nige-ta.
       prisoner-NOM prison-from   2-CL   escape-PAST
       'The prisoner escaped from two prisons.' $\boxed{\text{Active}}$

(23) Dative Goal

a. *Tomodachi-ga *Naomi-ni* *t* **huta-ri** *omiyage-o* *watas-are-ta.*
friend-NOM Naomi-DAT 2-CL souvenir-ACC hand-PASS-PAST
'Two friends were given the souvenir by Naomi.'

b. *Naomi-wa **tomodachi**$_i$-*ni* **huta-ri**$_i$ *omiyage-o* *watasi-ta.*
Naomi-TOP friend-DAT 2-CL souvenir-ACC hand-PAST
'Naomi handed the souvenir to two friends.'   [C: mean: 1.61]

(24) Dative Theme

a. *Kodomo-ga *kuruma-ni* *t* **huta-ri** *butuka-rare-ta.*
children-NOM car-DAT 2-CL bump-PASS-PAST   NQF$_{long}$
'Two children were bumped by a car.'

b. *Kodomo-ga **huta-ri** *kuruma-ni* *t butuka-rare-ta.*
children-NOM 2-CL car-DAT bump-PASS-PAST   NQF$_{short}$
'Two children were bumped by a car.'   [B: mean 1.52]

c. *Kuruma-ga **kodomo**-*ni* **huta-ri** *butukat-ta.*   [C: mean 1.61]
car-NOM children-DAT 2-CL bump-PAST
'The car bumped two children.'   Active

(25) Daitve Cause[9]

a. *Seito$_i$-*ga* *Matuda-sensei-ni* *t* **huta-ri**$_i$ *nak-are-ta.*
student-NOM Matuda-teacher–DAT 2-CL cry-PASS-PAST
'Two students were cried over by Mr. Matuda.'

b. *Matuda-sensei-ga *seito-no* **uso**$_i$-*ni* **huta-tu**$_i$ *nai-ta.*
Matuda-teacher-NOM student-NO lie-DAT 2-CL cry-PAST
'Mr. Matuda cried over the students' two lies.'

(26) Dative on-Directional

a. *Kodomo$_i$-*ga* *ame-ni* *t*$_i$ **huta-ri** *hur-are-ta.*   [C: mean:1.31]
children-NOM rain-DAT 2-CL descend-PASS-PAST
'Two children were descended on by the rain.'   NQF$_{long}$

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[9]The passive and active counterparts do not match due to the animacy restriction discussed in section 3.5.2.4.

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b. *_Ame-ga_ **_kodomo_ᵢ_-ni_** **_huta-ri_** _hur-ta._
  rain-NOM children-DAT 2-CL descend-PAST
  'Rain descended upon two children.'   Active

(27)   Dative at-Directional

a. *_**Onnanoko**-ga John-ni_   _t_ **_huta-ri_** _hohoem-are-ta._
  girl-NOM   John-DAT two-CL smile-PASS-PAST
  'Two girls were smiled at by John.'

b. *_John-ga_   **_onnanoko_**-_ni_ **_huta-ri_** _hohoen-da._
  John-NOM girl-DAT   two-CL smile-PAST
  'John smiled at two girls.'

The data presented above conform to the generalization presented in (14-a). NQF-short is possible from the nominative DP in the accusative passive and the accusative DP in the genitive-accusative passive, since they are (underlyingly) themes. There are gradations in terms of the acceptability of NQF-short. NQF from _kara_, cause dative, on-directional dative, is much more degraded than NQF from a dative goal, which is in a way consistent with the claim in Sadakane and Koizumi (1995). Although the gradations are an intriguing phenomenon, which is in need of an explanation, I am unable to address this issue or the variability further in this thesis. Returning to NQF in the passive context, we will see below that the proposed generalization given in (14) indeed captures the distribution of NQF.

5.3.1.2 Arguments Against the Unification

Finally, we are ready to evaluate the arguments provided in support of distinguishing between direct and indirect passives. The direct passive is known to exhibit a different distribution from the indirect passive in terms of NQF in two respects. First, the direct passive (or the accusative passive) allows for NQF-long, whereas the indirect passive does not.

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(28) **Direct/Accusative Passives**

    a. *Yuube,* ***kuruma$_i$-ga** doroboo-ni t$_i$ **ni-dai** nusum-are-ta.*
        last.night car-NOM   thief-DAT   2-CL steal-PASS-PAST
        'Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.' $\boxed{\text{NQF}_{long}}$

    b. *Kinoo,* ***gakusei$_i$-ga** ano otoko-ni t$_i$ **huta-ri** koros-are-ta.*
        Yesterday students-NOM that man-DAT   2-CL   kill-PASS-PAST
        'Yesterday, two students were killed by that man.' $\boxed{\text{NQF}_{long}}$

(29) **Indirect/on-Directional Daive Passives**

    a. ****Kodomo$_i$-ga** ame-ni   t$_i$ **huta-ri** hur-are-ta.*   [C: mean:1.31]
        children-NOM rain-DAT   2-CL   descend-PASS-PAST
        'Two children were descended on by the rain.' $\boxed{\text{NQF}_{long}}$

    b. ***[Kodomo hutari]**-ga ame-ni   t$_i$ hur-are-ta.*   [C: mean 3.67]
        children 2-CL-NOM rain-DAT   descend-PASS-PAST
        'Two children were descended upon by the rain.' $\boxed{\text{Local}}$

Drawing on the above data, Miyagawa (1989) claims that the derivation of direct (or accusative) passives involves movement (i.e. the trace in the object position that is co-referential with the derived subject satisfies the strict sisterhood requirement of NQ), whereas that of indirect passives does not. Nevertheless, the incompatibility of on-Directional dative passives with NQF-long is exactly what we expect, since the active counterpart of does not allow NQF-short, as illustrated below:

(30) **Ame-ga* ***kodomo$_i$-ni** **huta-ri** hur-ta.*
      rain-NOM children-DAT 2-CL   descend-PAST
      'Rain descended upon two children.' $\boxed{\text{Active}}$

Consequently, unavailability of NQF in indirect passives does not show that the indirect passive (i.e. the on-Directional dative passive) does not involve movement, and

hence it does not offer a way to distinguish the two types of passives.[10]

The second property that has been argued to motivate a distinction between direct and indirect passives is that only the dative *by*-phrase of indirect passives allows for NQF-short (Miyagawa 1989: 21, 38). This property is illustrated below:

(31) a. *Taroo-ga* **sensei-ni** **huta-ri** *sikar-are-ta.*
          Taro-NOM teacher-DAT 2-CL scold-PASS-PAST
          'Taro was scolded by two teachers.'   Acc.-PSV

      b. *Hahaoya-ga* **kodomo-ni** **huta-ri** *sin-are-ta.*
          mother-NOM children-DAT 2-CL die-PASS-PAST
          'The mother had two children die on her.'   Poss-Dat PSV

The possessive passive (i.e. the genitive-accusative passive) behaves the same way as the accusative passive in this respect:

(32) **Genitive-Accusative Passives (Possessive Passives)**

      a. *Naomi-ga*   **[kodomo huta-ri]***-ni inu-o*
          Naomi-NOM child   2.CL-DAT dog-ACC
          izime-rare-ta.   [A: mean 3.93]
          bully-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Naomi was bullied (her) dog by two children.'   Local

      b. *Naomi-ga*   *kodomo-ni huta-ri inu-o*
          Naomi-NOM child-DAT 2.CL   dog-ACC
          izime-rare-ta.   [A: mean 1.24]
          bully-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Naomi was bullied (her) dog by two children.'   NQF*short*

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[10]Some researchers treat the passive derived from *butukar-u* 'to bump' as a 'direct' passive involving promotion of the dative object, e.g. Iwasaki (2002). As illustrated in (24-a) and (24-b), however, the nominative DP in the dative theme passive does not allow NQF in the active or in the passive. This fact further supports my argument that the distribution of NQF in the passive alone is not a reliable diagnostic for a movement derivation.

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As mentioned earlier, the contrast between (31-a) and (31-b) has been argued to show that the dative (by-)phrase in the direct passive is an adjunct, but the one in the indirect passive is an argument (cf. Miyagawa 1989:169). However, this is not an explanation, since the dative *by*-phrases in both (31-a) and (31-b) are arguments (see the distribution of *ni*-phrases discussed in chapter 4). Furthermore, as illustrated by (13-a), it is not the case that an argument dative DP allows NQF.

The distribution straightforwardly falls out from the proposed generalization: the dative *by*-phrase of direct passives is underlyingly an external argument, whereas that of indirect passives (genitive-dative passives) is originally merged as the THEME argument of the unaccusative verb *sin-u* 'to die.' Thus, only (31-b) allows NQF-short in the active counterpart, and hence only (31-b) is predicted to be compatible with NQF-long in the passive. The contrast between (31-a) and (31-b) does not show that the two dative *by*-phrases differ in nature (they simply differ in their external merged positions). Therefore, I conclude that there is no need to distinguish the two types of passives on the basis of the distributional differences in terms of NQF.[11]

5.3.2 *ni*-Phrases in Direct and Indirect Passives

As discussed in the previous section, one of the motivations to differentiate direct and indirect passives is the distributional differences in terms of the *ni*-phrase in the two types of passives. The differences are in general attributed to the different status of the two *ni*-phrases: the *ni*-phrase in the direct passive is said to be a postpositional DP, whereas the one in the indirect passive is a Case-marked real argument. However, distinguishing between *ni*-phrases that are adjuncts and those that are not is not an available analytical option in my analysis, and probably in any other modern analysis

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[11] The pattern of NQF shows some commonality with the condition on possessor-raising in passive contexts (see 5.3.1). This is not very surprising because both NQF and possessor raising involve displacement of the element originated inside the DP. The reason for this awaits future research.

that does not make a distinction between adjunct *by*-phrases and arguments.

Furthermore, we have already seen in chapter 4 that *ni*-phrases of direct passives behave the same as most *ni*-phrases in indirect passives with respect to relativization, which weakens the conclusion that one *ni* is a postposition while the other is a case marker.[12]   In this section I will reexamine two phenomena that have been taken to show that the two *ni*-phrases are different−(i) compatibility with short passives and *ni-yotte*-phrases and (ii) the ability to bind *zibun* 'self.'

5.3.2.1   Compatibility with Short Passives and *ni-yotte* Passives

The compatibility of direct passives with short passives and *ni-yot-te* phrases has been one of the principal arguments in favor of distinguishing indirect passives from direct passives (see Kubo 1992). Kubo (as well as Pylkkänen 2002) uses this property as a diagnostic to determine whether a given passive is direct or indirect. I have shown in chapter 4 that not all direct (or accusative) passives, especially the ones derived from 'manner of activity' predicates, are compatible with a dropped *ni*-phrase, and hence this property is not coextensive with direct passives. Nevertheless, many cases indeed seem to conform to Kubo's generalization:

(33)   Direct Passives (Accusative & Possessor-Accusative Passives)

a.   *Ken-ga   (dareka-ni-yotte)   koros-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM someone-NI-YOTTE kill-PASS-PAST
'Ken was killed (by someone).'   Acc. PSV

b.   *Ararasi biru-ga   (dareka-ni-yotte)   tate-rare-ta.*
new   building-NOM someone-NI-YOTTE build-PASS-PAST
'The new building was built (by someone).'

c.   *Bentoo-ga   (dareka-ni-yotte)   tabe-rare-ta.*
boxed.lunch-NOM someone-NI-YOTTE eat-PASS-PAST
(My) lunch was eaten (by someone).'

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[12]An exception is the source passive derived from the verb *nige-ru* 'to escape' (see section 4.1).

d. *Koozyoo-ga (dareka-ni-yotte) hakais-are-ta.*
factory-NOM someone-NI-YOTTE destroy-PASS-PAST
'The factory was broken (by someone).'

e. *Kuruma-ga (dareka-ni-yotte) nusum-are-ta.*
car-NOM someone-NI-YOTTE steal-PASS-PAST
'The car was stolen (by someone).'

f. *Ken-ga (dareka-ni-yottte) konpyuuta-o kowas-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM someone-NI-YOTTE computer-ACC break-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was broken (his) computer (by someone).' | Poss-Acc. PSV |

(34) Indirect Passives (Dative on-directional & Possessor-Dative Passive)

a. *Ken-ga *(~~Ken no~~ kodomo-ni) sin-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM child-DAT die-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was died by (his) child.' | Poss-Dat. PSV |

b. **Ken-ga ~~Ken no~~ kodomo-ni-yotte sin-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM child-NI-YOTTE die-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was died by means of (his) child.'

c. *Ken-ga *(ame-ni) hur-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
'Ken was descended on by rain.' | Dative on-directional PSV |

d. **Ken-ga ame-ni-yotte hur-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM rain-NI-YOTTE descend-PASS-PAST
'Ken was descended on by means of rain.'

Attributing the differences in grammaticality to the adjunct or argument status of the
ni-phrase is not an available analytical option within the theoretical assumptions un-
derlying this thesis. The question is how the current analysis captures these facts.

All the short passives given in (33) contain a predicate that denotes achievement
yielding a result state; hence they contain little v_{CAUSE}. Therefore, they are predicated
to be compatible with short and *ni-yotte*-passives under the analysis proposed in chap-
ter 4. In contrast, the passives presented in (34) are incompatible with short passives
and the *ni-yotte*-phrase for independent reasons. The *ni*-phrase in (34-a)—the genitive-

dative passive−contains a deleted copy of the possessor, which I linked to a parasitic gap (see chapter 3, section 3.6), and neither PRO nor pronouns can substitute for the DP that contains a gap (cf Who did you read {a book about/*it}?). In (34-c), 'rain' seems to be selected as part of the idiomatic expression, and as such it is understandable that it is unable to be pronominalized (i.e. it can be neither PRO nor pro).

If we look at indirect passives that involve neither possessor-raising nor an idiomatic expression, they are quite compatible with the *ni-yotte* phrase and the omission of the *ni*-phrase.

(35)   *Ken-ga   (Naomi-ni-yot-te)   nige-rare-ta.*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-NI-YOT-TE escape-PASS-PAST
         Lit. 'Ken was escaped from (by means of Naomi).'[13]

Consequently, I conclude that compatibility with *ni-yotte* phrases and the omission of *ni*-phrases do not suffice to distinguish the two types of passives.

5.3.2.2   Ability to Bind *zibun*

One classic argument in favor of distinguishing between direct and indirect passives comes from the behavior of the *ni*-phrase with respect to *zibun*-binding (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972, among others). The anaphor *zibun* can be bound either by the local subject *Jiroo* or by the subject of the matrix clause, but not by the dative goal *Hanako* in (36):

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[13]As discussed in chapter 4, it is difficult to decide whether the omission of the *ni*-phrase involves topic drop or PRO. However, *nige-ru* 'to escape' denotes achievement that yields to a result state, and it can combine with a manner expression, which I take as one diagnostic to identify a predicate that encodes a result state.

(i)   *Naomi-ga   hasit-te Ken-kara   nige-ta.*
         Naomi-NOM run-GER Ken-FROM escape-PAST
         'Naomi escaped from Ken by running.'

(36) *Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-ni [Jiroo$_k$-ga zibun$_{i/*j/k}$-o seme-ta]-to   it-ta.*
      Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT Jiro-NOM self-ACC   blame-PAST-C say-PAST
      'Taro$_i$ said to Hanako$_j$ that Jiro$_k$ blamed self$_{i/*j/k}$.' [A: mean 4.01]

Traditionally, *zibun* is considered a long distance subject-oriented anaphor. Binding by *zibun* therefore has been used as a diagnostic for subjecthood or argumenthood. Note however that the behavior of *zibun* in (36) is that of a logophor, i.e. *zibun* is bound by the logophoric center, hence not by *Hanako* (Kuno 1986, 1987, Sells 1987). Since *zibun* is both a logophor and a regular anaphor, the standard conclusion that binding diagnoses subjecthood should not be taken for granted.

In causative constructions, *zibun* is ambiguous and can be bound by either a nominative or dative argument.

(37) *[$_{S1}$ Taroo$_i$-wa [$_{S2}$ Jiroo$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no huku-o   ki]-sase-ta].*
         Taro-TOP   Jiro-DAT self-NO   clothes-ACC wear-CAUS-PAST
      'Taro$_i$ made Jiro$_j$ put on self's$_{i/j}$ clothes.'

This property has been taken as evidence that the *ni*-phrase (i.e. *Jiroo-ni*) is indeed the subject of the complement clause (see Shibatani 1976:248).

Turning to the passive, the standard claim is that the ambiguity observed in causative constructions holds for indirect (gapless) passives but not for direct and possessive passives. The standard examples that illustrate this point are as follows:

(38) a. **Direct Passive (Kuno 1973)**
          John$_i$-wa Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de   koros-are-ta.
          John-TOP Mary-DAT self-NO   room-LOC kill-PASS-PAST
          'John$_i$ was killed by Mary$_j$ in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

      b. **Possessive Passive (Kuroda 1979)**
          Naomi$_i$-wa Ken$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de   atama-o nagu-rare-ta.
          Naomi-TOP Ken-DAT self-NO   room-LOC head-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
          'Naomi$_i$ was hit the head by Ken in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'   [A: mean 3.81]
          (68 out of 72 participants reported (a multiple choice task) that the reflexive *zibun* in (38-b) is unambiguous, and can only refer to Naomi)

c. **Indirect Passive (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972)**
   John$_i$-wa Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no koto-o   ziman.s-are-ta.
   John-TOP Mary-DAT self-NO   matter-ACC brag.do-PASS-PAST
   'John suffered from Mary's bragging about self's$_{i/j}$ matter.' (Kuno's translation) [A:mean 3.19]

In the direct and possessive passives above, *zibun* can be bound only by the nominative DP but not by the dative *by*-phrase. However, in (38-c), *zibun* is ambiguous and it can be bound by the nominative DP or the dative *by*-phrase. This leads to the standard assumption that the dative *by*-phrase in direct passives is an adjunct PP while that in indirect passives is an external argument of the little *v* (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972). As this option is unavailable given the line of argumentation taken in this thesis, the question arises: How can the different behavior of *ni*-phrases be made to fall out from my unified analysis? While I do not have a full account to offer at this point, my analysis does help clarify some of the issues about *zibun*-binding.

When we inspect the data on which the standard claim is based, we find that the situation is fairly complex and that the facts themselves call for reexamination. I will start by probing the well-known indirect passive (38-c), which Kuno (1973) and McCawley (1972) have used to illustrate ambiguity with respect to self-binding ((38-c) is adopted from Kuno 1973:304). (38-c) contains a 'verb of speaking' (i.e. a pseudo-ditransitive verb) that takes a THEME and an ADDRESSEE. The ambiguity with respect to the interpretation of *zibun* 'self' in (44) in fact reflects a structural ambiguity, which my derivation can capture directly: one involves promotion of the dative ADDRESSEE, and the other involves possessor-raising from the accusative DP.

The first structure is compatible with the reading in which John suffered because he was the ADDRESSEE of Mary's bragging about herself, and it is simply a promotion of the ADDRESSEE in my analysis (i.e. the dative addressee passive). The proposed

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structure coupled with its active counterpart is given below:[14]

(39)   a.   *Mary$_i$-ga   John$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no koto-o   ziman.si-ta.*
           Mary-NOM John-DAT self-NO   matter-ACC brag.do-PAST
           'Mary$_i$ bragged about self's$_{i/*j}$ matter to John$_j$'   [A:mean 4.55]
           (67 out of 72 (93.1%) chose Mary as a possible referent of *zibun* 'self')

       b.   *John$_i$-wa Mary$_j$-ni   t$_i$ zibun$_{*i/j}$-no koto-o   ziman.s-are-ta.*
           John-TOP Mary-DAT   self-NO   matter-ACC brag.do-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'John was bragged to by Mary about self's (=*John's/Mary's) mat-
           ter.'   [A:mean 3.19]

Zibun refers only to Mary in (39-a), as well as in its passive counterpart. The reason *zibun* does not refer to the nominative DP 'John' here is for independent reasons. The verb *zimansu-ru* 'brag' is not appropriate in a situation in which Mary spoke highly of John to John: it is then 'praising' rather than 'bragging'. The further complication is that *zimansu-ru* 'to brag' is a verb of speaking and imposes a logophoric center. In fact, as will become evident later, the reason *zibun* refers to the dative *by*-phrase 'Mary' here is because she is the logophoric center of bragging.[15]

     In the second reading, John suffered because Mary bragged about 'John' to some-body else. In the structure compatible with the second reading, John is not an addressee but a *no*-phrase POSSESSOR of the 'theme' of Mary's bragging. The ADDRESSEE is realized as a silent *pro* in this structure:

(40)   a.   *Mary-wa   pro [John$_i$-no [($^{??}$zibun$_i$-no) koto]]-o   ziman.si-ta.*
           Mary-TOP   John-NO   self-no   matter-ACC brag.do-PAST
           'Mary bragged of John$_i$ himself$_i$'s matter (to someone)' [Active]

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[14]Recall that promotion of the goal or addressee is always compatible with a dative *by*-phrase. Only when the theme raises over the goal, the *by*-phrase is unavailable which is analyzed in the thesis as a consequence of the double *ni*-constraint (i.e. the competition for a single *ni* between the goal/addressee and the *by*-phrase; see section 3.3.2).

[15]The reason (39-b) carries affected connotations is because of the connotations of the verb 'to brag.' (see section 6.4.3.1 for further discussion about affectedness).

b. *John$_i$-wa Mary$_j$-ni   pro [~~John-no~~ [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no koto]]-o*
   John-TOP Mary-DAT   self-NO   matter-ACC
   ziman.s-are-ta
   brag.do-PASS-PAST   [Passive]
   Lit. 'John got bragged of himself's (John's/*Mary's) matters by Mary.'

I propose that in this structure, *zibun* is used emphatically. Although it sounds redundant in the active counterpart, I consider the underlying DP [John-no zibun-no koto] to be grammatical. In this derivation, *zibun* must refer to John because John can only be construed as the outer *no*-phrase of the accusative, which we know can bind *zibun* (see f.n. 37). The affected connotation in this reading arises because it is John whom Mary bragged about. What is important here is that neither of the two structures is an indirect/gapless passive. They are a dative addressee (goal) passive and a genitive-accusative passive; hence the example (38-c) does not show that indirect passives are ambiguous in terms of *zibun*-binding.

Now the question is whether all the dative *by*-phrase in Japanese passives behave the same way with respect to *zibun*-binding, as my analysis predicts. Unfortunately this turns out not to be the case. In most of the passives, however, *zibun* is indeed unambiguous: it can be bound by the nominative DP and not by the dative *by*-phrase. We have seen above instances of the accusative passive (38-a) and the possessive-accusative passive ((38-b)). The same pattern holds for the dative goal passive, the causative passive, the source passive (derived from both transitive and intransitive predicates), and the at-Directional dative passive. The paradigm from the dative goal passive is given below:

(41)   **Dative Goal Passive**

a. *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no sensei-o   syookai.si-ta*
   Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   teacher-ACC introduce.do-PAST
   'Ken introduced self's(=Ken's) teacher to Naomi.' ⎡Active⎤

b. *Naomi_i-ga   Ken_j-ni zibun_{i/*j}-no sensei-o*
Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT zibun-NO   teacher-ACC
syookai.s-are-ta.
introduce.do-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Naomi was introduced self's (=Naomi's) teacher to by Ken.'

c. *Naomi_i-ga   Ken_j-ni zibun_{i/*j}-no heya-de   sensei-o*
Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT zibun-NO   room-LOC teacher-ACC
syookai.s-are-ta.
introduce.do-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Naomi_i was introduced a teacher to by Ken in self's_i room.'

The anaphor *zibun* is contained in the accusative DP in (41-b) and in the locative DP in (41-c), and in both cases it can be bound only by the nominative DP *Naomi*. The pattern here might seem inconsistent with the data given in (38-c). However, the reason *zibun* contained in the accusative DP in (38-c) can refer to the dative DP is because it is bound by a logophoric center. This point can be elucidated with the following example:

(42)   a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni **zibun-no** hanasi-o   s-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   story-ACC do-PASS-PAST
'Ken was told self's(=Ken, Naomi) story by Naomi.' | Ambiguous |

b. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni **zibun-no heya-de** hanasi-o   s-are-ta.*
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO room-LOC story-ACC do-PASS-PAST
'Ken was told the story by Naomi in self's(=Ken) room.' | Unambiguous |

Both (41-b) and (42-a) involve promotion of the dative GOAL/ADDRESSEE, and only in the latter sentence can *zibun* refer to the dative *by*-phrase. This must be because *zibun* in (42-a) is bound by the 'teller' of the 'story,' i.e. by Naomi. (41-b) contains a different predicate that does not introduce an extra logophoric center, and therefore *zibun* can be bound only by the surface subject, the nominative DP.

Likewise, *zibun* is unambiguous in the causative passive, the source passive, and the at-Directional passive:

(43)   **Causative Passive**

Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de   benkyoo-o
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   room-LOC study-ACC

s.ase-rare-ta.
do.CAUS-PASS-PAST
'Ken was made to study in self's(=Ken's) room by Naomi.'

(44)   **Source Passives**

    a.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi-ni   zibun$_i$-no biru-de   kuruma-o*
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   building-LOC car-ACC

        nusum-are-ta.
        steal-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was stolen (his) car by Naomi in self's (=Ken) building.'

    b.   *Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no daigaku-de   nige-rare-ta.*
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   college-LOC escape-PASS-PAST
        'Ken was escaped from by Naomi at self's(=Ken) college.'

(45)   **Dative at-Directional Passives**

Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no kyooshitu-de   hohoem-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   classroom-LOC smile-PASS-PAST
'Ken was smiled at by Naomi in self's(=Ken) room.'

These examples show that it is not the case that the dative *by*-phrase in indirect passives such as those in (44-b) and (45) can always bind *zibun*. However, there are indeed cases in which *zibun* is ambiguous and it can be bound by either the nominative DP or the dative *by*-phrase, as exemplified below:

(46)   a.   **Dative Cause Passives**

        Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de   nak-are-ta.
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-NO   room-LOC cry-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi in self's(=Ken, Naomi) room.'

b. **Genitive-Dative Passies**

Ken$_i$-ga   musuko$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de   sin-are-ta.
Ken-NOM son-DAT   self-NO   room-LOC die-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was died by his son in self's(=Ken, his son) room.'

The standard claim that the dative *by*-phrase in indirect passives can bind *zibun* is based on a partial view of the empirical paradigm and turns out to be an incorrect generalization. The data examined above at least show that *zibun*-binding is not a reliable diagnostic to determine the status of the dative *by*-phrase in direct versus indirect passives. Nor could it be a reason to distinguish the two types of passives. The question of how to achieve this result in a principled way will have to await future research. At the very least, however, the basic contention of this thesis stands unaffected.

5.4   Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has briefly reviewed the traditional classification of Japanese passives (section 5.1) and shown how each traditional passive type corresponds to the new passive types proposed in this thesis (section 5.2). Except for a few extra-thematic passives, which are ungrammatical to me, all the indirect passive examples discussed in the literature are now reanalyzed as accusative, dative, source, and genitive passives. Then I reexamined some arguments presented in the literature in favor of distinguishing indirect passives from direct passives. I have shown that the standard claims are in general based on an incomplete empirical paradigm, and that with more data, the generalization is either empirically inadequate (Numeral Quantifier Floating) or not coextensive with one of the two passive types (compatibility with short/*ni-yotte*-passives and the behavior of passives with respect to self-binding).

CHAPTER 6

Further Support for Movement

The discussion in this thesis has focused on the desirability and feasibility of a unified movement analysis for Japanese passives. This chapter examines further arguments in favor of a movement analysis and discusses the possible failure of some diagnostics. Three properties of Japanese passives in favor of the movement analysis have already been discussed in the preceding chapters. The first property is the minimality effects in terms of the THEME promoting over a higher internal argument−the SOURCE or GOAL (see section 3.3.2). The second property is the minimality effects in terms of raising an embedded *no*-phrase. I have shown that only the highest *no*-phrase of a THEME argument can undergo possessor-raising (see section 3.6). The third property is the availability of NQF from accusative passives and genitive-dative passives (which in fact fall under promotion from an (underlying) THEME in my analysis; cf. section 3.6) (section 5.3.1).

This chapter proceeds as follows. Section 1 shows that the gap contained in the big VP domain behaves like a trace. Section 2 deals with various types of reconstruction effects. Lack of reconstruction in *ni*-passives has been presented as one of the strongest arguments in favor of a control analysis of Japanese passives. If this generalization is correct, it threatens the unified movement analysis. Conversely, if we do find reconstruction effects (in both direct and indirect passives), this means that the proposed analysis is not only feasible but must be correct. Section 3 argues that the movement involved in the passive is A- and not A'-movement. Lastly, section 4 establishes that

the passive morpheme *-rare* never discharges a θ-role. The adversative connotations carried with many passives are cancelable, thus they are implicatures.

6.1 The Gap in the Passive is a Trace

The gap contained in the accusative passive has been analyzed as: (i) a trace (or a copy) of the derived subject, (ii) *pro*, whose antecedent is determined contextually, or (iii) an object PRO controlled by the subject. This last possibility is not an available analytical option, because the object position is not a position where PRO can occur (see Huang 1999, Shibatani 1990:322, among others). This leaves us with the first two options. In what follows, I will show that the gap exhibits a different distribution from *pro*, and conclude that it must be a copy of the moved element, a conclusion which of course is expected under my analysis.

