"Passive in Japanese" (V. 5.3)*

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This work attempts to defend the so-called Uniform Hypothesis for passive in Japanese by re-examining and incorporating the generative study of Japanese syntax developed in the framework of the Principles and Parameters Approach. With the examination of various empirical phenomena including quantifier float, quantifier scope, weak crossover, binding of *zibun*, and adverbial scope, we will attempt to reinforce the following main tenets of the Uniform Hypothesis — (i) that all *ni*-passive sentences in Japanese involve complementation and external theta-marking, and (ii) that it crucially lacks NP movement.

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1. Introduction:

Japanese is often said to have two different types of passive — "direct" passive and "indirect" passive as in (1) and (2) below, respectively:

(1) Direct Passive:

Yamada-san ga huryoo ni nagur-are-ta
nom hoodlum by punch-PASS-PAST
'Yamada-san was punched by a hoodlum.'

(2) Indirect Passive:

a. Yamada-san ga akanboo ni nak-are-ta
nom baby by cry-PASS-PAST
'Yamada-san was affected by a baby's crying.'

b. Yamada-san ga Sensei ni musuko o home-rare-ta
nom teacher by son acc praise-PASS-PAST
'Yamada-san had his son praised by the teacher.'

The passive subject is an internal argument of the corresponding active sentence in direct passive, but that is not the case in indirect passive. It has been a point of controversy for some time whether these two types of passive are structurally identical in their abstract representations or not.

Two well-known and clearly competing approaches are the "Uniform Hypothesis" (K. Hasegawa (1964, 1968), Kuroda (1965), Makino (1972, 1973), Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976), Kuno (1983), Y. Kitagawa (1986), N. Hasegawa (1988), among others) and the "Nonuniform Hypothesis" (N. McCawley (1972), Kuno (1973), Harada (1973), Perlmutter (1973), Inoue (1976), Shibatani (1990), among others). Both approaches agree upon the treatment of indirect passive as involving complementation as schematized in (3) below at the relevant level of representation:

(3) NP ga [NP ni (NP o) V] rare
nom by acc PASS

The two approaches crucially differ, however, in the treatment of direct passive. Under the Uniform Hypothesis, the complementation analysis for indirect passive is extended to direct passive, while under the Nonuniform Hypothesis, direct passive is analyzed to involve movement of an internal argument of a simplex sentence as in (4):

(4) $[_S$ NP_1-ga NP-ni $[_{VP}$ ... t_1 ... V-rare]]
↑_____|

In the recent work, Miyagawa (1989) presented a new "uniform" approach. In this approach, neither direct nor indirect passive involves complementation; instead, the case absorption property accorded to the passive morpheme *rare* is assumed to play a pertinent role both in direct and indirect passive.

The purpose of this paper is to defend the Uniform Hypothesis in the traditional sense by re-examining and incorporating the recent development of generative syntax on this and related topics.**1**

2. The Uniform Hypothesis:

We would like first to articulate the content of what we will refer to in this paper as the Uniform Hypothesis of passive in Japanese. First, *rare* is a two-place predicate both in direct and indirect passive, whose argument structure is represented as in (5):**2**

(5) *rare*: [EXPERIENCER [EVENTUALITY __]

Second, this argument structure must be syntactically represented as in (6) below at the level which feeds into semantics:

(6) Direct/Indirect Passive:

NP ga $[_{V'}$ $[_{VP}$ NP ni ... V] rare]
by

Both direct passive and indirect passive involve a matrix subject that is thematically marked (henceforth θ-marked) by *rare*. The internal argument of *rare* in (6) is labelled VP. The NP *ni* within this VP complement, which can be comfortably translated into 'by NP' in English, is analyzed as the subject of the subordinate verb in accordance with the Internal Subject Hypothesis (Kitagawa (1986), Koopman-Sportiche (1986), Kuroda (1988) among others). (We will continue to provide the gloss *by* (rather than *dative*) for the *ni* in question, however, for the sake of clarity.)

As long as the complement VP represents EVENTUALITY, it may be headed by any type of verb, as exemplified in (7):**3**

(7) Indirect Passive:

a. Intransitive:

Yamada-san ga [$_{VP}$ akanboo ni nak]-are-ta
nom baby by cry-PASS-PAST
'Yamada-san was affected by a baby's crying.'

b. Transitive:

Yamada-san ga [$_{VP}$ Sensei ni Ziroo-kun o homer]-are-ta
nom eacher by acc cry-PASS-PAST
'Yamada-san had Ziroo-kun praised by the teacher.'

c. Ditransitive:

Yamada-san ga [$_{VP}$ siriai no sinbunkisya ni tukai ni yatta buka
nom acquainted news reporter by messanger subordinate

ni tyotto omosiroi zinbutu o syookais]-are-ta
dat little interesting figure acc introduce-PASS-PAST

'Yamada-san had a little interesting figure introduced to his messenger boy by a news reporter he knew.'

What is crucial for the Unifiom Hypothesis is that "direct" passive is taken as a special case of "indirect" passive: its embedded VP happens to contain a zero pronoun (Kuroda (1965)) bound by the matrix subject, as in (8):

(8) Direct Passive: **NP**$_1$-ga [$_{VP}$ NP-ni ... **pro**$_1$ ... V] rare
by

Examples of direct passive are:

(9) a. **Yamada-san**$_1$ ga [$_{VP}$ Sensei ni **pro**$_1$ home]-rare-ta
nom teacher by praise-PASS-PAST

'Yamada-san was praised by the teacher.'

b. **Yamada-san**$_1$ ga [$_{VP}$ siriai no sinbunkisya ni **pro**$_1$ tyotto omosiroi
nom acquainted news reporter by little interesting

zinbutu o syookais]-are-ta
figure acc introduce-PASS-PAST

'Yamada-san had a little interesting figure introduced to him by a news reporter he knew.'

Under the Uniform Hypothesis, then, *rare* is assumed to not only θ-mark a subject but also permit the subordinate verb to Case-mark its object both in direct and indirect passive. As a result, neither type of passive involves NP movement in Japanese. What we will refer to in this paper as the Uniform Hypothesis for passive in Japanese can be summarized as in (10):

(10) The Uniform Hypothesis:

a. Passive morpheme *rare* in both direct and indirect passive takes a VP complement expressing EVENTUALITY in a syntactic representation which feeds into semantics.
b. Passive morpheme *rare* in both direct and indirect passive takes a subject argument of its own in addition to the VP complement.
c. Direct Passive does not involve NP movement; instead, it contains an empty pronominal base-generated inside the complement VP and bound by the matrix subject.

3. Re-examination of the Quantifier-float Argument for Movement in Direct Passive:

A well-known argument for the movement analysis of direct passive offered in the recent generative literature is the "Q(uantifier)-float" argument proposed by Miyagawa (1989, pp. 21, 38). This argument is built on the "mutual c-command analysis" of Q-float pursued earlier by Miyagawa (1988). It proceeds as folows. Observe first the active sentences involving different word orders as in (11) and (12):

(11) a. [**gakusei** ga **san-nin** [hon o kat]]-ta
student nom three-people book acc buy-PAST

'Three students bought books.'

b. [hon o [**gakusei** ga **san-nin** kat]]-ta
book acc student nom three-people buy-PAST

c. ?*[**gakusei** ga [hon o **san-nin** kat]]-ta
student nom book acc three-people buy-PAST

(12) a. [gakusei ga [**hon** o **ni-satu** kat]]-ta
student nom book acc two-volumes buy-PAST

'Students bought two books.'

b. [**hon** o **ni-satu** [gakusei ga kat]]-ta
book acc two-volumes student nom buy-PAST

c. [**hon** o [gakusei ga **ni-satu** kat]]-ta
book acc student nom two-volumes buy-PAST

The "mutual c-command" analysis of Q-float claims that a floating quantifier is licensed if and only if it and the NP interpretatively associated with it mutually c-command each other. The contrast between (11a-b) and (11c) follows from this assumption. This generalization can be also maintained for (12) if it is assumed that *hon* 'book' is scrambled in (12c), leaving an NP trace at the original object position, as in (13):**4**

(13) hon$_1$ o [gakusei ga [t$_1$ **ni-satu** kat]]-ta
book acc student nom | two-volumes buy-PAST
↑_____|

Now, compare the active sentence (11c) above with the passive sentence (14) below:

(14) **kuruma** ga doroboo ni **ni-dai** nusum-are-ta
cars nom thief dat two-vehicles steal-PASS-PAST
'Two cars have been stolen by thieves.'

In both sentences, a floating quantifier immediately preceding the main verb is non-locally associated with the subject. In this regard, it is puzzling that (14) is grammatical but (11c) is not. If we assume, however, that the passive (14) involves NP-movement, an NP trace is left behind in the underlying position of the moved argument, permitting its local association with the floating quantifier, as in (15):

(15) kuruma$_1$ ga doroboo ni **t**$_1$ **ni-dai** nusum-are-ta
cars nom thief dat two-vehicles steal-PASS-PAST

Thus, under the movement analysis of direct passive, the grammaticality of (14) is accounted for by the mutual c-command analysis of Q-float.

The Q-float argument is presented in Miyagawa (1989, 38) as an argument to choose the movement analysis of direct passive under the Nonuniform Hypothesis over a non-movement **lexical** analysis of passive proposed earlier by Miyagawa (1980). As such, it appears as a valid argument. However, the argument does not provide any basis to reject the non-movement analysis of direct passive under the Uniform Hypothesis. Under the Uniform Hypothesis of passive, the empty category involved in (15) above is regarded as a base-generated empty pronominal rather than a trace. In fact, the following examples suggest that floating quantifiers can be non-locally associated with lexical NPs via the presence of base-generated empty elements in general:

(16) At the Library:

kongetu no sinkansyo$_1$ desuka?
this month gen newly=published=books COPULA

kinoo Yamada-sensei ga **pro**$_1$ **ni-satu** karidasimasita yo
yesterday teacher nom two-volumes checked=out PRT

'You mean this month's newly published books? Prof. Yamada came and checked out two of them yesterday.'

(17) **syuuzin**$_1$ ga yuube mata [kono ryuutizyo kara **PRO**$_1$ **san-nin**
prisoner nom last night again this prison from three-people

nige-yoo-to] kuwadate/kokoromi-ta
escape-COMP attempt-PAST

'Three prisoners again attempted to escape from this prison last night.'

Note that, in the discourse in (16) as well as the control construction in (17), the only plausible licensers of the numeral quantifiers are the base-generated empty categories (pro and PRO). The facts here may suggest that the well-formedness of (14) argues for the presence of **some kind of** empty category c-commanding and c-commanded by the floating quantifier. This empty category, however, does not necessarily have to be a trace but may be a base-generated empty NP. The Q-float argument, in other words, is at best inconclusive in motivating the movement analysis of direct passive. In Appendix 1 below, we will elaborate on this point, looking into the semantic function associated with Q-float somewhat more in detail.

4. Evidence against Movement in Direct Passive:

Generative literature on Japanese syntax, especially that related to scrambling, has offered a variety of diagnostic tests to determine if any particular derivation of a sentence involves reordering of syntactic elements or not. In this section, we will re-examine a direct passive construction, using such diagnostics.**5**

4.1 Quantifier Scope:

Kuroda (1970) pointed out a difference in the scope interpretation of the quantified arguments in paired sentences as summarized in (18), which Hoji (1985)

further backed up with the examples as in (19): (∃>∀, for instance, indicates that an existential quantifier has scope wider than that of a universal quantifier.)

(18) a. (kono ie no) **dareka ga** (kono heya no) **subete no hon o** yon-da
this house gen someone nom this room gen all gen book acc read-PAST
'Someone (in this house) read all the books (in this room).'
--- (∃ > ∀/?*∀ > ∃)

b. (tana ni aru hon no) **doreka o** (kono heya no) **daremo ga** yon-da
shelf on exist book gen someone acc this room gen everone nom read-PAST
'Everyone (in this room) read some book (on the shelf).'
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

(19) a. [John **ka** Mary] ga **dono-hito-mo** syootaisi-ta (rasii)
or nom which-person-also invite-PAST (seem)

'(It seems that) John or Mary invited everyone.'
--- (OR > ∀/?*∀ > OR)

b. [John **ka** Mary] o **dono-hito-mo** syootaisita (rasii)
or acc which-person-also invite-PAST (seem)
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

In a sentence with unmarked word order for subject and object, the subject Q-NP obligatorily takes wide scope, whereas a sentence with marked word order exhibits a clear scope ambiguity.**6**

Assume that the following generalization is basically correct: we have clear scope ambiguity of quantified arguments in Japanese only when two arguments are reordered in syntax by a movement rule. The Nonuniform hypothesis, then, makes a prediction that direct passive exhibits clear scope ambiguity while indirect passive does not, since it assumes that the former involves the preposing of a base-generated object but the latter does not. The fact, however, is that neither direct nor indirect passive shows any clear scope ambiguity (provided that focusing of the subject is carefully eliminated), as illustrated in (20a-d):**7**

(20) a. Direct Passive:

dareka$_1$ ga **daremo** ni [e]$_1$ homer-are-ta
someone nom everyone by praise-PASS-PAST

'Someone was praised by everyone.'
--- (∃>∀/?*∀>∃)

b. Indirect Passive:

dareka ga [**daremo** ni miuti o homer]-are-ta
someone nom everyone by family acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Someone had his/her family member praised by everyone.'
--- (∃>∀/?*∀>∃)

c. Direct Passive:

[Taroo **ka** Hanako]$_1$ ga **dono-sinsain-ni-mo** home-rare-ta (rasii)
or nom which-person-by-also praise-PASS-PAST (seem)

'(It seems that) Taro or Hanako was praised by every judge.'
--- (OR>∀/?*∀>OR)

d. Indirect Passive:

[Taroo **ka** Hanako] ga [**dono-sinsain-ni-mo** sakuhin o home]-rare-ta
or nom which-junge-by-also work acc praise-PASS-PAST

(rasii)
(seem)

'(It seems that) Taro or Hanako had her/his work praised by every judge.'
--- (OR>∀/?*∀>OR)

Observe, furthermore, that sentences come to exhibit clear scope ambiguity if the quantified expressions are reordered by scrambling, as illustrated in (21a-d):

(21) a. Direct Passive with Scrambling:

dareka$_2$ ni **daremo**$_1$ ga **t**$_2$ [e]$_1$ home-are-ta
someone by everyone nom praise-PASS-PAST

'Everyone was praised by someone.'
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

b. Indirect Passive with Scrambling:

dareka$_2$ ni **daremo** ga **t**$_2$ miuti o home-rare-ta
someone by everyone nom family acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Everyone had his/her family member praised by someone.'
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

c. Direct Passive with Scrambling:

[titioya **ka** hahaoya]$_2$ ni **dono-ko**$_1$**-mo** **t**$_2$ okor-are-ta (rasii)
father or mother by every child scold-PASS-PAST (seem)

'(It seems that) every child was scolded by her/his father or mother.'
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

d. Indirect Passive with Scrambling:

[titioya **ka** hahaoya]$_2$ ni **dono-ko-mo** **t**$_2$ e o home-rare-ta
father or mother by every child picture acc praise-PASS-PAST

(rasii)
(seem)

