The Japanese Passives Revisited

Hisashi MORITA

There has been a long debate concerning the analysis of one type of passive (so called the *ni* direct passive) in Japanese syntax. To account for this type of passive, two kinds of hypothesis have been proposed: the uniform and the nonuniform hypothesis. In this paper I will show both of the hypotheses are untenable (but correct in certain points). To do so, I will present a novel analysis to the derivations of the Japanese passives. I will propose that a passive morpheme is an invisible element in the *ni* direct passive although it is *(r)are* in the *niyotte* passive. This claim enables the *ni* direct Japanese passive and the English *get* passive to be derived in the same way, and makes it possible to explain the semantic difference between the *niyotte* and the *ni* direct passive. Furthermore, by assuming NP movement even in the *ni* direct passive in order for an NP to receive a second θ-role, it is possible to capture binding differences between the *ni* direct and the *ni* indirect passive. This paper is organized as follows. In the first section, three types of passives will be introduced. In the second section, the uniform and the nonuniform hypothesis will be examined critically. In the third section, I will discuss Hoshi (1994), who is in line with the uniform hypothesis, and some problems with his analysis. In the last section, I will propose a revised analysis on the basis of Hoshi's and present a few pieces of evidence for the new analysis.

1. Three types of passive

It is generally agreed that there are three kinds of passive construction in Japanese and they are called the *niyotte* passive, the *ni* direct passive and the *ni* indirect passive. First, consider examples of the *niyotte* and the *ni* direct passive below:

(1) Ken-ga Mary-niyotte tatak-are-ta
-Nom -by hit-Pass.-Past
'Ken was hit by Mary.'
(2) Ken-ga Mary-ni tatak-are-ta
-Nom -by hit-Pass.-Past
'Ken got hit by Mary.'

(1) is an example of the *niyotte* passive and (2) is an example of the *ni* direct passive. The only apparent difference between the two examples is whether *ni* or *niyotte* is employed to express the meaning of 'by'. One might claim that the two examples are basically the same and derived from the following active sentence:

(3) Mary-ga Ken-o tatai-ta
-Nom -Acc hit-Past
'Mary hit Ken.'

It appears that *(r)are* in (1) and (2) is a passive morpheme (which corresponds to *–ed/-en* in English), so it absorbs the case assigning property of a verb and suppresses an external θ-role. As a result, the Patient, *Ken*, is promoted to the subject position to get nominative case. Furthermore, the Agent, *Mary*, cannot appear as an argument anymore, so it surfaces as an adjunct with the help of one of the postpositions, *ni* or *niyotte*. It seems plausible to consider that the two constructions are both derived from (3) in this manner. However, as will be introduced shortly, the two passive constructions are very different.

In addition to the two kinds of passive above, there is a third one, which is called the *ni* indirect passive. Consider the following example:

(4) Ken-ga Mary-ni musuko-o tatak-are-ta
-Nom -by son-Acc hit-Pass.-Past
'Ken was affected by Mary's hitting his son.' or 'Ken had Mary hit his son.'

What is interesting about this construction is that the subject, *Ken*, does not carry the Patient θ-role of hitting, that is, Ken was not hit by Mary in (4), unlike (1) or (2). It is Ken's son who was hit by Mary, and Ken was affected by the Mary-hitting-Ken's-son event as the translation suggests. In other words, the subject bears a new θ-role, Experiencer (or Affectee). Accordingly, the

indirect passive sentence does not have its active counterpart. Although the indirect passive also needs the same morpheme *(r)are* as the *niyotte* and the *ni* direct passive, the case assigning property is not lost. Hence, *musuko* 'son' bears accusative case. Due to this nature, it is possible to utter an indirect passive sentence using an intransitive verb as follows:

(5) Ken-ga ame-ni fur-are-ta
-Nom rain-by fall-Pass.-Past
'Ken was affected by rainfall.' or 'It rained on Ken.'

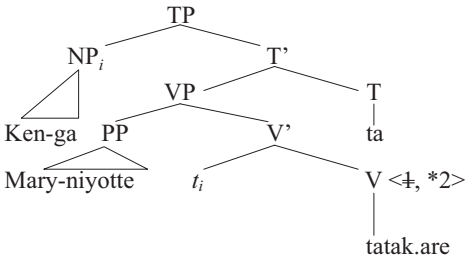
The verb *fur(u)* is an intransitive verb, but it is possible to "passivize" it as in (5), whereas it is impossible to do so in the *nyotte* and the *ni* direct passive.

2. The uniform vs. the nonuniform hypothesis

There has been an overall consensus as to how the *niyotte* and the *ni* indirect passive are analyzed (see Kuroda (1965, 1979) and Hoshi (1991, 1994) among others). In the case of the *niyotte* passive, *(r)are* is a passive morpheme, so NP movement follows after the loss of the case assigning property. In the case of the *ni* indirect passive, *(r)are* is regarded as a two-place predicate taking the subject and the embedded verb as its arguments. This is how the subjects, *Ken* in (4) and (5), receive a new θ-role, Experiencer, which has no theta relation to the embedded verbs.

The derivation of the *niyotte* passive is illustrated as follows:

(6) [*Niyotte* passive], (1)

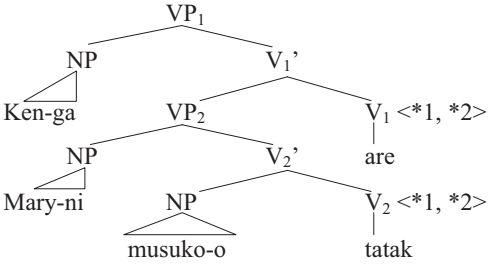


In (6), the passive morpheme, *(r)are*, suppresses the external θ-role as shown in "1". Hence, the verb, *tatak* 'hit', can theta-mark only *Ken* by assigning it a Patient, the process of which is marked as "*" in front of a θ-role of a verb

following Higginbotham (1985). The passive morpheme also absorbs the ACC-case assigning property of the verb. Hence, *Ken* must move to the spec of TP to receive nominative case. This is how the *niyotte* passive is derived, and the derivation is basically the same as that of the *be* passive in English (cf. Haegeman (1994)).