6.1.1 Is the Gap a *pro*?

The *pro* option can be readily ruled out, as the distribution of *pro* differs from that of the gap in the accusative passive. Let us first compare the distribution of a null object in the passive with that of *pro* in the causative. If the passive construction were to have the same syntactic representation as that of the causative construction, minimally differing in their meanings (i.e., 'to cause' vs. 'to be affected'), as proposed by Oshima (2006), then the gaps in the two constructions should behave the same. However, this is not the case, as illustrated below:

(1)   a.   **Causative**

        Ken_i-ga $Naomi_j$-ni $pro_{*i/*j/k}$ nagur-ase-ta.
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   hit-CAUS-PAST
        'Ken_i made $Naomi_j$ hit $pro_{*i/*j/k}$.'

b. **Passive**

Ken$_i$-ga   Naomi$_j$-ni   pro$_{i/*j/*k}$ nagur-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   hit-PASS-PAST
'Ken was hit by Naomi.' (Int. Ken was affected by Naomi's hitting him$_{i/*j/*k}$.)

The null object in (1-a) can refer to anybody identifiable in the discourse, as indicated by the index *k*, but neither the nominative nor the dative argument without a sophisticated context. In contrast, the null object in the passive (1-b) can only refer to the nominative DP *Ken*, as the index *i* indicates. This property directly follows from a movement analysis.

The interpretation of the null object in (1-a) exhibits a typical distribution of the embedded object *pro*. Subject-object asymmetries regarding an embedded *pro* have been well-documented in the literature: only the embedded subject *pro* is said to be able to be bound by the matrix argument in many languages including Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Brazilian Portuguese (see Huang 1984, Hasegawa 1981, Kuroda 1965). The following examples are adopted from Hasegawa (1981:290):

(2)   a.   *John$_i$-ga [pro$_{i/j}$ Mary-o   nagut-ta-to] it-ta.*
           John-NOM he   Mary-ACC hit-PAST-C   say-PAST
           'John$_i$ said that he$_{i/j}$ hit Mary.'

      b.   *John$_i$-ga   [Mary-ga   pro$_{?*i/j}$ nagut-ta-to] it-ta.*
           John-NOM Mary-NOM him   hit-PAST-C   say-PAST
           'John$_i$ said that Mary hit him$_{?*i/j}$.'

In (2-a), the subject *pro* in the embedded clause can be bound by the matrix subject *John*. It can also refer to another person identifiable in the discourse. However, as (2-b) shows, an object *pro* cannot be bound by the matrix subject: it behaves like an A' trace bound by a matrix topic (cf Huang 1984). On the other hand, the referent of

the null object (i.e. the person being hit) must be the surface subject *Ken* in the passive (1-b): it can refer to neither the dative DP *Naomi* nor other people who are previously mentioned. Therefore, the behavior of the object gap in the causative sentence (1-a) is the same as that of the embedded object *pro* given in (2-b), whereas the object gap in the passive (1-b) behaves differently.

A final difference between the null objects in the causative and the passive concerns their replaceability with an overt anaphor *zibun* 'self.' The null object in the causative can be replaced with *zibun*, and then it can refer to the nominative and dative arguments, but not the discourse referent, as shown in (3-a). On the other hand, the null object in the passive cannot be replaced with *zibun* 'self,' irrespective of its reading (see also Shibatani 1990:322, Fukuda 2006).

(3) a. *Ken$_i$-ga [Naomi$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-o nagur]-ase-ta.*   [Causative]
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-o   hit-CAUS-PAST
         'Ken caused Naomi to hit self(=Ken, Naomi).'

     b. *Ken-ga   [Naomi-ni (*zibun/*kare(zisin)-o) nagur]-are-ta*
         Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT {*self/*himself}-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
         'Ken was hit by Naomi.'   [Passive]

The distributional differences of the null objects in the passive and the causative cannot be explained if they are both *pro*. Since the null object in the passive can neither be PRO nor *pro*, I conclude that it is a moved copy. This conclusion is consistent with my analysis, as the null object is expected to behave like a moved copy.

Having established that the gap contained in the accusative passive is a copy of a moved element, we want to know where the DP moves to. Does it move to the surface nominative position? Or does it move to some intermediate position, such as Spec,*v*P (cf. Hoshi 1991, 1994) or some adjoined position of IP (cf. Huang 1999)? In the latter case, the structure involves both movement and control. We will reexamine

reconstruction facts reported in the literature in order to answer these questions.

6.2 Reconstruction Effects

Lack of reconstruction effects for scope and idioms has been presented as an argument in favor of the control analysis of *ni*-passives (i.e. passives with an overt *ni*-by-phrase in the existing literature (Kuroda 1979, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Hoji 2006, Fukuda 2006, among others). The behavior of *ni*-passives is said to contrast with that of short and *ni-yotte*-passives: *ni*-passives are assumed to disallow reconstruction, while *ni-yotte*-passives and short passives are assumed to exhibit reconstruction effects. However, we have seen in chapter 4 that the *ni*-phrase and the *ni-yotte*-phrase can co-occur in a single passive, so the dichotomy is untenable. I have analyzed *ni-yotte* passives as the passive with a clausal adjunct *ni-yotte*-phrase controlling PRO (see section 4.3.2). I will show below that the well-known generalization reflects only a partial view of the empirical paradigm. Once more data are taken into consideration, we find that the distributions of *ni*-passives and *ni-yotte*-passives do not differ. I will discuss scope interactions and idioms in turn below.

6.2.1 Scope Interactions

I begin with describing reconstruction facts in active sentences in Japanese. Sentences with quantified phrases like (4-a) are scopally ambiguous in English, since an indefinite subject can scope under a universal object. However, this is not the case in Japanese: Japanese is considered to be scope-rigid because in sentences with the canonical order [Nominative»Accusative], only the surface scope interpretation is available, as exemplified in (4-b) and (4-c) (Kuroda 1971, Hoji 1985).

(4)   a.   Some student read every book.   (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

        b.   *Dareka-ga   subete-no hon-o   yon-da.*   [Kuroda 1970]
                someone-NOM all-NO   book-ACC read-past
                'Someone read all the books.'   (∃>∀, *∀>∃)

        c.   *[John ka Mary]-ga dono hito-(o)-mo   syootaisi-ta (rasii)*
                John or Mary-NOM which person-(ACC)-MO invite-PAST (seem)
                '(It seems that) John or Mary invited everyone.'   (OR >∀, ?*∀>OR)

In contrast, scopal ambiguity arises in [Accusative»Nominative] order, which must be derived from the Nom-Acc order by scrambling the accusative to the left of the nominative (i.e. A'-scrambling), as shown in (5-a) and (5-b) (see Wurmbrand 2009: and references therein).

(5)   a.   *Subete-no hon-o   dareka-ga   yon-da.*
                all-NO   book-ACC someone-NOM read-PAST
                'Someone read all the books.'   (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

        b.   *Dono hito-o-mo   [John ka Mary]-ga syootaisi-ta (rasii)*
                which person-ACC-MO [John or Mary]-NOM invite-PAST (seem)
                '(It seems that) John or Mary invited everyone.   (OR >∀, ∀>OR)

If we assume some version of the VP-internal subject hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche 1991: among others), the lack of reconstruction effects in (4-b) and (4-c) is puzzling: Why can the indefinite subject scope below the accusative object in English but not in Japanese?

(6)   [_TP_ Sub-NOM Obj_i_-ACC [_vP_ t [_VP_ t V]]]

Dominique Sportiche (pers. communication) suggests that this might be due to the fact that indefinite quantification enters into the derivation higher in Japanese than it does

in English.

(7)   a. $[_{TP}$ Sub-NOM INDEF$_{Jap}$ Obj$_i$-ACC $[_{vP}$ t $[_{VP}$ t V]]]

   b. $[_{TP}$ Sub-NOM Obj$_i$-ACC INDEF$_{Eng}$ $[_{vP}$ t $[_{VP}$ t V]]]

What is important is that according to (7-a), an indefinite will never reconstruct under an accusative object in Japanese.

Although the nominative DP cannot take scope under the accusative DP, it can reconstruct under a dative phrase and a temporal/locative adverb, as shown below:

(8)   a.   *Dareka-ga   dono koziki-ni-mo   tabemono-o age-ta.*
          someone-NOM which beggar-DAT-MO food-ACC   give-PAST
          'Someone gave every beggar food.' (∃>∀, ?∀>∃)

   b.   *Dareka-ga   dono ie-ni-mo   hagaki-o okut-ta.*
          someone-NOM which house-DAT-MO letter-ACC send-PAST
          'Someone sent a postcard to every house.' (∃>∀, ?∀>∃)

(9)   a.   *Dareka-ga   dono kyooshitu-de-mo   syukudai-o   wasure-ta.*
          someone-NOM which classroom-LOC-MO homework-ACC forget-PAST
          'Someone forgot his homework in every classroom.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

   b.   *Dareka-ga   dono kyooshitu-de-mo   sensei-o   nagut-ta.*
          someone-NOM which classroom-LOC-MO teacher-ACC hit-PAST
          'Someone hit a teacher in every classroom.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

   c.   *Dareka-ga   maikai   syukudai-o   wasure-ru.*
          someone-NOM every.time homework-ACC forget-PRES
          'Someone forgets his homework every time.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

Crucially, the data show that the nominative DP cannot be interpreted at the external merge position under the accusative DP, but it can still reconstruct under a dative goal phrase or locative/temporal adverbials. This must mean that there is an intermediate

interpretive position, which is lower than temporal/locative adverbials but higher than the accusative DP for the nominative DP to reconstruct to.

(10)   [$_{TP}$ Sub-NOM **Temp Loc** Obj$_j$-**DAT** ~~t~~ Obj$_i$-ACC [$_{vP}$ ~~Sub~~ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ t$_i$ V]]]

Against this background of scope reconstruction in Japanese active sentences, let us examine how *ni*-passives and *ni-yotte-* passives behave.

Ni-Passives (Direct and Indirect Passives)

The promoted accusative DP (i.e. the nominative DP) does not reconstruct under the *ni*-phrase (i.e. the external argument) in the accusative passive, as shown below:

(11)   a. *Dareka$_i$-ga   daremo-ni   t$_i$ homer-are-ta.*   Acc. PSV
             someone-NOM everyone-DAT   praise-PASS-PAST
             'Someone was praised by everyone.' (Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992:20a
             (∃>∀, ?*∀>∃))

         b. *Dareka$_i$-ga   dono seizika-ni-mo   t$_i$ siens-are-tei-ru.*
             someone-NOM which statesman-DAT-MO   support-PASS-ASP-PRES
             'Someone was supported by every statesman.' (∃>∀, *∀>∃)

         c. *[Taroo-ka Hanako]$_i$-ga dono sinsain-ni-mo t$_i$ home-rare-ta.*
             Taro-or   Hanako-NOM which judge-DAT-MO   praise-PASS-PAST
             'Taro or Hanako was praised by every judge.' (∃>∀, ?*∀>∃) (Kitagawa
             and Kuroda 1992:(20c)

         d. *Dareka$_i$-ga   dono seijika-ni-mo   t$_i$ okane-o*
             someone-NOM which statesman-DAT-MO   money-ACC
             watas-are-ta.
             hand-PASS-PAST
             'Someone was handed money by every statesman.' Dative Goal PSV

Facts like those above have been taken as evidence for a control analysis of the accusative passive containing an overt *ni*-phrase (Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Hoji

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). Importantly though, the nominative DP in the *ni*-passive reconstructs under the dative goal and locative/temporal adverbs, as the examples in (9) show:[1]

(12) a. *Nanika$_i$-ga   dono koziki-ni-mo   t$_i$ kuba-rare-ta.* ⸢Acc. PSV⸣
something-NOM which beggar-DAT-MO   distribute-PASS-PAST
'Something was distributed to every beggar.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)[2]

b. *Dareka$_i$-ga   dono kyooshitu-de-mo   sensei-ni   t$_i$*
someone-NOM which classroom-LOC-MO teacher-DAT
nagur-are-ta.
hit-PASS-PAST
'Someone was hit by a teacher in every classroom.' (Fukuda 2006:fn.5)
(∃>∀, ∀>∃)

c. *[**Sannin-no** gakusei]$_i$-ga Ito-sensei-ni **maikai**   t$_i$ sas-are-ta.*
three-no   students-NOM Prof.Ito-DAT every.time   call-PASS-PAST
'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.' (Three>every,
every>Three)

These reconstruction facts show that the derivation of accusative passives must involve movement past the locative, and the landing site of the moved DP is the surface nominative position. Significantly, the distribution is the same with genitive-accusative, source, and dative passives (i.e. the class traditionally identified as indirect passives).

(13) a. *Dareka-ga   daremo-ni   t$_i$ kao-o   nagu-rare-ta.*
someone-NOM everyone-DAT   face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
'Someone was hit (his) face by everyone.' (∃>∀, *∀>∃)

b. *Dareka$_i$-ga   daremo-ni   t$_i$ nige-rare-ta.*
someone-NOM everyone-DAT   escape-PASS-PAST
'Someone was escaped from by everyone.' (∃>∀, *∀>∃)

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[1] Although Fukuda (2006) has reported that the narrow scope readings are not available in (12-b) and (12-c), both readings are clearly available to me and the native speakers I asked.

[2] Due to the ban on double datives in Japanese passives 3.3.2.3, the external argument *ni*-phrase is unavailable in the accusative passive derived from a ditransitive predicate.

c. *Dareka$_i$-ga   daremo-ni   t$_i$ nak-are-ta.*
someone-NOM everyone-DAT   cry-PASS-PAST
'Someone was cried over by everyone.' (∃>∀, *∀>∃)

d. *Dareka$_i$-ga   dono kyooshitu-de-mo   sensei-ni   t$_i$ kao-o*
someone-NOM which classroom-LOC-MO teacher-DAT   face-ACC
nagu-rare-ta.
hit-PASS-PAST
'Someone was hit (his) face by a teacher in every classroom.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

e. *Kinoo   keisatukan$_i$-ga dono machi-de-mo hannin-ni   t$_i$*
yesterday policeman-NOM which city-LOC-MO criminal-DAT
nige-rare-ta.
escape-PASS-PAST   (∃>∀, ∀>∃)
'Yesterday a policeman was escaped from by a criminal in every city.'

f. *Seito$_i$-ga   dono kyooshitu-de-mo   sensei-ni   t$_i$*
someone-NOM which classroom-LOC-MO teacher-DAT
nak-are-ta.
cry-PASS-PAST
'A student was cried over by a teacher in every classroom.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

The examples in (13) show that the promoted DP (i.e. the nominative DP) in indirect passives cannot reconstruct under the dative external argument but do reconstruct under locative adverbials. The pattern with passives is not very surprising given that the nominative DP in the active also reconstructs under temporal/locative adverbials and dative goal DPs but not under the accusative DP (i.e. the nominative DP cannot be interpreted at its merged position).

Short Passives and *Ni-yotte* Passives

Likewise, the promoted nominative DP in *ni-yotte* passives and short passives can reconstruct under locative/temporal adverbials and dative goal DPs (data like (14) have played an important role in establishing that short passives allow reconstruction).

(14) a. *Nanika-ga   (iinkai-ni-yotte)   dono ie-ni-mo t_i*
something-NOM committee-NI-YOTTE which house-DAT-MO
okur-are-ta.
send-PASS-PAST
'Something was sent to every house (by means of the committee/someone).'
(Yatsushiro 1999:40 cited in Park and Whitman 2003)[3]($\exists>\forall$, $\forall>\exists$)

  b. *Dareka-ga   (sensei-ni-yotte)   dono kyooshitu-de-mo*
someone-NOM teacher-NI-YOTTE which classroom-LOC-MO
nagur-are-ta.
hit-PASS-PAST
'Someone was hit in every classroom (by means of the teacher/someone).'
($\exists>\forall$, $\forall>\exists$; Fukuda 2006:fn.5)

  c. *Sannin-no gakusei-ga   (Ito-sensei-niyotte) maikai*
Three-NO students-NOM Prof.Ito-NI-YOTTE every.time
sas-are-ta.
call-PASS-PAST   (Three>$\forall$, $\forall$>Three)
'Three students were called on (by means of Prof. Ito/someone) every
time.'(Fukuda 2006)

The general claim in the literature that *ni-yotte* and short passives, but not *ni*-passives,
exhibit reconstruction effects is in fact based on the comparison between (11) (recon-
struction under dative external arguments) and (14) (reconstruction under dative goal
and locative adverbials). However, when we examine reconstruction of the promoted
accusative DP in *ni-yotte*-passives, we find that reconstruction fails, as it does with
ni-passives.

(15) a. ??*Dareka-ga   daremo-ni-yotte   ais-are-tei-ru.*
someone-NOM everyone-NI-YOTTE-MO love-PASS-ASP-PRES
'Someone is loved by (means of) everyone. ($\exists>\forall$, *$\forall>\exists$)

  b. *Dareka-ga   dono seijika-ni-yotte-mo*
someone-NOM which statesman-NI-YOTTE-MO
siens-are-tei-ru.
support-PASS-ASP-PRES
'Someone is supported by means of every statesman.' ($\exists>\forall$, *$\forall>\exists$)

In neither (15-a) nor (15-b) can the promoted accusative DP reconstruct under the *ni-yotte* phrase (see section 4.3 for the analysis of the *ni-yotte* adjunct that co-occurs with PRO). Therefore, the generalization does not reflect the complete paradigm, and hence the conclusion drawn from this generalization does not follow. The data presented in this section is summarized in table 6.1:

Table 6.1: Reconstruction Effects of Nominative DPs

Under	Acc	External (ni/niyotte)	Dat Goal	Loc/Temp Adv
Active	*	—	ok	ok
ni-Passives				
Direct	—	*	—	ok
Indirect	—	*	—	ok
ni-yotte Passives	—	*	ok	ok
Short Passives	—	—	ok	ok

Two conclusions can be drawn from the discussions above: the reconstruction facts we have reviewed so far do not distinguish *ni*-passives from *niyotte*-passives or direct passives from indirect passives. In addition, the availability of reconstruction effects (i.e. the nominative DP reconstruct under dative goal DPs and locative/temporal adverbials) shows that the derivation of Japanese passives−both direct and indirect passives− does involve movement to the surface nominative position, thus not involving control.

6.2.2 Idiom Reconstruction

Another diagnostic that is generally used to test movement properties involves idioms. It has been said that idioms reconstruct in short and *ni-yotte*-passives, but not in *ni*-passives. The following examples are adapted from Hoshi (1991, 1994:11, 1999:198).

(16) a. *Mary-ga tyuui-o harat-ta*
          Mary-NOM heed-ACC pay-PAST
          'Mary paid attention.'

b. *Tyuui-ga Mary-ni haraw-are-ta.*
heed-NOM Mary-DAT pay-PASS-PAST
'Attention was paid to (*by) Mary.'

c. *Tyuui-ga (Mary-ni-yotte) haraw-are-ta.*
heed-NOM Mary-NI-YOTTE pay-PASS-PAST
'Attention was paid (by means of Mary/by someone).'

(17) a. *John-ga ketio-o tsuke-ta. (Hoshi 1991:70-1)*
John-NOM fault-ACC attach-PAST
'John found fault.'

b. *John-ni keti-ga tuke-rare-ta.*
John-DAT fault-NOM attach-PASS-PAST
'Fault with (*by) John was found.'[4]

c. *Keti-ga (John-ni-yotte) tuke-rare-ta.*
fault-NOM John-NI-YOTTE attach-PASS-PAST
'Fault was found {by means of John/by someone}.'

A close examination reveals that the idioms used to test reconstruction effects in the
literature are usually pseudo-ditransitive verbs, which optionally take a dative GOAL
in addition to an accusative THEME, as shown by the following active voice uses of the
above two idioms:

(18) a. *Mary-ga kodomotachi-ni tyuui-o harat-ta.*
Mary-NOM children-DAT heed-ACC pay-PAST
'Mary paid attention to children.'

b. *John-ga atarasii sensei-ni keti-o tuke-ta.*
John-NOM new teacher-DAT fault-ACC attach-PAST
'John found fault with the new teacher.'
(Lit. John attached complaint to the new teacher.')

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[4]Somehow I prefer this word order to 'fault-NOM John-DAT.'

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The problem with these examples is that the *ni*-phrase is incompatible with the external argument interpretation (see the English translations). This is a very general property of accusative passives derived from (pseudo-)ditransitive predicates, which was discussed in 3.3.2.1. Japanese passives are incompatible with double *ni*-phrases. When one of the *ni*-phrases is suppressed in ditransitive passives, the remaining *ni*-phrase must be interpreted as a GOAL or BENEFACTIVE argument rather than an AGENT.

Crucially, it is not the case that idiomatic meanings are unavailable in this context. The idioms in accusative passives do show reconstruction effects. The only problem is the unavailability of the agentive *by*-phrase reading. Therefore, the conclusion that *ni*-passives do not exhibit idiom reconstruction does not follow, since the unavailability of the agentive *ni*-phrase interpretation stems from an independent factor, namely the structure of ditransitive predicates.

6.2.3   The Distributive Morpheme *zutu*

This section presents a new argument in favor of a movement derivation in Japanese passives. Let us first discuss English data, which basically carry over to Japanese. The distributive morpheme, binominal *each*, in the structure [$_{NP}$ QP N each] requires a plural antecedent that c-commands it (Burzio 1986:198-199, Safir and Stowell 1988, and Boeckx and Hornstein 2005).

(19)   a. *Two girls each$_i$ met us$_i$.

   b.   We$_i$ were met by two girls each$_i$.

   c. *I asked one question each$_i$ about the students$_i$.

   d.   I asked the students$_i$ one question each$_i$.

In addition, *each* and its antecedent must be in the same local domain:

(20)   a.   *We expected John to read one book each.

        b.   We expected that one student each would call.

The element 'each' in the [$_{NP}$ QP N each] construction basically behaves like an anaphor. Consequently, a phrase [$_{NP}$ QP N each] cannot be the subject of a clause (see (19-a)) unless it is c-commanded by a plural antecedent at some point in the derivation. This happens in the passive construction. Although the 'each' phrase is not c-commanded by the antecedent on the surface, it is c-commanded by the silent external argument or the *by*-phrase at some point in the derivation:

(21)   a. $^?$One interpreter each$_i$ was assigned t$_i$ to the visitors$_i$.

        b. $^?$One present each$_i$ was given t$_i$ to the kids$_i$.

        c.   Three guards each$_i$ were assigned t$_i$ to [the members of the loyal family]$_i$.

        d.   Three criminals each$_i$ were arrested t$_i$ by the policemen$_i$.

        e.   Three students each$_i$ were hired t$_i$ by the professors$_i$.

The binominal 'each' reading is available in the raising construction, but not in the control construction:

(22)   a.   ?One interpreter each$_i$ was likely [t$_i$ to be assigned t$_i$ to those visitors$_i$].

        b.   *One interpreter each$_i$ was trying [PRO$_i$ to be assigned t$_i$ to those visitors$_i$].

Although the surface representations are similar in (22-a) and (22-b), only the structure that involves movement−(22-a)−allows the relevant distributive reading of each.

Japanese *zutu*

Japanese has a distributive morpheme *zutu*. Similar to English binominal 'each,' the binominal use of *zutu* in [$_{NP}$ DP NumCl.-zutu]-Case requires a plural antecedent c-

commanding it (e.g. Gil 1990, Choe 1987, McKercher and Kim 1999, Oh 2006). Note that * indicates that the sentence is unacceptable with the intended distributive reading of *zutu*. The sentence itself is not always ill-formed if 'zutu' distributes over another c-commanding plural DP.

(23)   a.   ***Huta-ri-no otoko**$_i$-ga [onigiri hito-tu-**zutu**$_i$]-o tabe-ta.*
           2-CL-NO   man-NOM rice.ball 1-CL-zutu-ACC eat-PAST
           'Two men$_i$ ate one rice ball each$_i$.'

      b.   *Sensei-wa   **watashi.tachi**$_i$-ni [hon is-satu-**zutu**$_i$]-o watasi-ta.*
           teacher-TOP us-DAT   book 1-CL-zutu-ACC hand–PAST
           'The teacher handed us$_i$ one book each$_i$.'

      c.   *Sensei-wa   [gakusei hito-ri-**zutu**$_i$]-ni **sorera-no hon**$_i$-o   watasi-ta.*
           teacher-NOM student   1-CL-zutu-DAT   those-NO   book-ACC give–PAST
           Int. *'The teacher gave one student each$_i$ those books$_i$.'
           (For each book, one student received it.)

      d.   ***Kodomo-tachi**$_i$-no oya-ga   [hon ni-satu-**zutu**$_i$]-o kat-ta.*
           child-PL-NO   parent-NOM book 2-CL-zutu-ACC buy–PAST
           Int. *'The children's$_i$ parent(s) bought two books each$_i$.'
           (For each child, his parent bought two books.) [5]

      e.   *[Syoozyo hutari-**zutu**$_i$]-ga **watashi.tachi**$_i$-o tazune-ta.*
           girl   2-CL-zutu-NOM us-ACC   visit–PAST
           Int. *'Two girls each$_i$ met us$_i$.' (For each of us, two girls met him.)

      f.   *[Kodomo hito-ri-**zutu**$_i$]-ga **hon**$_i$-ga   takai-to   it-ta.*
           child   1-CL-zutu-NOM   book-NOM expensive-C say-PAST
           *'One child each$_i$ said that the books$_i$ were expensive.'
           (For each book, one child said that it was too expensive.)

Similar to English 'each,' Japanese binominal '*zutu*' is also clause-bounded:

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[5]In Japanese, a plural marking (*tachi* for human) is not obligatory, thus *oya* is ambiguous and can be interpreted as either 'one parent' or 'parents.'

(24) *Sensei-tachi$_i$-ga [gakusei-tachi$_j$-ga [hon   is-satu-**zutu**$_{*i/j}$]-o yon-da]-to*
teacher-PL-NOM student-PL-NOM   [book 1-CL-zutu]-ACC   read–PAST-C
it-ta.
say–PAST
'The teachers$_i$ said that the students$_j$ read one book each$_{*i/j}$.' (cf. Oh 2006)

Unlike English 'each,' *zutu* has another reading, which is characterized as 'multiple group formation' by McKercher and Kim (1999) or 'NP-internal distributivity' by Gil (1990). Examples are given below, but this use of *zutu* is not relevant for our discussion here.

(25)   a.   *John-ga   {[hon]$_i$-o is-satu-zutu$_i$/ [hon$_i$ is-satu-zutu$_i$]-o} yon-da.*
John-NOM book-ACC 1-CL-zutu/   book 1-CL-zutu-ACC   read-PAST
'John read each book (at a time).'

     b.   *[Kodomo   go-nin-zutu]-ga yatteki-ta.*
children-NOM 5-CL-zutu   come–PAST
'The children came in groups of five.'

Here we will concentrate on the binominal reading of 'zutu,' which requires a plural c-commanding antecedent.[6] The judgments given below are under the intended binominal reading (the multiple group reading or the NP-internal distributive reading is generally available, but irrelevant for the discussion here).

Japanese Passives

Having established that the binominal reading of *zutu* requires a plural c-commanding antecedent, we can use this property as a touchstone of movement in Japanese passives. As shown below, the distribution is consistent with that of the scope interactions we examined in section 6.2.1. The nominative DP in the passive cannot reconstruct under the dative external argument, but it does reconstruct under the dative GOAL and

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[6]McKercher and Kim does not acknowledge two instances of *zutu* and argues that the distributivity does not come from the semantics of *zutu*. Here I do not intend to provide a full review of *zutu* but distinguish the two uses for convenience.

(26)   Reconstruction Under Dative *by*-phrase

    a.   *[Otoko huta-ri$_i$]-ga   sutukeisu hito-tu-zutu$_i$-o hakon-da.*
        man   two-CL-NOM suitcase 1-cl-zutu-ACC carry-PAST
        'Two men carried one suitcase each.'   Active

    b.   *[Sutukeisu hito-tu-**zutu**$_i$]-ga   **otoko huta-ri**$_i$-ni hakob-are-ta.*
        suitcase   one-CL-zutu-NOM man two-CL   carry-PASS-PAST
        *'One suitcase each$_i$ was carried by two men$_i$.'   Passive
        (Int. For each man, one suitcase was carried.)

(27)   a.   *Kodomotachi$_i$-ga [onigiri hito-tu-zutu$_i$]-o tabe-ta.*
        children-NOM   rice.ball 1-CL-zutu-ACC eat-PAST
        'The children$_i$ ate one rice ball each$_i$.'   Active

    b.   *Onigiri hito-tu-zutu$_i$-ga kodomotachi$_i$-ni tabe-rare-ta..*
        rice.ball 1-CL-zutu-NOM children-DAT   eat-PASS-PAST
        *'One rice ball each$_i$ was eaten by the children$_i$.'   Passive
        (Int. For each child, one rice ball was eaten.)

