

A MINIMALIST REVIEW OF CURRENT THEORIES ON JAPANESE PASSIVISATION

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### Abstract

The Japanese passive voice has presented challenges to a universal theory of passivisation as a process where an internal argument, usually the direct object, is promoted to the subject position. A subset of Japanese passives called “indirect” passives appear to increase the valence of their predicate, containing an additional argument, occupying the subject position, when compared to corresponding active sentences. This has led to some controversy in research assuming specific structures for such sentences, with some researchers arguing that the passive morpheme in indirect passives is merely homophonous with a counterpart in more traditional passives, while some argue that Japanese has no true passive voice. Recently, some arguments have been made that the subjects of these indirect passives in fact do have active sources which are obscured by general facts of movement in Japanese, i.e. that post-nominal elements are never left stranded.

This text is intended as a critical review of prior research on the Japanese passive under current Minimalist understandings of syntactic theory. To that end, three prominent schools of thought on Japanese passive formation are examined: Non-uniform analyses, which posit two homophonous passive morphemes used in different constructions; Uniform analyses, which claim that Japanese has no true indigenous passive voice; and the recent unified passive analysis put forth by Ishizuka (2012), which posits that instances of increased valence in certain passives are in fact derived in a similar manner to English pseudo-passives, where a non-core argument is promoted to the subject position. These theories will be compared in how well they comply with given data, as well as their tenability under syntactic assumptions made in current Minimalist Program-based theory.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 The Current Research

Passive voice phenomena represent one of the more challenging and highly studied aspects of syntactic theory. Even as modular theories are fairly broadly accepted, which posit that passives are formed through the promotion of some internal argument to the grammatical subject position (Chomsky 1981, Jaeggli 1986, Baker 1988, Baker et al. 1989, Collins 2005, among others), the specific process by which these arguments are promoted and travel over an external argument, and indeed whether the external argument is present in the syntax, are still debated. However, certain features of passivisation, e.g. a reduction in syntactic valency, or “detransitivisation” (Shibatani 1985), are often taken as fundamental. Accepting a reduction in syntactic valency as the result of passivisation accounts for common cross-linguistic features of passives, like the capacity for short passivisation where the external argument goes unexpressed, or the occurrence of impersonal passives where the valency of a predicate is reduced from 1 to 0.

Rendering a cross-linguistic theory on passive constructions more difficult are passive voice phenomena which seem to go against these fundamental assumptions regarding how the valency of a given verb is reduced, and what type of predicate may be passivised. One language presenting such challenges is Japanese, where so-called “indirect” passives appear to involve an increase, rather than a decrease, in valency over corresponding active sentences with the same verb. These types of passives have led to a great amount of research attempting to define the structure of the Japanese passive, with some (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972a, Kikuta 1994, among others) segregating these indirect passives from more conventional passives and others (Kuroda 1965, Kuroda 1979, Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976, Kitagawa 2018, among

others) claiming that Japanese passives are a different construction which simply has a passive-like interpretation. More recently, some research (e.g. Ishizuka 2012) has attempted to provide a movement-based analysis of these indirect passives, while revealing some issues with prior theories.

As there are several differing viewpoints on the structure of Japanese passive sentences with no apparent widely accepted consensus, the present research is intended to serve as a critical review of prior research on the Japanese passive, with a primary focus on the compatibility of prior analyses with certain data as well as with current assumptions under Minimalist syntax.

## 1.2 Past Analyses of the Japanese Passive Voice

The Japanese passive voice is likely one of the most controversial topics in Japanese syntax. The basic form of a Japanese verb in the passive consists of a verbal stem followed by the morpheme *-rare*, whose initial *-r* disappears when the verb stem ends in a consonant. As an example, the vowel stem verb *tukamae-ru* ‘catch’ is realised as *tukamae-rare-ru* in the passive voice, while the consonant stem verb *tatak-u* ‘hit’ is realised as *tatak-are-ru*. Much like passives in other languages, Japanese passives often involve the apparent demotion of the external argument along with the promotion of an internal argument to the grammatical subject position. The sentences and the English translations in (1) and (2) below show that Japanese passives with subjects derived from accusative subjects seem to closely match their English counterparts in this regard.

- (1) a. *Active*  
*Naomi-ga Ken-o tukamae- ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC catch PAST  
 “Naomi caught Ken.”

- b. *Passive:*  
*Ken-ga Naomi-ni tukamae-rare-ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT catch PASS PAST  
 “Ken was caught by Naomi.”
- (2) a. *Active:*  
*Naomi-ga Ken-o tatai-ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC hit PAST  
 “Naomi hit Ken.”
- b. *Passive:*  
*Ken-ga Naomi-ni tatak-are-ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT hit PASS PAST  
 “Ken was hit by Naomi.”

However, while many passive sentences in Japanese appear to conform to modular passive analyses which posit that passives are formed through the promotion of some internal argument to the grammatical subject position as described above, other Japanese passives do not, and have subjects with no apparent active source. In fact, Japanese allows the passivisation of some intransitive predicates, including both unergative and unaccusative verbs, e.g. *hoe-ru* ‘bark’ and *sin-u* ‘die’ respectively as shown in the sentences in (3).

- (3) a. *Unergative:*  
*Naomi-ga inu-ni hoe-rare-ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM dog-DAT bark PASS PAST  
 “Naomi was barked at by a dog.”
- b. *Unaccusative:*  
*Naomi-ga hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM mother-DAT die PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Naomi was died by her mother.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:43, 84)

Such passives whose subjects are extra-thematic to the argument structure of the verb are frequently labelled “indirect” passives, in contrast to the passives in (1) and (2) which are often called “direct” passives.

The lack of an apparent source for the subjects of some Japanese passives, like the indirect passives in (3), presents a challenge to the notion that Japanese passives are derived through movement. As it is impossible to make a theory for the derivation of the Japanese passive without accounting for this type of data, the relationship between indirect passives and direct passives as in (1) and (2) form the basis of two primary schools of thought on the derivation of passives in Japanese.

One type of analysis, first put forward independently by McCawley (1972a) and Kuno (1973), posits that direct and indirect passives are derived from two phonetically identical, independent morphemes pronounced *-(r)are*, resulting in theories following McCawley and Kuno being labelled “non-uniform” analyses. The first *-(r)are* morpheme is a lexicalisation of the passive voice similar to Jaeggli (1986) and Baker’s (1988) idea of the English morpheme *-en*, and occurs alongside movement processes which result in the demotion of the external argument and promotion of an internal argument. Some proponents of non-uniform theories of the Japanese passive (e.g. Miyagi 1996) adopt Baker et al.’s (1989) position that passive morphemes are arguments taking the theta role normally assigned to the external argument, thereby motivating the movement seen in direct passives.

The second *-(r)are* morpheme occurs in indirect passives, and instead functions as an argument introducer similar to the causative morpheme *-(s)ase*, except that it introduces an Affectee or Experiencer theta role rather than a Causer. The argument-introducing capacity of *-(s)ase*, as well as its compatibility with unergative and unaccusative predicates, is shown in (4).

- (4) a. *Transitive:*  
*Ken-ga Taroo-ni ringo-o tabe- sase- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Taroo-DAT apple-ACC eat CAUS PAST  
 “Ken made/let Taroo eat the apple.”

- b. *Unergative:*  
*Ken-ga Naomi-o oyog- ase- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC swim CAUS PAST  
 “Ken made/let Naomi swim.”
- c. *Unaccusative:*  
*Naomi-ga sumaho-no batterii-ni kire- sase- ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM smartphone-GEN battery-DAT run.out CAUS PAST  
 “Naomi made/let her smartphone’s battery run out.”

The split between the *-(r)are* morpheme used in direct and indirect passive sentences accounts for the fact that the former can often entail argument reduction through short passivisation where the external argument goes unexpressed, while the latter involves argument extension, with one more argument than is present in a corresponding active sentence.

The difference between the two types of Japanese passive constructions under non-uniform theories is essentially due to a difference in clausality, with direct passives being monoclausal and indirect passives being biclausal. Accordingly, the main evidence motivating a non-uniform treatment is the binding behaviour of *zibun*, a reflexive pronoun whose binding is sensitive to causality and is often used to diagnose mono- or biclausality. The two features of *zibun* that are important for non-uniform analyses are that it is a subject-oriented anaphor generally binding to a clausal subject, and that it is a long distance anaphor, meaning that it may be bound from outside the clause it merges in. This leads to the ambiguity seen in (5), where *zibun* may be interpreted as either the matrix subject *John* or the embedded subject *Mary*.

- (6) *John<sub>i</sub>-ga [Mary<sub>j</sub>-ga zibun<sub>i,j</sub>-o daizi-ni su- ru] koto-o*  
 John-NOM Mary-NOM self-ACC important-ADV do PRES fact-ACC  
*kitai si- te iru.*  
 expectation do GER PROG  
 Lit. “John expects that Mary will take good care of self.”  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:292-293)

In the context of passives, instances of *zibun* in indirect passives show similar behaviour to (6) in that they may be bound by either the external argument of the lexical verb or by the grammatical subject (the Affectee introduced by *-(r)are*), while in direct passives they may only be bound by the grammatical subject, not the external argument. Compare (7a) and (7b).

- (7) a. *Indirect Passive:*  
*Mary<sub>i</sub> -ga sensei<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/j/\*k</sub>-no uti de musuko<sub>k</sub>-o sikar- are- ta.*  
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at son-ACC scold PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was affected by the fact that the teacher<sub>j</sub> scolded her son<sub>k</sub> at self<sub>i/j/\*k</sub> house.”
- b. *Direct Passive:*  
*Mary<sub>i</sub> -ga sensei-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no uti de sikar- are- ta.*  
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at scold PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was scolded by the teacher<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub> house.”  
 (Adapted from Miyagi 1996:76)

Non-uniform theorists take this as indicating that the sentence in (7a), in contrast to (7b), contains two clauses, and so two verbal elements, motivating the splitting of *-(r)are* into two separate morphemes.

The other main type of theory, known as the “uniform” analysis of Japanese passives, was originally presented in Hasegawa (1964) and Kuroda (1965). Research under this kind of analysis agrees with non-uniform descriptions of the indirect passive as outlined above, but diverges in that it assumes an identical derivation for direct passives as well. That is to say, the subjects of direct passives are merged as arguments of the argument-introducing morpheme *-(r)are*, and are not directly tied to the argument structure of the lexical verb. As this would result in a gap in the argument structure of the lexical verb, proponents of uniform theories of the Japanese passive argue that the internal argument position is occupied by a phonetically empty element which is coreferent with the Affectee/Experiencer introduced by *-(r)are*. As such, the passive sentence in (1) in fact has a structure like that in (8).

- (8) [Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga [Naomi-ni  $\varnothing_i$  tukamae-] rare- ta.]  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT catch PASS PAST  
 “Ken was caught by Naomi.”

Under uniform analyses of the passive then, both direct and indirect passives are biclausal. Although some proponents of a uniform analysis (e.g. Kuroda 1979) suggest a split between passives with external agents marked by *ni yotte* and those with *ni*, with the former being “true” passives introduced historically through translation of Modern Dutch and the latter being native to Japanese, this casts at least the native Japanese passive as a distinct construction from other cross-linguistic passives and more akin to other argument introducers like the causative or benefactive constructions.

While uniform theories on the passive were initially conceived on conceptual grounds as they allowed researchers to capture Japanese passive phenomena under a single *-(r)are* morpheme, it was necessary to develop an account for evidence supporting monoclausal interpretations of direct passives. To that end, Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976) invoke another feature of the binding behaviour of *zibun*. In cases where multiple instances of *zibun* occur in the same sentence, they must corefer to each other. Thus, while the two instances of *zibun* in the sentence in (9) would normally both be expected to be multiply ambiguous between the matrix subject *Taroo* and the embedded subject *Hanako*, the sentence is limited to two possible readings: Either both instances of *zibun* refer to *Taroo*, or both refer to *Hanako*.

- (9) *Taroo-wa Hanako-ga zibun-no heya de zibun-no sigoto-o si- te*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM self-GEN room at self-GEN work-ACC do GER  
*i- ta to iw- ta.*  
 be PAST QUOT say PAST  
 Either “Taro<sub>i</sub> said that Hanako<sub>j</sub> was doing self<sub>i</sub>’s work in self<sub>i</sub>’s room.”  
 Or “Taro<sub>i</sub> said that Hanako<sub>j</sub> was doing self<sub>j</sub>’s work in self<sub>j</sub>’s room.”  
 (Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976:230)

Howard & Niyekawa-Howard's claim about Japanese passives is that the phonetically empty element coreferent with the Affectee posited in (8) similarly restricts the interpretation of *zibun* in direct passive sentences. Because this element is necessarily coreferent with the grammatical subject, *zibun* is limited to an identical interpretation and may not be coreferent with the external argument, as this would go against the restriction on the interpretation of *zibun* shown in (9).

While uniform and non-uniform theories have been predominant in the analysis of Japanese passives for some time, some recent work has suggested that a fully movement-based analysis of Japanese passives may be possible, which would align them more closely with theories on passive constructions cross-linguistically. The most thorough attempt at this type of analysis to my knowledge comes from Ishizuka (2012), who posits oblique sources for seemingly extra-thematic sentences as in (3). In this regard, her theory derives indirect passives in a similar manner to English pseudo-passives whose grammatical subjects are the objects of prepositions. Unlike English pseudo-passives, Japanese movement processes do not strand case markers or other post-nominal particles, rendering the oblique sources opaque. However, the disappearance of post-nominal particles also occurs in relativisation, suggesting that it is a feature of Japanese movement as a whole and not just of passivisation. The active sources for the sentences in (3) under Ishizuka's analysis are presented below in (10), where *Naomi* is an At-Directional argument of *hoe-ru* 'bark' in (10a) and a genitive-marked Possessor of the DP *hahaoya* (10b). Per Ishizuka, this accounts for the somewhat restricted interpretation of the grammatical subjects in (3a) and (3b), in that *Naomi* is only affected by the dog's barking if she is the one barked at, and the 'mother' in (3b) is necessarily interpreted as the mother of *Naomi*.

- (10) a. *Inu-ga Naomi-ni hoe- ta.*  
 Dog-NOM Naomi-DAT bark PAST  
 "The dog barked at Naomi."

- b. *Naomi-no hahaoya-ga sin- da.*  
 Naomi-GEN mother-NOM die PAST  
 “Naomi’s mother died.”  
 (Adapted from Ishizuka 2012:8, 84)

Ishizuka’s analysis of the Japanese passive, which she labels a “unified” passive analysis, carries the conceptual benefit of deriving all Japanese passive sentences from the same *-(r)are* morpheme much like uniform analyses, while also allowing them to be captured more easily under cross-linguistic theories on the derivation of passive sentences. However, due to the number of phenomena it must account for under a single movement-based process, some of its necessary assumptions, primarily concerning the derivation of surface word order, carry far-reaching implications for Japanese syntax even outside of the passive context.

### 1.3 The Research Program

The three types of analysis outlined above form the basis of the current review, which is intended to thoroughly examine each derivation for Japanese passives in turn. This will primarily be done by examining the compatibility of given data with a given analysis, and how well certain data (e.g. the binding behaviour of *zibun*) support certain theories over others. It is also important to note that this paper will approach theoretical issues from a viewpoint on syntax based in Chomsky’s (1995) Minimalist Program. This has two primary implications for the present review. First, the notion of Deep Structure is rejected under Minimalist syntax. This has the greatest connotations for argumentation supporting a uniform analyses, which posit a Deep Structure link between the argument of *-(r)are* and the internal argument of the lexical verb in direct passives. Second, theta role assignment in Minimalist syntax is restricted to certain syntactic positions, codifying Baker’s (1997) Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis in the structure itself. This presents challenges mainly for non-uniform analyses of the passive which

posit that the theta role of the external argument is first assigned to the passive morpheme *-(r)are* before being transmitted to the external argument itself, as no mechanism of theta role transmission exists under Minimalist theories. The adoption of a Minimalist view of syntax is not expected to present any challenges for Ishizuka's analysis, which was itself developed under Minimalist assumptions.

An additional assumption made here about the structure of the predicate domain pertains to the VP shell hypothesis first proposed by Chomsky (1955) and taken up by Larson (1988, 1990) before being incorporated into the Minimalist Program. Under the VP shell hypothesis, the predicate domain consists of multiple layers in the syntax rather than just one VP, with each phrasal layer being responsible for introducing a different argument. For example, as the highest argument, agents merge in the specifier position of the highest verbal phrase, often called vP or "little" vP. In transitive predicates, this vP then takes a VP as its complement, which introduces the direct object. The VP shell hypothesis allows ditransitive verbs with three arguments to be captured under binary branching syntax as under the Minimalist Program, providing a position for all three theta roles to be assigned within the predicate domain. This structure is primarily important for Ishizuka's argumentation for a unified movement-based passive, as she puts limitations on the predicates which may merge with *-(r)are* down to selectional features of *-(r)are* for the verbal content of its complement vP. For the sake of consistency in syntactic structures presented to the reader, as well as to match current assumptions under Minimalist syntax, syntax trees in this text will be presented with a VP shell structure, with agents merged as specifiers of vP and objects merged lower in the verbal domain.

## 1.4 Outline

The first chapter of this text has outlined the prior research under study in this review, as well as the purpose of a critical review of research on the Japanese passive voice. Subsequent Chapters 2 to 4 will examine each of the different analyses for the Japanese passive under question in greater detail, with each chapter devoted to a specific type of analysis. More precisely, Chapter 2 will outline the claims made under non-uniform analyses of the Japanese passive, as well as supporting arguments, the benefits of adopting such an analysis, and some issues presented for such analyses both by the theoretical assumptions outlined above and by data as presented in various research on the Japanese passive.

Chapter 3 will follow a similar structure as Chapter 2, but the focus will be on uniform analyses of the Japanese passive. As such, it will first outline the claims of uniform analyses for the structure of the passive, before discussing supporting arguments, benefits, and issues with such analyses. Although uniform analyses predate non-uniform analyses, much of the argumentation for uniform analyses is presented as refutations of arguments for non-uniform theories. Accordingly, Chapter 2 provides context for some of the arguments presented in favour of a uniform Japanese passive in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 similarly outlines Ishizuka's unified analysis of the Japanese passive. As her theory is mainly adapted from Collins's (2005) smuggling analysis of the English passive, the first part of Chapter 4 details his structure before describing the changes Ishizuka makes in adapting it to Japanese as well as her supporting arguments for adopting the smuggling analysis. After this, the benefits and drawbacks of Ishizuka's approach will be outlined as in Chapters 2 and 3.

Lastly, Chapter 5 will consist of a discussion of all of the previously examined analyses for the Japanese passive, as well as concluding remarks. While the discussion in Chapters 2 to 4 will cover the tenability of the three types of analysis individually, Chapter 5 will more directly compare the competing theories before concluding the review.

## Chapter 2

### Non-Uniform Japanese Passive Analyses

#### 2.1 The Passive Morphemes

Non-uniform analyses of the Japanese passive voice system, e.g. Kuno (1973), McCawley (1972a), Kikuta (1994), Miyagi (1996), present the hypothesis that the Japanese passive morpheme *-(r)are* should actually be split into two separate, phonetically identical morphemes used in different constructions. This split is based on several syntactic differences, which include argument structure, quantifier float, and reflexive binding phenomena. The evidence for splitting the passive into two morphemes will be discussed in greater detail in 2.2, but the core of this type of analysis rests on the fact that direct and indirect passives show syntactic behaviour that seems to indicate a different number of clauses for these different passive constructions. Namely, direct passives as in (1) display monoclausal traits, while indirect passives as in (2) exhibit biclausal traits.

- (1) a. *Active:*  
*Doroboo-ga okane-o nusun- da.*  
 Thief-NOM money-ACC steal PAST  
 “The thief stole money.”
- b. *Direct Passive:*  
*Okane-ga doroboo-ni/ni yor- te nusum- are- ta.*  
 Money-NOM thief-DAT/DAT owing GER steal PASS PAST  
 “Money was stolen by the thief.”  
 (1b from Miyagi 1996:2)
- (2) a. *Active:*  
*John-ga (\*Bill-ni/-o) taisetuna tegami-o sute- ta.*  
 John-NOM Bill-DAT/ACC important letter-ACC throw.out PAST  
 “John threw out (\*Bill/to Bill) the important letter.”

- b. *Indirect Passive:*  
*Bill-ga John-ni taisetuna tegami-o sute- rare- ta.*  
 Bill-NOM John-DAT important letter-ACC throw.out PASS PAST  
 “Bill was adversely affected by the fact that his important letter was thrown out  
 by John.<sup>1</sup>”  
 (2b from Miyagi 1996:72)

The most immediately noticeable difference between these examples which might suggest a difference in clausality is the number of arguments present in the passive sentences (1b) and (2b) as compared with their active counterparts in (1a) and (2a). The arguments in (1a) and (1b) match but are inverted similar to passives in many languages, where the internal argument *okane* ‘money’ is apparently promoted to the subject position and the demoted external argument is marked either with the dative *ni* or as a clausal adjunct *ni yotte* expressing ‘means’ or ‘cause.’ However, the arguments in (2b) do not match (2a), with the subject of (2a) *Bill* having no apparent place in the argument structure of the verb *sute-ru* ‘throw out,’ a two-place predicate. As such, the subject of (2b) *Bill* is apparently introduced in the indirect passive, meaning that the argument structure of the indirect passive is extended. Notably, indirect passives (but not direct passives) are also compatible with intransitive predicates as in (3) below.

- (3) a. *Active:*  
*Tuma-ga (\*John-ni/o) sin- da.*  
 Wife-NOM John-DAT/ACC die PAST  
 “The wife died (\*John/to John).”
- b. *Indirect Passive:*  
*John-ga tuma-ni sin- are- ta.*  
 John-NOM wife-DAT die PASS PAST  
 Lit. “John was died by his wife.”  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:23)

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<sup>1</sup> Miyagi (1996), much like Kuno (1973), Kuroda (1965), McCawley (1972a), Kikuta (1994), and others, assumes a lexical adversative interpretation for indirect passives. While this paper will mainly focus on syntactic arguments and will avoid taking a stance on this issue, data from sources originally translated with adversative interpretations have these original translations maintained.

In order to account for this, proponents of non-uniform analyses of the Japanese passive split the passive morpheme *-(r)are* into two homophonous morphemes used in different types of constructions.

The first morpheme, called *-(r)are<sub>1</sub>* in this text<sup>2</sup>, is a passive head analogous to the English passive head *-en* used in modular analyses of the passive by Chomsky (1981), Jaeggli (1986), and Baker et al. (1989), among many others. This morpheme is used in direct passive constructions and is taken to function as an argument which transfers its acquired theta role to the logical subject in some research (e.g. Miyagi 1996), either a dative-marked DP or an implicit argument. Under such an analysis, direct passivisation as in (1b) occurs because the external theta role of the verb has already been assigned to the passive morpheme, thereby suppressing the external argument and allowing the internal argument to raise to the grammatical subject position. The external argument may then be expressed as either an adjoined dative phrase or an adjoined *ni yotte* phrase, with it receiving the external argument theta role through transmission from the passive morpheme *-(r)are<sub>1</sub>*, or be left unexpressed. While this theory of passivisation presents some issues for an analysis based in the Minimalist Program as will be discussed in section 2.4, Japanese direct passives under non-uniform analyses are essentially parallel to passives in English. As such, the key trait underlying direct passives like (1b) under a non-uniform passive analysis can be broadly given as in (4), in that the grammatical subject merges originally as an internal argument of the verb before moving to SpecTP.

- (4) *Okane<sub>i</sub>-ga doroboo-ni/ni yor- te t<sub>i</sub> nusum- are- ta.*  
 Money-NOM thief-DAT/DAT owing GER steal PASS PAST  
 “Money was stolen by the thief.”