'(It seems that) every child had her/his picture praised by the father or mother.'
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

The contrast between (20a-d) and (21a-d) clearly indicates that the latter but not the former involve movement, contrary to what the Nonuniform Hypothesis predicts.**8**

The Uniform Hypothesis, in contrast, correctly predicts that direct and indirect passive parallel with respect to scope interpretation of quantifiers. Indeed, direct and indirect passive are given the same analysis except for the fact that direct passive contains an empty pronominal instead of a phonetically realized noun phrase. The null hypothesis would be that such differences do not have any effect on scope

determination in (20) just as they do not have any effect in (22a-b) below, which involve *-te kurer* 'do a favor of' construction:**9**

(22) a. dareka ga [daremo ga **Taroo o** home te]-kureru koto o
someone nom everyone nom acc praise COMP-do a favor incident acc

kitaisi-ta
hope-PAST

'Someone hoped that everyone would do a favor and praise Taro.'
--- (∃>∀/*∀>∃)

b. dareka$_1$ ga [daremo ga **pro**$_1$ homete te]-kureru koto o
someone nom everyone nom praise COMP-do a favor incident acc

kitaisi-ta
hope-PAST

'Someone hoped that everyone would do a favor and praise him/her.'
--- (∃>∀/*∀>∃)

One might attempt to ascribe the lack of the wide scope interpretation of universal quantifiers in (20a) and (20c) to the alleged PP-adjunct status of agentive *n*i phrases in direct passive (Miyagawa (1989, 2-3) See 5.2. below). Quantifiers inside PP-adjuncts, one might thus argue, cannot take wide scope over any other quantifier outside of them. Note that the universal quantifiers are inside an agentive *ni* phrase both in (20a) and (20c). The scope interpretations of the examples involving scrambling in (23)-(25) below, however, will lead us to conclude that this account cannot be maintained. Note the possibility of wide scope interpretations of the quantified expressions in agentive *ni* phrases indicated by square brackets:

(23) a. Direct Passive:

Hanako$_1$ ga [**dareka ni**] [e]$_1$ **daremo** o syookais-are-ta
nom someone by everyone acc introduce-PASS-PAST

'Hanako had everyone introduced to her by someone.'
--- **∃** > ∀ (/ ?*∀ > ∃)

b. Direct Passive with Scrambling:

dareka$_2$ o Hanako$_1$ ga [**daremo ni**] [e]$_1$ t$_2$ syookais-are-ta
someone acc nom everyone by introduce-PASS-PAST

'Hanako had someone introduced to her by everyone.'
--- **∀** > ∃ (/ ∃ > ∀)

(24) Indirect Passive:

a. kare ga [**dareka ni**] **subete no giron** o ronpas-are-ta (koto)
he nom someone by all arguments acc refute-PASS-PAST(fact)

'He had all his arguments refuted by someone.'
--- **∃** > ∀ (/ ?*∀ > ∃)

b. Mittu no giron no uti no **doreka**$_2$ o kare ga [**daremo ni**] t$_2$
three arguments among some acc he nom someone by

ronpas-are-ta (koto)
refute-PASS-PAST (fact)

'He had some among his three arguments refuted by everyone.'
--- **∀** > ∃ (/ ∃ > ∀)

(25) a. Causative-Direct Passive:

John$_1$ ga [**dareka ni**] [e]$_1$ Mary ni **daremo**$_2$ o syookais-ase-rare-ta
nom someone by dat everyone acc intoroduce-CAUS-PASS-PAST

'John was made to introduce everyone to Mary by someone.'
--- **∃** > ∀ (/ ?*∀ > ∃)

b. Causative-Direct Passive with Scrambling:

dareka$_2$ o John$_1$ ga [**daremo ni**] [e]$_1$ Mary ni t$_2$ syookais-ase-rare-ta
someone acc nom everyone by dat intoroduce-CAUS-PASS-PAST

'John was made to introduce someone to Mary by everyone.'
--- **∀** > ∃ (/ ∃ > ∀)

Under the Uniform Hypothesis, the scope ambiguity in scrambled sentences in (18b), (19b) and (21) and the lack thereof in direct passives (20a) and (20c) are attributed to whether

movement is involved or not in these constructions. The proponent of the movement analysis of direct passive might attribute this difference in ambiguity to that in the characters of empty traces left by movement. More specifically, one might argue that scrambling is A-bar movement, while the movement responsible for direct passive is A-movement, and that NP-trace does not play any role in scope determination. This argument cannot be maintained, however. NP-traces are relevant to the scope interpretation of the raising construction in (26), which is ambiguous according to May (1977, 201):

(26) **Some politician**$_1$ is *likely* **t**$_1$ to address **every rally** in John's district.
(∃ > LIKELY > ∀)
(LIKELY > ∃ > ∀)

Note the possibility of the scope of *some politician* lower than *likely*. The same point can be shown in a different way by the contrast between (27) and (28) with respect to the presence of scope ambiguity:

(27) It$_1$ is expected [t$_1$ to seem to **someone** [that **everyone on this list** is competent].
(∃ > ∀)
(*∀ > ∃)

(28) **Someone**$_1$ is expected [t$_1$ to seem to **everyone** [**t**$_1$ to be an ideal candidate]
(∃ > ∀)
(∀ > ∃)

Here, *someone* can take scope lower than that of *everyone* in (28) due to the NP-trace in the lowest clause, while such is not the case in (27).

To sum up, the examination of quantifier scope supports the assumption that direct passive does not involve movement. In Section 8 below, we will further argue that the movement analysis does not have any obvious theoretical ground, either, by

pointing out that there is no evidence that "Case absorption" takes place in Japanese passive.

4.2 'Reconstruction' Effects:

4.2.1 Weak Crossover:

Another argument that direct passive does not involve movement results from the examination of the phenomenon of weak crossover. Hoji (1985) presents a paradigm in (29) and convincingly argues for the movement analysis of scrambling:**10**

(29) a. **dare**$_1$ ga [[e]$_2$ **pro**$_1$ butta hito$_2$] o uttaeta no
who nom hit person acc sued Q

'Who sued the person that hit him?'

b.?*[[e]$_2$ **pro**$_1$ butta hito$_2$] ga **dare**$_1$ ni ayamatta no
hit person nom who to apologized Q

'To whom did the person that hit him apologize?'

c. [[e]$_2$ **pro**$_1$ butta hito$_2$]$_3$ o **dare**$_1$ ga t$_3$ uttaeta no
hit person ↑ acc who nom | sued Q
|_____|

'Who sued the person that hit him?'

Hoji points out that the lack of weak crossover violation in (29c) can be accounted for in the same way as a similar phenomenon in the "reconstruction" configuration in English as in (30) below if we hypothesize that scrambling in Japanese involves movement in syntax as does Wh-movement in English:

(30) [Which friend of **his**$_1$ father]$_2$ did **everyone**$_1$ attack t$_2$?
↑_____| (Engdahl (1980))

Let us assume that Hoji's argument is valid, and that the presence and absence of weak crossover violation in certain configurations exemplified by (29b-c) provide a diagnostics for the absence and presence of syntactic movement, respectively. The Nonuniform Hypothesis, then, makes a prediction that the syntactic movement involved

in direct passive yields a reconstruction effect, and cancels the weak crossover effect. The fact, however, seems to be to the contrary, as illustrated in (31):

(31) Direct Passive:

a. ?*[[e]$_2$ **pro**$_1$ butta hito$_2$]$_3$ ga **dare**$_1$ ni [e]$_3$ uttaer-are-ta no
hit person nom who by sue-PASS-PAST Q

'By whom was the person that hit him sued?'

b. ?*[([e]$_2$ yopparatte) [e]$_2$ **pro**$_1$ karanda otoko$_2$]$_3$ ga
drunken picked a quarrel guy nom
dare$_1$ ni [e]$_3$ tukitobas-are-ta no
who by knock down-PASS-PAST Q

'By whom was the (drunken) guy that picked a quarrel with him knocked down?'

The persistence of weak crossover effect in (31a-b) clearly contrasts with the absence of such effect in similar sentences (32a-b) below, in which scrambling results in syntactic reordering and yields a reconstruction effect:

(32) Direct Passive with Scrambling:

a. [[e]$_1$ **pro**$_2$ butta hito$_2$]$_3$ ni **dare**$_1$ ga t$_3$ [e]$_1$ uttaer-are-ta no
hit person ↑ by who nom | sue-PASS-PAST Q
|_____|

'Who was sued by the person that he hit?'

b. [([e]$_1$ yopparatte) **pro**$_1$ [e]$_2$ karanda zyosei$_2$]$_3$ ni **dare**$_1$ ga t$_3$
drunken picked a quarrel woman ↑ by who nom |
|_____|
[e]$_1$ tukitobas-are-ta no
knock down-PASS-PAST Q

'Who was knocked down by the woman with whom he picked a quarrel?'

While the contrast between (31a-b) and (32a-b) remains unaccounted for in the Nonuniform Hypothesis, such a contrast is expected under the Uniform Hypothesis, since direct passive is assumed not to involve syntactic movement.**11**

One might argue that the reason why direct passive in Japanese fails to provide a reconstruction effect is because it involves A-movement rather than A'-movement. Many researchers (e.g., van Riemsdijk and Williams (1981)) in fact consider that A-movement does not yield any reconstruction effect. There are, however, good reasons to believe that such a claim is too strong.

First, the contrast in (33) below suggests that A-movement does yield a reconstruction effect with respect to Condition A of the Binding Theory:

(33) a. It seems to **them**$_1$ that [**each other**$_1$'s kids] were the smartest in the class.

b. *It seemed to [**each other**$_1$'s parents] that **they**$_1$ were the smartest in the class.

c. ?[**Each other**$_1$'s kids]$_2$ seemed to **them**$_1$ **t**$_2$ to be the smartest in the class.

Although the backward anaphor binding involved in (33c) is not completely natural, it is unmistakably free from violation of Condition A observed in (33b). Adopting Beletti and Rizzi's (1988) psych-movement analysis, Barss (1986, 108-116) also argues that reconstruction effects arise not only with A'-chains but also with A-chains, as exemplified by the possibility of anaphor binding as in (34):

(34) a. [These pictures of **each other**$_1$]$_2$ bother **t**$_2$ **them**$_1$.
b. [These pictures of **each other**$_1$]$_2$ seem **t'**$_2$ to bother **t**$_2$ **them**$_1$.

The following paradigm also suggests that A-movement yields a reconstruction effect in weak crossover phenomena as well:

(35) a. It seems to **every boy**$_1$ that [**his**$_1$ first girl friend] is the most unforgettable.

b. *It seems to [**his**$_1$ first girl friend] that **every boy**$_1$ is a bit too obsessive.

c. ?[**His**$_1$ first girl friend]$_2$ seems to **every boy**$_1$ t$_2$ to be the most unforgettable.

(36)a. It seems to **every father**$_1$ that [**his**$_1$ (own) son] is a bit smarter than most other kids.

b. *It seems to [**his**$_1$ (own) father] that **every son**$_1$ is a bit smarter than most other kids.

c. ?[**His**$_1$ (own) son]$_2$ seems to **every father**$_1$ t$_2$ to be a bit smarter than most other kids.

(37) [**His**$_1$ (own) daughter]$_2$ strikes **every father**$_1$ [t$_2$ as being somewhat cuter than most other girls].

(38) a. **Every father**$_1$ promised **his**$_1$ (own) daughter [PRO$_1$ to buy a new doll if she takes good care of her little brother].

b. *[**His**$_1$ (own) daughter]$_2$ promised **every father**$_1$ [PRO$_2$ to take good care of her little brother].

Again, the backward binding involved in the raising construction in (35c), (36c) and (37) is not completely natural. It, however, clearly contrasts with the weak crossover violation observed in the extraposition construction in (35b) and (36b) as well as that observed in the control construction in (38b). This fact suggests that NP-movement involved in the former examples induce a reconstruction effect, and eliminates weak crossover effects.**12** Thus, it is unjustified to defend the Nonuniform Hypothesis by claiming that the direct passive in Japanese fails to provide a reconstruction effect because it involves A-movement rather than A'-movement.

4.2.2 Binding of *zibun*:

We can verify the lack of movement in direct passive also by examining reconstruction effects involving binding of a reflexive item *zibun* 'self.' To begin with, it is well-known that *zibun* requires a c-commanding antecedent for its syntactic binding, as illustrated in (39a-b):

(39) a.*[**zibun**$_1$ no kurasu no seito-tati] ga [Sensei$_1$ ga
self gen class gen students nom teacher nom

Taroo o ekohiikisiteiru to] omotteiru koto

acc play favorites COMP think fact

'the reason why his students think that Taroo is the teacher's favorite.'

b. [John$_1$ ga turetekita zyosei]$_2$ ga **zibun$_{2/*1}$** no kuruma de kaetteitta
nom brought woman nom self gen car by returned
'The woman John brought left in her/*his car.'

Scrambling as movement, however, permits apparent violation of this condition, yielding a reconstruction effect, as illustrated in (40b):

(40) a. kodomotati wa [Sensei$_1$ ga [**zibun$_1$** no musuko] o
children top teacher nom self gen son acc

ekohiikisiteiru to] omot-teiru
play favorites COMP think-PROG

'Those children think that th teacher plays favorites to his own son.'

b. [**zibun$_1$** no musuko]$_2$ o kodomotati wa [Sensei$_1$ ga **t$_2$**
self gen son acc children top teacher nom

ekohiikisiteiru to] omotteiru
play favorites COMP think

If direct passive involves movement, therefore, we should obtain a similar reconstruction effect. As illustrated by (41) below, however, direct passive does not exhibit such a reconstruction effect, forming a striking contrast with (40b):

(41) Direct Passive:

*[**zibun$_1$** no musuko]$_2$ ga [kodomotati ni [Sensei$_1$ ga [e]$_2$
self gen son nom children by teacher nom

ekohiikisiteiru to] omow]-are-teiru (koto)
play favorites COMP think-PASS-PROG (fact)

'His son is considered by the children to be treated favorably by the teacher.'

The examples (42a-b) below are similar to (41b) involving direct passive. They are crucially different, however, in that (42a) does not involve *zibun*, and that (42b) involves scrambling:

(42) a. [**Taroo**]$_2$ ga [kodomotati ni [Sensei$_1$ ga [e]$_2$
nom children by teacher nom

ekohiikisiteiru to] omow]-are-teiru (koto)
play favorites COMP think-PASS-PROG (fact)

'Taro is considered by the children to be the teacher's pet.'

b. [**zibun**$_1$ no titioya]$_2$ ni [Taroo$_1$ ga t$_2$ [Sensei ga [e]$_2$
self gen father by nom teacher nom

ekohiikisiteiru to] omow]-are-teiru
play favorites COMP think-PASS-PROG

'Taro is considered by his own father to be the teacher's pet.'

The well-formedness of (42a-b) suggests, first, that the ungrammaticality in (41b) indeed is caused by the violation of c-command restriction on the syntactic binding of *zibun*, and second, that direct passive does not involve movement, failing to yield the reconstruction effect that we can observe with the true movement operation like scrambling. Another type of reconstruction effect thus leads us to the same conclusion.

