Subsuming Indirect Passives under Direct Passives

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1. Introduction

This paper revisits one of the most controversial topics in Japanese linguistics—the passive voice system—and proposes a unified raising analysis, adapting Chris Collins' (2005) smuggling analysis of English passives. Crucially, this paper assumes one passive morpheme *–(r)are* in Japanese with invariant lexical features. The approach taken here is a modular one wherein interactions among the lexical properties of *–(r)are,* general principles of Universal Grammar, and independently motivated properties of Japanese give rise to different clusters of properties observed with different passive types.

Japanese has a very rich passive voice system. Although it has been extensively studied for the last 60 years, there is no consensus in terms of the precise number of passive types, let alone their syntactic structures (see Hoshi 1999 for a review of controversy). However, all the existing literature has commonly assumed that at least two types of passives (or homophonous *-(r)are* morphemes) must be postulated to explain the different clusters of properties associated with Japanese passives. The two types are (i) the direct passive, which has a corresponding active counterpart like English passives (see (1)) and (ii) the indirect passive (a.k.a. the adversative or gapless passive), which is said to lack an active counterpart and appears to contain an extra argument that is unlicensed by the predicate with which *–rare* merges (see (2)).[1]

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1. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ACC=accusative, CAUS=causative, CL=classifier, COP=copula, DAT=dative, LOC=locative, NEG=negation, NOM=nominative, PAST=past tense, PRES=non-past tense, TOPIC=topic.

(1) a. keisatu-ga Ken-o tukamae-ta. [Active]
police-NOM Ken-ACC catch-PAST
'The police caught Ken.'

b. Ken-ga keisatu-ni tukamae-rare-ta. [Direct Passive]
Ken-NOM police-DAT catch-PASS-PAST
'Ken was caught by the police.'

(2) a. Ken-ga Naomi-ni nige-rare-ta. [Indirect Passive]
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'

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

c. Tokyo-ga ooame-ni hur-are-ta.
Tokyo-NOM heavy.rain-DAT rain-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Tokyo was descended upon by the heavy rain.'

d. Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

All the passives in (2) contain an intransitive predicate, thus in theory lack an active counterpart. Besides the apparent lack of active counterparts, the standard argument supporting the maintenance of the distinction between the two types of passives comes from the fact that the indirect passive usually carries strong adversative connotations (in an adversative connotation, the nominative DP is adversely affected by the event denoted in the rest of the sentence). Note, however, that adversative connotations and the indirect passive are not necessarily coextensive: Direct passives carrying adversative connotations and indirect passives lacking such connotations are both reported in the literature (e.g. Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976 and Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992).

The standard analysis that has been proposed to account for these properties is that *-rare* in direct passives absorbs the external

argument of the main predicate and accusative Case, while *–rare* in indirect passives selects for an EXPERIENCER-like AFFECTEE argument (e.g. Kuno 1970, Miyagawa 1989, Kubo 1992). Unlike the direct passive *–rare*, the indirect passive *–rare* can take an intransitive predicate as its complement. Table (3) summarizes these properties.

(3) The standard analysis: two *–rare* morphemes

	-rare selects for		*-rare* absorbs	
	Affectee DP	Intr. VP	Acc. Case	External DP
Direct	*NO*	*NO*	*YES*	*YES*
Indirect	*YES*	*YES*	*NO*	*NO*

As the table shows, the two morphemes have entirely different functions. Then a question arises: Why are the two morphemes spelled out as the same *–rare*? Under the standard analysis, this appears to be an unexplained accident.

Contrary to the standard view, this paper pursues a unified raising analysis of Japanese passives, which is clearly a theoretically desirable hypothesis from both language-internal and universal perspectives. The primary reason that a movement analysis of indirect passives has never been proposed is that they are seemingly gapless: without a gap, a movement approach is impossible. However, the question is whether the nominative DP in purported gapless passives can be analyzed as having an active source. If 'yes,' then a unified raising analysis is within reach. This is exactly what this paper aims to achieve.