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<sup>2</sup> I follow Miyagi’s (1996) terminology in labelling the passive morphemes for the sake of readability. In her text, *-(r)are<sub>1</sub>* represents the Voice head used in direct passives while *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* represents the verbal head used in indirect passives.

Contrary to this analysis of the direct passive, indirect Japanese passives are formed using the morpheme *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>*, which is described as a verbal head taking a VP<sup>3</sup> complement and assigning an external theta role. This accounts for the additional arguments in (2b) and (3b) not present in the corresponding active sentences, and aligns *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* with the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* as an argument introducer. Observe the causative sentences in (4a) and (4b), whose argument structures parallel the indirect passives in (2b) and (3b).

(5) *Causative:*

- a. *Bill-ga John-ni taiseituna tegami-o sute- sase- ta.*  
 Bill-NOM John-DAT important letter-ACC throw.out PASS PAST  
 “Bill made/let John throw out his important letter.”
- b. *John-ga tuma-ni sin- ase- ta.*  
 John-NOM wife-DAT die PASS PAST  
 “John made/let his wife die.”

As in the causatives above, which are commonly accepted to be biclausal, the external argument of the embedded predicate in indirect passives is not expressed as an adjunct, and is not able to be omitted (except where recoverable by context, as Japanese does generally allow empty pronouns). This follows from the biclausal interpretation of indirect passives posited by non-uniform passive analyses, as the sentences in (3) and (4) do not contain movement. Instead, *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* and *-(s)ase* take the entire predicate domain as their complement while introducing an argument in their own specifier positions. As these arguments are higher than any in the embedded predicate, the introduced arguments move to the subject position while the arguments of the lexical verb remain within the embedded predicate. This explains both the presence of the additional argument not found in corresponding active sentences, which is merged in the specifier of the phrase headed by *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>*, as well as the assignment of accusative case in

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<sup>3</sup> VP is used here as a catch-all term for any complete verbal domain, as indirect passives are compatible with unergative predicates, which only project a vP, and unaccusative predicates, which only project a VP, along with transitive predicates projecting both a vP and a VP.

seemingly passive sentences. This also explains the fact that external arguments may not be expressed using *ni yotte* phrases in indirect passives, as the external argument is not an adjunct. Therefore, under a non-uniform theory on Japanese passivisation, the structure underlying indirect passives like (2b) and (3b) is similar to that in (6), where indirect passivisation is a process of embedding, rather than movement.

- (6) a. [Bill-ga [John-ni taisetuna tegami-o sute-] rare- ta.]  
 Bill-NOM John-DAT important letter-ACC throw.out PASS PAST  
 “Bill was adversely affected by the fact that his important letter was thrown out by John.”
- b. [John-ga [tuma-ni sin-] are- ta.]  
 John-NOM wife-DAT die PASS PAST  
 Lit. “John was died by his wife.”

The following section discusses the evidence supporting the mono-/biclausal split between direct and indirect passives outlined above.

## 2.2 Support for the Non-Uniform Passive

The main evidence motivating a split of the passive voice between  $-(r)are_1$  and  $-(r)are_2$  is their differing syntactic behaviour rather than any semantic component. While many authors (Kuno 1973, Wierzbicka 1979, Kikuta (1994), Kuroda (1979) among others) assert a semantic difference as well due to the implications of adversity entailed in indirect passives, the fact that the adverse implicature may also apply to some direct passives and is cancellable through context without inducing ungrammaticality has led others (e.g. Alfonso (1971), McCawley (1972a), Miyagi (1996), Ishizuka (2012)) to characterise it as a pragmatic, rather than lexical, trait of  $-(r)are_2$ . While I will discuss research on the adversative implicature of indirect passives in greater detail in 2.5, this section will avoid the issue of potential lexical difference between

$-(r)are_1$  and  $-(r)are_2$  to focus on the syntactic arguments for a split passive as supported by empirical evidence.

The most notable syntactic difference between direct and indirect passives covered by virtually all literature on the Japanese passive lies in the argument structure. That is, while a direct passive may have one fewer argument than its verb normally selects through suppression of the external argument, an indirect passive contains an additional argument that its verb does not select in a corresponding active sentence. This contrast is readily apparent in (7), where the DP *Mary* in (7c) does not correspond to an argument of the verb *kuw-* ‘eat,’ which only selects an Agent *John* and a Theme *nattoo* ‘natto’ in (7a-c). Rather, *Mary* is an Affectee/Experiencer argument of the distinct predicate  $-(r)are_2$ .

- (7) a. *John-ga nattoo-o kuw- ta.*  
 John-NOM natto-ACC eat PAST  
 “John ate natto.”
- b. *Direct Passive:*  
*Nattoo-ga (John-ni) kuw- are- ta.*  
 Natto-NOM John-DAT eat PASS PAST  
 “The natto was eaten (by John).”
- c. *Indirect Passive (Transitive):*  
*Mary-ga John-ni hana-no saki de nattoo-o kuw- are- ta.*  
 Mary NOM John DAT nose GEN tip at natto ACC eat PASS PAST  
 “Mary was affected by the fact that John ate natto right under her nose.”

Indirect passives may also be formed from intransitive predicates as in (8), further suggesting that  $-(r)are_2$  functions as an argument introducers, as it may be used to form “passives” of one-place predicates.

- (8) *Indirect Passive (Intransitive):*  
*John-ga tuma-ni sin- are- ta.*  
 John-NOM wife-DAT die PASS PAST  
 Lit. “John was died by his wife.”  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:23)

Non-uniform analyses of the Japanese passive like McCawley (1972a) and Miyagi (1996) reconcile this difference by arguing that the additional argument present in indirect passives is introduced by the verbal *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* which selects an Experiencer, and not by the lexical verb. By extension, such an analysis is also able to account for the occurrence of accusative Case in the indirect passive, as well as the ability for intransitive verbs to be put into the indirect passive as shown in (8). The introduction of an argument by *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* is taken as evidence that it is itself a verb taking a verbal complement, allowing the structure of the embedded predicate to remain ostensibly intact as compared to the argument suppression seen in the direct passive.

However, the apparent occurrence of an additional argument is not in itself sufficient evidence that the structures of direct and indirect passives are distinct, as some researchers argue that direct passives are also formed from a biclausal structure with the gap caused by coreference between the subject and an empty category in the internal argument position of the embedded VP, as will be covered in the discussion of uniform passive analyses in Chapter 3. Another syntactic argument that direct and indirect passive constructions must be different is the difference in reflexive binding between direct and indirect passives, as discussed by McCawley (1972b) and Kuno (1973). The Japanese reflexive pronoun *zibun*, ‘self,’ is unique from reflexives in English in that it is considered a “subject-oriented” anaphor whose antecedent must generally be a subject (grammatical or logical) and not an object or adjunct. As such, the antecedent of *zibun* in sentences such as (9a) are not ambiguous like the use of *himself* in (9b).

- (9) a. **John<sub>i</sub>-ga Bill<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no syasin-o mise-ta.**  
 John-NOM Bill-DAT self-GEN photograph-ACC show PAST  
 “John showed Bill a picture of self.”
- b. **John<sub>i</sub> showed Bill<sub>j</sub> a picture of himself<sub>i/j</sub>.**  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:292)

*Zibun* is also considered a long-distance anaphor, in that it may be bound by the subject of any clause above it, whereas English reflexives must be bound locally. Compare the sentences in (10):

- (10) a. *John<sub>i</sub>-ga [Mary<sub>j</sub>-ga zibun<sub>ij</sub>-o daizi-ni su- ru] koto-o*  
 John-NOM Mary-NOM self-ACC important-ADV do PRES fact-ACC  
*kitai si- te iru.*  
 expectation do GER PROG  
 Lit. “John expects that Mary will take good care of self.”
- b. \*John expects [that Mary will take good care of himself].  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:292-293)

As such, the binding behaviour of *zibun* can be used to provide indirect evidence for clausality in complex predicates. For example, Kuno (1973) takes the ambiguity of *zibun* in causative sentences to indicate that the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* takes a VP complement with an embedded subject surfacing as a dative-marked indirect object, which likely occurs in order to satisfy an EPP on *-(s)ase*. The ambiguity of *zibun* in (11a) would then be explained as parallel to the ambiguity in (10a), restated below as (11b), except that the embedded clause is a VP complement rather than a relative clause and so its embedded verb has no T layer.

- (11) a. *[<sub>TP</sub>John<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>VP</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>Mary<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>ij</sub>-no uti de hon-o yom-] ase-] ta.]*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT self-GEN house at book-ACC read CAUS PAST  
 “John made Mary read a book in self’s house.”
- b. *[<sub>TP</sub>John<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>CP</sub>Mary<sub>j</sub>-ga zibun<sub>ij</sub>-o daiji-ni su- ru] koto]-o*  
 John-NOM Mary-NOM self-ACC important-ADV do PRES fact-ACC  
*kitai si- te iru.]*  
 expectation do GER PROG  
 “John expects that Mary will take good care of self.”  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:293, 294)

The binding of *zibun* has notably been used by Kuno (1973) and McCawley (1972b), among others, to argue that *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* of the indirect passive takes a VP complement much like the

causative morpheme, while  $-(r)are_1$  of the direct passive does not. Compare (12a) and (12b), where the antecedent of *zibun* is ambiguous only in the indirect passive.

- (12) a.  $[_{TP} Mary_i-ga [_{VP} sensei-ni zibun_{i/*j}-no uti de sikar- are-] ta.]$   
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at scold PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was scolded by the teacher<sub>j</sub> in self’s<sub>i/\*j</sub> house.”
- b.  $[_{TP} Mary_i-ga [_{VP} [_{VP} sensei_j-ni zibun_{i/j/*k}-no uti de musuko_k-o sikar-] are-] ta.]$   
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at son-ACC scold  
 PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was affected by the fact that the teacher<sub>j</sub> scolded her son<sub>k</sub> at self’s<sub>i/j/\*k</sub> house.”

(Adapted from Miyagi 1996:76)

Note that the internal argument of the embedded predicate in (12b), *musuko* ‘son,’ is not able to bind *zibun*, but *sensei* ‘teacher’ and *Mary*, the external arguments of *sikar-* ‘scold’ and  $-(r)are_2$  respectively, are both viable antecedents. This is expected under the non-uniform structure for indirect passives, as each of the legitimate binders occupies a separate SpecVP.

Quantifier float phenomena provide further evidence for structurally distinct passive morphemes. Miyagawa (1989) claims that in order for a moved DP to be interpreted together with its floated numeral quantifier<sup>4</sup>, the quantifier and the DP or its trace must be in a mutual c-command relation, which he formulates as the Mutual C-Command Requirement provided in (13):

- (13) Mutual C-Command Requirement: For a predicate to predicate of a NP, the NP or its trace and the predicate or its trace must c-command each other.

(Miyagawa 1989:30)

<sup>4</sup> Japanese numeral quantifiers consist of a numeral followed by a classifier which agrees with the noun it modifies, e.g. *ri/nin* for people, *too* for large animals, *hiki* for small animals. When this phrase precedes a noun and no movement has occurred, it is followed by the genitive particle *no*, e.g. *hito-ri no gakusei* ‘one student.’

This rule accounts for the possibility of quantifier float in unaccusative, but not unergative, sentences. Similarly, quantifier float of numeral quantifiers predicating grammatical subjects is possible in direct passives, but not in indirect passives. Observe the contrast in grammaticality between (14b) and (15b), as well as the contrast between (16b) and (17b).

(14) *Unaccusative:*

- a. *No Quantifier Float:*  
 2 ri-no kyaku-ga ryokan-ni tui- ta.  
 2 person-GEN guest-NOM inn-DAT arrive PAST  
 “Two guests arrived at the inn.”
- b. *Quantifier Float:*  
 Kyaku-ga ryokan-ni 2 ri tui- ta.  
 guest-NOM inn-DAT 2 person arrive PAST  
 “Two guests arrived at the inn.”  
 (Miyagawa 1989:43-44)

(15) *Unergative:*

- a. *No Quantifier Float:*  
 2 ri-no kodomo-ga geragera to waraw- ta.  
 2 person-GEN child-NOM loud ADV laugh PAST  
 “Two children laughed loudly.”
- b. *Quantifier Float:*  
 \*Kodomo-ga geragerato 2 ri waraw- ta.  
 child-NOM loudly 2 person laugh PAST  
 “Two children laughed loudly.”  
 (Miyagawa 1989:43-44)

(16) *Direct Passive:*

- a. *No Quantifier Float:*  
 Yuube 2 dai-no kuruma-ga doroboo-ni nusum- are- ta.  
 Last.night 2 machine-GEN car-NOM thief-DAT steal PASS PAST  
 “Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.”
- b. *Quantifier Float:*  
 Yuube kuruma-ga doroboo-ni 2 dai nusum- are- ta.  
 Last.night car-NOM thief-DAT 2 machine steal PASS PAST  
 “Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.”  
 (11b from Miyagawa 1989:38)

(17) *Indirect Passive:*a. *No Quantifier Float:*

2 ri-no tomodati-ga dareka-ni kuruma-o nusum-are-ta.  
 2 person-GEN friend-NOM someone-DAT car-ACC steal PASS PAST  
 “Two friends had someone steal their car (to their detriment).”

b. *Quantifier Float:*

\*Tomodati-ga dareka-ni 2 ri kuruma-o nusum-are-ta.  
 friend-NOM someone-DAT 2 person car-ACC steal PASS PAST.  
 “Two friends had someone steal their car (to their detriment).”  
 (20b from Miyagawa 1989:39)

The differences in quantifier float behaviour for different types of constructions like those above have led to its use as a diagnostic tool to determine whether or not movement has occurred for a given DP. As expected, quantifiers in unaccusatives and direct passives whose subjects are merged as internal arguments are able to remain within the predicate domain, while quantifiers in unergatives are not, as their subjects are merged externally. Similarly, the fact that a quantifier modifying the subject of an indirect passive may not be floated within the domain of the lexical verb provides evidence that, contrary to direct passives, the subject of indirect passives is not derived through movement.

Another potential argument for a non-uniform analysis of Japanese passives comes from Kikuta (1994), who argues that the indirect passivisation of passivised predicates is possible, albeit difficult to process. While the examples she provides experience degradation, she explains that passive predicates of any type put into the indirect passive are marginally acceptable and experience mainly processing-related difficulty, while the direct passivisation of a passivised predicate is impossible. Compare (18a) and (18b) with (18c) and (18d).

- (18) a. *Ind. Passive of Direct Passive:*  
 ?*Sinzi-ga Syota-ni Kyoko-ni (damar- te) tatak- are- rare- ta.*  
 Sinzi-NOM Syota-DAT Kyoko-DAT be.silent GER hit PASS PASS PAST  
 “Sinzi was adversely affected by Syota’s being hit by Kyoko without protesting.”
- b. *Ind. Passive of Indirect Passive:*  
 ?*Sinzi-ga Syota-ni Kyoko-ni de- te ik- are- rare- ta.*  
 Sinzi-NOM Syota-DAT Kyoko-DAT leave GER go PASS PASS PAST  
 “Sinzi was adversely affected by Syota’s<sub>i</sub> having Kyoko leave on him<sub>i</sub>.”
- c. *Dir. Passive of Direct Passive:*  
 \**Nimotu-ga Syota-ni Kyoko-ni todoke- rare- rare- ta.*  
 Parcel-NOM Syota-DAT Kyoko-DAT deliver PASS PASS PAST  
 “The parcel<sub>i</sub> had the situation happen that Syota was delivered it<sub>i</sub> by Kyoko.”
- d. *Dir. Passive of Indirect Passive:*  
 \**Syota-ga Kyoko-ni de- te ik- are- rare- ta.*  
 Syota-NOM Kyoko-DAT leave GER go PASS PASS PAST  
 “Syota<sub>i</sub> had the situation happen that Kyoko was adversely affected by his<sub>i</sub> leaving.”
- (Kikuta 1994:143-144)

While double passivisation under  $-(r)are_2$  would provide very strong evidence that the structure of indirect passives is different from direct passives with  $-(r)are_1$ , Kikuta’s examples are not taken from actual Japanese discourse, and can only be processed “if elaborated contextual information is given.” Therefore, while her examples are suggestive, it is difficult to consider them definitive proof that the structure of  $-(r)are_2$  is able to accommodate a passivised verbal complement.

### 2.3 Benefits of a Non-Uniform Analysis

The chief benefit to a non-uniform analysis of the direct and indirect passives is that it allows Japanese passive voice phenomena to be captured under pre-existing analyses, aligning the passive morpheme  $-(r)are_1$  with passive morphemes found cross-linguistically. If  $-(r)are_1$  is taken as having similar properties to  $-en$  from English, Japanese direct passive clauses can straightforwardly be captured under a similar analysis. These clauses incur raising of an internal

argument to the subject position along with de-profiling of the logical subject which may be pronounced in a dative phrase or left unpronounced as an “implicit argument” (Baker et al. 1989). As well, direct passives have corresponding active sentences with identical truth values. These facts are demonstrated below in (19).

- (19) a. *Active:*  
*Mai-ga Sigeru-o tatai- ta.*  
 Mai-NOM Sigeru-ACC hit PAST  
 “Mai hit Sigeru.”
- b. *Direct Passive:*  
*Sigeru-ga Mai-ni tatak- are- ta.*  
 Sigeru-NOM Mai-DAT hit PASS PAST  
 “Sigeru was hit (by Mai).”

On the other hand, active sentences corresponding to indirect passive sentences do not have equivalent truth values or the same number of arguments. They also allow for the occurrence of accusative Case, taken by Jaeggli (1986) and Baker et al. (1989) to be absorbed by the passive head in passive constructions. Contrast the sentences in (19) with that in (20), where the subject *Sigeru* does not appear to have a spot in the argument structure of the transitive verb *tatak-* ‘hit.’

- (20) *Indirect Passive:*  
*Sigeru-ga Mai-ni Taroo-o tatak- are- ta.*  
 Sigeru NOM Mai DAT Taroo-ACC hit PASS PAST  
 “Sigeru was affected by the fact that Mai hit Taroo.”

Non-uniform analyses of the Japanese passive take the issues indirect passives cause for a cross-linguistic treatment of the passive voice and ascribe them to a separate morpheme, essentially avoiding them entirely. It is important to note here that *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* would not necessarily be a “last resort” solution for an otherwise entirely unified *-(r)are*. This morpheme occurs in other non-passive constructions as well, including potential constructions, certain sentences in

the middle voice, and in an active sense as a means of showing respect to the sentential subject.

All of the sentences in (21) below employ this morpheme for a different, non-passive purpose.

- (21) a. *Spontaneous/Middle:*  
*Mukasi-ga sinob- are- ta.*  
 old.time-NOM remember RARE PAST  
 “Old times came to mind.”
- b. *Potential:*  
*Taro-wa yatto heya kara de- rare- ta.*  
 Taro-TOP finally room from exit RARE PAST  
 “Taro finally managed to get out of the room.”
- c. *Subject honorific:*  
*Sensei-ga Taro-o sikar- are- ta.*  
 Teacher-NOM Taro-ACC scold RARE PAST  
 “The teacher (honorific) scolded Taro.”  
 (Oshima 2006:150)

According to fairly well established research (e.g. Shibatani (1985), Oshima (2006)), these different uses of *-(r)are* are historically derived from a common source. Given that *-(r)are* is thus already polysemous and may occur in various functional positions, it is not unreasonable to say that *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* of the indirect passive represents an additional derivation with separate features and a different position from *-(r)are<sub>1</sub>* and the rest.

Splitting the passive into the passive morpheme *-(r)are<sub>1</sub>* and the affective verb *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* also avoids violating Perlmutter & Postal’s (1984a) 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law, or 1-AEX, which prohibits the advancement of multiple arguments to subject position. In other words, clauses whose subjects are derived from internal arguments may not be passivised.

As such, this law is able to capture the fact that impersonal passives as in (22) are possible with unergative predicates but not with unaccusative predicates, as unaccusative predicates only contain an internal argument. The 1-AEX also prevents the passivisation of already passive predicates.

- (22) a. *Il a été dormi.*  
 It has been slept  
 “There was sleeping.” (French)
- b. *\*Il a été mort.*  
 It has been died  
 “There was dying.”  
 (Postal 1986:24)

Contrary to the 1-AEX, Japanese indirect passives may be formed from some unaccusative predicates, e.g. *sin-u* ‘to die,’ *nige-ru* ‘to escape.’ However, in a non-uniform treatment these predicates are never truly passivised. Instead, they are embedded under the verbal *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* which contains its own external argument, with the argument of the unaccusative predicate surfacing as a dative-marked phrase. Similarly, Kikuta (1994) provides evidence that passivised predicates in Japanese may be indirectly “passivised” as discussed in section 2.2, although these “double passives” incur processing difficulties. This issue too becomes an expected result if the *-(r)are* of indirect passives is treated as a verbal head taking a VP complement, as whether this verbal complement is passivised should not affect its ability to fulfil the categorical requirements of *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>*.

#### 2.4 Some Issues with Non-Uniform Analyses

One major issue with non-uniform analyses of the Japanese passive is that it posits that the nominative DP in indirect passives is merged as an external Experiencer argument of *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>*. However, as noted by Ishizuka (2012), *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* does not appear to consistently assign the same Experiencer or Affectee theta role given the grammatical sentences shown in (23). Note that *hur-u* ‘descend,’ and *nige-ru* ‘to escape,’ are both unaccusative verbs.

- (23) a. *Tokyo-ga ooame-ni hur- are- ta.*  
 Tokyo-NOM big.rain-DAT descend PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Tokyo was descended upon by the heavy rain.”

- b. *Taroo-ga ame-ni hur- are- ta.*  
Taroo-NOM rain-DAT descend PASS PAST  
“Taro was rained on.”
- c. *Sono gakkoo-wa yuusyuuuna gakusei-ni nige- rare- ta.*  
That school-TOP smart student-DAT escape PASS PAST  
“That school was escaped from by smart children.”
- d. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak- are- ta.*  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry PASS PAST  
Lit. “Ken was cried over by Naomi.”  
(Ishizuka 2012:4, 19-20)

(23a) and (23c) show that the indirect passive is compatible with inanimate subjects which are not generally able to receive an Experiencer theta role. Compare for instance (24).

- (24) \**Sono gakkoo-wa yuusyuuuna gakusei-o konom- u.*  
That school-TOP smart student-ACC like PRES  
“That school likes smart students.”

Ishizuka instead proposes that in (23a), *Tokyo* should be considered as receiving a Locational/On-Directional theta role, while *sono gakkoo* ‘that school’ in (23c) would receive a Locational/Source theta role.

According to Ishizuka, (23b) is only felicitous with an interpretation where Taro is actually hit by the rain and becomes wet. Importantly, it is not felicitous with an interpretation where Taro has an umbrella but is somehow otherwise inconvenienced by the rain as would be expected if *Taro* was merged as an experiencer. This suggests that, much like the similar sentence in (23a), *Taro* should be interpreted as receiving a Locational/On-Directional theta role as well. Interestingly, this would be very similar to the pseudo-passive English translation “Taro was rained on,” in which the sentential subject is raised out of the PP headed by *on*. More strikingly, per Ishizuka the sentence in (23d) is only compatible with an interpretation where *Ken* is the

cause of *Naomi*'s crying, and not with any other interpretation where *Ken* is affected by her crying, e.g. *Naomi* is crying near *Ken* and he is bothered by it. Given the restricted interpretations of the subjects of the sentences in (23), it is difficult to reconcile this data with the non-uniform conception of their structure, which merges each subject with an identical theta role.