With a ditransitive predicate, the accusative DP containing *zutu* can distribute over the dative DP, but not vice versa:

(28)   Reconstruction Under Dative Goal

    a.   *Sensei-ga   **kodomo-tachi**$_i$-ni [hon issa-tu-**zutu**$_i$]-o   kubat-ta.*
        teacher-NOM child-PL-DAT   book one-CL-each-ACC distribute-PAST
        'The teacher distributed the children$_i$ one book each$_i$.'   Active

    b.   *Sensei-ga   [kodomo-tachi hito-ri-**zutu**$_i$]-ni **sorera-no hon**$_i$-o*
        teacher-NOM child-PL   1-CL-zutu-DAT those-NO book-ACC
        kubat-ta.
        distribute-PAST
        Int. *'The teacher distributed one child each$_i$ those books$_i$.'
        (For each book, the teacher distributed it to one child)

c. *[(Hon) issatu-**zutu**]-ga **kodomo-tachi**-ni kubar-are-ta.*
(book) one-CL-NOM   child-PL-DAT   distribute-PASS-PAST
'One (book) each$_i$ was distributed to the children$_i$.' ⟨Passive⟩

In both (28-a) and (28-c), the binominal reading of *zutu* is available. On the other hand, in (28-b), the dative DP containing *zutu* cannot distribute over the accusative DP. Significantly, in (28-c) the nominative DP containing *zutu* is not c-commanded by the dative DP on the surface, yet the nominative DP (i.e. the promoted accusative DP) can reconstruct under the plural antecedent dative DP. This means that the nominative DP comes from a position where the GOAL argument c-commands it, and hence the derivation involves movement.

The nominative DP in the passive can also reconstruct under the locative DP.

(29)   Reconstruction Under Locative P

a. *Nanimonoka-ga [**mit-tu-no mansyon**$_i$]-de [**kuruma ni-dai-zutu**$_i$]-o*
someone-NOM   3-CL-NO   apartment-LOC car   2-CL-zutu-ACC
kowasi-ta.
break-PAST
'Someone broke two cars each$_i$ at three apartments$_i$.' ⟨Active⟩

b. *[**Kuruma ni-dai-zutu**$_i$]-ga [**mit-tu-no mansyon**$_i$]-de nanimonoka-ni*
car   2-CL-ZUTU-NOM 3-CL-NO   apartment-LOC someone-DAT
kowas-are-ta.
break-PASS-PAST
'Two cars each$_i$ were broken in three apartments$_i$ by someone.' ⟨Passive⟩

(30)   a. *Yamada Sensei-ga   [**mit-tu-no kyooshitu**$_i$]-de [**gakusei***
Yamada teacher-NOM 3-CL-NO   classroom-LOC student
***huta-ri-zutu**$_i$]-o sikat-ta.*
2-CL-ZUTU-ACC scold-PAST
'Prof. Yamada scolded two students each$_i$ in three classrooms$_i$.' ⟨Active⟩

b. *[**Gakusei huta-ri-zutu$_i$**]-ga [**mit-tu-no kyooshitu$_i$**]-de* Yamada
   student   2-CL-ZUTU-NOM 3-CL-NO   classroom-LOC Yamada
   sensei-ni   shika-rare-ta.
   teacher-DAT scold-PASS-PAST   Passive
   'Two students each$_i$ were scolded in three classrooms$_i$ by Prof. Yamada.'

This pattern conforms to the pattern with scopal interactions discussed in section 6.2.1:
the nominative DP in the passive can reconstruct under a dative Goal and Locative P
but not under the external argument *ni*-phrase in Japanese.

   As shown in (22), the English binominal 'each' is compatible with the raising
construction but not with the control construction. The same facts hold in Japanese, as
the following paradigm illustrates:

(31)   a. *Kocyoo-ga   [**mit-tu-no kurasu$_i$**]-ni [**kyooiku zissyuusei***
          principal-NOM 3-CL-NO   class-DAT   teaching trainee
          ***hito-ri-zutu$_i$**]-o   syookaisi-ta.*
          one-CL-ZUTU-ACC introduce-PAST
          'The principal introduced three classes$_i$ one teacher trainee each$_i$.   Active

       b. *[**Kyooiku zissyuusei hito-ri-zutu$_i$**]-ga   [**mit-tu-no kurasu$_i$**]-ni*
          teaching trainee   one-CL-ZUTU-NOM 3-CL-NO   class-DAT
          syookais-are-ta.
          introduce-PASS-PAST
          'One teacher trainee each$_i$ was introduced to three classes$_i$.'   Passive

       c. *[**Kyooiku zissyuusei hito-ri-zutu$_i$**]-ga   [**mit-tu-no kurasu$_i$**]-ni*
          teaching trainee   one-CL-ZUTU-NOM 3-CL-NO   class-DAT
          syookais-are-soo-da.
          introduce-PASS-likely-PAST   likely
          'One teacher trainee each$_i$ is likely t$_i$ to be introduced t$_i$ to three classes.'

       d. *[**Kyooiku zissyuusei hito-ri-zutu$_i$**]-ga   [**mit-tu-no kurasu$_i$**]-ni*
          teaching trainee   one-CL-ZUTU-NOM 3-CL-NO   class-DAT
          syookais-are-tagat-ta.
          introduce-PASS-want-PAST
          Int. *'One teacher trainee each$_i$ wanted PRO$_i$ to be introduced t$_i$ to three
          classes$_i$.'   Want

e. *[Kyooiku zissyuusei hito-ri-zutu$_i$]-ga*   *[mit-tu-no kurasu$_i$]-ni*
teaching trainee   one-CL-ZUTU-NOM 3-CL-NO   class-DAT
syookais-are-sokone-ta.
introduce-PASS-fail-PAST
Int. *'One teacher trainee each$_i$ failed PRO$_i$ to be introduced t$_i$ to three
classes$_i$.'   Fail

The binominal reading is available only in the raising construction (31-c) and not in
the control constructions like (31-d) and (31-e). This provides strong evidence in favor
of a movement derivation for Japanese passives.

Indirect Passives

The behavior of the binominal '*zutu*' in passives containing intransitive predicates,
nak-u 'to cry' and *niger-u* 'to escape,' is consistent with that of the accusative passive
observed above. First, we will look at the passive derived from an unergative predi-
cate *nak-u* 'to cry.' Recall that the dative CAUSE argument of *nak-u* 'to cry' cannot
be animate in the active voice but must be animate in the passive voice (see section
3.5.2.4). For this reason the passive sentences given below do not correspond to the
active examples:

(32)   **Reconstructing Under Dative *by*-Phrase**

    a.   *[Hutari-no hyooronka$_i$]-ga [eiga san-bon-zutu$_i$]-ni nai-ta.*
        two-NO   critic-NOM   movie 3-CL-zutu-DAT   cry-PAST
        '$^?$Two film critics$_i$ cried over 3 movies each$_i$.'   Active

    b.   *[(Gakusei) san-nin-zutu$_i$]-ga [hutari-no onnanoko$_i$]-ni*
        student   3-CL-zutu-NOM   2-CL-NO   girls-DAT
        nak-are-ta.
        cry-PASS-PAST
        *'Three students each$_i$ were cried over by two girls$_i$.' Passive
        (Int. 'For each girl, three students were cried over her.')

(33) **Reconstructing Under Locative P**

    a.   *Eiga-hyooronka-ga [**huta-tsu-no eiga-kan$_i$**]-de*   *[eiga*
        film-critic-NOM   2-CL-NO   movie.theater-LOC movie

        ***mit-tu-zutu$_i$**]-ni nai-ta.*   <u>Active</u>
        3-CL-ZUTU-DAT cry-PAST
        'The film critic cried over three movies each$_i$ at two movie theaters$_i$.

    b.   *[Daigakusei   **san-nin-zutu$_i$**]-ga [**huta-tu-no kooen$_i$**]-de*
        college.students 3-CL-zutu-NOM   2-CL-NO   park-LOC

        onnanoko-ni nak-are-ta.   <u>Passive</u>
        girl-DAT   cry-PASS-PAST
        ?'Three college students each$_i$ were cried over by a girl at two parks$_i$.'

    c.   *[Ninki.kasyu **san-nin-zutu$_i$**]ga [**hutatu-no konsaato.hall$_i$**]-de*
        popular.singer 3-CL-ZUTU-NOM 2-NO   concert.hall-LOC

        fan-ni   nak-are-ta.   <u>Passive</u>
        fan-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
        ?'Three popular singers each$_i$ were cried over by their fans at two concert halls$_i$.'

The binominal reading of *zutu* is not available in the passive sentence (32-b), showing that the nominative DP (the underlying dative CAUSE) does not reconstruct under the dative *by*-phrase. As expected, however, the nominative DP in the passive can reconstruct under the locative P in the passive. This is exactly the same pattern we observed with accusative passives. Crucially, the availability of reconstruction under the locative P means that the derivation of indirect passives (or dative Cause passives) involves movement.

    Turning to the source passive derived from the predicate *nige-ru* 'to escape,' it exhibits a different pattern from *nak-u* 'to cry.' Specifically, the nominative DP (underlying Theme) can take scope under the SOURCE DP in an active sentence. This is probably due to the unaccusative nature of *nige-ru*, suggesting that the nominative DP is c-commanded by the SOURCE DP at some point of the derivation.

(34)   a.   *[Syuuzin hito-ri-zutu$_i$]-ga   [mit-tu-no keimusyo$_i$]-kara nige-ta.*
             prisoner one-CL-zutu-NOM 3-CL-NO   prison-from   escape-PAST
             'One prisoner each$_i$ escaped from the three prisons$_i$.' | Active |

       b.   *[Syuuzi-huta-ri$_i$]-ga [keimusyo mit-tu-zutu$_i$]-kara nige-ta.*
             prison-2-CL-NOM   prison   3-CL-zutu-from   escape-PAST
             *'Two prisoners$_i$ escaped from three prisons each$_i$.' | Active |

       c.   *[Keimusyo mit-tu-zutu$_i$]-ga [huta-ri-no syuuzin$_i$]-ni*
             prison   3-CL-zutu-NOM 2-CL-NO   prisoner-DAT
             nige-rare-ta.
             escape-PASS-PAST
             *'Three prisons each$_i$ were escaped from by two prisoners$_i$.' | Passive |

       d.   *[Keimusyo mit-tu$_i$]-ga [syuuzin huta-ri-zutu$_i$]-ni nige-rare-ta.*
             prison   3-CL-NOM prisoner 2-CL-zutu-DAT   escape-PASS-PAST
             'Three prisons$_i$ were escaped from by two prisoners each$_i$.' | Passive |

Since the active sentence exhibits scopal ambiguity, the results from passive sentences are not very informative. However, the following data at least show that the nominative DP distributes over the locative DP in the active and under it in the passive:

(35)   a.   *Inu-ga   [huta-tsu-no kooen]-de [kodomo san-nin-zutu$_i$]-kara*
             dog-NOM 2-CL-no   park-LOC child   3-CL-zutu-from
             nige-ta.
             escape-PAST
             'The dog escaped from three children each$_i$ at two parks$_i$.' | Active |

       b.   *[Kodomo san-nin-zutu$_i$]-ga [huta-tu-no kooen$_i$]-de inu-ni*
             child   3-CL-zutu-NOM   2-CL-NO   park-LOC dog-DAT
             nige-rare-ta.
             escape-PASS-PAST | Passive |
             'Three children each$_i$ were escaped from by the dog at two parks$_i$.

If the nominative DP is merged as an argument of *-rare* in (35-b), the availability of the binominal reading cannot be explained. Therefore, we conclude that the derivations

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of accusative and dative (indirect) passives both involve movement to the nominative position. The next section addresses the question of what the type of movement is: Is it A- or A'-movement?

6.3 A- vs. A'-movement

The traditional view is that the passive is an A-movement phenomenon, i.e. movement from a non-Case position, whereas relativization and topicalization are A'-movement, i.e. movement launched from a Case position. Contrary to the standard view, Huang (1999) and Toyoshima (1996) argue that Japanese passives involve A'-movement (and control). The difficulty in analyzing Japanese comes from the fact that the case markers disappear under relativization and topicalization (see section 3.1.2). Therefore, identifying whether movement launches from a Case position is not an easy task. In this section, I will establish that the Japanese passive is an A-movement phenomenon by comparing its distribution to that of relativization and topicalization.[7]

First of all, passivization behaves differently from relativization and topicalization

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[7] One might argue that distributional differences between passives and relative/topic constructions do not mean that passives do not involve A'-movement, because Japanese relativization and topicalization involve base-generation and not A'-movement (cf. Murasugi 2000). However, I crucially assume that the derivations of Japanese relativization and topicalization (involving non-contrastive topics) involve movement. This is because both relativization and topicalization exhibit reconstruction effects in terms of pronominal/anaphor binding (see also Hoshi 2004, Ishizuka 2008):

(i)   a.   *[[Ken$_i$-ga mituke-ta] kare-zisin$_i$-no syasin]-wa yoku tore-tei-ru.*
            Ken-NOM find-PAST him-self-no   picture-TOP well be_taken-ASP-PRES
            'The picture of himself$_i$ which Ken$_i$ found was well taken.' [Relative]
    b.   *[dare-mo$_i$-ga   mada t$_i$ sira-nai]   zibun$_i$-no kekkonaite*
            INDET.MO-NOM yet   know-NEG self-NO   spouse
            '$_{DP}$ self's$_i$ spouse whom no one$_i$ knows yet'
    c.   *[Zibun$_j$-no kekkonaite]$_i$-wa dare.mo$_j$-ga   t$_i$ zibun-de erabi-tai.*
            self-NO   spouse-TOP   INDET.MO-NOM self-by choose-want.
            'As for [self's$_j$ spouse]$_i$, everyone$_j$ wants to choose t$_i$ by self.' [Topic]

The availability of reconstruction cannot be explained unless relativization and topicalization involve movement (see Ishizuka 2008, 2009, 2010: for further discussion).

in that it is subject to Relativized Minimality. As discussed in section 3.3.2, the THEME of ditransitive predicate is unable to promote to the nominative position in the passive if the external argument and the GOAL are both overt:

(36)   a.   *Ken-ga   (kossori) Naomi-ni   hon-o   watasi-ta.*
           Ken-NOM secretly   Naomi-DAT book-ACC hand-PAST
           'Ken handed Naomi a book secretly.'   Active

       b.   *[[Ken-ga (kossori) Naomi-ni   t_i watasi-ta] hon_i]-ga*
           Ken-NOM secretly   Naomi-DAT   hand-PAST book-NOM
           omoshiro-i.
           interesting-PRES
           'The book which Ken handed Mary secretly is interesting.' Relative

       c.   *Sono hon-wa   Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   (kossori) watasi-ta.*
           that   book-TOP Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT secretly   hand-PAST
           'That book, Ken handed to Mary secretly.'   Topic

       d.   **Hon_i-ga   Ken-ni   (kossori) Naomi-ni   t_i watas-are-ta.*
           book-NOM Ken-DAT secretly   Naomi-DAT   hand-PASS-PAST
           'The book was handed to Naomi (secretly) by Ken.'   Passive

Unlike passives, the THEME argument of a ditransitive verb can freely undergo relativization or topicalization even when the external and GOAL arguments are both overt. Likewise, with causative predicates, the THEME argument of the complement of *sase* cannot undergo passivization but it can undergo relativization and topicalization, as shown below:

(37)   a.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   kaisya-o   yame-sase-ta.*
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT company-ACC quit-CAUS-PAST
           'Ken made/let Naomi quit the company.'

       b.   *[[Ken-ga Naomi-ni   t_i yame-sase-ta]   kaisya_i]-wa*
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   quit-CAUS-PAST company-TOP
           toosan.si-ta.
           bankrupt.do-PAST
           'The company which Ken made Naomi quit went bankrupt.' Relative

c. ?*Kaisya-wa   Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   yame-sase-ta.*
   company-TOP Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT quit-CAUS-PAST
   'As for the company, Ken made/let Naomi quit.'   Topic

d. **Kaisya-ga   Ken-ni   (kyuuni) Naomi-ni   yame-sase-rare-ta.*
   Company-NOM Ken-DAT suddenly Naomi-DAT quit-CAUS-PASS-PAST
   ≈'It happened to the company that Ken made/let Naomi quit (suddenly).'

   Passive

I take the above distributional differences between passivization and relativization/
topicalization to mean that the former is A-movement while the latter is A'-movement.

6.3.1   Reanalyzing Long-Distance Passivization

Huang's claim (1999) that Japanese accusative passives involve A'-movement comes
from Toyoshima's observation (1996) that Japanese appears to allow long-distance
passivization (see Toyoshima 1996, Huang 1999). In what follows, I divide the appar-
ent long passivization cases into two kinds and reanalyze them as local passivization
(the derived subject originates in the matrix clause). The two kinds are: (i) the pas-
sives that involve ECM (raising-to-object) and (ii) the passives that involve raising of
the GOAL/ADDRESSEE of the matrix verb.

6.3.1.1   Raising-to-Object (ECM) Constructions in Japanese

As is well-known, Japanese has predicates that allow optional ECM across a finite/tensed
CP boundary, as shown in (38-a). In fact, the ECM construction feeds passivization,
and there is no reason to treat these cases as A'-movement (see (38-b)).

(38)   a.   *John-ga   Mary-{o/ga}   tensai-da-to   omot-ta.*   Active
              John-NOM Mary-{ACC/NOM} genius-COP-C think-PAST
              'John thought Mary to be a genius/John thought that Mary was a genius.'

    b.   *Mary_i-ga John-ni   t_i tensai-da-to   omow-are-ta.*   ☐ *Passive*
        Mary-NOM John-DAT   genius-COP-C think-PASS-PAST
        'Mary was thought by John to be a genius.'

Kuno (1976), Sakai (1996), and Tanaka (2002) present compelling evidence that the accusative DP is in the matrix clause and in an A-position, using such diagnostics as binding and adverb placement. The following is a well-cited example from Kuno (1976), which shows that the nominative or topic DP in the embedded clause cannot precede a matrix adverb, whereas the ECM-ed accusative DP can (also cited in Sakai 1996, Hiraiwa 2005, and Tanaka 2002).

(39)   a.   *Taro-wa (orokanimo) Hanako-ga/wa   (*orokanimo) baka-da-to*
          Taro-TOP stupidly   Hanako-NOM/TOP stupidly   stupid-COP-C
          omot-ta.
          think-PAST
          '(Stupidly,) Taro considered Hanako to be stupid.'

        b.   *Taro-wa (orokanimo) Hanako-o_i   (orokanimo) t_i baka-da-to*
          Taro-TOP stupidly   Hanako-ACC stupidly   stupid-COP-C
          omot-ta.
          think-PAST
          '(Stupidly,) Taro considered Hanako to be stupid.'

The facts in (39) leave no doubt that the ECM-ed accusative DP is located in the matrix clause.

    The following paradigm concerning binding adopted from Sakai (1996) shows that the ECM-ed accusative is in an A-position.

(40)   a.   *Rie-wa karera_i-o [otagai_i-no   shoogen-ni-yotte]*
          Rie-TOP them-ACC each.other-NO testimony-NI-YOTTE
          sinzi-tei-ru.
          believe-ASP-PRES
          'Rie believes them_i based on each other_i's testimony.' ☐ Transitive

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b. *Rie-wa [karera$_i$-ga muzitu-da-to]   [otagai$_i$-no
   Rie-TOP them-NOM innocent-COP-C each.other-NO
   shoogen-ni-yotte]   sinzi-tei-ru
   testimony-NI-YOTTE believe-ASP-PRES
   'Rie believes that they$_i$ are innocent based on each other$_i$'s testimony.'

c. Rie-wa   karera$_i$-o [t$_i$muzitu-da-to] [otagai$_i$-no
   Rie-TOP them-ACC innocent-COP-C each.other-no
   shoogen-ni-yotte]   sinzi-tei-ru
   testimony-NI-YOTTE believe-ASP-PRES   ⟦ECM⟧
   'Rie believes them$_i$ to be innocent based on each other$_i$'s testimony.'

(40-a) shows that condition A is satisfied, thus the accusative antecedent c-commands the reciprocal anaphor *otagai* in an adjunct clause. The nominative DP in the embedded clause in (40-b) cannot license the anaphor, whereas the ECM-ed accusative in (40-c) c-commands and licenses the anaphor in the adjunct clause. This means that the accusative DP in the matrix clause is in an A-position.[8] Significantly, long-distance passivization like (38-a) is not a problem for the proposed analysis of the passive, since it is still the second highest argument (or the highest DP in the smuggled constituent) that appears as the nominative DP in the passive. Passivization smuggles the big VP and the closest DP moves to the nominative position, which yields the passive.[9]

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[8] Given the common wisdom that a finite clause boundary behaves as a barrier for A-movement, Japanese ECM cases like (38-a) seem to be a problem. For this reason, the question of whether Japanese possesses true ECM constructions has been a matter of debate since Kuno (1976). Both raising (e.g. Hiraiwa 2002, Tanaka 2002, Yoon 2007) and control approaches (Hoji 1991, 2005) have been proposed, but I will assume a raising analysis, following Kuno (1976), Sakai (1996), Hiraiwa (2001), Tanaka (2002), and Yoon (2007) among many others.

[9] Whether the nominative DP of the embedded clause can bear accusative Case does not determine the availability of passive counterparts (contra Nagai:1991; see (i) adapted from Nagai 1991). The derived subject simply has to be merged as a sentence-initial DP in the ECM embedded clause. The availability of accusative Case is governed by independent conditions: the accusative-marking is limited to cases when the predicate in the complement clause is either an adjective or a nominal (copulative) predicate (Kuno 1976).

(i) a. Hanako-ga   Taroo-{*o/ga}   kaisya-o   yame-ta-to omot-ta.
      Hankako-NOM Taro-{ACC/NOM} company-ACC quit-PAST-C think-PAST
      'Hanako thought that Taro quit the job.'
    b. Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako-ni [t$_i$ kaisya-o   yame-ta]-to omow-are-ta.
      Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT   company-ACC quit-PAST-C think-PASS-PAST

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Significantly, long-distance passivization is impossible if the predicate is not an ECM predicate. Although the verb *sir-u* 'to find out' licenses accusative Case, as shown in (41-a) and (41-b), it does not participate in the ECM construction (see (42-b)).

(41)   a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-no himitu-o   sit-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-NO secret-ACC know-PAST
            'Ken found out Naomi's secret.'   Active

        b. *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni ~~Naomi-no~~ himitu-o   si-rare-ta.*
            Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT   secret-ACC know-PASS-PAST
            'Naomi had Ken find out her secret.'   Passive

(42)   a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-{*o/ga}   tensai-da-to sit-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-{ACC/NOM} genius-COP-C know-PAST
            'Ken found out that Naomi was a genius.'   Active

        b. $^{???}$*Naomi-ga Ken-ni   t$_i$ tensai-da-to   si-rare-ta.*
            Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT   genius-COP-C know-PASS-PAST
            'Naomi was found out to be a genius by Ken.'   Passive

The passive (42-b) is much more degraded than (38-b) or (41-b). The contrast also suggests that arguments do not freely A-move out of any type of finite CP boundary, but only out of the CPs that ECM predicates select for. The observation here is consistent with Tanaka's (2002) idea that the edge of a CP which ECM predicates select for can license an A-position, whereas the edge of a CP which non-ECM predicates select for is in an A'-position, thus the moved phrase cannot undergo further movement (see Tanaka 2002: for further discussion).[10]

'Taro$_i$ was thought that he$_i$ quit the company.'

Although the subject of the embedded predicate cannot bear accusative Case, it can undergo passivization, yielding apparent long-distance passivization.

[10]See also Uchibori (2000, 2001) for the idea that ECM predicates in Japanese select for a subjunctive CP that allows raising of an argument.

6.3.1.2 Dative Goal Passives as Long-distance Passivization

Another type of apparent long-distance passives discussed in the literature contain the predicate *iw-u* 'to say.' (43-b) is the example used by Toyoshima (1996) and Huang (1999) to illustrate that passivization in Japanese can take place across a tensed/finite clause boundary (Note that stressing *Bill-ga* in (43-b) ensures the right bracketing and also licenses a relevant gap in the embedded clause):

(43)   a.   *John-ga [Bill-ga Mary-o   hihansi-ta-to]   it-te-iru.*
                John-NOM Bill-NOM Mary-ACC criticize-PAST-C say-ASP-PRES
                'John is saying that Bill criticized Mary.' ┌Active┐

       b.   *Mary-ga   John-ni [Bill-ga   ~~Mary-o~~ hihannsi-ta-to]*
                Mary-NOM John-DAT [Bill-NOM   criticize-PAST-C
                iw-are-tei-ru.
                say-PASS-ASP-PRES
                'Mary is (being) said by John that Bill criticized.' ┌Passive┐
                (Toyoshima's translation)

The verb *iw-u* 'to say' does not allow ECM/raising to object. Then how can we analyze passives like (43-b)? There are two reasons to think that the structure given in (43-b) is not the correct one. First, the verb *iw-u* 'to say' is a 'verb of speaking', which takes a dative ADDRESSEE argument, which freely raises to the nominative position in the passive (see section 3.3.1).

(44)   a.   *John-ga Mary-ni [Bill-ga Ken-o   hihansi-ta-to]*
                John-NOM Mary-DAT Bill-NOM Ken-ACC criticize-PASS-C
                it-{ta/tei-ru}.
                say-{PAST/ASP-PRES}
                John told Mary that Bill criticized Ken.'

b. *Mary-ga   John-ni   [Bill-ga   Ken-o   hihansi-ta-to]*
    Mary-NOM John-DAT [Bill-NOM Ken-ACC criticize-PAST-C]
    iw-are-{ta/tei-ru}.
    say-PASS-{PAST/ASP-PRES}
    'Mary was told by John that Bill criticized Ken.'

The passive (43-b) is acceptable to me only if Mary is the addressee of John's statement, which strongly suggests that the nominative DP in (43-b) does not originate as the accusative DP in the embedded clause but rather as the addressee argument of the matrix predicate *iw-u* 'to say.'

   Second, Japanese allows *pro*, and in fact the person who is criticized by John in (43-b) can be but does not have to be Mary, and the null embedded object in (45-a) can be replaced with an overt pronoun, In contrast, the interpretation of the trace created by local passivization (45-b) has to match the derived subject, and the gap cannot be replaced with an overt pronoun, as shown in (45-c) (see section 6.1):

(45)   a. *Mary$_i$-ga   John-ni   t$_i$ [Bill-ga   kanozyo$_{i/j}$-o hihansita-to]*
           Mary-NOM John-DAT   [Bill-NOM her-ACC   criticize-PAST-C
           iw-are-ta}   [Passive]
           say-PASS-PAST
           'Mary$_i$ is (being) told/was told by John that Bill criticized her$_{i/j}$.'

       b. *Mary-ga   John-ni   ~~Mary-o~~ hihans-are-ta.*
           Mary-NOM John-DAT   criticize-PASS-PAST
           'Mary was criticized by John.'

       c. **Mary$_i$-ga   John-ni   kanozyo(-zisin)$_{i/k}$-o hihans-are-ta.*
           Mary-NOM John-DAT her(-self)-ACC   criticize-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Mary$_i$ was criticized her(self)$_i$ by John.'

This shows that the empty category in (43-b) is different from that in (45-b), and hence (43-b) cannot be the right derivation. Instead, I argue that the correct active and passive pair of the string given in (43) is as follows:[11]

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(46)　a.　*John$_i$-ga　Mary$_j$-ni [Bill-ga　pro$_{i/j/k}$ hihansi-ta-to]*
　　　　　John-NOM Mary-DAT Bill-NOM him/her criticize-PAST-C

　　　　　it-{te-iru/ta}.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Active]
　　　　　say-{ASP-PRES/PAST}
　　　　　'John tells/told Mary that Bill criticized him/her.'

　　　b.　*Mary$_i$-ga　John$_j$-ni　t$_i$ [Bill-ga　pro$_{i/j/k}$ hihansita-to]*
　　　　　Mary-NOM John-DAT　　[Bill-NOM him/her criticize-PAST-C

　　　　　iw-are-{tei-ru/ta}　　　　　　　　　　　　[Passive]
　　　　　say-PASS-{ASP-PRES/PAST}
　　　　　'Mary is (being) told/was told by John that Bill criticized him/her.'

In conclusion, this section shows that the evidence for A'-movement is unfounded, and passivization distributes differently from relativization and topicalization. Therefore, I conclude that Japanese passives involve A-movement.

6.4　Does *-rare* Select for an Argument?

I have established in this chapter that Japanese passives involve A-movement. One question that might arise is why the existing literature commonly assumes that Japanese (indirect) passives involve control and what the evidence is for that. This section re-examines some of the well-known arguments in favor of the control analysis: namely, the compatibility with subject-oriented adverbials, the incompatibility with inanimate/ abstract DPs, and the adversative connotations carried by many passives. I will review the three phenomena in turn and show that the characterizations of these phenomena given in the literature are incorrect, and there is no evidence that *-rare* assigns a θ-role.

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[11]Note that stressing the embedded subject 'Bill-ga' ensures an object *pro* in an embedded clause to associate with the nominative DP in the matrix clause; in general, it is difficult for an embedded object *pro* to refer to the matrix subject (see Huang 1984, 1989).