Next consider the *ni* indirect passive construction of (4):

(7) [*Ni* indirect passive], (4) (TP is omitted.)



In (7), *(r)are* is regarded as a verb rather than a passive morpheme unlike in (6). Therefore, the embedded verb, *tatak* 'hit', retains the assigning property of accusative case and an external θ-role. Therefore, no movement of *musuko* 'son' is necessary in the indirect passive. *(R)are* assigns two θ-roles: one for *Ken* and the other for the embedded VP_2. This is how *Ken* gets the Experiencer role, which leads to the meaning that 'Ken was affected because of the event denoted by VP_2.'

As for the *ni* direct passive, two types of analysis have been proposed: the uniform and the nonuniform hypothesis. Under the uniform hypothesis (K. Hasegawa (1964), Kuroda (1965, 1979), Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976), Kuno (1983), N. Hasegawa (1988), Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999) among others), the *ni* direct passive is regarded as one special case of the *ni* indirect passive. To be more specific, "(*Ni* direct and indirect) passive sentences in Japanese involve complementation and external theta-marking but crucially lack NP movement" (Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992: 1). On the other hand, under the nonuniform hypothesis (McCawley (1972), Kuno (1973) among others), the *ni* direct passive is regarded as the *niyotte* passive; thus, it involves NP movement as in (6).

There are a few reasons to support the uniform hypothesis. First, as

already mentioned, the subject in the *ni* indirect passive gets a new θ-role, Experiencer, due to the matrix verb *(r)are*. Thus, if the uniform hypothesis is correct, the subject even in the *ni* direct passive is expected to receive an Experiencer θ-role from *(r)are*. This prediction is borne out. Consider the following examples:

(8) a. * Fermat-no teiri-ga John-ni syoomeis-are-ta
Fermat-Gen theorem-Nom -by prove-Pass.-Past
'Fermat's theorem was affected by John's proving it.'
b. Fermat-no teiri-ga John-niyotte syoomeis-are-ta
Fermat-Gen theorem-Nom -owing.to prove-Pass.-Past
'Fermat's theorem was proven by John.' (Kuroda (1979))

(9) a. John-ga tyuui-o harat-ta
-Nom heed-Acc pay-Past
'John paid heed.'
b. * Tyuui-ga John-ni haraw-are-ta
heed-Nom -by pay-Pass.-Past
'Heed was affected by John's paying it.'
c. Tyuui-ga John-niyotte haraw-are-ta
heed-Nom -owing.to pay-Pass.-Past
'Heed was paid by John.' (Hoshi (1999))

The subjects in (8) are *Fermat-no teiri* 'Fermat's theorem'. It it possible that the theorem was proven by somebody, but it is unlikely that the theorem was affected by somebody proving it because the theorem is not a living thing and not expected to have feelings. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (8)*a* can be attributed to the subject, *Fermat-no teiri*, receiving an undesirable θ-role, Experiencer, from *(r)are*. If this analysis is correct, it follows that whereas the subject in the *niyotte* passive receives a Patient θ-role from the embedded verb, the subject in the *ni* direct passive receives a θ-role which has no theta-relation to the embedded verb, *syoomeis* 'prove'. Hence, *(r)are* in the *ni* direct passive should be regarded as a verb rather than a mere passive morpheme because *(r)are* assigns a θ-role to the subject in the *ni* direct passive. Furthermore, the subject in the *ni* direct passive is expected to be base-generated in the subject position; that is, it is not derived from the object

position of the embedded verb because an NP can receive only one θ-role according to θ-criterion, which I will modify below.

As Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999) argues, (9) gives additional support to the argument above. The verb phrase, *tyuui-o haraw* 'pay heed', is an idiom. The grammatical contrast between (9)*b* and *c* suggests that the subject in the *ni* direct passive gets a θ-role from *(r)are*, which leads to the ungrammaticality because *tyuui* 'heed', as a part of the idiom, cannot receive a θ-role from non-idiomatic predicates such as *(r)are*. On the other hand, the grammaticality of (9)*c* indicates that a θ-role is not assigned in the subject position of the *niyotte* passive. These two pieces of evidence show that the *ni* passive is different from the *niyotte* passive and the former involves complementation and external theta-marking as Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) suggest.

Hoshi (1991), furthermore, argues that a similar contrast is also observed between the *be* and the *get* passive in English. Consider the following examples, which are from Lasnik and Fiengo (1974):

(10) a. * The parallel postulate got chosen by the mathematicians.
b. The parallel postulate was chosen by the mathematicians.

(11) a. * Heed got paid to our warning.
b. Heed was paid to our warning.

Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) argue that the subject in the *get* passive cannot be "an immutable entity". Such special requirement of the *get* passive indicates that the subject receives a θ-role from *get*. Hence, (10)*a* is unacceptable because *the parallel postulate* is an immutable entity. On the other hand, the *be* passive does not impose such a restriction on the subject as in (10)*b*. The contrast in (11) can also be explained if *get* assigns a θ-role to the subject *heed*. On the basis of these data, Hoshi (1991) argues that the *ni* passive corresponds to the *get* passive while the *niyotte* passive corresponds to the *be* passive.

Another evidence for the uniform hypothesis, which is due to Kuroda (1979), is that subject oriented adverbs such as *orokanimo* 'stupidly' can modify the subject in the *ni* direct passive whereas such adverbs cannot modify the subject in the *niyotte* passive as follows:

(12) a. Daitooryoo-ga orokanimo CIA-ni koros-are-te-simat-ta.
president -Nom stupidly -by kill-Pass.-shouldn't.have-Past
'The president stupidly let the CIA kill him.'
b. ?? Daitooryoo-ga orokanimo CIA-niyotte koros-are-te-simat-ta.
president -Nom stupidly -owing.to kill-Pass.-shouldn't.have-Past
(Kuroda (1979))

Subject-oriented adverbs such as *orokanimo* require subjects to be base-generated where the adverbs can modify. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (12)*b* suggests that the NP, *daitooryoo*, is a derived subject. The above arguments, particularly, the fact that the subject in the *ni* direct passive receives an Experience θ-role from *(r)are* as in the subject in the *ni* indirect, seems to be convincing enough to propose that the *ni* direct passive is different from the *niyotte* passive and similar to the *ni* indirect passive.

