7 Passives

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0 Introduction

Due to the complex properties which Japanese passives display, it has been controversial how many types of passives exist in Japanese and what kind of structure each type of passive construction has. In this chapter, I aim to show that there are three kinds of passive constructions in Japanese and to clarify the structural properties of each passive construction.

(1) is an active sentence and its "direct passive" counterpart is given in (2).[1, 2]

(1) Gakusei-ga   sensei-o   hihans-i-ta.
      student-Nom teacher-Acc criticize-Past
      "The student criticized his teacher."

(2) direct passive:
      Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni hihans-are-ta.
      teacher-Nom student-by criticize-Pass.-Past
      "The teacher$_i$ was affected by his student's criticizing him$_i$."

In the active sentence (1), the logical object of *hihans, sensei* "teacher," is in the object position, whereas in the direct passive (2), the logical object appears in the subject position.

Consider example (3), which is an instance of the "indirect passive."

(3) indirect passive:
      Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni kurasu-de   nak-are-ta.
      teacher-Nom student-by classroom-in cry-Pass.-Past
      "The teacher was affected by his student's crying in the classroom."

Unlike the subject of the direct passive, the subject of the indirect passive in (3), *sensei*, does not bear any apparent grammatical relation with the verb *nak* "cry" that is suffixed by the passive morpheme.

Although there has been a consensus as to how to treat the indirect passive, it has been controversial how the direct passive should be analyzed, and two theories of Japanese passives, the "uniform hypothesis" and the "nonuniform hypothesis," have been proposed to account for the properties of the direct passive.[3] Under the uniform hypothesis (K. Hasegawa 1964, Kuroda 1965a, 1979, 1985, Makino 1972, 1973, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976, Kuno 1983, 1986b, Y. Kitagawa 1986, N. Hasegawa 1988, Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, among others), the direct passive and the indirect passive are analyzed basically in the same way.[4] On the other hand, under the nonuniform hypothesis (N. A. McCawley 1972, Kuno 1973, S.-I. Harada 1973, Perlmutter 1973, K. Inoue 1976a, Kubo 1990, Shibatani 1990, Terada 1990, among others), these passives are treated in two different ways.

More specifically, both approaches agree upon the treatment of indirect passives such as (3) as involving complementation:
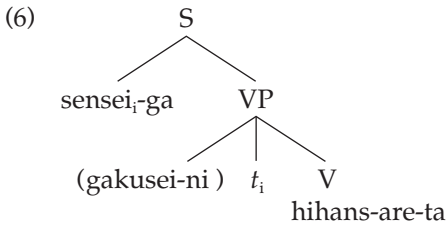
(4)

$$S_1$$

sensei-ga   VP

$$S_2$$ V
         are-ta

gakusei-ni   VP

kurasu-de   V
             nak
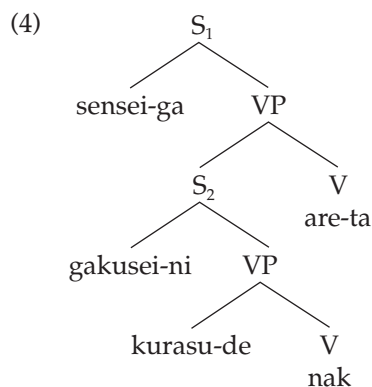
Here, *rare* is considered to be a two-place predicate which takes the subject, *sensei*, and the complement clause, S_2.

However, there has been a crucial disagreement on the analysis of direct passives such as (2). The uniform hypothesis assigns the structure (5) for the direct passive sentence (2),

(5)

$$S_1$$

sensei$_i$-ga   VP

$$S_2$$ V
         are-ta

gakusei-ni   VP

$[e]_i$ V
         hihans
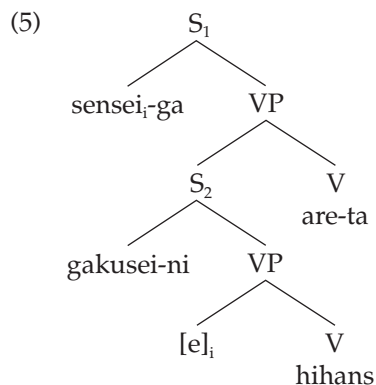
while the nonuniform hypothesis gives the structure (6) to the direct passive sentence.

(6)

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                    S
            ┌───────┴───────┐
        sensei_i-ga         VP
                     ┌───────┼───────┐
               (gakusei-ni )  t_i     V
                                hihans-are-ta
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Under the uniform hypothesis, there is basically no difference between the function of the indirect passive verb *rare* and that of the direct passive verb *rare*. *Rare* is considered to be a two-place predicate which takes an external argument, i.e. a subject, and an internal argument, i.e. a complement clause, as shown in (4) and (5). The only difference between the direct passive and the indirect passive is whether or not there is a gap in the direct or indirect object position in the complement clause which is coindexed with the matrix subject. If the structure has such a gap as in (5), it represents the direct passive. If, on the other hand, there is no gap coindexed with the matrix subject as in (4), the structure represents the indirect passive. That is, the passive verb *rare* is considered to be an optional control verb on the uniform hypothesis. If the matrix subject controls the object of the complement clause (henceforth, the complement object), then direct passives such as (2) are generated. On the other hand, if such a control relation between the matrix subject and the complement object is absent, indirect passives such as (3) are generated.[5]

Under the nonuniform hypothesis, the passive morpheme of the direct passive and that of the indirect passive are considered to be completely different. The passive morpheme, *rare*, of the indirect passive is considered to be a verb which requires an external argument and an internal argument as illustrated in (4), whereas *rare* of the direct passive is considered to be a suffix which triggers NP movement of the internal argument of the attached verb, as is shown in (6).[6]

Notice that the uniform hypothesis is conceptually preferable to the nonuniform hypothesis. This is so because the uniform hypothesis assumes only one passive morpheme *rare* whereas the nonuniform hypothesis recognizes two different types of *rare*, and yet they do not seem to be naturally related. What is more important is that both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis agree that indirect passives such as (3) involve complementation as illustrated in (4). Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) thus argue that given the availability of a zero/empty pronoun in Japanese, there is no reason to deny *a priori* the possibility that the gap in the complement object position of the direct passive is a base-generated empty pronominal coindexed with the matrix subject under either of these two hypotheses. Hence, even if it is proven that representation (6) rather than (5) is the correct structure for direct passive sentence (2) as the nonuniform hypothesis proposes, it still has to be explained
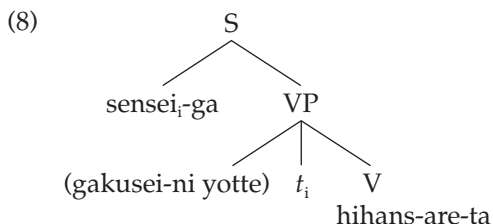
under the nonuniform hypothesis why structure (5) with pro in the complement object position cannot be available for direct passive example (2). Kitagawa and Kuroda conclude that for this reason, more burden of proof is put on the nonuniform hypothesis.[7]

Importantly, Kuroda (1979), while maintaining the uniform treatment of Japanese passives such as (2) and (3), proposes that there exists another type of passive in Japanese, "*ni yotte* passives" such as (7).[8]

(7)   *ni yotte* passive:
    Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni yotte   hihans-are-ta.
    teacher-Nom student-to owing criticize-Pass.-Past
    "The teacher was criticized by his student."

As seen in (2) and (7), the only difference between *ni* direct passive (2) and *ni yotte* passive (7) appears to be *ni* vs. *ni yotte*. And indeed, Kuno (1973) and others consider the *ni yotte* passive to be a variant of the *ni* direct passive. However, on the basis of K. Inoue's (1976a) and his own semantic observations, Kuroda (1979) argues that *ni yotte* passives are fundamentally different from *ni* passives, and assigns structure (8) to *ni yotte* passive example (7).

(8)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{sensei}_i\text{-ga} \quad \text{VP} \\
\diagup \ | \ \diagdown \\
\text{(gakusei-ni yotte)} \quad t_i \quad \text{V} \\
\text{hihans-are-ta}
\end{array}
$$

Notice that this structure is significantly different from structure (5), which Kuroda (1965a, 1979)/the uniform hypothesis gives to *ni* direct passive (2). That is, structure (8) for *ni yotte* passive (7) involves NP movement of the logical object of *hihans, sensei*, to the subject position, whereas structure (5) for *ni* direct passive (2) involves complement object deletion. On the other hand, Kuroda's structure (8) has significant similarities with structure (6), which the nonuniform hypothesis assigns to *ni* direct passive sentence (2). In both (6) and (8), the logical object *sensei* moves to the subject position.

In this chapter, I will focus on examining the properties of the most controversial Japanese passives, *ni* direct passives and *ni yotte* passives, and I will show that as Kuroda (1979) argues, *ni yotte* passives involve NP movement as illustrated in (8). At the same time, I will argue that as the uniform hypothesis proposes, *ni* direct passives such as (2) have a theta subject, a subject required by the passive verb *rare*. However, I will demonstrate as well that as the nonuniform hypothesis argues, the *ni* direct passive also involves NP movement, contrary to the claims by the uniform hypothesis. I will thus conclude that both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis are empirically well founded in one respect or another and that these two competing

hypotheses have to be reconciled to account for the properties of the *ni* direct passive properly. Finally, I will present a proposal made in Hoshi (1991, 1994a, 1994b) as a way of incorporating these two theories into one analysis.

In the following section, I will show supporting evidence taken from K. Inoue (1976a) and Kuroda (1979), among others, for Kuroda's dichotomy between *ni* direct passives and *ni yotte* passives. The evidence there indicates that the subject of the *ni* direct passive is an argument of the passive verb *rare*, and thus *ni* direct passives such as (2) have a theta subject as the uniform hypothesis proposes. The evidence in the next section also shows that as Kuroda proposes, the subject position of the *ni yotte* passive is a nontheta position. Based on Lasnik and Fiengo's (1974) proposals on English passives, I will also demonstrate in section 1 that the existence of two types of passives, the theta subject passive and the nontheta subject passive, is not peculiar to Japanese at all because not only Japanese but also English has two kinds of passives. One type of English passive, the *get* passive, has a theta subject exactly like the *ni* direct passive, whereas the other type of English passive, the *be* passive, has a nontheta subject.[9] The discussions in section 1 will thus lead us to the conclusion that there exist at least two types of passives in Japanese, the *ni* direct passive and the *ni yotte* passive.

In section 2, I will first review N. A. McCawley's (1972), Kuno's (1973), and Saito's (1982) arguments for an NP movement analysis of the *ni* direct passive proposed by the nonuniform hypothesis. In so doing, I will show that their arguments pose problems for a theta subject/complement object deletion analysis of the *ni* direct passive by the uniform hypothesis and that the *ni* direct passive is different from the *ni* indirect passive in important respects. This claim will then lead us to conclude that we have to recognize the dichotomy between *ni* direct passives and the *ni* indirect passives proposed by the nonuniform theory, in addition to Kuroda's *ni* vs. *ni yotte* passive dichotomy. That is, Japanese has three distinct types of passives, the *ni* indirect passive, the *ni yotte* passive, and the *ni* direct passive. At the end of section 2, I will also show that as Kuroda proposes, the *ni yotte* passive involves NP movement.

In section 3, on the basis of the discussions of sections 1 and 2, I will first review the structure of the *ni* indirect passive and the *ni yotte* passive. Given strong arguments for both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis regarding the analysis of the *ni* direct passive, I will then argue that both of these hypotheses must be correct in one respect or another. The passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive is a predicate which takes an external argument and an internal argument as the uniform hypothesis argues. However, as the nonuniform hypothesis claims, the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive also functions as a suffix which suppresses the external theta role and absorbs the accusative Case of the attached verb, triggering NP movement. And I will show an analysis of the *ni* direct passive made in Hoshi (1991) as a way to reconcile the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis. Section 4 presents remaining problems with respect to the analysis of Japanese passives presented in section 3. Section 5 concludes the discussions of this chapter.
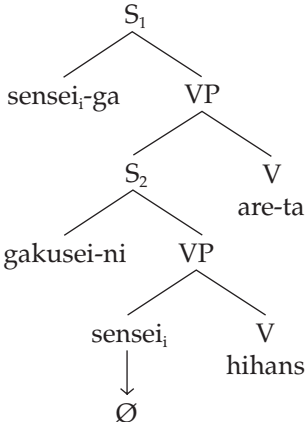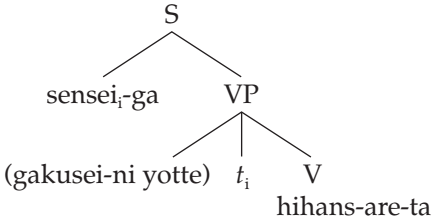
1   Evidence for the Uniform Hypothesis/Kuroda's Dichotomy

In this section, I will demonstrate that as the uniform hypothesis proposes, the *ni* direct passive has a theta subject, whereas the *ni yotte* passive has a nontheta subject as Kuroda (1979) argues. Consider again *ni* direct passive example (2) and *ni yotte* passive example (7), which are repeated here as (9a) and (9b), respectively.

(9)   a.   *ni* direct passive:
            Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni hihans-are-ta.
            teacher-Nom student-by criticize-Pass.-Past
            "The teacher$_i$ was affected by his student's criticizing him$_i$."
      b.   *ni yotte* passive:
            Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni yotte   hihans-are-ta.
            teacher-Nom student-to owing criticize-Pass.-Past
            "The teacher was criticized by his student."

At first glance, the only difference between (9a) and (9b) seems to be the use of *ni* vs. *ni yotte*. However, on the basis of K. Inoue's (1976a) and his own semantic observations on *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives, Kuroda (1979, 1986) proposes different analyses for *ni* direct passives such as (9a) and for *ni yotte* passives such as (9b).

   Assuming the uniform treatment of *ni* passives, Kuroda (1979, 1986) maintains his theta subject/complement object deletion analysis of the *ni* direct passive as shown in (10a). Importantly, however, he proposes an NP movement analysis for the *ni yotte* passive as illustrated in (8), which is repeated here as (10b).

(10)   a.   b.

(Kuroda 1979: 336–7)

As illustrated in structure (10a), the uniform hypothesis proposes that the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive is a two-place predicate which requires a subject and a complement clause. Kuroda (1979, 1986) further proposes that the external argument, the subject, of the *ni* direct passive is required to be an affectee by the passive verb *rare*.[10] In contrast, Kuroda argues that the passive morpheme in (10b) is an affix which triggers NP movement of the internal argument of the verb *hihans* "criticize." Because it is an affix, the passive morpheme of the *ni yotte* passive does not impose any selectional restriction on the subject and the subject, *sensei*, in (10b) is a nontheta subject. I will show below supporting evidence for these structures for the *ni* direct passive and the *ni yotte* passive.

K. Inoue (1976a) observes that *ni yotte* passives such as (11b) are grammatical, whereas *ni* direct passives such as (11a) are ungrammatical.[11] Kuroda (1979) also observes contrasts such as the one in (12a–b).