Due to space limitations, it is impossible to give a comprehensive survey of the existing theories nor provide a thorough analysis of Japanese passives here (the reader is referred to Ishizuka 2010 for a more complete analysis of Japanese passives). However, I hope to at least show in this paper that a unification of the two types of passives is not only feasible but also empirically supported. Specifically, it will be shown that all the well-formed indirect passives do and need to contain a gap, which corresponds to an oblique argument—i.e. a dative, source, or *no*(genitive)-phrase—of the predicate merged with *-rare*. The presence of an oblique gap has been previously overlooked due to a unique characteristic of Japanese: that is, disappearance of original Case or a postposition under movement (see Kameyama 1989 and Ishizuka 2010). In the course of the discussion, I will also demonstrate that the passive morpheme *–rare* itself is not responsible for adversative or affected connotations.

The organization of this paper is as follows: section 2 points out

some problems with the standard dichotomy and motivates the current study. Section 3 proposes the analysis, following Collins' (2005) smuggling analysis of English passives. As mentioned earlier, the approach taken here is a modular one, and my proposal consists of the lexical entry of *–rare* and the general properties of Japanese that interact with *–rare*. Section 4 deals with the issue of active sources. I will discuss the four intransitive passives given in (2) in turn and propose their active counterparts. Section 5 provides one piece of evidence from reconstruction effects for the movement derivation in the direct and indirect passive. Lastly, section 6 concludes.

2. Coalescing the Two Types of Passives

There are many reasons to reject the standard classification of passives. Needless to say, the fact that the same morpheme *–rare* is used in the two passive constructions is unlikely to be a mere accident. Furthermore, there is a reason to believe that *–rare,* even in indirect passive uses, never introduces an argument. That is the polysemous nature of *–rare*. In quite a few languages, the synthetic passive morpheme is known to give rise to a number of different readings, such as reflexives, reciprocals, middles, and abilitive (see Shibatani 1985, Kazenin 2001:902). This is also the case with the morpheme *–rare*. It appears not only in the passive but also in other constructions including middles (a.k.a. spontaneous), low/lexical passives (a.k.a. intransitivizer), abilitives (a.k.a. potential), and subject honorifics. As shown below, none of these uses of *–rare* introduces an extra argument:

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

b. kono huku-ga moo ki-rare-nai. [Abilitive]
this clothes-NOM already wear-RARE-NEG
'This dress is no longer wearable (by me).'

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

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, see also Volpe 2005).

d. Matsuda-sensei-ga waraw-are-ta. [Honorific]
Matsuda-teacher-NOM laugh-RARE-PAST
'Prof. Matsuda (honorably) laughed.'

This polysemous nature of *-rare* can naturally been seen as a prototypical characteristic of the passive morpheme. This casts serious doubts about the standard analysis of indirect passives, since introducing an argument is not what the passive morpheme cross-linguistically does.

Additionally, the following data could not be explained if the function of *–rare* were truly an argument-introducer:

(5) a. Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni oyog-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was swum by Naomi.'

c. Ken-ga Naomi-ni *pro* ker-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT kick-PASS-PAST
**'Ken was adversely affected by Naomi's kicking.'* [Indirect Passive]
√*'Ken was kicked by Naomi.'* [Direct Passive]

(5a) is a typical example of the indirect passive. The well-formedness of (5a) shows that *–rare* can take an unergative predicate (or *v*P) as its complement. However, *-rare* cannot be combined with *oyog-u* 'to swim,' another unergative predicate, as shown in (5b).[3] The standard analysis accounts for neither the unacceptability of (5b) nor the contrast between (5a) and (5b). Moreover, although Japanese quite freely allows *pro*, (5c) is incompatible with the indirect passive reading that requires a *pro*. (5c) only gives rise to a direct passive reading: the person who is being kicked must be *Ken*, and cannot be

3. I conducted a 5-point scale (1=impossible, 5=completely natural) grammaticality judgment questionnaire with 54 native speakers. The results confirmed the introspective data: the mean rating for (5a) was 4.93 and that for (5b) was 1.39. One might argue that contexts make (5b) acceptable. However, the result without contexts still needs to be explained. (see Ishizuka 2010:ch. 7 for more information about the role of context)

anybody else. For example, (5c) is infelicitous in the situation that *Ken* was adversely affected by *Naomi*'s kicking 'her teacher.'