Another issue lies in the possessive passive structure, described as a subclass of indirect passives in some literature (Kuno 1973, among others) but re-examined as direct passives in other literature, for example Imai (2010) and Ishizuka (2012). In these types of passive sentences, the accusative-marked DP is interpreted as necessarily belonging to the raised subject. Some examples of possessive passives are given in (25).

- (25) a. *Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga Naomi-ni kao<sub>i/\*j</sub>-o tatak- are- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT face-ACC hit PASS PAST  
 Lit. "Ken was hit (his) face by Naomi."
- b. *Naomi<sub>i</sub>-wa (rinzin-ni) inu<sub>i/\*j</sub>-o koros- are- ta.*  
 Naomi-TOP neighbour-DAT dog-ACC kill PASS PAST  
 Lit. "Naomi was killed (her) dog (by a neighbour)."  
 (Ishizuka 2012:94-95)

If the subjects of the sentences in (25) are merged as external arguments of *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>*, it is not clear why they should be interpreted as the obligatory possessors of the accusative marked object, especially given other indirect passive sentences where such an interpretation is not obligatory. A possible interpretation of (26) below is that the DP *piano* is not possessed by *John*, but he is simply adversely affected by *Mary*'s playing it.

- (26) *John-wa Mary-ni piano-o hik- are- ta.*  
 John-TOP Mary DAT piano-ACC play PASS PAST  
 (Lit.) "John was played the piano by Mary."  
 (Wierzbicka 1988:262; adapted from Kuno 1973)

Instead, possessive passives can be interpreted as raising of a possessor DP modifying the internal argument of a verb. In this way it would be akin to active sentences like (27b), called “possessor raising” or “double nominative” constructions in some literature, where the second nominative-marked phrase is obligatorily possessed by the first.

- (27) a. *Mary-no me-ga aoi.*  
 Mary-GEN eye-NOM blue  
 “Mary’s eyes are blue.” (Speaker’s attention is on eyes as parts of Mary.)
- b. *Mary-ga me-ga aoi.*  
 Mary-NOM eye-NOM blue  
 “Mary’s eyes are blue.” (Speaker’s attention is on Mary as a whole.)  
 (Imai 1998:34)

While double accusative constructions are possible in some languages, e.g. Korean, they are not grammatical in most dialects of Japanese. However, passive constructions avoid this issue as the raised possessor is marked with nominative case rather than accusative. Thus, (28c) is grammatical while (28b) is not (cf. (29) in Korean). Note also that unlike indirect passives, (28a) and (28c) show that possessive passives do have corresponding active sentences with identical truth values.

- (28) a. *Hanako-ga Taro-no asi-o fum- da*  
 Hanako-NOM Taro-GEN foot-ACC step.on PAST  
 “Hanako stepped on Taro’s foot.”
- b. \**Hanako-ga Taro-o asi-o fum- da.*  
 Hanako-NOM Taro-ACC foot-ACC step.on PAST  
 “Hanako stepped on Taro’s foot.”
- c. *Taro-ga (Hanako-ni) asi-o fum- are- ta.*  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT foot ACC step.on PASS PAST  
 “Taro had (his) foot stepped on (by Hanako).”  
 (Imai 1998:49-50)

- (29) *Kay-ka haksyang-ul tali-lul mwul-ess-ta.*  
 Dog-NOM student-ACC leg-ACC bite-PAST-IND  
 “The dog bit the student on the leg.”  
 (O’Grady 1991:71)

These facts, as well as the fact that possessive passives do not receive obligatory adversative interpretations per Oshima (2006), suggest that possessive passives are formed using the direct passive head  $-(r)are_1$ , assuming a non-uniform passive.

Support for a mono-clausal analysis of possessive passives can be found in the binding behaviour of *zibun* in these types of clauses, as demonstrated in the sentences in (30).

- (30) a. *Direct Passive* (Kuno 1973):  
*John<sub>i</sub>-wa Mary<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya de koros- are- ta.*  
 John-TOP Mary-DAT self-GEN room at kill PASS PAST  
 “John<sub>i</sub> was killed by Mary<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub> room.”
- b. *Possessor Passive* (Kuroda 1979):  
*Naomi<sub>i</sub>-wa Ken<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya de atama-o nagur- are- ta.*  
 Naomi-TOP Ken-DAT self-GEN room at head-ACC hit PASS PAST  
 “Naomi<sub>i</sub> was hit the head by Ken<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub> room.”
- c. *Indirect Passive* (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972a)  
*John<sub>i</sub>-wa Mary<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-no koto-o ziman s- are- ta.*  
 John-TOP Mary-DAT self-GEN matter-ACC brag do PASS PAST  
 (Kuno’s translation) “John<sub>i</sub> suffered from Mary<sub>j</sub>’s bragging about self<sub>i/j</sub> matter.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:160)

Given that the binding behaviour of *zibun* is taken as a diagnostic of mono- or bi-clausality in Japanese sentences as discussed in 2.2, the parallel between (30a) and (30b) would seem to indicate that possessor passives contain a single clause, which is expected for predicates under  $-(r)are_1$  but not  $-(r)are_2$ . Since accusative case in indirect passives is generally taken as a result of the verbal nature of  $-(r)are_2$ , which takes a VP complement maintaining its case-assigning capabilities in contrast to the direct passive VP which loses them, the idea that accusative case

could still occur in a mono-clausal passives calls into question some assumptions about *-(r)are<sub>i</sub>* under a non-uniform analysis.

One final issue relates to the particular passive analysis used in the discussion of direct passives in research supporting a non-uniform passive theory. Much prior research is based on a cross-linguistic application of the modular passive analyses presented by Chomsky (1981), Jaeggli (1986), Baker (1988), Baker et al. (1989), and others. Chomsky and Jaeggli present two claims in an effort to explain the occurrence of passivisation. First, that accusative case is absorbed in the passive, and second, that the external theta role in a passivised predicate is transmitted from the passive affix, *-en* in English and *-(r)are* in Japanese, to a DP in an adjoined *by*-phrase. Assuming that the analysis of possessive passives provided above is correct, at least the former claim is untenable in Korean or Japanese passives, which may involve the raising of a Possessor argument to the subject position while leaving an accusative-marked Theme in the predicate domain. Perhaps more viable for Japanese is Baker et al.'s suggestion that passivisation occurs because the passive morpheme is merged as an argument of the verb, thereby barring the external argument from merging at the same position and relegating it to an adjunct.

However, modular analyses of passive constructions like those above are difficult to maintain under assumptions made in current generative grammar. This is because the transmission of the external theta role to a DP in an adjoined phrase violates Baker's (1997) Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis, or UTAH, which states that identical thematic relationships between syntactic elements reflect identical structural relationships in Deep Structure. Similarly, syntactic theory based in Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program adopted by the current review, which states that any given syntactic position is associated with a specific theta role/set of theta roles. Under either theory, an argument receiving a given theta role can

only receive that role by occupying the position at which it is assigned, meaning that the theta role transmission suggested by all of the above theories is not possible. Of course, this is not uniquely problematic for non-uniform Japanese passive analyses positing movement in the direct passive, but rather for passive analyses in any language following the modular theories above. However, as much research supporting a non-uniform analysis of Japanese passives follows the modular assumptions above, it is important to acknowledge the issues they present under current generative grammar and recognise the need to adopt a different analysis for the passive. One possibility which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 is the smuggling analysis presented by Collins (2005), where the VP containing the internal argument is raised to a position above vP, allowing the internal argument to freely move to SpecTP while also allowing the external argument to merge at SpecvP. With that said, any new analysis carries implications for structures derived with it and may lead to a previously held theory becoming untenable, putting non-uniform passive analyses on unstable ground unless they are shown to be compatible with some new passive analysis acceptable under current assumptions.

## 2.5 On Adversative Implicature

In some analyses, e.g. Kuno 1973, Miyagawa (1989), Kikuta (1994), *-(r)are<sub>2</sub>* of the indirect passive is assigned a lexical “adversative” meaning due to the fact that its use often entails an interpretation where the sentential subject is adversely affected by the event described in the embedded clause. This is in contrast to the direct passive, which carries a neutral connotation similar to the English passive which may be used in positive or negative propositions without issue. The contrast between the direct and indirect passives of the same verb is demonstrated in (31), where the direct passive sentence in (31b) has a neutral

interpretation matching the active sentence in (31a), while the indirect passive in (31c) has an adversative interpretation:

- (31) a. *Kyoko-ga eiga-o mi-ta.*  
 Kyoko-NOM movie-ACC see PAST  
 “Kyoko saw a movie.”
- b. *Eiga-ga Kyoko-ni mi-rare-ta.*  
 Movie-NOM Kyoko-DAT see PASS PAST  
 “The movie was seen by Kyoko.”
- c. *Syota-ga Kyoko-ni eiga-o mi-rare-ta.*  
 Syota-NOM Kyoko-DAT movie-ACC see- PASS PAST  
 “Syota was adversely affected by Kyoko's seeing a movie.”  
 (1a, c from Kikuta 1994:68-69)

Oftentimes the adversative reading of the indirect passive is treated as obligatory, as in the data from Kikuta above. However, research like Alfonso's (1971) discussion on the indirect or “adversative” passive have provided valuable data showing that events described in indirect passive sentences may have positive readings in some cases, suggesting that the adversative implicature is not intrinsic to *-(r)are*<sub>2</sub>. Some of Alfonso's examples are provided below in (32), demonstrating this flexibility in interpretation for different contexts.

- (32) a. *Yopparai-ni tonari-ni suwar-are-te komat-te iru*  
 Drunkard-DAT neighbour-ADV sit PASS GER be.bothered GER PROG  
*ojiisan.*  
 older.man  
 “An old man bothered because a drunkard sat next to him.”
- b. *Kawaii ko-ni tonari-ni suwar-are-te yorokon-de iru*  
 Pretty girl-DAT neighbour-ADV sit PASS GER be.pleased GER PROG  
*ojiisan.*  
 older.man  
 “An old man pleased with himself because a pretty girl sat next to him.”  
 (Alfonso 1971:3)

As (32b) shows that a sentence in the indirect passive is capable of forming a positive proposition, Alfonso claims that its adversative implications are pragmatic rather than lexical. To explain this, he suggests the possibility that since favourable actions done to or for a sentential subject are often expressed using the benefactive construction *V-te moraw-u/itadak-u* literally meaning ‘to receive V,’ this has caused the indirect passive to have an adversative meaning through association, as it would be used whenever the subject would not benefit from the described event. (33) below shows an example of this type of sentence.

- (33)            *John-ga        sensei-ni        sakubun-o        aratame- te moraw- ta.*  
 John-NOM teacher-DAT composition-ACC correct GER receive PAST  
 “John had the teacher correct his composition.”

However, Wierzbicka (1988) notes that Alfonso’s examples of indirect passives with benefactive implicature are formed such that the indirect passive clause is subordinate to a matrix clause whose lexical content implies a positive event for the subject, as in (24b). She instead suggests that the non-adversative meaning is syntactically constructed, and that while the adversative meaning of a subordinate clause may be neutralised by a higher clause, indirect passive matrix clauses are not able to carry a neutral interpretation. For example, the events described by (34a) and (34b) below cannot be interpreted as positively affecting their subjects even though there is nothing semantically negative about their lexical verbs, while (34c) shows that an indirect passive built around an event likely to be seen as negative can be neutralised by a matrix clause with positive implicature.

- (34) a.        *John-wa ame-ni        fur-        are-        ta.*  
 John-TOP rain-DAT descend PASS PAST  
 (Lit.) “John was fallen by rain.”

- b. *John-wa Mary-ni piano-o hik- are- ta.*  
 John-TOP Mary-DAT piano-ACC play PASS PAST  
 (Lit.) “John was played the piano by Mary.”
- c. *John-wa tuma-ni sin- are- te jiyuu-ni nar- ta.*  
 John-TOP wife-DAT die PASS GER free-ADV become PAST  
 “When his wife died John became free.”  
 (Wierzbicka 1988:262; 1a, b adapted from Kuno 1973, 1c adapted from Xolodovič 1969)

Another example comes from Oshima (2006), who points out the ambiguity of (35).

- (35) *Taro-ga Hanako-ni kodomo-o home- rare- ta.*  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT child-ACC praise PASS PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> had his<sub>i</sub> child praised by Hanako.” (*Possessive passive*) OR  
 “Hanako<sub>i</sub> praised {her<sub>i</sub>/the} child, adversely affecting Taro.” (*Indirect passive*)  
 (Oshima 2006:148)

If (35) is interpreted as a possessive passive with *Taro* originally merging as the head of a genitive phrase modifying *kodomo* and not an argument the adversative implicature does not arise. This reflects the idea that possessive passives are derived using the direct passive head  $-(r)are_1$ , as discussed in 2.4. If *kodomo* is not possessed by *Taro*, as in the indirect passive interpretation above, adversative implicature becomes mandatory. In this structure *Taro* would merge as the external argument of  $-(r)are_2$ . Since the only points of contrast between the two interpretations are the type of  $-(r)are$  employed and the merging point of *Taro*, with the latter point essentially following from the former, this example is strongly suggestive that the adversative implicature of indirect passives is in fact due to lexical differences between  $-(r)are_1$  and  $-(r)are_2$ .

## 2.6 Summary & Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the main arguments for a non-uniform analysis of the Japanese passive voice, the benefits gained by adopting such an analysis, and the issues it raises through interaction with data and theory. Non-uniform analyses separate the Japanese passive

voice into two different constructions: The first, called the direct passive, mirrors passive constructions in other languages like English, where internal arguments are promoted to the subject position and external argument are demoted. The second, called the indirect passive, are similar to Japanese causative sentences, where a verbal morpheme (*-(r)are* in the indirect passive, *-(s)ase* in the causative) takes the lexical predicate as its complement and merges an additional argument in its own specifier, which becomes the subject.

Motivating this split are the phenomena of reflexive binding and quantifier float. The binding behaviour of the subject-oriented, long distance reflexive pronoun *zibun* is used as a means of diagnosing the number of clauses present in a given sentence. In passives, it was shown that direct passives, whose subjects are taken as derived through movement under non-uniform passive theories, exhibit monoclausal behaviour, while indirect passives and causatives, both seen as introducing an additional argument above an embedded lexical predicate, exhibit biclausal behaviour. On the other hand, the occurrence of quantifier float within the predicate domain is used as a diagnosis of movement, with floating quantifiers taken as stranded by the movement of the DPs they predicate. Accordingly, quantifiers predicating the subjects of direct passives are able to be floated within the predicate domain, while quantifiers predicating the subjects of indirect passives are not, aligning with the idea that the latter are merged outside of the lexical predicate.

While assuming a non-uniform structure for Japanese passives carries the benefit of allowing Japanese passive voice phenomena to be captured under prior cross-linguistic theories on passivisation, it also highlighted the issues presented by these theories as they encounter current assumptions under generative grammar, and Minimalist Program-based syntax in particular. As many researchers supporting a non-uniform passive analysis draw from these older

passive analyses, non-uniform passive theories are on somewhat shaky ground unless a newer theory of passivisation can be reconciled both with Minimalist syntax and the structure they present.

The adversative implicature present in many Japanese indirect passives was also discussed, and while Alfonso (1971) shows this implicature to be cancellable, this was only demonstrated in contexts where an embedded indirect passive was subordinate to a matrix clause with positive connotations, rendering this argument tentative at best. As this review is primarily concerned with syntactic arguments for the underlying structure of Japanese passives, I leave this semantic issue unresolved, although data provided by Oshima (2006) suggests that this implicature is lexical if taken at face value.

In the following chapter I will discuss uniform analyses of the Japanese passive, which attempt to unify all passives under the same analysis by claiming that direct passives and indirect passives are derived from the same biclausal structure. In essence, such an analysis claims that Japanese passives are not true “passives,” and are never derived through movement, barring passives with *ni yotte*-marked external arguments which are claimed as being introduced through the translation of Modern Dutch.

## Chapter 3

### Uniform Japanese Passive Analyses

#### 3.1 The Uniform Passive

The uniform theory of the Japanese passive voice predates Kuno (1973) and McCawley's (1972a, 1972b) first formulations of the non-uniform theory presented in the previous chapter. Originally presented by Hasegawa (1964) and Kuroda (1965) among others, the uniform theory takes as its foundation the idea that both direct passives and indirect passives are derived from the same biclausal structure ascribed to indirect passives in the previously discussed non-uniform analyses. That is to say, both types of passives are built using the same "uniform" structure, with the passive auxiliary verb *-(r)are* taking a verbal complement and introducing an "Affectee" or Experiencer argument. So, the sentences in (1) below are considered as having the same internal structure under a uniform passive theory, with the apparent difference in the number of arguments being due to the fact that the subject *John* is coreferential with an unexpressed argument in the object position of the embedded clause in (1a). *John* thus has the same theta Affectee/Experiencer theta role in both sentences, with the apparent Theme interpretation in (1a) being due to coreference with the empty category, which merges here as a Theme argument of the verb *nagur-u* 'hit.'

- (1) a. *[John<sub>i</sub>-ga [Mary-ni  $\emptyset_i$  nagur-] are- ta.]*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT hit PASS PAST  
 "John was hit by Mary."
- b. *[John-ga [Mary-ni piano-o hik-] are- ta.]*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT piano ACC play PASS PAST  
 Lit. "John was played the piano by Mary."

The unexpressed argument of the direct passive is taken alternately as an unpronounced trace/copy or an empty category in certain literature (e.g. Kuroda (1979), Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976) for the former, Kitagawa (2018) & Hoshi (1999) for the latter). From the first point of view, the internal argument is reflexivised then subsequently deleted, while in the second view the internal argument is controlled by the matrix subject. While the first view will be discussed further in section 3.2 as it figures heavily into prior argumentation in favour of a uniform Japanese passive, under the Minimalist Program view of syntax which posits no Deep Structure (Chomsky 1995) the embedded internal arguments of direct passives must be taken as merging as some empty category. Although many sources remain neutral regarding the identity of this empty category (e.g. Hoshi 1999, Kitagawa 2018), given the obligatory coreference with the matrix subject, to the extent that it exists syntactically I take this empty category as PRO for the time being, although issues with this interpretation will be discussed in section 3.4. This is due to the fact that it does not seem possible for it to be *pro*. Direct passives do not allow this argument to occur as an overt reflexive pronoun, unlike other constructions which permit the deletion of arguments coreferential with a matrix subject (Shibatani 1990). Compare the benefactive in (2a) to the direct passive in (2b).

(2) a. [Taroo<sub>i</sub>-wa [Hanako-ni (zibun<sub>i</sub>-o) suisen si-] te moraw- ta.]  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self-ACC recommendation do GER receive PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> had Hanako recommend self<sub>i</sub>.”

b. [Taroo<sub>i</sub>-wa [Hanako-ni (\*zibun<sub>i</sub>-o) koros-] are- ta.]  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self ACC kill PASS PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> was killed self<sub>i</sub> by Hanako.”

(Adapted from Shibatani 1990:322)

Assuming that the embedded internal argument is an empty category and not an artefact of movement, as uniform Japanese passive theories do, the fact that it may alternate with an overt

reflexive pronoun in (1a) suggest that it merges as the pronominal empty category *pro*, while the lack of alternation in (1b) would seem to rule out this possibility. As PRO does not typically alternate with overt arguments, and given that the only other option left for a nominal empty category would be a trace or copy left by movement under current generative grammar, PRO would seem to be the more likely option under a uniform passive analysis assuming no movement in sentences like (2b). Needless to say, the occurrence of PRO in the object position is controversial, though see Hornstein (1999). The issues with assuming PRO in direct passives will be discussed in detail in section 3.4.

Under the above suppositions on the structure of direct passives, uniform theories of the Japanese passive claim that neither direct nor indirect passive sentences are truly “passives,” in the sense that they do not involve the characteristic movement or the demotion of an external argument hypothesised by Jaeggli (1986), Baker et al. (1989), Chomsky (1982) among others. Instead, they function as argument introducers similar to causatives in Japanese and other languages.

That is not to say uniform analyses suggest that Japanese has no true passive, however. As proposed by Kuroda (1979), direct passives whose agents are marked with *ni yotte* are seen by some as involving DP movement of an internal argument to the subject position, with the external argument demoted and expressed as an adjoined phrase headed by the verb *yor-u* ‘going via’ in gerundive form. In this construction, *-(r)are* acts as a verbal affix, paralleling analyses of the English passive and non-uniform analyses of Japanese direct passives<sup>1</sup>. (3) below shows an

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<sup>1</sup> Note that direct passives using *ni yotte* are compatible with the occurrence of accusative case-marking, e.g. indirect object passives and possessor raising passives as below.

example of Kuroda's structure for the *ni yotte* passive, in contrast to the *ni* passives shown in (1a) and (1b).

- (3) [Sensei<sub>i</sub>-ga gakusei-ni yor- te t<sub>i</sub> hihan s- are- ta.]  
 Teacher-NOM student-DAT owing GER criticism do PASS PAST  
 "The teacher was criticised by the students."  
 (Hoshi 1999:194)

While the distinction between *ni* and *ni yotte* direct passives is generally treated as stylistic variation in non-uniform accounts, Kuroda notes based on observations made by Inoue (1976) that the subjects of direct passives with *ni* are subject to semantic limitations which do not apply to passives with *ni yotte*. For example, abstract nouns and inanimate concrete nouns are always able to be the subject of *ni yotte* passives, while only some inanimate nouns are compatible with *ni* passives<sup>2</sup>.

- a. (Indirect Object Raising)  
*Yoroke- ta John-ga Ali-ni yor- te todome no itigeki-o*  
 totter PAST John NOM Ali DAT owing GER coup.de.grace GEN blow-ACC  
*kuwae- rare- ta.*  
 add PASS PAST  
 "Tottering John was given a coup de grace by Ali."
- b. (Possessor Raising)  
*Nihon-wa sihonka-tati-ni yor- te utukusii sizen-o hakai s-*  
 Japan-TOP capitalist-PL-DAT owing GER beautiful nature-ACC destruction do  
*are- te i- ru.*  
 PASS GER be PRES  
 "Japan is having its nature destroyed by capitalists."  
 (Kuroda 1992:214-215)

While discussion of cross-linguistic Case assignment in passives is outside the scope of this paper, it is possible that *sensei* first transits through a position where it receives accusative case before moving to SpecTP to satisfy its EPP, meaning that *-(r)are* would not absorb the Case-assigning capabilities of the lexical verb, at least in Japanese.

<sup>2</sup> The instances of inanimate subjects in *ni* direct passives which Kuroda (1979) and Inoue (1976) discuss take structures as their subjects:

- (i) a. *Kono ie-wa itabei-ni kakom- are- te iru.*  
 This house-TOP wooden.fence-DAT surround PASS GER PROG  
 "This house is surrounded by a wooden fence."

Additionally, Hoshi (1999) notes that idioms may be passivised using *ni yotte* but not *ni*, providing further support for Kuroda's theory of movement. Compare the sentence pairs in (5), (6) and (7). Kuroda claims that the differences in subject compatibility reflect the fact that the subjects in the (b) sentences are merged as the external Experiencer argument of *-(r)are*, while the subjects in the (a) sentences are merged as internal arguments of the lexical verb and subsequently raised.

- (5) a. *Kaikai-ga gityoo-ni yor- te sengen s- are- ta.*  
Opening-NOM chairman-DAT owing GER announce do PASS PAST  
“The opening of the meeting was announced by the chairman.”
- b. \**Kaikai-ga gityoo-ni sengen s- are- ta.*  
Opening-NOM chairman-DAT announce do PASS PAST
- (6) a. *Siroi booru-ga Oo-ni yor- te takadaka to uti-age- rare- ta.*  
White ball-NOM Oo-DAT owing GER high ADV hit raise PASS PAST  
“A white ball was hit high in the air by Oo.”
- b. \**Siroi booru-ga Oo-ni takadaka to uti- age- rare- ta.*  
White ball-NOM Oo-DAT high ADV hit raise PASS PAST  
(Kuroda 1992:187)
- (7) a. *Tyuu-i-ga John-ni yor- te haraw- are- ta.*  
Heed-NOM John-DAT owing GER pay PASS PAST  
“Heed was paid by John.”