According to the nonuniform hypothesis, the *ni* direct and the *niyotte* passive are basically of the same type in that the subject is derived by NP movement in both structures. Hence, the differences between the two kinds of passive as discussed above pose a serious argument against the nonuniform hypothesis.

However, a few arguments against the uniform hypothesis have been presented too, which in turn suggests the nonuniform analysis. Kuno (1973) convincingly shows that it is a mistake to regard the *ni* direct and the indirect passive as exactly the same kind of passive, which is assumed in the uniform hypothesis. Compare the following sentences first:

(13) [*Ni* direct passive]
a. Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de koros-are-ta
-Nom -by self-Gen room-in kill-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako's killing him in his room.'
[*Ni* indirect passive]
b. Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de nak-are-ta
-Nom -by self-Gen room-in cry-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako's crying in his or her room.'
(Nishigauchi and Ishii (2003))

Zibun 'self' is an anaphoric element and its antecedent must be a subject.

What is interesting in (13) is that *zibun* in the *ni* indirect passive can refer to either *Taroo* or *Hanako* whereas *zibun* in the *ni* direct passive can only refer to *Taroo*. This difference indicates that both *Taroo* and *Hanako* are subjects in the indirect passive while only *Taroo* is a subject in the direct passive. Accordingly, the *ni* direct and the indirect passive constructions are not exactly the same. Nevertheless, as will be shown in the next section, if *Hanako-ni* is regarded as NP in the indirect passive and as PP in the direct passive, it is still possible to maintain the uniform hypothesis, according to which "(*ni* direct and indirect) passive sentences in Japanese involve complementation and external theta-marking but crucially lack NP movement" (Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992: 1)).

The next argument against the uniform hypothesis is that *NP-ni* can be omitted in the *ni* direct passive, but it cannot be omitted in the *ni* indirect passive. Examine the following examples:

(14) [*Ni* direct passive]

a. Ken-ga (Mary-ni) tatak-are-ta
-Nom -by hit-Pass.-Past
'Ken was affected by Mary's hitting him.'

b. John-ga (sensei-ni) home-rare-ta
-Nom teacher-by praise-Pass.-Past
'John was praised by his teacher.'

(15) [*Ni* indirect passive]

a. Ken-ga *(ame-ni) fur-are-ta
-Nom rain-by fall-Pass.-Past
'Ken was affected by rainfall.'

b. John-ga *(kodomo-ni) sin-are-ta
-Nom child-by die-Pass.-Past
'John was affected by his child's death.'

As the examples in (14) show, *NP-ni* can be omitted. Nonetheless, *NP-ni* in (15) cannot be omitted. This difference suggests that *NP-ni* in the direct passive is an adjunct while *NP-ni* in the indirect passive is an argument. This fact can also be explained if the former is regarded as PP and the latter as NP.

According to the uniform hypothesis, the *ni* direct passive is a special case of the *ni* indirect passive. Before presenting the last argument against the uniform hypothesis, let us consider the importance of this claim. Examine (16):

(16) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hihans-are-ta
-Nom -Dat criticize-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako's criticism of him.'

According to the uniform hypothesis, this example is also an instance of the indirect passive. Therefore, (16) should be analyzed as follows:

(17) Taroo_i-ga [Hanako-ni pro_i hisans]-are-ta
-Nom -by criticize-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako's criticism of him.'
(Nishigauchi and Ishii (2003))

If the direct passive is a special case of the indirect passive, then there must be two lexical items which refer to *Taroo* because not only the higher verb, *(r)are*, but also the lower verb, *hihans*, needs to give a θ-role to *Taroo*. Thus, by employing a small pro (*pro*) in the object position of the lower verb, the θ-criterion is satisfied in (17). However, if *pro* is really there, the following sentence is expected to be grammatical:

(18) *Taroo_i-ga [Hanako-ni kare_i-o hisans]-are-ta
-Nom -Dat him-Acc criticize-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako criticizing him.'
(Nishigauchi and Ishii (2003))

An overt pronoun, *kare* 'him', is employed instead of a zero pronoun. Since the function of the overt pronoun and that of *pro* are the same, (18) is expected to be grammatical as in (17) contrary to the fact. Therefore, although the first two arguments can be resolved easily, this last argument poses a serious problem to the uniform hypothesis's claim that the *ni* direct passive is a special case of the *ni* indirect passive.

3. Hoshi (1994)

To resolve some of the problems with the uniform hypothesis

mentioned above, Hoshi (1994) claims that there are four types of *(r)are* with the following features: (i) [+Experiencer/+Passivization], (ii) [−Experiencer/+Passivization], (iii) [+Experiencer/−Passivazation], and (iv) [−Experiencer/−Passivization]. The feature, Experiencer, indicates the assigning property of an external (or Experiencer) θ-role. As a result, the first and the third type of *(r)are* assign a θ-role to a subject due to the positive value ("+") of "Experiencer". The second feature, Passivization, functions as a passive morpheme, that is, if the feature is set on (as in "+"), *(r)are* absorbs case and suppresses the external θ-role of the verb which it attaches to. With these four types of *(r)are*, Hoshi (1994) attempts to capture the three kinds of passive: the *niyotte*, the *ni* direct, and the *ni* indirect passive as follows:

(19) $rare_1$ [+Experiencer/+Passivization]: *ni* direct passive
$rare_2$ [−Experiencer/+Passivization]: *niyotte* passive
$rare_3$ [+Experiencer/−Passivization]: *ni* indirect passive
$rare_4$ [−Experiencer/−Passivization]: none

There are two important aspects in this analysis. First, the first type of *(r)are* has two functions: it not only assigns an Experiencer θ-role to a subject, but also functions as a passive morpheme. Secondly, the fourth type, though it is theoretically possible, does not have any function, so it cannot be used.