To sum up the entire section, we have confirmed the absence of movement in direct passive by the examination of quantifier scope and two different types of reconstruction effects in the passive.**13**

5. Re-examination of Arguments against Complementation in Direct Passive:

5.1 Subject-orientation of *zibun*:

One well-known argument against the presence of complementation in direct passive goes as follows. The binding of *zibun* 'self' is known to have subject-orientation. *Zibun* can be ambiguously bound either by the subject or by the *ni*-phrase in indirect passive, and this fact is taken as evidence for complementation in indirect passive. But *zibun* in direct passive does not exhibit such an ambiguity. Hence the *ni*-phrase in direct passive is not derived from an embedded subject, and direct passive

does not involve complementation. We shall now examine the validity of this argument.

To begin with, subjecthood is not a sufficient condition for the antecedenthood of *zibun*. In particular, even if the syntax provides more than one subject NP that could be antecedents, extra-syntactic factors can affect whether a particular one of them can in fact be taken as an antecedent of *zibun*. Such extra-syntactic factors are probably of a heterogeneous character, involving pragmatic, (lexical) semantic and possibly even phonological factors. Syntax only partially delimits the possibility for any item to enter into the binding relation with *zibun*.

For instance, when we have a pragmatic reason to refrain from referring back to a passive subject with *zibun*, as in (43)-(45) below, *zibun* can clearly refer to NP-*ni* even in direct passive: (# indicates severe pragmatic anomaly, and ?# somewhat milder pragmatic anomaly. We apologize for the dreadful content of the example (45).)

(43) (korede) **kono syookobukken**$_1$ ga kensatugawa$_2$ ni
(now) this evidence nom the prosecution by

zibuntati$_{2/\#1}$ no tugoo-noiiyooni [e]$_1$ dettiager-are-ta
self's gen advantageous fake up-PASS-PAST

(koto ga meihakuni-natta to omoimasu)
fact nom became evident COMP think

'This evidence was faked up by the prosecution to their advantage.'

(44) **gensibakudan**$_1$ ga sirooto$_2$ ni **zibun**$_{2/\#1}$ no heya de kantanni
atomic bomb nom layman by self gen room in easily

[e]$_1$ seizoos-are-ru-yooni-naru hi mo soo tooku-wa-nai daroo
produce-PASS-PRES-become day also very far-top-not probably

'The day will probably come soon when an atomic bomb can be produced without difficulty by a layman in his own room.'

(45) **kono sitai**$_1$ wa hannin$_2$ ni **zibun**$_{2/\#1}$ no heya de [e]$_1$
this corpse top murderer by self's gen room in

barabaranis-are-ta (rasii)
dismember-PASS-PAST (seem)

'This corpse was dismembered by the murderer in his own room.'

Note the difficulty of referring back to *syookobukken* 'evidence,' *gensibakudan* 'atomic bomb' and *sitai* 'corpse' with *zibun*. There also may arise a conflict in number in (43) because of the plurality of *zibun-tati*.

In the following examples of direct passive, NP *ni* is likely to be taken as *zibun*'s preferred antecedent. This preference is presumably due to the presence of the Italicized items, which help determine pragmatic situations appropriate for the interpretation of these sentences:

(46) Taroo$_1$ wa **Yamada-kyoozyu**$_2$ ni **zibun**$_{2/?\#1}$ no ofiisu e
top -Prof. by self's gen office to

[e]$_1$ *yobituker*-are-ta
summon-PASS-PAST

'Taro was summoned by Prof. Yamada to his office.'

(47) pro$_1$ wagamamana gaaru-hurendo$_2$ ni **zibun**$_{2/\#1}$ no kattena tugoo-de
willful girl friend by self gen selfish convenience

yonaka ni [e]$_1$ *tatakiokos/yobidas*-are-ta kawaisoona otoko$_1$
midnight at rouse/summon-PASS-PAST poor guy

'A poor guy who was woken up/summoned by his willful girlfriend in the middle of the night for her selfish reason.'

(48) pro$_1$ umaretabakari-no musuko$_3$ ga gonen mae ni wakareta otto$_2$ ni
newborn son nom 5 years ago divorced husband by

mudande **zibun**$_{2/?\#1}$ no apaato e [e]$_3$*tureteik*-are-tesimatta zyosei$_1$
without notice self gen apartment to take-PASS-PAST woman

'the woman who had her newborn son taken away by her ex-husband, whom she had divorced five years before, to his apartment.'

In some cases, semantics and pragmatics of the entire sentence (rather than any particular items) require NP *ni* to be taken as *zibun*'s preferred antecedent in direct passive:

(49) a. minna$_1$ ga utino ziisan$_2$ ni **zibun**$_{2/??\#1}$ no
everyone nom my grandfather by self gen

tugoo-no-iiyooni [e]$_1$ ayatur-are(-te-ki)-ta (koto)
advantageously manipulate(-ger-come)-PASS (fact)

'Everybody has been manipulated by my grandfather as he likes.'

b. pro$_1$ aitura$_2$ ni **zibun**$_{2/?\#1}$-tati no nawabari de [e]$_1$
those brats by selves gen territory in

osow-are-tara tyotto-katime-wa-nai-ze
attacke-PASS-if there-is-no-chance-of-winning

'If we are attacked by those brats within their territory, we have no chance to win.'

It is important to note that the sentences in (43)-(49) above are **clearly grammatical** with the NP-*ni* taken as an antecedent of *zibun*. It is not possible, therefore, to argue that these sentences are marginally permitted due to some peripheral strategy which allows pragmatics to override grammaticality.**14**

To sum up, if the subject-orientation of the binding of *zibun* (at S-structure) is absolute, we must conclude that the NP-*ni* in direct passive is a subject, and hence that direct passive as well as indirect passive involves complementation. The facts concerning the determination of the antecedent of *zibun*, in other words, argues for the Uniform Hypothesis rather than for the Nonuniform Hypothesis.**15**

5.2 NP *ni* as Adjunct:

Another type of argument against the complementation analysis of direct passive claims that NP *ni* behaves as an adjunct PP in direct passive, while it behaves as an NP argument in indirect passive. The motivation behind such an argument seems to be

that NP *ni* in direct passive (but not that in indirect passive) is a Japanese counterpart of the *by*-phrase in English passive, which is often taken as an adjunct PP. In the rest of this section, we will examine two different arguments of this type and point out the problems they contain.

5.2.1 Quantifier Float out of NP *ni*:

Miyagawa (1989) puts forward an argument for a version of the Nonuniform Hypothesis, elaborating on the observations by Shibatani (1978) and the claim by Saito (1982) concerning quantifier float. The argument goes as follows. First, note that there exists a contrast between direct passive and various other constructions with respect to the "floatability" of numeral quantifiers out of *ni*-phrases (Miyagawa (Ibid., 24-25, 31, 36, 80, 149, 169, 176)): (The examples here are presented with Miyagawa's judgments along with his numbering in Chapter 5 in square brackets.)

(50) Direct Passive:

a. *Taroo ga [sensei ni] **huta-ri** sikar-are-ta [= (78)]
.....nom teacher by two-people scold-PASS-PAST

'Taro was scoled by two teachers.'

b. *Taroo ga [tomodati ni] **huta-ri** nagur-are-ta [= (4)]
nom friend by two-people hit-PASS-PAST

'Taro was hit by two friends.'

c. *Tanaka ga [kodomo ni] **huta-ri** sasow-are-ta [= (109)]
nom child by two-people invite-PASS-PAST

'Tanaka was invited by two children.'

(51) a. Indirect Passive:

Boku wa [kodomo ni] **huta-ri** sin-are-ta [= (19), Chp 2]
I top child by two-people die-PASS-PAST

'I had two children die on me.'

b. Ditransitive:

Tanaka ga [kodomo ni] **huta-ri** kukkii o age-ta [= (105)]
nom child dat two-people cookie acc give-PAST

'Tanaka gave cookies to two children.'

c. Causative:

Tanaka ga [kodomo ni] **huta-ri** ik-ase-ta [= (106)]
nom child dat two-people go-CAUS-PAST

'Tanaka made two children go.'

d. Subcategorized Dative:

Tanaka ga [gakusya ni] **huta-ri** at-ta [= (107)]
nom scholar dat two-people meet-PAST

'Tanaka met two scholars.'

Second, it is often pointed out with the examples like (52 a-c) below that quantifier float out of PPs is generally prohibited (Shibatani (Ibid.)):

(52) a. *Hito ga tiisana [$_{PP}$ mura kara] **huta-tu** ki-ta [= (45a), Chp 2]
person nom small village from two-units come-PAST

'People came from two small villages.'

b. *Gakusei wa [$_{PP}$ kuruma de] **ni-dai** ki-ta. [= (46a), Chp 2]
student top car by two-vehicles come-PAST

'Students came in two cars.'

c. *Hanako wa [$_{PP}$ kooen e] **huta-tu** it-ta. [= (47a), Chp 2]
top park to two-units go-PAST

'Hanako went to two parks.'

Then, by assuming that NP *ni* in direct passive (but not in various other constructions in (51)) is a PP adjunct, we can account for the facts in (50) by the same generalization as that for (52) (Saito (Ibid.)), as follows. A floating numeral quantifier must be licensed by an NP under a mutual c-command relation. Since *ni*-phrases in the various constructions in (51) are NP arguments accompanied by a cliticized Case particle, they c-command and license floating numeral quantifiers. In contrast, *ni*-phrase in direct

passive is an adjunct PP rather than an argument. The NPs contained in the agentive *ni* phrases in (50a-c), therefore, do not c-command, and hence are unable to license, floating numeral quantifiers, just as NPs contained in PPs in (52a-c) are. If this argument is indeed valid, one of the major assumptions of the Uniform Hypothesis, i.e., that an agentive *ni* phrase both in direct and indirect passive is the subject of the complement VP is put in doubt. There are, however, several good reasons to believe that this argument cannot be maintained.

First, as we have seen in Section 5.1, NP in the agentive *ni*-phrase in direct passive can function as an antecedent of *zibun*. As we have also seen in Section 4.2.2., however, an NP must c-command *zibun* in order to be its syntactic antecedent. There is good reason to believe, therefore, that NPs in the agent *ni*-phrases in direct passive do c-command the floating numeral quantifiers in (50a-c) above as well.

Second, the facts concerning quantifier float from a *ni*-phrase in direct passive are much more variedand complicated than the observations reported by Miyagawa, as illustrated by the examples in (53): (Now the judgments appearing in parentheses are ours.)

(53) Direct Passive:

a. Taroo ga [sensei ni] **huta-ri** sikar-are-ta (= (50a))
nom teacher by two-people scold-PASS-PAST

'Taro was scolded by two teachers.'

--- (?*Distributive/*Non-distributive)

b. Taroo wa [seikatu-sidoo no sensei ni] **huta-ri** sikar-are-ta
top school counselor by two-people scold-PASS-PAST

'Taroo was scolded by two school counselors.'

(--- ?Distributive/??Non-distributive)

c. Arikawa-huzin wa [sonote no otoko ni] **huta-ri**
-Mrs. top that kind of men by two-people

yuuwakus-are-ta koto ga aru
tempt-PASS-PAST have an experience

'Mrs. Arikawa has been tempted by three of that kind of men.'

--- (Distributive/?Non-distributive)

d. Hannin wa honno suuhun no aida ni [toori-kakatta
culprit top just few minutes during passing-by

tuukoonin ni] **huta-ri** mokugekis-are-te-imasu
passer-by by two-people witness-PASS-PERF

'The culprit was seen by two passers-by during those few minutes.'

--- (Distributive/?#Non-distributive)

e. Yamada wa [buturi no kyoozyu ni] mo **huta-ri** suisens-are-ta
top physics gen professor by also two-people recommend-PASS-PAST

'Yamada was recommended by two professors in physics as well.'

— (Distributive/#Non-distributive) (Hamano (1990, 7))

The first observation, which is not crucial to the present discussion, is that non-distributive readings apparently are harder to obtain than distributive readings (though not impossible) when Q-float out of NP *ni* is involved. In (53b), for example, the interpretation expressing more than one occurrence of scolding by a school counselor (distributive reading) is much easier to obtain than the interpretation expressing single occurrence of scolding by two teachers (non-distributive reading).**16** In the examples like (54a-c) below, distributive readings seem to be equally difficult as non-distributive rednigs:

(54) a. Sono hannin wa [patorooru-tyuu no keikan ni] **huta-ri**
that culprit top on patrol gen policeman by two-people

hakkens-are-ta
discover-PASS-PAST

'That culprit was discovered by two policemen on patrol.'
--- (#Distributive/*Non-distributive)

b. Daitooryoo wa tuneni [gankyoona bodiigaado ni] **san-nin**
President top always strong body guard by three-people

goeis-are-te-iru
guard-PASS-PROGR

'The President is always protected by three sturdy body guards.'
--- (#Distributive/?*Non-distributive)

c. [pro_1 [keikan ni] **san-nin** [e]$_1$ torikakom-are-ta] datugokusyuu$_1$
policeman by three-people surround-PASS-PAST jail-breaker

'The jail-breaker who was surrounded by the group of three policemen.'
--- (#Distributive/?Non-distributive)

We can perhaps ascribe such difficulty, however, to the pragmatic anomaly that arises when we attempt distributive interpetation in these sentences since the multiple occurrences of an event involving only a single agent can hardly be expressed in a natural way in each of (54a-c). That the limitation on distributive readings in (53a-e) is not due to a purely semantic restriction can be also seen by the naturalness of (55a-e) below with non-distributive readings. Note that the numeral quantifiers appear as pre-nominal modifiers in these examples:

(55) a. Taroo wa [**huta-ri** no (seikatu-sidoo no) sensei ni] sikar-are-ta
top two-people gen school counselor by scold-PASS-PAST

'Taro was scolded by three school counselors/teachers.'

b. Hannin wa sono suuhun no aida ni [**huta-ri** no toori-kakatta
culprit top those few minutes during two-people gen passing-by

tuukoonin ni]] mokugekis-are-te-imasu
passer-by by witness-PASS-PERF

'The culprit was seen by two passers-by during those few minutes.'

c. Sono hannin wa [**huta-ri** no patorooru-tyuu no keikan ni]
that culpit top two-people gen on patrol gen policeman by

hakkens-are-ta
discover-PASS-PAST

'That culprit was discovered by two policemen on patrol.'

d. Daitooryoo wa tuneni [**san-nin** no gankyoona bodiigaado ni]
President top always three-people gen strong body guard by

goeis-are-te-iru
guard-PASS-PROGR

'The President is always protected by the group of three sturdy body guards.'

e. [pro_1 [**san-nin** no keikan ni] $[e]_1$ torikakom-are-ta]
three-people gen policeman by surround-PASS-PAST

$datugokusyuu_1$
jail-breaker

'The jail-breaker who was surrounded by the group of three policemen.'

Since this curious tendency is not crucial to our discussion, we will not attempt to explain it in this work. See Fujita (1994) for relevant discussion.