6.4.1 Compatibility with Subject-Oriented Adverbials

It has been argued that the nominative DP in the *ni*-passive (both direct and indirect passives) should be in a thematic position, since it can combine with subject-oriented adverbials (e.g. *orokanimo* 'stupidly' and *wazato* 'deliberately, intentionally'), which are alleged to require a subject DP denoting an AGENT or EXPERIENCER (Kuroda 1979; Huang 1999; Fukuda 2006, Hoshi 1994, 1999, among others).

(47) a. *Daitooryoo$_i$-ga orokanimo CIA-ni t$_i$ koros-are-te simat-ta.*
    president-NOM stupidly CIA-DAT kill-PASS-TE perfect-PAST
    'Stupidly, the president was killed by the CIA. $\boxed{\text{Acc. PSV}}$

  b. ?*Doroboo$_i$-ga wazato keisatukan-ni t$_i$ tukama.e-rare-ta.*
    thief-NOM deliberately policeman-DAT catch.SE-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'The thief was caught deliberately by the policeman (it was the
    thief's intention).' [A: mean 2.93] $\boxed{\text{Acc. PSV}}$

Sentences like those above are generally taken as evidence that the nominative DP of the accusative passive has an EXPERIENCER or AFFECTEE θ-role (assigned by *-rare*). However, what does this distribution really show? What can we conclude from it?

 First of all, *orokanimo* 'stupidly' is not a subject-oriented VP adverb but a speaker-oriented sentential adverb, which reflects the speaker's interpretation/evaluation of the event denoted in the sentence. The use of *orokanimo* 'stupidly' implies that the speaker assumes that the subject of the sentence has some control over the event denoted in the sentence, hence it is sentient. Crucially, English passives are also compatible with 'stupidly,' as illustrated (Stupidly, the president was caught by the police.) and no one disputes the fact that they are derived by movement. If the compatibility with 'stupidly' is evidence for control, English passives can be also analyzed as control constructions.

In contrast, the adverb *wazato* 'deliberately' is a subject-oriented adverb. Nevertheless, an EXPERIENCER θ-role is not a licenser, as illustrated below:

(48)   a.   *Ken-ga   (*wazato)   Naomi-o   aisi-ta.*
                   Ken-NOM deliberately Naomi-ACC love-PAST
                   'Ken loved Naomi deliberately.'

         b.   *Ken-ga   (*wazato)   kotae-ga   wakat-ta.*
                   Ken-NOM deliberately answer-NOM figure.out-PAST
                   'Ken deliberately figured out an answer.'

Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) argue that *wazato* requires a particular type of AGENT θ-role, what they call 'procedural agency,' which expresses that what one willfully brings about is the procedure for the realization of an eventuality denoted by the argument structure of the predicate (see p. 42), which I take to mean that *wazato* requires an agentive little *v*.

Nevertheless, there are two reasons to reject the conclusion that this property comes from *-rare*. First, it turns out that *wazato* 'intentionally, deliberately' in Japanese is also compatible with the subject of unaccusative predicates, as illustrated below:

(49)   a.   *Ken-ga   minna-no   mae-de   wazato   {sin/koron}-da.*
                   Ken-NOM everyone-NO front-LOC deliberately {die/fall}-PAST
                   Lit: 'Ken {died/fell} deliberately in front of everyone.'

         b.   *Doroboo-ga wazato   keisatukan-ni   tukamat-ta.*
                   theif-NOM   deliberately policeman-DAT be.caught-PAST
                   Lit. 'The thief was caught deliberately by the policeman (it was the thief's intention: unambiguous).' [A:mean 4.85]

These sentences do not contain *-rare* and the nominative DP of these unaccusative verbs is generally taken as PATIENT or THEME, thus not meeting the purported licens-

ing condition of *wazato*.[12] However, the sentences in (49) are all well-formed. In fact, the rating of (49-b) is much higher than that of (47-b): all except one participant gave (49-b) a 5 or 4. (Note that 'deliberately' unambiguously modifies the 'thief.') The mean rating of (47-b) is marginal (2.93): 33 out of 74 (44.5%) gave it a 1 or 2. This further questions the validity of using subject-oriented adverbials as a touchstone for the EXPERIENCER θ-role.

Second, the nominative DP of the passive is not always compatible with subject-oriented adverbials. The following intransitive passives are typical example of indirect passives.

(50)   a.   *Ken-ga   wazato   tsuma-ni nige-rare-ta.*
               Ken-NOM deliberately wife-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
               Int: Ken was deliberately escaped from by his wife.' ☐ Source PSV ☐

    b.   *Ken-ga   wazato   ame-ni hu-rare-ta.*
               Ken-NOM deliberately rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
               'Ken was deliberately rained upon.' ☐ on-directional Dative PSV ☐

All linguists seem to agree that the nominative DP in the indirect passive receives a θ-role from *-rare*. Then, the unacceptability of (50-a) and (50-b) are least expected. The fact that *wazato* 'deliberately' is incompatible with the nominative DP in indirect passives shows that compatibility with subject-oriented adverbials is not a reliable diagnostic test to show that the nominative DP in the passive bears an AGENT or EXPERIENCER θ-role.[13]

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[12]The unaccusative verb *tukam.ar-u* (be_caught), which consists of *tukam* 'to grab' and the low passive '*-rar*', is the stem for the transitive verb *tukam.a.e-ru* 'catch', which is used as the main verb in (47-b). The transitive verb *tukam.a-e-ru* 'catch' consists of the stem *tukam.ar-u* 'be.caught' and a low causative morpheme '-(s)e', (cf. *sizum-u* 'to sink$_{vi}$' vs. *sizum-e-ru* 'to sink$_{vt}$'.

[13]Assuming that what licenses *wazato* 'deliberately' is 'procedual agency', as proposed by Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), it is still puzzling why the nominative DP of *some* passives are compatible with *wazato*. Although I do not intend to fully account for the licensing mechanism of the subject-oriented adverbial *wazato*, the direction I pursue is that *wazato* forces the nominative DP to move to the volition projection that licenses control predicates like *tai* 'to want.' Crucially this projection is higher than

6.4.2 Incompatibility with Inanimate/Abstract DPs

Incompatibility with inanimate and abstract nominative DPs in *ni*-passives is another property that has been taken as a manifestation of the selectional restriction imposed on the external argument of *-rare* (e.g. Inoue 1976, Kuroda 1979, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Hoshi 1994, Fukuda 2006, Goro 2006). However, as shown in section 3.3.2.2, this generalization is based on a restrictive set of data (i.e. accusative passives derived from (pseudo-)ditransitive predicates), and once more data are taken into consideration, the generalization no longer holds. There are a great number of counter-examples to this generalization, including the ones presented in section 3.2. The following examples are discussed in Kuroda (1979) as exceptions to the generalization.

(51)   a.   *Kono siro-wa   Tokugawa-gun-ni   koogeki.s-are-ta.*
             this   castle-TOP Tokugawa-army-DAT attack.do-PASS-PAST
             'This castle was attacked by the Tokugawa army.'

        b.   *Sono sima-wa   umi-ni   kakom-are-tei-ru.*
             that   island-TOP sea-DAT surround-PASS-ASP-PRES
             'That island is surrounded by the sea.'   [A:mean 4.89, C:4.91]

Here are more instances of *ni*-passives with an inanimate/abstract nominative DP.

(52)   a.   *Ken-no yuuki-ga   ooku-no hito-ni   tatae-rare-ta.*
             Ken-NO courage-NOM many-NO person-DAT praise-PASS-PAST
             'Ken's courage was praised by many people.'   [Abstract DP]

        b.   *Ken-no seikoo-ga   dooryoo-ni   netam-are-tei-ru.*
             Ken-NO success-NOM colleague-DAT envy-PASS-ASP-PRES.
             Ken's success is envied by his colleagues.

Voice in Cinque's hierarchy (Cinque 1999, 2004). This makes it in principle possible for either external arguments or internal smuggled ones to associated with 'to want.' However, as we can see from (50-a) (the nominative is SOURCE) and (50-b) (the nominative DP is *on-Directional*), not all type of arguments can move into the volition projection. The licensing conditions for subject-oriented adverbs will be left for future research.

(53) a. *Atarashii syoosetu-ga hihyooka-ni kokuhyoos-are-ta.*   [Inanimate]
          new   novel-NOM critics-DAT attack-PASS-PAST
          'The/My new novel was attacked by critics.'

      b. *Sono hooseki-wa senmonka-ni   kanteis-are-ru.*
          that jewel-TOP specialist-DAT evaluate-PASS-PRES
          'That jewel will be appraised by a specialist.'

      c. *Sono omiyage-wa minna-ni   yorokob-are-ta.*
          that souvenir-TOP everyone-DAT please-PASS-PAST
          'That souvenir pleased by everyone.'

      d. *Eigo-wa   ooku-no hito-ni   hanas-are-tei-ru.*
          English-TOP many-no person-DAT speak-PASS-ASP-PRES
          'English is spoken by many people.'   [C: mean 4.75]

      e. *Siro-ga   heitai-ni   kakom-are-ta.*
          castle-NOM soldiers-DAT surround-PASS-PAST
          'The/Our castle was surrounded by soldiers.'

      f. *Hesokuri-ga   tuma-ni tukaw-are-ta.*
          secret.money-NOM wife-DAT use-PASS-PAST
          'The/My secret money was used by his wife.'

(54) a. *Bentoo-ga dareka-ni   tabe-rare-ta.*
          lunch-NOM somebody-DAT eat-PASS-PAST
          'The lunch was eaten by somebody.'

      b. *Naomi-no nikki-ga Ken-ni   yom-are-ta.*
          Naomi-NO diary-NO Ken-DAT read-PASS-PAST
          'Naomi's diary was read by Ken.'

      c. *Naomi-no huku-ga   Ken-ni yogos-are-ta.*
          Naomi-NO clothes-NOM Ken-DAT soil-PASS-PAST
          'Naomi's clothes were soiled by Ken.'

      d. *Naomi-no kami-ga Ken-ni   ki-rare-ta.*
          Naomi-NO hair-NOM Ken-DAT cut-PASS-PAST
          'Naomi's hair was cut by Ken.'

      e. *Nooto-ga   Ken-ni yabuk-are-ta.*
          notebook-NOM Ken-DAT rip-PASS-PAST
          'The notebook was ripped by Ken.'

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(55) a. *[Ken-ni kodomo-ga iru-no]-ga Naomi-ni*
    Ken-DAT child-NOM exist-NO-NOM Naomi-DAT
    si-rare-te-shimatta.
    know-PASS-GER-PERFECT
    Lit: 'That Ken has children was found out by Naomi.' [Passive]

   b. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ni kodomo-ga iru-no]-o sitte-shimatta.*
    Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT child-NOM exist-NO-ACC know-PERFECT-PAST
    'Naomi found out that Ken has children.' [Active]

(56) a. *[Ken-ga heya-ni haitteiku-no]-{ga/wa}   Naomi-ni*
    Ken-NOM room-ACC went.out-PAST-NO-{NOM/TOP} Naomi-DAT
    mi-rare-tei-nai.
    see-PASS-ASP-PAST-NEG
    'That Ken entered the room was not seen by Naomi.' [Passive]

   b. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ga heya-ni haitteiku-no]-o mi-tei-nai.*
    Naomi-NOM Ken-NOM room-DAT enter.go-NO-ACC see-ASP-NEG
    'Naomi didn't see that Ken entered the room.' [Active]

The examples above show that the generalization that *-rare* is incompatible with inanimate/abstract DPs is empirically inadequate. Therefore, I conclude that *-rare* does not impose selectional restrictions on the nominative DP in the *ni*-passive.

6.4.3 Adversative Connotations

One well-known property of the Japanese passive is its 'adversity' connotations. Many passives carry strong connotations that the referent of the nominative DP is adversely affected by the event denoted in the rest of the sentence (Wierzbicka 1979, Kuroda 1979, Oehrle and Nishio 1981, Kuno 1983, Shibatani 1990, Washio 1993: among others). Consider the following accusative, source, and possessor-accusative passives:

(57) a. *Ken-ga oya-ni ~~Ken-o~~ sute-rare-ta*
    Ken-NOM parent-DAT abandon-PASS-PAST
    'Ken was abandoned by his parent.' [Accusative]

b. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   ~~Ken-kara~~ nige-rare-ta.*
    Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   escape-PASS-PAST
    'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'   [Source]

c. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   ~~Ken-no~~ huku-o   yabuk-are-ta.*
    Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT   clothes-ACC rip-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Ken was ripped (his) clothes by Naomi.'   [Possessor]

All the passives in (57) give a listener the impression that *Ken* is adversely affected by the events denoted in the rest of the sentences. The literature standardly attributes the adversative connotations associated with the nominative DP to the θ-role that it is assigned by *-rare*. At least three sorts of θ-roles have been proposed in the literature: (i) MALFACTIVE (i.e. 'adversely'-affected) (Kuno 1973, Kuroda 1979, *inter alia*), (ii) AFFECTEE (Hoshi 1994, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, *inter alia*), and (iii) EXPERI-ENCER (Huang 1999: *inter alia*). Some linguists, such as Kitagawa (1979), Hoshi (1991, 1995, 1999), Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) Huang (1999), propose that *-rare* always assigns a θ-role, but the most widely adopted view is that *-rare* in 'indirect passives,' but not in 'direct passives,' assigns a θ-role. If the nominative DP were always selected by the passive morpheme *-rare*, we would expect that every occurrence of the nominative DP in the *-rare* passive would associate with a particular semantic value or a unique θ-role. Alternatively, if *-rare* optionally selects for an argument, we should be able to articulate the exact distribution of its optionality. However, I will show below that neither of these predictions hold in the Japanese passive, thus I will conclude that *-rare* never assigns a θ-role and that adversity connotations arise from the variety of source structures underlying this construction.

We can readily reject the first option that *-rare* always assigns a θ-role. None of the three θ-roles proposed in the literature are compatible with abstract DPs. However, as we have seen in previous section, abstract DPs can serve as the nominative DP of the accusative passive (see (52), (55-a), and (56-a) for examples). The next option is that

-rare 'optionally' assigns a θ-role. This raises the question of its distribution−exactly when it does and does not assign a θ-role. As mentioned above, the standard assumption is that *-rare* in the indirect (or adversative) passive always assigns a θ-role. Traditionally a defining characteristic of indirect passives has been an apparent lack of an active source (Kuno 1973, Shibatani 1990, Washio 1993, among others). Nevertheless, within the current approach, all the core passives have an active source, thus the dichotomy between direct and indirect passives is no longer tenable. Therefore, I will adopt a stricter criterion−the intransitive passive−in order to evaluate the claim that *-rare* in indirect passives assigns a θ-role.

If *-rare* in the intransitive passive assigns a unique θ-role, the prediction is that every nominative DP in the intransitive passive (i.e. dative, source, and possessive-dative passives within the current approach) should bear that θ-role. If there is a counterexample, that shows that the adversative connotations carried by other intransitive passives stem from factors other than the θ-role assignment. The three θ-roles proposed in the literature−MALFACTIVE, AFFECTEE, and EXPERIENCER−will be examined in turn below:

Malfactive/Adversative

Although many passives carry adversative connotations, it cannot be the case that *-rare* discharges a MALFACTIVE θ-role, because many intransitive passives that carry 'positive' or 'neutral' connotations have been reported in the literature (see especially Alfonso 1971 and Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992 for examples). Some examples are given below:

(58)   *pro Kirei-na ojoosan-ni nak-are-ru-to   chotto ureshii-mono-da.*
              beautiful girl-DAT   cry-PASS-PRES-and little   happy-thing-COP.
          'It's kind of nice when (you) are cried over by a beautiful girl.'
                                                              [Positive: Alfonso 1971]

(59)   a.   *pro_i Ame-ni   hur-are-te   kusabana_i-ga seiki-o*
                   rain-DAT descend-PASS-and plants-NOM   vigor-ACC
               torimodosi-ta.
               regain-PAST
               'The plants were revitalized with rain.' [Positive: Kitagawa et al. 1992]

        b.   *pro_i Ame-ni   hur-are-te   mizuumi-no suimen_i-ga   sizukani*
                   rain-DAT descend-PASS-and lake-NO   surface-NOM quietly
               yure-tei-ru.
               waver-ASP-PRES
               'The surface of the lake is tranquilly wavering with rain.'
                                                                    [Neutral:Kitagawa et al. 1992]

Alluding to examples like (58), Alfonso 1971, as cited in Wierzbicka (1988:258), says,

> Most textbooks state that the passive Japanese intransitive verb is adversa-
> tive. Taken as a textbook generalization, this statement has its merits; the
> data do indicate that this passive is generally used in environments where
> the subject has been unfavourably affected. But taken as a linguistic rule,
> namely that this passive is *intrinsically* adversative, the statement is in-
> valid. In *Japanese Language Patterns* we stated that this passive, like any
> other passive, is a plain statement of fact, and that if any emotional over-
> tones are present (unfavourable or favourable) they are due to factors other
> than the form *-areru* itself. We came to this conclusion because we could
> not reconcile an intrinsically adversative theory with the data as we saw
> them. There are many instances where this passive is used, and where all
> the native speakers we consulted failed to find any adversative overtones."

There is also a well-cited intransitive passive lacking adversity connotations (Alfonso
1971, Shibatani 1990, Washio 1993, Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992). The sentence is
adapted from Washio (1993:63):

(60)   *Bokura-wa soto-de   suzusii kaze-ni   huk-are-ta.*
        we-TOP   outside-LOC cool   wind-DAT blow-PASS-PAST
        Int. 'We enjoyed the cool wind outside.'
        Lit. 'We were blown at by the cool wind outside.'

Within the current approach, (60) is an at-Directional dative passive, which has the following active counterpart:

(61) *Kaze-ga   bokura-{ni/*o}   hui-ta.*
      wind-NOM we-{DAT/*ACC} blow-PAST
      'The wind blew at us.'

An example like (60) is problematic if *-rare* assigns a MALFACTIVE θ-role to the subject of indirect passives. In order to maintain this claim, linguists have denied that (60) is an indirect passive. We can illustrate this with Washio (1993:63), who argues, based on the Mongolian data given below, that the verb *huk-* in Japanese actually has a transitive use (though it never surfaces in the active voice).

(62) a. *bid   gadaa seriüin salxind   üleegdev.*
          we-TOP outside cool   wind-DAT blow-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'We were blown by the cool wind outside.'

      b. *seriüin salxi üleej bana.*
          cool   wind blow be
          'The cool wind is blowing.'

      c. *sali namajg üleev.*
          wind me-ACC blow-PAST
          'The wind blew me.

The verb *üilee-* 'to blow' in Mongolian may take a direct object as shown in (62-c), and Mongolian lacks intransitive indirect passives (within the current approach, this means that Mongolian disallows raising from an oblique position (or pseudo-passives)). Based on these facts, Washio (1993) argues that (62-a) must be derived from (62-c). Extending the Mongolian case to Japanese (60), he concludes that (60) is an instance of the direct passive (or accusative passive), where the nominative DP is underlyingly a direct object of the verb *huk-*, and the passive (60) is derived from its active transitive

counterpart (see also Shibatani (1990:331-332), who came to the same conclusion as Washio (1993)). However, this is not an acceptable argument: we certainly cannot attribute every instance of a lack of adversity connotations to the optional transitive use of an intransitive verb that never surfaces in the active voice.

It is critical for the contention of this thesis that we can identify the exact distribution of 'adversity' -*rare*. If 'adversity' connotations were coextensive with 'the availability of an active counterpart,' we would expect at least every single intransitive passive (which in principle lacks an active counterpart) to carry 'adversity' connotations. Nevertheless, the data reviewed above show that the presence of adversity connotations does not even cover all the instances of intransitive passives. Therefore, the conclusion drawn from the above discussion is that if -*rare* assigns an optional θ-role, it cannot be a unique one, MALFACTIVE.

Affectee

The next question is whether -*rare* optionally assigns an AFFECTEE θ-role or not. Many linguists assume that this is the right generalization. It is most explicitly formalized in Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), who propose that 'the passive morpheme -*rare* requires the subject to be "affected" by the event or state described by the complement clause, and affectedness interpretations can be of positive, negative or neutral nature, depending on the (lexical) semantics/pragmatics involved in each sentence rather than necessarily being "adversative" (cf. Wierzbicka 1979, Oehrle and Nishio 1980).' Kitagawa and Kuroda's (1992) generalization seems to cover many instances of the intransitive passive. Yet there are still some cases that cannot be explained by their loose notion of an AFFECTEE θ-role. Consider the following intransitive passive (i.e. the source passive):

(63) *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   nige-rare-ta-ga,   sono-koto-de eikyoo-o*
      Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST-but, that-thing-by effect-ACC
      ukeru-koto-wa   naka-ta.
      receive-thing-TOP NEG-PAST.
      'Ken was escaped from by Naomi, but he was not affected by that.'

If *-rare* were to mean 'be affected,' (63) should result in contradiction. However, (63) is entirely well-formed. This shows that the referent of the nominative DP in the intransitive passive does not have to be affected at all. The affectee connotations obtained in the source passive (57-b) are cancelable, thus they are just an implicature. Therefore, I conclude that the subject of intransitive passives does not receive an affectee θ-role, either.

Experiencer

This brings us to the last option: that is, *-rare* optionally assigns an EXPERIENCER θ-role. Unlike the first two θ-roles, this is not an easy hypothesis to falsify. Nevertheless, I will show below that *-rare* in intransitive passives does not assign a unique θ-role to its subject. Rather the embedded predicate imposes some restriction on the nominative DP. First, consider the following passives:

(64) a. *Sono gakko-wa   yuusyuuna gaksei-ni   nige-rare-ta.*
          that   school-TOP smart   student-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'That school was escaped from by smart students.' [Source Passive]

      b. *Sono machi-ga ooame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*
          that   town-NOM heavy.rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'That town was descended upon by heavy rain.'
                                              [Dative (on-Directional) Passive]

These passives show that *-rare* is compatible with inanimate DPs like 'school' or 'town.' If *-rare* assigns an EXPERIENCER θ-role, the well-formedness of these sentences means that 'school' and 'town' can serve as an experiencer (i.e. an argument of

-rare) in the intransitive passive. Now recall our earlier discussion about the verb *nak-u* 'to cry' that there is an animacy restriction on the CAUSE argument (or the nominative DP) in the passive voice (see section 3.5.2.4). Suppose a situation where a school is planned to undergo destruction, and all the teachers and the students who graduated from that school gathered in front of the school and cried. Even with this situation, the following passive is ill-formed:

(65) **Sono gakko-wa   minna-ni   nak-are-ta.*
      that   school-TOP everyone-DAT cry-PASS-PAST.
      Lit. 'The school was cried over by everyone.'   [Cause PSV]

Replacing 'that school' with an animate DP, such as 'John,' makes the sentence well-formed. The contrast between (64-a) and (65) cannot be explained if the nominative DPs in both sentences are selected by *-rare*.

In sum, this section demonstrates that even if the passive *-rare* assigns a θ-role, a unique θ-role that is compatible with all the intransitive passives is not identifiable. The nominative DP of the intransitive passive cannot be a MALFACTIVE, AFFECTEE, or EXPERIENCER argument, and the adversative connotations that many passives carry can be canceled, thus they are just an implicature. Since we are unable to identify exactly when *-rare* selects for an argument and what thematic role it assigns, we reject the claim that *-rare* optionally (i.e. in indirect passives) assigns a θ-role and conclude that Japanese *-rare*, which never selects for a theta-argument, has invariant lexical features.

The remaining question is how to account for the cases in which adversity connotations are indeed present (e.g. (57)). If the adversity connotations do not stem from *-rare*, what is responsible for such connotations? The following section addresses this issue.

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6.4.3.1 Where Does the Affectedness Come From?

If not because of the θ-role, why do many Japanese passives carry adversative conno-
tations? One possibility is that the affectedness arises due to the information structure
of passive voice. Passivization in general affects the external argument of a predicate,
and an internal argument of the predicate occupies Spec,TP, making it a subject or
a topic of the sentence. It is conceivable that information structure plays some role
in the passive voice, and is responsible for the affectedness connotations to some de-
gree. Regardless of the animacy of the subject, in general passive voice indeed tends
to carry affectee connotations that are not always present in the active counterpart.
For example, Keenan (1985:269) presents the following active-passive pairs to illus-
trate that there are stronger affectee connotations present in the passive than its active
counterpart:

(66) a. Someone has slept in this bed.

      b. This bed has been slept in.

(67) a. John saw Mary entering the building at 6 o'clock.

      b. Mary was seen entering the building at 6 o'clock.

(68) a. John changed his job.

      b. John's job was changed.

The following is an example from French.[14]

(69) a. *Jean a   vu Pierre.*
          John have seen Pierre
          'John saw Pierre.'

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[14]Thanks to Vincent Homer for help with the French example.

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b. *Pierre a été vu par Jean.*
Pierre has been seen by John
'Pierre was seen by John.'

This is also true in Japanese passives. In the following active-passive pairs, the accusative passive counterparts carry strong affectedness connotations, which are not necessarily present in the active counterpart.

(70) a. *Ken-ga sono hon-o mi-ta.*
Ken-NOM that book-ACC see-PAST
'Ken saw that book.'

b. *Sono hon-ga Ken-ni mi-rare-ta.* [Accusative PSV]
that book-NOM Ken-DAT see-PASS-PAST
'That book was seen by Ken.'
(Connotations: That book shouldn't be seen by Ken.)

(71) a. *Ken-ga John-no kaisya-o yame-ta.*
Ken-NOM John-NO company-ACC quit-PAST
'Ken quit John's company.'

b. *John-no kaisya-ga Ken-ni yame-rare-ta.* [Accusative PSV]
John-NO company-NOM Ken-DAT quit-PASS-PAST
'John's company was quit by Ken.'
(Connotations: a huge loss for John's company.)

Since this is not the property unique to Japanese passives, I will set aside this type of affectedness associated with passive voice.

Now we turn to 'affected' or 'adversity' connotations specific to Japanese passives. The idea I pursue is that 'affectedness' arises from structural properties, while 'adversity' connotations are implicatures that stem from meta-linguistic factors−the choice of predicate and the real-world knowledge. Specifically, my proposals are as follows:

(72) a. 'Affected' connotations are a by-product of the structure: the nominative DP is originally merged into the structure as (i) a possessor of the internal argument, (ii) an on-Directional dative, or (iii) a source argument of the predicate.

   b. 'Adversity' connotations are attributable to (i) the lexical semantic/pragmatic properties of the predicate or (ii) the interaction between (i) and the θ-role that the nominative DP receives.

The rest of this section explains and motivates the two proposals in turn.

6.4.3.2 The Source of Affectedness

In general, three types of passives carry strong affected connotations: (i) the possessor passive, (ii) the *on*-Directional dative passive, and (iii) the source passive. None of these arguments are a direct object (THEME/PATIENT) of the predicate embedded under *-rare*, thus the affected connotations perceived from these passives are different from the connotations perceived from the instances we saw in (70-b) and (71-b). The three structures are discussed in turn below:

The Possessor Passive

The derived subject of the possessor passive, which is originally merged as a possessor of the argument in the smuggled big VP domain, generally carries strong adversative affectee connotations, as exemplified below:

(73) a. *Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.* [A:mean 4.68, C:4.33]
    Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'   Kinship

   b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni kodomo-o sikar-are-ta.*
    Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT child-ACC scold-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Ken was scolded (his) child by Naomi.'

c. *Ken$_i$-ga Naomi-**ni** kao$_{i/*j}$-o tatak-are-ta.*
    Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was hit (his)$_i$ face by Naomi.' Inalienable

d. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni huku-o yabuk-are-ta.*
    Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT clothes-ACC rip-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Ken was ripped (his) clothes by Naomi.' Alienable

To me, if presented without context, all the possessor passives in (73) carry the sense of adversative affectedness.[15] However, the following example demonstrates that the 'adversity' aspect attributes to the choice of the predicate:

(74) *Ken-ga Naomi-ni kodomo-o home-rare-ta.*
      Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT child-ACC praise-PASS-PAST
      Lit. 'Ken was praised (his) child by Naomi.'

In (74) 'Ken' is still affected by 'Naomi's praising of his son' but very likely in a positive way. What is important here is that the possessor passive always gives an impression that the derived subject is 'affected' by the event. This is because the nominative DP is a possessor of the affected object (i.e. the object that undergoes change) of the predicate, and the degree of affectedness perceived correlates with how much the possessed NP is affected by the activity denoted by the predicate. The way the nominative DP of the possessor passive is affected is rather indirect, through its possessed NP. The possessor itself is not an affected argument, not undergoing physical changes, and the effect is very likely to be emotional given that the possessor is often

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[15]The treatment of the four possessive passives differs depending on the linguist. For example, Shibatani (1990) argues that 'affectedness' is only present with cases involving alienable possessors like (73-d), but not with cases involving inalienable possessors like (73-c). To me, however, (73-c) and (73-d) do not differ much in terms of the degree of affectedness. As is well-known, alienable and inalienable possessors tend to behave differently crosslinguistically (Nichols 1988, Alexiadou 2003). This is also true in Japanese (Ura 1994, Ishizuka 2010: among others), and it is plausible that the finer details of the possessor-raising step differ between the two types of possessor passives. However, I do not distinguish the two possessor passives in this thesis (see section 3.6 for the proposed structure).

an animate DP. In conclusion, the affected connotations carried in the possessor passive are a by-product of the syntactic possessive relation between the nominative DP and the possessed NP that is the affected argument of the predicate (see also Washio 1993 for a similar idea, which he calls 'adversity by exclusion' (i.e. if one is affected by an event without being directly involved in it, then he is adversely affected).