If *–rare* were to function as an argument-introducer like the causative *–sase*, differing only in the meaning (which is exactly the proposal made by Oshima 2006), we would expect *–rare* and *-sase* to exhibit the same distribution. However, this is not the case:

(6) a. Ken-ga Naomi-o nak-ase-ta. [Causative]
Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC cry-CAUS-PAST
'Ken made/let Naomi cry.'

b. Ken-ga Naomi-o oyog-ase-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC swim-CAUS-PAST
'Ken made/let Naomi swim.'

c. Ken-ga Naomi-ni *pro* ker-ase-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT kick-CAUS-PAST
'Ken made/let Naomi kick (it).'

The causative morpheme *-sase* is compatible with all the three predicates and is able to introduce an extra argument into the structure. The standard argument-introducer analysis of *–rare* over-generates indirect passives and explains neither the ungrammaticality of (5b) and (5c) nor the contrast between (5a) and (5b)/(5c).

Another problem with the standard analysis is its semantics. The indirect passive *–rare* is usually translated as 'be affected by.' However, it is not the case that the *ga*-marked DP can be affected in *any* way in the indirect passive: the main predicate with which *–rare* combines decides how it is affected (if affected at all). For example, in the following 'escape' example, *Ken* has to be affected by being 'the source of *Naomi's* escaping,' as the English translation suggests.

(7) Ken-ga Naomi-ni nige-rare-ta. [Indirect Passive]
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'

This sentence is incompatible with another overt 'source' phrase:

(8) *Ken-ga Naomi-ni Taroo-kara nige-rare-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT Taro-FROM escape-PASS-PAST
Int 'Ken was affected by Naomi's escaping from Taro.'

Imagine that *Ken* introduced *Naomi* to *Taro* and she ran away from *Taro*. It is plausible that *Taro* blames *Ken* for introducing such a girl, and *Ken* is affected by that. However, (8) is still ungrammatical. This is indeed puzzling if *–rare* simply means 'be affected by.' This property makes sense only if *Ken* in (7) is a source argument selected by the predicate *nige-ru* 'to escape.' This is indeed the analysis I pursue in this paper (see section 4.1).

In fact, *Ken* in (7) does not have to be affected at all:

(9) Ken-ga Naomi-ni nige-rare-ta-ga, sono-koto-de
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST-but that thing-by
eikyoo-o ukeru-koto-wa nakat-ta.
effect-ACC receive-thing-TOP NEG-PAST
'Ken was escaped from by Naomi, but he was not affected by that.'

If *Ken* were selected for as an affectee argument of *–rare*, (9) should result in a contradiction. However, (9) is entirely well-formed. This shows that *–rare* does not assign an affectee θ-role and that the adversative connotations carried by (7) are cancelable, thus they are just an implicature. Given the properties of the indirect passive *–rare* reviewed in this section, the standard analysis of Japanese (indirect) passives is unlikely to be the correct one.

3. Proposed Analysis

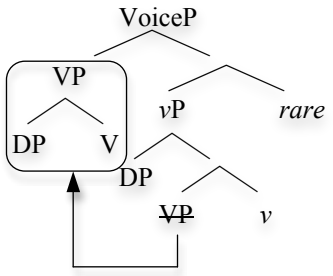
Analyzing indirect passives as having an active counterpart allows us to see Japanese passives as a unitary phenomenon involving only one *–rare*. As I mentioned earlier, the approach I adopt here is a modular one: we aim to understand the Japanese passive voice system by identifying the lexical properties of *–rare* and the independently motivated properties of Japanese that interact with *–rare*. The fundamental assumption here is that *–rare* is a passive morpheme, i.e. it is a raising predicate, which never introduces an external argument into the structure. In this section, I will first propose the lexical properties of *–rare* and then discuss the general properties of Japanese that interact with *-rare*.

3.1. Lexical Properties of *–rare*

Here we assume the null hypothesis that *–rare* is a functional category projecting Voice (cf. Cinque 1999, 2006; see Ishizuka 2010:2.3 for justification). We want to understand the lexical entry of

–rare by understanding what it takes as complement and what EPP properties (specifier properties) it has. The proposal is given below:

(10) Complement and specifier properties of *-rare*
1. *–rare* selects for an active '*v*P' as its complement, and thus can never take a middle VP, a pure unaccusative VP, or a passivized VP (e.g. *war.e-ru* 'to break$_{intr}$').
2. *–rare* has the EPP feature that attracts a VP shell to its Specifier (cf. Collins's (2005) smuggling analysis for English passives.)