The second observation, which is quite relevant to the present discussion, is that Q-float out of NP-*ni* in direct passive is indeed possible, and that its naturalness is directly proportional to the amount of pragmatic and/or semantic content added to its associated NP, as illustrated by the gradation of acceptability among the examples in (53). Hamano (1990) independently noticed such restrictions on Q-float, and attempts to characterize them as in (56):**17**

(56) Every floating quantifier requires a licensing NP which denotes a pragmatically, semantically and/or syntactically defined subset of a larger set, which in turn is also defined pragmatically or semantically.

Hamano reports the following contrasts in (57)-(59) below to back up this generalization, pointing out that (somewhat) awkward Q-float as in (57-59a) can be made much more natural when we rewrite the sentences as in (57-59b). Notice that we can easily recognize in these sentences that the licensing NP constitutes a subset of a larger set:

(57) a. *sabaku de **hito** ni san-nin atta
desert on people dat three-people met

'(I) met three people on the desert.'

b. sabaku de **Amerika-zin** ni san-nin atta
desert on Americans dat three-people met

'I met three Americans on the desert.'

(58) a. *kyoo **hito** o san-nin mita
today human acc three-people saw

'I saw three humans today.'

b. [**An animal** talking.] kyoo **hito** o san-nin mita

(59) a. ?gakusei ni huta-ri hanasita
student dat two-people spoke

'(I) sopke to two students.'

b. gakusei ni **mo** huta-ri hanasita
student dat also two-people spoke

'I spoke to two students as well.'

In short, syntax does seem to permit Q-float out of NP-*ni* in direct passive, and certain awkward instances as reported by Miyagawa seem to be ruled out independently of syntax of direct passive.

Finally, the conclusion we have just drawn can be confirmed when we compare Q-float out of NP-*ni* in direct passive and that in indirect passive. Here, we compare true minimal pairs made up with direct passive sentences in (53)-(54) above and indirect passive sentences in (60)-(61) below:

(60) Indirect Passive:

a. Taroo wa [sensei ni] **huta-ri** musuko o sikar-are-ta
top teacher by two-people son acc scold-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his son scolded by two teachers.'

--- (?*Distributive/*Non-distributive)

b. Taroo wa [seikatu-sidoo no sensei ni] **huta-ri** musuko o
top school counselor by two-people son acc

sikar-are-ta
scold-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his son scolded by two school counselors.'

--- (?Distributive/??Non-distributive)

c. Arikawa-huzin wa [sonote no otoko ni] **huta-ri** musume o
-Mrs. top that kind of men by two-people daighter acc

yuuwakus-are-ta koto ga aru
tempt-PASS-PAST have an experience

'Mrs. Arikawa has had her daughter tempted by two of that kind of men.'

--- (Distributive/?Non-distributive)

d. Hannin wa honno suuhun no aida ni [toori-kakatta
culprit top just few minutes during passing by

tuukoonin ni] **huta-ri** kuruma o mokugekis-are-te-imasu
passer-by by two-people car acc witness-PASS-PERF

'The culprit had his car seen by two passers-by in just a few minutes.'

--- (Distributive/?#Non-distributive)

e. Yamada wa [buturi no kyoozyu ni] mo **huta-ri** sono hon o
top physics gen professor by also two-people that book acc

suisens-are-ta
recommend-PASS-PAST

'Yamada had that book recommended by two professors in physics as well.'

--- (Distributive/#Non-distributive) (Hamano (1990, 7))

(61) Indirect Passive:

a. Sono hannin wa [patorooru-tyuu no keikan ni] **huta-ri**
that culprit top on patrol gen policeman by two-people

kakurega o hakkens-are-ta
hideout acc discover-PASS-PAST

'That culprit had his hideout discovered by two policemen on patrol.'

--- (#Distributive/*Non-distributive)

b. Daitooryoo wa tuneni [gankyoona bodiigaado ni] **san-nin**
President top always sturdy body guard by three-people

sinpen **o** goeis-are-te-iru
surroundings acc guard-PASS-PROGR

'The President is always protected by three sturdy body guards.'

--- (#Distributive/?*Non-distributive)

c. [pro_1 [keikan ni] **san-nin** $[e]_1$ tatemono o
policeman by three-people building acc

torikakom-are-ta] $datugokusyuu_1$
surround-PASS-PAST jail-breaker

'the jail-breaker who had the building he is in surrounded by three policemen

--- (#Distributive/?Non-distributive)

Crucially, the degree of awkwardness/naturalness of Q-float out of NP-*ni* in direct passive sentences in (53)-(54) parallels almost completely in their indirect passive counterparts in (60)-(61). Awkwardness/naturalness of Q-float out of NP-*ni* is thus totally independent of the types of passive involved.

To sum up, we have good reasons to dismiss the argument based upon Q-float that *ni*-phrases in direct passive have a different thematic and categorial status from those in indirect passive. Note, in contrast, that the parallelism of awkwardness/ naturalness in (53)-(54) and (60)-(61) is expected under the Uniform Hypothesis, since direct passive is nothing but an instance of indirect passive, as schematically illustrated in (62):

(62) Direct Passive = Indirect Passive:

NP_1 ga $[_{VP}$ NP ni ... pro_1 ... V]-rare
by

5.2.2 Optionality of NP *ni*:

Miyagawa (1989, 4), Shibatani (1990, 325-326), and Kubo (1990, 30-31) all attempt to defend the Nonuniform Hypothesis, making a virtually identical claim, which can be summarized as follows: (i) Just as the *by*-phrase in English passive is optional, the *ni*-phrase of direct passive can be either omitted without having to be interpreted as elliptical, as illustrated in (63 a-b) below. (ii) The same story does not hold true, however, of the *ni*-phrase in indirect passive, as illustrated in (64 a-d) below. (iii) Such a contrast follows if we assume that the *ni*-phrase is an adjunct in direct passive, while it is an argument in indirect passive:

(63) Direct Passive:

a. kodomo-tati$_1$ wa (sensei ni) [e]$_1$ sikar-are-ta
children top teacher by scold-PASS-PAST

'The children were scolded (by the teachers)."

b. yuube, kuruma$_1$ ga (doroboo ni) [e]$_1$ ni-dai nusum-are-ta
last night car nom thief by two-vehicles steal-PASS-PAST

'Last night, two cars were stolen (by thieves).'

(64) Indirect Passive:

a. Hanako wa *(Taroo ni) doramu o rensyuus-are-ta (Shibatani (Ibid., 326))
top by drums acc practice-PASS-PAST

'Hanako suffered from *(Taro's) practicing the drums.'

b. Taroo wa *(Hanako ni) keiba ni nettyuus-are-ta (Kubo (Ibid., 31))
top by horse race dat be absorbed-PASS-PAST

'Taro suffered from *(Hanako's) being obsessed by hourse race.'

c. Hanako wa *(kodomo ni) nak-are-ta (Shibatani (Ibid.))
top child by cry-PASS-PAST

'Hanako suffered from *(the child's) crying.'

d. Taroo ga *(ame ni) hur-are-ta (Miyagawa (Ibid.))
nom rain by fall-PASS-PAST

'Taro was rained on.'

Shibatani and Kubo further claim that passive involving the relation of (inalienable) possession between its subject and object is an instance of direct passive, as illustrated in (65) below, and hence does not constitute a counterexample to the alleged generalization in (ii) above even when it lacks the *ni*-phrase:**18**

(65) Possessive Passive:

a. **Taroo**$_1$ wa man'in-densya de [e]$_1$ **asi** o hum-are-ta
top crowded train on foot acc step on-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his foot stepped on on a crowded train.'
(Shibatani (Ibid, 327))

b. **Taroo**$_1$ ga [e]$_1$ **boosi** o hukitobas-are-ta (Kubo (Ibid, 31))
nom hat acc blow away-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his hat blown away.'

Further examination of data, however, will reveal that the generalization (ii), and hence the conclusion (iii) as well is untenable. The examples in (66) and (67) below, for instance, clearly show that "non-possessive" indirect passive may have a "reduced" form without *ni*-phrase and may be construed without any understood definite agent:

(66) a. [pro$_1$ [Kyozin no koto o home-tigir]-are-ta] Hansin-fuan$_1$
Giants acc praise-PASS-PAST Tigers-fan

'Yankees' fan that had Dodgers praised'

b. syutuensya o syookaisuru hazuno sikaisya$_1$ ga [gyakuni zibun(zisin)$_1$ o
performers acc introduce expected M.C. nom contrary self acc

syookais]-are-tari suru to tyoosi ga kuruttesimau mononandesu
introduce-PASS-if pace nom tend to be upset

'If an M.C., who is supposed to introduce the performers, gets introduced, he often loses his rhythm.'

(67) a. [pro$_1$ hahaoya ga inakunatta totanni [nakidas]-are-ru yoona]
mother nom disapperaed the moment start to cry-PASS-PRES

hunarena bebiisittaa$_1$
inexperienced baby sitter

'an inexperienced baby sitter who starts being cried on the moment the mother leaves'

b. [pro_1 desaki de [hur]-are-ta] toki no yoozin ni, $boku_1$ wa
outside fall-PASS-PERF when gen for precaution I top

itumo kasa o motte arui-te-iru
always umbrella acc carry around-PROGR

'I always carry an umbrella with me just in case.'

c. [pro_1 maikai no yooni sekando ni [hasir]-are-ru]
almost every inning second base to run-PASS-PRES

kata no yowai kyattyaa$_1$
shoulder gen weak catcher

'a catcher whose shoulder is weak and allows the opposing team to steal second base almost every inning.'

d. Apaato no kanri-nin dan:
A story told by the apartment manager:

[yonaka ni sawag]-are-tari sitara komaru kara
midnight at make noise-PASS-if get in trouble since

uti no apaato ni wa tosiyori sika irenai koto ni siteirundesu
my aprtment in top elderly only let in make it a rule

'We make it a rule to rent our aprtment only to the elderly lest we should suffer from horseplay in the middle of the night.'

e. Rottyesutaa de wa [sio o mak]-are-ru node kuruma ga itami-yasui
Rochester in top salt acc spread-PASS-PRES since car nom damaged-easy

'Cars get corroded fast in Rochester because salt is sprinkled on the street.'

Note that the "possessive passive" analysis does not play any role in accounting for the possibility of "reduced forms" in (66a-b) and (67a-d).

While the existence of examples as in (66)-(67) alone will suffice for us to reject the "adjunct *ni* -phrase" argument for the Nonuniform Hypothesis presented above, we will, for the sake of completeness of our argument, explore below an alternative account of the perceived contrast between the indirect passive sentences in (64) and all others in

(63)-(67), rephrasing the semantic/pragmatic characterization of Japanese passives offered in Kuroda (1979, 310, 314, 332-333).

To begin with, we assume that the EXPERIENCER θ-role assigned by the passive morpheme *-rare* to its external argument is further specified with the feature [+Affected], as illustrated in (68) below, and that "affectedness" interpretations arising from this feature can be of positive, negative or neutral nature, depending upon the (lexical) semantics/pragmatics involved in each sentence (rather than necessarily being "adversative"):

(68) *rare*: [EXPERIENCER [EVENTUALITY __]]
[+Affected]

In order for such "affectedness" interpretations to be felicitous, the speaker-hearer must be able to clearly recognize the source of affectedness. It is quite natural, therefore, that all passive sentences are required to indicate, in one way or another, how exactly affectedness is established between the external argument and the rest of the sentence, i.e., between the EXPERIENCER argument and the EVENTUALITY argument expressed by the complement VP.

In "direct" passive as in (63a-b) above, such a condition can be easily met because of the syntactic binding relation holding between the EXPERIENCER argument and the *pro* generated within the EVENTUALITY argument. "Indirect" passive, in contrast, lacks such syntactic basis to establish the affectedness relation. It therefore requires proper pragmatics that will permit us to establish affectedness relation between the EXPERIENCER and the EVENTUALITY.**19**

With the rather meager pragmatic context indicated in each indirect passive sentence in (64) above, the information carried by NP-*ni* plays a rather vital role in establishing affectedness between the EXPERIENCER and the EVENTUALITY.

Lack of its specification, therefore, will yield the perceived awkwardness of these sentences. When rich enough pragmatic contexts are provided elsewhere in an indirect passive sentence, in contrast, NP-*ni* does not necessarily carry a vital piece of information for establishing affectedness, and hence can be left unspecified, as we saw in (66)-(67) above. Note that, roughly speaking, specification of the content of NP-*ni* is unnecessary in these sentences, either because it is irrelevant ((66 a-b)), or it is almost completely recoverable from the context ((67 a-e)). For instance, in (66a), no matter who may praise Dodgers, that would raise Yankees' fans' eyebrows, and hence specification of the praiser is irrelevant. In (67a), on the other hand, we can unmistakably understand that the one who cries is the baby/child from the semantics and pragmatics of the sentence.

In our approach, possessive passives as in (65 a-b) above can be regarded as a type of direct passive involving base-generated *pro* as the possessor of the object NP, as illustrated in (69):

(69) Possessive Passive:

a. Taroo$_1$ wa [$_{VP}$ man'in-densya de (dareka ni) [**pro**$_1$ asi] o hum]-are-ta
top crowded train on someone by foot acc step on-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his foot stepped on (by someone) on a crowded train.'

b. Taroo$_1$ ga [$_{VP}$ (kaze ni) [**pro**$_1$ boosi] o hukitobas]-are-ta
nom wind by hat acc blow away-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his hat blown away (by the wind).'

We therefore naturally predict that possessive passive permits its NP-*ni* to be rather freely left unspecified.

When we apply the diagnostic tests involving quantifier-scope and weak crossover (see Sections 4.1.-4.2. above) to possessive passive, we observe that possessive passive per se does not permit scope ambiguity ((70a) below) or

reconstruction effects ((71-72 a)) (again without any focus intonation involved), while scrambling in possessive passive does result in such effects ((70b)-(72b)):

(70) Q-scope:

a. Possessive Passive:

dareka$_1$ ga **daremo** ni [[e]$_1$ heaa-sutairu] o home-rare-ta
someone nom everyone by hair style acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Someone had her/his hair style praised by everyone.'

--- (∃ > ∀/?*∀ > ∃)

b. Possessive Passive with Scrambling:

dareka$_2$ ni **daremo**$_1$ ga **t**$_2$ [[e]$_1$ heaa-sutairu] o home-rare-ta
someone by everyone nom hair style acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Everyone had her/his hair style praised by someone.'

--- (Clearly ambiguous)

(71)WCO:

a. Possessive Passive:

?*[pro$_2$ **pro**$_1$ karanda otoko$_2$]$_3$ ga **dare**$_1$ ni [[e]$_3$ atama] o
picked a quarrel guy nom who by head acc

nagur-are-ta no?
punch-PASS-PAST Q

'By whom did the guy who picked a quarrel with him have his head punched?"

--- (No reconstruction effect)

b. Possessive Passive with Scrambling:

[**pro**$_1$ pro$_2$ karanda zyosei$_2$]$_3$ ni **dare**$_1$ ga **t**$_3$ [[e]$_1$ asi] o
picked a quarrel woman by who nom foot acc

humituke-rare-ta no?
step on-PASS-PAST Q

'Who had his foot stepped on by the woman with whom he had picked a

quarrel?'