One piece of advantage for Hoshi's analysis is that it is possible to account for some of the aforementioned problems with the uniform hypothesis. First, the use of *zibun* is different between the *ni* direct and the indirect passive. Consider (13) again, which is repeated below:

(13) [*Ni* direct passive]

a. $Taroo_i$-ga $Hanako_j$-ni $zibun_{i/*j}$-no heya-de koros-are-ta
-Nom -by self-Gen room-in kill-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako's killing him in his room.'

[*Ni* indirect passive]

b. $Taroo_i$-ga $Hanako_j$-ni $zibun_{i/j}$-no heya-de nak-are-ta
-Nom -by self-Gen room-in cry-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako's crying in his or her room.'

Zibun can refer to either *Taroo* or *Hanako* in the *ni* indirect passive whereas *zibun* can only refer to *Taroo* in the *ni* direct passive. According to

Hoshi's analysis, the *(r)are* in (13)*a*, being a direct passive morpheme, has [(+Experiencer/) +Passivization]. As a result, the embedded verb, *koros* 'kill', loses the ability to assign case and to mark an external θ-role. In other words, the Agent of killing becomes suppressed, and hence, *Hanako-ni*, which carries the Agent θ-role of killing, appears as an adjunct, not as as argument. Accordingly, it is reasonable to regard *ni* of *Hanako-ni* as P (postposition) rather than as a (Dative) case marker. Since *zibun* can only refer to a subject, which is an argument, it cannot refer to *Hanako* in (13)*a*.

In contrast, the *(r)are* in (13)*b*, being an indirect passive morpheme, has [(+Experiencer/) −Passivization], so the embedded verb retains the ability to assign case and to mark an external θ-role. As a result, the external θ-role of crying is not suppressed, and hence, *Hanako-ni* can remain as an argument. Thus, it is possible to regard *ni* of *Hanako-ni* as a (structural) case marker rather than a postposition (P). Since *Hanako-ni* is the subject of the embedded verb *nak* 'cry', *zibun* can refer to either *Taroo* or *Hanako* in the *ni* indirect passive.

There is supporting evidence for this claim. According to Miyagawa (1989), floated quantifiers, which require mutual c-command with the host NPs, cannot be used with PPs (see Nakanishi (2008) for an overview of quantifier floating).[1] The following contrast supports that *ni* in the direct and the indirect passive are different:

(20) [*Ni* direct passive]

a. *Taroo$_i$-ga shonen$_j$-**ni** futari tataka-are-ta
-Nom boy-**by** two.CL hit-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was hit by two boys.'

[*Ni* indirect passive]

b. Taroo$_i$-ga shonen$_j$-**ni** futari nak-are-ta
-Nom boy-**Dat** two.CL cry-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by two boys' crying.'

The ungrammaticality of (20)*a* suggests that *ni* in the direct passive is a postposition.

A similar explanation is available for the optional use of *NP-ni* in the direct and the indirect passive. It has been shown that *NP-ni* in the direct passive

can be omitted whereas *NP-ni* in the indirect passive cannot (cf. (14) and (15)). This fact naturally follows because *NP-ni* in the direct passive is an adjunct whereas *NP-ni* in the indirect passive is an argument.

As shown above, by positing four types of *(r)are*, it is possible to resolve some of the problems with the uniform hypothesis. However, a problem remains. If the *ni* direct passive is a special case of the *ni* indirect passive as the uniform hypothesis claims, the following example of the direct passive is expected to be ungrammatical:

(21) (= (17))

Taroo$_i$-ga [$_{VP}$ Hanako-ni pro$_i$ hisans]-are-ta
-Nom -by/Dat criticize-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako criticizing him.'

This is because the following example of the indirect passive is ungrammatical:

(22) (= (18))

*Taroo$_i$-ga [$_{VP}$ Hanako-ni kare$_i$-o hisans]-are-ta
-Nom -Dat him-Acc criticize-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako criticizing him.'

However, (21) is grammatical unlike (22) although the two sentences are expected to have exactly the same structure. Hence, there is a problem with regarding the *ni* direct passive as a special case of the *ni* indirect passive. Furthermore, it is not clear why (22) is ungrammatical in the first place. According to binding condition B, a pronominal must be free in its Complete Functional Category (henceforth, CFC). The CFC for a pronoun is the minimal domain containing the pronominal element, its governor (i.e. a case-assigning verb) and a subject. Thus, the CFC in (22) is expected to be the embedded VP, [$_{VP}$ *Hanako-ni kare$_i$-o hisans*]. Since the pronominal *kare-o* is free in its CFC, it should be able to refer to 'Taroo' contrary to the fact observed in (22).

To answer why a pronoun is disallowed in a direct passive, Hoshi (1994) argues that PRO, not *pro*, is base-generated in the object position. Specifically, *(r)are* in the direct passive has [+Passivization]. Hence, the embedded verb cannot assign accusative case, and the object is ungoverned. Therefore, he

claims that it is not *pro* but PRO that appears in (21) as follows:

(23) Taroo$_i$-ga [Hanako-ni PRO$_i$ hisans]-are-ta
-Nom -by criticize-Pass.-Past
'Taroo was affected by Hanako criticizing him.'

Since PRO does not have a governing category (GC), there is no CFC. As a result, condition B does not hold, which is the reason why (23) is grammatical.

In addition, the reason why *pro* is prohibited in an indirect passive such as (21) remains to be accounted for. To resolve this problem, Hoshi (1994) proposes that excorporation takes place in the *ni* indirect passive. For example, (22) is derived as follows:

(24) a. [$_{VP}$ Taroo [$_{VP}$ Hanako kare hihans-are]] (DS)
b. *[$_{VP}$ Taroo$_i$ [$_{VP}$ Hanako kare$_i$ hihans-t$_k$] are$_k$] (LF)
Excorporation

First, Hoshi assumes that the embedded verb, *hihans* 'criticize', and *(r)are* are base-generated as one unit. Then *(r)are* in the *ni* indirect passive has [+Experiencer], so it must be moved to the higher V to assign its external θ-role to *Taroo*. He argues that condition B applies at LF and after excorporation of *(r)are*, the CFC for the pronoun, *kare*, extends to the higher VP. As a result, *kare* is no longer free in the extended CFC if it refers to 'Taroo'. Hence, condition B is violated and the ungrammaticality of (22) follows.