The first property—the incompatibility with middle or passive predicates—has already been noted by Washio 1989 and Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002. Examples are given below:

(11) 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. *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).' (Washio 1989:232)

This raises the question of why *–rare* is compatible with an unaccusative verb like *sin-u* 'to die' (see (2a)). It must be the case that *sin-u* 'to die' can optionally introduce an active *v*P layer, which combines with *–rare*.

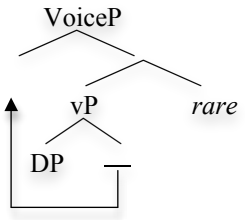
What is important in my proposal is the specifier property of *-rare*: the EPP feature of *-rare* smuggles the VP over the *v*P. Subsequently, the internal argument is attracted to T. Crucially, under

this analysis, *-rare* does not absorb Case but the movement is triggered solely by the EPP feature of T (accusative Case *-o* is stranded, and it cannot survive without a phonological host).[4]

Crucially, this proposal accounts for the second distributional property discussed in section 2 (which remains unexplained under the standard analysis). Namely, *-rare* cannot merge with pure unergative verbs lacking a VP shell. This is so because the complement needs to have a VP containing an overt DP, which can satisfy the EPP of *–rare.* (5b) as well as the following examples illustrate this point.[5]

(12) a.*Ken-wa tsuma-ni suupaa-de hatarak-are-ta.
Ken-TOP wife-DAT supermarket-LOC work-PASS-PAST
Lit.'Ken was worked at the supermarket by his wife.'

b.*Ken-wa musume-ni odor-are-ta.
Ken-TOP daughter-DAT dance-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was danced by his daughter.'



The EPP feature of *-rare* in effect forces the complement structure to contain at least two separable VP shells with the lower shell containing overt lexical materials to satisfy the EPP of *–rare*. This raises the question of why other intransitive predicates like *nige-ru* 'to escape' are compatible with *–rare*. I argue that those predicates indeed have two layers containing a big VP layer with an overt material. For example, in the 'escape' example (7), the big VP shell contains a SOURCE argument, which ends up being in the *ga*-Case position. Before we investigate more instances of intransitive passives, let us discuss general properties of Japanese that interact with *–rare*.

4. Due to space limitations, I do not discuss the structure of dative 'by'-phrase, but I assume that *–rare* makes the dative Case available and the external argument of *v*P is attracted to it (See Ishizuka 2010:3.3.2.4).
5. The mean rating for (12a) was 1.67 and that for (12b) was 1.56. Therefore, both passives were unacceptable to many native speakers.

3.2 General Properties of Japanese interacting with *-rare*

The above lexical properties of *-rare* interact with the following general properties of Japanese. First, Japanese lacks an overt/covert expletive (Miyagawa 1989), thus impersonal passives are not possible.

(13) * ooku-no hito-ni sin-are-ta.
many-NO people-DAT die-PASS-PAST
Int. 'There were died by many people.'

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 *ga*-Case position.

Assuming that the *ga*-position is a non-thematic position, the next question is what can be the source 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.

3.3. Case and Movement in Japanese

Japanese allows neither double-Case marking (e.g. **hon-ni-ga* 'book-DAT-NOM') nor Case stranding in any movement configuration, not restricted to passives. As shown below, relativized head marks only the Case in the matrix clause (see also Kameshima 1989:13; see Ishizuka 2010:ch.3 for a complete list):

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

b. ***no-marked* POSSESSOR**
[~~syoonen no~~ zitensya-ga nakunat-ta syoonen]-ga nai-ta.
bike-NOM disappear-PAST boy-NOM cry-PAST
'The boy whose bike disappeared cried.'

c. ***de-marked*** **INSTRUMENTAL**
[Naomi-ga ~~naifu-de~~ niku-o kit-ta naifu]-ga togattei-ta.
Naomi-NOM meat-ACC cut-PAST knife-NOM sharp-PAST
'The knife which Naomi cut meat with was sharp.'

d. ***de-marked*** **LOCATIVE**
[Ken-ga ~~mise-de~~ hon-o kat-ta mise]-ga atarashi-i.
Ken-NOM book-ACC buy-PAST store-NOM new-PRES
'The store where Ken bought a book is new.'

This property also holds for passivization:

(15) 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-NOM Ken-DAT book-ACC hand-PASS-PAST
'Mary was handed a book by Ken.'