--- (Reconstruction effect)

(72) *zibun*:

a. Possessive Passive:

*[**zibun**$_1$ no musume]$_2$ ga [kinzyo no hitotati ni [sono yakuza$_1$ ga
self gen daughter nom neighbors by that gangster nom

[[e]$_2$ kao] ni kizu o tuketa to] omow]-are-teiru
face by wound acc gave COMP think-PASS-PROG

'His daughter is thought by the neighbors to have had her face wounded by that gangster.'

b. Possessive Passive with Scrambling:

[**zibun**$_1$ no musuko]$_2$ ni (made) [Taroo$_1$ ga **t**$_2$ [okusan ga
self gen son by (even) nom wife nom

[[e]$_1$ kao] ni hikkaki-kizu o tuketa to] omow]-are-teiru
face on scratch acc gave COMP think-PASS-PROG

'Taro is thought (even) by his own son to have been scratched on his cheek by his wife.'

These results will allow us to confirm that possessive passive involves a base-generated empty possessor rather than a trace left behind by NP-movement of the possessor.**20,21**

The argument for the Nonuniform Hypothesis based upon the optionality of NP *ni*, thus, cannot be maintained.

6. Evidence for Complementation in Direct Passive:

Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) briefly review the literature on the interaction of adverbial scope and passive in Japanese, and conclude that it will not provide us with any valid argument for (or against) the complementation analysis of direct passive. We believe, however, that a little more thorough examination will

reveal that adverbial scope will provide us with evidence for the presence of complementation in direct as well as indirect passive.

Let us begin with a quick overview of the literature. Makino (1972), on the one hand, supports the complementation analysis of direct passive, pointing out that an "attitudinal" (or "subject-oriented") VP adverb may be ambiguously associated with either the subject of the sentence or with the *ni*-marked agent in direct passive as in (73a) below, while no such ambiguity can be detected with an active sentence in (73b):**22**

(73) a. Mary ga John ni **iyaiya** syootais-are-ta
nom by reluctantly invite-PASS-PAST

'Mary was reluctantly invited by John.'

b. John ga Mary o **iyaiya** syootaisi-ta
nom acc reluctantly invited

'John reluctantly invited Mary.'

N. McCawley (1972, 265-266), on the other hand, points out that indirect passive as in (74) below permits no such ambiguity but orientation toward the *ni*-marked agent:

(74) John wa Bill ni koibito no Mary o **iyaiya** syootais-are-ta
top by lover gen acc reluctantly invite-PASS-PAST

'John had his lover Mary reluctantly invited by Bill.'

These facts then suggest that it is direct passive rather than indirect passive that involves complementation — a conclusion compatible with neither the Uniform Hypothesis nor the Nonuniform Hypothesis. Confused by such paradoxical data, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (Ibid., 221) conclude that the test involving adverbial scope cannot determine the validity of complementation analysis of either direct or indirect passive.

We believe that the key to account for the facts in (73) and (74) lies in a better understanding of the licensing condition for the adverb *iyaiya* 'reluctantly' used in these

examples. In particular, we believe that this adverb has a little tighter licensing condition than other similar adverbs. We can clearly recognize this point when we compare *iyaiya* with another adverb *wazato* 'deliberately' in the context as in (75)-(77):

(75) a. **iyaiya** oogoe de utatta
reluctantly loud voice with sang

'reluctantly sang loud'

b. **wazato** oogoe de utatta
intentionally loud voice with sang

'intentionally sang loud'

(76) a. *kare no iitai koto ga **iyaiya** wakar(-ana-kat)ta
what he wants to say nom reluctantly understand(-NEG)-PAST

'reluctantly understood/did not understand what he wanted to say'

b. *kare no iitai koto ga **wazato** wakar(-ana-kat)ta
what he wants to say nom intentionally understand(-NEG)-PAST

(77) a. ***iyaiya** byooki ni natta
reluctantly became sick

b. **wazato** byooki ni natta
intentionally became sick

'intentionally understood/did not understand what he wanted to say'

Judging from the contrast between (75a-b) and (76a-b), in particular, from the incompatibility of *iyaiya* 'reluctantly' and *wazato* 'deliberately' with a stative predicate *wakar* 'understand' in (76a-b), we can surmise that both these adverbs must be associated with an agent θ-role rather than an experiencer θ-role. What is puzzling, then, is the contrast between (77a) and (77b). If the predicate *byooki ni nar* 'get sick' is assumed to assign an agent θ-role, the ungrammaticality of (77a) would remain unaccounted for, and if the same predicate is assumed to assign an experiencer θ-role, the grammaticality of (77b) would remain unaccounted for.**23**

We can get out of this dilemma, however, by making an appeal to the following observation and analysis. Given the meanings of *wazato* 'deliberately/purposefully,' it is reasonable to assume that the predicate *byooki ni nar* 'get sick' denotes some kind of a willful act in (77b). Note, however, that the type of agency involved here is that of what we will call 'procedural agency,' which expresses that what one willfully brings about is the **procedure** for the realization of an eventuality denoted by the argument structure of the predicate, rather than the willful participation in the eventuality itself. Thus, in (77b), the procedure which leads one to the result of getting sick, for example, standing outside in the snow for ten hours, or not eating anything for a week, can be a willful act, but "getting sick" per se is not a willful act. Note, on the other hand, that the external θ-role assigned by *utaw* 'sing' in (75a-b) is that of what we will call 'direct agency,' which expresses that one willfully and **directly** brings about the event denoted by the argument structure of the predicate. In this case, "willful participation in the event" and "willful realization of that event (= procedure)" coincide with each other. The range of facts in (75)-(77), then, can be accounted for when we make the following assumptions. First, both *iyaiya* and *wazato* must be licensed by (or have "subject-orientation" toward) an agent θ-role assigned by the predicate. This accounts for the contrast between (75a-b) and (76a-b). Second, the two adverbs crucially differ from each other, however, in that *iyaiya* can be licensed only by 'direct agency,' while *wazato* is compatible with either 'direct agency' or 'procedural agency'. This accounts for the contrast in (77).

The following paradigm also suggests that *sibusibu* 'reluctantly' and *katteni* 'voluntarily/at will/without permission' can be distinguished in a similar way:

(78) a. **sibusibu** oogoe de utatta
reluctantly loud voice with sang

'reluctantly sang loud'

b. **katteni** oogoe de utatta
voluntarily loud voice with sang

'voluntarily sang loud'

(79) a. *kare no iitai koto ga **sibusibu** wakar(-anakat)-ta
what he wants to say nom reluctantly understand(-NEG)-PAST

'reluctantly understood/did not understand what he wanted to say'

b. *kare no iitai koto ga **katteni** wakar(-anakat)-ta
what he wants to say nom voluntarily understand(-NEG)-PAST

'chose (not) to understand what he wanted to say'

(80) a. ***sibusibu** byooki ni natta**24**
reluctantly became sick

b. (zibun de) **katteni** byooki ni natta**25**
by oneself voluntarily became sick

'chose to become sick'

We thus can offer the following subclassification:

(81) Subject-oriented adverbs licensed by:

a. **direct or procedural** agency:

wazato 'deliberately'

katteni 'voluntarily'

b. **direct** agency **only:**

iyaiya 'reluctantly'

sibusibu 'reluctantly'

Our analysis of subject-oriented adverbs enables us to account for the seemingly contradictory facts in (73a) and (74) above, repeated here as (82a-b):

(82) a. Direct Passive:

Mary ga John ni **iyaiya** syootais-are-ta
nom by reluctantly invite-PASS-PAST

'Mary was reluctantly invited by John.'

b. Indirect Passive:

John wa Bill ni koibito no Mary o **iyaiya** syootais-are-ta
top by lover gen acc reluctantly invite-PASS-PAST

'John had his lover Mary reluctantly invited by Bill.'

The problem was that the adverb *iyaiya* in direct passive (82a) can be ambiguously associated with (or oriented toward) the subject of the sentence and the *ni*-marked agent, while the same adverb can be associated only with the *ni*-marked agent in indirect passive (82b). This suggests that complementation is involved in direct passive but not in indirect passive. This conclusion, however, contradicts both the Uniform Hypothesis and the Nonuniform Hypothesis.

One important piece of observation we would like to pay attention to here is that, when *iyaiya* is associated with the subject in direct passive (82a), the sentence is acceptable only with the interpretation "Mary reluctantly accepted John's invitation and went." Without such an interpretation, the sentence in fact is unacceptable. In particular, we cannot interpret (82a) as "Mary reluctantly received John's invitation," as pointed out by Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976, 221, footnote 18). The correctness of this observation can be confirmed by the fact that (82a) cannot be part of a discourse like (83a) or (83b) below, in which "actual going" is mentioned separately: (! indicates the awkwardness of the discourse involving the sentence in question.)

(83) Mary ga John ni **iyaiya** syootais-are-ta
nom by reluctantly invite-PASS-PAST

'Mary was reluctantly invited by John.'

a. !demo/sorede kekkyoku **ik**-ana-katta.
but/therefore eventually go-NEG-PAST

'but/therefore, she eventually did not go.'

b. !demo/sorede kekkyoku **dekaketeit**-ta
but/therefore eventually go-PAST

'but/therefore, she eventually went.'

Note here that the acceptable interpretation for (82a) "Mary reluctantly accepted John's invitation and went" indicates that Mary participated in the event of going with her own will and that that event was realized with her own will by (though reluctantly) accepting John's invitation. The acceptable interpretation for (82a), in other words, involves what we have called 'direct agency' for the passive subject (with the signature "affectedness" interpretation of passive further added). The unacceptable interpretation "Mary reluctantly received John's invitation," on the other hand, does not involve such 'direct agency' interpretation. With the proposed characterization of *iyaiya*, then, we can explain why the interpretation of (82a) with *iyaiya* construed as oriented to *Mary* permits only the first interpretation — *iyaiya* must be licensed by 'direct agency.' In fact, when 'direct agency' is available, (and if the semantics and pragmatics are appropriate,) *iyaiya* can be licensed by the subject of direct passive:

(84) a. watasi wa titioya ni **iyaiya** goruhu-zyoo ni tureteik-are-ta
I top father by reluctantly golf course to take-PASS-PAST

'I was reluctantly taken to the golf course by my father.'

b. Oyabun no meirei de, Ginzi wa keesatu ni **iyaiya** taihos-are-ta
boss gen order with top police by reluctantly arrest-PASS-PAST

'Since it was the boss's order, Ginji was reluctantly arested by the police.'

c. watasi wa butai no ueni **iyaiya** hipparidas-are-ta
I top stage gen on reluctantly pull out-PASS-PAST

'I was reluctantly pulled out onto the stage.'

When we extend our analysis of subject-oriented adverbs to the indirect passive in (82b), we inevitably reach the conclusion that the sentence lacks a 'direct agency' interpretation. For, indirect passive in general means something like "X is affected by

an eventuality in which X does not directly participate." For example, *John* as the subject of indirect passive in (85a-b) below has been somehow affected by the event indicated by the square brackets, but he himself did not play any direct role in that event:

(85) a. [Context: Bill is one of John's henchmen.]

John wa [keisatu ni Bill o taihos]-are-ta
top policeman by acc arrest-PASS-PAST

'John had Bill arrested by the police.'

b. John wa [hahaoya ni totuzen sin]-are-ta
top mother by suddenly die-PASS-PAST

'John suffered from his mother's sudden death.'

Obviously, it is virtually impossible for *John* to act as a 'direct agent' under such circumstances, while there may still be a possibility for him to act as a 'procedural agent' under certain circumstances. Note that the most *John* can do willfully as an agent in (85a), for example, is an indirect act like ordering Bill to be arrested. From these observations, we can conclude that if *iyaiya* requires 'direct agency,' as we claim it does, it cannot be construed as oriented to the subject of indirect passive. Thus, it is accounted for why the adverb in (82b) cannot be associated with the matrix subject.

The interpretation of (typical) direct passive, on the other hand, amounts to something like "X is affected by an eventuality in which X directly participates." For example, *John* as the subject of direct passive in (86) below has been somehow affected by the event indicated by the square brackets, in which he himself plays a direct role due to the syntactic binding involved there:

(86) John$_1$ ga [keisatu ni **pro**$_1$ taihos]-are-ta
nom police by arrest-PASS-PAST

'John suffered from the police's arresting him.'

Unlike in the case of indirect passive, then, *John* here has the possibility of willfully participating in the event indicated by the square brackets, acting as a 'direct agent.' Because of the direct involvement of the passive subject in the subordinate eventuality, in other words, the "willful participation in the eventuality" and "willful realization of that event (= procedure)" can coincide with each other in direct passive. Thus, *iyaiya* can be licensed in direct passive (84b) above, but not in its indirect passive counterpart in (87) below, as we predict:

(87) a. *Keisatu ga **iyaiya** [hannin ni mokugekisya no kodomo o
police nom reluctantly culprit by witness gen child acc

kakurega ni tureteik]-are-ta (koto)
hide away to take away-PASS-PAST (fact)

'The police reluctantly had the witness child taken away by the culprit to his hideaway.'

b. *Oyabun wa **iyaiya** [keisatu ni Ginzi o taihos]-are-ta
boss top reluctanly police by acc arrest-PASS-PAST

'The boss reluctantly had Ginzi arrested by the police.'

On the cotnrary, when we replace *iyaiya* in (87) with the adverb *wazato* 'purposefully,' the sentence becomes interpretable, as illustrated in (88):

(88) a. Keisatu wa **wazato** [hannin ni mokugekisya no kodomo o
police top purposefully culprit by witness gen child acc

kakurega ni tureteik]-are-ru toiu kikenna soosahoohoo o
hideaway to take away-PASS-PAST that risky investigatio acc

totta
adopted

'The police adopted the risky tactic of intentionally having the witness child taken away by the culprit to his hideaway.'

b. Oyabun wa **wazato** [keisatu ni Ginzi o taihos]-are-ta
boss top purposefully police by acc arrest-PASS-PAST

'The boss purposefully had Ginzi arrested by the police.'

This contrast is also predicted in our approach, since we have hypothesized that the subject of indirect passive may still act as a 'procedural agent,' and *wazato* can be licensed by 'procedural agency' as well. An essential semantico-pragmatic condition to be satisfied for the successful 'procedural agency' interpretation in indirect passive is that the passive subject as the 'procedural agent' be regarded as possessing (near) perfect control over the realization of the subordinate eventuality even if (s)he does not directly participate in that event. Therefore, when the participant of the subordinate event is non-animate, the passive subject is its possessor, and/or the pragmatics makes the procedural agency role of the passive subject very clear as in (89a-b), the adverb *wazato* becomes readily acceptable (perhaps even more so than in (88a-b)):

(89) a. Ooyama-meizin wa **wazato** [taisen-sya ni **mizukarano**
Ooyama-master top purposefully opponent by own

hisya o tor]-are-ru toiu odorokubeki senpoo o totta
rook acc take-PASS-PRES such amazing strategy acc took

'Ooyama, the chess master, took an amazing strategy of purposefully having his rook taken by the opponent.'

b. [Baseball Talk]

katikositen o toru tameni [pro_1 **wazato** [rannaa o
go ahead run acc earn for purposefully runner acc

iti-nirui-kan-ni hasam]-are-ru
between first and second base pick off-PASS-PRES

yoona sakusen o toru zurugasikoi $kantoku_1$
such strategy acc take shrewd manager

'a shrewd manager who takes such strategy as purposefully having a runner picked off between the first and the second base in order to earn a go-ahead run'

We thus correctly predict that the adverbs which are licensed by either 'procedural agency' or 'direct agency' such as *wazato* 'deliberately' and *katteni* 'voluntarily/at

will/without permission' are compatible with either direct or indirect passive, provided that the semantics and pragmatics are appropriate.