There are a few problems with Hoshi's (1994) analysis, though. First, although he claims that PRO is generated in the object position of the direct passive, PRO is normally not assumed in object positions in the literature, so it is undesirable in the present case too. The reason is the following. PRO in the object is still c-commanded, and hence, governed by the higher verb, so PRO should not be allowed in (23). Therefore, the use of PRO does not explain how the direct passive is derived.

Secondly, as Nishigauchi and Ishii (2003) note, *(r)are* in Hoshi's analysis is morphologically and syntactically distinct from the English passive morpheme *–ed/-en*. *(R)are* itself merges with higher categories such as negation and tense, so Hoshi (1994) regards all the four types of *(r)are* as a verb. He assumes that some types of *(r)are* also function as a passive

morpheme in that the assigning properties of case and an external θ-role are nullified. Therefore, some instances of *(r)are* are not only verbs but also function as morphemes. Furthermore, if the *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive are compared, further mismatch is observed as follows:

(25) [*Get* passive]

Taroo got criticiz-ed
θ-role absorb Case & suppress an external θ-role

(26) [*Ni* direct passive]

stage 1 [Taroo [$_{VP}$ hihans-are]]
absorb Case & suppress an external θ-role

stage 2 [Taroo [$_{VP}$ hihans-t_k] are$_k$]
θ-role

As the *get* passive derivation indicates, the passive morpheme *–ed/-en* absorbs case and suppresses the external θ-role of the embedded verb, and then the main verb *got* assigns a θ-role to *Taroo*. However, in the case of the *ni* direct passive, *(r)are* not only absorbs Case and suppresses the external role of the embedded verb, but also assigns a θ-role to *Taroo* after excorporation. Thus, *(r)are* has three functions unlike *–ed/-en*.

Furthermore, *(r)are* assigns a θ-role after movement. Since it is a standard assumption that theta-marking takes place where predicates are base-generated, the excorporation analysis is a very exceptional case, and remains unestablished in the literature. To recapitulate, according to Hoshi (1994), *(r)are* is a morpheme-like verb and can assign a θ-role after excorporation. These differences between Japanese and English may be due to an idiosyncratic property of *(r)are*, but it is more desirable to seek a unified account if possible.

Another problem with the derivation of (22) is that it is not clear why *(r)are* is generated in the embedded VP in (26). (22) is an instance of the *ni* indirect passive, so according to Hoshi (1994), its *(r)are* has [−Passivization/+Experiencer]. Therefore, the *(r)are* has no passivization function. Its sole function is to assign a θ-role to *Taroo*. Accordingly, there is no reason for *(r)are* to be base-generated in the embedded VP. Considering its function, *(r)are* is expected to be base-generated in the higher verb position,

which will be the present author's claim as shown in the next section.

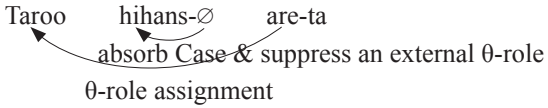
In this section, Hoshi's (1994) analysis has been examined carefully. A few problems with his account have been raised. Furthermore, it seems that too many kinds of *(r)are* are employed to account for the three kinds of passive in Japanese, which may make the acquisition of Japanese passives almost impossible for children to achieve.[2] In the next section, I will present a modified proposal to resolve those problems with Hoshi (1994).

4. A new proposal

In this section I would like to present a proposal which departs from not only the nonuniform hypothesis but also the uniform hypothesis. It is different from the nonuniform hypothesis in that *(r)are* in the *niyotte* and the *ni* direct passive are different lexical items. It is also different from the uniform hypothesis in that NP movement is required in the derivation of the *ni* direct passive.

There are two important claims in the present proposal. First, I argue that a passive morpheme, which is comparable to *–ed/-en* in English passive, is an invisible element in the *ni* direct passive, while *(r)are* itself serves as a passive element in the *niyotte* passive. Following Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999), I also assume that *(r)are* in the *niyotte* passive causes case absorption and external θ-role suppression, whereas the one in the *ni* direct (as well as the *ni* indirect) passive does not. In other words, the sole function of *(r)are* in the *ni* direct and the *ni* indirect passive is basically to assign an Experiencer θ-role to an NP in its spec. Thus, the *ni* direct passive is, for example, analyzed as follows:

(27) [*Ni* direct passive]



By regarding the invisible element, ∅, as a passive morpheme as in *–ed/-en* in English, *(r)are* does not need to have dual status as in Hoshi's (1994) analysis. Contrast (27) with the *get* passive, which is repeated below:

(28) [*Get* passive]

In this way, the *ni* direct passive in Japanese and the *get* passive in English are analyzed in the same way. Furthermore, by regarding *(r)are* as an Experiencer-assigning verb, it is reasonable that *(r)* higher functional heads such as negation and tense can later merge with the verb phrase without *do*-support unlike in English. Finally, as far as the *ni* direct and the *ni* indirect passive are concerned, it is unnecessary to assume two kinds of *(r)are*. One type of *(r)are* is sufficient. To illustrate this claim, consider the *ni* direct and the indirect passive sentence, first:

(29) (=(2)) [*Ni* direct passive]

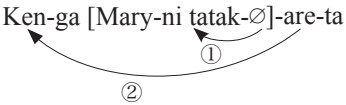
Ken-ga Mary-ni tatak-are-ta
-Nom -by be.hit-Past
'Ken was hit by Mary.'