(16) a. Mary-ga Ken-ni hohoen-da. [Active]
Mary-NOM Ken-DAT smile-PASS –PAST
'Mary smiled at Ken.'

b. Ken-~~ni~~-ga Mary-ni hohoem-are-ta. [Passive]
Ken-NOM Mary-DAT smile-PASS –PAST
Lit. 'Ken was smiled at by Mary.'

If we compare the Japanese sentences with its English translations, the difference between the two languages is evident: in English it is easy to identify where the derived subject originates because of the stranded preposition 'to' or 'at.'

If my analysis is on the right track, the nominative DP of the passive must always originate in the big VP domain. We have already seen in (5b) and (12) that if the nominative DP is not an argument licensed by the main predicate, the passive is ill-formed. Now the question is why some well-formed indirect passives seem to be gapless. It is this property of Japanese—disappearance of Case under movement—that obscures the active source of the nominative argument in the passive. Note that the smuggling analysis proposed here does not restrict the moved DP to be a core or accusative argument of the predicate. The DP should be able to move to

Spec,TP as long as it is the highest DP in the smuggled VP shell.[6]

In the following section, I will show that purported gapless passives indeed contain a gap, which corresponds to an oblique argument (i.e. a dative, source, or *no*-phrase) of the predicate merged with *-rare*.

4. The Active Source of the Gapless Passive

This section proposes the active source of some well-known indirect passives. If we can analyze the intransitive gapless passive as having an active counterpart, there is no longer a need to posit two homophonous *–rare* morphemes. We will see below that the semantic restriction discussed in section 2 comes from the θ-role the nominative DP has originally received from the predicate combined with *–rare*.

4.1. The Source Passive

Let me first return to the 'escape' example repeated as (17a) below. I have shown earlier that the nominative DP must be interpreted as the source of Naomi's escaping, and the passive is incompatible with another overt source phrase (see (8)). This leads me to propose that *Ken* is originated as a source argument of the predicate *nige* 'to escape,' as given in (17b):

(17) a. Ken-ga Naomi-ni nige-rare-ta. [Indirect Passive]
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was escaped from by Naomi.'

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

It is difficult to identify the source position of the derived subject because the postposition *kara* disappears in the passive voice. However, once we accept that *Ken* originates as a SOURCE argument of *nige-ru*, (17a) is no longer gapless, but just an ordinary pseudo-

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6. Raising THEME (the lower DP) over GOAL (the higher one) in the ditransitive passive results in ungrammaticality.
(i) *hon-ga Ken-ni (kossori) Naomi-ni watas-are-ta.
book-NOM Ken-DAT secretly Naomi-DAT hand-PASS-PAST
Int. 'The book was handed to Naomi (secretly) by Ken.'
See Ishizuka 2010:3.3 for more information about ditransitive passives.

passive.

4.2. The Genitive Passive

It is well-known that Japanese allows possessor-raising. Possessor-raising is the operation that involves movement of the possessor out of the hosted DP to another Case position. This operation feeds into Japanese passives, and a possessor can (as long as it modifies the NP in the big VP domain) move to the *ga*-position to satisfy the EPP of T. The availability of possessor-raising results in a wide variety of Japanese passive sentences, which are unavailable in English.

The following 'die' passive is another well-cited example of indir ect passives. My proposal is that *Naomi* originates as a possessor of ' mother' and promotes to the *ga*-Case position, as illustrated below.

(18) Naomi-ga [~~Naomi-no~~ hahaoya]-ni sin-are-ta.
Naomi-NOM mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Naomi was died by (her) mother.'

Support for this proposal comes from the fact that (18) is infelicitous unless the nominative DP and the dative DP stand in a *no*-phrase relation.

(19) *Naomi-ga Mary-ni sin-are-ta.
Naomi-NOM Mary-DAT die-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Naomi was died by Mary.'

Some speakers might find (19) acceptable if there is some relation between *Naomi* and *Mary*. In that case, however, I argue that the context is providing a syntactic source for *Naomi* by licensing it as a possessor (*no*-phrase) of *Mary* (see Ishizuka 2010:7.1 about the role of contexts).