Furthermore, under the Uniform Hypothesis, in which both direct and indirect passive are analyzed as involving complementation, we also predict that such adverbs may be associated with either the subject or by the *ni*-marked phrase in both types of passive. These predictions are borne out. First, *katteni* 'voluntarily/at will/without permission' contained in both direct and indirect passive can be associated with the subject, as in (90) below, or with the *ni*-marked agent, as in (91):**26**

(90) a. Direct Passive (Matrix Scope):

ano baka$_1$-ttara [**pro**$_1$ zibunde **katteni** [rokudemonai yatura ni
that fool-speaking of voluntarily worthless brats by

pro$_1$ karam]-are-ta-kusesite] imagoro tasuketekure mo naimonda.
pick a quarrel-PASS-having now cannot be helped

'That fool wants us to help him, having asked for a quarrel with those worthless brats. No way!'

b. Indirect Passive (Matrix Scope):

ano baka$_1$-ttara **pro**$_1$ zibunde **katteni** [rokudemonai yatura ni
that fool-speaking of voluntarily worthless brats by

hito-sama no o-kane o damasitor] -are-toite
others gen money acc swindle-PASS-PERF

ore ni nakituiteki-tatte mendoonanka miteyarumonka
me dat beg for help-even will not take care

'I won't help that fool even if he beggs after having voluntarily had other people's money wheedled.'

(91)a. Direct Passive (Subordinate Scope):

gosenman'en-mono-taikin$_1$ ga [**mise no siyoonin** ni
huge sum of fifty million yen nom store gen employee dat

katteni kinko kara [e]$_1$ motidas]-are-ta ziken
at will safe from take out-PASS-PAST incident

'An incident such that the huge sum of five million yen had been taken out of the safe by a store clerk without permission.'

b. Indirect Passive (Subordinate Scope):

[ano mise no gosyuzin$_1$ wa [[e]$_1$ [**siyoonin** ni
that store gen owner top employee by

gosenmanen mono taikin o **katteni** kinko kara
huge sum of fifty million yen acc at will safe from

motidas]-are-te] taihen okotteiru]
take our-PASS-COMP very angry

'The owner of that store is very angry having the huge sum of fifty million yen taken out of the safe without permission by his employee.'

Second, the example (92) below represents a truly ambiguous case with direct passive, in which the intentionality expressed by *wazato* 'deliberately' can be that of the person run over by the car or (the driver of) the approached car:**27**

(92) Direct Passive:

kare$_1$ wa [**usiro-kara kita kuruma** ni **wazato** pro$_1$ haner]-are ta
he top from behind came car by intentionally hit-PASS-PAST

'He was intentionally hit by a car which came from behind.'

The example with indirect passive in (93a) below exhibits a similar ambiguity in that both (93b) and (93c) are possible:

(93) Indirect Passive:

a. **okusan** ga [**otto** ni totemo **zyoozuni** uso o tuk]-are-ru
wife nom husband by very skillfully tell a lie-PASS-PRES

'The wife quite skillfully lets her husband tell a lie.'

b. nibui okusan wa [**zurugasikoi otto** ni **totemo zyoozuni**
insensitive wife top shrewed husband by very skillfully

uso o tuk]-are(-tesima)-(r)u
tell a lie-PASS(-PERF)-PRES

'An insensitive wife is told a lie very skillfully by her husband having an affair.'

--- (Subordinate Scope)

c. **kasikoi okusan** wa [uwaki o siteiru otto ni
wise wife top having an affair husband by

totemo zyoozuni uso o tuk]-are-ru/te oku
very skillfully tell a lie-PASS-PRES/-PERF

'A wise wife quite skillfully let her husband, who is having an affair, tell a lie.'

--- (Matrix Scope)

Finally, as illustrated by the examples (94) and (95) below, two incompatible VP-adverbs can co-occur both in direct and indirect passive, which demonstrates that two independent licensers of adverbs are available in both types of passive:

(94) Direct Passive:

Musasi wa **hukakunimo** [tabisugata no onna ni **wazato** butukar-are-ta]
top carelessly travelling woman by intentionally bump-PASS-PAST

'Musasi carelessly was intentionally bumped by a travelling woman.'

(95) Indirect Passive:

Taroo wa **hukakunimo** [Hanako ni **wazato** asi o hum]-are(-tesimat)-ta
carelessly dat deliberately foot step on-PASS

'Taroo carelessly had his foot deliberately stepped on by Hanako.'

In contrast, observations here pose serious problems to the Nonuniform Hypothesis. The facts in (91a), (92) and (94) above are unaccounted for if direct passive in Japanese is assumed to involve a simplex sentence, since simplex sentences generally permit neither ambiguous interpretations of an adverb nor co-occurence of two incompatible adverbs, as illustrated in (96) and (97):

(96) keikan ga John o **wazato** nagutta
policeman nom acc intentionally punched

'A policeman deliberately beat John.'
but not
'John deliberately was hit by a policeman.'

(97) a.*Hanako ga **hukakunimo** Taroo ni **wazato** butukat-ta
nom carelessly by intentionally bumped

'Hanako deliberately bumped Taro carelessly.'

b.*Hanako ga **hukakunimo** Taroo no asi o **wazato** hunda
nom carelessly gen foot acc intentionally stepped on

'Hanako deliberately stepped on Taro's foot carelessly.'

We thus have demonstrated that subject-oriented adverbs in principle may be associated with either the subject or the *ni*-phrase in both direct and indirect passive, which clearly suggests the existence of complementation in both these constructions.

We have also argued that asymmetries between the two types of passive we sometimes encounter arise when a subclass of such adverbs which require more restricted licensing conditions are involved, and that the resulting asymmetres are exactly what is predicted under the Uniform Hypothesis. Under the Nonuniform Hypothesis, on the other hand, different behaviors exhibited by the adverb class represented by *iyaiya* 'reluctantly' and that represented by *wazato* 'deliberately' (cf. (75)-(77) and (83)-(89)) also remain unaccounted for. As pointed out above, these two classes of subject-oriented adverbs seem to differ from each other in that each class has a different licensing condition defined in terms of different types of agency role carried by the passive subject. Under the Nonuniform Hypothesis, however, the subject of direct passive is derived with the movement of an object NP to a determatized subject position, and its semantic role is determined entirely at its D-structure object position. Such analysis, then lacks a way to capture the correct generalization concerning the two class of subject-oriented adverbs in question. In sum, examination of adverbial scope does in fact support the Uniform Hypothesis more firmly than often considered in the literature when we analyze the data a little more thoroughly.

Finally, before we leave this section, let us revise our lexical characterization of the passive morpheme *rare*, taking into consideration the analysis of of subject-oriented adverbs presented above. Recall here the selectional property of *rare* we have proposed in Section 2, as in (98):

(98) *rare*:: [EXPERIENCER [EVENTUALITY __]]
[+Affected]

While we continue to assume that *rare* selects EVENTUALITY as its internal argument, its external argument should now include what we have characterized as "[+Affected] AGENT," which can be either "direct" or "procedural." Furthermore, as (99a-c) below illustrate, the [+Affected] subject can be inanimate in both direct and indirect passive, for which the labelling [+Affected] EXPERIENCER/AGENT seems rather inappropriate:

(99) a. Direct Passive:

utukusii	sizen	ga	kokoronai	kankookyaku	ni	hakais-are-ta
beautiful	wild	nom	thoughtless	tourists	by	destroyed

'The beautiful nature was destroyed by some thoughtless tourists.'

b. Indirect Passive:

Minami-Arupusu	no	yama-yama	ga	kokoronai	kankookyaku	ni		
South-Alps	gen	mountains	nom	thoughtless	tourists	by		
sono	utukusii	sizen	o	hakais-are-ta				
their	beautiful	wild	acc	destroyed				

'The beautiful nature of the mountains of the South-Alps was destroyed by some thoughtless tourists.'

c. Indirect Passive

okuzyoo	ni	hositeoita	sentakumono$_1$	ga	pro$_1$	ame	ni	
roof	on	hanging	laundry	nom		rain	by	
hur-are-te		bisyonureninatte-simatta						
fall-PASS-and		drenched						

'The laundry hanging on roof was rained on and becamed drenched.

Let us therefore adopt the notion AFFECTEE and revise (98) into (100):

(100) *rare*: [**AFFECTEE** [EVENTUALITY __]]

AFFECTEE is assigned to the external argument of *rare* presumably in a compositional fashion by the intermediate head (V') consisting of the head verb *rare* and its internal EVENTUALITY argument. Depending on the nature of the EVANTUALITY involved, therefore, the semantic nature of the affected party may differ, resulting into the broad range of semantics involved in the passive subject as has been obseved.

7. Binding in Passive:

According to the Uniform Hypothesis, which we have been trying to defend, the embedded clause of direct passive contains a base-generated empty pronominal coindexed with the matrix subject, as in (98a) below. A quite simple question that may naturally arise, then, is why it is the case that an overt item *kare* 'he' may not appear in the same position, as illustrated in (98b):

(98) Passive:

a. Taroo$_1$ ga [Sensei ni **pro**$_1$ home]-rare-ta
nom teacher dat praise-PASS-PAST

'Taroo was praised by the teacher.'

b. Taroo$_1$ ga [Sensei ni **kare**$*_1$ o home]-rare-ta
he

The contrast here might appear to argue for the movement analysis of direct passive under the Nonuniform Hypothesis, which expects nothing but a trace to appear in the object position of direct passive. The same contrast between *pro* and *kare* shows up, however, also in the complement clause of *moraw* 'receive (a favor of)':

(99) *-te moraw* :

Taroo$_1$ wa [Hanako ni { **pro**$_1$ } tasuke-te] morat-ta

top dat ***kare**$_1$ o help-COMP received-PAST
he acc

'From Hanako, Taro received a favor of helping him.'

If the contrast in (98) were to necessarily lead us to the movement analysis of direct passive, we would also have to adopt a movement analysis of "direct" *moraw* form to account for the contrast in (99), which seems hardly motivated or justifiable. The facts in (98) thus do not necessarily support the movement analysis of direct passive. On the contrary, the parallelism between (98) and (99) suggests that movement is a factor irrelevant to the binding facts in question.

We must also remember that not only the Uniform Hypothesis but also the Nonuniform Hypothesis assumes that indirect passive involves complementation.**28** Therefore, there is no reason to assume a priori that a base-generated empty pronominal coindexed with the matrix subject must be precluded from appearing at an internal argument position of the complement of **indirect** passive, under either of the two hypotheses. The base-generation of indirect passive as in (100a) below, in other words, should be a possible option along with (100b) even under the Nonuniform Hypothesis:

(100) a. Taroo$_1$-ga [Sensei ni **pro**$_1$ home]-rare-ta
nom teacher by praise-PASS-PAST

'Taroo was praised by the teacher.'

b. Taroo$_1$-ga [Sensei ni **otooto**$_1$ o home]-rare-ta
nom teacher by y.brother acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Taroo had his younger brother praised by the teacher.'

In a sense, then, the only major difference between the two hypotheses is that the Uniform Hypothesis identifies (100a) as the S-structure representation of so-called direct passive, whereas the Nonuniform Hypothesis identifies it as one possible S-

structure representation of **indirect** passive, and postulates a totally independent S-structure representation as in (101b) below for **direct** passive:

(101) a. D-str: [e] Sensei-ni **Taroo**$_1$ home-rare-ta

b. S-str: Taroo$_1$-ga Sensei-ni **t**$_1$ home-rare-ta

Such articulation of the Nonuniform Hypothesis, in fact, may provide it with an account of the facts concerning the adverbial scope presented in the previous section, since a passive sentence involving a gap in the object position like "Taroo$_1$ ga Sensei ni [e]$_1$ home-rare-ta (Taroo was praised by the teacher.)" can now be analyzed not only as in (101b) but also as in (100a), which can supply the source of scopal ambiguity for adverbs. Once this move is taken, however, it must be assumed that all the abstract representations that are made possible under the Uniform Hypothesis, either to be paired with licit or illicit S-structures, are also made possible under the Nonuniform Hypothesis, including those potentially underlying direct passive. The Nonuniform Hypothesis, in other words, faces as much (or more) task as (or than) the Uniform Hypothesis of determining which of such underlying forms yield licit and illicit S-structures.

The last paragraph in fact hints at a more general point. Since the problems the Uniform Hypothesis has to face generally confront the Nonuniform Hypothesis as well, the Uniform Hypothesis becomes a null hypothesis unless some solutions for those problems fall out from the movement analysis, a special provision which requires an additional base-structure (101a) as well as an additional derivation from (101a) to (101b). But not only do we not notice any free dividend from the movement analysis for any difficulties that we might face, but also we have already seen that the argument for the movement analysis based on quantifier float is at best inconclusive. We have also seen that the facts concerning quantifier scope, weak crossover and binding of

zibun rather contradict it. There is no reason, then, to abandon the null hypothesis, even if we may not have attained a complete understanding of the nature of the empty category involved in direct passive.

8. Re-examination of Arguments for 'Case Absorption'

Miyagawa (1989, Chapter 5) presented an analysis of Japanese passive which he calls the "uniform approach." This approach retains the movement analysis of direct passive given under the Nonuniform Hypothesis. Unlike either the Uniform or Nonuniform Hypothesis, however, it does not assume an embedding structure for indirect passive. It posits a simplex sentence form as the underlying structure of indirect as well as direct passive. The difference between direct and indirect passive is attributed to whether Case-absorption and theta-absorption (or dethematization) manifest themselves or not.**29** Thus, according to Miyagawa, while Case and theta-role absorption always manifest themselves in English passive, absorbed Case may be reassigned to an internal argument and concomitantly a theta-role may be assigned to the external argument in Japanese passive. Miyagawa's "Case absorption" approach, then, appears to conform to the spirit of the analysis of passive proposed by Chomsky (1981) in the Government and Binding framework. Miyagawa's account is summarized in (102):

(102) The "Case Absorption" Approach:

a. There exists one and only one passive morpheme *rare* in Japanese. (pp. 149)

b. *Rare* is attached to a verb in the Lexicon. (p. 149)

c. *Rare* obligatorily absorbs Case if and only if the verb it is attached to bears the Case-assigning feature. (pp. 164-165, 169-170)

d. Case absorption is possible only between two adjacent

morphemes, in accordance with Allen's (1978) Adjacency Condition.**30** (pp. 155, 164)

e. *Rare* may optionally re-assign the absorbed Case. If it does, indirect passive results, and if it does not, direct passive is obtained. (p. 150)

f. Burzio's generalization stipulates that *rare* must θ-mark its subject when it re-assigns the absorbed Case. The subject of indirect passive, therefore, must be θ-marked. (p. 168)

g. Each abstract Case on the predicate must be either discharged or absorbed (except for the Case on *rare* that has been absorbed from another predicate). (pp. 164-166)

Let us see how the prototypical case of direct passive and indirect passive are derived in the "Case absorption" approach. The derivation of a direct passive as in (103a) below from its D-structure (103b) is all familiar:

(103) a. S-str: kodomo$_1$ ga Hanako ni t_1 yob-are-ta
child nom by call-PASS-PAST

b. D-str: [e] Hanako ni kodomo yob-rare-ta

The Case assignment feature of the transitive verb *yob* 'call/invite' is absorbed by the passive morpheme *rare*. Deprived of an opportunity to be Case-marked, the object *kodomo* 'child' moves to the subject position and gets nominative Case assigned.