- 
- b. *Kono siro-wa Tokugawa-gun-ni koogeki s- are- ta.*  
This castle-TOP Tokugawa-army-DAT attack do PASS PAST  
“The castle was attacked by the Tokugawa army.”

Inoue argues that the noun *siro* may refer either to the structure or the warriors inside it, citing the ungrammaticality that arises when it is necessarily interpreted as the former in a sentence using *ni*:

- (ii) \**Kono siro-wa toodai zuiiti-no daiku-ni sekkei s- are- ta.*  
This castle-TOP that.era best-GEN carpenter-DAT design do PASS PAST  
“This castle was designed by the best carpenter/architect of the day”  
(Kuroda 1992:187)

For (ia), she posits that *ni* is permissible where the instrumental *de* is used; Compare the following sentence with (ia) above:

- (iii) *Sono ie wa itabei de kakom- are- te iru.*  
That house TOP wooden.fence INST surround PASS GER PROG  
“That house is surrounded by a wooden fence.”  
(Kuroda 1992:187)

- b. \**Tyuuui-ga John-ni haraw- are- ta.*  
 Heed-NOM John-DAT pay PASS PAST  
 “Heed was affected by John’s paying it.”  
 (Hoshi 1999:198)

Kinsui (1997) provides historical support for the separation of passives employing *ni* and *ni yotte*. The *ni* passive is attested in Old Japanese texts and is taken as indigenous to the Japanese language. According to Kinsui, *ni* passives at that time carried a similar reading to the conception of the *ni* passive under uniform theories: The derived subject is affected by the action of another participant. On the other hand, *ni yotte* passive sentences entered the language as a means of literally translating *door* in the Modern Dutch passive during the 19th century (meaning ‘path,’ ‘means,’ ‘way,’ and marking agents in passive sentences).

Kinsui posits that the *ni yotte* passive was broadly accepted into Japanese syntax because it filled a gap in the language (cf. the use of *tokorono* as a relative pronoun, used to directly translate relative pronouns which are not present in Japanese relative clauses). *Ni yotte* passives introduced a means of fronting an internal argument and deprofiling an external argument without affecting the semantics of the sentence, or in other words allows the description of an activity from a neutral standpoint. While this was possible without *ni yotte* passives, it was accomplished through pairs of transitive and intransitive verbal predicates, e.g. *moeru* ‘burn (intrans.)’ vs. *moyasu* ‘burn (trans.)’. Not all verbs have alternating transitive-intransitive pairs, which in Kinsui’s analysis left gaps in expressive ability that were filled by the adoption of *ni yotte* passives.

### 3.2 Support for the Uniform Passive

The earliest arguments for a uniform passive, e.g. Kuroda (1965), come primarily from semantic and syntactic parallels between the Japanese passive and *te moraw* constructions. In

sentences using *te moraw*, sometimes called ‘benefactives,’ a matrix clause headed by the verb *moraw* ‘receive’ takes an embedded clausal complement, which describes an event that the subject is affected by. Similar to the *ni* passive under uniform theories, this subject is not necessarily reflected in the argument structure of the embedded verb, and when it is, it is generally deleted<sup>3</sup>. Much like *-(r)are*, the subject of a benefactive is taken as an Experiencer, but while *-(r)are* often denotes an adversative meaning, *te moraw* gives a beneficial reading to the embedded event. Finally, the external argument of the embedded clause in *te moraw* sentences is expressed in the dative with *ni* similar to that of the passive. These points are demonstrated by the parallels between the (a) and (b) sentences in (8) and (9).

- (8) a. *Benefactive*  
*Syota-ga Kyoko-ni home- te moraw- ta.*  
 Syota-NOM Kyoko-DAT praise GER receive PAST  
 “Syota was praised by Kyoko (for his benefit).”
- b. *Direct Passive*  
*Syota-ga Kyoko-ni home- rare- ta.*  
 Syota-NOM Kyoko-DAT praise PASS PAST  
 “Syota was praised by Kyoko.”
- (9) a. *Benefactive*  
*Syota-ga Kyoko-ni de- te it- te moraw- ta.*  
 Syota NOM Kyoko DAT exit GER go GER receive PAST  
 “Syota had Kyoko get out (for his benefit).”
- b. *Indirect Passive*  
*Syota-ga Kyoko-ni de- te ik- are- ta.*  
 Syota NOM Kyoko DAT exit GER go PASS PAST  
 “Syota had Kyoko get out (to his disadvantage).”  
 (Kikuta 1994:175)

Due to the above observations, early proponents of the uniform passive take *-(r)are* as a semantic and syntactic analogue to *te moraw*, expressing an opposite meaning while similarly

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<sup>3</sup> Under Minimalist syntax, it would be coreferential with a phonetically empty pronominal expression, e.g. *pro*, as discussed in section 3.1.

taking a clausal complement. However, upon closer inspection the two constructions appear to be somewhat different. Semantically, the benefactive meaning of *te moraw* is obligatory, while the adversative reading of *-(r)are* is not, and does not generally occur in passives where the subject corresponds with an argument of the embedded verb as (8a) and (9a) show.

Syntactically, sentences with *te moraw* take a gerundive clausal complement with a T or I layer, while clausal complements of *-(r)are* only contain the verbal domain. This type of structure is not unprecedented in Japanese, as the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* is typically seen as an argument-introducing semi-verbal head taking a similar incomplete clausal complement even among researchers rejecting biclausal analysis for Japanese direct passives (e.g. Kuno 1973, Miyagi 1996, Ishizuka 2012 among others). (10) provides an example of the causative, in which the agent of the lexical verb *Naomi* is dative-marked while the subject *John* is introduced in the causative. Combined with its distinct semantic features which do not always oppose the benefactive, uniform *-(r)are* is likely better viewed as another type of semi-verbal head whose meaning sometimes parallels, but is not analogous to, an opposite of the benefactive.

- (10) a. *Active*  
*Naomi-ga Ken-o tukamae- ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC catch PAST  
 “Naomi caught Ken.”
- b. *Causative*  
*John-ga Naomi-ni Ken-o tukamae- sase- ta.*  
 John NOM Naomi DAT Ken ACC catch CAUS PAST  
 “John made Naomi catch Ken.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:78)

As the uniform theory formulated by Hasegawa (1964) and Kuroda (1965) predates non-uniform analyses, much later argumentation in support of the uniform passive comes in the form of refutations of issues raised in non-uniform approaches, e.g. McCawley (1972b) and

Kuno (1973). Most notably, the differences these authors describe in the binding behaviour of *zibun* between direct passives and indirect passives present a great challenge to uniform analysis which posit these as both structurally identical and biclausal. As described in the previous chapter, *zibun*, which is typically described as a subject-oriented long distance reflexive, is multiply ambiguous between the matrix and embedded subject in indirect passive sentences like (11a) below, while no ambiguity occurs in direct passives whose agent is marked with either *ni* or *ni yotte*, as in (11b) and (11c).

- (11) a. *Mary<sub>i</sub>-ga sensei<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/j/\*k</sub>-no uti de musuko<sub>k</sub>-o sikar- are- ta.*  
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at son-ACC scold PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was affected by the fact that the teacher<sub>j</sub> scolded her son<sub>k</sub> at self<sup>s<sub>i/j/\*k</sub></sup> house.”
- b. *Mary<sub>i</sub>-wa John<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no uti de koros- are- ta.*  
 Mary-TOP John-DAT self-GEN house at kill PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was killed by John<sub>j</sub> in self<sup>s<sub>i/\*j</sub></sup> house.”
- c. *John<sub>i</sub>-ga Mary<sub>j</sub>-ni yor- te zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya de nagur- are- ta.*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT owing GER self-GEN room at hit PASS PAST  
 “John was punched by Mary in his/\*her room.”
- (11a, c adapted from Miyagi 1996:76, 84. 11b from Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976: 208)

In order to account for this variation while maintaining a biclausal structure for the direct passive, Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976) posit the Reflexive Coreference Constraint (RCC) based on the binding behaviour of the Japanese reflexive *zibun* in cases of multiple occurrence within the same sentence. They formulate this constraint as in (12) below.

- (12) Reflexive Coreference Constraint: Two instances of the reflexive pronoun *zibun* commanded by the same pair of possible antecedents must be coreferential. If they are not, the sentence is marked as ungrammatical.

Their argument for this constraint begins by examining multiple occurrences of *zibun* supporting this restriction outside of the passive context. Recall that unlike reflexive pronouns in

English, *zibun* is typically only bound by clausal subjects rather than any c-commanding DP, and that a single instance of *zibun* commanded in this way by two subject DPs may be bound by either of them, resulting in an ambiguous interpretation, as in (13a). The subject orientation of *zibun* rules out the ambiguity seen in English sentences like (13b), where the reflexive may be bound by either the subject or the Goal argument *Bill*, as shown by its restricted interpretation in (13c).

- (13) a. *John<sub>i</sub>-ga [Mary<sub>j</sub>-ga zibun<sub>ij</sub>-o daizi-ni su- ru] koto-o*  
 John-NOM Mary-NOM self-ACC important-ADV do PRES fact-ACC  
*kitaisi- te iru.*  
 expect GER PROG  
 Lit. “John expects that Mary will take good care of self.”
- b. **John<sub>i</sub>** showed **Bill<sub>j</sub>** a picture of **himself<sub>ij</sub>**.
- c. *John<sub>i</sub>-ga Bill<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no syasin-o mise- ta.*  
 John-NOM Bill-DAT self-GEN photograph-ACC show PAST  
 “John showed Bill a picture of self.”  
 (Adapted from Kuno 1973:292-293)

Given the binding phenomena above, when multiple instances of *zibun* commanded by two DPs occur in the same sentence each instance would be expected to be multiply ambiguous. As such, (14) below should be expected to have four potential interpretations based on the fact that both instances of *zibun* can take *Taroo* and *Hanako* as potential referents. However, as the interpretations in (15) show, (14) is only doubly ambiguous; either both instances of *zibun* are bound by *Taroo*, or both are bound by *Hanako*. This is predicted by Howard & Niyekawa-Howard’s RCC as formulated in (12).

- (14) *Taroo-wa Hanako-ga zibun-no heya de zibun-no sigoto-o si- te*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM self-GEN room at self-GEN work-ACC do GER  
*i- ta to iw- ta.*  
 be PAST QUOT say PAST  
 “Taro said that Hanako was doing self’s work in self’s room.”

- (15) a. Taro<sub>i</sub> said that Hanako<sub>j</sub> was doing his<sub>i</sub> work in his<sub>i</sub> room.  
 b. Taro<sub>i</sub> said that Hanako<sub>j</sub> was doing her<sub>j</sub> work in her<sub>j</sub> room.  
 c. \*Taro<sub>i</sub> said that Hanako<sub>j</sub> was doing his<sub>i</sub> work in her<sub>j</sub> room.  
 d. \*Taro<sub>i</sub> said that Hanako<sub>j</sub> was doing her<sub>j</sub> work in his<sub>i</sub> room.  
 (Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976:230)

In order to account for the ungrammaticality that occurs when *zibun* refers to the embedded subject in the direct passive examples in (11), Howard & Niyekawa-Howard propose that the phonologically empty DP which functions as the internal argument in direct *ni* passives is merged as identical to the subject, reflexivised, and ultimately deleted. In their paper, this is accomplished through cyclic reflexivisation. That is to say, in the ungrammatical example where *zibun* is coreferential with the embedded subject, e.g. *John* in (11b), *zibun* is merged as *John* while the deleted internal argument of the passivised predicate is necessarily merged as *Mary* in the *ni* direct passive. In the first cycle of reflexivisation, the DP *John* in the PP adjunct *John no uti de* is reflexivised as *zibun*, while the DP *Mary* is reflexivised in a subsequent cycle before ultimately being deleted. Although the second instance of *zibun* is not pronounced, the fact that the two instances of *zibun* do not corefer leads to ungrammaticality. (16) below demonstrates this process before the deletion of the embedded object for the ungrammatical interpretation of (11b), restated as (16a).

- (16) a. \**Mary<sub>i</sub>-wa John<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>j</sub>-no uti de koros-are- ta.*  
 Mary-TOP John-DAT self-GEN house at kill PASS PAST  
 ‘‘Mary<sub>i</sub> was killed by John<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>j</sub>’s house
- b. *1st Reflexivisation:*  
 [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP1</sub> Mary<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP2</sub> **John<sub>j</sub>** [<sub>PP</sub> ~~**John**~~ **zibun<sub>j</sub>**, no uti de] Mary koros-]are-] ta.]
- 2nd Reflexivisation:*  
 \*<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP1</sub> Mary<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP2</sub> John<sub>j</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> zibun<sub>j</sub> no uti de] **Mary zibun<sub>i</sub>**, koros-]are-] ta.]

Although Howard & Niyekawa-Howard describe *zibun* as a product of reflexivisation occurring in the Deep Structure, they do mention the possibility that it is an independent lexical item whose interpretation and occurrence is governed by cyclical constraints similar to the process they describe. However, it would be difficult to account for the mandatory interpretation and subsequent deletion of lexical *zibun* as coreferent to the matrix subject in direct *ni* passives if this is the case. Another possibility is that their Reflexive Coreference Constraint may be expanded to include PRO, such that an instance of *zibun* occurring alongside PRO must carry the same interpretation or else the sentence is ungrammatical. If *zibun* and PRO could be shown to be subject to the same binding mechanism, for example, Howard & Niyekawa-Howard's analysis could be adapted to generative grammar-based theories positing no Deep Structure, as in Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program.

While Howard & Niyekawa-Howard's analysis requires some adjustment under current theories of generative grammar, they also provide data showing that a similar restriction is in effect in benefactive *te moraw* constructions, which are more broadly accepted to be biclausal. In (17a), much like the direct passive examples in (11), the external argument of the embedded verb is not available as a potential referent for *zibun*. Per Howard & Niyekawa-Howard, coreferentiality between the subject and the unexpressed embedded internal argument is achieved in the same way as in the direct passive. The fact that there is no embedded argument coreferential with the subject *Syota* in (17b) means that the RCC is not in effect, and the interpretation of *zibun* is not constrained.

- (17) a. *Taroo<sub>i</sub>-wa Hanako<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i\*</sub>-no iinazuke-no mae de home- te*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self-GEN fiancé(e)-GEN front at praise GER  
*moraw- ta.*  
 receive PAST  
 "Taro had Hanako praise him in front of self's fiancé(e)."  
 (Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976:235)

- b. *Syota<sub>i</sub>-ga Kyoko<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>ij</sub>-no heya kara de- te it- te- moraw- ta.*  
 Syota-NOM Kyoko-DAT self-GEN room from exit GER go GER receive PAST  
 “Syota had Kyoko get out of his/her own room (for his benefit).”  
 (Kikuta 1994:176)

A biclausal construction like the benefactive exhibiting the same variation in binding behaviour for *zibun* as the passive does not necessarily prove that the passive is biclausal. It may be the case that the subject of benefactives is derived through some kind of movement when it corresponds to an internal argument of the embedded verb, as in the non-uniform account of the direct passive. However, it does weaken any arguments for a non-uniform passive which maintain benefactives as biclausal, in that there does not appear to be a way to account for the parallel binding of *zibun* in benefactives and passives without at least opening the door to a biclausal interpretation of the latter<sup>4</sup>.

The other main argument against the uniform passive discussed in Chapter 2 was the capacity for quantifier float in direct *ni* passives discussed by Miyagawa (1989). Recall Miyagawa’s Mutual C-Command Requirement for quantifiers, which states that in order for a floated numeral quantifier to be interpreted together with a DP, the quantifier and the DP or the DP’s trace must mutually c-command one another. This constraint is motivated by the fact that numeral quantifiers may be floated within the verbal domain in unaccusative sentences, but not in unergative sentences. To Miyagawa then, the contrast in grammaticality between (18b) and (19b) is due to the quantifier phrase *2 ri* ‘two persons’ mutually c-commanding a trace of *kyaku* ‘guest,’ which is merged low in the verbal domain.

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<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, Kikuta (1994) takes the opposite approach and suggests that *te moraw* benefactives which parallel direct passives are in fact monoclausal, while those which parallel indirect passives are biclausal, resulting in a non-uniform benefactive mirroring the non-uniform passive.

- (18) *Unaccusative:*
- a. 2 *ri-no kyaku-ga ryokan-ni tui- ta.*  
 2 person-GEN guest-NOM inn-DAT arrive PAST  
 “Two guests arrived at the inn.”
- b. *Kyaku-ga ryokan-ni 2 ri tui- ta.*  
 guest-NOM inn-DAT 2 person arrive PAST  
 “Two guests arrived at the inn.”
- (19) *Unergative:*
- a. 2 *ri-no kodomo-ga geragera to waraw- ta.*  
 2 person-GEN child-NOM loud ADV laugh PAST  
 “Two children laughed loudly.”
- b. \**Kodomo-ga geragera to 2 ri waraw- ta.*  
 child-NOM loud ADV 2 person laugh PAST  
 “Two children laughed loudly.”  
 (Miyagawa 1989:43-44)

Similarly, it is possible for a floated quantifier predicating the subject to occur within the verbal domain in direct passives, but not in indirect passives. Miyagawa takes this as an indication of movement in the direct passive, with the subject being derived from an internal argument of the verb. The contrast between (20b) and (21b) would then act as evidence for a non-uniform theory of the passive, with *2 dai* ‘2 machines’ being in a mutual c-command relation with a trace of *kuruma* ‘car’ in (20b). As *tomodati* ‘friend’ in (21b) is generated outside the embedded predicate, there is no trace for *2 ri* ‘2 persons’ to form this relation with.

- (20) *Direct Passive:*
- a. *Yuube 2 dai-no kuruma-ga doroboo-ni nusum- are- ta.*  
 Last.night 2 machine-GEN car-NOM thief-DAT steal PASS PAST  
 “Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.”
- b. *Yuube kuruma-ga doroboo-ni 2 dai nusum- are- ta.*  
 Last.night car-NOM thief-DAT 2 machine steal PASS PAST  
 “Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.”  
 (19b from Miyagawa 1989:38)

- (21) *Indirect Passive:*
- a. 2 *ri-no tomodati-ga dareka-ni kuruma-o nusum-are-ta.*  
 2 person-GEN friend-NOM someone-DAT car-ACC steal PASS PAST  
 “Two friends had someone steal their car (to their detriment).”
- b. \**Tomodati-ga dareka-ni 2 ri kuruma-o nusum-are-ta.*  
 friend-NOM someone-DAT 2 person car-ACC steal PASS PAST.  
 “Two friends had someone steal their car (to their detriment).”  
 (20b from Miyagawa 1989:39)

However, as Kitagawa (2018) points out, the floated quantifier in (20b) is not inconsistent with uniform theories of the Japanese passive. For direct passives with *ni*, both non-uniform and uniform analyses posit a phonologically empty element coreferential with the subject which would be in mutual c-command with *2 dai* above. In a movement-based analysis, this element would be a trace or copy, but in Kitagawa’s analysis this position is occupied by an empty element. As evidence that empty elements like *pro* or PRO can transfer the predication of numeral quantifiers to coreferential DPs, he provides the sentence in (22), where the interpretation of the numeral quantifier *3 nin* ‘3 persons’ within the embedded clause is applied to the controller of PRO, *syuuzin* ‘prisoner.’

- (22) *Syuuzin<sub>i</sub>-ga yuube mata [kono ryuutizyo kara PRO<sub>i</sub> 3 nin nige-yoo*  
 prisoner-NOM last.night again this prison from PRO 3 person escape VOL  
*to] kuwadate/kokoromi-ta.*  
 COMP attempt PAST  
 “Three prisoners again attempted to escape from this prison last night.”  
 (Kitagawa 2018:251)

Since PRO is able to license the ‘three prisoners’ interpretation on *syuuzin*, it should be clear that the same is possible for the subject of (20b), *kuruma*, given they are both control structures according to Kitagawa. As such, the differing capacity for quantifier float between the direct and indirect passives can only be taken as evidence for the *possibility* of movement in the

former. However, it should be noted that this is not necessarily evidence for the occurrence of PRO, but merely shows that the quantifier float phenomena shown above are consistent both with a movement-based and a control-based Japanese direct passive analysis.

### 3.3 Benefits of a Uniform Analysis

The primary benefit intended under a uniform theory of Japanese passive formation is that it allows Japanese passive phenomena, at least those indigenous to the Japanese language, to be captured under a single *-(r)are* morpheme. As Hoshi (1999) argues, given the general availability of zero/empty pronouns in Japanese, there is no reason to dismiss the possibility that apparent gaps in direct passives may be filled with such pronouns. Indeed, empty pronouns are already commonly used as a means of explaining potential gaps in causative *-(s)ase* constructions. If gaps in passives are accepted as empty pronouns, the Japanese passive fits comfortably alongside the causative as a non-lexical verb linking an embedded event to an external argument through essentially opposite terms: While *-(s)ase* describes its argument's effect on an event (i.e. making or allowing it to happen), *-(r)are* describes an event's effect on its argument. This is reflected by their syntax, wherein both heads introduce an external argument and take an incomplete clausal complement.

As well, if Kuroda's (1979) theory on the structure of *ni yotte* passives is accepted, a uniform passive analysis is able to capture the different behaviour of *ni* and *ni yotte* passives, something which is not typically discussed in non-uniform analyses. As discussed in section 3.1, *ni yotte* passives behave more in line with the general conception of passives outlined by Chomsky (1981), Jaeggli (1986), and others in that they do not appear to impose the restrictions on potential subjects that *ni* passives do. Recall that *ni yotte* passives are compatible with idioms

and abstract noun subjects, which is not the case for *ni* passives. Compare the grammaticality of (23) and (24).

- (23) a. *Kaikai-ga gityoo-ni yor- te sengen s- are- ta.*  
Meeting-NOM chairman-DAT owing GER announce do PASS PAST  
“The opening of the meeting was announced by the chairman.”
- b. *Tyuu-i-ga John-ni yor- te haraw- are- ta.*  
Heed-NOM John-DAT owing GER pay PASS PAST  
“Heed was paid by John.”
- (24) a. \**Kaikai-ga gityoo-ni sengen s- are- ta.*  
Meeting-NOM chairman-DAT announce do PASS PAST  
“The opening of the meeting was announced by the chairman.”
- b. \**Tyuu-i-ga John-ni haraw- are- ta.*  
Heed-NOM John-DAT pay PASS PAST  
“Heed was affected by John’s paying it.”  
(23a & 24a from Kuroda 1992:187; 23b & 24b from Hoshi 1999:198)

While splitting the *ni* and *ni yotte* passives seems to go against the core thrust of a uniform theory for Japanese passives, Kinsui’s (1997) historical analysis allows Kuroda’s movement-based analysis of *ni yotte* passives to be compatible with such a theory by delineating the passives along an indigenous/non-indigenous axis rather than the direct/indirect one suggested in non-uniform theories. Kinsui takes the *ni yotte* passive, introduced through direct translation of Modern Dutch *door*, cognate to English ‘through’ and serving as an agent marker in passives, as filling a gap in the Japanese language; that being, a means of rendering any transitive predicate unaccusative while maintaining the same semantic character of a corresponding active sentence. The fact that such a gap existed would be difficult to reconcile under a non-uniform analysis, where the *-(r)are* morpheme used in direct passives already fills that role.