As shown in (12), possessor passives are impossible with unergative predicates, such as *hatarak-u* 'to work' and *odor-u* 'to dance.' The contrast between (18) and the passives in (12) cannot be explained under the standard analysis, which assumes that the *ga*-marked DP is an AFFECTEE argument selected by *–rare*. In contrast, the distribution falls directly out from the smuggling proposal: pure unergative verbs do not have a big VP layer with overt materials that satisfies the EPP feature of *–rare*, thus the structure does not converge.

4.3. The Dative Passives

As is well-documented, Japanese allows raising of the dative GOAL argument in the passive derived from a ditransitive predicate, such as *watas-u* 'to give (by hand),' *syookai.su-ru* 'to introduce,' and *okur-u* 'to send/present' (e.g. Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1978, Kazenin 2001). This is exactly what the proposed analysis predicts, since GOAL is the highest DP in the big VP domain (see Ishizuka 2010 for more information about ditranitive passives). However, a close examination reveals that the range of dative DPs that can satisfy the EPP of T is not limited to GOAL but encompasses dative *at*-DIRECTIONAL (e.g. (16b)), *on*-DIRECTIONAL, CAUSE, and ADDRESSEE DPs.

4.3.1. The *on*-Directional Passive: the Rain Passive

One of the representative gapless passives contains a weather predicate—*hur-u* 'to descend.' A novel observation is that the nominative DP (*Ken* in (20)) has to literally get wet for the passive to be felicitous, as implied in the English translation below.

(20) Ken-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta.
Ken-NOM rain-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was descended upon by the rain.'

This sentence is infelicitous if *Ken* happened to have an umbrella and did not get wet. Similarly, this sentence cannot be used in the situation that *Ken* was in charge of an outdoor event and the event was called off due to unexpected rain (it is not 'Ken' but the 'event' that was descended upon/affected). This observation has led me to propose that *Ken* in (20) is an *on*-DIRECTIONAL argument of *hur-u* 'to descend.' The proposed active counterpart is given below.

(21) ??ame-ga Ken-ni hur-are-ta.
rain-NOM Ken-DAT descend-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'The rain descended upon Ken.'

I admit that (21) is awkward, but this seems to be due to the information structure or some pragmatic reason.[7] What is important here is that the verb

7. According to the questionnaire, the following active sentence with an animate dative phrase was quite acceptable to many people (mean 4.03).

hur-u is compatible with an *on*-DIRECTIONAL dative argument, which can undergo raising to another Case position. Consider the following pair:

(22) a. ooame-ga Tokyo-ni hut-ta. [Active]
heavy.rain-NOM Tokyo-DAT descend-PAST
Lit. 'Heavy rain descended upon Tokyo.'

b. Tokyo-ga ooame-ni hur-are-ta. [Passive]
Tokyo-NOM heavy.rain-DAT descend-PAST
Lit. 'Tokyo was descended upon by heavy rain.'

Both the active and the passive sentences are totally acceptable. The well-formedness of (22a) shows that the verb *hur-u* 'to descend' takes an *on*-DIRECTIONAL dative argument. Note that the *Tokyo-ni* in (22a) is not a locative PP. Japanese has two locative postpositions—'de' and 'ni'—and they are in complementary distribution: 'ni' is used with stative verbs and 'de' with eventive verbs (cf. Naku 1998, who argues that 'ni' is for the location of a 'thing,' while 'de' is for the location of a 'situation' including events and states). Significantly, *hur-u* is an eventive predicate and takes 'de' to express the location where the raining takes place.

(23) Tokyo-de ooame-ga hut-ta.
Tokyo-DAT heavy.rain-NOM descend-PAST
Lit.'Heavy rain descended in Tokyo.'

Since we do not expect a 'simplex' predicate to be compatible with both *d*e and *ni* locative PPs, we can conclude that the *ni*-marked DP in the rain examples is an *on*-DIRECTIONAL DP (see Ishizuka 2010:3.5.2.2 for more information).

4.3.2. The Dative Cause Passive: the Cry Passive

Now we turn to a difficult case—'cry' passives. What is the θ-role of the *ga*-marked DP in the following example?

(24) Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak-are-ta. [Indirect Passive]
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

(i) megumi-no ame-ga watasi.tachi-ni hut-ta.
benefit-NO rain-NOM we-DAT descend-PAST
'A beneficial rain descended upon us.'