Consider now the indirect passive with a transitive verb stem as in (104):

(104) Taroo ga Hanako ni kodomo o yob-are-ta
nom by child acc call-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his child called/invited by Hanako.'

Again, the verb *yob* has the Case-assigning ability. The passive morpheme *rare* therefore absorbs Case (cf. (102c)). The absorbed Case, however, can be **optionally reassigned** (cf. (102e)). In (104), since *rare* in fact does reassign the absorbed Case, it θ-marks the subject *Taroo*, due to the way Miyagawa invokes Burzio's generalization (cf. (102f)), yielding the indirect passive (104).

Miyagawa, thus, derives both direct and indirect passives from the underlying structures containing one and the same passive morpheme, and hence his naming "uniform approach." The key to achieve this uniformity is optional reassignment of the absorbed Case. Once this device is brought about, it is claimed, the goal is achieved cost-free by the well-known Burzio's generalization: the subject position is θ-marked if and only if the verb assigns Case to the object position. Thus, we have an indirect passive if and only if the Case absorbed by the passive morpheme is reassigned and therefore the subject of a passive sentence is θ-marked.

Now, consider the case where *rare* is attached to an intransitive verb stem, as in (105):

(105) Taroo ga doroboo ni nige-rare-ta
nom thief by escape-PASS-PAST

'Taroo had the theif run away.'

We have here an indirect passive sentence; the subject is θ-marked. In order to account for the possibility of this construction, Miyagawa assumes, first, that intransitive verbs lack accusative Case assigning property, second, that Case absorption by *rare* is not required when it is attached to intransitive stems ((102c)), and crucially that Burzio's generalization holds only for transitive (and unaccusative) verbs but not for intransitive verbs, contra Burzio.**31** Note that once intransitive verbs are assumed to lack Case assigning property, they must fall out of the scope of Burzio's generalization. Otherwise, they contradict it — they do not Case-mark internal complements but θ-mark subjects. As we will see shortly, the assumption that intransitive verbs lack Case marking property plays a crucial role in Miyagawa's "Case absorption" account of various transitive-intransitive asymmetries which he observes

with passive constructions. Thus, in the "Case absorption" approach, the passive verb is regarded as transitive when it is affixed to a transitive verb stem, so that Burzio's generalization applies, while it is regarded as intransitive when affixed to an intransitive verb stem, so that it is outside the scope of Burzio's generalization, a conceptually plausible assumption.**32** In the remainder of this section, we would like to carefully re-examine the arguments Miyagawa presented to support this "Case absorption" approach.**33**

8.1 Intervening Verbal Suffixes:

The first argument for the "Case absorption" approach is constructed on the basis of the contrasts in (106) and (107) below, which were observed by Harada (1973) and Sugioka (1984), respectively: (The examples are presented with Miyagawa's example numbers in Chapter 5 in square brackets along with his judgments.)

(106) a. Causative with Vt (Direct): [(31)]

*Ziroo$_1$ ga Taroo ni(yotte) Hanako ni t_1 yob-**ase**-rare-ta
nom by dat call-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by Taro's making Hanako call him.'

b. Causative with Vi (Direct): [(28)]

Hanako$_1$ ga Taroo ni t_1 ik-**ase**-rare-ta
nom by go-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Hanako was made to go by Taro.'

(107) a. Vt-ta-gar (Direct Passive): [(37)]

*Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 sasoi-**ta-gar**-are-te iru
top by tempt-desirous-display-PASS-PROGRESSIVE

'Hanako is showing her desire to be tempted/invited by Taro.'

b. Adj-gar (Direct Passive): [(36)]

Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 urayamasi-**gar**-are-te iru

top by envy-display-PASS-PROGRESSIVE

'Hanako is envied by Taro.'

(= originally from Sugioka (1984, 150))

The generalization claimed to hold over these cases is that the predicates which have an abstract Case marking property cannot be passivized when some other morpheme intervenes between these predicates and the passive morpheme *rare*, while such is not the case with predicates that lack an abstract Case assigning property. The transitive verbs *yob* 'call/invite' in (106a) and *sasow* 'invite/tempt' in (107a) exemplify the former type of predicates and the intransitive verb *ik* 'go' in (106b) and the intransitive adjective *urayamasi* 'envious' in (107b) exemplify the latter type.

The contrasts observed here are claimed to follow from two of the assumptions presented in (102) above: (i) adjacency requirement on Case absorption ((102d)), and (ii) the obligatory Case discharge/absorption ((102g)). Note that, in (106a) and (107a), *rare* fails to absorb Case from the base predicates due to the intervening morphemes *sase* 'CAUSE' and *ta-gar* 'desirous-display,' and the abstract Case of base predicates *yob* 'call' and *sasow* 'invite' remains not only unabsorbed but also undischarged since the object NP appears in the subject position rather than in the object position (Miyagawa (Ibid., 156, 159)).

In contrast, when the base predicates lack abstract Case marking properties, as in (106b) and (107b), the obligatory discharge/absorption requirement is irrelevant to them, and *rare* can instead successfully absorb Case from an adjacent morpheme *sase* and *gar*, respectively. The sentences, therefore, are grammatical. Exactly the same story is claimed to hold for the contrast in indirect passive (108a-b):

(108) a. Vt-ta-gar (Indirect Passive): [(61)]

*Ziroo ga Taroo ni Hanako o sasoi-**ta-gar**-are-ta
nom by acc invite-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by Taro's showing his desire to invite/tempt Hanako.'

b. Vi-ta-gar (Indirect passive): [(54)]

hahaoya ga kodomo ni daigaku ni iki-**ta-gar**-are-ta
mother nom child by college to go-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'A mother was affected by her child's showing his/her desire to go to college.'

Crucial for this explanation is the assumption that, in order to yield a well-formed indirect passive sentence, Case to be assigned to an internal argument must once been absorbed and then reassigned, so that the subject position gets θ-marked, conforming to Burzio's generalization. It is claimed that (108a) is ruled out because this obligatory absorption cannot take place due to an intervening morpheme sequence *ta-gar*. The Case absorption approach based on the assumptions (102) thus can be supported insomuch as it provides an account of the unacceptable data represented by (107a) and (108a), a mysterious gap in grammaticality.

However, this argument, we wish to claim, is invalid in two counts, conceptually and empirically. First, we will claim that grammatical judgments we report are in fact exactly what one should predict when we provide formally natural interpretations to some of the concepts underlying the "Case absorption" approach summarized in (102). Second, we believe that the factual judgments on which the argument is based are problematic — the patterns represented by (107a) and (108a) are grammatical, as we will demonstrate below. We would like to demonstrate, in other words, that the "correct prediction" we should obtain from the assumptions in (102) renders no support for the Case absorption approach over the traditional Uniform Hypothesis, since there in fact exists no grammaticality gap that calls for an account.

Let us begin with a conceptual problem. In fact, it is not at all clear exactly how (106a) above (repeated here as (109)) is ruled out by the "Case absorption" approach:

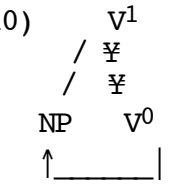
(109) Causative with Vt (Direct): (= (99a))

*Ziroo$_1$ ga Taroo ni (yotte) Hanako ni t_1 yob-**ase**-rare-ta
nom by dat call-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by Taro's making Hanako call him.'

First, abstract Case is generally assumed to be assigned by a predicate under head-government, as illustrated in (110):

(110)



Next, let us demonstrate that abstract Case of non-head (i.e., base) predicates can be discharged out of morphologically complex predicates both in causative and passive constructions. As illustrated in (111) below, the verb *yob* 'call' cannot assign dative Case to any of its argument ((111b-c)) while it has accusative abstract Case assigning property ((111a) vs. (111d)):

(111) a. Hanako ga Ziroo **o** yon-da
nom acc invited

'Hanako invited Jiro.'

b. *Hanako **ni** Ziroo o yon-da
dat

c. *Hanako ga Ziroo **ni** yon-da

d. *Hanako ga Ziroo **ga** yon-da

We then will be led to conclude that, in (112) below, dative Case is assigned by *sase*, and accusative Case by *yob*, the latter assignment probably triggered by the obligatory discharge requirement on abstract Case ((102g)):

(112) Taroo ga Hanako ni Ziroo o yob-ase-ta
nom dat acc invite-CAUSE-PAST

'Taro made Hanako invite Jiro.'

There is good reason to assume, in other words, that the non-head (base) verb of a complex predicate headed by a causative morpheme *sase* somehow is allowed to make its own abstract Case available for Case marking by this complex predicate.

Miyagawa (Ibid., 171-172) also notes that such Case marking by non-head predicates must be allowed in a passive construction as in (113) as well:

(113) gakusei$_1$ ga daitooryoo ni t_1 kunsyoo **o** atae-rare-ta [(85)]
student nom President by medal acc give-PASS-PAST

'A student was given a medal by the President.'

In the "Case absorption" approach, the direct passive in (113) is analyzed as involving NP movement to a non-θ-position, which in turn means that there is no abstract Case assigned by the passive morpheme *rare*, in accordance with Burzio's generalization. Thus, it must be concluded that the accusative Case on the object in (113) is assigned by the non-head verb *atae* 'grant.' We, thus, should assume that abstract Case of the non-head verb of a complex predicate can be discharged whether the complex predicate is headed by a causative morpheme *sase* or a passive morpheme *rare*.

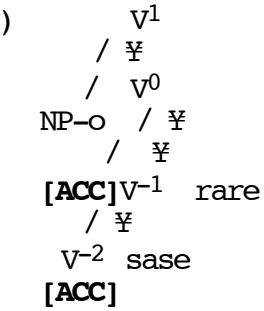
Given the assumption that abstract Case marking is carried out under head-government, we are also naturally led to assume that such abstract Case of non-head predicates is actually represented on the V^0 (= word-level)-node dominating the entire complex predicate, as illustrated in (114a-b) below. This phenomenon is often regarded as "percolation" of Case assigning features from non-heads to the top-most node in words (Lieber (1981), cf. Zubizarretta (1985)):

(114) a. V^1 b. V^1
/ ¥ / ¥
/ V^0**[ACC]** / V^0**[ACC]**

Furthermore, though not noted by Miyagawa, his appeal to Burzio's generalization, it appears to us, is conceptually dependent on feature percolation. Recall that the external argument of the passive sentence is θ-marked if and only if the passive verb "reassigns" Case. As was clarified above, this extended Burzio's generalization should have its scope of application limited to only "transitive" verbs. In order for this term "transitive" to be meaningful in the extended context, however, the feature of transitivity held by the verbal stem (= non-head) must percolate up to the V^0 node dominating the entire passive complex verb.

Given this mechanism of percolation, when causative is embedded in passive, we naturally expect V^0 in (111a) to be embedded as V^{-1} in (114b), as illustrated in (115):

(115)



The Adjacency Condition, then, should in fact permit *rare* to successfully absorb accusative Case of the most deeply embedded predicate in (115), and hence in (109) as well. (Recall that such abstract Case must be assumed to have percolated up from V^{-2} node to V^{-1} node.) Since reassignment of absorbed Case is stipulated to be optional ((102e)), the absorbed accusative Case need not be reassigned, and hence the obligatory Case discharge/absorption requirement ((102g)) should be also satisfied. Recall also that the non-head of a passivized complex predicate is permitted to discharge its own

abstract Case, as we saw in (113). The causative morpheme *sase* in (109), therefore, should be able to discharge its dative Case without any problem. Thus, the "Case absorption" approach actually should predict (109) to be well-formed, contrary to what is claimed.

We will reach the same conclusion when we review the argument concerning the Case marking in (107a) (repeated here as (116)):

(116) Vt-ta-gar (Direct Passive): (= (107a))

*Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t$_1$ sasoi-**ta-gar**-are-te iru
top by tempt-desirous-display-PASS-PROGRESSIVE

'Hanako is showing her desire to be tempted/invited by Taro.'

Recall that the alleged ungrammaticality of this sentence is ascribed to the failure of the most embedded transitive verb *sasow* 'invite' to discharge its abstract Case, its object *Hanako* not being located in the original position to receive this Case. It is well-known, however, that a derived stative predicate *sasoi-ta* 'invite-desirous' permits *o/ga* Case

(117) watasi wa Hanako **o/ga** sasoi-ta-i
I top acc/nom invite-desirous-PRES

'I want to invite Hanako

Obviously, then, no matter how this Case alternation is accounted for, we must assume that the accusative Case of *sasow* may remain undischarged when the nominative Case particle *ga* appears in (117). Thus, we must assume that the same abstract Case of the same verb appearing in the same complex predicate in (116) should be also allowed to remain undischarged. This directly conflicts with the account offered in the "Case absorption" approach for the alleged ungrammaticality of (116). In the "Case absorption" approach as well, in other words, (116) should be predicted to be grammatical, contrary to what is claimed.**34**

Let us now move on to the empirical question as to whether the conceptually reinterpreted the "Case absorption" approach makes the right prediction or not. We, in fact, believe that all the examples in (106), (107) and (108) above (repeated below as (118)-(120)) are basically grammatical, although their acceptability is lowered by several different factors. The combination of the surface sequence of multiple arguments followed by a single complex predicate as well as the multiple embedding involved in their representations at the interpretive level tends to require burdensome computation for their interpretations. The interaction of the semantics of predicates that constitute the complex predicate also calls for pragmatics that is sometimes difficult to come up with. The sequence of *ni*-phrases further decreases the degree of acceptability: ("!" on the examples here indicates low acceptability of the sentences due to the extra-grammatical factors in question.)

(118) a. Causative with Vt (Direct): (= (106a))

!Ziroo ga Taroo ni Hanako ni(yotte) yob-ase-rare-ta
nom by dat call-CAUSE-PASS-ta

'Jiro was affected by Taro's making Hanako call him.'

b. Causative with Vi (Direct): (= (106b))

Hanako ga Taroo ni ik-ase-rare-ta
nom by go-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Hanako was made to go by Taro.'

(119) a. Vt-ta-gar (Direct Passive): (= (107a))

!Hanako wa Taroo ni sasoi-ta-gar-are-te iru
top by tempt-desirous-display-PASS-PROGRESSIVE

'Hanako is showing her desire to be tempted/invited by Taro.'

b. Adj-gar (Direct Passive): (= (107b))

Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 urayamasi-gar-are-te iru
top by envy-display-PASS-PROGRESSIVE

'Hanako is envied by Taro.'