(30) (=(4)) [*Ni* indirect passive]

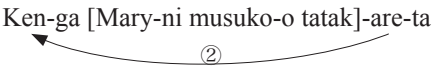
Ken-ga Mary-ni musuko-o tatak-are-ta
-Nom -by son-Acc be.hit-Past
'Ken was affected by Mary's hitting his son.'

In Hoshi's (1994) analysis, two kinds of *(r)are* are needed: *rare* [+Experiencer/+Passivization] for (29) and *rare* [+Experiencer/+Passivization] for (30). However, according to the new proposal, (29) and (30) are analyzed as follows:

(31) [*Ni* direct passive]



(32) [*Ni* indirect passive]



①: case absorption & θ-role suppression
②: θ-role assignment

As (31) and (32) show, the only difference between the *ni* direct and the

indirect passive is that the invisible passive morpheme is attached to the embedded verb in the *ni* direct passive, whereas a passive morpheme is not employed in the *ni* indirect passive. In this manner, it is possible to decrease the number of kinds of *(r)are*, which simplifies the proposal, and hence, the acquisition process.[3]

In the case of the *niyotte* passive, I consider that *(r)are* is a passive element, so it absorbs Case and suppresses an external θ-role. Since it is not a verb, it does not assign any θ-role to the surface subject; hence, the differences in (8), (9), and (12) follow.

The two different passive elements, ∅ for the *ni* direct passive and *(r)are* for the *niyotte* passive, contribute to the semantic difference of the two types of passive. Contrast the following examples:

(33) a. watasi-no ie-wa yama-ni kakom-are-teiru.
I-Gen house-Top mountain-with surround-Pass.-is
b. *watasi-no ie-wa yama-niyotte kakom-are-teiru.
I-Gen house-Top mountain-by surround-Pass.-is
'My house is surrounded with mountains.'

As (33)*b* indicates, the postposition *niyotte* is incompatible with non-Agents. This fact can be attributed to the difference of the two passive elements. Specifically, ∅, when attached to a verb, makes the verb stative, so that *niyotte*, which assigns an Agent θ-role to the preceding NP, cannot be used in the *ni* direct passive. The postposition, *ni*, may assign a Causer θ-role to its preceding NP. The distinction between the two θ-roles is that Agent involves intentionality while Causer does not. On the other hand, *(r)are* does not make the verb stative, so that *niyotte* can be selected. This fact in turn explains why *niyotte*, which is in conflict with stative predicates, cannot be employed in the *ni* direct passive.

The contrast above may be comparable to the following contrast in English:

(34) a. John was very surprised at the news.
b. John was (*very) surprised by Mary.

The passive morpheme *–ed/-en* in English can make a verb an adjective, and hence, a stative as in (34)*a*, which is called adjectival passive. Thus, it allows

the use of *very*, which modifies adjectives, but not verbs. The adjectival passive is similar to the *ni* direct passive[4]. On the other hand, the verb in (34) *b* remains to be an action verb, so it corresponds to the *niyotte* passive.

The problems with the pronominal binding phenomenon still remain. The first problem is why a pronoun is impossible in the object positions of indirect passives. Here I will basically follow Hoshi (1994), however, without using excorporation. Consider the following indirect passive example:

(35) *John$_i$-ga [Bill-ni kare$_i$-o sinyoos]-are-ta.
-Nom -Dat him-Acc trust-Pass.-Past
'John was affected by Bill's trusting him.' (Hoshi (1994))

I argue that the embedded verb *sinyoos* is raised to *(r)are*, so that the CFC of *kare* expands to the main clause. Accordingly, violation of condition B is observed in (35). By assuming that *(r)are* selects the embedded VP, it is possible to explain the binding fact.

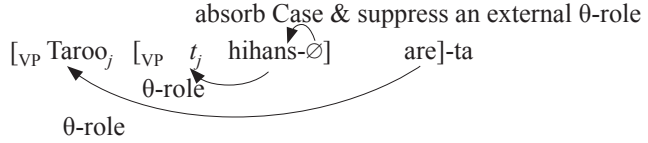
There is one piece of evidence for the verb-raising analysis. Consider the following example:

(36) John$_i$-ga [Bill-ni kare$_i$-o sinyoo-**sae**] s-are-ta.
-Nom -Dat him-Acc trust-even do-Pass.-Past
'John was even affected by Bill's trusting him.'

In (36), a focus particle *sae* is attached to the embedded verb *sinyoo*. This addition of the particle blocks the head movement of the verb as is illustrated by the use of *s*-insertion comparable to *do*-insertion in English. Interestingly, in this case, the pronoun now can refer to *John*. Thus, without head movement of the verb, the CFC of the pronoun does not expand; hence, condition B is satisfied in (36). This fact, instead, supports that an embedded verb is raised to the matrix verb *(r)are* in the indirect passive such as (35).

The second claim I am going to make is that contrary to the uniform hypothesis, but following the nonuniform hypothesis, NP-movement is required in the *ni* direct passive as in the *niyotte* passive. Specifically, I claim that an NP, after receiving a θ-role from an embedded verb, is raised to the spec of the matrix verb *(r)are* to get a second θ role. Thus, (27) is modified as follows:

(37) [*Ni* direct passive]



In (37) *Taroo* receives a θ-role from the embedded verb *hihans* 'criticize', but does not receive Case due to the abstract passive morpheme. Then the NP is raised to the spec of the matrix verb *(r)are* to obtain another θ-role. Here I depart from the standard assumption that an NP receives only one θ-role, which is called θ-criterion, and assume with Hornstein (1999) that an NP can be assigned more than one θ-role. However, to prevent overgeneration such as **John hit* meaning 'John hit himself,' I propose the following condition:

(38) Revised θ-criterion

An NP can receive multiple θ-roles before Case is assigned.