The morpheme *–rare* in 'cry' examples is usually translated as 'be affected by,' which does not tell us anything about the θ-role of the *ga*-marked DP. However, if we look closely, we will find translations like the following (adopted from Wierzbicka 1988:259, originally from Alfonso 1971):

(25) kireina ojoosan-ni nak-are-ru-to chotto ureshii mono-da.
pretty girl-DAT cry-PASS-PRES-and little happy thing-COP
'It's kind of nice when a beautiful girl cries ***because of*** *you.'*

The translation suggests that the silent argument *you* is the 'cause' of the girl's crying. This is exactly how I—a native speaker of Japanese—interpret (25). Likewise, the nominative DP in (24) must be the cause of Naomi's crying for the passive to be felicitous. These observations lead me to propose that the nominative DP in the passive is originally merged as a dative CAUSE argument of the verb *nak-u* 'to cry.' This active source, however, is very difficult to identify because there is some complication with respect to 'animacy.' Namely, the *ni*-marked CAUSE DP in the active sentence is most natural if it is inanimate, whereas the derived subject in the passive is most natural if it is animate, as illustrated below:

(26) 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- -NOM Naomi-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
Lit: 'Ken was cried over by Naomi.'

Despite this animacy issue, I argue that the nominative DP in (24) is indeed a dative CAUSE DP selected by the verb *nak-u* 'to cry.' The following pair supports my claim:

(27) a. Naomi-ga sono hanashi-ni nai-ta. [Active]
Naomi-NOM that story–DAT cry-PAST
'Naomi cried over that story.'

b. sono hanashi-ga (Naomi-ni-wa) nak-e-ta. [Potential]
that story-NOM Naomi-DAT-TOP cry-(R)E-PAST
Lit: 'That story is cry-able (to Naomi).'
(Int. 'That story is able to make Naomi cry.')

The potential form *nak-e-ru* 'cry-able' in (27b) consists of the verbal stem *nak* 'to cry' and a low passive morpheme *–re*. Since *–re* does not select for an argument, the derivation of (27b) must derivationally relate to (27a). In other words, (27b) must involve raising. Consequently, (27b) shows that raising a dative CAUSE DP selected by *nak-u* 'to cry' to the *ga*-position is indeed possible in a passive-like configurations in Japanese.

I consider the animacy restriction to be independent of the lexical property of *–rare*, for it is not the case that the animacy restriction always holds in the indirect passive. For example, (28) containing *nige* 'to escape' is well-formed:

(28) kono keimusyo-ga san.nin-no syuujin-ni nige-rare-ta.
this prison-NOM 3.CL-NO prisoner-DAT escape-PASS-PAST
'This prison was escaped from by three prisoners.'

Presumably, the structure of *nak-u* is complex. In (27a), CAUSE (a *ni*-marked DP) surfaces lower than THEME (*ga*-marked DP), which does not conform to the thematic hierarchy. This suggests that the active sentence (27a) is already derived by low passivization, as psych-predicates generally are. My proposal is that the animacy restriction observed with 'cry' sentences arise from the property of the verb *nak-u* 'cry' and the derivation involving double-passivization.

What is important for us is that the 'cry' passive can be derived solely by the mechanism developed in this paper: the *ga*-marked CAUSE DP was initially licensed within the smuggled VP shell and moved to the *ga*-position to satisfy the EPP of T in the passive. No new mechanism is necessary.

4.3.2. The Dative Passive Derived from Pseudo-Ditransitives

In this section thus far, we have reviewed four indirect passives derived from intransitive predicates and showed that all of them can be analyzed as having an active source. However, indirect/gapless passives are not limited to intransitive predicates. They can also be derived from transitive verbs. (29a) is an example of indirect passives adopted from Kuno:

(29) a. John-ga Mary-ni zibun-no koto-o ziman.s-are-ta.
John-NOM Mary-DAT self-NO matter-ACC boast.do-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'John was bragged to by Mary about self's (Mary's) matter.'
b. Mary-ga John-ni zibun-no koto-o ziman.si-ta.
Mary-NOM John-DAT self-NO matter-ACC boast.do-PAST
'Mary bragged about self's matter (=Mary's) to John.'