The *on*-Directional Dative Passive

On-Directional dative passives also carry strong affected connotations, as exemplified below:

(75)   a.   *Taro-ga   ame-ni   hur-are-ta.*
                 Taro-NOM rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
                 'Taro was rained on.'

    b.   *Densya-de Naomi-ga   roozin-ni   kusyami-o s-are-ta.*
                 train-LOC Naomi-NOM old.man-DAT sneeze-ACC do-PASS-PAST
                 'Naomi was sneezed on by an old man in the train.'

I propose that 'affectedness' arises because the nominative DP is an '*on*-Directiona'l argument of the predicate: it is an affected argument in the sense that it receives a direct impact from the activity denoted in the predicate (cf. see also Pylkkänen's (2002) idea of 'directionality,' which is discussed in her proposal for low applicatives (or possessive passives in a traditional term)). For example, for (75-a) to be felicitous, 'Taro' has to get wet from rain (i.e. literally, he has to be 'rained on'), and for (75-b) to be felicitous, sneezing has to be directed at Naomi, which results in affected connotations.

The Source Passive

The source passive also carries affected connotations, and this is because the nominative DP is the source argument of the predicate (see also Pylkkänen 2002).

(76) a. *Otto-ga   tuma-ni   nige-rare-ta*
           husband-NOM wife-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
           'The husband was escaped from by his wife.'   [A:mean 4.82]

      b. *Ken-ga   doroboo-ni okane-o   nusum-are-ta*   [A:mean 4.77]
           Keb-NOM thief-DAT   money-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken was stolen his money stolen from by a thief.' | Source PSV |

'Husband' is affected, rather indirectly, because he is the source of his wife's escaping. Likewise, 'Ken' is affected because money was stolen 'from him.'

In this section, I have argued that the affected connotation is a by-product of the thematic role that the nominative DP has originally received in the passive. The affected connotations arise because the nominative DP is merged as a possessor of the affected (or THEME) argument of the predicate or as an ON-DIRECTIONAL dative or SOURCE argument of the predicate. The way the possessor nominative is affected is rather indirect, through its possessed DP, whereas the DIRECTIONAL dative or SOURCE argument is affected more directly from the event denoted by the predicate. Furthermore, I argue that connotations of 'adversity' stem from the lexical semantics/pragmatics of the predicate.

The remaining question is how to deal with the cases that are not a POSSESSOR, DIRECTIONAL or SOURCE argument of the predicate but still carry strong adversity connotations. My proposal is that the 'adversely affected' connotations stem from the interaction between the thematic role of the nominative DP and the lexical semantics/pragmatics of the predicate with which *-rare* merges (see (72)). Let me elucidate this point with more examples below.

6.4.3.3 The Source of Adversative Connotations

In this section, we will examine two passives that are reported to carry strong adversative connotations in the literature, but whose nominative DPs are not a possessor of the internal argument, on-Directional, or source argument of the predicate.

The first example, which is modified from Kuno (1973), is presented below:

(77)   *John-ga   Mary-ni   koibito-o   ziman.s-are-ta*
           John-NOM Mary-DAT lover-ACC bragging.do-PASS-PAST
           'John was bragged about her lover to by Mary.'   Dative Passive

The passive (77) carries strong adversative connotations and passives like this have been taken as a typical example of the indirect passive lacking an active counterpart (e.g. Kuno 1973). However, within the current approach, the nominative DP *John* in (77) is originally merged as an ADDRESSEE argument of a verb of speaking (i.e. *zimansu-ru* 'to brag'; see section 3.3.1 for the structure). Now the question is where do the adversative connotations come from? My proposal is that the adversative connotations arise from the fact that the nominative DP is an ADDRESSEE argument of 'boasting.' The verb *zimansu-ru* itself has negative connotations, and from real-world knowledge, native speakers know that being the 'addressee' of someone's boasting is an unpleasant experience.

We can show that the adversity connotations are just an implicature, because the passive is still felicitous even if 'John' is not affected at all. Consider (78) under the context that John is deaf.

(78)   *John-ga   Mary-ni   koibito-o   zimans-are-ta   ga, toozen   sono*
           John-NOM Mary-DAT lover-ACC brag-PASS-PAST but, naturally that
           koto-ni-wa   kizuka-naka-tta.
           thing-DAT-TOP realize-NEG-PAST
           'John was bragged to about her lover by Mary, but naturally (he) didn't realize that.'

In (78), it is not possible for 'John' to be affected by Mary's bragging since he could not hear what Mary said. However, the passive is still well-formed, demonstrating that the adversity connotations available with (77) are just an implicature.

Additionally, we can make the adversity connotations disappear by replacing 'to boast' with another verb of speaking, such as 'to confess':

(79)   *John-ga   Mary-ni   ai-o   kokuhaku.s-are-ta*
       John-NOM Mary-DAT love-ACC confession.do-PASS-PAST
       'John was confessed about her love to by Mary.'

The passives (77) and (79) share the same syntactic structure: the predicates in both sentence are a verb of speaking, which takes an accusative THEME and a dative AD-DRESSEE argument. In addition, the two verbs have the same decomposition: they consist of a noun (*ziman* 'boasting' and *kokuhaku* 'confession') and a light verb *su-ru* 'do.' Nevertheless, the adversative connotations are only present with (77).[16] Therefore, I conclude that the adversative effects associated with (77) are due to the lexical property of the predicate and are not inherent to the θ-role of the nominative DP or to the passive morpheme *-rare*.

Let us turn to the next example. The following dative Cause passive, which is taken from Washio (1993:54), is another representative example of indirect passives that is known to carry strong adversity connotations:

(80)   *Gakusei-ga   kodomo-ni nak-are-ta.*
       student-NOM child-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'The student was cried over by the child.'   [dative Cause PSV]

Washio (1993) attributes the adversative connotations to the principle of 'adversity by exclusion' (which is the principle Washio (1993) proposed; see section 6.4.3.2).

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[16] Needless to say, if one assumes a context such that Ken dislikes Naomi and wants to avoid being confessed to, then an adversity interpretation is available. However, what is important is whether (79) always (or inherently) carries such connotations or not: and the answer is No.

According to Washio (1993), 'adversity by exclusion' is available if the nominative DP of the passive does not relate to any argument positions of the embedded verb, thus the intransitive passive is a typical case in which this principle applies. Contrary to Washio (1993), under the current approach, 'student' is licensed as a dative Cause argument of the verb *nak-u* 'to cry' (see section 3.5.2.4). However, 'cause' is not an affected argument of the predicate ('cause' doesn't undergo change because of crying). My proposal is that the adversity connotations come from the pragmatic force of the activity denoted in the predicate and the nominative being the 'cause' of it. Given real-world knowledge, if someone cries because of you, you are likely to feel guilty or at least uncomfortable, which results in adversity connotations. The effects of the choice of predicate become evident if *nak-u* 'to cry' is replaced with another verb like *odorok-u* 'to be surprised', which also takes a dative 'cause' argument:

(81)　　a.　*Naomi-ga　Ken-ni　odorok-are-ta.*
　　　　　　Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT be.surprised-PASS-PAST
　　　　　　'Naomi surprised Ken.'　　　　　　　　　　[dative Cause PSV]

　　　　b.　*Ken-ga　Naomi-ni　odoroi-ta.* 　　　.　　　　　[Active]
　　　　　　Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT be.surprised-PAST
　　　　　　'Ken was surprised at Naomi.'

The passive (81-a) is interpreted neutrally, entirely lacking adversity and affected connotations. *Naomi* in is just a cause and (81-a) is just a statement of a fact. Consequently, I conclude that the lack of adversity/affected connotations in (81-a) shows that the adversity perceived with (80) is simply a by-product of the lexical pragmatics of the predicate 'to cry.'

6.5　Summary of the Chapter

This chapter concentrates on movement properties of Japanese passives and reexamines the arguments provided in favor of a control analysis. Comparing the distributions

of the gap in causative versus passive constructions, I first show that the gap contained in the passive cannot be *pro*, but must be a trace (note that the embedded object in the accusative passive is not a position for PRO to occur). Then I reexamine the reconstruction facts, which have been taken as an argument against a movement derivation of the passive in the literature. It turned out the purported generalization reflected a partial view of the empirical paradigm. Once more data are added, a different picture arises: the nominative DP in the passive reconstructs under the dative GOAL and LOCATIVE DPs but not under the dative *by*-phrase. The fact that the nominative DP reconstructs under dative GOAL DPs or LOCATIVE DPs shows that the derivation involves movement and that the landing site is the surface nominative position. Then I turn to the question of whether the passive involves A- or A'-movement. I show that the passive shows a different distribution from relativization and topicalization and conclude that the Japanese passive is an A-movement phenomenon. The last section shows that strong 'affected' connotations associated with many nominative DPs in the passive come from the nominative DP bearing the POSSESSOR, ON-DIRECTIONAL, or SOURCE θ-roles. Further, I propose that the lexical semantic/pragmatic properties of the predicate are always responsible for 'adversity' connotations. Crucially, 'affected' connotations do not arise because the nominative DP receives an AFFECTEE or MALFACTIVE θ-role from *-rare*.

CHAPTER 7

The Extra-Thematic Passive

This chapter investigates the 'extra-thematic passive,' whose nominative DP is not licensed within the smuggled big VP. The extra-thematic passive exhibits properties that are very different from the core passive, and it cannot be generated by the smuggling analysis developed in the previous chapters. Crucially, some native speakers, including myself, consistently reject this type of passives, which suggests that the extra-thematic passive involves a different licensing mechanism from the grammar that generates the core passive. I will refer to the grammar that generates the core passive as Grammar-Q, and the grammar that generates the extra-thematic passive as Grammar L. In this chapter, I will address the following questions: How is the extra-thematic passive licensed (i.e. Grammar-L)? How does Grammar-L differ from Grammar-Q? What factors give rise to individual variability? How is Grammar-L acquired?

As the low mean ratings of the following examples show, the extra-thematic passive is unacceptable when presented without context:

(1)   a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.   [A:mean 1.09]
               Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
               Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'
               Int. Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi ran.'

        b. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   oyog-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.39]
               Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
               Lit. 'Ken was swum by Naomi.'
               Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi swam.'

c. *Ken-wa   musuko-ni oyog-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.61]
   Ken-TOP son-DAT   swim-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was swum by his son.'
   Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his son swam.'

d. *Ken-wa   musume-ni   odor-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.56]
   Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was danced by his daughter.'
   Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that his daughter danced.'

e. *Naomi-wa Lisa-no hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.   [A:mean 1.69]
   Naomi-TOP Lisa-NO mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'
   Int. 'Naomi was affected by the fact that Lisa's mother died.'

f. *Ken-wa Naomi-no kaisya-ni   toosan.s-are-ta.   [C:mean 1.81]
   Ken-TOP Naomi-NO company-DAT bankrupt.do-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was gone bankrupt by Naomi's company.'
   Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi's company went bankrupt.'

g. *Ken-wa   misiranuhito-ni zisatus-are-ta.
   Ken-TOP stranger-DAT   commit.suicide-PASS-PAST
   Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
   Int. 'Ken was affected by the fact that a stranger committed suicide.'
                                         [A:mean 1.55, C:mean 1.59]

As mentioned in section 3.7, the extra-thematic passive is said to be well-formed once supported by a rich context that explicates how the nominative DP is affected (Kubo 1992; Kuroda 1992, Shibatani 1994, *inter alia*). However, why does the affected context determine the well-formedness of the sentence? As correctly pointed out by Shibatani (1994), the requirement of extraneous semantic support is never the case with causatives or direct passives (i.e. core passives), whose arguments are licensed by clearly defined θ-roles, or even in a construction involving an actual experiencer. The following causative sentence is implausible, but clearly grammatical without extraneous semantic support:

(2) *Daitooryoo-ga ucyuuzin-ni syokuji-o tabe-sase-ta.*
president-NOM aliens-DAT meal-ACC eat-CAUS-PAST
'The President let/made aliens eat the meal.'

Since the real-world plausibility does not explain why some passives require adversative context and others do not, the difference must be structural. Shibatani (1994) develops a semantico-pragmatic account to the constructions containing extra-thematic arguments. His idea is that it is the affected context that explicates the 'relevance of the extra-thematic argument to the described scene' that allows it to be integrated into clausal semantics. The analysis I pursue in this chapter is similar in spirit to Shibatani's (1994), but differs in implementation: I will advance a syntactic treatment of his idea.

In this chapter, the results from the questionnaires play a crucial role in understanding what kind of affected contexts can license extra-thematic passives. Concerns about using the data collected from non-linguists are discussed in the literature: while linguists can factor out irrelevant factors, such as real-world plausibility or stylistic issues, non-linguists might produce judgements that reflect cognitive factors other than the grammar that is the object of study (Schütze 1996). The following section reports the methodologies used in the questionnaires. Then I will return to the investigation of Grammar-L.

7.1   Methodology of the Questionnaires

The primary task used to collect grammaticality judgments was a 5-point scale judgment task.[1] Reviewing studies that investigate potential confounding factors that sys-

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[1]This task was chosen instead of a magnitude estimation task—a judgement collection technique that has received significant attention over the past decade—because the effect size we are interested in is big enough to be captured by a 5-point scale. In addition, the recent studies reveal that the magnitude estimation task does not necessarily provide more accurate data than 5- or 7-point scale tasks (e.g. Sprouse 2009, Bard et al. 1996, Keller 2001, Featherston 2005)

tematically contribute to variation in judgments, Schütze (1996) has made some methodological recommendations (see Chapter 6.3. in Schütze 1986). The potential confounding factors include instructions, the number of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, order of presentation, repeated presentation, the number of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, judgment speed, modality, register, preparation, context, experience such as linguistic training, parsability (in terms of length and complexity), frequency (lexical items as well as structures), and lexical content (see Schütze for a complete list of potential confounding factors). I took Schütze (1996)'s recommendations into consideration when designing the questionnaires, especially Questionnaires B and C.

The experiment for questionnaire A was conducted in summer 2007, and questionnaires B and C were conducted in summer 2008. Several aspects of the methodology were shared across the three questionnaires. Prior to questionnaire A, a pilot study, whose results are not reported in the thesis, was conducted in order to understand the general judgment pattern of non-linguists, and the results were used to balance the number of acceptable and unacceptable sentences.[2] In addition to grammaticality judgments, the following personal information was collected: sex, age, hometown, frequently-used Japanese dialects, foreign languages, education, and familiarity with linguistics literature. The questionnaire mentioned at the very beginning of the questionnaire that its purpose was not to measure one's language command and there were no right or wrong answers. The participants were all naïve non-linguist native speakers, and thus were not familiar with the standard analyses of Japanese passives. The mode of the questionnaires was written. In the following subsections, the aspects of the methodologies varying across the questionnaires are reported.

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[2] The results from questionnaire A basically replicate the results of the pilot questionnaire.

7.1.1 Questionnaire A

74 naïve native speakers participated in Questionnaire A, and 56 of them were undergraduate students of Chuo University, Rikkyo University, and Seijyo University, majoring in Japanese history or Japanese culture and literature. All the participants resided in Tokyo at the time of the survey. The experimental setting was their regular classrooms with their familiar history professor, who was naïve to the purpose of the survey, as an experimenter.

The questionnaire consisted of two tasks. One task asked the participants to rate the acceptability of stimuli sentences transcribed in Japanese on a scale from 1 to 5 (1=very unnatural, 5=completely natural). There were 120 stimuli sentences, and 12 of those were presented with supportive context. Contextualized items were presented after the ones without contexts. The translation of the Japanese instructions used for the non-contextualized sentences is as follows:

(3)   Please read the following sentences, and judge whether it sounds like a natural Japanese sentence or not (natural means that it can be readily understood, and you can imagine a situation in which you or other native speakers would utter the sentence). Do not imagine a special context, and do not think too much. If you have to think of it as a metaphoric expression, you can consider it unnatural.
Using a scale from 1(very unnatural) to 5 (natural), circle the relevant number.

Following instruction (3), two exemplar sentences, one which I consider unequivocally good and one unequivocally bad, were provided with the sample ratings 5 and 1, respectively, as shown below:

(4)   a.   *Kinoo   Taroo-ga Hanako-to   isoide gakko-ni   it-ta.*
           yesterday Taro-NOM Hanako-with quickly school-DAT go-PAST
           'Yesterday, Taro went to school with Hanako quickly.'   [5]

b. *Kinoo   Taroo-ga Hanako-ni isoide gakko-ni   it-ta.*
   yesterday Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT quickly school-DAT go-PAST
   Lit. 'Yesterday, Taro went to school to Hanako quickly.'   [1]

For stimuli with supportive context, the following instruction was given:

(5)   Under the context given, rate how natural the sentence is.

The other task asked them to identify the referent of an anaphor *zibun* 'self' or a silent possessor in some sentences (multiple choice tasks). The questionnaire was self-paced and took about 25 minutes to complete. Factors such as order of presentation and repeated presentation (especially with different contexts) were not controlled for in this questionnaire.

7.1.2   Questionnaires B and C

The same methodology was used in questionnaires B and C. Originally the two questionnaires were intended to be one questionnaire, but it was divided into two in order to minimize the effect caused by repeated exposure of the participants to the same lexical items/sentences. The two questionnaires were answered by undergraduate students in their regular classrooms, and with their familiar history professor, who also distributed questionnaire A and was naïve to the purpose of the study, as an experimenter. Two versions with different orders of the items were prepared for each of B and C, and the four versions were randomly assigned to students. 108 undergraduate students of Chuo University, Rikkyo University, and Seijyo University, majoring in Japanese history or Japanese culture and literature participated in the survey: 54 students completed Questionnaire B and 54 Questionnaire C. None of the participants participated in the questionnaire A survey. All the participants resided in Tokyo at the time of the

study.

The questionnaires involve two tasks. One task asked the participants to judge the acceptability of 61 stimuli sentences transcribed in Japanese (50 were presented in null context, followed by 11 presented with contexts), assigning them numerical scores from 1 to 5 (1=very unnatural, 5=completely natural). The instructions used were constructed based on the following English instructions, which were recommended by Wayne (1997)(p. 91; Table 9).[3]

> "...We would like you to imagine that your job is to teach English to speakers of other languages. ...Please read the sentence, then ask yourself if the sentence seems English-sounding or not. Suppose one of your students were to use this sentence. If we ignore pronunciation, would the student sound like a native speaker? Or would the sentence seem strange or unnatural to a native speaker no matter how it was pronounced? Your task is to tell us how English-sounding each sentence is, using a scale."

The rough translation of the Japanese instructions used is as follows:

(6) "First, imagine that your job is to teach Japanese to speakers of other languages. Then we would like you to judge how the sentence sounds to a native speaker on a scale of 5. For example, if one of your students uttered the sentence and the sentence sounds like a sentence uttered by a native speaker, then give it a 5. If you think that the sentence sounds like unnatural Japanese to a native speaker, please rate it as 1. In short, please rate the sentence **depending on how natural you think the sentence would sound to a native speaker**, using a 5-point scale . Please do **not** take the truth of the content into consideration when rating.
Use the criteria, 5=Japanese spoken by a native speaker, 1=unnatural Japanese and circle a number. "

The two exemplar sentences in (4), which were the same ones used in questionnaire A, followed the instructions.

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[3] Thanks to Carson Schütze (personal communication) for bringing this to my attention.

For stimuli with context, the following instructions were given (again non-contextualized ones were presented before contextualized ones):

(7)   In the context given, please rate how much the sentence sounds like an utterance given by a native speaker.

The other task asked them to come up with a context that makes a given 'extra-thematic passive' sentence acceptable. This task was presented before the contextualized stimuli were presented in order to not bias their answers. The translation of the Japanese instructions used for this task was as follows:

(8)   Please write down a situation in which you can imagine a native speaker would utter the sentence. If you do not think a native speaker would ever say the sentence under any circumstances, or if you cannot think of such a situation, then please say so.

The questionnaires were self-paced and took about 15 minutes to complete. 12 out of the 50 context-less sentences were intended to be pure fillers: namely, they contained constructions other than passives and they had nothing to do with the testing points of the study. The number of the pure fillers might appear to be low, but no more than two stimuli were designed to test the same testing point; thus, it was unlikely for the participants to figure out the purpose of each stimulus and develop strategies or theories to answer the questionnaires.

7.1.3   Results From the Questionnaire

As reported above, the methodology used in questionnaires B and C was much more controlled than the methodology used in A. However, the results from questionnaire A are reported together with B and C throughout the thesis. I decided to do so because

some sentences were tested in both questionnaires, A and B/C, and the mean ratings were extremely close, exhibiting no significant differences, as illustrated below:

(9)   a.   *Sono sima-wa   umi-ni   kakom-are-tei-ru.*
            that   island-TOP sea-DAT surround-PASS-ASP-PRES
            'That island is surrounded by the sea.'   [A:mean 4.89, C:4.91]

       b.   *Naomi-wa   hahaoya-ni   sin-are-ta.*
            Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'   [A:mean 4.68, C:4.33]

       c.   *Ken-wa   misiranuhito-ni zisatus-are-ta.*
            Ken-TOP stranger-DAT   commit.suicide-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
                                         [A:mean 1.55, C: 1.59]
       d.   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*
            Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
            Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'   [A:mean 1.09, B:1.67]

The reason we do not obtain significant differences despite the methodological differences was probably an artifact of the peculiarities of the construction chosen, and the results should not be generalized. In addition, the results from the questionnaires somewhat deviate from the general pattern of non-linguist speakers reported in the literature. Specifically, non-linguists are said to make fewer distinctions between levels of grammaticality (i.e. they tend not to use the end points of the scale) (see Schütze 1996: 115). However, as we can see from the mean ratings above, the participants of the questionnaires used the end points of the scale (1s and 5s). I speculate that this is because the stimuli sentences I used lie at the extremes of the acceptability scale: some extra-thematic passives are in fact incomprehensible without supportive context (at least to me), whereas other passives are entirely grammatical (even from a prescriptive point of view).

7.2 Adversative Context and Extra-Thematic Passives

In order to understand the distribution of the extra-thematic passive, I needed to first test the validity of the general claim that adversative context improves the acceptability of gapless passives (i.e. extra-thematic passives). As the low mean ratings below show, simply specifying how the nominative DP is affected by the described event did not suffice to make the extra-thematic passive well-formed:

(10) a. *Naomi-wa musuko-ni kikenna yama-ni nobo-rare-ta*
     Naomi-TOP son-DAT dangerous mountain-LOC climb-PASS-PAST
     Lit. 'Naomi$_i$ was climbed on a dangerous mountain by her$_i$ son.'
                       [C:mean 1.70]

  b. *Ken-wa tuma-ni suupaa-de   hatrak-are-ta.*[4]
     Ken-TOP wife-DAT supermarket-LOC work-PASS-PAST.
     Lit.'Ken$_i$ was worked at a supermarket by his$_i$ wife.' [C:mean 1.67]

  c. *?*Ken-wa osanai musume-ni hito.doori-no ooi tokoro-de*
     Ken-TOP small daughter-DAT people.passing-NO many place-LOC
     hasir-are-ta.
     run-PASS-PAST
     Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was run by his$_i$ young daughter in the crowded place.'
                       [C:mean 2.17]

  d. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni sinkoo.syuukyoo-o hajime-rare-ta.*
     Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT new.religion-ACC begin-PASS-PAST
     Lit. 'Ken was joined a new cult by Naomi.'   [C:mean 1.69]
                  [Kubo 1992, Pylkkänen 2002]

In addition, I presented the following three extra-thematic passives with and without (non-possession priming) adversative context in the questionnaires (the mean ratings below are when presented without context):

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[4]In (10-b), the affected connotation arises from the traditional family value in Japan. Traditionally, earning money was considered to be a husband's role, and husbands often do not want their wives to work and earn money, especially at the supermarket where all the neighbors are likely to find out that their wives are working.

(11) a. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni hasi-rare-ta.   [A:mean 1.09]
          Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'

      b. *Naomi-wa Lisa-no hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.   [A:mean 1.69]
          Naomi-TOP Lisa-NO mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'

      c. *Ken-wa   misiranuhito-ni zisatus-are-ta.
          Ken-TOP stranger-DAT   commit.suicide-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
                                                          [A:mean 1.55, cf. C:mean 1.59]

The proposed smuggling analysis−Grammar-Q−does not generate any of the passives given in (11), as the nominative DP is not an argument licensed in the smuggled big VP domain. The verb *hashir-u* 'to run' in (11-a) is a manner intransitive verb, lacking the lower VP shell to satisfy the EPP of -*rare*.[5] (11-b) and (11-c) contain active unaccusative predicates (i.e. *sin-u* 'to die' and *zisatu.su-ru* 'to commit suicide'), which in principle allow a possess-raising derivation. However, (11-b) already contains a proper name *no*-phrase, which blocks the *no*-phrase source of the nominative DP. Similarly, (11-c) contains 'a stranger' as a potential head noun, which is semantically incompatible with a possessor. Compare the mean ratings of (11-b) and (11-c) with the following well-formed genitive passive counterparts:

(12) a. Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.   [A:mean 4.68]
          Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'

      b. Ken-wa musume-ni   zisatus-are-ta.   [A:mean 3.91]
          Ken-TOP daughter-DAT commit.suicide-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by (his) daughter.'

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[5]The verb *hashir-u* also has a transitive use to mean 'be obsessed with,' but the intended reading here is 'to run,' and the low mean score in (11-a) suggests that the participants were dealing with the intransitive *hashir-u* 'run' when they were providing judgements of (11-a).

The extra-thematic passive (11-a) was also presented with the following adversative context written in Japanese.

(13)   Context Ken and Naomi were playing tag in the park. Ken was it. Naomi ran away from him when he was about to catch her.

     a. *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.   [A:mean 2.01]
       Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'

73 out of 74 participants gave a '1 or 2' to this sentence without context. With context, 54 people out of 74 (73% of the participants) still gave it a '1 or 2'. 10 gave it a 4 or 5, 10 gave it a 3. The following table summarizes the distribution.

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	1.09	0.34	68	5	1	0	0	74
%			(91.9)	(6.8)	(1.4)	(0)	(0)	(100)
with context	2.01	1.12	31	23	10	8	2	74
%			(41.9)	(31.3)	(13.5)	(10.8)	(2.7)	(100)

Although the context made (13-a) acceptable to some participants, it did not suffice to make (13-a) acceptable to the majority of participants.

The passive (11-b) was also presented with the following adversative context:

(14)   Context Naomi and Lisa are roommates. One day Lisa's mother died and Lisa cried all night. Naomi couldn't study for her exam the next day nor sleep at all.

   *Naomi-wa   Lisa-no hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.   [A:mean 1.66]
    Naomi-TOP Lisa-NO mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
    Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'

The results with and without context are summarized below:

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	1.69	1.06	44	18	6	3	3	74
%			(59.5)	(24.3)	(8.1)	(4.1)	(4.1)	(100)
with context	1.66	1.02	45	17	6	4	2	74
%			(60.8)	(23)	(8.1)	(5.4)	(2.7)	(100)

The results show that 62 (83.8%) out of 74 participants rated it as 1 (impossible) or 2 (very degraded).Thus the sentence is still ill-formed to many speakers, even with affected context.

The passive (11-c) was presented with the following adversative context:

(15)   Context On his way to work Ken happened to see a stranger committing suicide by jumping off a high building. He had nothing to do with that person, but still got upset and felt very sick, so he went home.

??*Ken-wa misiranuhito-ni zisatus-are-ta.*   [A:mean 2.01]
Ken-TOP stranger-DAT   commit.suicide-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'

Reading the above extra-passive with the supportive context (15) in Japanese, 53 (71.6%) out of 74 participants rated it as 1 or 2, and 11 (14.1%) rated it as 4 or 5. Thus (15) was still unacceptable to many speakers. The results with and without context are summarized below:

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	1.55	0.94	48	17	5	2	2	74
%			(64.9)	(23)	(6.8)	(2.7)	(2.7)	(100)
with context	2.01	1.19	34	19	10	8	3	74
%			(45.9)	(25.7)	(13.5)	(10.8)	(4.1)	(100)

In short, the above affected contexts did not make the three extra-thematic passives well-formed to many speakers. Further, it was not the case that the speakers who accepted one of them accepted all of the extra-thematic passives with adversative contexts: none of the participants gave a 4 or 5 to all three extra-thematic passives.

Therefore, the results from questionnaire A did not confirm the general claim. Furthermore, the distribution was not consistent enough to decide who has Grammar-L and who has Grammar-Q. This raises the question of whether the affected contexts used in the questionnaire were the right kind or not. Since I appear not to have Grammar-L, there is a potential risk that the affected context I came up with is not the right kind. In the next section, the defining characteristics of the affected context that makes the extra-thematic passive well-formed will be investigated.