In this manner, it is possible to show how *ni* direct passives are derived. It is also possible to answer why a pronoun is disallowed in the direct passive because of the movement of a verb.[5]

As for subject-oriented adverbs, one can argue that they can only modify arguments where they are assigned a θ-role. Consider (12) again, which is repeated below:

(12) a. Daitooryoo-ga orokanimo CIA-ni koros-are-te-simat-ta.
president-Nom stupidly -by kill-Pass.-shouldn't.have-Past
'The president stupidly let the CIA kill him.'
b. ?? Daitooryoo-ga orokanimo CIA-niyotte koros-are-te-simat-ta.
president-Nom stupidly -owing.to kill-Pass.-shouldn't.
have-Past (Kuroda (1979))

The subject-oriented adverb, *orokanimo*, cannot modify *daitooryo* in (12)*b* because the latter is not assigned a θ-role where the adverb modifies it. In contrast, the adverb can modify the NP in (12)*a* because the subject receives a θ-role from the matrix verb *(r)are* after movement from the object position, and there the adverb can modify the subject. Therefore, the present account can explain the contrast in (12) too.

There are a few pieces of evidence for this analysis. First, examine the

following example:

(39) Yuube, kuruma$_j$-ga doroboo-ni 3-dai t_j nusum-are-ta
last.night car-Nom theif-by 3-CL steal-Pass.-Past
'Last night, three cars were stolen by a theif.' Miyagawa (1989)

In the uniform hypothesis such as Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999), where no NP movement is assumed, it is very difficult to explain why quantifier float is possible in examples such as (39).[6] However, the present account can account for the quantifier float phenomenon very easily because it assumes NP movement of the object.

The second piece of evidence for the current proposal is the following. Compare the following examples of the direct passive and the indirect passive:

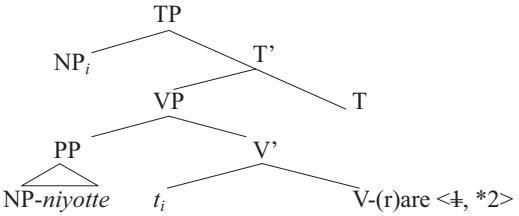
(40) [Otagai-no$_i$ kaisha]$_j$ -ga [Ken-to Mary-ni]$_i$ t_j uttae-rare-ta
each.other-Gen company-Nom -and -by sue-Pass.-Past
'(Lit.) Each other's companies were sued by Ken and Mary.'

(41) ??Otagai-no$_i$ kaisha-ga [Ken-to Mary-ni]$_i$ kigyoo-himitu-o bakuros-are-ta
each.other-Gen company-Nom –and -Dat company-secret-Acc disclose-Pass.-Past
'(Lit.) Each other's companies had Ken and Mary disclose the companies' secrets'

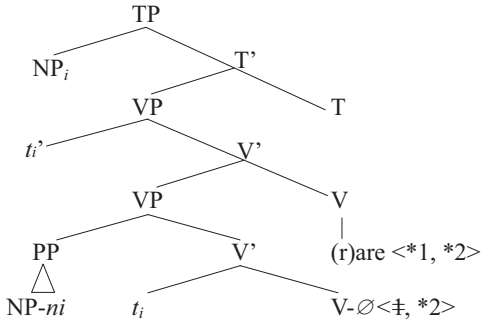
Otagai, an anaphoric element, must be bound by a possible antecedent. The grammaticality of (40) suggests that *Ken-to Mary* has c-commanded *otagai-no kaisha* 'each other's companies' at one point in the derivation, whereas there is no such configuration available throughout the derivation of (41). This contrast is easily accounted for in the present account because the object is assumed to go through NP movement in the direct passive.

To summarize, I will present a tree diagram for the three kinds of passive in Japanese below:

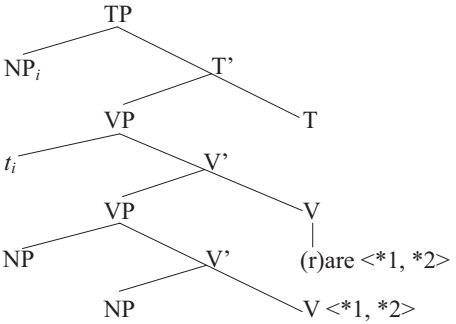
(42) [*Niyotte* passive]



(43) [*Ni* direct passive]



(44) [*Ni* indirect passive]



There is no change of analysis in the *niyotte* passive in (42) and the *ni* indirect passive in (44). In the case of the *niyotte* passive, *(r)are* itself is a passive element, so it is attached to a verb, hence, suppression of Case and an external θ-role.[7] As a result, the object NP, although it receives an internal θ-role from the verb, needs to be raised to the spec of TP to have Case. In the case of the *ni* indirect passive, there is no passive morpheme, so the lowest NP gets

accusative case, and the middle NP receives dative case possibly from *(r)are*. The topmost NP is raised to the spec of TP to have nominative case after it is given a θ-role by *(r)are*.

In the case of the *ni* direct passive as in (43), however, two new claims have been made. First, a passive morpheme is invisible unlike the *niyotte* passive. After ∅ is attached to an embedded verb, the suppression of Case and an external θ-role takes place, and the verb becomes semantically stative. Second, the object NP moves to the spec of *(r)are* to receive a second θ-role. *(R)are* in this passive is the same lexical item as the one in the *ni* indirect passive. Then the NP goes to the spec of TP to have nominative case. [$_{PP}$ *NP-ni*] is an adjunct to stative predicates, and hence, is optional and can be only used in the *ni* direct passive due to ∅.

As is clear from above, there is a common feature between the *niyotte* and the *ni* direct passive: NP movement is necessary. Similarly, there is a common aspect between the *ni* direct and the *ni* indirect passive in that the same two-place predicate verb, *(r)are*, is employed. However, the two-way classification as in the uniform and the nonuniform hypothesis is not fruitful because the three kinds of passive in Japanese are different from each other.

In this paper, I have argued that *(r)are* in the *ni* direct and the indirect passive is not a passive morpheme but simply a two-place predicate verb, and a passive morpheme is an invisible element in the *ni* direct passive whereas it is *(r)are* in the *niyotte* passive. With this claim, it is possible to analyze the Japanese *ni* indirect passive and the English *get* passive in the same way. Furthermore, by assuming that an object NP goes through NP movement to receive a second θ-role in the direct passive, it is possible to capture the binding differences between the direct and the indirect passive.