(11)   a.   *Kaikai-ga   gityoo-ni   sengens-are-ta.
               opening-Nom chairperson-by announce-Pass.-Past
               "The opening of the meeting$_i$ was affected by the chairperson's announcing it$_i$."
        b.   Kaikai-ga   gityoo-ni   yotte sengens-are-ta.
               opening-Nom chairperson-to owing announce-Pass.-Past
               "The opening of the meeting was announced by the chairperson."
               (K. Inoue 1976a: 83)

(12)   a.   *Fermat-no   teiri-ga   John-ni syoomeis-are-ta.
               Fermat-Gen theorem-Nom John-by prove-Pass.-Past
               "Fermat's theorem$_i$ was affected by John's proving it$_i$."
        b.   Fermat-no   teiri-ga   John-ni yotte syoomeis-are-ta.
               Fermat-Gen theorem-Nom John-to owing prove-Pass.-Past
               "Fermat's theorem was proven by John." (Kuroda 1979: 330–1)

These contrasts are straightforwardly accounted for by Kuroda's theory of Japanese passives. Abstract NPs such as *kaikai* "opening" or immutable NPs such as *Fermat-no teiri* "Fermat's theorem" are in the subject position of the *ni* direct passive in (11a) and (12a). However, those NPs cannot be interpreted as affectees, and hence they fail to satisfy the selectional restriction imposed by the *ni* direct passive verb. Therefore, examples (11a) and (12a) are correctly ruled out by Kuroda's theory/the uniform hypothesis. On the other hand, since there is no selectional restriction imposed on the subject position in the *ni yotte* passive under Kuroda's proposal, (11b) and (12b) are permitted as desired.

S.-I. Harada (1977) first argues that verb phrase idioms can be passivized in Japanese. Hoshi (1991) clarifies that Harada's claim regarding passivizability of verb phrase idioms is correct for the *ni yotte* passive but it is incorrect for the

ni direct passive, and provides further support for Kuroda's proposal that the *ni* direct passive has a theta subject as the uniform hypothesis argues, whereas the *ni yotte* passive has a nontheta subject. Consider the following examples.

(13) a.   John-ga   tyuui-o   harat-ta.
          John-Nom heed-Acc pay-Past
          "John paid heed."
      b.   *Tyuui-ga   John-ni haraw-are-ta.
          heed-Nom John-by pay-Pass.-Past
          "Heed$_i$ was affected by John's paying it$_i$."
      c.   Tyuui-ga   John-ni yotte   haraw-are-ta.
          heed-Nom John-to owing pay-Pass.-Past
          "Heed was paid by John."

(14) a.   John-ga   keti-o   tuke-ta.
          John-Nom fault-Acc attach-Past
          "John found the fault."
      b.   *Keti-ga   John-ni tuke-rare-ta.
          fault-Nom John-by attach-Pass.-Past
          "Fault$_i$ was affected by John's attaching it$_i$."
      c.   Keti-ga   John-ni yotte   tuke-rare-ta.
          fault-Nom John-to owing attach-Pass.-Past
          "The fault was found by John." (Hoshi 1991: 70–1)

There are sharp contrasts in grammaticality between *ni* direct passive examples (13b)/(14b) and *ni yotte* passive sentences (13c)/(14c). These contrasts show that verb phrase idioms such as *tyuui-o haraw* "pay heed" or *keti-o tuke* "find a fault" can only be passivized with *ni yotte*, but that verb phrase idioms resist *ni* direct passivization. In Kuroda's analysis, these contrasts are also straightforwardly accounted for. A part of a verb phrase idiom such as *tyuui* "heed" or *keti* "fault" can never be interpreted as an affectee, something that is acted upon or influenced. Thus, (13b) and (14b) are ruled out due to a violation of the selectional restriction imposed on the subject of the *ni* direct passive by *rare* under Kuroda's theory/the uniform hypothesis. In contrast, the passive morpheme of the *ni yotte* passive does not impose any restriction on the subject, and thus both (13c) and (14c) are grammatical.

   The contrast in (15a–b) observed by Kuroda (1979) further substantiates his dichotomy of Japanese passives.

(15) a.   Daitooryoo-ga   orokanimo CIA-ni koros-are-te
          president-Nom stupidly   CIA-by kill-Pass.
          simat-ta.
          shouldn't have-Past
          "The president stupidly let the CIA kill him, which he should not have let happen (*Or, more colloquially*: The president stupidly went and got killed by the CIA)."

b.   ??Daitooryoo-ga   orokanimo CIA-ni yotte   koros-are-te
     president-Nom stupidly   CIA-to owing kill-Pass.
     simat-ta.
     shouldn't have-Past (Kuroda 1979: 325–6)

Subject-oriented adverbs such as *orokanimo* "stupidly" require a theta sub-ject.[12,13] Since the subject of the *ni* direct passive (15a), *daitooryoo* "president," is a theta subject required by the *ni* passive verb, the subject-oriented adverb *orokanimo* is properly licensed in this sentence. However, the subject of the *ni yotte* passive (15b) is moved from the object position to the subject position, taking a parallel structure to (10b), and it is not a theta subject as is argued in Kuroda's theory. Hence, the subject in (15b) fails to license *orokanimo*.[14,15]

Hoshi (1991) provides further support for Kuroda's (1979, 1985) dichotomy between *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives by showing that not only Japanese but also English has two types of passives, the *get* passive and the *be* passive. Furthermore, it is shown there that the *get* passive has a theta subject exactly like the *ni* direct passive, whereas the *be* passive has a nontheta subject as the *ni yotte* passive.

(16a) is an instance of the *get* passive, and (16b) an instance of the *be* passive.

(16)   a.   John got arrested by the police.
       b.   John was arrested by the police.

On the surface, it appears as if the only difference between *get* passive (16a) and *be* passive (16b) is *get* vs. *be*. However, Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) propose that there is a selectional restriction on *get* of the *get* passive requiring that its subject not denote an immutable entity, whereas there is no such restriction imposed on the subject by *be* of the *be* passive.

Consider Lasnik and Fiengo's paradigm in (17) and (18).

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

(18)   a.   *Heed got paid to our warning.
       b.   Heed was paid to our warning. (Lasnik and Fiengo 1974: 554)

As shown in (17a–b), immutable NPs such as *the parallel postulate* cannot be in the subject position in the *get* passive, whereas those NPs can appear in the subject position of the *be* passive. The contrast between (18a) and (18b) indicates that verb phrase idioms such as *pay heed* can be passivized in the *be* passive, but verb phrase idioms resist *get* passivization. These contrasts are straightforwardly accounted for by Lasnik and Fiengo's (1974) proposal for the *get* passive and the *be* passive. Since immutable NPs or a part of a verb phrase idiom cannot satisfy selectional restrictions imposed by the verb *get* of the *get* passive, (17a) and (18a) are correctly predicted to be ungrammatical.

On the other hand, no such restriction is imposed on the subject position by *be* of the *be* passive. Hence, both (17b) and (18b) are correctly allowed by Lasnik and Fiengo's theory.

Notice that the contrasts in (17) and (18) parallel the contrasts which we observed between the *ni* direct passive and the *ni yotte* passive in (11)/(12) and (13)/(14). Notice further that with respect to the nature of the subject position, the *get* passive shares important properties with the *ni* direct passive, and that the *be* passive and the *ni yotte* passive have the same properties. That is, the *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive have a theta subject required by *rare* and *get*, respectively, while the *ni yotte* passive and the *be* passive have a nontheta subject.

The following contrast that Lasnik and Fiengo also observe lends further support to this parallelism between Japanese passives and English passives.

(19)   a.   Cowens got fouled by Kareem Jabbar on purpose.
       b.   ??Cowens was fouled by Kareem Jabbar on purpose. (Lasnik and Fiengo 1974: 554)

A subject-oriented adverbial phrase like *on purpose* requires a theta subject. As shown in (19a–b), they are compatible with the *get* passive, while those elements cannot be properly licensed in the *be* passive.[16] This contrast is also straightforwardly accounted for by Lasnik and Fiengo's (1974) theory of English passives. Note also that the contrast in (19) parallels the contrast between the *ni* direct passive (15a) and the *ni yotte* passive (15b).

By showing the evidence above, it is thus concluded in Hoshi (1991) that Kuroda's theta/nontheta subject dichotomy of passives is not peculiar to Japanese at all. His type of dichotomy of passives exists not only in Japanese but also in English, and Kuroda's dichotomy of Japanese passives in turn receives cross-linguistic support. The *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive have a theta subject selected by *rare* and *get*, respectively, whereas the *ni yotte* passive and the *be* passive have a nontheta subject.[17] Importantly, this conclusion also provides substantial support for the uniform hypothesis of *ni* passives. Under the uniform hypothesis, it is claimed that not only the subject of *ni* indirect passives such as (3) but also the subject of *ni* direct passives such as (9a) is required by the passive verb *rare* as illustrated in (10a).

Given Kuroda's analysis of *ni* direct passives and *ni yotte* passives, we can thus straightforwardly account for the data in (11–15). And Kuroda's theta subject analysis of the *ni* direct passive under the uniform hypothesis and his NP movement analysis of the *ni yotte* passive, as schematized in (10), receive considerable support. However, a question arises as to why the so-called "affectedness" interpretation is clearly obtained in the *ni* indirect passive (3), whereas such an affectedness interpretation is not evident in the *ni* direct passive (9a).[18]
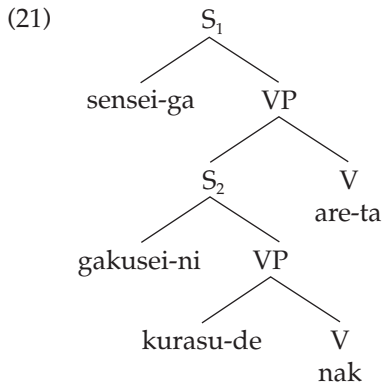
To answer this question, Kuroda (1979, 1985) and Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) propose the following plausible hypothesis: the passive morpheme *rare*

of *ni* passives, i.e. both *ni* direct passives and *ni* indirect passives, requires the subject to be "affected" by the event or state described by the complement clause, and affectedness interpretations can be of positive, negative or neutral nature, depending on the (lexical) semantics/pragmatics involved in each sentence rather than necessarily being "adversative" (cf. Wierzbicka 1979, Oehrle and Nishio 1980).[19] In the *ni* direct passive (9a), which involves the control relation between the matrix subject and the complement object, what the matrix subject refers to is an "affected" argument in both the matrix and embedded clauses. Thus, an affectedness interpretation imposed by the passive morpheme *rare* is not obvious or such an affectedness interpretation is neutralized in the *ni* direct passive. For this reason, the affectedness interpretation is not evident in *ni* direct passives such as (9a). On the other hand, *ni* indirect passives such as (3) lack such a syntactic basis between the matrix subject and the embedded object. The passive morpheme *rare* therefore requires proper pragmatics that will permit us to establish an affectedness relation between the experiencer argument, i.e. the matrix subject, and the eventuality argument, i.e. the complement clause. Hence, an affectedness interpretation is evident in *ni* indirect passives such as (3).[20,21]

To summarize, I have shown in this section that Kuroda's dichotomy between *ni* direct passives and *ni yotte* passives is correct with respect to the nature of the subject position. That is, as the uniform hypothesis proposes, *ni* direct passives such as (9a) have a subject required by the passive morpheme *rare*, as illustrated in (10a), repeated here as (20a). On the other hand, *ni yotte* passives such as (9b) have a nontheta subject, as shown in (10b), repeated here as (20b).

(20)   a.
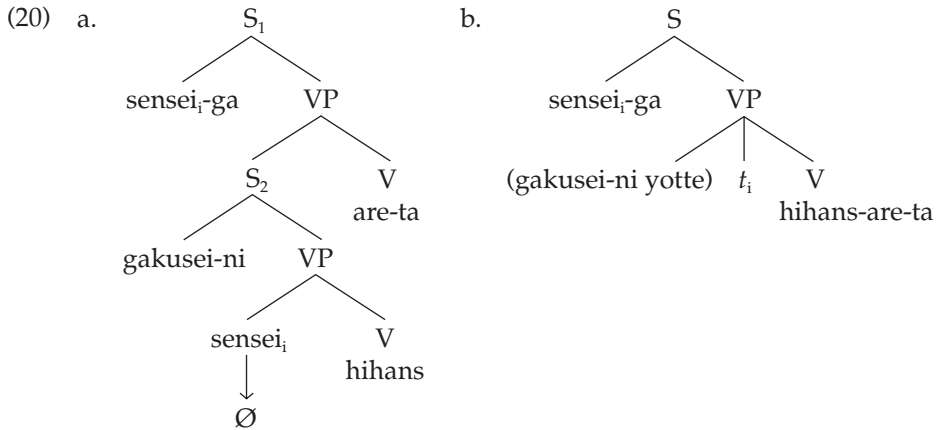
This conclusion clearly indicates that there are at least two types of passive constructions in Japanese, the *ni* direct passive (20a) and the *ni yotte* passive (20b), although we have not yet discussed the nature of *ni* indirect passives such as (3) in detail. Structure (4), which both the uniform and nonuniform hypotheses assign to (3), is repeated here as (21).

(21)

```
                    S₁
             ┌───────┴───────┐
         sensei-ga          VP
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                     S₂             V
                ┌─────┴─────┐     are-ta
            gakusei-ni     VP
                       ┌────┴────┐
                   kurasu-de     V
                                nak
```

Finally, notice also that the supporting evidence for the uniform treatment of the *ni* direct passive in this section poses problems for the nonuniform hypothesis. This is because under the nonuniform hypothesis, the subject position of the *ni* direct passive is assumed to be a nontheta position, as shown in (6), repeated here as (22).