7.2.1 What Is the Right Kind of Context?

One potential reason none of the three adversative contexts used in questionnaire A significantly improved the acceptability of the extra-thematic passives might be that *-rare* requires the nominative DP to 'be affected' in a specific way, and one has to come up with one of a very restricted set of ways in which the nominative DP is affected. In order to understand the right kind of adversative context, I closely worked with two native Japanese speaker linguists, Okabe (Linguist A, hereafter) and Nakatani (Linguist B, hereafter), who have high tolerance to the extra-thematic passive.

7.2.2 Data from Linguistically-Trained Native Speakers

Linguist A is a female in her early 30s, who specializes in language acquisition and has been exposed to the literature of Japanese syntax from her early 20s. Linguist B is a male in his late 30s, who specializes in semantics/syntax and has also been exposed to the literature of Japanese syntax from his early 20s. Therefore, both linguists are very familiar with the traditional analysis of Japanese passives.

Linguist A reported that she could not accept (11-a) in the context (13-a) I provided in questionnaire A (she would give it a 3 out of 5). Instead, she provided me with the following context that renders (11-a) acceptable.

(16)   a. | **Context** |

Ken-ga 1-kai-ni sunde-ite, 2-kai-ni Naomi-ga sunde-iru. Itumo Naomi-no ashioto-wa hijyoo-ni urusaku, sonoseide Ken-wa maiban nemurenai. soshite kyoo-mo mata . . .

'Ken lives on the first floor and Naomi lives on the second floor. Ken cannot sleep every night since Naomi's footsteps are very loud. And to-day again . . .'

    b.   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*
           Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'   [B: mean 1.89]

Even with this context, (16-b) remains ill-formed to me. To investigate the reaction of other native speakers, I included this sentence together with the context as one of the stimuli in questionnaire B. The results show that not many speakers considered the passive well-formed in context (16-a): out of 54, only 7 gave it a 4 or 5 (13.0%), 5 gave it a 3 (9.3%), and 42 gave it a 1 or 2 (77.8%).

What is more surprising is that even among the speakers who tend to accept extra-thematic passives, the content of affected context they need varies quite a lot. This is consistent with Shibatani's (1994:472) claim that the extra-thematic constructions exhibit a great deal of interspeaker variability with respect to acceptability. Linguist B reported that he needed direct interaction between *Ken* and *Naomi* to accept the passive, thus he cannot accept the passive in the context (16-a) provided by Linguist A. Although the tag-context (13-a) is not optimal, it is better than context (16-a) since it involves direct contact between the two people. According to Linguist B, the situation in which he can easily accept (16-b) would be that there was an agreement between *Ken* and *Naomi* beforehand that she would not run, but she broke the agreement and did run.

Based on his suggestions, the following context was prepared and included in the questionnaire.

(17)   Context Ken and Naomi raced to school by walking. Ken told Naomi re-
        peatedly that she was not allowed to run. However, Naomi ran on the way and
        eventually arrived at school first.

        a. *Ken-wa   Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.   [C:mean 3.15]
           Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'

The context significantly improves the grammaticality judgment of this passive
compared to the rating for the same sentence presented without context. Furthermore,
I found "extraordinary variation" in results, that is 26 gave it a 4 or 5, 20 gave it a
1 or 2, and 3 gave it a 8. Although we do not exactly know what motivates the 26
participants to give this sentence a 4 or 5, it could be the case that these 26 speakers
have Grammar-L. The results when presented without context, with context (16-a),
and with context (17) are summarized below:

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	1.67	1.01	30	12	7	4	1	54
%[6]			(55.6)	(22.2)	(13)	(7.4)	(1.9)	(100)
context (16-a)	1.89	1.14	27	15	5	5	2	54
%			(50)	(27.8)	(9.3)	(9.3)	(3.7)	(100)
context (17)	3.15	1.37	8	12	8	16	10	54
%			(14.8)	(22.2)	(14.8)	(29.6)	(18.5)	(100)

The following passive containing an unergative verb *oyog-u* 'swim' was presented with
a similar kind of context.

(18)   Context During the trip, Ken told his son not to swim in the sea around here
        since it was deep. However, his son didn't listen to him and went swimming.

        a. Ken-wa   musuko-ni hukai umi-de   oyog-are-ta.   [B:mean 2.15]
           Ken-TOP son-DAT   deep sea-LOC swim-PASS-PAST
           Lit. 'Ken was swum by his son in the deep sea.'

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[6]The data reported in this row are the results from questionnaire B.

The results with and without context are summarized below:

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	1.61	1.07	34	11	4	3	2	54
%			(63.0)	(20.4)	(7.4)	(5.6)	(3.7)	(100)
with context	2.15	1.22	21	16	8	6	3	54
%			(38.9)	(29.6)	(14.8)	(11.1)	(5.6)	(100)

In this context, 9 out of 54 gave it a 4 or 5, but 37 out of 54 gave it a 1 or 2. 8 gave it a 3. Without context, the mean rating was 1.61: 5 gave it a 4 or 5, 45 gave it a 1 or 2., 4 gave it a 3. Consequently, the context (18) did not improve the extra-thematic passive very much compared to the context (17).

Here is the third example containing an unergative verb with a similar context:

(19)   Context Ken's daughter wanted to become a dancer, but she had a heart problem, and Ken told her to give up her dream. However, she couldn't give it up and went out to dance without telling her father.

    a.   *Ken-wa   musume-ni   odor-are-ta.*   [B:mean 1.91]
        Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was danced by his$_i$ daughter.'

The results with and without context are summarized below:

	mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	Total
without context	1.56	0.79	32	16	4	2	0	54
%			(59.3)	(29.6)	(7.4)	(3.7)	(0)	(100)
with context	1.91	1.10	25	17	6	4	2	54
%			(46.3)	(31.5)	(11.1)	(7.4)	(3.7)	(100)

Without context the mean score was 1.56: 48 gave it a 1 or 2, 4 gave it a 3, 2 gave it a 4 or 5. The acceptability of this sentence did not improve much in this context.

The contexts−(17), (18), and (19)−involve similar settings: the described event is contrary to the wishes of the nominative DP (*Ken*), because the dative DP was told not

to do so beforehand. It is difficult to identify the exact reason (17) was more effective than other contexts. There are differences among the three contexts. In the latter two situations the nominative and dative DPs stand in a kinship relation, and the described event is likely to have more serious impact on the nominative DP than the first context. However, the results show that it is not the degree of affectedness that determines the well-formedness of the extra-thematic passive.

There are two plausible explanations. One is that context (17) differs from (18) and (19) in terms of the degree of unexpectedness of the referent of the nominative DP. In (18) and (19), even though a son or a daughter was told not to do a certain thing by the father, that does not mean that the children agreed not to do so. On the other hand, in (17), the context states that 'Ken and Naomi raced to school by walking', and the presupposition is that Naomi agreed to do so at one point. Therefore, the degree of unexpectedness of the nominative DP might be larger in (17) than in the other two contexts, which results in the higher acceptability of the extra-thematic passive with context (17).

Alternatively, the lower acceptability in contexts (18) and (19) might be due to processing factors–namely, a garden-path effect. The kinship relations involved in the latter two passives initially lead the parser to process the sentences as genitive passives. However, due to the restriction on the predicate type, the structure does not converge and regardless of the type of affected context presented, the passives are just ill-formed, and the parser fails to reanalyze the sentences as extra-thematic passives. If this account is correct, this suggests that introducing an extra-thematic DP in the passive is a last-resort mechanism: if there is a way to license the nominative DP in the passive clause internally (i.e. using Grammar-Q), that takes precedence. We need more data to determine the exact reason for the lower acceptability in the latter two contexts. In the next section, we will extend the scope to non-linguists and investigate

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what counts as the right type of affectedness context for the non-linguist speakers.

7.2.3 Data from the Questionnaires

As we have seen thus far, there is a great deal of interspeaker variability with respect to the kind of adversative context that can license the extra-thematic passive. In order to collect data from non-linguists, the participants of questionnaire B and C were asked to write down a situation with which they think a given extra-thematic passive would be well-formed. I generalized their answers depending of the type of context. The following table 7.1 shows the results for the extra-thematic passive (11-a), repeated below as (20).

(20)   *Ken-wa   Naomi-**ni**   hasi-rare-ta.*   [A:mean 1.09, B:1.67]
       Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
       Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.' (the above mean ratings are without context)

Table 7.1: Context that makes (20) acceptable

	Context	# of Speakers
1	Same as *nige-rare-ta* 'was run away from'	8
2	Naomi agreed with Ken beforehand that she wouldn't run	7
3	Naomi's behavior was unexpected to Ken	12
4	Ken didn't want Naomi to run	7
5	Naomi ran on Ken	1
6	(20) is ill-formed regardless of context	11
7	No answer	6
8	Other reading of *hashir-u*/irrelevant	2

Interestingly, eight speakers reported that they could accept (20) if Naomi ran away from Ken, which is basically the context I provided in questionnaire A (see (13)). However, as mentioned earlier, 54 out of 74 (73%) people gave a '1 or 2' to (20) in context (13). Although the participants of questionnaire C are different from those

who answered questionnaire A, it is unlikely that the participants of questionnaire C behave entirely differently from the participants of questionnaire A (compare the mean rating given with example (11-c).) This suggests a discrepancy between what people think is well-formed and what they actually judge well-formed. Another interesting point is that seven speakers seem to share the same intuition as Linguist B (i.e. context 2 in the table): there must be an agreement between *Ken* and *Naomi* beforehand and *Naomi* broke it. Context 2 is a subset of context 3, thus 19 out of 35 valid answers involve some kind of 'behavior' unexpected to the nominative DP in the passive. The 'unexpected' context seems to be a better characterization of context that licenses the extra-thematic passive than the traditional-term 'affected/adversative context'.

A plausible context for the following extra-thematic passive, which also contains an unergative verb, *oyog-u* 'to swim,' was included in Questionnaire B.

(21)   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni   oyog-are-ta.*   [C:mean 1.39]
        Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was swum by Naomi.'   (The above mean is without context)

The results were similar to the pattern we just saw in table 7.1.

Table 7.2: Context that makes (21) acceptable

	Context	# of Speakers
1	Naomi agreed with Ken beforehand that she wouldn't swim	15
2	Naomi's behavior was unexpected to Ken	2
3	Naomi swam *before* Ken did	11
4	Ken didn't want Naomi to swim	3
5	Add a *no*-phrase relation between Ken and Naomi	2
6	Ken is a possessor in a locativeP (in Ken's pool)	1
7	(21) is ill-formed regardless of context	12
8	No answer	5
9	irrelevant	3

15 participants said that there must be an agreement between *Ken* and *Naomi* before-hand. Thus, this is the similar pattern we observed with *hashi-rare-ta* 'run-PASS-PAST' in (20). Context 1 is a subclass of 2, thus 17 participants were able to accept (21) in 'unexpected context.' Interestingly, 3 participants suggested a *no*-phrase relation inducing context. For these speakers, contexts seem to allow them to override the predicate restriction for possessor-raising.

What is different from the previous 'run' example is that eleven people reported that the passive is acceptable if Naomi swam before Ken. The following item, which shares the same idea with their comments, was also tested in the questionnaire.

(22)   Ken wanted to swim first in the pool before the water gets dirty, but Naomi swam before he did.

    a.   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni saki-ni oyog-are-ta.*   [C: mean 4.02]
        Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT before swim-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was swum by Naomi before (him).'

The mean rating of this sentence was 4.02, and hence this sentence was basically well-formed to many speakers. 41 out of 54 people gave it a 4 or 5. 5 gave it a 3, 8 gave it a 1 or 2. When we compare this mean rating to all the mean ratings we have seen in this chapter, this is extremely high. Although I do not have data without context, I speculate that (22-a) is probably acceptable even without context, but crucially with an overt adverbial *sakini* 'before.' Presumably, the presence of the overt adverbial *saki-ni* 'before' makes a comparative active source available. The proposed active counterpart of (22-a) is given below:

(23)   *Naomi-ga Ken-yori saki-ni oyoi-da.*
      Naomi-NOM Ken-THAN before-DAT swim-PAST
      'Naomi swam before Ken.'

If this is correct and raising out of a comparative phrase is possible for passive formation in Japanese, what the eleven speakers suggested (i.e. add a 'before' context) is in fact to change the extra-themtaic passive to a core passive by using context to insert a comparative adverbial phrase. (22-a) is consistent with the proposed smuggling analysis. Since the verb *oyog-u* 'to swim' contains an active little *v*, it is compatible with *-rare*. Adding the comparative phrase supplies a lower VP shell with overt material that can satisfy the EPP of *-rare* and the EPP of T.

The extra-thematic passive (24) was also included in questionnaire C. The following table 7.3 summarizes the results:

(24)　　*Naomi-wa　Lisa-no　hahaoya-ni　sin-are-ta.*　　　　[A:mean 1.66]
　　　　　Naomi-TOP Lisa-NO mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
　　　　　Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'

Table 7.3: Context that makes (24) acceptable

	Context	# of Speakers
1	Add a possessive relation between Lisa and Naomi	10
2	Add a potential/loose *no*-phrase relation between L and N	10
3	Naomi is affected by Lisa's mother's death	7
4	Naomi didn't want Lisa's mother to die	2
5	Naomi is indirectly affected (i.e., through Lisa)	2
6	(24) is ill-formed regardless of context	9
7	No answer	9
8	irrelevant (cause of her death, etc)	5

Unsurprisingly, 20 speakers gave a context creating some kind of *no*-phrase relation between the two referents. The easiest way to make this sentence compatible with Grammar-Q is to give *Naomi* a clause-internal source by making it a possessor of Lisa's mother. Establishing a possessive relation, however, is one way to set up an affected context; thus contexts 1 and 2 are subsets of context 3.

The data we have seen in this section confirm the general claim that affected (or unexpected) context improves the acceptability of the extra-thematic passive, but this holds only for some speakers. The data also confirm Shibatani's (1994) claim that there is a considerable amount of interspeaker variability with gapless indirect passives (understood as the extra-thematic passive and the genitive passive involving very loose *no*-phrase relations). It is not easy to identify the exact factors that control for the well-formedness of the extra-thematic passive. However, speakers who have high tolerance to extra-thematic passives seem to have strong intuitions about what the context should be. Although the properties vary, we can list some general tendencies/properties of the context that improve the acceptability of this type of passives. This includes the following properties:

(25) a. The two referents (the nominative DP and the dative DP) must be animate.
      b. The two referents need direct interaction.
      c. The event denoted in the complement clause must be something unexpected to the nominative DP (or against the wishes of the nominative DP) (e.g. there is an agreement between the two referents that the event should not happen.)
      d. The event must be adversative: it must have negative impacts on the nominative DP.

In the following section, a preliminary analysis of Grammar-L is proposed.

7.3   The Proposed Analysis for Grammar-L

This section proposes an analysis of Grammar-L, the grammar that generates the extra-thematic passive. The discussion with speakers of Grammar-L made me realize that the meaning the speakers of Grammar-L get for the extra-thematic passive (26-a) is very similar to the meaning I get for sentence (26-b) given below.

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(26) a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*
          Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'

      b. *?*Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hasiru-{koto/no}-o   s-are-ta.*
          Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-{thing/nominalizer}-ACC do-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was done/given a running by Naomi.'

Despite the awkwardness, the meaning of (26-b) is clear. I take the semantic similarities between the two passives to mean that the speaker of grammar-Q can generate the structure very similar to the extra-thematic passive with the main verb *su* 'to do.'

In fact, the extra-thematic passive seems to share some important properties with the 'on-Directional dative' passive that is derived from the main verb *su* 'to do.' First, the on-Directional dative passive in general carries strong adversative connotations, as exemplified below (see also section 6.4.3.1):

(27) a. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni   pro s-are-ta.*
          Ken-GA Naomi-DAT it   do-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was done (it) by Naomi.'

      b. *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   si-ta.*
          Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT do-PAST
          Lit. 'Naomi did (it) to Ken.'

Although in (27-a) the deed Naomi did to Ken is unspecified, the sentence gives the listener the impression that whatever Naomi did was unfavorable to Ken. Interestingly, this is also true for the active counterpart (27-b).

Secondly, the nominative DP of the passive derived from *su-ru* 'to do' must be animate in order to be well-formed. The same restriction holds for the active sentence.

(28) a. **Sono hon-ga   (Naomi-ni) pro s-are-ta.*
          that   book-NOM Naomi-DAT it   do-PASS-PAST
          'That book was done it (by Naomi).'

b. *Naomi-ga   sono hon-ni   si-ta.
   Naomi-NOM that book-DAT do-PAST
   'Naomi did it to that book.'

This suggests that the dative on-Directional DP that the main verb *su* 'to do' selects
for must be an animate DP.

A similar type of affectedness and animacy restriction is also obtained from the
following on-Directional passives introduced in chapter 3.

(29)   a. *Densya-de Naomi-ga   roozin-ni   seki-o   s-are-ta.*[Passive]
           train-LOC Naomi-NOM old.man-DAT cough-ACC do-PASS-PAST
           'Naomi was coughed on by an old man in the train.'
                                                        [A:mean 3.20, sd:1.38]
       b. ?*Densya-de roozin-ga   Naomi-ni   seki-o   si-ta.*   [Active]
           train-LOC old.man-NOM Naomi-DAT cough-ACC do-PAST
           'An old man coughed on Naomi in the train.'   [A:mean2.99 sd:1.33]

(30)   a. *Naomi-ga   Ken-ni   onara-o s-are-ta.*   [Passive]
           Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT fart-ACC do-PASS-PAST
           'Naomi was farted on by Ken.'   [A:mean 3.51 sd:1.34]

       b. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   onara-o si-ta.*   [Active]
           Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT fart-ACC do-PAST
           'Ken farted on Naomi.'   [A:mean 3.05 sd:1.35]

Both (29-a) and (30-b) carry strong adversative connotations and they are not quite
compatible with inanimate subjects. What is interesting is the mean ratings and the
standard deviation of these dative passives. The values show a large variability in terms
of the acceptability of *on*-Directional constructions for both the active and passive
counterparts. This is a different pattern than the one observed with accusative and
other dative passives. This suggests that there is interspeaker variability in terms of
whether *su-ru* 'to do' can select for a dative on-Directional argument or not.

The similarities between 'on-Directional' dative passives and the extra-thematic passive have led me to hypothesize that affected contexts, whose properties vary from speaker to speaker, allow speakers of Grammar-L to posit an extra silent projection of a main verb *su* 'do' on top of the verb embedded under *-rare*, which introduces an on-Directional DP. The on-Directional DP contained in the lower VP shell smuggles over the external argument and raises to the nominative DP in the passive, as illustrated below (the step of DativeP attracting *v*P is omitted):

(31) a. *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*
          Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
          Lit. 'Ken was done ran on by Naomi.'

  b.
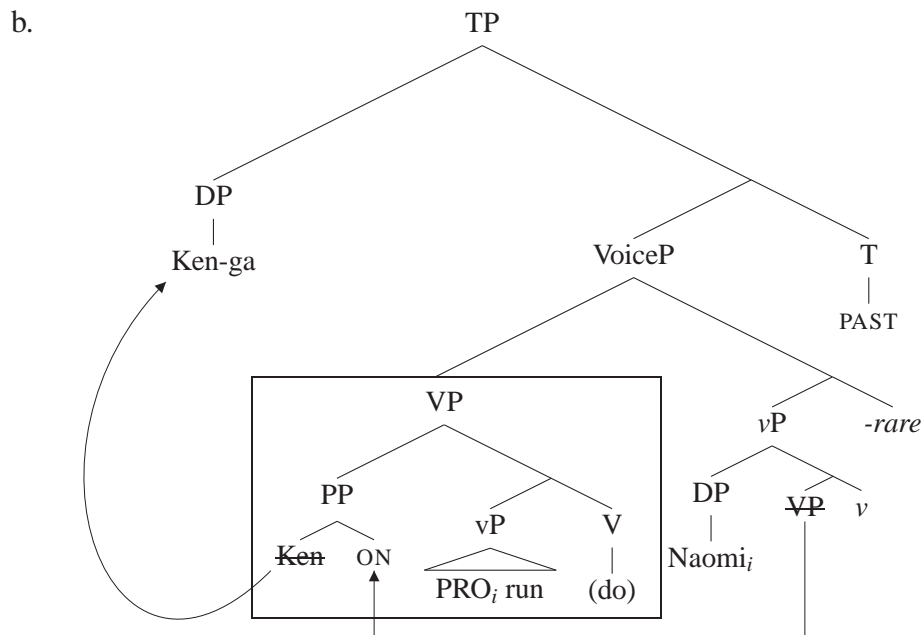
The structure for the extra-thematic passive is basically the same as the structure proposed for 'on-Directional' dative passive given in 3.5.2.3. The difference is that the speaker of grammar-L allows silent *su* 'to do' with certain contexts, which is not available with speakers of grammar-Q. The strong adversative connotations and animacy restriction observed with the extra-thematic passive can be straightforwardly

explained: this is because the nominative DP in the extra-thematic passive is underlyingly the on-Directional DP selected by the main verb *su* 'to do.' In this proposal, the difference between Grammar-L and Grammar-Q is condensed to the availability of this silent main verb 'do' projection that introduces an on-Directional DP. Crucially the lexical property of *-rare* is invariant in the core passive and the extra-thematic passive.

There is independent support for this proposal. Recall the discussion given in section 2.2, unlike the causative construction, the passive construction in Japanese cannot modify the passive morpheme *-(r)are* independently from the verb stem to which it attaches. The earlier example (4-a) discussed in section 2.2 is repeated below as (32):

(32)   *Ken-ga   nando-mo   Naomi-ni   nagur-are-ta.*
        Ken-NOM many.times-MO Naomi-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
        (i) 'Ken was hit by Naomi many times.'
        (ii) *Ken was affected many times by Naomi's (single) hitting.'

The passive (32) is only compatible with the reading (i) but not (ii). Interestingly, linguist B, who was unable to get the ambiguity with (32), reported that he could get the ambiguity with *sankai* 'three times' in the following sentence[7]:

(33)   *Ken-ga   san-kai Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*
        Ken-NOM 3-times Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
        (i) 'Ken was affected by Naomi with her three-time running.'
        (ii) 'Ken was affected three times by Naomi with her running.'

I can get the same ambiguity with the paraphrased-version of (33) (i.e. (34)):

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[7]Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to ask Linguist A whether she gets the ambiguity.

(34) *Ken-ga   sankai Naomi-ni   hasiru-{koto/no}-o   s-are-ta.*
      Ken-NOM 3-times Naomi-DAT run-{thing/nominalizer}-ACC do-PASS-PAST
      (i) 'Ken was done [a three-time running by Naomi].'
      (ii) 'Ken was done [a running by Naomi] three times.'

This strongly suggests that, at least for Linguist B, (33) contains two predicates, which can be independently modified by an adverb.

The proposed analysis of Grammar-L shares many insights of the applicative analysis of Japanese adversative passives proposed by Pylkkänen (2002). In her analysis, an argument introduced by an applicative head raises to the nominative position for Case reasons. In my analysis, the on-Directional DP introduced by silent 'do' raises to the nominative position to satisfy the EPP of T. The critical difference between Pylkkänen's proposal and mine is that in my analysis the applicative grammar is not something all Japanese native speakers have.

Now one question arises: Does the population of Japanese native speakers consist of speakers of two different grammars of passive constructions? I will address this question in the following section.

7.3.1   Does Grammar-L contain Grammar-Q?

In theory, Grammar-L can generate all the core passives that contain an animate nominative DP. This gives us two options: (i) speakers of Grammar-L always derive animate passives by inserting an on-Directional dative DP headed by silent *su* 'do.' Thus they do not generate animate (especially gapless) passives using Grammar-Q; and (ii) even for speakers who have Grammar-L, Grammar-L is a last resort grammar: the speakers derive the core passive including pseudo-passives and genitive passives using Grammar-Q, but Grammar-L is also available for the extra-thematic passive. I would like to propose the latter. Namely, Grammar-Q takes precedence over Grammar-L.

There are two reasons for this.

First of all, the speakers of Grammar-L I interviewed also allow passives with inanimate or abstract nominative DPs, which shows that speakers of Grammar-L do have Grammar-Q. Kubo (1992), who systematically accepts the extra thematic passive, considers the following accusative passive well-formed:

(35)   *Taro-no yuuki-ga   ooku-no hito-ni   tatae-rare-ta.*
       Taro-NO courage-NOM many-NO person-DAT praise-PASS-PAST
       'Taro's courage was praised by many people.'

Since inanimate subjects are not compatible with a dative argument of the main verb *su-ru* 'to do', this sentence must involve raising the THEME argument of the embedded predicate from the big VP domain.

Further support for the claim that speakers of Grammar-L also have Grammar-Q comes from the results of the questionnaire studies. The mean scores of the following passives are extremely high:

(36)   a.   *Sono sima-wa   umi-ni*
            that   island-TOP sea-DAT
            kakom-are-tei-ru.   [A;4.89, C:4.91]
            surround-PASS-ASP-PRES
            'That island is surrounded by the sea.'

       b.   *Eigo-wa   ooku-no hito-ni   hanas-are-tei-ru.*   [B:4.75]
            English-TOP many-NO person-DAT speak-PASS-ASP-PRES
            'English is spoken by many people.'

Recall that some speakers accepted the extra-thematic passive with context, thus some of the participants must have Grammar-L. So if the speakers with Grammar-L do not have Grammar-Q, we would expect them to reject these sentences. However, this was not the case. As for (36-a), 73 out of 74 participants of questionnaire A rated it as 4 or

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5. 1 speaker gave it a 1. 51 out of 54 participants of questionnaire C gave it a 4 or 5, 3 gave it a 3. As for (36-b) 50 out of 53 gave it a 4 or 5, 2 gave it a 3, and 1 gave it a 2. This strongly suggests that grammar-Q is in general shared with all Japanese speakers.

Turning to genitive passives, if the speakers of grammar-L derive the passive using Grammar-L, we would expect them to get the ambiguity reported by linguist B (see section 7.3). However, Linguist A, who can get the ambiguity with the following causative sentence, reported that the ambiguity is not available with the following genitive passive. According to her, the reason for the lack of ambiguity is because the passive sentence involves one event, whereas the causative sentence involves two events:

(37)   a.   *Taroo-ga isoide Hanako-ni booshi-o kabur-(s)ase-ta.*
            'Taro-NOM quickly Hanako-DAT hat-ACC put.on-CAUSE-PAST
            (i) 'Taro quickly caused Hanako to wear her hat.'
            (ii)'Taro caused Hanako to quickly wear her hat.' $\boxed{\text{Causative}}$

        b.   *Taroo-ga itumo Hanako-ni syokuji-o tabe-rare-ta.*
            Taro-NOM always Hanako-DAT meal-ACC eat-PASS-PAST
            Lit: (i)'Taro was always eaten (his) meal by Hanako.' $\boxed{\text{Passive}}$
            Int: (ii) *'Taro was affected by the fact that Hanako always ate his meal.'

In addition, linguist A gave the following possessor passive a 1, and the causative a 5. Both of the following sentences contain two adverbials denoting opposite properties: the reading which is necessary to make sense is to relate one adverbial to one predicate (i.e. one adverbial should modify the embedded predicate and the other should modify the passive or causative morpheme).

(38)   a.   *Taroo-ga totemo Hanako-ni sukoshi kao-o   hippatak-are-ta.*
            Taro-NOM very   Hanako-DAT little   face-ACC slap-PASS-PAST
            Int. 'Taro was very much affected by the fact that Hanako slapped his face a bit.' $\boxed{\text{Passive}}$

b. *Ken-wa   isoide,   kodomotachi-ni yukkuri michi-o*
    Ken-TOP quickly children-DAT   slowly street-ACC
    watar-(s)ase-ta.
    cross-CAUSE-PAST
    'Ken quickly caused children to cross the street slowly.' Causative

The fact that linguist A accepted (38-b) but not (38-a) means that she uses Grammar-Q in order to derive (38-a), not the same grammar she uses to generate the extra-thematic passive.

Furthermore, Linguist A found the following on-Directional dative passive infelicitous unless Ken gets wet. This strongly suggests that *Ken* is licensed as the on-Directional argument of the verb *hu-ru* 'to descend'.

(39) *Ken-wa   ame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*
      Ken-TOP rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
      Lit. 'Ken was descended upon by rain.'

Linguist A reported that she could not accept (39) in a situation like the following:

(40) Context Ken was in charge of a big event. But on the day of the event, it
      heavily rained, and the event was cancelled.

As predicted, (39) is not felicitous in a context like (40) to me, who does not have Grammar-L. From the patterns reviewed thus far, it seems fair to conclude that linguist A uses Grammar-Q whenever possible, and Grammar-L kicks in only when the passive cannot be generated by Grammar-Q.

However, we already know that there is a great deal of interspeaker variability in terms of how and when the silent applicative head is available. Unlike linguist A, some linguist speakers of Grammar-L including linguist B told me that they could accept (39) with context (40). When Grammar-L is available depends on the speaker,

but Grammar-Q seems to be shared by at least all the speakers I surveyed.