Finally, uniform analyses of the Japanese passive share several of the same benefits as non-uniform analyses when it comes to reconciling Japanese passives with prior theories on cross-linguistic passive formation by explaining the more unusual features of the Japanese passive through other means. Given that only the *ni yotte* passive is potentially a “true” passive, the fact that it may only occur in direct passives (i.e. without an additional argument) means that passives do not behave particularly strangely in Japanese. It is worth noting that *ni yotte* is compatible with possessive passives, and therefore accusative case as shown in (25).

- (25) *Nihon-wa sihonka-tati-ni yor- te utukusii sizen-o hakai s-*  
 Japan-TOP capitalist-PL-DAT owing GER beautiful nature-ACC destruction do  
*are- te i- ru.*  
 PASS GER be PRES  
 “Japan is having its beautiful nature destroyed by capitalists.”  
 (Kuroda 1992:214-215)

However, the occurrence of accusative case in the passive is not unique to Japanese. Honda (2009) cites Lavine & Freidin’s (2002) example of accusative case assignment to the subjects of passives as in (26)<sup>5</sup>, while Oshima (2006) discusses, among other passive phenomena, parallels between Japanese and Korean possessive passives, which both instantiate accusative case marking. (27b) shows one such Korean example, with a corresponding active sentence in (27a). See also Bowers (2002), who separates transitivity from the assignment of structural case and onto its own functional head.

- (26) *Ukrainian:*  
*Ja spodivajusja, [ščo cej žart ne bude vykorystano “Pravdoju Ukrajinu”].*  
 I hope that this joke<sub>ACC</sub> NEG will.be used<sub>[-AGR]</sub> Pravda<sub>INST</sub> of.Ukraine  
 “I hope that this joke won’t be used by Ukrainian Pravda.”  
 (Honda 2009:43)

<sup>5</sup> Per Honda (2009), [-AGR] in (26) means “no agreement.” Levine & Freidin (2002) posit this as the reason *žart* ‘joke’ maintains its structural accusative case; although T here has an EPP satisfied by raising *žart* to its specifier, it has no agreement and hence does not assign nominative case.

- (27) *Korean:*
- a. *Kay-ka Inho-uy tali-lul mul-ess- ta.*  
 dog-NOM Inho-GEN leg-ACC bite- PAST- IND  
 “The dog bit Inho’s leg.”
- b. *Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-lul mul- li- ess- ta.*  
 Inho-NOM dog-DAT leg-ACC bite- PASS- PAST- IND  
 “Inho got his leg bitten by the dog.”  
 (Oshima 2006:139)

Therefore, while *ni yotte* passives are not entirely in line with passive analyses which claim the absorption of accusative case by a passive morpheme, it is not unique in this regard, and challenges to that claim exist even if Kuroda’s (1979) analysis is disregarded.

### 3.4 Some Issues with Uniform Analyses

Although uniform analyses of the Japanese passive would carry the benefit of simplifying the indigenous *ni* passive, the suppositions they are built upon are not without their issues. The most immediately striking and most difficult problem arises in the behaviour of the apparent gap in direct passives when compared with benefactives or causatives with gaps. Compare the sentences in (28).

- (28) a. *Direct Passive:*  
*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni (\*zibun<sub>i</sub>-o) koros- are- ta.*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self-ACC kill PASS PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> was killed (self<sub>i</sub>) by Hanako.”
- b. *Benefactive:*  
*Taroo<sub>i</sub>-wa Hanako-ni (zibun<sub>i</sub>-o) suisen si- te moraw- ta*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self-ACC recommendation do GER receive PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> had Hanako recommend self<sub>i</sub>/someone.”
- c. *Causative:*  
*Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga Naomi<sub>j</sub>-ni (zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-o) nagur- ase- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-ACC hit CAUS PAST  
 “Ken caused Naomi to hit (self<sub>i/j</sub>)/someone.”  
 (28a, 28b adapted from Shibatani 1990:322; 28c adapted from Ishizuka 2012:167)

In the benefactive and the causative in (28b) and (28c), the reflexive pronoun *zibun* may alternate with an unexpressed argument. In the benefactive this unexpressed argument may be ambiguous between the subject *Taroo* and some indefinite DP, while in the causative the former interpretation requires the overt reflexive pronoun, meaning that an unexpressed argument may not be interpreted as *Ken* in (28c). However, the important distinction is in sentence (28a), which shows that the direct passive is not compatible at all with an overt reflexive pronoun. Although the alternations in (28b) and (28c) can be accounted for through the use of the pronominal empty category *pro* which is a phonetically empty counterpart to overt pronouns (Sportiche et al. 2014), the fact that no overt pronoun may occur in (28a) points to the possibility that the empty category in the direct passive would instead be PRO in a control relationship with the subject, as discussed in section 3.1.

However, the occurrence of PRO within the verb phrase and under an external argument as posited above raises several issues. First, while PRO can seemingly be generated in an internal argument position since it is able to be the subject of passive clauses, it is not able to establish a control relationship with the subject of a matrix clause if there is an interceding DP. Compare (29a), (29b), and (29c). As these sentences show, sentences with PRO are only grammatical when PRO is able to establish a relationship with the matrix T. While the occurrence of movement of PRO is unclear in the passive clause in (29b) (Baltin (1995) argues that PRO never moves out of the predicate domain), what is clear is that the control mechanism is not compatible with the interceding argument *the police* in (29c).

- (29) a. They expect [PRO to catch the criminals soon.]  
 b. They expect [to be caught PRO soon.]  
 c. \*They expect [the police to catch PRO soon.]

While a lack of evidence for object PRO is not enough to rule out its occurrence altogether, the fact that there is not yet any cross-linguistic support for its existence and that the phenomena associated with it here can be captured under a movement analysis (e.g. as in a non-uniform analysis) make it difficult to support here.

Further, while the PRO mechanism is not entirely clear, what does seem fairly clear is that controlled PRO obtains its interpretation from c-command. In fact, (30) from Hornstein (1999) shows that the antecedent of controlled PRO must be both local and c-commanding.

- (30) a. \*John thinks that it was expected PRO to shave himself.  
 b. \*John's campaign expects PRO to shave himself.  
 (Hornstein 1999:73)

Given these facts, it becomes unclear why PRO in (31) (restated from (1a)) does not get its interpretation from the dative argument *Mary*, which as the embedded agent would both c-command PRO and be more local than its antecedent *John*.

- (31) *[John<sub>i</sub>-ga [Mary-ni PRO<sub>i</sub> nagur-] are- ta.]*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT hit PASS PAST  
 “John was hit by Mary.”

This suggests either that the embedded object position is not occupied by PRO, in which case it is either *pro* with an arbitrarily restricted interpretation (impossible given the properties of *pro* as outlined by Chomsky (1981), i.e. that *pro* is [-anaphoric]) or a copy left by movement, or that the control mechanism which gives PRO its interpretation is not determined solely by locality and c-command, which would require strong argumentation for the institution of a new mechanism.

As pointed out by Park (2016), uniform analyses of the Japanese passive which posit a structural difference between *ni yotte* passives and direct passives with *ni* (e.g. Kuroda 1979)

essentially must claim the same distinction between *-(r)are* as a verbal head and *-(r)are* as a passive affix as seen in non-uniform theories, except that the line is drawn between *ni* and *ni yotte* rather than direct and indirect passives. While this alone does not call for the abandonment of these uniform theories in favour of a non-uniform analysis, it weakens statements as in Hoshi (1999) that a uniform passive is “conceptually preferable” on the grounds of claiming fewer distinct *-(r)are* morphemes. Given the issues with the empty category posited in order to maintain a uniform structure for the direct and indirect passive outlined above, an appeal to conceptual elegance does not seem to be a well-founded basis to continue arguing for a uniform passive analysis.

### 3.5 Summary & Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the primary arguments for uniform analyses of the Japanese passive, as well as some of the issues it presents. Uniform passive analyses recognise the role of *-(r)are* as an argument introducer in the syntax, paralleling structures like the benefactive and causative, while remaining consistent with cases in which it apparently removes an argument. They also carry the benefit of accounting for the distinctions between *ni* and *ni yotte* passives, in that only the latter are able to license abstract nouns and idiom chunks as subjects.

Proponents of uniform theories have made strong points against the main syntactic arguments for a non-uniform analysis, in that the binding behaviour of *zibun* does not appear to be a foolproof method for determining mono- or biclausality. As well, while the quantifier float phenomena observed by Miyagawa (1989) is compatible with a movement-based analysis, it does not mandate it, as the empty elements *pro* and PRO seem equally capable of licensing floating quantifiers as copies or traces of movement. The idea of such an empty element

explaining the gap in direct passives is fairly well-founded in Japanese syntax, as benefactives and causatives are able to merge a *pro* coreferent with a matrix subject in place of an overt argument.

Nonetheless, the identity of this empty element in direct passives raises the most serious issues with a uniform theory of the Japanese passive, particularly under Minimalist analyses which posit no Deep Structure in the vein of Chomsky (1995). While causative and benefactive constructions are compatible with *pro* and allow for the occurrence of an over reflexive pronoun, direct passives allow only the interpretation where the null argument is coreferential with the subject, and do not allow for any overt argument in the same position. The obligatory coreference and the lack of alternation with an overt argument suggests that if the gap in direct passives merges as an empty category, it must merge as PRO. However, PRO does not occur in an object position as would be needed here and it would require some theoretical mechanism to explain why it is not controlled by a more local c-commanding DP, i.e. the embedded agent.

Although research claiming a uniform passive has been effective at exposing issues around the reliability of tests for causality and movement used to argue for non-uniform analyses, the fact that the gap in direct passives encounters such theoretical problems makes it difficult to fully support a uniform theory of the Japanese passive, at least from a Minimalist Program-based perspective which does not allow for processes like reflexivisation or pronominalisation. This is especially true given that the problematic features of direct passive gaps (the obligatory coreference with the subject and the incompatibility with an overt argument) can be easily captured if they are analysed as copies or traces left by movement.

In the following chapter I will discuss a fairly novel analysis of the Japanese passive. Ishizuka's (2012) "unified passive" aims toward the same minimisation in distinct *-(r)are*

morphemes as uniform passive theories, but reaches the opposite conclusion: All Japanese passives are derived from movement.

## Chapter 4

### Ishizuka's (2012) Unified Japanese Passive Analysis

#### 4.1 Japanese Passives as Derived by Movement

Compared with the non-uniform or uniform analyses of the Japanese passive outlined in chapters 2 and 3, Ishizuka's (2012) "unified" passive analysis was published fairly recently. Much like uniform analyses, the main theoretical goal of the unified passive voice is to show that the morpheme *-(r)are* has only one set of invariant lexical features. As such, it makes no distinction between the derivation of direct and indirect passives, unlike non-uniform theories. Notably, it also makes no distinction between passives whose external arguments are marked with *ni* and those marked with *ni yotte*, unlike uniform theories following Kuroda (1979).

Contrary to either of these prior theories, Ishizuka argues that the phrase headed by *-(r)are* never introduces an additional argument. Instead, *-(r)are* instantiates passive voice, with subjects of passives that are seemingly extra-thematic to the lexical verb taken as moving from oblique sources, similar to pseudo-passives in English. However, unlike English prepositions in pseudo-passives, Japanese post-nominal case markers and postpositions are not subject to stranding or stacking, rendering their active sources relatively opaque. The disappearance of case markers and prepositions under movement is consistent with Japanese relativisation, where only the matrix case value is overtly marked. Given this feature of movement in Japanese, Ishizuka proposes the following active sources in bold in (1a), (2a), (3a), and (4a) for the corresponding passives in sentences (1-4b). As the predicates below are all intransitive, each passive subject would be considered an argument of *-(r)are* in the two analyses discussed prior.

- (1) *Genitive:*
- a. *Naomi-no hahaoya-ga sin- da.*  
Naomi-GEN mother-NOM die PAST  
“Naomi’s mother died.”
- b. *Naomi-wa hahaoya-ni sin- are- ta.*  
Naomi-TOP mother-DAT die PASS PAST  
Lit. “Naomi was died by her mother.”
- (2) *Source:*
- a. *Naomi-ga Ken-kara nige- ta.*  
Naomi-NOM Ken-from escape PAST  
“Naomi escaped from Ken.”
- b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni nige- rare- ta.*  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape PASS PAST  
Lit. “Ken was escaped from by Naomi.”
- (3) *On-Directional Dative:*
- a. *Oo.ame-ga Tokyo-ni hur- ta.*  
Heavy.rain-NOM Tokyo-DAT descend PAST  
“Heavy rain descended on Tokyo.”
- b. *Tokyo-ga oo.ame-ni hur- are- ta.*  
Tokyo-NOM heavy.rain-DAT descend PASS PAST  
Lit. “Tokyo was descended upon by the heavy rain.”
- (4) *Dative Cause:*
- a. *Naomi-ga (sono sirase-ni/#Ken-ni) nai- ta.*<sup>1</sup>  
Naomi-NOM (that news-DAT/Ken-DAT) cry PAST  
“Naomi cried over (the news/#Ken).”

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<sup>1</sup> For reasons that are unclear, the nominative position above the predicate *nak-u* ‘cry’ must be animate, while the dative cause in the active must be inanimate. Compare (i) and (ii) below with the verb *odorok-u* ‘be surprised,’ claimed by Ishizuka to be structurally identical to *nak-u*, where the animacy condition applies to the nominative position but not the dative cause.

- (i) *Ken-ga (Naomi/sono nyusu-(ni/\*o)) odoroi- ta.*  
Ken-NOM (Naomi/that news-(DAT/\*ACC)) be.surprised PAST  
“Ken was surprised at (Naomi/that news)”
- (ii) *(Naomi/\*sono nyusu)-ga Ken-ni odorok- are- ta.*  
(Naomi/\*that news)-NOM Ken-DAT be.surprised PASS PAST  
Lit. Naomi was surprised at by Ken.”  
(Ishizuka 2012:89)

Ishizuka posits that the subject *Ken* in (4b) is generated as the dative cause, and that the animacy restriction results from a separate process from the derivation of the passive.

- b. ***Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak- are- ta.***  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Ken was cried over by Naomi.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:4, 8)

Supporting the idea that the underlying case markers and postpositions of the raised arguments above disappear under movement and may not be stranded, Ishizuka cites Japanese relativisation, in which the extracted DP only shows case marking from the matrix clause. The sentences in (5) show that whether post-nominal particles are interpreted as case markers or postpositions, they all disappear under relativisation, as is consistent with Ishizuka’s claim about the passive.

(5) *ga*-marked Agent:

- a. *Hisyo-ga* ~~[[*repoota-ga* seizika-o koogeki si- ta]~~ *repoota]-o*  
 Secretary-NOM ~~reporter-NOM~~ politician-ACC attack do PAST reporter-ACC  
*oikake- ta.*  
 chase PAST  
 “The secretary chased the reporter who attacked the statesman.”

*o*-marked Theme:

- b. ~~[[*Seizika-ga* ~~*repoota-o*~~ koogeki si- ta]~~ *repoota]-ga* *hisyo-o*  
 Politician-NOM ~~reporter-ACC~~ attack do PAST reporter-NOM secretary-ACC  
*home- ta.*  
 praise PAST  
 “The reporter who the statesman attacked praised the secretary.”

*ni*-marked Goal:

- c. ~~[[*Seiziki-ga* ~~*repoota-ni*~~ tomodati-o syookai si- ta]~~ *repoota]-ga*  
 Politician-NOM ~~reporter-DAT~~ friend-ACC introduction do PAST reporter-NOM  
*hisyo-o* *home- ta.*  
 secretary-ACC praise PAST  
 “The reporter who the statesman introduced his friend to praised the secretary.”

*ni*-marked Temporal:

- d. ~~[[*Ken-ga* ~~*hi-ni*~~ hon-o kaw- ta]~~ *hi]-o* *omoidasi- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM ~~day-DAT~~ book-ACC buy PAST day-ACC recall PAST  
 “(I) recalled the day Ken bought the book.”

*kara-marked Source:*

- e. [[~~Doroboo-ga ginkoo-kara~~ Naomi-no yokin-o nusum- da] ginkoo]-wa  
 Thief-NOM ~~bank-from~~ Naomi-GEN savings-ACC steal PAST bank-TOP  
 hyooban-ga yoku- nai  
 reputation-NOM good NEG.  
 “The bank from which a thief stole Naomi’s savings has a bad reputation.”

*no-marked Possessor:*

- f. [[~~Syoozyo-no~~ kaban-ga nakunar- ta] syoozyo]-ga nai- ta.  
 Girl-GEN bag-NOM disappear PAST girl-NOM cry PAST  
 “The girl whose bag disappeared cried.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:55-56)

As Ishizuka’s unified passive theory is produced under Minimalist (Chomsky 1995) assumptions on structure and movement, her analysis must account both for the extraction of the passive subjects in (1-4b) as well as their movement over the intervening external argument. The introduction of an argument by *-(r)are* runs directly against her proposed analysis, while in the Minimalist Program an external argument, e.g. an Agent, must receive its theta role in the same way in a passive sentence as in the active, i.e. the dative subjects in the (b) sentences above may not be postpositional adjuncts which receive their theta role through transmission. To this end, Ishizuka adapts Collins’s (2005) smuggling-based approach to English passivisation to Japanese.

#### 4.1.1 Collins’s (2005) Smuggling Analysis

The concept of smuggling and its use in deriving passives was developed by Collins in his treatment of the English passive. In his article, Collins outlines two interconnected issues with prior analyses of passive constructions under theories based in a principles and parameters approach to syntax (Chomsky 1982, Jaeggli 1986, Baker 1988, Baker et al. 1989 among many others). As Collins states, if passives simply involve movement of an internal argument to the subject position beyond an external argument generated in SpecvP, this would result in A-movement occurring over an intervening A-position, violating the Minimal Link Condition

(Chomsky 2000) and Rizzi's (2003) principle of Relativised Minimality, which both posit that a like element may not move over another like element, i.e. an argument may not move over an intervening argument.

However, if the external argument in passives is merged as the complement of an adjoined prepositional phrase headed by *by*, with its theta role being received by transmission from the passive morpheme *-en* (e.g. Jaeggli 1986, Baker et al. 1989), this type of theta role assignment goes against Baker's (1997) Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis which posits that identical thematic relationships between items reflect identical structural relationships in the Deep Structure. This idea is baked into the Minimalist Program in that, rather than thematic relationships reflecting Deep Structure relationships, each syntactic position is associated with a particular theta role/set of theta roles. Thus, Minimalist syntax requires that theta role assignment in a passive sentence be identical to theta role assignment in an active sentence.

In order to reconcile these points while accounting for object raising in passive sentences, Collins puts forth the notion of "smuggling," which he defines as in (6).

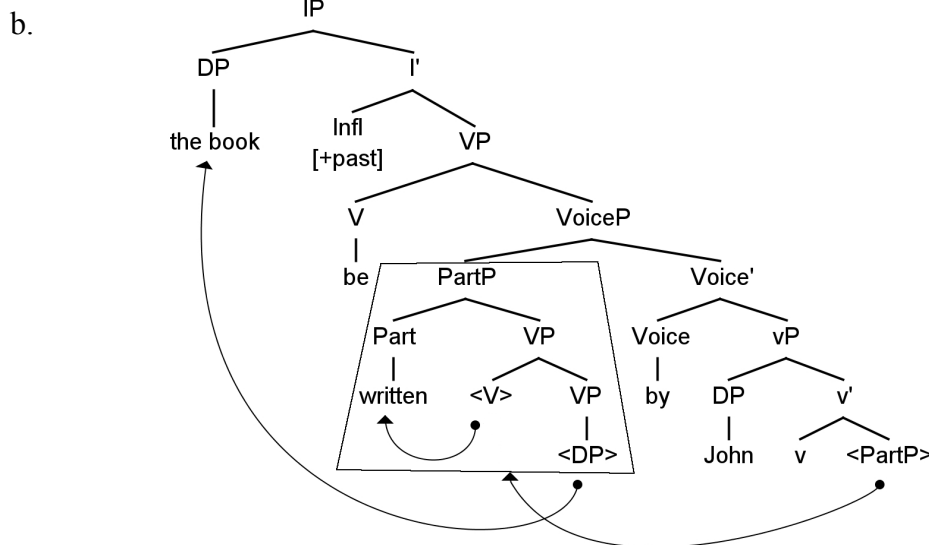
- (6) If YP contains XP, and XP is inaccessible to Z because of the presence of W (a barrier, phase boundary, or an intervener for the Minimal Link Condition and/or Relativized Minimality), which blocks a syntactic relation between Z and XP (e.g., movement, Case checking, agreement, binding), then if YP moves to a position c-commanding W, we say that YP smuggles XP past W.

(Adapted from Collins 2005:97)

In the context of passivisation, smuggling is A-bar movement of an incomplete phase which still allows extraction (e.g. a VP), allowing A-movement of an internal argument to occur out of a higher position and thus avoid minimality issues which would be caused if it moved directly out of its initially merged position.

In Collins's analysis of the English passive, smuggling occurs due to the interaction between a participle phrase PartP headed by *-en* and an EPP of VoiceP which he takes as occurring in passives. He takes PartP as occurring under vP and taking VP as its complement, and does not distinguish between passive and perfective *-en*. Instead, the different properties of perfective aspect and passive sentences occur due to the instantiation of VoiceP above vP in the latter. An EPP on VoiceP subsequently attracts PartP, raising it and its VP complement above vP and allowing the EPP of TP to attract the now closer internal argument. The external argument remains in situ, while the head Voice is pronounced as *by*<sup>2</sup>. This allows the external argument to be assigned its theta role in the usual manner while remaining in its lower position in passive constructions. (7b) below shows Collins's derivation of sentence (7a) through this smuggling approach.

(7) a. The book was written by John.



While I recognize some issues with Collins's treatment of the English passive (e.g. the passive auxiliary *be* is not accounted for, and the *by*-phrase appears to form a complete

<sup>2</sup> In short passives with no overt external argument, Collins takes the external argument as merging as arbitrary PRO and the Voice head as phonetically null.

constituent given the possibility of A-bar movement as in “By whom was this book written?”), the mechanism of smuggling itself as a potential means to account for apparent violations of minimality conditions seems to have merit for constructions like the passive, as this type of long-distance movement characterises passive formation in many languages. As well, Ishizuka’s analysis adjusts some of the details of Collins passive structure to account for Japanese sentence structure, thereby avoiding the issues above while maintaining smuggling as the core process allowing a unified movement-based theory of the Japanese passive. The specifics of Ishizuka’s structure for Japanese passives will be discussed in the following section.

#### **4.2 The Unified Passive Structure & Supporting Arguments**

Although Ishizuka bases her structure for the Japanese passive on Collins’s English passive shown above in (7b), she makes several adjustments in order to better align with Japanese word order and morphology. First, she takes *-(r)are* as an overt lexicalisation of Voice, instantiating the passive voice. As such, contrary to Collins’s English structure, the dative marker *ni* which introduces the external argument cannot occupy Voice, and instead is taken as the head of a Dative projection above VoiceP. This means that the dative-marked DP in Ishizuka’s structure is derived through movement, seemingly reintroducing the minimality issues avoided in Collin’s structure.

However, as Ishizuka explains, structural derivation of the dative case marking is necessary to explain the constraint on the interpretation of dative-marked DPs in passives of ditransitive predicates whose subjects are derived from direct object DPs (accusative-marked DPs in active sentences). First, it is important to note that Japanese sentences appear to be subject to a constraint on the occurrence of dative *ni*, allowing only one overt dative argument. Observe the contrast in grammaticality between (8a) and (8b) when two overt dative arguments

occur. Note that Ishizuka’s insertion of the temporal *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ does not improve the reading of sentence (8b), showing that the adjacency between two dative phrases is not responsible for the ungrammaticality.