(22)

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                    S
             ┌──────┴──────┐
         senseiᵢ-ga        VP
                     ┌──────┼──────┐
               (gakusei-ni )  tᵢ   V
                              hihans-are-ta
```
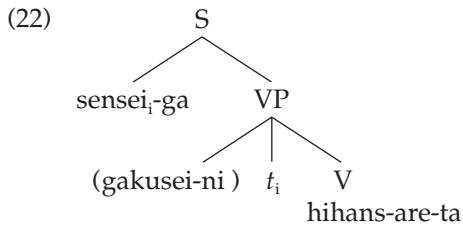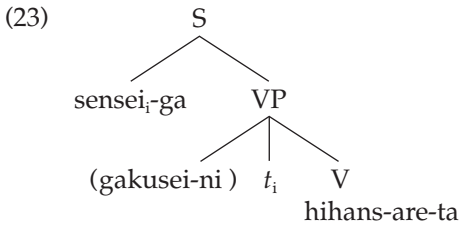
The nonuniform hypothesis thus cannot account for the ungrammaticality of (11a), (12a), (13b), and (14b), or the grammaticality of (15a), as the theta subject analysis of the *ni* direct passive under the uniform hypothesis does.

2   Evidence for the Nonuniform Hypothesis

In the previous section, I have shown that the theta subject analysis/ complement object deletion analysis of the *ni* direct passive by the uniform hypothesis is well founded and that the uniform hypothesis correctly captures the properties of the subject position of the *ni* direct passive. I have also shown that *ni yotte* passives have a nontheta subject as Kuroda proposes. In this section, however, by examining other properties of the *ni* direct passive, I will demonstrate that there is also strong evidence for an NP movement analysis of the *ni* direct passive proposed by the nonuniform hypothesis. I will show here too that *ni yotte* passives involve NP movement, as Kuroda proposes.

The nonuniform hypothesis assigns structure (22), repeated here as (23), to the *ni* direct passive example in (9a).

(23)

```
              S
           ╱     ╲
    sensei_i-ga    VP
                ╱   |   ╲
       (gakusei-ni)  t_i   V
                          hihans-are-ta
```

Reinterpreting this NP movement analysis under the principles-and-parameters theory (N. Chomsky 1981a, 1986b, among others), Saito (1982), Marantz (1984), and Miyagawa (1989b), among others, propose that like the passive morpheme *en* in English, the passive morpheme *rare* of the *ni* direct passive is a suffix which suppresses an external argument and absorbs accusative Case from the attached verb.[22] Hence, as illustrated in (23), the logical subject of the attached verb *hihans* appears as an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase, i.e. an adjunct phrase, and the logical object of *hihans* moves from its original position to the subject position to receive nominative Case *ga*.

By reviewing Saito's (1982), N. A. McCawley's (1972), and Kuno's (1973) arguments, I will show below that as the nonuniform hypothesis argues, the gap in the *ni* direct passive is an NP trace left behind by the movement of the object. I will also show that the *ni* phrase in the *ni* direct passive is a suppressed argument, an adjunct, whereas the *ni* phrase in the *ni* indirect passive is an argument. To the extent that this claim is correct, it provides substantial support for the nonuniform hypothesis regarding the treatment of *ni* direct passives and *ni* indirect passives, but poses problems for the uniform hypothesis. This is because the uniform hypothesis proposes the theta subject analysis for the *ni* passive, as illustrated in (20a) and (21). And under the uniform hypothesis, it is not expected that there exists an NP trace in the *ni* direct passive or that the *ni* phrase of the *ni* direct passive is an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase, while the *ni* phrase in the *ni* indirect passive is an argument. The arguments in this section will thus lead us to the conclusion that we have to recognize the dichotomy between *ni* direct passives and *ni* indirect passives proposed by the nonuniform hypothesis besides Kuroda's *ni* vs. *ni yotte* passive dichotomy. That is, there are three different types of passives in Japanese, the *ni* direct passive, the *ni* indirect passive and the *ni yotte* passive.

Saito's (1982) arguments for the NP movement analysis of the *ni* direct passive crucially rely on the "abstract" Double-*o* Constraint in (24).[23]

(24)   A verb can assign accusative Case to at most one NP in Japanese.

Let us first consider how we can explain the data in (25a–c) by appealing to the constraint.

(25) a. Mary-ga   John-o/ni   aruk-ase-ta.
         Mary-Nom John-Acc/to walk-Cause-Past
         "Mary made/let John walk."
     b. Mary-ga   John-*o/ni   hon-o   yom-ase-ta.
         Mary-Nom John-*Acc/to book-Acc read-Cause-Past
         "Mary made/let John read the book."
     c. Kono hon$_i$-wa [$_S$ Mary-ga   John-*o/ni   [e]$_i$ yom-ase-ta].
         this book-Top   Mary-Nom John-*Acc/to   read-Cause-Past
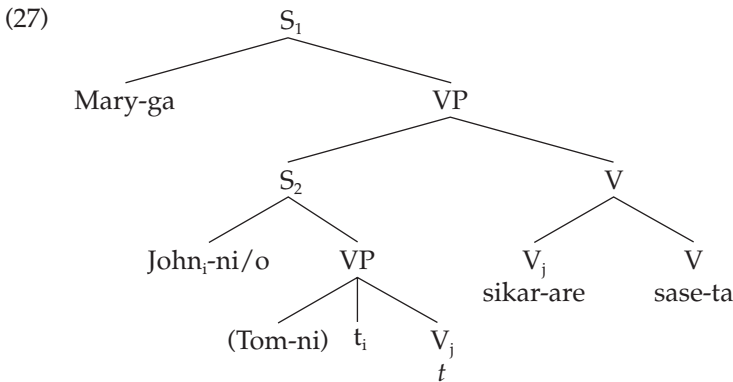   "This book$_i$, Mary made/let John read it$_i$."

In (25a), the causee, *John*, can be marked with the dative marker *ni* or accusa-
tive Case *o*. This is because there is only one NP marked with accusative Case
and thus, the abstract Double-*o* Constraint in (24) is irrelevant in this example.
In contrast, in (25b), the causee *John* must be marked with the dative marker
and cannot be marked with accusative Case. This is because there is an NP,
hon "book," which requires accusative Case, and thus constraint (24) prevents
the causee *John* from receiving accusative Case. Constraint (24) blocks the
causee *John* from being marked with accusative Case in (25c) as well, because
the empty category in example (25c) is either a base-generated pronominal
or a trace left behind by the movement of the topic NP, *kono hon* "this book"
(Kuroda 1965a, Kuno 1973, Saito 1985, Hoji 1985, among others). In either case,
the empty category requires accusative Case. Therefore, the causee in (25c)
cannot receive accusative Case from the complex predicate, *yom-ase*.[24]
   Consider Saito's key example (26b).

(26) a. John$_i$-ga   (damatte) Tom-ni [e]$_i$ sikar-are-ta.
         John-Nom (silently) Tom-by   scold-Pass.-Past
         "John$_i$ was affected by Tom's scolding him$_i$ without saying anything."
     b. Mary-ga   John$_i$-o   /ni (damatte) Tom-ni [e]$_i$
         Mary-Nom John-Acc/to (silently)   Tom-by
         sikar-are-sase-ta
         scold-Pass.-Cause-Past
         "Mary made/let John be scolded by Tom without saying anything."
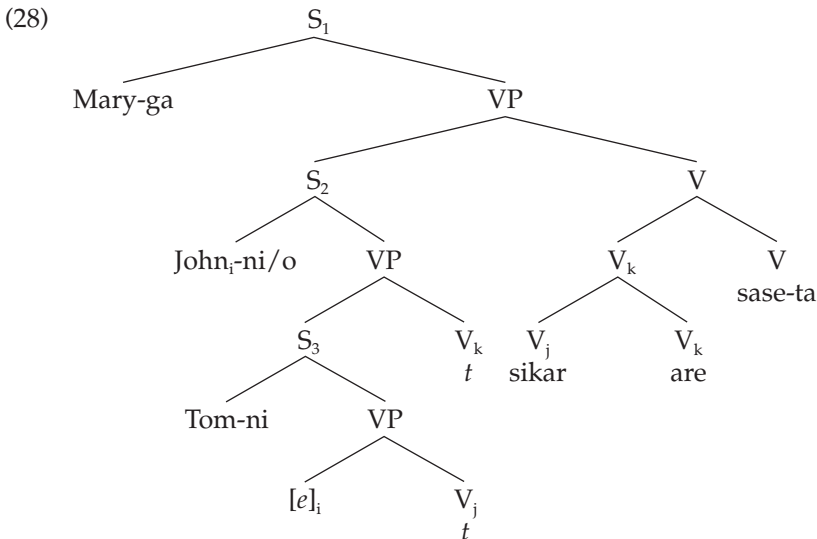   (Saito 1982: 92)

In (26b), the *ni* direct passive sentence (26a) is embedded in a causative sentence.
What is crucial in (26b) is that the causee *John* is allowed to be marked with
accusative Case unlike the causee in (25b–c). If the empty category in the *ni*
direct passive requires Case as in (25c), then the causee should not be able
to receive Case from the complex predicate *sikar-are-sase* due to the abstract
Double-*o* Constraint in (24). Saito thus concludes that the gap in the *ni* direct
passive must be an NP trace left behind by the movement of the object *John*,
which does not bear accusative Case.
   More specifically, the NP movement analysis of *ni* direct passives under the
nonuniform hypothesis which Saito convincingly defends assigns structure
(27) to example (26b).[25]

(27)

```
                          S₁
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
          Mary-ga                    VP
                          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                         S₂                        V
                  ┌───────┴───────┐         ┌───────┴───────┐
              Johnᵢ-ni/o         VP        Vⱼ               V
                          ┌───────┼───────┐ sikar-are    sase-ta
                     (Tom-ni)    tᵢ       Vⱼ
                                           t
```

Due to absorption of the accusative Case and suppression of the external argument of *sikar* "scold" by the passive morpheme *are*, the logical subject of *sikar* optionally appears as an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase, *Tom-ni*, and an NP trace, t_i, is created by the movement of the logical object of the verb, *John*. Since an NP trace does not require Case and there is no NP other than the causee *John* in (27) which requires accusative Case, abstract Double-*o* Constraint (24) correctly allows *John* to be marked with accusative Case.[26]

On the other hand, the theta subject analysis/complement object deletion analysis of the *ni* direct passive under the uniform hypothesis assigns structure (28) to example (26b).

(28)