Notes

1 A more correct generalization is that adjunct PPs, including demoted arguments in passives, cannot initiate quantifier float. Thus, argument PPs allow quantifier float as follows:

(i) [$_{PP}$ Shonen-kara] 3-nin tegami-o uketotta.
boy-from 3-CL letter-Acc received

'I received letters from three boys.'

(ii) Ken-wa kinoo [$_{PP}$ teki-to] 5-nin tatakatta
-Top yesterday enemy-with 5-CL fought
'Ken fought with five enemies yesterday.'

2 Actually, Sugisaki (1999) shows that acquisition of passives is delayed in Japanese. Interestingly, the indirect passive is acquired earlier than the *ni* direct passive. The *niyotte* passive is acquired last. To explain this fact, a finer analysis than Hoshi's classification is required.

3 Hoshi (1994) suggests three types of *(r)are* whereas the present proposal claims two types of *(r)are* and two types of passive morpheme, ∅ (for the *ni* direct passive) and *(r)are* (for the *niyotte* passive). One may wonder if there is any improvement in the current proposal comparing to Hoshi (1994) in terms of the ease of language acquisition. However, according to the split-VP hypothesis, not V but *v* has an ability to license accusative case and assign an external θ-role. Hence, passive elements such as *–ed/-en* in English and *∅/(r)are* in Japanese, which affect the ability, are supposed to be base-generated in *v*. Moreover, as verbs (so called, ergative verbs) such as *break, open, close*, and *hiraku* 'open' employ the same forms for intransitive and transitive uses, *v* is often phonologically null. Thus, it should not be so difficult for children to expect a covert passive element such as ∅ in Japanese. In addition, children have to learn an overt passive element such as *(r)are* later, which involves a complicated process: *(r)are*, which has been used as a verb, has to acquire another use as a passive element, for which ∅ is already available. This complexity may explain why the acquisition of the *niyotte* passive is late comparing to the other two types of passive.

Nevertheless, if a passive morpheme is invisible in one type of Japanese passive, then one might claim that ordinary active-voice-like sentences such as the following can have a passive interpretation:

(i) *John-ga tatai-∅-ta
-Nom hit-Pass.-Past
'John was hit.'

However, (i) never has a passive interpretation. As will be discussed below, ∅ makes a verb stative, so it must be further selected by an appropriate verb. To prevent such use of the invisible passive morpheme as in (i), a verb with the morpheme is expected to be selected by a predicate which takes a state (not an action) as an argument. Other such predicates apart from *(r)are* may be *tai* 'want' and *yasui* 'easy' as follows:

(ii) Raamen-ga(/-o) tabe-∅-tai
ramen-Nom (/-Acc) eat-Pass.-want
'I want to eat ramen.'

(iii) Kono kuruma-ga untensi-∅-yasui
this car-Nom drive-Pass.-easy
'This car is easy to drive.'

Due to the invisible passive morpheme, *raamen* and *kono kuruma* cannot receive accusative case from the verbs, and they instead get nominative case from T(ense).

One might object to this analysis because eating ramen in (ii), which the speaker wants, seems not be a state but an action. However, the following contrast may support the present claim:

(iv) a Zyuppun -??de/-kan raamen-ga tabe-∅-tai.
ten.minutes –in/-for ramen-Nom eat-Pass.-want
b Zyuppun -de/-kan raamen-o tabe-tai.
ten.minutes –in/-for ramen-Acc eat-want
'I want to eat ramen in/for ten minutes.'

As (iv)*a* shows, when ∅ is attached to the verb, the object receives nominative case and the verb phrase becomes atelic, which is characteristic of stative predicates. The passive morpheme is considered to have caused it by making the phrase stative.

4 However, the adjectival passive in English and the *ni* direct passive are not exactly the same. For example, the latter still retains the status of verb. Therefore, *hiroku* 'widely', which can modify not adjectives but verbs, can be used in (33)*a*.

5 Moreover, the revision leads to the abolition of PRO, which is big advancement theory-wise. See Nunes (2004) for many applications of that idea.

6 It is possible to assume that both the NP and the PP go through scrambling to explain the word order and the quantifier float fact. However, according to Miyagawa and Arikawa (2007), if such is the case, there should be a pause in front of the floated quantifier. However, there is no such pause necessary in the example, so it is unlikely that two instances of scrambling occurred there.

7 Considering the fact that *(r)are* later combines with a tense marker, it is possible that *(r)are* is not a morpheme but a verbal head, possibly a little *v* in the split-VP hypothesis. See also footnote 3.

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The Japanese Passives Revisited

日本語受動態再考

森 田 久 司

日本語の受動態には3種類あることが知られていて、それらは①「によって」受動態、②「に」直接受動態、③「に」間接受動態と呼ばれている。①の「によって」受動態と③の「に」間接受動態の分析は、研究者の間で、ある程度の意見の一致をみており、①の場合は、内項のNP移動を伴い、③の場合は、「(ら) れ」は、受動態形態素ではなく、二項動詞として働く、と考えられている。しかしながら、②の「に」直接受動態の分析に関しては、意見の一致を見ず、②と③を同種と見なす、「統一仮説 (the uniform hypothesis)」と、②と③を同種と見なさず、逆に②には①と同様にNP移動を仮定する、「非統一仮説 (the nonuniform hypothesis)」が存在する。この論文では、上の2分類では、正しい分析を行うことが出来ないことを示す。つまり、「に」直接受動態では、「に」間接受動態と同様に「(ら) れ」はただの動詞でありつつも、「によって」受動態と同様にNP移動も起こっていると主張する。この主張が正しいとすると、NPひとつに対し、ひとつのθ役割しか与えてはいけないという、θ規準 (θ-criterion) の修正が必要になり、代わりに、NPは、ひとつ以上のθ役割をもらうことができるといった、Hornstein (1999) の主張を支持することになる。この他に、「によって」受動態と「に」直接受動態の意味的違いについても、考察を行い、後者は、状態的な述語であることを示す。