- (8) a. *Active:*  
*Ken-ga Naomi-ni (kinoo) hana.tabi-o watasi- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT (yesterday) flower.bouquet-ACC hand PAST  
 “Ken handed Naomi a flower bouquet.”
- b. *Passive:*  
 \**Hanatabi-ga Ken-ni (kinoo) Naomi-ni watas- are- ta.*  
 Flower.bouquet-NOM Ken-DAT (yesterday) Naomi-DAT hand PASS PAST  
 “The flower bouquet was given to Naomi by Ken (yesterday).”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:64)

While prior research (Inoue 1976 & Kuroda 1979 in particular) have attributed the ungrammaticality of sentences like (8b) to animacy constraints on the subjects of passive sentences, this does not account for the ungrammaticality of the passive sentence in (9b), whose argument structure is comprised entirely of animate DPs.

- (9) a. *Active:*  
*Tomodati-ga Ken-ni (kinoo) Naomi-o syookai si- ta.*  
 Friend-NOM Ken DAT (yesterday) Naomi-ACC introduction do PAST  
 “The friend introduced Naomi to Ken (yesterday).”
- b. *Passive:*  
 \**Naomi-ga tomodati-ni (kinoo) Ken-ni syookai s- are- ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM friend-DAT (yesterday) Ken-DAT introduction do PASS PAST  
 “Naomi was introduced to Ken by (her) friend (yesterday).”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:64)

Rather than an animacy restriction, Ishizuka attributes the ungrammaticality of (8b) and (9b) to what she labels the “Double-*ni* Constraint.” Much like Harada’s (1973) “Double-*o*

Constraint<sup>3</sup> banning the occurrence of multiple accusative DPs, this constraint bans the occurrence of multiple dative-marked DPs in a simplex sentence. This leads to another fact regarding ditransitive direct object passives which went unremarked on in prior research. Although the Double-*ni* Constraint correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of sentences like (8b) and (9b) above, it does not predict the same result for sentences like those in (10). Accordingly, Ishizuka remarks that these sentences are in fact grammatical if the dative DP is interpreted as a Goal and not an Agent, including the idiom in (10c).

- (10) a. *Kaikai-ga gityoo-ni sengen s- are- ta.*  
 Opening-NOM chairman-DAT announce do PASS PAST  
 “The opening of the meeting was announced to/\*by the chairman.”
- b. *Siroi booru-ga Oo-ni takadaka to uti- age- rare- ta.*  
 White ball-NOM Oo-DAT high ADV hit raise PASS PAST  
 “A white ball was hit high in the air to/\*by Oo.”
- c. *Tyuuui-ga Mary-ni haraw- are- ta.*  
 Heed-NOM Mary-DAT pay PASS PAST  
 “Heed was paid to/\*by Mary.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:67, 173)

Ishizuka states that the focus on the by interpretation of the dative in these sentences has obscured the fact that the verbs in (10) are pseudo-ditransitives which may take a Goal argument as shown in (11), and that it is the competition between the Agent and the Goal for dative case

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<sup>3</sup> Harada’s Double-*o* Constraint is illustrated by the following example sentences. Note that dative marking of the causee in intransitive causative sentences is subject to interspeaker variability. However, the important point is that an accusative causee is acceptable in (i), but not in (ii).

- (i) *Ken-ga Naomi-?ni/o odor- ase- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-?DAT/ACC dance CAUS PAST  
 “Ken made Naomi dance.”
- (ii) *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.”

marking which is responsible for the lack of an overt Agent in the passive rather than any animacy restriction rendering the sentence as a whole ungrammatical.

- (11) a. *Daijyoo-yoo-ga kokumin-ni syuusen-o sengen si- ta.*  
 President-NOM people-DAT end.of.war-ACC announcement do PAST  
 “The president announced the end of the war to the people.”
- b. *Oo-ga siroi booru-o gaiyaseki-ni uti- age- ta.*  
 Oo-NOM white ball-ACC outfield.bleacher-DAT hit raise PAST  
 “Oo hit the white ball to the outfield bleachers.”
- c. *Mary-ga kodomotati-ni tyuui-o haraw- ta.*  
 Mary-NOM children-DAT heed-ACC pay PAST  
 “Mary paid attention to children.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:65, 68, 174)

Under Ishizuka’s adapted smuggling analysis, the fact that the Goal must occupy the dative projection rather than the Agent logically follows from the fact that it occurs within the VP and so is moved within SpecVoiceP during the derivation of the passive, rendering it more local than the external argument. As such, the external arguments in sentences like those in (10) are not able to be marked for case, and may only occur as a phonetically empty expression<sup>4</sup>. Thus, this competition for dative case between the internal Goal argument and the external argument of ditransitive passives suggests that there is only one available dative position; that this position occurs above VoiceP since the merge position of the Goal is predicate-internal and so needs to move to the dative projection through this intermediate step; and further, that the external argument does not acquire its dative case value by remaining in situ, or else the dative DP in sentences as in (10) should be ambiguous between Goal and Agent interpretations as both would

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<sup>4</sup> This empty expression is PRO under Ishizuka’s analysis. However, given that PRO in SpecvP would be c-commanded by both the dative Goal argument and the derived subject, it is difficult to account for its suggested arbitrary interpretation. A possible alternative would be *pro*, with the lack of alternation with any overt arguments being due to the Double-*ni* Constraint preventing the realisation of two overt dative arguments in the same clause.

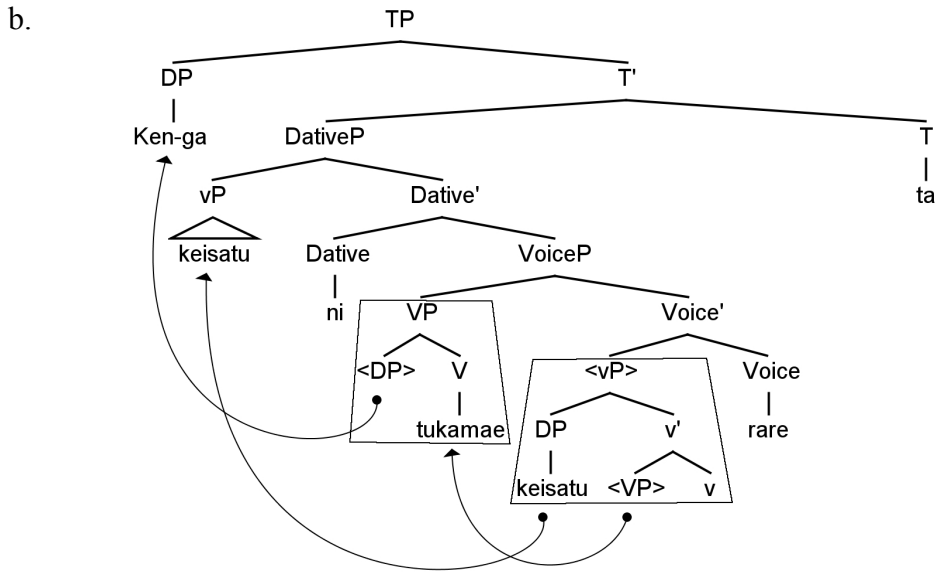
have valid means of derivation for their dative case value (with the Double-ni Constraint simply rendering one argument or the other covert).

This explanation for why a dative-marked DP is always the Goal argument in ditransitives raises some issues regarding minimality in that the canonical order of Goal and Theme arguments in regular ditransitive verbs seems to be Goal > Theme, and not Theme > Goal except in cases of scrambling, at least in Japanese (Kishimoto 2008). Ishizuka acknowledges several possible solutions, including Equidistance in Chomsky's (1993) terms and predicate inversion (den Dikken & Næss 1993), but leaves the solution to future research. Notably, this minimality issue is also present if accusative objects are assumed to get case in a similar manner as datives under Ishizuka's analysis, as the Goal would also intervene between the Theme and an accusative projection. As such, while she does not outline an exact solution, the violation of minimality conditions entailed by Ishizuka's theory of dative case assignment in passives is not unique to the passive.

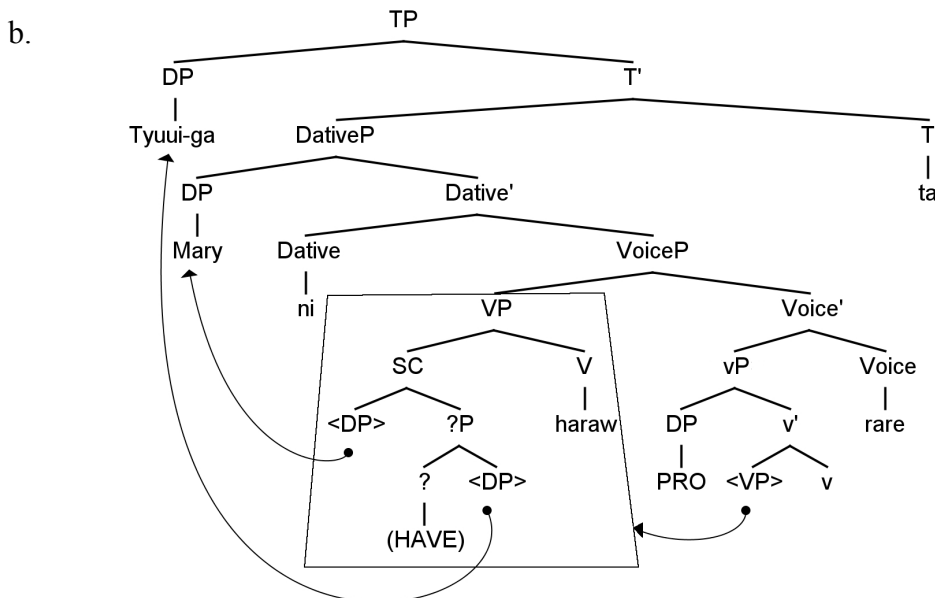
While the occurrence of the dative projection above VoiceP would cause a similar type of minimality concern for the raising of external arguments, Ishizuka adopts Koopman's (2008) "generalised smuggling" approach which extends Collins's (2005) smuggling analysis beyond passive contexts, claiming that it is the vP, and not the external argument DP, which raises to the dative projection. This allows the external argument to intervene between SpecTP and the moved VP within VoiceP without acting as a true intervener in terms of locality. (12b) below shows Ishizuka's suggested derivation for the external argument of the passive in (12a), as contrasted with the proposed derivation for the dative Goal in (13a) (restated from (10c)) shown in (13b). As in Ishizuka (2012), a solution for the minimality concerns raised for the Goal DP in (13b) is

not shown here. Note that the directional phrase in (13a) is represented as a small clause complement of V in (13b), as per Hoekstra & Mulder (1990).

- (12) a. *Ken-ga [vP keisatu v]-ni tukamae- rare- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM police-DAT catch PASS PAST  
 “Ken was caught by the police.”



- (13) a. *Tyuu-i-ga [DP Mary]-ni haraw- are- ta.*  
 Heed-NOM Mary-DAT pay PASS PAST  
 “Heed was paid to/\*by Mary.”



This analysis has the benefit of accounting for the different behaviours of dative Goals and Agents regarding relativisation, i.e. dative *by*-phrases may not be relativised while dative Goals may. This includes dative Goals which have moved to the dative projection introduced above VoiceP in passives, blocking a dative *by*-phrase from being overtly realised. Observe the contrast in grammaticality between (14) and (15).

(14) *Relativisation of dative-by phrase:*

a. \*[[Ken-ga  $t_i$  tukamae- rare- ta] keisatu.kan<sub>i</sub>]-ga yuumei-ni nar-  
Ken-NOM catch PASS PAST police.officer-NOM famous-DAT become  
ta.

PAST

“The policeman by whom Ken was caught became famous.”

b. \*[[John-ga  $t_i$  hon-o watas- are- ta] syoozyo<sub>i</sub>]-wa kawai- i.  
John-NOM book-ACC hand PASS PAST girl-TOP cute PRES

“The girl by whom John was given a book was cute.”

(15) *Relativisation of dative Goal DP:*

a. [[John-ga  $t_i$  hon-o watasi- ta] syoozyo<sub>i</sub>]-ga yorokon- da.  
John-NOM book-ACC hand PAST girl-NOM be.happy PAST

“The girl to whom John gave a book was pleased.”

b. [[Hanataba-ga  $t_i$  watas- are- ta] syoozyo<sub>i</sub>]-ga kawaikat- ta.  
Flower.bouquet-NOM hand PASS PAST girl-NOM cute PAST

“The girl to whom the flower bouquet was handed was cute.”

(Ishizuka 2012:75)

In Ishizuka’s account, the contrast above occurs because the external arguments in (14) are in a that-trace-like configuration under the dative marker *ni*, thereby barring their extraction and relativisation. Importantly, it is difficult to account for the impossibility of these instances of relativisation if the external arguments are taken just as DPs moved to the dative projection.

The last component of Ishizuka’s movement-based Japanese passive analysis pertains to *ni yotte* passives and short passives with no overt external argument. In non-uniform analyses of the *ni yotte* passive is taken as alternating with *ni* in the direct passive (i.e. passives whose

subjects have a non-oblique source under the present analysis), as are short passives. Meanwhile, uniform theories of the Japanese passive following Kuroda's (1979) analysis take *ni yotte* passives and short passives as distinct from *ni* passives on the basis of apparent semantic restrictions on the subjects of *ni* passives which go unremarked on under non-uniform theories, ultimately proposing that these types of passives are derived through movement processes.

Ishizuka's unified Japanese passive analysis is similar to these two in that she takes *ni yotte* and short passives as resulting from movement. Like Kuroda's formulation of the uniform theory, she also recognises that there is a difference between *ni yotte* and *ni* passives. However, as briefly touched on above, she disagrees with the line on which Kuroda and Inoue (1976) draw this distinction. Under Ishizuka's view, the occurrence of *ni yotte* to mark the external argument of passives is more limited than the use of *ni*, with the difference attributable to semantic and syntactic factors.

First, as noted above, Ishizuka claims that it is a restriction on the multiple occurrence of *ni* in a single clause rather than an animacy restriction on the subject of a sentence headed by *-(r)are* which prevents the agentive reading of the dative in sentences like (10a-c). Using the sentences below in (16), Ishizuka shows quite convincingly that the subject of a *ni* passive is not subject to any animacy constraints, as the derived subjects for (16a), (16b), and (16c) are respectively: an inanimate DP, an abstract DP, and a sentential DP.

- (16) a. *Ken-no omotya-ga Naomi-ni kowas- are- ta.*  
 Ken-GEN toy-NOM Naomi-DAT break PASS PAST  
 "Ken's toy was broken by Naomi."
- b. *Naomi-no doryoku-ga ryoosin-ni yatto mitome- rare- ta.*  
 Naomi-GEN effort-NOM parents-DAT finally acknowledge PASS PAST  
 "Naomi's efforts were finally acknowledged by her parents."

- c. *[Ken-ga heya-o de- te it- ta no]-ga Naomi-ni mokugeki s-*  
 Ken-NOM room-ACC exit GER go PAST NO-NOM Naomi-DAT witness do  
*are- ta.*  
 PASS PAST  
 “That Ken went out of the room was witnessed by Naomi.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:60)

Second, she proposes that the distribution of *ni yotte* phrases is limited to a certain subset of predicates who semantically denote an “achievement” or “result,” for example *tukamae-ru* ‘catch,’ *kowas-u* ‘break,’ and *koros-u* ‘kill,’ and that it is incompatible with “manner of activity” predicates like *sawar-u* ‘touch,’ *ker-u* ‘kick,’ or *os-u* ‘push,’ as well as emotion or perception-based predicates, e.g. *ai su-ru* ‘love’ or *kiraw-u* ‘hate.’ Combined with the restriction on the interpretation of dative arguments for pseudo-ditransitive predicates like *tate-ru* ‘build,’ this leads to a distribution as in (17) below, where limitations are present for arguments with both *ni* and *ni yotte*.

- (17) a. *Ken-wa tomodati-(ni/ni yor- te) zityensya-o kowas- are- ta.*  
 Ken-TOP friend-DAT/ DAT owing GER bicycle-ACC break PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Ken was broken (his) bike (by/by means of) his friend.”
- b. *Ken-ga Naomi-(ni/?ni yor- te) tatak- are- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/DAT owing GER hit PASS PAST  
 “Ken was hit (by/?by means of) Naomi.”
- c. *Ken-wa sensei-(ni/\*?ni yor- te) kiraw- are- ta.*  
 Ken-TOP teacher-DAT/DAT owing GER dislike PASS PAST  
 “Ken was disliked (by/\*by means of) his teacher.”
- d. *Sono tosyokan-wa yuumeena kentikuka-(\*ni/ ni yor- te) tate- rare- ta.*  
 That library-TOP famous architect-DAT/DAT owing GER build PASS PAST  
 “That library was built (\*by/by means of) a famous architect.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:119-121)

Ishizuka takes *ni yotte* phrases as clausal adjuncts much like Kuroda (1979), and attributes their distribution to the position at which they adjoin. Since *ni yotte* may only adjoin to

resultative predicates, she takes these predicates as projecting an additional vP layer for the cause of these events separate from the higher agentive vP layer. This is reflected in the meaning of the *ni yotte* clause itself, As predicates which describe the manner of an activity rather than the outcome would not have this layer, the inclusion of this vP<sub>CAUSE</sub> layer in the predicate domain agrees with the fact that such verbs cannot take *ni yotte* in the passive. In support of this proposal, Ishizuka points out that a *ni yotte* phrase may occur outside of a passive context modifying the cause of a given predicate as shown in (18).

- (18) *Taroo-no titioya-ga kootuu.jiko-ni yor- te nakunar- ta.*  
 Taroo-GEN father-NOM traffic.accident-DAT owing GER die PAST  
 “Taroo’s father died by means of a car accident.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:129)

Furthermore, (19a) shows that a *ni yotte* phrase may co-occur with a dative external argument in the passive, while (19b) and (19c) show that the dative argument in this context is restricted to an agentive meaning while *ni yotte* is compatible with any type of cause, meaning that the two are not interchangeable.

- (19) a. *Hikooki-ga terorisuto-ni bakudan-ni yor- te hakai s- are- ta.*  
 Airplane-NOM terrorist-DAT bomb-DAT owing GER destruction do PASS PAST  
 “The airplane was destroyed by a terrorist using a bomb.”
- b. *\*Hikooki-ga bakudan-ni terorisuto-ni yor- te hakai s- are- ta.*  
 Airplane-NOM bomb-DAT terrorist-DAT owing GER destruction do PASS PAST  
 “The airplane was destroyed by a bomb because of a terrorist.”
- c. *Hikooki-ga terorisuto-ni yor- te hakai s- are- ta.*  
 Airplane-NOM terrorist-DAT owing GER destruction do PASS PAST  
 “The airplane was destroyed because of a terrorist.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:129-130)

To account for the fact that as adjuncts, *ni yotte* phrases may not function as arguments, Ishizuka proposes that their interpretation as the external argument of a passive sentence is

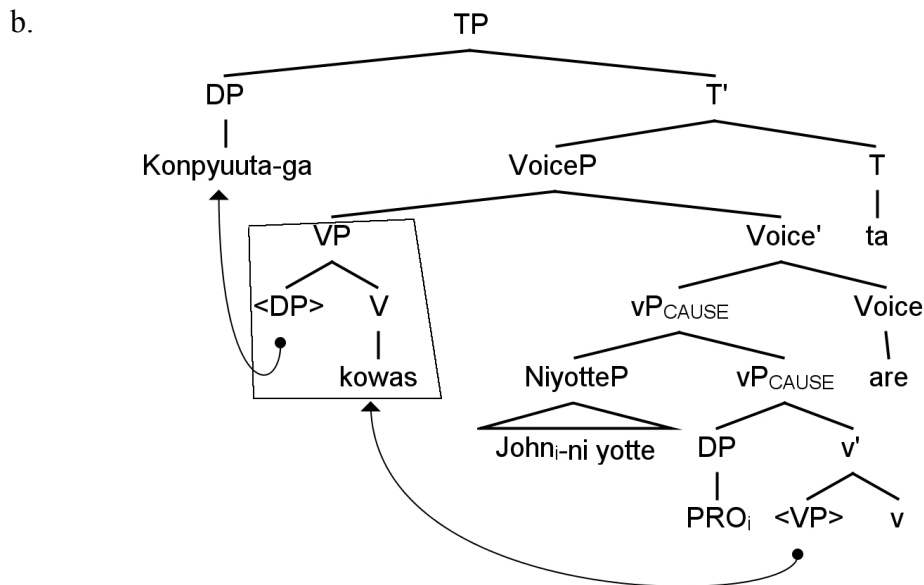
attained through its controlling a silent argument (taken as PRO by Ishizuka) in the specifier of  $vP_{\text{CAUSE}}$ . Short passives, then, have essentially the same structure as *ni yotte* passives but without the adjoined clause, thereby giving their instances of PRO an arbitrary interpretation. As evidence that this silent argument is present in short passives, Ishizuka provides the sentences in (20), where the volitional adverb *wazato* ‘deliberately’ is compatible with passive sentences whose overt arguments are inanimate.

- (20) a. *#Hune-ga wazato sizun- da.*  
 Ship-NOM deliberately sink PAST  
 “The ship sank deliberately.”
- b. *Hune-ga wazato sizum- are- ta.*  
 Ship-NOM deliberately sink PASS PAST  
 “The ship was sunk deliberately (by somebody).”
- c. *Konpyuuta-ga wazato kowas- are- ta.*  
 Computer-NOM deliberately break PASS PAST  
 “The computer was broken deliberately (by somebody).”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:127)

Given that the distribution of short passives is, according to Ishizuka at least, coextensive with that of *ni yotte* passives, it seems that the occurrence of PRO in Japanese passives is limited to these contexts. While this identical distribution may be explained as the occurrence of PRO being limited to  $\text{Spec}vP_{\text{CAUSE}}$ , it is difficult to determine exactly why this would be. Presumably, PRO would be expected to simply occur in  $\text{Spec}vP$  as in Collins’s English passive structure given above. However, this would result in a wider distribution of PRO than is seen in Japanese, as it would allow short passivisation for any predicate. Unfortunately, beyond providing evidence for the presence of PRO, Ishizuka does not advance any explanation as to why it is limited only to contexts compatible with *ni yotte* phrases.

With the above discussion taken into account, Ishizuka's structure for the *ni yotte* passive in (21a) is given below in (21b). The *ni yotte* phrase is merged as a clausal adjunct of  $vP_{\text{CAUSE}}$ , which takes PRO in its specifier position to function as the external argument of the predicate *kowas* 'break.' The *ni yotte* phrase c-commands PRO, thereby controlling it and giving PRO the interpretation *John*. Much like the structure for the *ni* passive provided in (12b), the EPP feature of VoiceP headed by *-(r)are* subsequently attracts the VP to its specifier position, smuggling the DP *konpyuuta* 'computer' beyond PRO and allowing it to be attracted to SpecTP through TP's own EPP feature. The structure for the short passive counterpart to (21a) seen in (20c) would be identical to that of (21b), except without a *ni yotte* adjunct and therefore with an arbitrary interpretation of PRO.

- (21) a. *Konpyuuta-ga John-ni yor- te kowas- are- ta.*  
 Computer-NOM John-DAT owing GER break PASS PAST  
 "The computer was broken by means of John."



However, the structure in (21b) presents a problem for Ishizuka's analysis that goes unremarked on in her own research. Given that the VP moves to SpecVoiceP, a position higher

than  $vP_{\text{CAUSE}}$ , the *ni yotte* phrase should be expected to intercede between the verb and the Voice head *-(r)are*. While this issue will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4, Ishizuka's theory ostensibly requires verb raising to occur in Japanese to avoid these issues, something that she does not overtly acknowledge. Since the topic of verb raising is still a point of contention in research on Japanese syntax, Ishizuka's unified passive theory has further reaching connotations for Japanese sentence structure than is recognised in the text itself.