```
                              S₁
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
          Mary-ga                             VP
                          ┌──────────────────┬─┴───────────────┐
                         S₂                                     V
                  ┌───────┴───────┐                  ┌──────────┴──────────┐
              Johnᵢ-ni/o         VP                 Vₖ                     V
                          ┌───────┴───────┐   ┌──────┼──────┐           sase-ta
                         S₃              Vₖ  Vⱼ           Vₖ
                  ┌───────┴───────┐       t  sikar        are
              Tom-ni            VP
                          ┌───────┴───────┐
                        [e]ᵢ             Vⱼ
                                          t
```

Saito's arguments above do not seem to be compatible with this structure, because it is not immediately clear why the gap in the complement object position has properties of an NP trace. An NP trace in passive is a gap created by the movement of the object to the subject position, but such NP movement

is not assumed to take place in (28) under the uniform hypothesis. Furthermore, if we assume with Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) that the gap in the complement object position of the *ni* direct passive is pro, then we incorrectly predict that due to constraint (24), the causee *John* in (28) cannot be marked with accusative Case like the causee in (25b–c). This is crucial because pro is an empty category which requires Case.

The following binding facts concerning the antecedent of *zibun* "self," which N. A. McCawley (1972) and Kuno (1973) independently observe, provide further support for the NP movement analysis of the *ni* direct passive under the nonuniform hypothesis and for the nonuniform treatment of *ni* direct passives and *ni* indirect passives.

(29) a. John$_i$-ga   Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no uti-de   [e_i] koros-are-ta.
          John-Nom Mary-by self-Gen   house-in   kill-Pass.-Past
          "John$_i$ was affected by Mary$_j$'s killing him$_i$ in self$_{i/*j}$'s house."
      b. John$_i$-ga   Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no koto-o   zimans-are-ta.
          John-Nom Mary-by self-Gen   matter-Acc boast-Pass.-Past
          "John$_i$ was affected by Mary$_j$'s bragging about self$_{i/j}$'s matter."
          (N. A. McCawley 1972, Kuno 1973: 299, 304)

In the *ni* direct passive (29a), a subject-oriented long-distance anaphor, *zibun* "self," can take *John* as its antecedent but it cannot take *Mary* as its antecedent. However, in the *ni* indirect passive sentence (29b), *zibun* can take either *John* or *Mary* as its antecedent.

(29b) is an instance of the *ni* indirect passive. Hence, both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis assign the same structure, (30), to the example, and the binding facts in (29b) are straightforwardly accounted for.

(30)   [$_{S1}$ John$_i$-ga [$_{S2}$ Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no koto-o zimans] are-ta]

In this representation, both *John* and *Mary* are in the subject positions, i.e. the positions immediately dominated by S, and those NPs bind the anaphor, *zibun*. Thus, the possible antecedent of *zibun* in the *ni* indirect passive (29b) is either *John* or *Mary*.

Importantly, however, N. A. McCawley and Kuno argue that the binding facts in the *ni* direct passive (29a) can be successfully accounted for by an NP movement analysis under the nonuniform hypothesis, but those facts cannot be explained by a theta subject analysis under the uniform hypothesis. Compare the structures in (31a–b). (31a) is the structure which a theta subject analysis under the uniform hypothesis assigns to the *ni* direct passive (29a), whereas (31b) is the representation which an NP movement analysis under the nonuniform hypothesis gives to the example.

(31)   a. [$_{S1}$ John$_i$-ga [$_{S2}$ Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/j}$-no uti-de [e]$_i$ koros] are-ta]
        b. [$_S$ John$_i$-ga [$_{VP}$ Mary$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no uti-de t_i koros-are-ta]]

(30) and (31a) are the structures that the uniform hypothesis assigns to examples (29a) and (29b), respectively, and in both of these structures, *John* is the subject of S_1 and *Mary* is the subject of S_2. Thus, given structure (31a) for (29a), the uniform hypothesis makes a false prediction that in both (29a) and (29b), *zibun* can take either *John* or *Mary* as its antecedent, contrary to fact. Assuming structure (31b) to be the correct structure of (29a), however, we can correctly account for the binding facts in (29a) under the nonuniform hypothesis. In (31b), *John* is the only argument NP which is immediately dominated by S, and thus is in the subject position. This is because under an NP movement analysis by the nonuniform hypothesis, *Mary* is crucially a suppressed external argument, i.e. not a subject but an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase, and it appears immediately below VP. Hence, under N. A. McCawley's (1972) and Kuno's (1973) NP movement analysis of the nonuniform hypothesis, only *John* can be the antecedent of *zibun* in (29a), as desired.[27,28,29]

In summary, I have briefly reviewed arguments for the NP movement analysis of *ni* direct passives proposed under the nonuniform hypothesis by N. A. McCawley (1972), Kuno (1973) and Saito (1982). And I have shown in this section that their arguments lead us to the conclusion that as the nonuniform hypothesis claims, the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive is indeed a suffix which triggers NP movement by absorbing accusative Case and suppressing an external argument from the attached verb. This conclusion therefore provides support for structure (23), repeated here as (32a), which the nonuniform hypothesis proposes for *ni* direct passive example (9a). However, it poses serious problems for complement object deletion structure (20a), repeated here as (32b), which the uniform hypothesis assigns to the example.
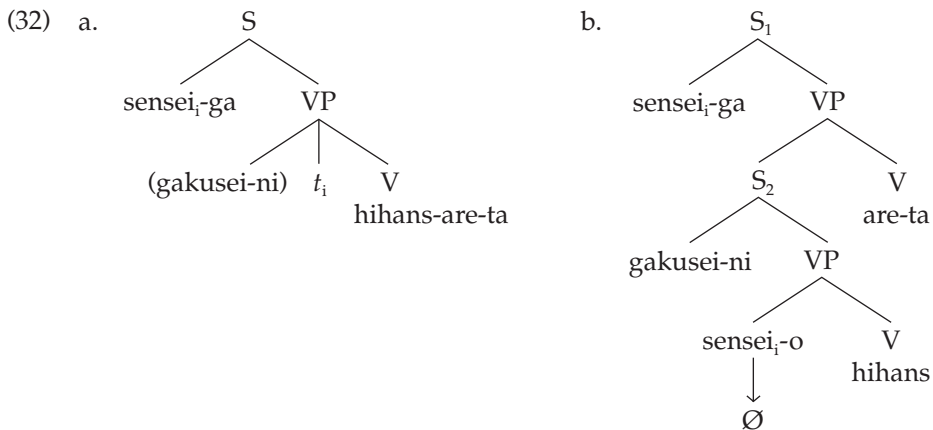
(32) a.   b.

As the nonuniform hypothesis proposes, the *ni* direct passive involves NP movement of the object NP as illustrated in (32a), and thus the causee *John* in (26b) can be marked with accusative Case. Furthermore, the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive suppresses an external argument of the attached verb so that the logical subject of the attached verb appears as an

adverbial *ni* "by" phrase in this type of passive as shown in structure (32a). Hence, in example (29a), not *Mary* but only *John* can be the possible antecedent of *zibun*. In contrast, a theta subject/complement object deletion analysis by the uniform hypothesis cannot account for the Case facts in (26b) and the binding facts in (29a) as the nonuniform hypothesis does for the reasons explained above.
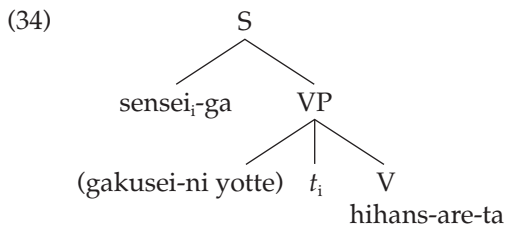
Notice also that the contrast in (29), which N. A. McCawley and Kuno observe regarding the possible antecedent of *zibun*, strongly indicates that *ni* direct passives are different from *ni* indirect passives. This claim made by N. A. McCawley and Kuno together with Kuroda's dichotomy between *ni* direct passives and *ni yotte* passives discussed in section 1 then leads us to conclude that Japanese has three distinct types of passives, the *ni* direct passive, the *ni* indirect passive and the *ni yotte* passive.

It should also be noted here that the data in (33) indicate that as Kuroda proposes, the *ni yotte* passive involves NP movement and the *ni yotte* phrase is a suppressed external argument, an adjunct.

(33) a. Mary-ga   John$_i$-o /ni Tom-ni yotte $[e]_i$ sikar-are-sase-ta.
          Mary-Nom John-Acc/to Tom-to owing   scold-Pass.-Cause-Past
          "Mary made/let John be scolded by Tom."

      b. John$_i$-ga   Mary$_j$-ni yotte zibun$_{i/*j}$-no uti-de $[e_i]$ koros-are-ta.
          John-Nom Mary-to owing self-Gen   house-in   kill-Pass.-Past
          "John$_i$ was killed by Mary$_j$ in self$_{i/*j}$'s house."

As is shown in (33a), the causee *John* can be marked with accusative Case *o* in the *ni yotte* passive counterpart of (26b) as well. This shows that as in the *ni* direct passive (26b), the gap in the *ni yotte* passive is also an NP trace, which does not require Case. Notice also that as in (29b), not *Mary* but only *John* is the possible antecedent for *zibun* in example (33b), thereby suggesting that *John* is a subject, but *Mary-ni yotte* is an adverbial *by* phrase, an external argument suppressed by the passive morpheme *are*.

This conclusion thus provides further support for Kuroda's structure (20b), repeated here as (34), for *ni yotte* passive example (9b).

(34)
```
                        S
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          sensei_i-ga            VP
                         ┌────────┼────────┐
                (gakusei-ni yotte)  t_i    V
                                        hihans-are-ta
```

Like the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive, the passive morpheme of the *ni yotte* passive absorbs Case and suppresses an external argument from
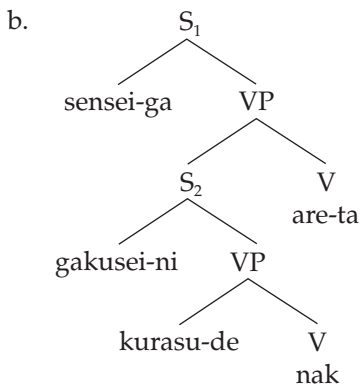
the attached verb, triggering NP movement of the logical object to the subject position for Case reasons.[30]

3   Three Types of Japanese Passives and a Reconciliation of the Uniform Hypothesis and the Nonuniform Hypothesis

In section 2, we reached the conclusion that there are three types of passive constructions in Japanese, the *ni* indirect passive, the *ni* direct passive, and the *ni yotte* passive. In this section, on the basis of the discussions in sections 1 and 2, I will first review the structures which capture properties of the *ni* indirect passive and the *ni yotte* passive. By showing that both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis capture the properties of the *ni* direct passive in one respect or another but that either of those hypotheses cannot be entirely correct, I will then argue that we need to reconcile the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis to account for the properties of the *ni* direct passive properly. Finally, I will show a proposal made in Hoshi (1991) as a way of subsuming the NP movement analysis by the nonuniform hypothesis under the theta subject analysis by the uniform hypothesis.

   Consider first structure (21) for *ni* indirect passive example (3), whose treatment both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis agree upon. Example (3) and structure (21) are repeated here as (35a) and (35b), respectively.

(35)   a.   *ni* indirect passive:
            Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni kurasu-de   nak-are-ta.
            teacher-Nom student-by classroom-in cry-Pass.-Past
            "The teacher was affected by his student's crying in the classroom."
        b.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S_1 \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{sensei-ga} \qquad VP \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
S_2 \qquad V \\
\diagup \; \diagdown \qquad \text{are-ta} \\
\text{gakusei-ni} \quad VP \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{kurasu-de} \qquad V \\
\text{nak}
\end{array}
$$

The passive morpheme of the *ni* indirect passive is a two-place predicate which takes the subject *sensei* and the complement clause, S_2, as illustrated in (35b).

Because this type of Japanese passive morpheme does not absorb Case or suppress an external theta role, intransitive verbs such as *nak* "cry," *hur* "fall," or *kur* "come" can be used in the *ni* indirect passive as shown in (35). Furthermore, given structures such as (35b) for the *ni* indirect passive, we can account for the fact that *Mary* can be the antecedent of *zibun* in (29b). This is because in the *ni* indirect passive, the *ni* phrase is analyzed as the subject of the complement clause as shown in (35b).

Consider next structure (34) proposed by Kuroda (1979) for *ni yotte* passive example (9b). Example (9b) and structure (34) are repeated here as (36a) and (36b), respectively.

(36)   a.   *ni yotte* passive:
           Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni yotte   hihans-are-ta.
           teacher-Nom student-to owing criticize-Pass.-Past
           "The teacher was criticized by his student."
       b.

                         S
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         sensei$_i$-ga   VP
                          ┌────────┼────────┐
                 (gakusei-ni yotte) t_i V
                                          hihans-are-ta

The English *be* passive counterpart of (36a) is in (36c) and its structure is given in (36d).[31]

(36)   c.   The teacher was criticized by the student.
       d.

                         S
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         the teacher$_i$ VP
                          ┌────────┼────────┐
                          V t_i (by the student)
                   was criticized

As shown in (36b–c), the subject position of the *ni yotte* passive and the *be* passive is a nontheta position. Therefore, with this structure, we can account for the grammaticality of (11b)/(12b) and (13c)/(14c), the ungrammaticality of (15b), and the parallelisms between *ni yotte* passives and *be* passives which we discussed in section 1. Unlike the passive morpheme of the *ni* indirect passive but like the passive morpheme *-d* in English, the passive morpheme of the *ni yotte* passive, *are*, is a suffix which obligatorily absorbs Case and suppresses an external argument from the attached verb, triggering NP movement of the object to the subject position for Case reasons. Thus, we can also explain the Case facts in (33a) and the binding facts in (33b) as we discussed at the end of the previous section.

Given structures such as (36b) for the *ni yotte* passive, we can account as well for the ungrammaticality of *ni yotte* passive examples such as (37). (Kuno 1973 attributes example (37a) to James McCawley.)

(37) a. *John-ga ame-ni yotte hur-are-ta.
John-Nom rain-to owing fall-Pass.-Past
"John was rained on." (Kuno 1973: 346)

    b. *Sensei-ga gakusei-ni yotte kurasu-de nak-are-ta.
teacher-Nom student-to owing classroom-in cry-Pass.-Past
"The teacher was cried by the student in the classroom."

This is because the passive morpheme of this type is an obligatory absorber of Case and external theta role so that intransitive verbs such as *hur* "fall" or *nak* "cry" are incompatible with *ni yotte* passives. In this respect, the *ni yotte* passive is significantly different from the *ni* indirect passive (cf. (35a) vs. (37b)).

Recall that it has been controversial how to analyze the *ni* direct passive. To analyze this type of Japanese passive, the uniform hypothesis proposes a theta subject/complement object deletion analysis. On the other hand, the nonuniform hypothesis proposes an NP movement analysis. And we have reached the conclusion in sections 1 and 2 that both the theta subject/complement object deletion analysis under the uniform hypothesis and the NP movement analysis under the nonuniform hypothesis correctly account for properties of *ni* direct passives such as (9b) in one way or another.

The uniform hypothesis assigns structure (32b) to *ni* direct passive example (9b). Example (9b) and structure (32b) are repeated here as (38a) and (38b), respectively.

(38) a. *ni* direct passive:
Sensei-ga gakusei-ni hihans-are-ta.
teacher-Nom student-by criticize-Pass.-Past
"The teacher$_i$ was affected by his student's criticizing him$_i$."
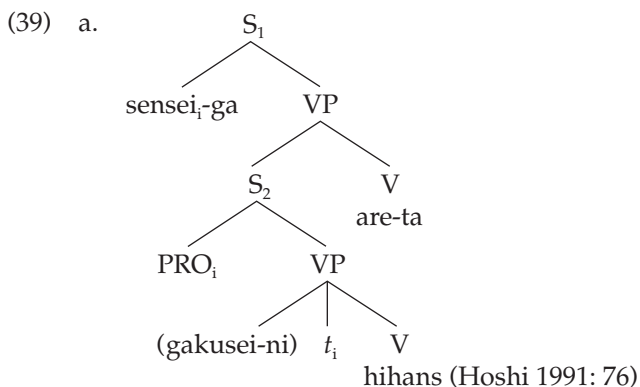
    b.
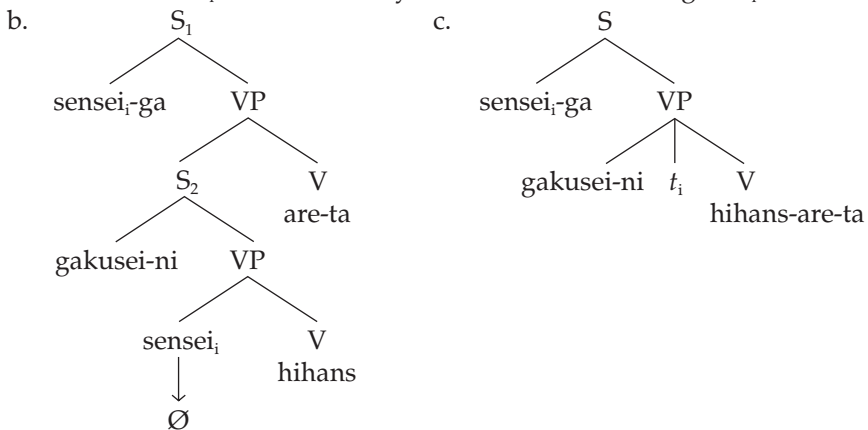
On the other hand, the nonuniform hypothesis assigns structure (32a), repeated here as (38c), to *ni* direct passive example (38a).

In structure (38b) proposed by the uniform hypothesis, the subject *sensei* is a theta subject, because it is selected by the passive verb *are*. With this structure, we can account for the ungrammaticality of (11a)/(12a) and (13b)/(14b), and the grammaticality of (15a). Structure (38c) proposed by the nonuniform hypothesis, on the other hand, cannot account for these data, because the subject position is assumed to be a nontheta position in (38c), as we discussed in section 1.

In contrast, structure (38c) correctly captures the nature of the gap and the status of the *ni* phrase in this type of Japanese passive. That is, in (38c), the gap in the *ni* direct passive is identified as an NP trace, which does not require Case, and the *ni* phrase is claimed to be an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase. We can thus correctly account for the Case facts in (26b) and the binding facts in (29a), as was discussed in section 2. On the other hand, structure (38b) proposed by the uniform hypothesis for the *ni* direct passive cannot account for the facts in (26b) or (29a). This is so, because structure (38b) does not involve NP movement and the *ni* phrase of the *ni* direct passive, *gakusei-ni*, is not analyzed as an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase but is analyzed as the subject of the complement clause in (38b).

It is thus clear that both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis are correct in one respect or another, but that neither of them can be entirely correct as an analysis of the *ni* direct passive. Therefore, we need to reconcile these two hypotheses, the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis, to account for the properties of the *ni* direct passive adequately. Given this consideration, here, I present a proposal made in Hoshi (1991) as a way of reconciling these two hypotheses. The structure which Hoshi (1991) suggests for the *ni* direct passive sentence (38a) is given in (39a).[32]

(39) a.

$$S_1$$

$sensei_i$-ga   VP

S_2 V
        are-ta

PRO_i VP

(gakusei-ni) t_i V

hihans (Hoshi 1991: 76)

Notice that under this proposal by Hoshi (1991), the NP movement analysis by the nonuniform hypothesis is subsumed under the theta subject analysis by the uniform hypothesis. As the uniform hypothesis proposes, the subject

of the *ni* direct passive sentence, *sensei*, is a theta subject since it is required by the passive verb *are*. Furthermore, the matrix subject controls the complement object, PRO. On the other hand, as the nonuniform hypothesis argues, NP movement is also involved in this structure. Although the subject, *sensei*, itself does not move, PRO undergoes NP movement from the complement position of the verb, *hihans*, to the subject position of the complement clause, S_2.[33,34] Importantly, given structures such as (39a) for *ni* direct passives, we can account for the properties of all the *ni* direct passive examples in this chapter, i.e. 11(a)/(12a), (13b)/(14b), (15a), (26b), and (29a). Under this PRO movement analysis of the *ni* direct passive, (11a)/(12a) and (13b)/(14b) are straight-forwardly ruled out because the subject of the *ni* direct passive is required to be an affectee by the passive verb *rare*, as the uniform hypothesis proposes.

Saito's example (26b) is assigned structure (39b), and the pro movement analysis can also account for the Case facts in the example as the NP move-ment analysis under the nonuniform hypothesis does.
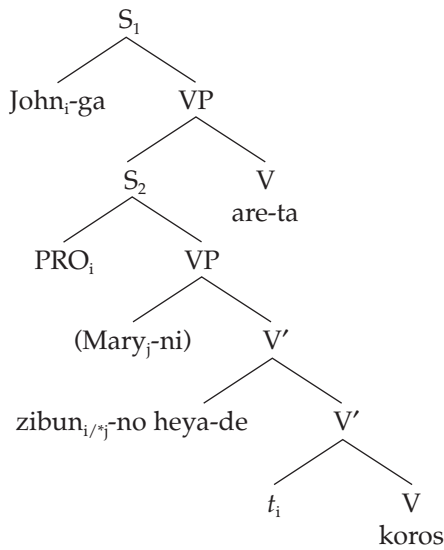
(39) b.
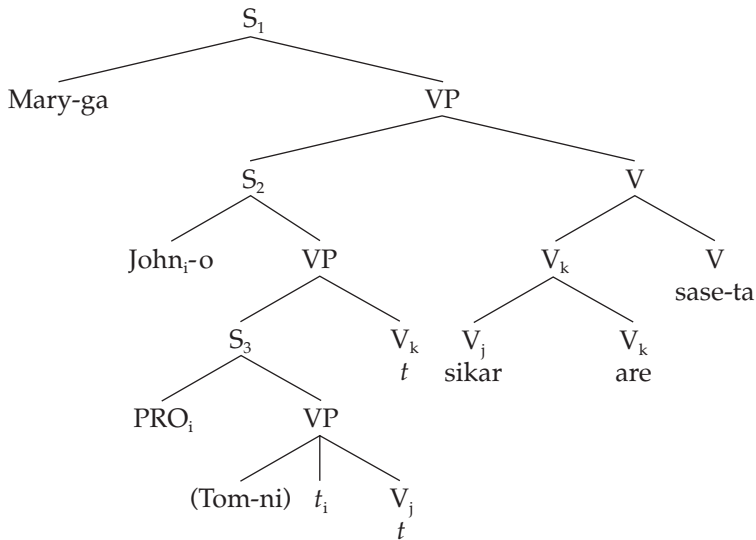
In this representation, the verb *sikar* "scold" first adjoins to the passive verb *are* and then, [$_{Vk}$ *sikar-are*] adjoins to the causative verb *sase*, creating a complex verb [$_V$ *sikar-are-sase*]. The trace left behind by the movement of PRO is an NP trace, which does not require Case, under this proposal, and pro receives null Case but not accusative Case in the subject position of S_2. Hence, in (39b), there is no NP other than the causee *John* which requires accusative Case. Thus, the abstract Double-*o* Constraint is irrelevant in this structure and hence, *John* is allowed to be marked with accusative Case as desired.

Under the assumption that *ni* direct passives such as (29a) are always assigned the PRO movement structure given in (39c), we can correctly account for the binding facts in (29a) as well, as the nonuniform hypothesis does.
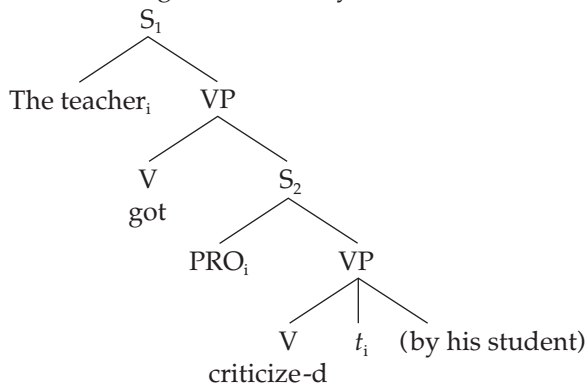
(39)   c.