7.4   Issues Centering on Individual Variability

We now turn to the last question posited at the beginning of this chapter: How is Grammar-L acquired? Why do some speakers have it but not all? The standard analyses of Japanese direct and indirect passives are based on properties that have been established on the basis of introspective judgments by many different linguist native speakers over the years. One of the basic problems that motivated the current dissertation research is a fundamental disagreement between introspective judgments and the grammaticality judgments reported in the literature on some data that turn out to be of crucial importance for distinguishing competing theories. The contrast between well-formed and ill-formed sentences to me is extremely sharp and very systematic: my grammar can generate only a subset of the passives that are predicted to be grammatical by the traditional analyses.

When we encounter a situation like this, the first question we ask is whether this is an idiolect. Are my internal grammars significantly different from the rest of the Japanese community? It seems not to be the case: I have never encountered a passive uttered by a native speaker that struck me as ungrammatical, nor have I ever experienced difficulty in communicating with other native speakers using Japanese passives. The results of the questionnaire indicate that many speakers indeed share the same grammar as mine, systematically rejecting a subset of the passive that are predicted to be well-formed by the traditional analyses.

Then what is the variability on the extra-thematic passive attributable to? There are potentially many factors: dialects (geographically determined), age, gender, education, personal experience, linguistic training, and so forth. We can readily rule out

gender. Linguists in general, both male and female, seem to have Grammar-L (Male linguists: Kuroda, Kitagawa, Shibatani, Kuno, among others; Female linguists: Kubo, Hasegawa, and so on). Further, age is unlikely to be the determining factor, either. This is because many of the linguists I consulted, both older and younger than I, agree with the judgments reported in the literature and seem to be convinced by the standard analysis. Dialects seem not to be the principal factor either: both Kuroda, a linguist who pursues the uniform theory of Japanese passives, and I speak Tokyo dialect. The questionnaires used to collect data were not designed to test variables such as region and age effects, and I am unable to pursue these effects further here.

One factor that seems to contribute to the acquisition of Grammar-L is an experiential one, namely exposure to the relevant linguistic literature and examples of Japanese passives. The reason I decided to run questionnaire studies with non-linguists is because of the experience that, whenever I asked a grammaticality judgment of the following extra-thematic passive, linguists said that it is acceptable with contextual support, whereas non-linguists said that it is not acceptable.

(41)   *Ken-ga   Naomi-ni   hasi-rare-ta.*   [A:mean 1.09]
        Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT run-PASS-PAST
        Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'

Linguist A, who has previously worked on Japanese passives, reported that as soon as she heard the extra-thematic passive, a situation that is compatible with the sentence comes to her mind, so she can immediately accept the sentence. Recall the following context provided by linguist A:

(42)   'Ken lives on the first floor and Naomi lives on the second floor. Ken cannot sleep every night since Naomi's footsteps are very loud. And today again ...'

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This is very different from the way I parsed (41): the sentence struck me as ill-formed, and I have to come up with various different situations and see whether the sentence sounds better or not. Similarly, some participants of the questionnaire said that (41) is not a Japanese sentence, and a native speaker would never say such a sentence. The fact that linguist A can immediately come up with a situation that is compatible with (41) strongly suggests that this is not the first time she thought about the situation that makes the extra-thematic passive acceptable, which is actually the case since she has worked on Japanese passives before (cf. Okabe and Okubo 2005). It is understandable that the more one is exposed to the extra-thematic passive and the context that licenses it, the easier it becomes for him/her to come up with a relevant context. However, the difficulty is that some non-linguist speakers who participated in the questionnaires were able to come up with a context that made extra-thematic passives acceptable. The reason for this would still be in need of explanation.

7.5   Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has investigated the adversative context that is said to improve the acceptability of the extra-thematic passive, which is ungrammatical under the proposed smuggling analysis of the core passive. The results from the questionnaire show that the extra-thematic passives are ill-formed when presented without context. For *some* speakers, contexts seem to improve the acceptability of the passive, but there is a considerable amount of variability with respect to the type of context that licenses the extra-thematic passive. The generalization seems to be that the context needs to make clear that the event denoted in the complement clause is unexpected and rather contrary to the wishes of the nominative DP in this type of passives. The nominative DP is restricted to an animate DP and this type of passives carry strong affected connotations.

I proposed that the speakers who accept the extra-thematic passive have a mech-

anism to license an extra argument into the structure through context. Specifically, they can insert a silent main verb *su* 'to do' on top of the predicate embedded under -rare, and this verb selects for an ON-DIRECTIONAL argument. I have argued that the animacy restriction is due to the selectional property of the main verb *su* 'to do' and the affected connotations arise because the nominative DP is underlyingly the on-Directional argument. It is the general properties of on-Directional dative passives that they carry affected connotations (see section 6.4.3.1).

The proposed analysis for the extra-thematic passive makes a prediction. Whether the main verb *su* 'to do' can license an ON-DIRECTIONAL dative argument varies across speakers (both in the active and in the passive). If the availability of the extra-thematic passive involves licensing the on-Directional argument by 'to do,' we expect that the speakers who do not accept the on-Directional dative passive derived from the main verb *su* 'to do' would consistently reject the extra-thematic passive. This prediction needs to be tested in the future.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

8.1 A New Analysis of Japanese Passives

This thesis revisited and reexamined the passive voice system in Japanese, within the current understanding of the syntactic theory—Cartographic Minimalism. I have developed a unified raising analysis of the passive voice system, assuming simple and invariant lexical features of the passive morpheme *-rare*. The analysis pursued was a modular one, where interactions between the passive morphology *-rare* and independently motivated principles of UG give rise to different clusters of properties observed with different kinds of passive sentences containing *-rare*. Specifically, I have proposed the following lexical entries of *-rare*: (i) it instantiates Passive Voice; (ii) it merges with 'active voice' little *v* as its complement; (iii) it has the EPP feature that attracts a VP verbal shell to its Specifier, stranding the *v*P shell; (iv) it comes with an optional dative Case that generally attracts the vP shell containing the external argument of the complement of *-rare* and an optional null Case that attracts *v*P containing PRO. The raising of a DP is solely triggered by the EPP feature of T: the closest unchecked DP in the smuggled VP shell is attracted to the nominative position. One of the contentious claims I made in this thesis is that the range of DPs that can raise to the nominative position is not restricted to THEME and GOAL of typical ditransitive verbs, but includes ADDRESSEE, SOURCE, various types of dative phrases (i.e. THEME, ON/AT-DIRECTIONAL, and CAUSE), and the *no*-phrase of the internal argu-

ment of the verb embedded under *-rare*. Extending the potential active source in this way allows us to subsume many examples of indirect/gapless passives under direct passives, unifying the two types of passives in Japanese.

8.2   Properties That the Proposed Analysis Accounts For

The proposed lexical properties of *-rare* account for some important distributional properties of *-rare*. The first property is that *-rare* cannot combine with pure unergative verbs that lack a lower VP shell (e.g. *oyog-u* 'to swim]). This is because pure unergative verbs lack a big VP shell containing overt material, which is needed to satisfy the EPP of *-rare*.

The second property is that the genitive passives are restricted to cases involving possessor-raising out of the *no*-phrase of an underlying internal argument (i.e. the *no*-phrase needs to be contained in the smuggled big VP shell). The possessor-raising out of the *no*-phrase of the external argument is ruled out because of Minimality: the DP in the smuggled VP is always closer to the nominative position than the *no*-phrase of the external argument (i.e. [$_{VP}$ DP V] [DP-no NP] ~~VP~~ *v*]).

The third property concerns ditransitive predicates. There is a ban on double datives in Japanese passives. I have argued that this property stems from a general property of Japanese. Namely, the dative-marking of the GOAL argument in the ditransitive construction is a dependent Case: the Dative is only available when an accusative DP is present. The new observation is that the dative phrase in the passive with ditransitive predicates is compatible with a GOAL interpretation, but not with a *by*-phrase interpretation. This pattern is not restricted to proto-typical ditransitive predicates, but applies to pseudo-ditransitive verbs, which do not require but still can take a dative DP in addition to an accusative DP, such as verbs of speaking and creation. The proposed

derivation and the general principle of minimality account for this fact. Namely, the GOAL argument contained in the smuggled VP shell is closer to the nominative position than the external argument. Consequently, the dative GOAL argument is always attracted to the dative projection that is introduced by *-rare*.

Contrary to the standard analysis of Japanese indirect passives, I have argued that the nominative DP of Japanese passives are never selected by the passive morpheme *-rare*. I have shown that the well-known adversely affected connotations of indirect passives are not due to the θ-role the nominative DP receives but just an implicature, and they can be canceled. I have proposed that 'affected' connotations are a by-product of the structure. They arise when the nominative DP is originally merged into the structure as (i) a possessor of the internal argument, (ii) an on-Directional dative, or (iii) a source argument of the predicate. Further, I attribute the 'adversity' connotations carried by many passives to (i) the lexical semantic/pragmatic properties of the predicate embedded under *-rare* or (ii) the interaction between the lexical semantics of the verb and the θ-role that the nominative DP receives.

8.3   Implications

The raising approach is theoretically favorable, since it accounts for the different clusters of properties observed in different passive types while maintaining uniformity. Under the current analysis, Japanese has only one passive morpheme, *-rare*, and the structure always involves raising. The different clusters of properties observed across different passives are due to the differences in the source position of the promoted nominative DP. Passive systems in Asian languages, such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, are reported to behave very differently from the passive voice system in the well-studied western languages like English, resulting in a bifurcated view of languages (Asian vs. Western languages). In contrast, my research brings Japanese

much closer to other languages than previously assumed, addressing the question of what universal grammar is and what the possible properties of human languages are. There have been various attempts to figure out the universal characterization of passive voice system (see Shibatani 1985 for a review of such attempts). Hopefully the research reported here will introduce a new view about the passive voice system in Asian languages and potentially opens a new way to characterize the universal properties of the passive voice system.

The proposed analysis might raise the question of where the surface differences between English and Japanese passives come from. The differences between English and Japanese passives can be condensed into the following two general properties of Japanese: (i) Japanese allows possessor-raising while English does not; and (ii) the Case-markers or postposition must disappear under movement in Japanese. The strong adversative connotations that are carried with Japanese passives straightforwardly fall out from this difference: Japanese allows possessor-raising and the strong adversative connotations are characteristics to genitive passives. Why Japanese allows possessor-raising and Case disappearance under movement are intriguing questions that I must leave open here.

Appendix A

Questionnaire Results

A.1 Questionnaire-A

Note: since some participants skipped some stimuli, the total does not always add up to 75. Note further that the order of the sentences below is not the order presented in the questionnaire: the order of the stimuli is rearranged for easier comparison below.

Theme Promotion

(1)   a.   *Ken-ga Naomi-**ni** tatak-are-ta.*
             K-nom N-dat   hit-pass-past
             'Ken was hit by Naomi.'
             Mean: 4.88, S.D: .52, Total: 74
             Frequency %(#): 5 → 93.2(69); 4→ 4.1(3); 3→ 0(0); 2→ 2.7(2); 1→0(0)

    b.   *Ken-ga Naomi-**ni-yotte** tatak-are-ta.*
             K-nom N-ni-yotte   hit-pass-past
             'Ken was hit by means of Naomi.'
             Mean: 2.85   S.D: 1.27   Total: 74
             Freq. %(#): 5→12.2(9); 4→21.6(16); 3→20.3(15); 2→31.1(23); 1→14.9(11)

(2)   a.   *Naomi-ga musuko-ni nagur-are-ta.*
             N-nom   son-dat   hit-pass-past
             'Naomi was hit by her son.'
             Mean: 4.89   S.D: .51   Total: 74
             Frequency %(#): 5→ 93.2(69); 4→5.4(4); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→1.4(1)

    b.   *Naomi-ga musuko huta.ri-ni nagu-rare-ta.*
             N-nom   son   two.cl-dat hit-pass-past
             'Naomi was hit by her two sons.'
              Mean: 4.76   S.D: .72   Total: 74
             Frequency %(#): 5→83.8(62); 4→13.5(10); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→2.7(2)

    c.   *Naomi-ga musuko-ni huta.ri nagu-rare-ta.*
        N-nom   son-dat   two.cl hit-pass-past
        Int. 'Naomi was hit by her two sons.'
        Mean: 1.12   S.D: .40   Total: 74
        Frequency %(#): 5→0(0); 4→0(0); 3→2.7(2); 2→6.8(5); 1→90.5(67)

(3)   *Ken-no Hawai-no ie-ga   doroboo-ni hai-rare-ta.*
        K-no   Hawaii-no house-nom thief-dat   enter-pass-past
        'Ken's house in Hawaii was broken into by a thief.'
        Mean:3.88   S.D: 1.27   Total: 74
        Frequency %(#): 5→44.6(33); 4→23.0(17); 3→13.5(10); 2→13.5(10); 1→5.4(4)

(4)   *Sono sima-wa   umi-ni kakom-are-tei-ru.*
        dem island-top sea-dat surround-pass-asp-pres
        'That island is surrounded by the sea.'
        Mean:4.89   S.D: .51   Total: 74
        Frequency %(#): 5→ 93.2(69); 4→5.4(4); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→1.4(1)

Indirect passives (Promotion of the possessor of Dative P, the suppressed agent)

(5)   *Ken-wa musume-ni zisatus-are-ta.*
        K-top   daughter-dat commit.suicide-pass-past
        Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by (his) daughter.'
        Mean: 3.91   S.D: 1.15   Total: 74
        Freq. %(#): 5→41.9(31); 4→21.6(16); 3→25.7(19); 2→6.8(5); 1→4.1(3)

(6)   a.   *Naomi-wa musuko-ni sin-are-ta.*
        N-top   son-dat   die-pass-past
        Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) son.'
        Mean: 4.60   S.D: .76   Total: 73
        Freq. %(#): 5→72.6(53); 4→19.2(14); 3→4.1(3); 2→4.1(3); 1→0(0)

    b.   *Naomi-wa musuko huta.ri-ni sin-are-ta.*
        N-top   son   two.cl-dat die-pass-past
        Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) two sons.'
        Mean:4.55   S.D: .85   Total: 73
        Frequency %(#): 5→71.2(52); 4→19.2(14); 3→2.7(2); 2→6.8(5); 1→0(0)

c. *Naomi-wa musuko-ni huta.ri sin-are-ta.*
N-top   son-dat   two.cl die-pass-past
'Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) two sons.'
Mean:2.10   S.D: 1.20 Total: 73
Freq. %(#): 5→ 8.2(6); 4→4.1(3); 3→15.1(11); 2→34.2(25); 1→38.4(28)

(7)   a.   *Ken-wa kokoo-o   cyuutais-are-ta.*
K-top   high-school-acc quit-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was quit the high school by someone.'
Mean: 1.37   S.D: .79   Total: 73
Freq. %(#): 5→ 1.4(1); 4→ 2.7(2); 3→ 2.7(2); 2→ 17.8(13); 1→75.3(55)

b.   *Ken-wa musuko-ni kokoo-o   cyuutais-are-ta*
K-top   son-dat   high-school-acc quit-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was quit the high school by (his) son.'
Mean: 2.96   S.D: 1.36 Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→17.6(13); 4 →14.9(11); 3→35.1(26); 2→10.8(8); 1→21.6(16)

Indirect passives (Promotion from AccusativeP)

(8)   a.   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni kao-o   tatak-are-ta.*
K-nom N-dat   face-acc hit-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was hit (his) face by Naomi.'
Mean: 4.82   S.D:.58   Total: 74
Frequency %(#): 5→ 89.2(66); 4→6.8(5); 3→1.4(1); 2→2.7(2); 1→0(0)

b.   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni-yotte kao-o   tatak-are-ta.*
K-nom N-ni-yotte   face-acc hit-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was hit (his) face by means of Naomi.'
Mean: 2.89   S.D: 1.29   Total: 73
Freq. %(#): 5→12.3(9); 4→24.7(18); 3→17.8(13); 2→30.1(22); 1→15.1(11)

(9)   a.   *Naomi-wa inu-o   koros-are-ta.*
N-top   dog-acc kill-pass-past
Lit. 'Naomi was killed (her) dog.'
Mean: 4.65   S.D: .80   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→78.4(58); 4→13.5(10); 3→4.1(3); 2→2.7(2); 1→1.4(1)

b.　*Naomi-wa rinzin-ni　　inu-o　koros-are-ta*
　　N-nom　　neighbor-dat dog-acc kill-pass-past
　　Lit. 'Naomi was killed (her) dog by a neighbor.'
　　Mean:4.85　　S.D: .49　Total: 74
　　Freq. %(#): 5→89.2(66); 4→8.1(6);   3→1.4(1); 2→1.4(1); 1→0(0)

(10)　　*Ken-ga toorigakari-no hito-ni　　kami-o　kir-are-ta.*
　　　K-nom passing.by-no　person-dat hair-acc cut-pass-past
　　　Lit. 'Ken was cut (his) hair by a stranger passing by.'
　　　Mean:4.14　S.D: 1.13　　Total: 74
　　　Freq. %(#): 5→ 50(37); 4→28.4(21); 3→12.2(9); 2→4.1(3); 1→5.4(4)

(11)　　a.　*Kameraman-ga　　yuumeijyoyuu-no　syasin-o　tot-ta.*
　　　　　photographer-nom famous_actress-no photo-acc take-past
　　　　　'A photographer took a picture of a famous actress.'
　　　　　Mean: 4.91　　S.D: .411　　Total: 74
　　　　　Frequency %(#): 5→94.6(70); 4→1.4(1); 3→4.1(3); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

　　　　b.　*Yuumei.jyoyuu-ga　kameraman-ni　syasin-o　to-rare-ta.*
　　　　　famous.actress-nom photographer-dat photo-acc take-pass-past
　　　　　Lit. 'A famous actress was taken (her) picture by a photographer.'
　　　　　Mean: 4.78　　S.D: .50　　Total: 74
　　　　　Freq. %(#): 5→82.4(61); 4→13.5(10); 3→4.1(3); 2→0(0);   1→0(0)

　　　　c.　*Kameraman-ga　　yuumei.jyoyuu-no ie-no　　syashin-o tot-ta.*
　　　　　photographer-nom famous.actress-no house-no photo-acc take-past
　　　　　'A photographer took a picture of the house of a famous actress.'
　　　　　Mean:4.77　　S.D: .65　　Total: 74
　　　　　Frequency %(#): 5→85.1(63); 4→9.5(7); 3→4.1(3); 2→0(0); 1→1.4(1)

　　　　d.　*Yuumei.jyoyuu-no ie-ga　　　kameraman-ni　syasin-o*
　　　　　famous.actress-no house-nom photographer-dat photo-acc
　　　　　to-rare-ta.
　　　　　take-pass-past
　　　　　Lit. 'A famous actress's house was taken a picture of by a photographer.'
　　　　　Mean:3.54　　S.D: 1.22　　Total: 74
　　　　　Freq. %(#): 5→ 28.4(21); 4→24.3(18); 3→25.7(19); 2→16.2(12); 1→5.4(4)

(12)   *Naomi-ga kodomo-ni inu-o   izime-rare-ta.*
         N-nom   child-dat dog-acc bully-pass-past
         Lit. 'Naomi was bullied (her) dog by a child.'
         Mean:3.80   S.D: 1.45   Total: 74
         Freq. %(#): 5→ 48.6 (36); 4→17.6(13); 3→10.8(8); 2→10.8(8); 1→12.2(9)

(13)   *Naomi-ga kodomo-huta.ri-ni inu-o   izime-rare-ta.*
         N-nom   child-two.cl-dat   dog-acc bully-pass-past
         Lit. 'Naomi was bullied (her) dog by two children.'
         Mean: 3.93   S.D: 1.34   Total: 73
         Freq. %(#): 5→ 47.9(35); 4→ 24.7(18); 3→ 9.6(7); 2→ 8.2(6); 1→9.6(7)

(14)   *Naomi-ga kodomo-ni hutari   inu-o   izime-rare-ta*
         N-nom   child$_i$-dat twoCL$_i$ dog-acc bully-pass-past
         Lit. 'Naomi was bullied (her) dog by two children.'
         Mean: 1.24   S.D: .79   Total: 74
         Frequency %(#): 5→2.7(2); 4 →1.4(1);   3→1.4(1); 2→6.8(5); 1→87.8(65)

Pseudo-Passive II (Theme with Goal)

(15)   a.   *Naomi-ga Ken-ni laburetaa-o   watasi-ta.*
                N-nom   K-dat loveletter-acc hand-past
                'Naomi handed a love letter to Ken.'
                Mean: 4.96   S.D: .26   Total: 74
                Freq. %(#): 5→ 97.3(72); 4→1.4(1); 3→1.4(1); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

         b.   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni labureta-o   watas-are-ta.*
                K-nom N-dat   loveletter-acc hand-pass-past
                'Ken was handed a love letter by Naomi.'
                Mean: 3.89   S.D: 1.41   Total: 74
                Freq. %(#): 5→51.4(38); 4→17.6(13); 3→10.8(8); 2→9.5(7); 1→10.8(8)

(16)   a.   *Ken-ga bokusi-ni tumi-o kokuhaku-sita.*
                K-nom priest-dat sin-acc confess-past
                'Ken confessed his sin to a priest'
                Mean: 4.99   S.D: .12   Total: 73
                Frequency %(#): 5→98.6(72); 4→1.4(1); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

b.   *Bokushi-ga Ken-ni   tumi-o kokuhakus-are-ta.*
   priest-nom Ken-dat sin-acc confess-pass-past
   Lit. 'A priest was confessed a sin to by Ken.
   Mean:3.82   S.D: 1.23   Total: 74
   Freq. %(#): 5→40.5(30); 4→23.0(17); 3→20.3(15); 2→10.8(8); 1→5.4(4)

(17)   a.   *Kaikai-ga   sicyo-ni   sengens-are-ta*
   opening-nom mayor-dat announce-pass-past
   'An opening was announced {*by / to} the mayor.'
   Mean:2.62   S.D: 1.51   Total: 73
   Freq. %(#): 5→ 17.8(13); 4→13.7(10); 3→13.7(10); 2→21.9(16); 1→32.9(24)

b.   *Kaikai-ga   sicyo-ni-yotte   sengens-are-ta*
   opening-nom mayor-ni-yotte announce-pass-past
   'An opening was announced by means of the mayor.'
   Mean: 4.76 S.D: .72   Total: 72
   Frequency %(#): 5→84.7(61); 4→12.5(9); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→2.8(2)

(18)   a.   *Ken-no himitu-ga   Naomi-ni baras-are-ta.*
   K-no   secret-nom N-dat   expose-pass-past
   'Ken's secret was exposed{to / by} Naomi.'
   Mean: 4.50   S.D: .89   Total: 68
   Freq. %(#): 5→66.2(45); 4→25.0(17); 3→4.4(3); 2→1.5(1); 1→2.9(2)

b.   *Ken-no himitu-ga   otooto-ni   tomodati-ni baras-are-ta.*
   K-no   secret-nom brother-dat friend-dat   expose-pass-past
   'Ken's secret was exposed to(by) his friend by(to) his brother.'
   Mean:2.22   S.D: 1.36   Total: 74
   Freq, %(#): 5→10.8(8); 4→8.1(6); 3→14.9(11); 2→24.3(18); 1→41.9(31)

c.   *Ken-no himitu-ga   otooto-ni-yotte tomodati-ni baras-are-ta.*
   K-no   secret-nom brother-ni-yotte friend-dat   expose-pass-past
   'Ken's secret was exposed to his friend by means of his brother.'
   Mean:4.58   S.D: .78   Total: 74
   Freq. %(#): 5→ 73.0 (54); 4→14.9(11); 3→9.5(7); 2→2.7(2); 1→0(0)

d.   *Ken-ga otooto-ni   tomodat-ni himitu-o   baras-are-ta.*
   K-nom brother-dat friend-dat   secret-acc expose-pass-past
   Lit. 'Ken was exposed his secret exposed to(by) his friend by(to) his brother.'
   Mean:2.18   S.D: 1.28   Total: 74
   Freq. %(#): 5→ 6.8(5); 4→12.2(9); 3→13.5(10); 2→27.0(20); 1→40.5(30)

Pseudo-Passives II (Theme with Source)

(19)   a.   *Doroboo-ga Ken-kara okane-o   nusun-da.*
             thief-nom   K-from   money-acc steal-past
             'A thief stole money from Ken.'
             Mean: 4.66   S.D: .80   Total: 74
             Freq. %(#): 5→ 81.1(60); 4→ 8.1(6); 3→8.1(6);   2→ 1.4(1); 1→1.4(1)

       b.   *Ken-ga doroboo-ni okane-o   nusum-are-ta.*
             K-nom thief-dat   money-acc steal-pass-past
             Lit. 'Ken was stolen his money by a thief.'
             Mean: 4.77   S.D: .65   Total: 74
             Frequency %(#): 5→85.1(63); 4 →9.5(7); 3→4.1(3); 2→0(0); 1→1.4(1)

       c.   *Okane-ga   doroboo-ni Ken-kara nusum-are-ta.*
             money-nom thief-dat   K-from   steal-pass-past
             'Money was stolen by a thief from Ken.'
             Mean: 1.43   S.D: .86   Total: 74
             Freq. %(#): 5→ 2.7(2); 4→1.4(1); 3→4.1(3); 2→20.3(15); 1→71.6(53)

       d.   *Okane-ga   doroboo-ni-yotte Ken-kara nusum-are-ta.*
             money-nom thief-ni-yotte   K-from   steal-pass-past
             'Money was stolen from Ken by means of a thief.'
             Mean: 2.30   S.D: 1.38   Total: 74
             Freq. %(#): 5→9.5(7); 4→13.5(10); 3→16.2(12); 2→18.9(14); 1→41.9(31)

       e.   *Doroboo-ga ginkoo-kara Ken-no okane-o   nusun-da.*
             thief-dat   bank-from   K-no   money-acc steal-past
             'A thief stole Ken's money from the bank.'
             Mean: 4.66   S.D: .76   Total: 74
             Freq. %(#): 5→78.4(58); 4→13.5(10); 3→5.4(4); 2→1.4(1); 1→1.4(1)

       f.   *Ken-ga doroboo-ni ginkoo-kara okane-o   nusum-are-ta.*
             K-nom thief-dat   bank-from   money-acc steal-pass-past
             'Ken was stolen the money from the bank by a thief.'
             Mean:3.53   S.D: 1.45   Total: 74
             Freq. %(#): 5→35.1(26); 4→23.0(17); 3→17.6(13); 2→8.1(6); 1→16.2(12)

(20) a. *Otto-ga   tuma-kara hesokuri-o   tot-ta.*
          husband-nom wife-from secret.savings-acc take-past.
          'The husband took the secret savings from his wife.'
          Mean:4.76   S.D: .59   Total: 74
          Frequency %(#): 5→ 83.8(62); 4→8.1(6); 3→8.1(6); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

      b. *Tuma-ga otto-ni   hesokuri-o   to-rare-ta.*
          wife-nom husband-dat secret.savings-acc take-pass-past
          Lit. 'The wife was stolen her secret savings by her husband.'
          Mean: 4.77   S.D: .65   Total: 74
          Frequency %(#): 5→85.1(63); 4→9.5(7); 3→4.1(3); 2→0(0); 1→1.4(1)

      c. *Hesokuri-ga   otto-ni   tuma-kara to-rare-ta.*
          secret.savings-nom husband-dat wife-from take-pass-past
          '(Her) secret savings were taken from the wife by her husband.'
          Mean: 1.57   S.D: .86   Total: 74
          Freq. %(#): 5→1.4(1); 4→2.7(2); 3→8.1(6); 2→27.0(20); 1→60.8(45)

(21) a. *Tuma-ga otto-kara   nige-ta.*
          wife-nom husband-from escape-past
          'The wife escaped from her husband.'
          Mean:4.68   S.D: .68   Total: 74
          Freq. %(#): 5→78.4(58); 4→12.2(9); 3→8.1(6); 2→1.4(1); 1→0(0)

      b. *Otto-ga   tuma-ni nige-rare--ta.*
          husband-nom wife-dat escape-pass-past
          'The husband was escaped from by his wife.'
          Mean:4.82   S.D: .53   Total: 74
          Frequency %(#): 5→ 89.2(66); 4→4.1(3); 3→6.8(5); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

Pseudo-passives III (Endpoint-theme)

(22) a. *Mary-ga John-ni hohoen-da.*
          M-nom   J-dat   smile-past
          'Mary smiled at John.'
          Mean:4.93   S.D: .25   Total: 74
          Frequency %(#): 5→ 93.2(69); 4→6.8(5); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

b. *John-ga Mary-ni hohoem-are-ta.*
J-nom   M-dat   smile-pass-past
'John was smiled at by Mary.'
Mean: 3.38   S.D: 1.21   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 17.6(13); 4→ 37.8(28); 3→ 17.6(13); 2→ 18.9(14); 1→8.1(6)

(23)   a.   *Yopparai-ga   Ken-ni butukat-ta.*
drunkard-nom K-dat bump-past
'A drunkard bumped into Ken.'
Mean: 4.93   S.D: .30   Total: 74
Frequency %(#): 5→94.6(70); 4 →4.1(3); 3→1.4(1); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

b.   *Ken-ga yopparai-ni   butuka-rare-ta.*
K-nom drunkard-dat bump-pass-past
'Ken was bumped by a drunkard.'
Mean: 3.99   S.D: 1.10   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 41.9(31); 4→29.7(22); 3→16.2(12);   2→9.5(7); 1→2.7(2)