### 4.3 Benefits of a Movement-Based Analysis

The greatest benefit to adopting Ishizuka's unified Japanese passive theory is that it provides a structural account for the passive that is compatible with all types of passive sentences in the language, removing the need to distinguish separate categories, e.g. indirect and direct passives under non-uniform analyses, or *ni* and *ni yotte* passives under uniform analyses. It also provides a syntactically grounded account for many of the surface features which led prior research to make these distinctions. For example, the animacy restriction on the subject of *ni* passives posited by Kuroda (1979) was not always consistent with the data, whereas Ishizuka's pseudo-ditransitive reading of his passive examples as in (10) exposes the parallels between those sentences and true ditransitives as in (8) in that a dative argument must be read as a Goal in sentences with two possible dative sources, meaning that it is a restriction on the interpretation of dative case rather than on the animacy of the subject forcing the use of *ni yotte* for the external arguments in Kuroda's examples. Ishizuka's theory also then has the benefit of accounting for passives with inanimate subjects which are not derived from ditransitives or pseudo-ditransitives as in (16), which would be unexpected given Kuroda's animacy constraint.

In addition, a unified Japanese passive derived through movement has the benefit of sidestepping some issues faced by both non-uniform and uniform analyses. For instance, out of

the large number of potential sources for passive subjects under Ishizuka’s analysis, none require any supporting context in order to be considered well-formed, including oblique sources like Source or Possessor arguments. Near the end of her analysis Ishizuka discusses surveys on grammaticality she conducted to determine the acceptability of various types of passive constructions among native Japanese speakers, wherein participants were asked to rate the acceptability of given sentences on a scale from 1 to 5. Out of three questionnaires presented to different groups, labelled A, B, and C, the sentences in questionnaire A were presented initially without supporting context. The data from questionnaire A notable shows a sharp cutoff between the acceptability of passives whose subjects have oblique sources under Ishizuka’s theory, e.g. Source or Dative-cause passives, and what would be truly extra-thematic passives, i.e. with no active voice source. For example, the passive sentence in (22a) is typically taken as an extra-thematic, indirect passive in prior analyses. Under Ishizuka’s unified passive analysis the sentence in (22a) would be considered a genitive passive whose subject is derived from a Possessor argument of the DP *musume* ‘daughter.’ As predicted by her proposed derivation, the genitive Possessor is a valid source for the passive subject, leading to a high rate of acceptance among questionnaire respondents as shown below. However, when the genitive source for the subject is removed, as in (22b), the acceptability of the sentence drops sharply.

- (22) a. *Ken-wa ~~Ken-no~~ musume-ni zisatu s- are- ta.*  
 Ken-TOP ~~Ken-GEN~~ daughter-DAT suicide do PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Ken was committed suicide by (his) daughter.” [A:mean 3.91]
- b. *\*Ken-wa misiranhito-ni zisatu s- are- ta.*  
 Ken-TOP stranger-DAT suicide do PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Ken was committed suicide by a stranger.” [A:mean 1.55]  
 (Ishizuka 2012:96)

The cutoff in acceptability between (22a) and (22b) can not easily be accounted for under analyses whose structure for such passives has the subject *Ken* generated as an Affectee or Experiencer argument of *-(r)are*.

In a similar vein, Ishizuka cites the restricted interpretations of the subjects of passives as showing that they are not generated as Affectee or Experiencer arguments of *-(r)are*, but in fact are derived from other theta positions. According to her, an Affectee theta role for the subject of the sentence in (23a) should be compatible with any interpretation in which Taroo is affected by the rain. For example, the sentence should be felicitous if Taroo had an umbrella but was otherwise affected by the rain, e.g. it ruins his mood. Similarly, (23b) should be compatible with any interpretation in which Ken is affected by Naomi's crying, e.g. her crying is loud and he is trying to sleep. However, in practice the interpretation of (23a) is restricted to one in which Taroo is rained on and gets wet, while the interpretation of (23b) is restricted to one where Ken is the cause of Naomi's crying.

- (23) a. *Taroo-ga ame-ni hur- are- ta.*  
 Taroo-NOM rain-DAT descend PASS PAST  
 "Taroo was rained on."
- b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak- are- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry PASS PAST  
 Lit. "Ken was cried over by Naomi."  
 (Ishizuka 2012:4, 19)

Since the theta roles of the subjects in these felicitous interpretations seem to be different between (23a) and (23b) (On-Directional for the former and Cause for the latter), analyses casting them as indirect passives with non-derived subjects (as these predicates are intransitive) would have to somehow account for the restricted interpretation of the Affectee on a per-sentence basis. For example, if the Affectee in (23a) must get wet from being rained on, why

does the Affectee in (23b) not get wet from being cried on? On the other hand, the unified movement-based analysis Ishizuka presents has the benefit of deriving these differing interpretations by claiming that the subjects in (23) actually merge at different theta positions, avoiding the issue altogether.

Finally, Ishizuka's choice to adapt Collins's English passive analysis into Japanese also carries the benefit of accounting for the occurrence of passive forms of intransitive verbs by attributing them to the same process by which English pseudo-passives are derived. That is to say, per Collins's theory, passive constructions do not actually render a given predicate unaccusative, but instead raise the internal layer of the predicate domain beyond vP. As a result, the movement of an internal argument to the subject position is a result of minimality constraints rather than a violation of them. It also allows external arguments to be more easily incorporated into the structure of passive sentences while keeping their theta role assignment consistent with active sentences. While this seems to go against several past theories on the character of passivisation as a grammatical process (e.g. Chomsky 1982, Postal 1986, Jaeggli 1986, Baker 1988, Baker et al. 1989, among others), it avoids issues like theta role assignment to the external argument and the occurrence of passives whose subjects are not derived from accusative objects while maintaining the view that passives are derived through movement and are not simply constructions parallel to active sentences.

#### **4.4 Issues with Ishizuka's (2012) Unified Passive Analysis**

The most obvious theoretical issue with Ishizuka's analysis involves the structure she gives for the *ni yotte* passive, provided in (21b). If the *ni yotte* phrase adjoins to vP<sub>CAUSE</sub> as schematised, it would occur below the moved VP in SpecVoiceP which smuggles the internal

argument to a position from which it can move to SpecTP. This should result in *ni yotte* phrases interceding between the verb in VP and the Voice head *-(r)are*, which is not possible.

Another closely related issue with Ishizuka's passive structure comes from Fukuda's (2015) review, in which he points out that Ishizuka's passive structure taken as is should be incompatible with the word order of Japanese sentences. As outlined above, Ishizuka posits that passives with overt external arguments are formed by movement of the vP to a dative projection above VoiceP. This avoids minimality issues with the external argument as vP is considered a complete phase impenetrable to the EPP of SpecTP, while remaining consistent with the fact that these arguments are pronounced before the verb, as the movement of the VP to SpecVoiceP would bring the verb above their initial merge position in SpecvP. It also has the benefit of accounting for the fact that Japanese dative *by*-phrases may not be relativised, unlike other dative arguments.

However, the dative projection as schematised by Ishizuka presents a problem. If her structure, given in (13b), is correct, the dative projection headed by *ni* would be head initial. Given that Japanese is overwhelmingly head-final, it is unexpected, albeit not impossible, that the DativeP is head initial, but it seems that the only evidence supporting this claim is that it would be a requirement of Ishizuka's analysis itself, rendering such an argument circular in nature. On the other hand, if it is taken as head final, *ni* would be expected to occur following the verb as DativeP takes VoiceP as its complement and so occurs after the clause's entire predicate domain. Of course, this is incompatible with the word order of Japanese sentences, where case markers always occur following the DPs they modify.

The issue with Ishizuka's structure then is that it requires adopting one side of a still fairly controversial debate in Japanese syntax regarding the status of post-nominal particles like

*ga*, *ni*, and *o* as either functional heads or clitics<sup>5</sup>. If Japanese case markers are taken as functional heads attracting nominal categories, as is the case for Ishizuka who posits an accusative projection above VP along with the dative projection, then these case-assigning phrases are all head initial while the rest of the language is head final. Alternatively, if they are taken as clitics assigned at various structural positions as argued by Miyagawa (1989), then there would be no dative projection for the external argument to move to, and it would remain in situ. As this would cause the external argument to intervene between the moved VP in SpecVoiceP and the Voice head *-(r)are*, this analysis is clearly not compatible with Ishizuka's structure as presented in (13b). This also does not solve the issue with *ni yotte* passives, as there is no dative projection and no reason for the clausal adjunct to move.

One possible means of solving both of these issues for Ishizuka's analysis is to assume that Japanese verbs raise to T, as there would be no overt material left within the predicate domain for case markers, DPs, or *ni yotte* phrases to intervene between. However, the topic of verb raising is similarly controversial. Neither this section nor this volume will go into great detail on prior research on the possibility of Japanese verb raising, but suffice to say that the general word order facts of head-final languages make it difficult to make a strong claim either way, leading to a great number of diverging viewpoints as mentioned by Funakoshi (2020), himself in favour of verb raising. Relying on verb raising to explain the apparent inconsistency in word order for Ishizuka's structure in (13b) would thereby render it contingent on whether it does indeed occur. As such, Ishizuka's analysis of the Japanese passive requires adopting a

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<sup>5</sup> Whitman (2001) posits a similar structure to Ishizuka (2012), where the case-marking particles *ga*, *o*, and *ni* are functional heads taking a complement to the right, while Miyagawa (1989) takes the same particles as clitics assigned at a given structural position, e.g. nominative *ga* is assigned at SpecTP, accusative *o* is assigned for the complement of V. See Fujimoto (2008) for a more detailed review on this topic.

definitively verb raising-based analysis for Japanese verbs, which has not been conclusively argued for in the literature.

Another issue with Ishizuka's structure for the Japanese passive arises when comparing (13b) to her structure for the ditransitive accusative passive in (14b), in which dative case is assigned to the goal DP rather than the vP containing the external argument. Case marking particle in Japanese like *ga* and *ni* are fairly regular in that they seem to attach only to nominal expressions<sup>6</sup>, as opposed to focus particles like *wa* and *sae* which attach to more varied categories. If these case particles are taken as functional heads, as by Ishizuka, this property of case particles is expected to follow from a consistent set of features for these heads. However, depending on the construction, Ishizuka's dative projection attracts either a nominal DP or a verbal vP, going against the apparent distribution of Japanese case particles. If case particles are taken as structurally-derived clitics, as by Miyagawa (1989), it is possible to assert that the external argument acquires dative case by remaining in situ. However, this would not result in movement, and again forces the adoption of a verb raising analysis for Japanese to avoid problems with word order.

Lastly, a further issue Fukuda points out is with the fact that Japanese passives are compatible with some, but not all, unergative verbs. According to Ishizuka, the Voice head *-(r)are* selects for a full verbal domain, i.e. a vP with a VP complement at the least. This prevents VoiceP from selecting "pure" unergative verbs like *odor-u* 'dance,' *hatarak-u* 'work,' and *oyog-u*

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<sup>6</sup> Vance (2004) suggests that these particles may rarely attach to verbal expressions as well, as in the sentence below.

- (i) *Denwa su- ru- ga i- i.*  
 phone do PRES NOM good PRES  
 "You should phone."

However, Fujimoto (2008) argues that such examples are cases of null nominalisation, and that case particles exclusively attach to DPs. Supporting this, null nominalisation is banned outright in the closely related Kansai dialect, which must have an overt nominaliser *-n* after the verb.

‘swim’ which contain no lower VP layer. As she states, this logically follows a ban on movement from the complement to the specifier position of the same phrase as argued for by Abels (2003) and Kayne (2005). Given that Ishizuka posits vP as the complement of Voice in passive constructions, this directly motivates the selectional limitations on the complement of *-(r)are*.

Other unergative verbs like *nak-u* ‘cry’ and *hoe-ru* ‘bark,’ however, are compatible with *-(r)are*. These verbs do differ from the unergatives given above in that they may take an additional argument in active sentences expressed as a dative phrase (a dative Cause and a dative At-Directional argument respectively). Observe the contrasts in (24) below, where the “pure” unergatives are unable to take the dative arguments with any grammatical interpretation.

- (24) a. *Naomi-wa (\*Ken-ni) oyoi- da.*  
Naomi-TOP Ken-DAT swim PAST  
“Naomi swam at Ken.”
- b. *Kyoko-wa (\*Ken-ni) odor- ta.*  
Kyoko-TOP Ken-DAT dance PAST  
Lit. “Kyoko danced at Ken.”
- c. *Naomi-ga (sono hanasi-ni/#Ken-ni) nai- ta.*<sup>7</sup>  
Naomi-NOM that story-DAT/Ken-DAT cry PAST  
“Naomi cried over that story/Ken.”
- d. *Inu-ga (Naomi-ni) hoe- ta.*  
Dog-NOM Naomi-DAT bark PAST  
“The dog barked at Naomi.”  
(Adapted from Ishizuka 2012:9, 84-87)

It is these arguments which Ishizuka takes as raising to the subject position in the passive sentences in (25).

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<sup>7</sup> Recall that the verb *nak-u* ‘cry’ must have an inanimate cause in the active, but an animate subject in the passive. Ishizuka takes the animacy restriction as unrelated to the passive, and the subject of (25a) as derived from the same position as *sono hanasi* in the active.

- (25) a. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni nak-are- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT cry PASS PAST  
 “Ken was cried over by Naomi.”
- b. *Naomi-ga inu-ni hoe-rare- ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM dog-DAT bark PASS PAST  
 “Naomi was barked at by a dog.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:84, 89)

The issue the grammatical unergative passives in (25) present to Ishizuka’s analysis rests in the selectional criteria of the Voice head *-(r)are*. While it is clear that sentences using these verbs are able to contain overt material that is not possible in the pure unergatives in (24a-c), and it is entirely possible that this material may raise to SpecTP in a similar process to English pseudo-passives, it is not obvious that this material must come from within a VP complement to *nak-u* or *hoe-ru*. In fact, Ishizuka’s own analysis posits a  $vP_{\text{CAUSE}}$  below the agentive  $vP$  as a point of attachment for a *ni yotte* phrase, meaning that the only apparent motivation to posit an empty VP, at least under *nak-u* (whose dative argument is a Cause), would be to make it fit Ishizuka’s category for a valid complement of *-(r)are*.

With the above issues in mind, although Ishizuka’s analysis does much work toward making a unified movement-based theory of the Japanese passive seem both desirable and feasible by providing a more thorough account for data that were previously treated as irregular, it also requires significant work in specifying the finer details of which constituents move, to which positions, and what selectional criteria are involved. Furthermore, positing verb raising for an overwhelmingly head final language presents difficulties for learnability and proof, but Ishizuka’s unified passive seems presently untenable unless it is accepted as fact.

#### 4.5 Summary & Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the structure of Ishizuka's unified, movement-based theory of the Japanese passive. Based on Collin's smuggling analysis of English passive constructions, which posits that minimality concerns in passive sentences are solved by "smuggling" the passive subject within the VP which moves beyond the external argument, Ishizuka's analysis takes advantage of the fact that Japanese post-nominal particles regularly disappear under movement to suggest an active source for many passives previously thought of as "extra-thematic," i.e. whose subjects are introduced as arguments of a phrase headed by the passive morpheme *-(r)are*.

Her theory is not only able to account for passives with oblique sources for their subjects, which she considers parallel to English pseudo-passives, but also for the ungrammaticality of truly extra-thematic passives which are overgenerated under prior theories taking *-(r)are* as an argument introducer. Furthermore, it helps to explain why the arguments said to be introduced by *-(r)are* often appear to have distinct theta roles, as they would be moved from different theta role positions.

At the same time, Ishizuka's unified passive theory raises issues in its interaction with word order, resulting in its adoption requiring taking a particular side on controversial issues in Japanese syntax. The structures Ishizuka provides for the Japanese passive frequently result in material intervening between the verb and the passive morpheme *-(r)are* unless V to T raising is adopted. However, as Japanese is overwhelmingly a head final language, it is difficult to make conclusive arguments for the occurrence of verb raising, and assuming it raises questions about learnability. Unfortunately, while Ishizuka's passive analysis is attractive in its straightforward derivation of many different types of Japanese passive, using it to argue for verb raising would

be circular, as it essentially presupposes verb raising as a base premise. As such, although Ishizuka's unified Japanese passive theory seems more consistent in its account of a great amount of data than non-uniform or uniform analyses of the passive, it requires some caveats that make it difficult to adopt without greater knowledge of Japanese syntax, and the verbal domain in particular.

In the following chapter I will provide a final discussion comparing the different theories on the Japanese passive presented thus far, as well as concluding remarks. As in prior chapters, this discussion will measure each type of analysis against its compatibility with the data, as well as against assumptions made under current Minimalist syntax.

## Chapter 5

### Discussion & Concluding Remarks

#### 5.1 Discussion

The Japanese passive voice and its seemingly variable relationship with argument structure has presented difficulties for research attempting to capture it under cross-linguistic theories on passive formation. While some passives exhibit a similar reduction in valency as passives in other languages, with subjects taken as derived from promoted internal arguments, other passives appear to extend the argument structure of the clause, introducing arguments which are typically seen as having no place in a corresponding active sentence. In approaches differentiating between these types of sentences, the former are referred to as direct passives, while the latter are known as indirect passives. (1) and (2) below provide example sentences for each type respectively, along with corresponding active sentences.

- (1) *Direct Passive:*
- a. *Passive:*  
*Ken-ga Naomi-ni tukamae-rare-ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT catch PASS PAST  
 “Ken was caught by Naomi.”
- b. *Active*  
*Naomi-ga Ken-o tukamae-ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-ACC catch PAST  
 “Naomi caught Ken.”
- (2) *Indirect Passive:*
- a. *Passive:*  
*Naomi-ga hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*  
 Naomi-NOM mother-DAT die PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Naomi was died by her mother.”
- b. *Active:*  
*Hahaoya-ga (\*Naomi-ni/o) sin-da.*  
 Mother-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC die PAST  
 Lit. “The mother died (\*Naomi).”

The apparent difference in argument structure between sentences (1a) and (2a) has led to several divergent approaches to the analysis of Japanese passives, with the two most prominent being the non-uniform (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972a, and others) and uniform theories (Hasegawa 1964, Kuroda 1965, and others) of the passive outlined in Chapters 2 & 3.

To reiterate the premises of these types of analysis, both posit a biclausal structure for indirect passives as in (2a). Under this structure, the verbal head *-(r)are* takes the lexical verb *sin* ‘die’ as its complement, and introduces the DP *Naomi* as an Affectee or Experiencer argument. Where they differ is in the analysis of accusative passives as in (1a). Non-uniform analyses take these passives as derived through movement much like the modular passive analyses proposed by Chomsky (1982), Jaeggli (1986), Baker (1988), and Collins (2005), among many others. As such, the DP *Ken* is merged as the internal argument of the verb *tukamae* ‘catch’ and subsequently promoted to the subject position, while the morpheme *-(r)are* is a lexicalisation of the passive voice. On the other hand, uniform analyses of the passive take direct passives as generated in the same way as indirect passives (hence a “uniform” passive structure), with *Ken* in (1a) again merged as an Affectee/Experiencer of the verbal *-(r)are*. The apparent gap in this case is caused by the object position of the lexical verb being occupied by a phonetically null element controlled by the subject.

As covered in Chapter 4, a third, more recent view on Japanese passive formation from Ishizuka (2012) claims that all passives are derived through movement. To explain the apparently extra-thematic subjects in passives like (2a), her analysis states that the subjects of indirect passives are moved from oblique sources in active sentences, much like the subjects of English pseudo-passives. As this results in all Japanese passives being derived from the same operation similar to uniform theories, she labels this analysis the “unified” Japanese passive analysis. As an



From a theoretical standpoint, the unified passive would seem to have the greatest advantage under Minimalist syntax as Ishizuka developed her theory under its premises, although certain issues remain. On the other hand, non-uniform and uniform analyses of the passive encounter greater challenges, predating Chomsky's original formulation of the Minimalist Program by several decades. However, while the uniform passive presents the greatest issues owing primarily to the phonetically null element said to occupy the internal argument position in direct passives, the non-uniform analyses may be adapted to Minimalist suppositions more easily.

## 5.2 Compatibility of Japanese Passive Theories with the Data

When encountering Japanese language data, uniform and non-uniform analyses positing a biclausal structure for Japanese indirect passives immediately run into a problem of overgeneration. According to these theories, the passive morpheme *-(r)are* in indirect passive contexts is an argument-introducing verbal head taking an incomplete clause as its complement. As such, the structure of the indirect passive directly mirrors that of causative *-(s)ase* sentences, which are widely accepted as argument introducers. However, this predicts that any and all verbal predicates may occur as the complement of *-(r)are*. This is not the case, as certain unergative and unaccusative predicates are not able to combine with *-(r)are*, including manner of activity verbs like *oyog-u* 'swim' or *hasir-u* 'run' based on the results of Ishizuka's (2012) questionnaires on the acceptability of given passive sentences. As the sentences in (4) show, these verbs are able to combine with *-(s)ase*, as expected given a biclausal interpretation of causative sentences.

(4) *Causative:*

- a. *Ken-wa Naomi-o oyog- ase- ta.*  
Ken-TOP Naomi-ACC swim CAUS PAST  
“Ken made/let Naomi swim.”
- b. *Ken-ga Naomi-ni hasir- ase- ta.*  
Kyoko-NOM Naoko-DAT run CAUS PAST  
“Kyoko made Naoko run.”

*Indirect Passive:*<sup>1</sup>

- c. \**Ken-wa Naomi-ni oyog- are- ta.*  
Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT swim PASS PAST  
Int. “Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi swam.” [A:mean 1.39]
- d. \**Ken-wa Naomi-ni hasir- are- ta.*  
Ken-TOP Naomi-DAT run PASS PAST  
Int. “Ken was affected by the fact that Naomi ran.” [A:mean 1.09]  
(Adapted from Ishizuka 2012:22, 42)

Under Ishizuka’s unified passive analysis, only *-(s)ase* is a true argument introducer. The passives in (4c) and (4d) are ruled out because the complement of *-(r)are* must have both an active vP layer and a VP layer in its predicate domain. While this raises the question of why certain intransitive verbs may be passivised<sup>2</sup>, the fact that *-(r)are* may not combine with all predicates has no account under either uniform or non-uniform theories.

A further issue lies in the uniform structure for direct passives. As described in the prior section, while non-uniform analyses of the passive take direct passives as deriving from movement, uniform analyses take them as deriving from the same biclausal structure as indirect passives. The subjects of direct passives are merged as arguments of *-(r)are*, while the apparent

<sup>1</sup> Refer to Chapter 4 section 4.3 for a brief explanation of Ishizuka’s grammaticality survey and scoring system.

<sup>2</sup> Ishizuka’s claim is that passivisable intransitive verbs must have both of these components as well. For example, she takes the unaccusative verb *sin-u* ‘die’ as projecting an agentive vP layer due to the fact that it may combine with volitional adverbs like *waza.to* ‘intentionally’ as in the sentence below:

- (i) *Ken-wa waza.to minna-no mae de sin- da.*  
Ken-TOP intentionally all-GEN front at die PAST  
“Ken intentionally died in front of everyone.”  
(Ishizuka 2012:43)

gap in the internal argument position of the predicate domain is filled by a phonetically empty category corferent with this subject, constructing the apparent “passive” interpretation. The problem is that there should be no means of stopping the same type of structure from applying to unaccusative verbs, leading uniform passive theories to overgenerate passives like that in (5). The only difference between (5) and an indirect passive like that in (2a) is that the internal argument of *sin-u* ‘die’ is overt in the latter.

- (5)            \**Naomi<sub>i</sub>-ga*  $\varnothing_i$  *sin- are- ta.*  
                 Naomi-NOM    die PASS PAST  
                 Int. “Naomi<sub>i</sub> was affected by the fact that she<sub>i</sub> died.”