```
                        S₁
                       /  \
                 Johnᵢ-ga   VP
                          /   \
                        S₂      V
                       /  \    are-ta
                    PROᵢ    VP
                          /    \
                  (Maryⱼ-ni)     V′
                              /     \
                  zibunᵢ/*ⱼ-no heya-de    V′
                                        /   \
                                      tᵢ      V
                                           koros
```

In (39c), the two subject positions, the positions immediately dominated by S_1 and S_2, are occupied by *John* and PRO, which is controlled by *John*. The subject of the embedded clause, *Mary*, appears as an adverbial *ni* "by" phrase due to suppression of an external argument by the passive morpheme *rare*. Furthermore, both of these subject NPs, *John* and PRO, bind a subject-oriented long distance anaphor, *zibun*. Thus, given structure (39c), we can correctly predict that in (29a), not *Mary* but only *John* can be the antecedent of *zibun*, as desired.

Furthermore, as a desirable consequence, this proposal shown in (39a) naturally captures the similarities between the *ni* direct passive in Japanese and the *get* passive in English. (40a) is an instance of the *get* passive, whose properties we discussed in some detail in section 1, and (40b) is the structure Hoshi (1991) proposes for *get* passive examples such as (40a).[35]

(40)   a.   The teacher got criticized by his student.
       b.

```
                      S₁
                     /  \
          The teacherᵢ   VP
                        /   \
                       V      S₂
                      got    /  \
                          PROᵢ    VP
                                /    \
                               V    tᵢ  (by his student)
                          criticize-d
```
                                              (Hoshi 1991: 85)

Notice that structure (40b) parallels structure (39a) for the *ni* direct passive sentence (38a) in notable respects. The subject NP *the teacher* is a theta subject which is required by the verb *get* of the *get* passive. The subject itself does not undergo NP movement, but PRO which is controlled by the matrix subject moves from the complement position of the embedded verb *criticize-d* to the subject position of S$_2$ to receive null Case. Furthermore, in both the *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive, the logical subject of the embedded clause appears as an adverbial *by* phrase. Given this theta subject analysis of the *get* passive, we can thus straightforwardly account for the ungrammaticality of (17a)/(18a) and the grammaticality of (19a). Furthermore, structural parallelisms between (39a) and (40b) allow us to capture similarities between the *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive that we discussed in section 1.
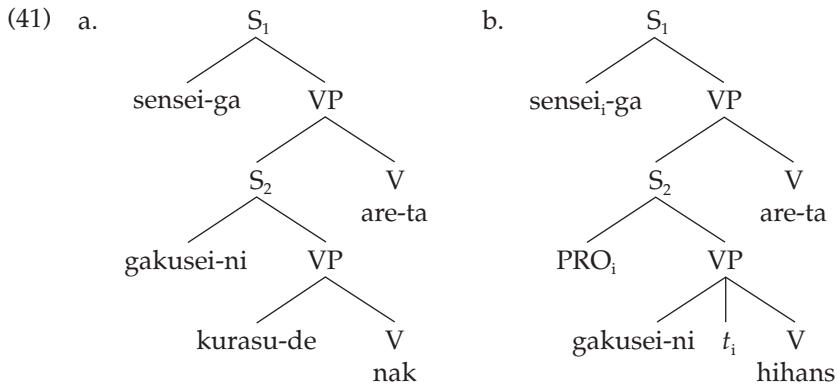
In this section, on the basis of the discussions in the preceding sections, I have clarified the structural properties of three types of Japanese passives, the *ni* indirect passive, the *ni yotte* passive and the *ni* direct passive. In particular, I have argued that the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis are both correct in one respect or another in relation to their analyses of the *ni* direct passive and that these two hypotheses must be reconciled. As a way of doing so, I have shown a proposal made in Hoshi (1991) under which the NP movement analysis by the nonuniform hypothesis is subsumed under the theta subject analysis by the uniform hypothesis. In the following section, I will point out remaining problems for the analysis of Japanese passives suggested in this section.

4   Remaining Issues

In this section, I will point out remaining issues concerning the analysis of each type of Japanese passive which is presented in section 3. The first problem concerns the analysis of the *ni* indirect passive in (35), the second one concerns the analysis of the *ni yotte* passive in (36), and the last one concerns the structure of the *ni* direct passive given in (39a).
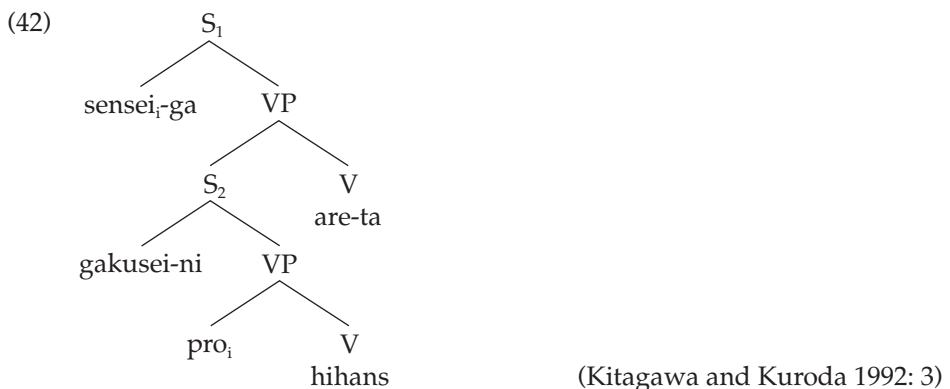
4.1   *Pro*/**kare***: passives vs. causatives*

Let us first discuss a problem regarding the structure of the *ni* indirect passive. In section 3, structures (35b) and (39a) were assigned to *ni* indirect passive (35a) and *ni* direct passive (38a), respectively. Representation (35b) is given in (41a), and structure (39a) is repeated in (41b).

(41)   a.

```
                    S₁
              ┌──────┴──────┐
         sensei-ga         VP
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                     S₂             V
                ┌─────┴─────┐     are-ta
           gakusei-ni      VP
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                  kurasu-de       V
                                 nak
```

b.

```
                    S₁
              ┌──────┴──────┐
         senseiᵢ-ga         VP
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                     S₂             V
                ┌─────┴─────┐     are-ta
             PROᵢ           VP
                      ┌──────┼──────┐
                 gakusei-ni  tᵢ     V
                                  hihans
```

Under the analysis in section 3, the passive morpheme *are* is assumed to be a two-place predicate, taking the subject *sensei* and the complement clause, S_2, in both *ni* indirect passive (41a) and *ni* direct passive (41b), as the uniform hypothesis proposes. However, structure (41b) for the *ni* direct passive is significantly different from structure (41a) for the *ni* indirect passive. As the non-uniform hypothesis argues, structure (41b) for the *ni* direct passive involves NP movement of the logical object of the embedded verb, PRO, while structure (41a) for the *ni* indirect passive does not involve such PRO movement.

Recall, however, that as Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) point out, if we assume the analysis of Japanese passives like the one in section 3 under which the *ni* indirect passive involves complementation as shown in (41a), we cannot rule out the possibility that the *ni* direct passive example (38a) has also the structure given in (42). And in fact, Kitagawa and Kuroda propose (42) for *ni* direct passive example (38a), where pro coindexed with the matrix subject is base-generated in the complement object position.[36]

(42)

```
                    S₁
              ┌──────┴──────┐
         senseiᵢ-ga         VP
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                     S₂             V
                ┌─────┴─────┐     are-ta
           gakusei-ni      VP
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                    proᵢ          V
                                hihans
```

(Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992: 3)

Notice that once we are given either structure (41b) or structure (42) ambiguously for *ni* direct passives such as (38a), we lose our explanation concerning

the binding facts in (29a). Recall also that I have shown in sections 2 and 3 that the properties of example (29a) are accounted for only by some type of NP movement analysis like the one shown in (41b), and that a theta subject analysis such as the one in (42) cannot account for those facts in (29a). That is, a theta subject analysis incorrectly predicts that as in (29b), either *John* or *Mary* can be the antecedent of *zibun* in (29a).

Although it is not clear how we can solve this problem under the analysis given in section 3, the consideration above in turn suggests that in contrast with structures such as (41a–b), structures such as (42) are not available as structures for *ni* passives for some principled reason. And the ungrammaticality of examples such as (43), which Mamoru Saito (personal communication, 1990) and Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992: 41) independently observe, at least suggests that this is indeed the case.

(43) *John$_i$-ga   Bill-ni kare$_i$-o sinyoos-are-ta.
       John-Nom Bill-by he-Acc trust-Pass.-Past
       "John$_i$ was affected by Bill's trusting him$_i$."

Here, we observe that the *ni* passive disallows pronominal elements such as *kare* which is coindexed with the matrix subject in the complement object position. If this is a correct generalization about *ni* passives, structures (42) and (43) are both disallowed and *ni* direct passive examples such as (38a) are unambiguously assigned structures such as (41a).

Importantly, in this respect, the *ni* passive sharply contrasts with the causative in Japanese. Oshima (1979) observes the causative counterpart of the *ni* passive (43) is grammatical as shown below:

(44) John$_i$-ga   Bill-ni kare$_i$-o sinyoos-ase-ta.
       John-Nom Bill-to he-Acc trust-Cause-Past
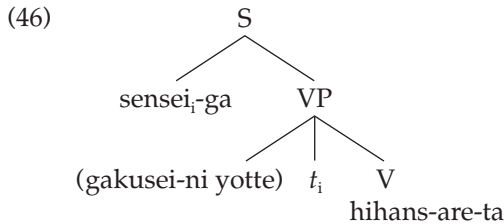   "John$_i$ let/made Bill trust him$_i$." (Oshima 1979: 427)

If we assume with Kuroda (1965a), Kuno (1973), and Shibatani (1973b, 1990), among others, that Japanese causatives such as (44) involve complementation as in (45),

(45) [$_{S1}$ John$_i$-ga [$_{S2}$ Bill-ni kare$_i$-o sinyoos]-ase-ta]

the grammaticality of example (44) indicates that in contrast with *ni* passives, Japanese causatives allow a pronominal element which is coindexed with the matrix subject to appear in the complement object position. Hence, a remaining problem as to the structure of *ni* passives which we need to solve is why *ni* passives such as (43) do not allow a pronominal element coindexed with the matrix subject in the complement object position as causatives such as (45) do.[37]

4.2   Double/multiple object structure: passives and ECM

Consider next Kuroda's structure (36b) again which we assume for the *ni yotte* passive (36a). Structure (36b) is repeated here as (46).

(46)