(24)   a.   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni onara-o si-ta.*
K-nom N-dat   fart-acc do-pass-past
'Ken farted on Naomi.
Mean: 3.05   S.D: 1.53   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→25.7(19); 4→16.2(12); 3→21.6(16); 2→10.8(8); 1→25.7(19)

b.   *Naomi-ga Ken-ni onara-o s-are-ta.*
N-nom   K-dat fart-acc do-pass-past
Lit. 'Naomi was farted on by Ken,'
Mean: 3.51   S.D: 1.34   Total: 74
Freq.%(#): 5→33.8(25); 4→17.6(13); 3→23.0(17); 2→17.6(13); 1→8.1(6)

(25)   a.   *Densya-de roozin-ga   Naomi-ni seki-o   si-ta.*
train-loc   old.person-nom N-dat   cough-acc do-past
'An old man coughed on Naomi in the train.'
Mean:2.99   S.D: 1.33   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→17.6(13); 4→18.9 (14); 3→23.0(17); 2→25.7(19); 1→14.9(11)

b.   *Densya-de Naomi-ga roozin-ni   seki-o   s-are-ta.*
train-loc   N-nom   old-man-dat cough-acc do-pass-past
Lit. 'Naomi was coughed on by an old man in the train.'
Mean:3.20   S.D: 1.38   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 24.3(18); 4→21.6(16); 3→16.2(12); 2→25.7(19);1→12.2(9)

(26)   a.   *Inu-ga   Naomi-ni hoe-ta.*
              dog-nom N-dat   bark-past
              'A dog barked at Naomi'
              Mean: 4.89   S.D: .42   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→91.9(68); 4→6.8(5); 3→0(0); 2→1.4(1); 1→0(0)

    b.   *Naomi-ga inu-ni   hoe-rare-ta.*
              N-nom   dog-dat bark-pass-past
              'Naomi was barked at by a dog.'
              Mean: 4.68   S.D: .74   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#):   5→78.4(58); 4→14.9(11); 3→4.1(3); 2→1.4(1); 1→1.4(1)

Passive Morpheme with Unaccusative Verbs

(27)   a.   *Hon-ga   yuka-ni ochi-ta.*
              book-nom floor-dat fall-past
              'A book fell on a floor.'
              Mean:4.91   S.D: .34   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→91.9(68); 4→6.8(5); 3→1.4(1); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

    b.   *Yuka-ga   hon-ni   ochi-rare-ta.*
              floor-nom book-dat fall-pass-past
              Lit.' A floor was fallen on by a book.'
              Mean:1.01   S.D: .12   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→ 0(0); 4→0(0); 3→0(0); 2→1.4(1); 1→98.6(73)

(28)   *Taro-ga musuko-ni kaidan-kara ochi-rare-ta.*
        T-nom son-dat   stair-abl   fall-pass-past
        Lit. 'Taro was fallen from the stairs by (his) son.'
        Mean:1.09   S.D: .29   Total: 74
        Frequency %(#): 5→ 0(0); 4→0(0); 3→0(0); 2→9.5(7); 1→90.5(67)

(29)   *Taro$_i$-ga tomodati-ni zibun$_i$-no ie-ni   tuk-are-ta.*
        T-nom   friend-dat self-no   house-dat arrive-pass-past
        Lit. 'Taro was arrived at (his) house by his friend.'
        Mean:1.07   S.D: .25   Total: 74
        Frequency %(#): 5→ 0(0); 4→0(0); 3→0(0); 2→6.8(5); 1→9.3.2(69)

Paradigm with *wazato* 'intentionally'

(30)   a.   *Doroboo-ga wazato   keisatukan-ni **tukama.e-rare-ta**.*
              theif-nom   intentionally policeman-dat catch-pass-past
              'The thief intentionally got caught by the policeman.'
              Mean: 2.93   S.D: 1.40   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→ 17.6(13); 4→ 21.6(16); 3→ 16.2(12); 2→ 25.7(19); 1→18..9(14)

        b.   *Doroboo-ga waza-to   keisatukan-ni **tukama-tta***
              thief-nom   intentionally police-dat   be.caught-past
              'The thief intentionally got caught by the policeman.'
              Mean: 4.85   S.D: .39   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→86.5(64); 4 →12.2(9); 3→1.4(1); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

(31)   a.   *Sencyo-ga   wazato   fune-o sizume-ta.*
              captain-nom intentionally ship-acc sink-past
              'The captain sank the ship intentionally.'
              Mean: 4.85   S.D: .39   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→ 86.5(64); 4→12.2(9); 3→1.4(1); 2→11.5(7); 1→3.3(2)

        b.   *Hune-ga wazato   sizume-rare-ta.*
              ship-nom intentionally sink-pass-past
              'The ship was sunk intentionally.'
              Mean: 3.41   S.D: 1.59   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→39.2(29); 4→14.9(11); 3→13.5(10); 2→12.2(9); 1→20.3(15)

        c.   *Hune-ga sencyo-ni   wazato   sizume-rare-ta.*
              ship-nom captain-dat intentionally sink-pass-past
              Lit. 'The ship was sunk by the captain intentionally.'
              Mean: 2.80   S.D: 1.43   Total: 74
              Freq. %(#): 5→16.2(12); 4→20.3(15); 3→14.9(11); 2→24.3(18); 1→24.3(18)

(32)   a.   *Watasitati-wa ame-ni hu-rare-ta.*
              we-top   rain-dat descend-pass-past
              'Lit. 'We were 'descended upon' by rain.'
              Mean:3.79   S.D: 1.33   Total: 73
              Freq. %(#): 5→42.5(31); 4→21.9(16); 3→17.8(13); 2→8.2(6); 1→9.6(7)

b. *Megumi-no ame-ga   watasitati-ni hut-ta.*
benefit-no rain-nom we-dat   descend-past
Lit. 'Beneficial rain descended upon us.'
Mean:4.03   S.D: 1.11   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 45.9(34); 4→24.3(18); 3→18.9(14); 2→8.1(6); 1→2.7(2)

(33) a. *Murabito-tati-wa ame-ni hu-rare-ta.*
villager-pl-top   rain-dat descend-pass-past
Lit. 'The villagers were 'descended upon' by rain.'
Mean: 3.43   S.D: 1.42   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→33.8(25); 4→18.9(14); 3→14.9(11); 2→21.6(16); 1→10.8(8)

b. *Ame-ga   yooyaku murabito-tati-ni hu-ta.*
rain-nom finally   village-pl-dat   descend-past
'Finally rain descended upon the villagers.'
Mean: 3.14   S.D: 1.42   Total: 73
Freq. %(#): 5→27.4(20); 4→12.3(9); 3→19.2(14); 2→28.8(21); 1→12.3(9)

(34) a. *Ooame-ga   Tokyo-ni   hut-ta.*
heavy.rain-nom Tokyo-dat descend-past
Lit.'Heavy rain descended upon Tokyo. '
Mean:4.62   S.D: .87   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→79.7(59); 4→9.5(7); 3→5.4(4); 2→4.1(3); 1→1.4(1)

b. *Tokyo-ga   ooame-ni   hu-rare-ta.*
Tokyo-nom heavy.rain-dat descend-pass-past
'Tokyo was 'descended upon' by heay rain.'
Mean:2.62   S.D: 1.39   Total: 73
Freq. %(#): 5→ 13.7(10); 4→17.8(13); 3→9.6(7); 2→34.2(25); 1→24.7(18)

c. *Tokyo-de ooame-ga   hut-ta.*
Tokyo-loc heavy.rain-nom descend-past
'Heavy rain descend in Tokyo.
Mean:4.88   S.D: .50   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 93.2(69); 4→2.7(2); 3→2.7(2); 2→1.4(1); 1→0(0)

Locative Postpositional Phrase

(35)   a.   *Kyoko-wa ima Osaka-**ni** ir-u.*
                Kyoko-top now Osaka-loc stay-pres
                'Kyoko is now in Osaka.'
                Mean:4.89   S.D: .51   Total: 74
                Frequency %(#): 5→ 93.2(69); 4→5.4(4); 3→0(0); 2→0(0); 1→1.4(1)

        b.   *Kyoko-wa ima Osaka-**de** ir-u.*
                Kyoko-top now Osaka-loc stay-pres
                'Kyoko is now in Osaka.'
                Mean: 1.23   S.D: .58   Total: 74
                Frequency %(#): 5→ 1.4(1); 4→ 0(0); 3→ 0(0); 2→ 17.6(13); 1→81.1(60)

(36)   a.   *Kyoko-wa heya-de odot-ta.*
                Kyoko-top room-loc dance-past
                'Kyoko danced in the room.'
                Mean: 4.95   S.D: .28   Total: 74
                Freq. %(#): 5→95.9(71); 4 →2.7(2); 3→1.4(1); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

        b.   *Kyoko-wa heya-**ni** odot-ta.*
                Kyoko-top room-loc dance-past
                'Kyoko danced in the room.'
                Mean: 1.07   S.D: .25   Total: 74
                Freq. %(#): 5→ 0(0); 4→0(0); 3→0(0);   2→6.8(5); 1→93.2(69)

(37)   a.   *Osaka-ga Kyoko-ni i-rare-ta.*
                Osaka-nom Kyoko-dat stay-pass-past.
                Lit.'Osaka was stayed in by Kyoko.'
                Mean: 1.04   S.D: .20   Total: 74
                Freq. %(#): 5→0(0); 4→0(0); 3→0(0); 2→4.1(3); 1→95.9(71)

        b.   *Heya-ga Kyoko-ni odo-rare-ta.*
                room-nom Kyoko-dat dance-pass-past
                Lit.'The room was danced in by Kyoko.'
                Mean: 1.04   S.D: .20   Total: 74
                Freq. %(#): 5→0(0); 4→0(0); 3→0(0); 2→4.1(3); 1→95.9(71)

Accusative Object vs. Dative Object

(38)   a.   *Kodomo-ga koukana koppu-**o** sawat-ta.*
            child-nom   valuable glass-**acc** touch-past.
            ' A child touched a valuable glass.'
            Mean:4.45   S.D: .92   Total: 74
            Frequency %(#): 5→63.5(47); 4→25.7(19); 3→5.4(4); 2→2.7(2); 1→2.7(2)

    b.   *Kodomo-ga koukana koppu-**ni** sawat-ta.*
            child-nom   valuable glass-**dat** touch-past.
            ' A child touched a valuable glass.'
            Mean:4.78   S.D: .56   Total: 74
            Frequency %(#): 5→83.8(62); 4→12.2(9); 3→2.7(2); 2→1.4(1); 1→0(0)

***Ni-yotte* Phrase**

(39)   a.   *Kinoo   ziko-**ni-yotte**   daizyutai-ga   oki-ta.*
            yesterday accident-ni-yotte heavy_traffic_jam-nom occur-past
            'Yesterday, a heavy traffic jam occurred by means of the accident.'
            Mean: 4.62   S.D: .79   Total: 73
            Freq. %(#): 5→74.0(54); 4→19.2(14); 3→2.7(2); 2→2.7(2); 1→1.4(1)

    b.   *Taro-no titioya-ga kootuziko-**ni-yotte**   nakuna-ta.*
            T-no   father-nom traffic.accident-ni-yotte die-past
            'Taro's father passed away by means of a traffic accident.'
            Mean: 4.48   S.D: 1.03   Total: 73
            Freq. %(#): 5→72.6(53); 4→13.7(10); 3→6.8(5); 2→2.7(2); 1→4.1(3)

(40)   a.   *Hikooki-ga   terorisuto-**ni** bakudan-**ni-yotte** hakais-are-ta.*
            airplane-nom terrorist-dat   bomb-ni-yotte   destroy-pass-past
            'An airplane was destroyed by means of a bomb by a terrorist.'
            Mean:3.16   S.D: 1.48   Total: 74
            Freq. %(#): 5→28.4(21); 4→16.2(12); 3→14.9(11); 2→24.3(18); 1→16.2(12)

    b.   *Hikooki-ga   terorisuto-**ni-yotte** bakudan-**ni** hakais-are-ta.*
            airplane-nom terrorist-ni-yotte   bomb-dat   destroy-pass-past
            Int. 'An airplane was destroyed by a bomb by means of a terrorist.'
            Mean:1.66   S.D: 1.14   Total: 74
            Freq. %(#): 5→ 6.8((5); 4→2.7(2); 3→4.1(3); 2→23.0(17); 1→63.5(47)

c. *Hikooki-ga   bakudan-**ni** terorisuto-**ni-yotte** hakais-are-ta.*
    airplane-nom bomb-dat   terrorist-ni-yotte   destroy-pass-past
    'An airplane was destroyed by a bomb by means of a terrorist .'
    Mean:1.47   S.D: .92   Total: 74
    Freq. %(#): 5→ 4.1(3); 4→1.4(1); 3→1.4(1); 2→24.3(18); 1→68.9(51)

Without Context vs. With Context

(41)   a.   ***Without Context***
            Naomi-wa Lisa-no hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.
            N-top   L-no   mother-dat die-pass-past
            Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'
            Mean: 1.69   S.D: 1.06   Total: 74
            Freq. %(#): 5→ 4.1(3); 4→4.1(3); 3→8.1(6); 2→24.3(18); 1→59.5(44)

       b.   ***With Context** (the context was given in Japanese)*
            ⌐Context⌐ Naomi and Lisa are roommates. One day, Lisa's mother died,
            and Lisa cried all night. So Naomi couldn't sleep at all even though she
            had an important exam on the following day.

            Naomi-wa Lisa-no hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.
            N-top   L-no   mother-dat die-pass-past
            Lit. 'Naomi was died by Lisa's mother.'
            Mean: 1.66   S.D: 1.02   Total: 74
            Freq. %(#): 5→2.7(2); 4→5.4(4); 3→8.1(6); 2→23.0(17); 1→60.8(45)

(42)   a.   ***Without Context***
            Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.
            N-top   mother-dat die-pass-past
            Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'
            Mean: 4.68   S.D: .60   Total: 74
            Freq. %(#):   5→74.3(55); 4→18.9(14); 3→6.8(5); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

       b.   ***With Context***
            ⌐Context⌐ Naomi's mother passed away suddenly. Although Naomi had
            an important test on the following day, she cried all night and ended up
            taking a test without any sleep.

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Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.
N-top   mother-dat die-pass-past
Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'
Mean:4.50   S.D: .97   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→73.0(54); 4→12.2(9); 3→9.5(7); 2→2.7(2); 1→2.7(2);

(43)　　a.　***Without Context***
Ken-ga misiranu.hito-ni zisatus-are-ta.
K-nom stranger-dat   commit.suicide-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
Mean:1.55   S.D: .94   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 2.7(2); 4→2.7(2); 3→6.8(5); 2→23.0(17); 1→64.9(48)

　　　　b.　***With Context (non-possession)***
　　[Context]　Ken happened to see a stranger committing suicide on his way to work. He felt sick and decided not to go to his work and went back home.

Ken-ga misiranu_hito-ni zisatus-are-ta
K-nom stranger-dat   commit.suicide-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
Mean: 2.01   S.D: 1.19   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→4.1(3); 4→10.8(8); 3→13.5(10); 2→25.7(19); 1→45.9(34)

　　　　c.　***With Context (Possession-inducing)***
　　[Context]　Ken happened to see a stranger committing suicide on his way to work. He tried hard to persuade him not to do it, but failed.

Ken-ga misiranu.hito-ni zisatus-are-ta.
K-nom stranger-dat   commit.suicide-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.'
Mean: 3.64   S.D: 1.27   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→31.1(23); 4→29.7(22); 3→18.9(14); 2→12.2(9); 1→8.1(6)

(44)　　a.　***Without Context***
Ken-wa misiranu_hito-ni zibun-no biru-de   zisatus-are-ta.
K-top   stranger-dat   self-no   building-loc suicide-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was committed suicide by a stranger at himself's$_i$ building.'
Mean: 3.51   S.D: 1.40   Total: 72
Freq. %(#): 5→29.2(21); 4→31.9(23); 3→16.7(12); 2→5.6(4); 1→16.7(12)

b. ***With Context***

$\boxed{\text{Context}}$ A stranger jumped off from the building that Ken owns, and died. The news was widely circulated.

Ken-wa misiranu.hito-ni zibun-no biru-de   zisatus-are-ta.
K-top stranger-dat   self-no building-loc suicide-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was committed suicide by a stranger at himself's$_i$ building.'
Mean:4.34   S.D: 1.08   Total: 74
Freq.%(#): 5→63.5(47); 4→18.9(14); 3→9.5(7); 2→4.1(3); 1→4.1(3)

(45)   a.   ***Without Context***
Ken-ga sensei-ni   Naomi-o sika-rare-ta.
K-nom teacher-dat N-acc   scold-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was scolded Naomi by the teacher.'
Mean: 1.12   S.D: .522   Total: 74
Frequency %(#): 5→1.4(1); 4→0(0); 3→0(0); 2→6.8(5); 1→91.9(68)

b.   ***With Context***
$\boxed{\text{Context}}$ Naomi is Ken's daughter. One day Naomi was scolded by her teacher.

(i)   *Ken-ga sensei-ni   Naomi-o sika-rare-ta.*
K-nom teacher-dat N-acc   scold-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was scolded Naomi by the teacher.'
Mean: 2.05   S.D: 1.16   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→1.4(1); 4→14.9(11); 3→16.2(12); 2→23.0(17); 1→44.6(33)

(ii)   *Ken-ga sensei-ni   musume-o   sika-rare-ta.*
K-nom teacher-dat daughter-acc scold-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was scolded (his) daughter by the teacher.'
Mean:3.81   S.D: 1.35   Total: 74
Freq. %(#):   5→41.9(31); 4→25.7(19); 3→16.2(12); 2→4.1(3); 1→12.2(9)

(46)   a.   ***Without Context***
(i)   *Ken-ga Naomi-ni hasi-rare-ta.*
K-nom N-dat   run-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'
Mean:1.09   S.D: .34   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 0(0); 4→0(0); 3→1.4(1); 2→6.8(5); 1→91.9(68)

(ii) *Ken-ga Naomi-ni kyuuni   hasi-rare-ta.*
K-nom N-dat   suddenly run-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was run suddenly by Naomi.'
Mean: 1.66   S.D: 1.05   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→2.7(2); 4→4.1(3); 3→14.9(11); 2→13.5(10); 1→64.9(48)

b. **With Context**
Context   Ken and Naomi were playing tag in the park. Ken was it. Naomi ran away from him when he was about to catch her.

Ken-ga Naomi-ni hasi-rare-ta.
K-nom N-dat   run-pass-past
Lit. 'Ken was run by Naomi.'
Mean: 2.01   S.D: 1.12   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→2.7(2); 4→10.8(8); 3→13.5(10); 2→31.1(23); 1→41.9(31)

(47)   a. **Without Context**
Taro-wa otooto-no inu-ni sin-are-ta
T-top   brother-no dog-dat run-pass-past
Lit. 'Taro$_i$ was died by his$_i$ brother's dog.'
Mean:1.66   S.D: 1.04   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→4.1(3); 4→2.7(2); 3→9.5(7); 2→23.0(17); 1→60.8(45)

b. **With Context**
Context Taro was asked to take care of his brother's dog for a few days, but the dog died when Taro was in charge.

(i) *Taroo$_i$-no otooto-no inu-ga   sin-da.*
T-no   brother-no dog-nom die-past
Int.'The dog owned by Taro's brother which is temporary owned by Taro died.'
Mean:4.72   S.D: .59   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→77.0(57); 4→18.9(14); 3→2.7(2); 2→1.4(1); 1→0(0)

(ii) *Taro-wa otooto-no inu-ni sin-are-ta.*
T-top   brother-no dog-dat run-pass-past
Lit. 'Taro$_i$ was died by his$_i$ brother's dog.'
Mean:3.11   S.D: 1.41   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→20.3(15); 4→27.0(20); 3→12.2(9); 2→24.3(18); 1→16.2(12)

c. ***With Context***

Context Taro's brother's dog died, and his brother was very upset. As a brother, Taro had to comfort and support his brother and ended up missing his favorite baseball game.

(i) *Taroo$_i$-no otooto-no inu-ga   sin-da.*
T-no   brother-no dog-nom die-past
Int. 'The dog owned by Taro's brother died.'
Mean:4.58   S.D: .64   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→66.2(49); 4→25.7(19); 3→8.1(6); 2→0(0); 1→0(0)

(ii) *Taro-wa otooto-no inu-ni   sin-are-ta.*
T-top   brother-no dog-dat run-pass-past
Lit. 'Taro$_i$ was died by his$_i$ brother's dog.'
Mean: 2.73   S.D: 1.45   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 16.2(12); 4→16.2(12); 3→20.3(15); 2→18.9(14); 1→28.4(21)

Dative Cause Passive derived from 'to cry'

(48) a. *Ken-ga misiranu-ko-ni   nak-are-ta.*
K-nom unkown-child-dat cry-pass-past
'Ken was cried over by an unknown child.'
Mean: 3.42   S.D: 1.40   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→29.7(22); 4→24.3(18); 3→17.6(13); 2→14.9(11); 1→13.5(10)

b. *Ken-ga misiranu-ko-ni   me-no mae-de   nak-are-ta.*
K-nom unkown-child-dat eye-no before-loc cry-pass-past
'Ken was cried over by an unknown child in front of him.'
Mean: 4.18   S.D: 1.13   Total: 74
Freq. %(#):   5→51.4(38); 4→29.7(22); 3→10.8(8); 2→1.4(1); 1→6.8(5)

c. *Sensei-ga   seito-ni   nak-are-ta.*
teacher-nom student-dat cry-pass-past
'The teacher was cried over by {a/the/his} student.'
Mean:3.78   S.D: 1.27   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→40.5(30); 4→21.6(16); 3→20.3(15); 2→10.8(8); 1→6.8(5)

d. *Sensei-ga   zibun-no seito-ni   nak-are-ta.*
teacher-nom self-no   student-dat cry-pass-past
'The teacher$_i$ was cried over by self's$_i$ student.'
Mean:4.19   S.D: 1.18   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→ 58.1(43); 4→18.9(14); 3→12.2(9); 2→5.4(4); 1→5.4(4)

e. *Sensei-ga   tonari-no kurasu-no seito-ni   nak-are-ta.*
teacher-nom next-no   class-no   student-dat cry-pass-past
'The teacher was cried over by a student in next class.'
Mean: 3.99   S.D: 1.23   Total: 74
Freq. %(#): 5→47.3(35); 4→25.7(19); 3→10.8(8); 2→10.8(8); 1→5.4(4)

f. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni zibun-no ofisu-de   nak-are-ta.*
K-nom N-dat   self-no   office-loc cry-pass-past
'Ken$_i$ was cried over by Naomi in self$_i$'s office.'
Mean: 3.93   S.D: 1.21   Total: 73
Freq. %(#): 5→42.5(31); 4→27.4(20); 3→17.8(13); 2→5.5(4); 1→6.8(5)
[self=(1)Ken, (2)=Naomi (3)=both Ken & Naomi]
self:(1)→77.8(56), (2)→2.8(2), (3)→19.4(14) TTL72

Ambiguity : Self-binding

(49)   a.   *Taro-ga Hanako-ni Jiro-ga   zibun-o seme-ta-to   it-ta.*
T-nom   H-dat   Jiro-nom self-o   blame-past-c say-past.
'Taro$_i$ told Hanako$_i$ that Jiro$_i$ blamed self$_i$.'
Mean:4.01   S.D: 1.19   Total: 71
Freq. %(#): 5→47.9(34); 4→23.9(17); 3→14.1(10); 2→9.9(7); 1→4.2(3)
[self=(1)Taro, (2)=Hanako (3) self=Jiro]
self:(1)→60.9(42), (2)→4.3(3), (3)→8.7(6), (1&3) →23.2(16), (1&2) →2.3(2)
TTL69

(50)   a.   *Naomi-ga Ken-ni zibun-no koto-o   zimansi-ta.*
N-nom   K-dat self-no   thing-acc boast-past
'Naomi$_i$ was boasted about self$_i$'s things by Ken$_i$.'
Mean:4.55   S.D: 0.82   Total: 67
Freq. %(#): 5→71.6(48); 4→16.4(11); 3→7.5(5); 2→4.5(3); 1→0(0)
[self=(1) Ken   (2) Naomi   (3) both K & N]
self:(1) → 4.2(3), (2) → 93.1(67), (3) → 2.8(2) TTL 72

b.   *Ken-wa Naomi-ni zibun-no koto-o   zimans-are-ta.*
N-top   K-dat   self-no   thing-acc boast-pass-past
'Ken$_i$ was boasted about self things by Naomi$_j$.'
Mean:3.19   S.D: 1.34   Total: 67
Freq. %(#): 5→22.4(15); 4→19.4(13); 3→26.9(18); 2→17.9(12); 1→13.4(9)
[self =(1)Ken   (2)Naomi   (3)both K & N]
self:(1) → 21.9(16), (2) → 50.7(37), (3) → 27.4(20) TTL 73

ii. For those who chose (2) above, is it possible to take 'self' as Ken as well?

YES→ 34.2%(13) NO→65.8%(25) TTL:38

c. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni zibun-no koto-o   Taro-ni zimans-are-ta.*
   K-nom N-dat   self-no   thing-acc T-dat   boast-pass-past
   'Ken*ᵢ* was boasted about self's things to Taro by Naomi*ⱼ*.'
   Mean:2.12   S.D: 1.36   Total: 73
   Freq. %(#): 5→6.8(5); 4→13.7(10); 3→16.4(12); 2→11.0(8); 1→52.1(38)
   For those who answered 3-5 above:
   [self=(1)Ken   (2)Naomi   (3) Taro (4)both K & N]
   self:(1) → 90.6(29), (2) → 6.3(2), (3) → 3.1(1) TTL 32

d. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni-yotte Taro-ni zibun-no koto-o   zimans-are-ta.*
   K-nom N-ni-yotte   T-dat   self-no   thing-acc boast-pass-past
   'Ken*ᵢ* was boasted about self to Taro by means of Naomi*ⱼ*.'
   Mean: 2.62   S.D: 1.31   Total: 71
   Freq. %(#): 5→9.9(7); 4→16.9(12); 3→25.4(18); 2→21.1(15); 1→26.8(19)
   [self=Ken, (2)Naomi, (3) Taro, (4) both K & N]
   self:(1) → 91.3(63), (2) → 1.4(1), (3) → (4.3)3, (4) → 2.9(2), TTL 69

(51)   a. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni kazoku-o   zimans-are-ta.*
   K-nom N-dat   family-acc boast-pass-past
   'Ken*ᵢ* was boasted about family by Naomi*ⱼ*.'
   Mean: 3.64   S.D: 1.11   Total: 69
   Freq. %(#): 5→26.1(18); 4→30.4(21); 3→29.0(20); 2→10.1(7); 1→4.3(3)
   [whose family?=(1)Ken's , (2) Naomi's (3) both K & N's]
   family:(1) → 6.9(5), (2) → 77.8(56), (3)→ 15.3(11) TTL 72

b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni kazoku-o   Taro-ni zimans-are-ta.*
   K-nom N-dat   family-acc T-dat   boast-pass-past
   'Ken was boasted about *pro* family to Taro by Naomi.'
   Mean:2.00   S.D: 1.17   Total: 73
   Freq. %(#): 5→46.6(34); 4→23.3(17); 3→17.8(13); 2→8.2(6); 1→4.1(3)
   For those who answered 3-5 above:
   [family=(1)Ken's, (2)Naomi's,(3)Taro's (4)both K & N's]
   family:(1) → 82.1(23);(2) → 3.6(1); (3) → 0; (4) → 14.3(4), TTL 28

(52)   *Naomi-ga Ken-ni zibun-no heya-de   atama-o nagu-rare-ta.*
        N-nom   K-dat self-no   room-loc head-acc hit-pass-past
        'Naomi$_i$ was hit (his) head in self's$_{i/j}$ room by Ken$_j$.'
        Mean:3.81   S.D: 1.19   Total: 72
        Freq. %(#): 5→34.7(25); 4→30.6(22); 3→23.6(17); 2→2.8(2); 1→8.3(6)
        [self=(1) Naomi, (2) Ken, (3)both K & N]
        self:(1) → 94.4(68),(2) → 2.8(2), (3) → 2.8(2) TTL 72

(53)   *Ken-ga koibito-ni kami-o   ki-rare-ta.*
        K-nom lover-dat hair-acc cut-pass-past
        Lit. 'Ken$_i$ was cut (his girlfriend's) hair$_{i/j}$ by (his) girlfriend$_j$.'
        Mean:4.21   S.D: 1.14   Total: 72
        Freq. %(#): 5→56.9(41); 4→22.2(16); 3→9.7(7); 2→6.9(5); 1→4.2(3)
        i. [hair= (1)Ken's, (2)girlfriend's, (3)K & his girlfriend's]
        hair:(1) → 74.3(55),(2) → 2.7(2), (3) → 23(17)   TTL 74
        ii. For those who chose (1) above, is it possible to take 'hair' as girlfriend's as well?
        YES→ 29.6%(16) NO→70.4%(38) TTL:54

- Contact the author for the stimuli and results from questionnaires B and C.

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