Many instances of passives containing a 'verb of speaking' like (29a) are said to be gapless. However, 'a verb of speaking' takes both THEME and ADDRESSEE as shown in (29b), and the interpretation of the *ga*-marked DP in (29a) corresponds to the ADDRESSEE argument of the verb *ziman.su-ru* 'to boast.' The ADDRESSEE of 'verbs of speaking' is considered neither as a core argument of the verb nor as a potential source of the derived subject. Without an active source, the subject in the passive derived from 'verbs of speaking' is commonly treated as an AFFECTEE selected by *–rare*. However, it should be analyzed as a raising of an ADDRESSEE argument. (29a) is felicitous even if John wasn't listening what Mary said, and in that case, he wasn't affected at all. Furthermore, (30a) shows that the adversative connotations associated with (29a) are just an implicature:

(30) a. bokushi-ga Ken-ni tumi-o kokuhaku.s-are-ta.
priest-NOM Ken-DAT sin-ACC confession.do-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'The priest was confessed his sin to by Ken.'

b. Ken-ga bokushi-ni tsumi-o kokuhaku.si-ta.
Ken-NOM priest-DAT sin-ACC confession.do-PAST
'Ken confessed his sin to a priest.'

Both (29a) and (30a) share the same syntactic structure: the predicates in both passives are a 'verb of speaking,' which takes an accusative THEME and a dative ADDRESSEE. In addition, the two verbs have the same decomposition: they consist of a noun (*ziman* and *kokuhaku*) and a light verb *su-ru* 'do.' Nevertheless, the adversative connotations are only present in (29a). The contrast shows that the adversative effects associated with (29a) 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.*

In Japanese, there are many verbs that optionally select for a dative ADDRESSEE argument, which I refer to as 'psuedo-ditransitives' (e.g. *kokuhaku.su-ru* 'to confess,' *sasayak-u* 'to whisper,' *sengen.su-ru* 'to announce,' *shir.ase-ru* 'to inform,' *hookoku.su-ru* 'to report,' *syoomei.su-ru* 'to prove,' and so forth), and passives derived from these predicates have been misanalyzed as gapless passives in the literature (e.g. Kuno 1973).

5. Support for the Movement Derivation

The movement derivation in direct and indirect passives is supported by availability of reconstruction effects.

(31) a. dareka-ga dono kyooshitu-de-mo sensei-ni
someone-NOM every classroom-LOC-MO teacher-DAT
nagur-are-ta.
hit-PASS-PAST [Direct Passive]
'Someone was hit by a teacher in every classroom.' (∃>∀, ∀>∃)

b. huta.ri-no seito-ga dono kyooshitu-de-mo sensei-ni
two.CL-NO student-NOM every classroom-LOC-MOteacher-DAT
nak-are-ta.
cry-PASS-PAST
Lit. 'Two students were cried over by a teacher in every classroom.'
(2>∀, ∀>2) [Indirect Passive]

In both the direct passive (31a) and the indirect 'cry' passive (31b), the universal quantifier in the locative phrase can have wide scope over the existential and numeral quantifiers in the subject respectively. The availability of reconstruction effects cannot be explained unless the derivations involve movement (the situation regarding reconstruction effects is quite complex; see Ishizuka 2010 for further information).

6. Concluding Remarks

Contrary to the standard wisdom, this paper argued for a unified raising analysis of Japanese passives. The proposal here is extremely simple: the lexical properties of *–rare* are always invariant (there are no optional properties). The morpheme *–rare* has the EPP feature that attracts a VP shell stranding a *v*P, and the highest argument in the VP domain moves to the *ga*-position in order to satisfy the EPP of T. The proposed properties of *–rare* interact with some general properties of Japanese— the EPP of T, lack of expletives, availability of possessor raising—and give rise to different clusters of properties associated with Japanese passives. I have reexamined representative gapless examples derived from intransitive and transitive predicates and reanalyzed them as raising from an active counterpart. The current proposal differs from previous approaches in that the source position of the derived subject is not restricted to the accusative position but encompasses various oblique positions including a genitive, a source and a variety of dative positions (e.g. ADDRESSEE, ON/AT-DIRECTIONAL, CAUSE).

There are many other instances of gapless passives discussed in the literature, which I was unable to address in this paper. However, if all the cases reviewed in section 4 are indeed passives involving raising, it should not be difficult to extend this analysis to other cases. There are a lot more

properties of Japanese passives that need to be accounted for in order to establish the unification of Japanese passives, but I hope this paper provides the foundation to unify Japanese passives and to analyze the morpheme –*rare* as a real 'passive' morpheme.

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