```
                   S
              ／        ＼
        sensei_i-ga        VP
                        ／    ＼
   (gakusei-ni yotte)  t_i      V
                           hihans-are-ta
```

We have seen in the preceding sections that this NP movement structure proposed by Kuroda captures the properties of the *ni yotte* passive. That is, the subject position of the *ni yotte* passive is necessarily a nontheta position, as was shown in (11b)/(12b), (13c)/(14c), and (15b). Furthermore, the *ni yotte* passive always involves NP movement of the logical object and the *ni yotte* phrase is an adverbial *by* phrase, as we observed in the data in (33) (cf. (35a) vs. (37b)).

However, as Kuroda (1979, 1985) and Kuno (1983, 1986b) point out, which noun phrase may be preposed and made the passive subject by *ni yotte* passivization is a potential problem for this type of NP movement analysis of *ni yotte* passives. Consider the following *ni yotte* passive examples from Kuroda (1979).

(47)   a.   John-ga   kokumu-syoo-ni   yotte ryoken-o
             John-Nom State-Department-to owing passport-Acc
             toriage-rare-ta.
             take away-Pass.-Past
             "The State Department revoked John's passport."
        b.   Nihon-ga   sihonka-tati-ni yotte utukusii sizen-o
             Japan-Nom capitalist-Pl-to owing beautiful nature-Acc
             hakais-are-te-iru.
             destroy-Pass.-Prog
             "Capitalists are destroying the beautiful nature of Japan." (Kuroda
             1979: 339)

Given that the *ni yotte* passive cannot be analyzed as a variant of the *ni* indirect passive even optionally (cf. (35a) vs. (37b)), Kuroda suggests that the passive subject of (47a) seems to be derived from the source phrase in (48a), *John-kara*, and that the source of the passive subject of (47b) might be the genitive noun phrase in (48b), *nihon-no*, or the locative noun phrase in (48c), *nihon-de*.

(48)   a.   Kokumu-syoo-ga   John-kara ryoken-o   toriage-ta.
             State-Department-Nom John-from passport-Acc take away-Past
             "The State Department revoked John's passport."

b. Sihonka-tati-ga   nihon-no utukusii sizen-o   hakais-i-te-iru.
   capitalist-Pl-Nom Japan-Gen beautiful nature-Acc destroy-Prog
   "Capitalists are destroying the beautiful nature of Japan."

c. Sihonka-tati-ga   nihon-de utukusii sizen-o   hakais-i-te-iru.
   capitalist-Pl-Nom Japan-in beautiful nature-Acc destroy-Prog
   "Capitalists are destroying the beautiful nature in Japan." (Kuroda 1979: 339)

This possibility suggested by Kuroda regarding target phrases preposed by *ni yotte* passivization is supported by the following data.

(49) a. Gakusei$_i$-ga [$_{VP}$ kokumu-syoo-ni   yotte san-nin t_i (karerano)
        student-Nom   State-Department-to owing three-Cl   (their)
        ryoken-o   toriage-rare-ta].
        passport-Acc take away-Pass.-Past
        "The State Department revoked three students' passports."

     b. Yooroppa-no kuni$_i$-ga   [$_{VP}$ sihonka-tati-ni yotte   mut-tu t_i
        Europe-Gen   country-Nom   capitalist-Pl-to owing six-Cl
        (sono) utukusii sizen-o   hakais-are-te-iru].
        (its)   beautiful nature-Acc destroy-Pass.-Prog
        "Capitalists are destroying the beautiful nature of six European countries."

Under Miyagawa's (1989b) theory of numeral quantifiers in Japanese, a numeral quantifier and its associated NP are required to mutually c-command.[38] Notice that in (49a–b), neither of the numeral quantifiers, *san-nin* or *mut-tu*, can c-command its associated NP in the subject positions, *gakusei* "student" and *yooroppa-no kuni* "European country," due to the existence of VP. The grammaticality of the data in (49) thus indicates that Kuroda's speculation is correct: by *ni yotte* passivization, not only the direct object but also some argument other than the direct object can undergo NP movement to the subject position, leaving a trace behind in its original position. Under his theory, in (49a–b), the numeral quantifiers, *san-nin* and *mut-tu*, are thus associated with the subject NPs through the traces left behind by the NP movement of *gakusei* and *yooroppa-no kuni*, as illustrated in these examples.

A question, however, arises as to why such an argument other than the direct object undergoes NP movement by *ni yotte* passivization. Recall that under the analysis in section 3, it is assumed that the passive morpheme of the *ni yotte* passive absorbs accusative Case and suppresses an external argument from the attached verb, triggering NP movement of the internal argument. One way to solve this problem is to adopt Ishii's (1989) and Shibatani's (1990) proposal that Japanese has a very wide range of double/multiple accusative structure underlyingly as in Korean (H. S. Choe 1987, Yoon 1990, Maling and Kim 1992, among others), and to hypothesize further that predicates in Japanese can take an "additional" object/"affected" argument, typically a theme or patient, depending on the lexical meaning of each predicate.[39] Under this

hypothesis, in *ni yotte* passives such as (47a–b)/(49a–b), the additional object/ affected argument is preposed to the subject position. Hence, in (49a–b), numeral quantifiers are associated with the subject NPs through the traces left behind by the movement of those additional objects.

Under this speculation, the following multiple object structures are supposed to exist underlyingly in Japanese. And the ungrammaticality of the following active examples, where the additional objects *John* and *nihon* appear, is accounted for by the abstract Double-*o* Constraint in (24).

(50) a. *Kokumu-syoo-ga   John-(o)   ryoken-(o)   toriage-ta.
           State-Department-Nom John-(Acc) passport-(Acc) take away-Past
           "The State Department revoked John's passport."
      b. *Sihonka-tati-ga   nihon-(o)   utukusii sizen-(o)
           capitalist-Pl-Nom Japan-(Acc) beautiful nature-(Acc)
           hakais-i-te-iru.
           destroy-Prog
           "Capitalists are destroying the beautiful nature of Japan."

Notice that there are two NPs marked with accusative Case in these examples. In contrast, the abstract Double-*o* Constraint in (24) does not rule out examples such as (49a–b). This is so because the empty categories shown in (49a–b) are NP traces, which do not require Case.[40,41]

The claim that by *ni yotte* passivization, not only the direct object but also an additional object/affected argument can undergo NP movement to the subject position receives further support from the paradigm in (51) and (52).

(51) a. *Nihongo-gakka-no   sinsetu-ga   gakutyoo-ni
           Japanese-Department-Gen new establishment-Nom president-by
           happyoos-are-ta.
           announce-Pass.-Past
           "The president announced the new establishment of the Depart-
           ment of Japanese."
      b. *Nihongo-gakka-no   sinsetu-ga   gakutyoo-ni
           Japanese-Department-Gen new establishment-Nom president-by
           (sono) igi-o   setumeis-are-ta.
           (its)   significance-Acc explain-Pass.-Past
           "The president explained the/its significance of the new establish-
           ment of the Department of Japanese."

(52) a.   Nihongo-gakka-no   sinsetu-ga   gakutyoo-to
           Japanese-Department-Gen new establishment-Nom president-to
           yotte   happyoos-are-ta.
           owing announce-Pass.-Past
           "The president announced the new establishment of the Depart-
           ment of Japanese."

b. *Nihongo-gakka-no   sinsetu-ga   gakutyoo-ni
    Japanese-Department-Gen new establishment president-to
    yotte   (sono) igi-o   setumeis-are-ta.
    owing (its)   significance-Acc explain-Pass.-Past
    "The president explained the/its significance of the new establish-
    ment of the Department of Japanese."

Under Kuroda's theory/the analysis in section 3, we can straightforwardly
account for the ungrammaticality of (51a–b) and for the grammaticality of
(52a). The subject position of both *ni* direct passive (51a) and *ni* indirect pas-
sive (51b) is a theta position, and in these examples, the subject is required to
be an affectee by the passive verb *are*. However, abstract NPs such as *sinsetu*
"new establishment" cannot be interpreted as affectees, and thus (51a) and
(51b) are correctly ruled out. On the other hand, the subject position of the *ni*
yotte passive is a nontheta position, and thus there is no selectional restriction
imposed on the subject of this type of Japanese passive. Hence, *ni yotte* passive
example (52a) is permitted.

Importantly, in grammaticality, *ni yotte* passive example (52b) parallels *ni*
passives in (51a–b) but not *ni yotte* passive (52a), and Kuroda's dichotomy
between *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives appears to break down in (51) and
(52). Notice, however, that in (52b), the direct object *(sono) igi-o* "(its) signifi-
cance" is not *ni yotte* passivized. Thus, under the suggestion above, it must be
the additional/affected argument, typically a theme or patient, that is preposed
to the subject position in *ni yotte* passive example (52b). However, abstract
NPs such as *sinsetu* cannot be interpreted as an affected argument, a theme/
patient of *setumeis* "explain." Hence, (52b) is correctly ruled out, as desired,
and we are led to the conclusion that in contrast with multiple object struc-
tures (50a–b), the following multiple object structure does not exist even under-
lyingly in Japanese:

(53) *Gakutyoo-ga   nihongo-gakka-no   sinsetu-(o)
      president-Nom Japanese-Department-Gen new establishment-(Acc)
      (sono) igi-(o)   setumeis-i-ta.
      (its)   significance-(Acc) explain-Past
      "The president explained the significance of the new establishment of
      the Department of Japanese."

Notice further that although (51b) and (52b) are both ungrammatical, they
are forced to have similar interpretations. Under the analysis presented in this
chapter, we can also account for this observation, while maintaining Kuroda's
dichotomy of *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives. In *ni* passive (51b), the subject
NP *nihongo-gakka-no sinsetu* is required to be an "affectee" by the passive mor-
pheme *are*, whereas in (52b), the preposed subject NP, *nihongo-gakka-no sinsetu*,
is also required to be interpreted as an "additional" object/"affected" argument
of *setumeis* "explain." In either of these two cases, a similar selectional restriction

is imposed upon the passive subject *sinsetu*, but the passive subject NP cannot satisfy such restrictions in (51b) or (52b). Hence, (51b) and (52b) are both ungrammatical with violations of similar selectional restrictions.[42]

Given the hypothesis that predicates in Japanese can license an additional object/affected argument depending on its lexical meanings, we can naturally account for the interesting properties of the Japanese "Exceptional Case Marking" (henceforth, ECM) construction like (54).

(54) a. Mary-ga   kare-ga/o   baka da   to   omot-ta.
          Mary-Nom he-Nom/Acc foolish Cop Comp think-Past
          "Mary thought [$_{S'}$ that he/*him was foolish]."
      b. Kare-ga Mary-ni yotte baka da   to   omow-are-ta.
          he-Nom Mary-to owing foolish Cop Comp think-Pass.-Past
          "He$_i$ was thought by Mary [$_{S'}$ that e_i was foolish]."

In Japanese ECM example (54a), it appears that the embedded subject can surface with either nominative Case or accusative Case. On the other hand, as the English translation indicates, the embedded subject must surface with nominative Case but cannot appear with accusative Case in English. (54b) is the *ni yotte* passive counterpart of (54a). As the English translation indicates, the English *be* passive counterpart of (54b) is totally ungrammatical in contrast with (54b).

Noting these differences between the Japanese ECM construction and the English counterpart, Saito (1982, 1983) suggests that they are different in that in (54a), the NP *kare* can be outside S' so that *kare* coindexed with pro in S' can appear with accusative Case, while this is not possible in English (cf. the English translation of (54a)). His structure for (54a) is given in (55).

(55) a. [$_S$ Mary-ga [$_{S'}$ kare-ga baka da to] omot-ta]
      b. [$_S$ Mary-ga kare$_i$-o [$_{S'}$ pro$_i$ baka da to] omot-ta]

More specifically, Saito claims that the predicate, *omow* "think," in Japanese can be a two-place predicate or a three-place predicate as in (55a–b), while *think* in English is a two-place predicate. That is, in his proposal, *kare$_i$-o* and [$_{S'}$ pro$_i$ *baka da to*] are both analyzed as internal arguments of *omow* in (54a), as illustrated in (55b).[43] Because *kare* is the matrix object, it can be preposed to the matrix subject position by *ni yotte* passivization, as shown in (54b). For this reason, the English counterpart of (55b) does not exist, and the English counterpart of (54b) is ungrammatical.

Notice that the suggestion regarding an additional object/affected argument in Japanese in this section can provide an answer for the question as to why *omow* in Japanese can be a three-place predicate in contrast with *think* in English. This is that the Japanese ECM construction above can be considered as an instance in which the additional object/affected argument licensed by

the predicate, *omow*, surfaces with accusative Case.[44] This is because S′ does not require Case (N. Chomsky 1981a, Stowell 1981), and thus the abstract Double-*o* Constraint in (24) does not prevent this type of additional object/affected argument, a theme argument of *omow*, from surfacing in the construction given in (54a–b).

The claim that the NP *kare* in example (54a–b) is the additional/affected argument, a theme argument of *omow*, receives support from the following contrast between (56a) and (56b–c).

(56) a.   Mary-ga   [$_{S'}$ tyuui-ga   taisetu   da   to]   omot-ta.
          Mary-Nom   heed-Nom important Cop Comp think-Past
          "Mary thought that we have to be careful."

     b.   *Mary-ga   tyuui$_i$-o   [$_{S'}$ pro$_i$ taisetu   da   to]   omot-ta.
          Mary-Nom heed-Acc   important Cop Comp think-Past
          "Mary thought that we have to be careful."

     c.   *Tyuui$_i$-ga   Mary-ni yotte   [$_{S'}$ pro$_i$ taisetu   da   to]
          heed-Nom Mary-to owing   important Cop Comp
          omow-are-ta.
          think-Pass.-Past
          "It was thought that we have to be careful."

While examples (56b–c) are ungrammatical, (54a) and (56a) are grammatical. This is so, because in (56b), abstract NP's such as *tyuui* 'heed' cannot be interpreted as an affected argument of *omow*, a theme. Hence, it cannot appear outside S′ as an additional object, and due to unavailability of an additional object, *ni yotte* passive example (56c) is ungrammatical. On the other hand, in (54a), NPs such as *kare* "he" can be interpreted as an affected argument, and thus, (54a) is grammatical. In (56a), the NP *tyuui* is the subject of the embedded clause and thus, affectedness interpretation is not imposed by the matrix verb *omow*. Hence, (56a) is grammatical.[45]

The above speculation regarding the properties of *ni yotte* passive examples such as (47a–b)/(49a–b) thus seems to be a plausible one, but questions still remain as to what the exact nature of an additional object/affected argument is, and exactly what kinds of predicates in Japanese license such an additional object/affected argument.

4.3   Theta role assignment: Japanese passives and Chicheŵa/Romance causatives
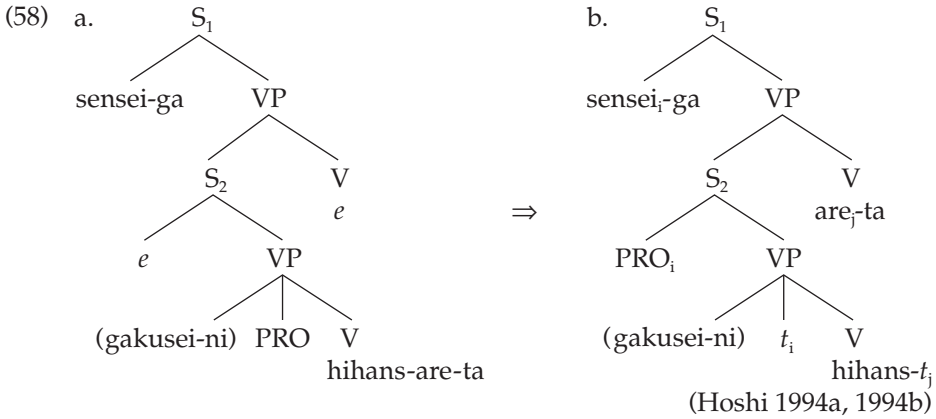
Finally, consider again structures (39a) and (40b) which Hoshi (1991) proposes for *ni* direct passive (38a) and *get* passive (40a), respectively. (39a) is given in (57a), and (40b) is repeated here as (57b).

(57)　a.

```
              S₁
            /    \
      senseiᵢ-ga   VP
                  /   \
                S₂     V
               / \    are-ta
           PROᵢ   VP
                 / | \
      (gakusei-ni) tᵢ  V
                      hihans
```

b.