Likewise, the only difference under uniform theories of the passive between (5) and direct passives like (1a) is that (1a) is formed with a transitive predicate with both an internal and external argument. Essentially, nothing in a uniform analysis stops the formation of illicit passives like (6), where a control relationship between *-(r)are*’s argument and an empty internal argument of the lexical verb should be possible.

The marking of agents with either *ni* or *ni yotte* also raises problems for uniform and non-uniform passive analyses, albeit from different angles. Non-uniform analyses only recognise a semantic or stylistic difference between *ni* and *ni yotte* in direct passives, with the incompatibility of *ni yotte* with indirect passives being due to the structural difference between them and movement-derived direct passives. Therefore, they predict that *ni* and *ni yotte*-marked external arguments should have the same distribution. However, as discussed in section 4.2 of Chapter 4, Ishizuka shows that the distribution of *ni* and *ni yotte*-marked external arguments in direct passives do not overlap. Instead, *ni yotte* is only compatible with predicates denoting an “achievement” or a “result,” and not with manner of activity or emotional predicates. Thus,

while non-uniform passive analyses correctly predict (6a), they also incorrectly predict (6b) as grammatical.

- (6) a. *Ken-wa tomodati-(ni/ni yor- te) zityensya-o kowas- are- ta.*  
 Ken-TOP friend-DAT/ DAT owing GER bicycle-ACC break PASS PAST  
 Lit. “Ken was broken (his) bike (by/by means of) his friend.”
- b. *Ken-wa sensei-(ni/\*?ni yor- te) kiraw- are- ta.*  
 Ken-TOP teacher-DAT/DAT owing GER dislike PASS PAST  
 “Ken was disliked (by/\*by means of) his teacher.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:119-121)

On the other hand, uniform analyses of the passive do have some account for the difference in distribution between *ni* and *ni yotte* phrases in passives. They state that while passives with *ni*-marked external arguments are biclausal with animate subjects introduced by *-(r)are*, passives with *ni yotte* are true passives whose derived subject has no such restriction. However, this predicts that *ni yotte* phrases have a wider distribution than *by*-phrases using *ni*, which is not the case per Ishizuka. Under this theory, the passive in (6b) should be compatible with either marker for its external argument. A further problem for uniform and non-uniform passive theories is that *ni* and *ni yotte* phrases may co-occur in the same sentence, as in (7).

- (7) *Hikooki-ga terorisuto-ni bakudan-ni yor- te hakai s- are- ta.*  
 Airplane-NOM terrorist-DAT bomb-DAT owing GER destruction do PASS PAST  
 “The airplane was destroyed by a terrorist using a bomb.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:129)

This is not predicted by either type of analysis, which posit *ni* and *ni yotte* as being in complementary distribution in passives.

Ishizuka’s unified passive analysis accounts for this issue as well, by positing that *ni* and *ni yotte* phrases are merged at different points. External arguments are marked with *ni* through movement to a dative projection above VoiceP, while *ni yotte* phrases are clausal adjuncts

carrying the semantics of ‘means’ or ‘cause.’ They attain external argument interpretation because they control an instance of PRO present in SpecvP. The presence of PRO in this construction goes some way towards explaining why the distribution of *ni yotte*-marked external arguments and the capacity for short passivisation seem to overlap entirely, although it is not clear why PRO is not able to occupy SpecvP in sentences incompatible with *ni yotte* phrases.

Ishizuka’s analysis is not without issue when it comes to accounting for all Japanese language data, however. The reflexive binding and quantifier float phenomena used by Kuno (1973) and McCawley (1972a) to argue for a non-uniform analysis of the passive are easily accounted for under their analyses. The subject-oriented reflexive pronoun *zibun*, ‘self,’ is ambiguous only in indirect passives like (8b), which are taken as biclausal and therefore having two subjects, while it is unambiguous in the direct passive in (8a), which is monoclausal.

- (8) a. *Mary<sub>i</sub>-ga sensei<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no uti de sikar- are- ta.*  
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at scold PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was scolded by the teacher<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub>’s house.”
- b. *Mary<sub>i</sub>-ga sensei<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/j/\*k</sub>-no uti de musuko<sub>k</sub>-o sikar- are- ta.*  
 Mary-NOM teacher-DAT self-GEN house at son-ACC scold PASS PAST  
 “Mary<sub>i</sub> was affected by the fact that the teacher<sub>j</sub> scolded her son<sub>k</sub> at self<sub>i/j/\*k</sub> house.”

(Adapted from Miyagi 1996:76)

Similarly, it is possible for the quantifier predicating the subject of a direct passive to be floated within the predicate domain, which is not possible with quantifiers of the subjects of indirect passives. Under a non-uniform analysis of the passive, the sentences in (9c) and (9d) show that quantifier float is only possible when movement is taken as occurring, i.e. in the direct passive in (9c).

(9) *Unfloated Quantifier:*a. *Direct Passive:*

*Yuube 2 dai-no kuruma-ga doroboo-ni nusum- are- ta.*  
 Last.night 2 machine-GEN car-NOM thief-DAT steal PASS PAST  
 “Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.”

b. *Indirect Passive:*

*2 ri-no tomodati-ga dareka-ni kuruma-o nusum- are- ta.*  
 2 person-GEN friend-NOM someone-DAT car-ACC steal PASS PAST  
 “Two friends had someone steal their car (to their detriment).”

*Floated Quantifier:*c. *Direct Passive:*

*Yuube kuruma-ga doroboo-ni 2 dai nusum- are- ta.*  
 Last.night car-NOM thief-DAT 2 machine steal PASS PAST  
 “Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.”

d. *Indirect Passive:*

*\*Tomodati-ga dareka-ni 2 ri kuruma-o nusum- are- ta.*  
 friend-NOM someone-DAT 2 person car-ACC steal PASS PAST.  
 “Two friends had someone steal their car (to their detriment).”

(9c,d from Miyagawa 1989:38-39)

Uniform analyses of the Japanese passive present arguments against taking either of these phenomena as evidence for monoclausality in direct passives. Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976) argue that *zibun* is subject to a constraint on its interpretation. When multiple reflexives occur in the same sentence, they must have the same interpretation, meaning that e.g. an indirect passive sentence with two instances of *zibun* is only doubly ambiguous on a sentence level, rather than each instance being doubly ambiguous (leading to four interpretations). Thus, the restricted interpretation of *zibun* in (8a) is due to the fact that the empty category occupying the internal argument position is reflexive in nature, similarly restricting the interpretation of *zibun* to only *Mary*. The empty category in direct passives is also used by Kitagawa (2018) to explain the apparent quantifier float in (9c). According to him, the quantifier in (9c) simply predicates this empty category, and seems to be floated due to the fact that the empty category shares its interpretation with the subject *kuruma* ‘cars.’

As these arguments depend on the presence of an empty element in the internal argument position, they are not available to Ishizuka’s unified passive analysis. Instead, she points out that the ambiguous binding behaviour of *zibun* and the unavailability of quantifier float described above are not entirely coincident with passives taken as biclausal in non-uniform analyses. (10) shows an indirect passive, taken as a passive with a Source subject in Ishizuka’s analysis, where *zibun* is unambiguous.

- (10)        *Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga Naomi<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no daigaku de nige- rare- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-GEN college at escape PASS PAST  
 “Ken<sub>i</sub> was escaped from by Naomi<sub>j</sub> at self’s<sub>i</sub> college.”  
 (Ishizuka 2012:163)

However, she does not provide any examples of direct passives with an ambiguous interpretation of *zibun*. This somewhat weakens the use of the binding behaviour of *zibun* as a diagnostic for mono- or biclausality, as ambiguity would no longer be coextensive with indirect passives under a non-uniform analysis, but all direct passives under such theories are still unambiguous, which Ishizuka is unable to account for.

Regarding the occurrence of quantifier float, Ishizuka provides the generalisation that it is only possible for the quantifier of an underlying Theme argument to float. Since the subject of (9d) is an underlying Source and not a Theme, quantifier float is therefore impossible. Although she goes into extensive discussion showing that this generalisation does in fact hold<sup>3</sup>, she is unable to go beyond description to find a reason why this is so. With that said, the fact that this generalisation holds does remove the diagnostic power of quantifier float phenomena in determining mono- or biclausality, as passives with underlying Theme subjects are universally direct passives under non-uniform analyses. As such, while the binding behaviour of *zibun* still

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 5, section 5.3.1 of Ishizuka (2012).

presents some problems for Ishizuka's analysis, her generalisation for quantifier float does seem to render her analysis compatible with the phenomenon.

To sum up, each type of analysis for the Japanese passive encounters some issues when presented with Japanese data. Uniform and non-uniform analyses encounter quite similar problems in that they both overgenerate indirect passives, as the passive morpheme *-(r)are* is taken as an argument introducer. Uniform passive analyses also overgenerate direct passives, as the structure for direct passives under this type of theory is identical to indirect passives but with an empty category in the internal argument position coreferring with the subject. This should allow the direct passivisation of unaccusative predicates, which is not acceptable in Japanese. Both analyses also have difficulties with the distribution of *ni* and *ni yotte* phrases used to mark external arguments in passives. Non-uniform analyses take the two as stylistic alternants, essentially having no difference in their distribution. By contrast, uniform analyses take the subject of *ni yotte* passives as deriving from movement while those in *ni* passives are introduced by *-(r)are* as Affectees or Experiencers, thereby limiting the distribution of *ni*-marked external arguments to passives with animate subjects and predicting that *ni yotte* phrases should have a greater distribution. However, if Ishizuka's examination of the occurrence of *ni* and *ni yotte* phrases in passives showing that the latter is more restricted is taken as accurate, neither of these proposed distributions align with the facts. Furthermore, neither account for the fact that a *ni* phrase and a *ni yotte* phrase may co-occur in the same sentence.

While Ishizuka's unified passive analysis is able to account for all of the above facts, it falters somewhat when it comes to the binding behaviour of *zibun*. Although she provides some examples of unambiguous readings of *zibun* in indirect passives, she is not able to provide any ambiguous interpretations of the reflexive pronoun in direct passives. Under her analysis

unambiguity is no longer conditional on monoclausality, but all direct passives (underlying Theme-subject passives under Ishizuka's theory) do entail a lack of ambiguity.

Quantifier float phenomena seen in passives are somewhat more successfully accounted for under her theory, as she suggests that the lack of quantifier float seen in indirect passives is due to the fact that only underlying Theme arguments exhibit quantifier float in any case. She takes the subject of the passive in (10d) as deriving from a Goal argument, explaining the lack of quantifier float. However, her generalisation given above has no explanatory power, and simply reports the fact only Theme arguments exhibit quantifier float.

### **5.3 Theoretical Compatibility of Japanese Passive Theories**

From a theoretical standpoint, each type of passive analysis above carries the benefit of aligning the Japanese passive voice with cross-linguistic theories on passive formation. For uniform and non-uniform analyses this is accomplished by examining passives that can't be captured under these theories as resulting from a different, non-passive, process, which is extended to all apparent passives in the former analysis. On the other hand, the unified passive presented by Ishizuka (2012) takes an opposite approach, adopting Collins's (2005) smuggling analysis in order to develop an operation of passivisation for all types of Japanese passive which is compatible with such theories. As such, each analysis has some account for the theoretical issues Japanese indirect passives present.

With that said, each of these analyses also come with their own theoretical issues. Among them, the uniform Japanese passive analyses faces the greatest problem. This issue stems from the phonetically empty category that proponents of uniform theories describe as occupying the internal position of the lexical verb's argument structure and coreferring with the subject introduced as an argument of *-(r)are*. Recall that the structure for direct passives proposed under

uniform theories on the Japanese passive match that in (11), where obligatory coreference between the subject *Ken* and the null element form a link between the object interpretation and the subject.

(11) *Uniform Direct Passive:*

[*Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga* [*Naomi-ni*  $\emptyset_i$  *tukamae-*] *rare- ta.*]  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT catch PASS PAST  
 “Ken was caught by Naomi.”

In Kuroda’s (1965) formulation analysis, this coreference is achieved at the level of the Deep Structure, with the null element originally merged as *Ken*. However, Deep Structure is eschewed in Minimalist syntax, meaning that phonetically null categories must be merged as such, unless they are artefacts of movement.

As movement in (11) is excluded as one of the base premises of a uniform theory of the Japanese passive, this limits the possible null elements to either *pro* or PRO. However, both of these options raise their own problems. Regarding the pronominal *pro*, this option seems unlikely given the distribution of the proposed empty category in direct passives. Given that *pro* is pronominal and typically alternates with overt DPs, the empty category would be expected to do the same. This is the case for benefactive *te moraw* and causative *-(s)ase* constructions as in (12b) and (12c) below, but not for the passive in (12a).

(12) a. *Direct Passive:*

*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni (\*zibun<sub>i</sub>-o) koros- are- ta.*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self-ACC kill PASS PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> was killed (self<sub>i</sub>) by Hanako.”

b. *Benefactive:*

*Taroo<sub>i</sub>-wa Hanako-ni (zibun<sub>i</sub>-o) suisen si- te moraw- ta*  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT self-ACC recommendation do GER receive PAST  
 “Taro<sub>i</sub> had Hanako recommend self<sub>i</sub>/someone.”

c. *Causative*:

*Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga Naomi<sub>j</sub>-ni (zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-o) nagur- ase- ta.*  
 Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT self-ACC hit CAUS PAST  
 “Ken caused Naomi to hit (self<sub>i/j</sub>)/someone.”

(12a, 12b adapted from Shibatani 1990:322; 12c adapted from Ishizuka 2012:167)

Furthermore, as the English translations for (12) show, the interpretation of the empty category is restricted to coreference with the subject *Ken*, which runs counter to the features of *pro* described by Chomsky (1981). That is to say, while Chomsky describes *pro* as [-anaphoric], the empty category in (11) must be [+anaphoric], as a different interpretation is not possible. As such, it is difficult to maintain *pro* as the identity of this empty category.

This leaves PRO as the only remaining option, but problems arise here as well, as PRO is not known to occur in the object position. This is likely due to the issues an object PRO would present to the control mechanism which grants PRO its interpretation. Control of PRO is argued to require a local, c-commanding DP (Hornstein 1999). Given that the external argument of the lexical verb in (11), *Naomi*, is both local and c-commands the empty category, the occurrence of PRO in the object position would be expected to give the interpretation that *Naomi* hit *Naomi*, which is not possible. Any theory positing that the gap in (11) is occupied by PRO would need to account for how its interpretation is restricted to the grammatical subject rather than any interceding argument. As such, unless such a mechanism is proposed, it is difficult to maintain a uniform analysis of the Japanese passive given that the only empty category which can fill the gap in direct passives in an uncontroversial fashion would be a copy or trace left by movement. This is true even for syntactic theories predating the Minimalist Program, as long as the characteristics of *pro* and PRO outlined by Chomsky (1981) are accepted.

In contrast, in accepting sentences like (1a) as deriving from movement, non-uniform theories of the Japanese passive do not encounter the same issues with Minimalist syntax as

uniform theories do. Instead, the issues with the structures proposed in non-uniform analyses are mainly down to the movement-based derivations proposed in many of the older analyses they are based on. While many older analyses (e.g. Kuno 1973, McCawley 1972a) simply state that direct passives are derived through the transformation of an active predicate, other somewhat more current research (e.g. Miyagi 1996; Miyagawa 1989) adopts the modular analysis outlined by Chomsky (1981), Jaeggli (1986), and Baker (1988), further developed in Baker et al. (1989). In this theory of passive derivation, movement occurs in the passive due either to the absorption of accusative case (Chomsky 1981 & Jaeggli 1986) or the deprofiling/removal of the external argument through the merging of the passive morpheme as an argument (Baker et al. 1989). As accusative case is compatible with direct passives in Japanese per some researchers (Miyagi 1996, Oshima 2006, among others)<sup>4</sup>, the latter analysis seems to be more compatible with Japanese.

However, taking the passive morpheme *-(r)are* as an argument is not an option under Minimalist syntax. Given that external arguments maintain their theta roles even under passivisation, stating that the passive morpheme is an argument requires a mechanism for theta role transmission. With that said, this type of theta role assignment goes against the core premise under Minimalism that each syntactic position is associated with a particular theta role/set of theta roles. This means that the only way for a DP to receive e.g. an Agent theta role is for it to merge at SpecvP, making this aspect of the modular theory of passivisation untenable under the Minimalist Program.

Unlike the empty category posited by uniform analyses though, it is possible to maintain the non-uniform analysis without proposing changes that go against its fundamental assumptions. Since non-uniform theories accept a movement-based analysis for direct passives, it would

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to section 2.4 of Chapter 2 for further discussion on the occurrence of accusative case in direct passives.

suffice to find such an analysis which takes external arguments of passives as merging in SpecvP. One such example presents itself in Collins's (2005) smuggling analysis, examined in detail in section 4.1.1 of Chapter 4 and adapted as the basis for Ishizuka's (2012) unified passive analysis. As described in the previous chapter, external arguments under this theory are merged at SpecvP, with the promotion of internal arguments being due to the movement of VP into a position above the vP. Regardless of the theory of passivisation adopted, dividing the direct and indirect passives as in non-uniform analyses carries the advantage of making Japanese passives more easily compatible with any future cross-linguistic theory of passive formation. However, it is important to note that adopting Ishizuka's adapted Japanese smuggling analysis as presented would carry the same selectional issues for the projection taken as assigning dative case to external arguments.

In fact, the selectional criteria of this dative projection constitutes the main theoretical issue presented by Ishizuka's unified passive theory. Her analysis was developed under Minimalist syntax, and as such there are no glaring problems like the identity of the empty category proposed in uniform analyses, or theta role assignment of the external argument, which is explained under the smuggling analysis. Instead, the dative projection is the main issue due to the fact that it alternately attracts either a verbal or nominal element to its specifier. In Ishizuka's theory, a dative projection takes the VoiceP headed by *-(r)are* as its complement. This position is used to explain the fact that dative marked arguments in ditransitive passives with accusative subjects are obligatorily Goals, and not external arguments, as in sentence (13).

(13) *Ditransitive Passive of Accusative Object:*

*Kaikai-ga gityoo-ni sengen s- are- ta.*

Opening-NOM chairman-DAT announce do PASS PAST

“The opening of the meeting was announced to/\*by the chairman.”

(Ishizuka 2012:67)

Per Ishizuka, this is explained as part of the VP smuggling analysis. Because the Goal argument occurs inside the VP, it will be higher than the external argument in SpecvP after the VP is moved to SpecVoiceP. Of course, this raises minimality problems when the external argument does move to the dative projection, as Theme arguments are also inside the moved VP. In order to account for this, she states that what moves to the dative projection in these cases is the entire vP whose only phonetically realised element is the external argument. This proposal has the additional benefit of explaining why dative Goals in passives as in (14) may be relativised but dative external arguments may not, as only the former is nominal.

(14) *Relativisation of dative-by phrase:*

\*[[Ken-ga  $t_i$  tukamae- rare- ta] keisatu.kan<sub>i</sub>]-ga yuumei-ni nar-  
Ken-NOM catch PASS PAST police.officer-NOM famous-DAT become  
ta.

PAST

“The policeman by whom Ken was caught became famous.”

*Relativisation of dative Goal DP:*

[[Hanataba-ga  $t_i$  watas- are- ta] syoozyo<sub>i</sub>]-ga kawaikat- ta.  
Flower.bouquet-NOM hand PASS PAST girl-NOM cute PAST

“The girl to whom the flower bouquet was handed was cute.”

(Ishizuka 2012:75)

This raises the question of how the dative projection selects the element which moves into its specifier. Ishizuka’s explanation for the fact that Goals may be relativised hinges on the fact that only the Goals are nominal. However, this means that the dative projection selects either a nominal or verbal element depending on the context, i.e. only nominals may be selected in ditransitive constructions, while only vPs is selected in other passives. If the dative projection consistently selects a vP, then the interpretation of (13) should be constrained in the opposite direction, with the dative argument only interpretable as an Agent. Conversely, if it only selects a DP, then the minimality problems posed by the fact that VP moves to SpecVoiceP return.

One way to avoid this problem is to say that dative case is assigned in situ for external arguments and that the interpretation of the dative argument in ditransitive passives with accusative object-derived subjects is constrained in some other way. This requires adopting an opposite view on case assignment to Ishizuka, who posits that case markers are functional heads with their own projections, and subsequently raises problems with word order that require verb raising to resolve. As these issues in Japanese syntax are still open to debate, it is important to note that it is much more difficult to attain a fully theoretically compatible smuggling analysis of Japanese passives as outlined by Ishizuka unless these positions are adopted. With that said, they do present a solution which is fully compatible with current Minimalist syntax, allowing Ishizuka's unified passive analysis and non-uniform passive analyses to be maintained if the latter is altered to adopt a smuggling-based passivisation process.

As such, Ishizuka's unified passive analysis and non-uniform Japanese passive analyses occupy a similar position from a theoretical perspective. Issues arise if either type of analysis is taken as is, but it is possible to formulate a satisfactory analysis in both cases without changing their fundamental assumptions, as long as certain conceits about the structure of Japanese syntax are accepted. However, uniform theories of the passive are much more difficult to maintain without accepting movement in the direct passive. As this effectively transforms the uniform structure into the non-uniform structure, this essentially means that the uniform type of analysis initially proposed by Hasegawa (1964) and Kuroda (1965) is untenable under a current Minimalist understanding of syntax.

#### **5.4 Concluding Remarks**

This review has examined several analyses of the Japanese passive voice and how they account for the traits of the Japanese passive which seem to defy cross-linguistic theories on

passivisation. These analyses include non-uniform and uniform theories on the structure of the passive, two of the most widely accepted schools of thought on the structure of Japanese passives, as well as the more recent movement-based unified passive theory developed by Ishizuka (2012). This examination had two main goals. The first was to probe the interaction of each type of analysis with Japanese language data in order to determine any empirical weaknesses. The second was to investigate the compatibility of each type of analysis under current understandings of generative grammar from a perspective based in Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program.

To that end, each type of passive analysis was thoroughly discussed in isolation, before these discussions were consolidated in the present chapter for the sake of comparison. As a result, several empirical issues, as well as some theoretical issues, were raised for the various analyses. However, while the issues presented by the non-uniform and unified passive analyses are ostensibly remediable through further revisions, especially as several of their issues could be remedied through a combination of the two analyses, uniform theories of the passive were found to be incompatible with Minimalist syntax due to the proposed structure of the direct, or accusative object, passive, and in particular due to trouble determining the identity of a proposed empty category.

It is important to note that although the non-uniform and unified passive analyses were, or could be made to be, fully theoretically compatible with Minimalist syntax, this came at the expense of making broader claims about the structure of Japanese syntax than either type of analysis acknowledges. Namely, Ishizuka's unified passive theory requires accepting that Japanese verbs raise to T, which is still a point of contention in Japanese syntactic research with no definitive answer. Similarly, the passivisation operations outlined in much research by

proponents of non-uniform analyses of the passive are no longer compatible with syntactic assumptions under the Minimalist Program, forcing the adoption of a new theory of passivisation. However, the clearest present option, the smuggling analysis adopted by Ishizuka, results in the same forced acceptance of verb raising.

As such, it is still difficult to fully advocate either of these analyses. While they fit comfortably in the theoretical assumptions made in Minimalist syntax, committing to either of them renders the analysis of the Japanese passive voice fragile. If verb raising in Japanese were proven to be impossible, we would be left with no adequate means of accounting for passivisation. Therefore, although this review has shown that maintaining a uniform analysis of Japanese passives is difficult if not impossible under Minimalist syntax, it has also shown that further research is necessary before any analysis can be unequivocally adopted.

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