```
              S₁
            /    \
   The teacherᵢ   VP
                 /   \
                V     S₂
               got   /   \
                  PROᵢ    VP
                         / | \
                criticize-d tᵢ (by the student)
```
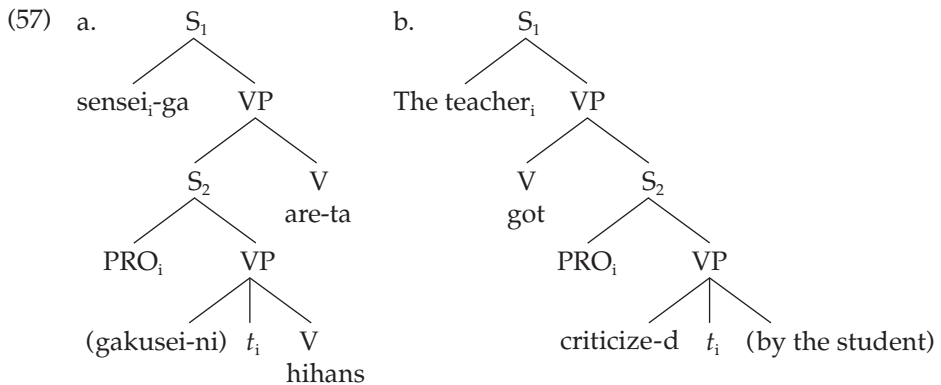
Recall that it was argued in section 3 that given structure (57a) for the *ni* direct passive and structure (57b) for the *get* passive, we can account for the properties of each of these two passives that we discussed in sections 1 and 2. At the same time, we can straightforwardly capture the similarities between them that we also discussed in those sections. First, both *ni* direct passive (57a) and *get* passive (57b) have a theta subject. Second, these two passives involve the NP movement of PRO, which is controlled by the matrix subject, within the complement clause, S_2. PRO undergoes NP movement to the subject position of S_2 to receive null Case. Third, in these two passive constructions, the logical subjects of the embedded verbs, *gakusei* and *the student*, appear as adverbial *by* phrases optionally in S_2.

Notice, however, that a question arises as to the function of the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive represented in structure (57a). In *get* passive (57b), *get* of the *get* passive is assumed to be a two-place predicate which takes the subject, *the teacher*, and the complement clause, S_2. And the passive morpheme, *d*, absorbs Case and suppresses an external argument from the attached verb *criticize*, triggering the NP movement of PRO in S_2. In contrast, in structure (57a) for the *ni* direct passive, the passive morpheme *are* is represented simply as a two-place predicate, taking the subject *sensei* and the complement clause, S_2. Therefore, in (57a), it is unclear how the passive morpheme *are* functions as a suffix which absorbs Case and suppresses an external theta role like the English passive morpheme, *d*, in (57b). To put this problem in a different way, (57a) does not express structurally the conclusion in sections 1, 2, and 3: as the uniform hypothesis proposes, the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive is a two-place predicate which takes a subject and a complement clause, but at the same time, the passive morpheme of this type is a suffix which triggers NP movement by absorbing Case and suppressing an external argument from the attached verb, as the nonuniform hypothesis argues. In (57a), the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive is treated only as a two-place predicate, but it is not treated as a suffix which like the English passive morpheme, *d*, in (57b), is claimed to trigger the NP movement of PRO.

As a way of solving this problem regarding the dual nature of the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive, Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) proposes the derivation in (58) for *ni* direct passive example (38a).[46]

(58) a.
```
              S₁
          ___/ \___
   sensei-ga        VP
                ___/ \___
              S₂        V
          ___/ \___      e
         e        VP
             ___/ |  \___
  (gakusei-ni)  PRO   V
                   hihans-are-ta
```
⇒   b.
```
              S₁
          ___/ \___
   senseiᵢ-ga       VP
                ___/ \___
              S₂        V
          ___/ \___     areⱼ-ta
       PROᵢ        VP
             ___/ |  \___
  (gakusei-ni)   tᵢ    V
                    hihans-tⱼ
```
(Hoshi 1994a, 1994b)

Notice that adopting Washio's (1989/90) important proposal, Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) attempts to capture the dual characteristics of the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive, *are*, in the course of the derivation, as illustrated in (58).[47] In so doing, Hoshi argues that the similarities between the *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive are captured structurally in the derivation given in (58). Under this proposal, the passive morpheme *are* adjoins to the embedded verb, *hihans*, to absorb Case and suppress an external argument as a suffix without assigning its theta roles at the initial point of the derivation, as shown in (58a). At a later point of the derivation in LF, as illustrated in (58b), the passive verb *are* excorporates/splits off from the embedded verb and raises into the V position of the matrix clause, S_1, discharging a subject theta role to *sensei* and an internal theta role to S_2.[48] In the course of the derivation shown in (58b), PRO controlled by the matrix subject also moves into the subject position of S_2 to receive null Case.[49]

The claim that the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive has such dual characteristics might appear quite peculiar to Japanese at first glance. Importantly, however, not only the Japanese passive morpheme of this type but also the causative verb in Romance, Chicheŵa and other languages display the same type of dual characteristics (Alsina 1992, M. Baker 1988, Kayne 1975, Williams 1979, Zubizarreta 1985, Di Sciullo and Williams 1987, Burzio 1986, Guasti 1992, among others).[50] Consider the following Italian *faire-par* constructions:

(59) a. Ho fatto spegnere la candela da Giovanni.
          (I) made put out   the candle by Giovanni
          "I made the candle be put out by Giovanni."
      b. Piero fa   riparare la macchina da Giovanni.
          Piero makes repair   the car   by Giovanni
          "Piero has the car repaired by Giovanni."

In these two Italian causative examples, the external arguments, the subjects of the embedded verbs, appear as an adverbial *da* "by" phrases, although no affixes such as a passive morpheme which suppress an external argument are attached to the embedded verbs.

Given these facts, Williams (1979), Zubizarreta (1982, 1985), and Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), among others, propose that in the *faire-par* construction, the causative verb functions in two different ways: it behaves as a predicate, assigning theta roles; it also behaves as a lexical affix, suppressing the external argument of the verb of the embedded clause. If these similarities between the *ni* direct passive morpheme and the causative morpheme in other languages are real, we can conclude that the dual characteristics displayed by the passive morpheme of the *ni* direct passive are not peculiar to Japanese.[51] A question, however, remains as to why the *ni* direct passive verb and the causative verb in other languages display this type of dual characteristics.

5   Conclusions

In sections 1 and 2, I have shown that Kuroda's dichotomy between *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives and the dichotomy of *ni* direct passives and *ni* indirect passives proposed by the nonuniform hypothesis are both correct. And I have concluded that there are three different types of passives in Japanese, *ni yotte* passives, *ni* direct passives, and *ni* indirect passives. On the basis of the discussions in sections 1 and 2, I have also demonstrated that Kuroda's NP movement analysis of *ni yotte* passives and the structure which both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis assign to *ni* indirect passive are basically correct. However, in section 3, by showing that both the uniform hypothesis and the nonuniform hypothesis correctly capture important properties of the *ni* direct passive in one way or another but that neither of these two competing theories can be entirely correct, I have argued that we have to reconcile both of these two hypotheses to analyze the *ni* direct passive properly. As a way of doing this, I have presented a proposal made in Hoshi (1991).

In section 4, I have pointed out remaining problems for the analysis of Japanese passives presented in section 3 together with possible solutions. First, I have pointed out that given the analysis in section 3, *ni* direct passive example (38a) is assigned structure (41b) or structure (42), and thus we lose our account for the binding facts in (29a). Although I did not offer a solution for this problem in this chapter, I suggested the possibility that structures such as (42) involving pro in the complement object position are not available for *ni* direct passives. This claim is based on the fact that pronominal elements such as *kare* in the complement object position cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject in *ni* passives as shown in (43), whereas such pronominal elements can be coreferential with the matrix subject in causatives in Japanese as in (44).

This fact also suggests that although *ni* passives and causatives in Japanese project biclausal structure, they must have some fundamental differences (A. Watanabe 1993, Hoshi 1994a, 1994b).

Second, if the analysis of *ni yotte* passives presented in this chapter is correct, the data in (47), (49), and (51) suggest that the predicate–argument structure in Japanese is significantly different from that in languages such as English. That is, predicates in Japanese can take an additional object/affected argument, typically a theme or patient, like predicates in Korean but unlike predicates in English. This conclusion then lends support to Kuroda's (1988) agreement parameter (cf. Fukui 1986, Takano 1996, Fukui and Takano to appear): English is a forced agreement language, whereas Japanese is a nonforced agreement language. Given the principle of the uniqueness of agreement which requires that agreement inducing base categories such as V agree with at most one X^{max} (Kuroda 1988), it is correctly predicted by Kuroda's theory that there are multiple/double object structures in Japanese, while there aren't such constructions in English.

Third, if the derivation in (58a–b) proposed for the *ni* direct passive is correct, it must be the case that theta role assignment does not have to be completed at the initial point of the derivation, D-structure, as Larson (1988) argues. Thus, to the extent that the proposed derivation in (58a–b) for the *ni* direct passive is correct, it provides support for N. Chomsky's (1992, 1995a) proposal that D-structure, in which all the grammatical relations are represented all at once, does not exist.

NOTES

1 Following Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976), Kuroda (1979, 1985), Saito (1982), Kuno (1983, 1986b), Miyagawa (1989b), Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), and Tsujimura (1996b), among others, I adopt the terms "direct passives" and "indirect passives" and I use these terms simply for the purposes of exposition at the phenomenal level without any commitment to particular analyses.

   The present tense form of the passive morpheme in Japanese is *rare-ru*, and the past tense form is *rare-ta*. The initial consonant *r* drops after consonantal verb stems such as *nagur* "punch" or *nak* "cry." Verbs derived from an abstract noun by means of a light verb *su-ru* "do" have the passive form ending *s-are-ru*. Hence, the passive form of *hihansu-ru* "criticize" is *hihans-are-ru* "be criticized."

2 It should be noted that translations I provide for Japanese passive examples do not have any theoretical import.

3 Following Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976), Kuroda (1979, 1985), Saito (1982), Kuno (1983, 1986b), Miyagawa (1989b), Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), and Tsujimura (1996b), among others, I adopt the terms "uniform hypothesis" and "nonuniform hypothesis."

4 See Saito (1982) and Marantz (1984) for different versions of the uniform hypothesis. Some of the important proposals made by them will be discussed later in section 2.

5 More specifically, K. Hasegawa (1964) and Kuroda (1965a, 1979) propose that if the direct or indirect object of the embedded clause is identical with the matrix subject, the embedded object is deleted. Reinterpreting this complement object deletion analysis in the principles-and-parameters theory (N. Chomsky 1981a, 1986b, among others), Kuroda (1983) briefly discusses the possibility that the gap in the embedded object position of direct passives might be pro-controlled by the matrix subject. On the other hand, Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) assume that the gap in the direct passive is pro in their paper. However, they state that they have not yet attained a complete understanding of the nature of the empty category involved in direct passives (Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992: 42), and imply that the gap in the direct passive which is optionally controlled by the matrix subject has some special properties. See their work for their important discussions about the nature of this gap.

6 Reinterpreting this NP movement analysis in the principles-and-parameters theory, Saito (1982), Marantz (1984), Miyagawa (1989b), and others propose that the passive morpheme of the direct passive suppresses the external theta role and absorbs the Case of the attached verb, triggering NP movement of the logical object. This NP movement analysis of direct passives will be discussed in detail in section 2.

7 We will come back to this issue in section 4.

8 Following K. Inoue (1976a) and Kuroda (1979), among others, I call the passive construction with *ni, ni* passives, and the passive constructions with *ni yotte, ni yotte* passives. Roughly speaking, both *ni* and *ni yotte* correspond to *by* in English.

   Given these terminologies, I thus call passive sentences such as (2) the *ni* direct passive, and passive examples such as (3) the *ni* indirect passive in this chapter.

9 Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) also discuss the parallelism between the *ni* direct passive and the *get* passive. See Washio (1989/90) for a different comparison between Japanese passives and English passives.

10 By the term "affectee," Kuroda (1979) basically means something or someone that is acted upon or influenced. The reader is referred to Kuroda (1979, 1985) and Kuno (1983, 1986b) for the exact definitions of terms such as "affectees," "affect," "affectivity," or "affectedness" which are used in Kuroda (1979).

11 K. Inoue (1976a) first observes contrasts such as the one in (11a–b), and claims that the distinction between *ni* and *ni yotte* is determined by semantic factors. And she has made the following important remark on this point: "*ni* has the meaning of 'influence of the agent' on the passive subject. Its difference from *ni yotte* is: *ni* may be used only in cases where the passive subject and the agent are closely related to each other in this sense." From this, Inoue concludes "if the passive subject is such that it does not feel such influence, or that it does not receive the direct effect of such influence, one cannot use *ni*. Therefore, if the passive subject is inanimate, *ni* is often excluded" (K. Inoue 1976a: 84).

12 Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) show that the following contrast can be accounted for by the same assumption:

(i) a. John$_i$ is intentionally easy to please [e]$_i$.
   b. *John$_i$ is intentionally certain [t_i to win]. (Lasnik and Fiengo 1974: 546–7)

The reader is referred to Perlmutter (1970), Jackendoff (1972), Lasnik and Fiengo (1974), Zubizarreta (1982), and Hoshi (1991), among others,

for detailed discussions on this assumption.

13 Although Kuroda (1979) marks * for example (15b), a violation of the requirements imposed by subject-oriented adverbs seems to induce marginal ungrammaticality, as shown in (15b).

14 Kuno (1983, 1986b) abandons the nonuniform analysis of the direct passive and the indirect passive proposed in Kuno (1973), and adopts a uniform analysis of *ni* passives, which is quite similar to Kuroda's (1965a, 1979, 1986) analysis. Kuno (1983, 1986b) also differentiates *ni yotte* passives from *ni* passives, but he does so differently from Kuroda. See Kuno (1983, 1986b) for detailed discussions of his analysis of *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives. Y. Abe (1985) also argues for Kuroda's dichotomy between *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives.

15 There is another important difference between *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives. According to Kuno (1973: 346), James McCawley first observed that there does not exist a *ni yotte* passive counterpart of *ni* indirect passives such as (3).

(i) *Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni yotte
    teacher-Nom student-to owing
    kurasu-de   nak-are-ta.
    classroom-in cry-Pass.-Past
    "The teacher was cried by the student in the classroom."

An account of the ungrammaticality of *ni yotte* passive examples such as (i) will be provided in section 3.

16 Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) marks * for example (19b), but the contrast in (19a–b) seems to be much weaker than the ones in (17a–b) and (18a–b). This is consistent with the claim that a violation of the requirements imposed by subject-oriented adverbs is weak, as was suggested in n. 13.

17   See Cheng and Huang (1994) for more discussions on the *get* passive.

18   Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) propose the following argument structure for the passive morpheme of the *ni* passive:

   (i)   *rare*:
   [Experiencer/Agent [Eventuality __]]
   [+Affected]
      (Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992: 37)

   The term "eventuality," which is intended to cover both events and states, is adopted from Bach (1986).

19   *Ni* indirect passive examples such as (i) which Kuno (1973: 24) observes show that the interpretation of the indirect passive does not have to be adversative.

   (i)   Taroo_i-ga   sensee-ni   kare_i-no
         Taro-Nom   teacher-by   he-Gen
         musuko-o   home-rare-ta.
         son-Acc   praise-Pass.-Past
         "Taro_i was affected by the teacher's praising his_i son."

   In this *ni* indirect passive, the adversative interpretation is not obtained, and the effect on Taro of the teacher's praising his son is positive and beneficial.

20   Kuno (1983, 1986b) independently makes a similar proposal regarding the differences in interpretation between *ni* direct passives and *ni* indirect passives.

21   Through a detailed study of various empirical phenomena including quantifier scope and "reconstruction" effects in *ni* passives, Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) also convincingly argue for the uniform treatment of *ni* passives.

22   See Saito (1982), Marantz (1984), and Miyagawa (1989b), among others, for relevant discussions of N. Chomsky's (1981a) proposal that passive morphology suppresses an external argument and absorbs Case from the attached verb.

23   See S.-I. Harada (1973), Shibatani (1973b), Kuroda (1978, 1988), Poser (1981), and Saito (1982, 1985), among others, for the nature of the abstract Double-*o* Constraint in Japanese. (24) is Saito's (1985) interpretation of S.-I. Harada's (1973) abstract Double-*o* Constraint. As is clear in the discussion below, a complex predicate counts as a single verb for this constraint.

24   S.-I. Harada (1973) and Kuroda (1978, 1988), among others, observe that examples such as (i) are not as ungrammatical as (25b).

   (i)   ??Mary-ga   [John-o
         Mary-Nom [John-Acc
         hamabe-o   hasir]-ase-ta.
         beach-Loc run]-Cause-Past
         "Mary made/let John run on the beach."

   They propose that this is because example (i) violates the "surface" Double-*o* Constraint, which mildly prohibits multiple occurrence of *o* in a single clause, but (25b) violates abstract Double-*o* Constraint in (24) as well as the surface Double-*o* Constraint. Notice that in (25b), *John* and *hon* are both marked with accusative Case *o*, while in (i), *John* is marked with accusative Case *o* but *hamabe* is marked with the locative marker *o*.

   Harada and Kuroda, among others, further observe that in an important respect, the abstract and surface Double-*o* Constraint violations differ aside from their degrees of deviance. The abstract double-*o* violation obtains even when one of the "*o*-marked NPs" is an empty category, if the empty category requires accusative Case. On the other hand, the surface Double-*o* Constraint violation can be

circumvented by dislocating one of them. This is illustrated below as well as in (25c). (See Kuroda 1978, Hoji 1990, and Murasugi 1991 for detailed discussions on the cleft construction in Japanese. In the latter two works, it is assumed that the examples in (ii) and (iii) involve movement of an empty operator to Comp.)

(ii)
a. *[$_{S'}$ [$_S$ Mary-ga   John-o
        Mary-Nom John-Acc
     e_i yom-ase-ta]-no]-wa
        read-Cause-Past-Comp-Top
     hon$_i$-o   da.
     book-Acc Cop
     "It is a book that Mary made John read."
b. *[$_{S'}$ [$_S$ Mary-ga e_i hon-o
        Mary-Nom   book-Acc
     yom-ase-ta]-no]-wa
     read-Cause-Past-Comp-Top
     John$_i$-o   da.
     John-Acc Cop
     "It is John that Mary made read a book."

(iii)
a. [$_{S'}$ [$_S$ Mary-ga   John-o e_i
        Mary-Nom John-Acc
     aruk-ase-ta]-no]-wa
     walk-Cause-Past-Comp-Top
     hamabe$_i$-o da.
     beach-Loc Cop
     "It is the beach where Mary made John walk."
b. [$_{S'}$ [$_S$ Mary-ga e_i hamabe-o
        Mary-Nom   beach-Loc
     aruk-ase-ta]-no]-wa
     walk-Cause-Past-Comp-Top
     John$_i$-o   da.
     John-Acc Cop
     "It is John that Mary made walk on the beach."

As the examples in (ii) have two NPs that require abstract objective Case, they are completely out even when one of them is a trace left behind by empty operator movement. On the other hand, the examples in (iii) show that an accusative NP and an *o* locative NP are compatible as long as one of them is dislocated.

25 Just for ease of exposition, I assume that the Japanese causative verb is a two-place predicate, as illustrated in (27) and (28). Furthermore, I assume Kuroda's (1965a) verb-raising analysis of Japanese causatives. In this chapter, I also assume a slightly modified version of Saito's (1982) theory of Case assignment/licensing in Japanese: nominative case *ga* is structurally assigned to an NP which is immediately dominated by tensed S; accusative Case *o* is assigned to an object; as for the dative marker *ni*, it is assigned to an argument which cannot surface with either nominative case *ga* or accusative Case *o*.

26 In a class lecture at the University of Connecticut in 1989, Mamoru Saito pointed out similarities between the complement object deletion analysis of the Japanese *ni* direct passive by the uniform theory and that of the English *tough* construction proposed by Lasnik and Fiengo (1974). On the basis of the Case properties shown in (26b), he also pointed out a crucial difference between these two constructions: the gap in the *ni* direct passive is an NP trace, whereas the gap of the *tough* construction has the properties of a WH trace (N. Chomsky 1977, among others).

27 The reader is referred to Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) and Kuno (1983, 1986b) for different accounts for the facts in (29a–b) under the uniform hypothesis.

28 N. A. McCawley's (1972) and Kuno's (1973) arguments based on the observations of the possible

antecedent of *zibun* "self" are not as strong as Saito's (1982) argument for the existence of an NP trace in the *ni* direct passive. Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), for example, cast doubt on the validity of N. A. McCawley's and Kuno's observations that the *ni* phrase in the *ni* direct passive cannot be the antecedent of *zibun*, by observing that *kensatsugawa* "prosecution" is clearly the antecedent of *zibun-tati* in *ni* direct passive (i).

(i) Kono syookobukken$_i$-ga
     this   evidence-Nom
     kensatugawa$_j$-ni
     the prosecution-by
     zibun-tati#$_i$/$_j$-no
     self-pl-Gen
     tugoo-noiiyooni [e]$_i$
     advantageous
     dettiage-rare-ta.
     fake up-Pass.-Past
     "This evidence was faked up by
     the prosecution to their
     advantage." (Y. Kitagawa and
     Kuroda 1992: 17)

I agree with their grammatical judgment shown in (i), but it seems to me that examples such as (i) have some special properties, because we observe basically the same binding facts in the following *ni yotte* passive example:

(ii) Kono syookobukken$_i$-ga
     this   evidence-Nom
     kensatugawa$_j$-ni   yotte
     the prosecution-to owing
     zibun-tati#$_i$/$_j$-no
     self-pl-Gen
     tugoo-noiiyooni [e]$_i$
     advantageous
     dettiage-rare-ta.
     fake up-Pass.-Past
     "This evidence was faked up
     by the prosecution to their
     advantage."

The fact that the NP *kensatugawa* can also be the antecedent of *zibun-tati* in (ii) implies that a constraint which requires anaphors such as *zibun* be c-commanded by its antecedent can be cancelled in this type of example. This is so, because the *ni yotte* phrase is a pure adverbial phrase, and thus the NP within the *ni yotte* phrase should not be able to c-command anything outside of the phrase. I, thus, leave the exact nature of examples (i–ii) for future research and continue to assume that N. A. McCawley's (1972) and Kuno's (1973) observations regarding the possible antecedent of *zibun* in *ni* passives are basically correct. See J. Abe (1997) for much relevant discussions on special properties of *zibun* such as the one mentioned above.

29   The reader is referred to Miyagawa (1989b) for more arguments for an NP movement analysis of the *ni* direct passives. See also Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) for counterarguments to Miyagawa's arguments.

30   The *ni yotte* "by" phrase is similar to the passive *by* phrase in languages such as Hebrew in that both of those phrases are clearly adverbial agentive phrases. In *ni yotte* passives, the *ni yotte* "by" phrase means literally "owing to" or "due to", and in Hebrew, the *by* phrase means literally "in the hands of" (Zubizarreta 1985). On the other hand, the *ni* "by" phrase in the *ni* direct passive and the *by* phrase in English as well as in other languages such as French, Spanish, and Italian need not be agentive. That is, those *by* phrases do not restrict semantic role of their complements. Given this, a question arises as to why in the *ni yotte* passive, a suppressed external

argument appears as the agentive *ni yotte* "by" phrase, whereas in the *ni* direct passive, a suppressed argument appears with *ni* "by" which has a dummy status. I leave this question for future research. See Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) for relevant discussions.

31 (36d) is a simplified structure of the *be* passive in English. See N. Chomsky (1981a), Jaeggli (1986), and M. Baker et al. (1989), among others, for detailed discussions of the structure of the *be* passive.

32 This proposal crucially adopts a VP internal PRO movement analysis which Saito and Murasugi (1990) originally propose to explain the nature of some instances of the *be* passive. The reader is referred to Saito and Murasugi (1990) for detailed discussions of their VP internal PRO movement analysis of *be* passives in English. Just for ease of exposition, the structure which Hoshi (1991) proposes of *ni* direct passives such as (38a) is simplified in the text.

33 In this chapter, I assume that PRO undergoes NP movement to receive null Case in the subject position of the complement clause for it to be properly licensed. See N. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and R. Martin (1993) for relevant discussions on the theory of null Case for PRO. The reader is referred to Hoshi (1991) for a different motivation for PRO movement.

34 On the basis of different considerations, Nishigauchi (1993) proposes a different type of PRO movement analysis for the direct passive which involves a human subject. The reader is referred to his work for detailed discussions of the proposal.

35 Just for ease of exposition, the structure Hoshi (1991) proposes

for *get* passives such as (40a) is simplified in the text.

36 Just for ease of exposition, I have simplified the structure that Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) propose for the *ni* direct passive in the text.

37 A. Watanabe (1993) and Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) attempt to solve this problem in terms of Condition B of Binding Theory by assigning different types of biclausal structures for *ni* passives and causatives in Japanese.

On the other hand, to defend structure (42) for the *ni* direct passive, Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992, nn. 29, 46) claim that the ungrammaticality of (43) is due to the interaction between the referential property of *kare* and the optional control involved in Japanese *ni* passives. However, it is not immediately clear how this constraint is derived from independently motivated principles in grammar, and it is not clear under their theory either why the constraint rules out *ni* passive example (43) but permits causative example (44). See Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) for more detailed discussions of their constraint mentioned above.

38 By making use of numeral quantifiers, Miyagawa (1989b) has convincingly shown where the empty category coindexed with the passive subject syntactically exists in Japanese passives. The reader is referred to Miyagawa (1989b) for his arguments to this effect.

39 This seems to be a reasonable hypothesis, given the claim by Choe (1987) and Yoon (1990), among others, that in Korean multiple object constructions, an "additional" object is subject to some sort of affectedness condition.

40   Like examples (25b–c), examples such as (50a) violate the abstract Double-*o* Constraint. As shown below, the violation in (50a) cannot be circumvented by dislocating one of the *o*-marked NPs. (See relevant discussions in n. 24.)

(i)   a.   *[$_{S'}$ [$_S$ Kokumu-syoo-ga
State Department-Nom
John-o e_i
John-Acc
toriage-ta]-no]-wa
take away-Past-Comp-Top
ryoken$_i$-o   da.
passport-Acc Cop
"It is his passport that the State Department took away from John."

b.   *[$_{S'}$ [$_S$ Kokumu-syoo-ga
State Department-Nom
e_i ryoken-o
passport-Acc
toriage-ta]-no]-wa
take away-Past-Comp-Top
John$_i$-o   da.
John-Acc Cop
"It is John from whom the State Department took away a passport."

41   Based on the properties of examples such as (47a–b), Ishii (1989), Terada (1990), Kubo (1990), and Shibatani (1990), among others, propose that Japanese has the "possessor passive." The actual implementation of the idea differs in these works. For example, the possessor NP is claimed to be the underlying specifier of the object NP in Kubo's proposal, but as another (accusative) object in Shibatani's analysis. A possible solution for the problem for Kuroda's NP movement analysis of the *ni yotte* passive in the text, if it is correct, lends support to Ishii's and Shibatani's proposal. The reader is referred to Kuroda (1979, 1985), Kuno (1983, 1986b), Ishii (1989),

Terada (1990), Kubo (1990), Shibatani (1990), and Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992), among others, for more detailed discussions on this issue.

42   Kuno (1983, 1986b) proposes that both *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives have the same biclausal structure, but that the passive subject of *ni* passives does not have to be "directly involved" in the event or state described by the complement clause, whereas the passive subject of the *ni yotte* passives must be "directly involved" in the event or state described by the embedded clause. (See Kuno 1983, 1986b) for his precise definition of the notion, "direct involvement"; cf. Kuroda 1985.) The analysis of Japanese passives presented in this chapter is clearly incompatible with this analysis. Importantly, however, our analysis provides an answer for the question of why the passive subject of *ni yotte* passives must be directly involved in the event or state described by the complement clause. This is because in *ni yotte* passivization, the direct object or the additional object/affected argument is forced to become the passive subject by NP movement.

43   See Kuno (1976b) for detailed discussions of the properties of the Japanese ECM construction. Ishii (1989) convincingly argues for the structure proposed by Saito (1982, 1983) through a study of the Japanese reciprocal predicates. Hoji (1991b) also argues for Saito's structure (55) for the Japanese ECM constructions such as (54a).

44   Hoji (1991b) calls what I call an additional object/affected argument a major object.

45   The Japanese ECM constructions such as (54a) are different from the

English ECM constructions like (ia–b).

(i)   a.   We believed [$_S$ him/*he to be honest].
      b.   We believed [$_S$ there to be a riot in LA].

First, in contrast with (54a), (ia–b) involve S but not S' as their complement clauses. Second, as shown in (ia), the embedded subject must appear with accusative Case. Third, as illustrated in (ib), there is no selectional restriction imposed on the embedded subject. Hence, expletive elements such as *there* can appear in the subject position of the complement clause (cf. (56b–c)).

46   Just for ease of exposition, I have simplified the structures proposed by Hoshi (1994a) for the *ni* direct passive in the text. Hoshi's (1994b) structures are slightly different from the ones proposed in Hoshi (1994a), but this difference does not affect the discussions of this chapter.

47   Washio (1989/90) proposes that the passive morpheme of the *ni* indirect passive has the dual characteristics. More specifically, he claims that the Japanese passive morpheme of this type not only suppresses the external theta role of the verb in an embedded clause, but also assigns a theta role as a predicate in a matrix clause. To explain this dual nature of *rare* of the *ni* indirect passive, Washio (1989/90) first proposes that *rare* of this type of Japanese passive first functions as a suffix and at a later point of the derivation behaves as a predicate, by adopting Larson's (1988) theory in an innovative way. Although Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) disagrees with Washio (1989/90) in that the passive morpheme of the *ni* indirect passive has such dual characteristics, Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) adopts Washio's ingenious proposal to capture the dual nature of *rare* of the *ni* direct passive as shown in (58). See Y. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) and Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) for arguments against Washio's specific proposals about Japanese passives.

48   Saito and Hoshi (1994) also propose that in the Japanese light verb construction, the theta role assigning noun discharges (some of) its theta roles in LF.

49   The reader is referred to Hoshi (1994a, 1994b) for desirable consequences derived from the proposal given in (58).

50   I am very grateful to Mamoru Saito, who brought the interesting properties of Romance causatives to my attention. He pointed out in personal communication in 1990 that the *ni* direct passive and one type of Romance causatives, the *faire-par* construction, have significant similarities. Both of these constructions project biclausal structure; the subject of the embedded clause appears as an adjunct *by* phrase, although it appears that no affix which triggers suppression of an external argument is attached to the embedded verb.

51   See Hoshi (1994b) for a uniform treatment of Japanese passives and Romance causatives.