(120) a. Vt-ta-gar (Indirect Passive): (= (108a))

!Ziroo ga Taroo ni Hanako o sasoi-ta-gar-are-ta
nom by acc invite-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by Taro's showing his desire to invite/tempt Hanako.'

b. Vi-ta-gar (Indirect passive): (= (108b))

hahaoya ga kodomo ni daigaku ni iki-ta-gar-are-ta
mother nom child by college to go-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'A mother was affected by her child's showing his/her desire to go to college.'

Let us first consider the structure of (118a) as schematically represented in (121):

(121) [NP_1 ga [NP_2 ni [NP_3 ni $[e]_1$ Vt] sase]-rare-ta]
by

In order to test the grammaticality of as complex a structure as this, we are well advised to find relevant examples where extra-syntactic burdens as mentioned above are reduced. The relative clause like (122) below based on (121) might provide us with a good opportunity for our test:

(122) [$[e]_1$ [pro_2 [NP_3 ni $[e]_1$ Vt] sase]-rare-ta] NP_1

Note that the number of surface arguments in (122) is reduced to one: the subject argument is realized as a gap ($[e]_1$) bound by the relative clause head (NP_1), and the *ni*-marked passive agent as a context-dependent zero pronoun (pro_2). Our point is that, as long as we can come up with appropriate pragmatics, we in fact predict the sentence to be perfectly acceptable. So, let us conjure up a context in which *ni*-marked agent of passive can be implicitly understood. Assume that the topic of our conversation is a professional baseball team and, in particular, how the manager manages the team with his coaching staff. The manager is assumed to be the implicitly understood individual.

Under such circumstances, the relative clause, we feel, is easy to process and interpret, and hence easy to accept as well:

(123) munoo na kooti ni sidoos-ase-rare-ta sensyu
incompetent coach **dat** train-CAUSE-PASS-PAST player

'the player who was made to be coached by an incompetent coach [by the manager]. (= The player who suffered from the event in which the manager let/made an incompetent coach coach him.'

In fact, the explicit mention of the causee, the manager, does not substantially decrease the acceptability of the phrase, once our mind is tuned to the correct parsing:

(124) **kantoku ni,** munoo na kooti ni sidoo sase-rare-ta sensyu.
manager by incompetent coach by train-CAUSE-PASS-PAST player

From these examples we can infer that structure (118) is in principle grammatical.

Once we are led to suspect that (118) is grammatical, aided by simplified examples like (124), it needs little imagination to come up with sentences of the form (124) pragmatically plausible and hence acceptable, as exemplified by (125):

(125) Causative with Vt (Direct):

a. X is affected by Y's having W do something to X.

b. uti no $musuko_1$ wa ano otoko ni (kane o tukatte)
our son top that man by money acc using

rokudemonai onna ni pro_1 yuuwakus-ase-rare-ta no desu
worthless woman dat seduced-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Our son was made to be seduced by a worthless woman by that man (with money).'

This sentence may not be totally felicitous, but is not nearly so bad as to be ruled out as unacceptable.

The contrasts Miyagawa makes in (119) and (120) can also be disputed by constructing sentence forms of which the expected semantics is pragmatically plausible, as in (126) and (127):

(126) Vt-ta-gar (Direct Passive):

a. X is affected by Y's displaying her/his desire to do something to X.

b. uti no inu_1 wa totemo kenami ga ii node minasan ni pro_1
our dog top very fur nom good since everone by

sawari-ta-gar-are-ru-ndesu
touch-desirous-display-PRES

'Our dog has such a fine coat of hair that everybody wants to touch her.'

(127) Vt-ta-gar (Indirect Passive):

a. X is affected by Y's displaying his/her desire to do something (to Z).

b. kodomo ni konpyuutaa o iziri-ta-gar-are-te komatterunda
child by computer acc touch-desirous-display-COMP troubled

'I am in trouble, my kid showing a desire to touch my computer.'

Miyagawa himslef (Ibid., 165-166), in fact, reports that the examples in (128) and (129) below sound better than the other examples he provided: (Judgments are Miyagawa's.)

(128) Vt-ta-gar (Indirect Passive):

a. ??Taroo ga musuko ni kukkii o tabe-ta-gar-are-ta [(66)]
nom son by cookie acc eat-desirous-PASS-PAST

'Taro suffered from his son's wanting to eat cookies.'

b. ??Taroo ga musuko ni poruno zassi o yomi-ta-gar-are-ta [(67)]
nom son by porno magazine acc read-desirou-display-PASS-PAST

'Taro suffered from his son's wanting a pornographic magazine.'

c. ??Hanako ga musume ni sake o nomi-ta-gar-are-ta [(68)]
nom daughter by liquor acc drink-desirou-display-PASS-PAST

'Hanako suffered from her daughter's wanting to drink liquor.'

(129) Vt-ta-gar (Direct Passive):

a. ?Poruno zassi wa minna ni yomi-ta-gar-are-ta [(70)]

Porno magazine top everone by read-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'Everybody wanted to read pornographic magazines.'

b. ?Kono sake wa minna ni nomi-ta-gar-are-ta [(71)]
this liquor top everyone by drink-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'Everbody wanted to drink this liquor.'

Miyagawa claims that these examples are more acceptable because the verbs involved there can function either as transitive or intransitive.**35** This claim, however, cannotbe maintained. First, even if the predicates in question may be ambiguously used as transitive or intransitive, they are used clearly as transitive verbs in (128 a-c) and (129 a-b), θ-marking the objects. Miyagawa's account also predicts that the example in (130) below should have similar status as the examples in (129 a-c) above, since the verb *donar* 'shout' clearly can function as intransitive, as illustrated in (131):

(130) kodomo ga titioya ni donari-ta-gar-are-ta [= (43)]
child nom father by shout-desiorous-display-PASS-PAST

'Thew child was wanted by his father to shout.'

(131) umi no mannaka de oogoe de donaru to sukkiri suru
sea gen middle in loud voice with shout COMP feel good

'You feel good if you shout in the middle of the sea.'

The example in (130), however, is presented as an ungrammatical sentence by Miyagawa (Ibid., 159). Contrary to Miyagawa, we maintain that if (130) sounds unacceptable at all, it is due to its pragmatic implausibility. We invite the reader to consider the following perfectly acceptable sentence in comparison with (130):

(132)titioya ni donari-ta-gar-are-ru kodomo nante inai desyoo
father by yell at-desirous-display-PASS-PRES child does not exist probably

'There probably isn't any child who wants to be yelled at by his father.'

Such considerations as above suggest that the source of distinction between the examples labelled grammatical and those labelled ungrammatical in the "Case

absorption" approach is not the availability versus unavailability of intransitive use of the predicate involved. All this, in turn, leaves the acceptability of the examples in (128) and (129) unaccounted for, and casts grave doubt on the validity of the generalization stated in terms of transitive and intransitive distinction (or Case-assigning vs. Case-less status) of predicates concerning all the relevant examples above.**36**

8.2 Intervening Aspectual Markers:

Miyagawa presents another argument for the "Case absorption" approach, elaborating on Sugioka's (1984) observations concerning the interaction between passive and aspectual markers. First, let us note that Miyagawa adopts the assumptions as summarized in (133) below:

(133) a. There are two types of aspectual markers in Japanese: **stem** aspectuals like *-das* 'start,' *-hazime* 'begin,' and *-tuzuke* 'continue,' which attach directly to a verbal stem, and **gerundive** aspectuals like *-(te)i(ru)* 'progressive,' and *-(te)simaw(-u)* 'perfective,' which attach to gerundive form of a verb.

b. Stem aspectuals are transparent for the Adjacency Condition (102d), while gerundive aspectuals are opaque.**37**

It, then, is claimed with the examples in (134)-(137) below that stem aspectuals but not gerundive aspectuals can intervene between a Case assigning verb and the passive morpheme in a complex predicate, and that this fact is accounted for by (133): stem aspectuals, being transparent, do not block Case adjacency, while gerundive aspectuals, being opaque, do. The judgments of the following examples are again Miyagawa's:

(134) Direct Passive (Stem Aspectual):

a. Taroo$_1$ ga Hanako ni t_1 naguri-**hazime**-rare-ta [((125a)]
nom by punch-begin-PASS-PAST

'Taro began to be hit by Hanako.'

b. Ziroo$_1$ ga sensei ni ni-zikan mo t_1 sikari-**tuzuke**-rare-ta [(126b)]
nom teacher by two hours as long as scold-continue-PASS-PAST

'Jiro continued to be scolded for two hours by the teacher.'

(135) Direct Passive (Gerundive Aspectual):

a. *Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 mitume-**te i**-rare-ta [(119c), (132b)]
top by stare-PROG-PASS-PAST

'Hanako was being stared at by Taro.'

b. *Taroo$_1$ wa Ziroo ni t_1 nagut-**te simaw**-are-ta [(133b)]
top by punch-PERF-PASS-PAST

'Taro was hit by Jiro.'

(136) Indirect Passive (Vt + Stem Aspectual):

a. Taroo ga Hanako ni kodomo o naguri-**hazime**-rare-ta [(125b)]
nom by child acc punch-begin-PASS-PAST

'Taro suffered from Hanako's beginning to hit his child.'

b. Ziroo ga sensei ni ni-zikan mo kodomo o
nom teacher by two hours as long as child acc

sikari-**tuzuke**-rare-ta [(126b)]
scold-continue-PASS-PAST

'Jiro suffered from the teacher's continuous scolding of his child for two hours.'

(137) Indirect Passive (Vt + Gerundive Aspectual):

a. *Taroo wa sensei ni ronbun o hihansi-**te i**-rare-ru [(136a)]
top teacher by paper acc criticize-PROG-PASS-PRES

'Taro is suffering from the teacher's criticizing his paper.'

b. *Boku wa sensei ni ronbun o hihansi-**te simaw**-are-ta [(139a)]
I top teacher by paper acc criticize-PERF-PASS-PAST

'I had my paper criticized by the teacher.'

Here, the alleged ungrammaticality of (135 a-b) and (137 a-b) is ascribed to the failure of the passive morpheme to absorb Case, which is assumed to be obligatory when the

verb it is attached to has a Case assigning property, in accordance with the requirement (102c) above (Miyagawa (Ibid., 189)).

On the contrary, it is reported, no contrast such as observed above obtain when the gerundive aspectual appears outside of the passive morpheme, as in (138 a-b) and (139 a-b) below:**38**

(138) Direct Passive:

a. Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 mitume-rare-**te i**-ta [(132a)]
top by stare-PASS-PROG-PAST

'Hanako was being stared at by Taro.'

b. Taroo$_1$ wa Ziroo ni t_1 nagur-are-**te simat**-ta [(133a)]
top by punch-PASS-PERF-PAST

'Taro was hit by Jiro.'

(139) Indirect Passive:

a. Taroo wa sensei ni ronbun o hihans-are-**te i**-ru [(136b)]
top teacher by paper acc criticize-PASS-PROG-PRES

'Taro is suffering from the teacher's criticizing his paper.'

b. Boku wa sensei ni ronbun o hihans-are-**te simat**-ta [(139b)]
I top teacher by paper acc criticize-PASS-PERF-PAST

'I had my paper criticized by the teacher.'

Now, crucial to the "Case absorption" account here is the passive form in which an intransitive precedes a stem aspectual *-te i* and passive morpheme *-rare* as in (140) below. In this sentence, Case absorption is irrelevant because of the intransitive status of the verb. Miyagawa in fact claims that this is the only grammatical structure with the sequence *-te i-rare* and judges the following as grammatical:

(140) Indirect Passive (Vi + Stem Aspectual):

Taroo wa Hanako ni yodoosi oki-**te i**-rare-ta [(146)]
top dat all night through stay up-PROG-PASS-PAST

'Taro suffered from hanako's staying up all night.'

Example (141) below is also judged as grammatical by Miyagawa, and its grammaticality is again ascribed to the possibility for the verb *yom* 'read' to function either as a transitive or intransitive verb (even though the verb *yom* actually is interpreted as transitive in (141)):

(141) Hanako ga sensei ni raburetaa o yon-**de simaw**-are-ta
nom teacher by love letter acc read-PERF-PASS-PAST

'Hanako had the love letter read by the teacher.' (footnote 9, p. 198)

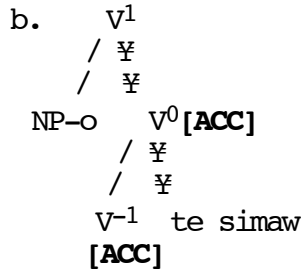
In sum, "Case absorption" constrained by the adjacency condition is claimed to play a crucial role in accounting for the contrast between stem aspectuals and gerundive aspectuals with respect to their interaction with passive.

There are again both empirical and conceptual grounds to cast doubt on the validity of this argument. Let us begin with a conceptual problem, which is similar in nature with the problem we pointed out in Section 8.1. above. First, given the Case assignment in (142a) below, we may naturally assume that the abstract Case of the verb stem can percolate up to the V^0 node within the complex predicate headed by *-te simaw*, as illustrated in (142b), so that it can be assigned under head-government:**39**

(142) a. sensei o nagut-te simat-ta
teacher acc punch-PERF-PAST

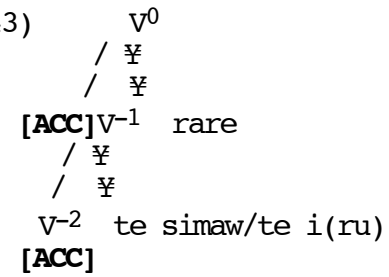
'(dared to) have punched the teacher'

b.



There does not seem to exist any reason, then, why such abstract Case cannot undergo "Case absorption," when V^0 in (142b) is further embedded as V^{-1} into a passivized complex predicate in (143):

(143)



Note that the abstract Case is represented on the node adjacent to *rare* in (143), satisfying Allen's Adjacency Condition (see footnote 30). There is good reason, in other words, to be skeptical about the alleged opaque status of gerundive aspectuals.

If a gerundive aspectual were indeed opaque, being "an absolute barrier to adjacency" (Miyagawa (Ibid.,188), see footnote 37 above), it would be not at all clear how the contrast between the transitive verbs in (137) and intransitive verbs in (140) above follows in the proposed account. Recall that "Case absorption" by the passive morpheme *rare* is obligatory if and only if the verb adjacent to *rare* bears abstract Case to be absorbed ((102c)). In (137 a-b), however, there does not exist a verb adjacent to *rare* which bears Case to be absorbed, since a gerundive aspectual marker as an absolute barrier to adjacency intervenes between *rare* and the transitive verb. Therefore, Miyagawa's approach should in fact predict that Case absorption is not required in (137 a-b), despite the involvement of transitive verbs, and that (137 a-b) are grammatical.

Let us now move on to the empirical question. First, many sentences involving a complex predicate consisting of a transitive verb, a gerundive aspectual marker *-te i*

(progressive) and the passive morpheme in this order are actually perfectly acceptable when semantics and pragmatics are appropriate:

(144) Direct Passive (Gerundive Aspectual):

a. sonna huuni zitto mitume-**te i**-rare-ru to yarinikuinaa
that way stare at-PROG-PASS COMP hard to do

'I get nervous when I am being stared at like that.'

b. aayatte sirokuzityuu mihat-**te i**-rare-ta bunnyaa
like that always watch-PROG-PASS-PERF if

nige-taku-tatte nigerareyasinee
escape-desirous-even if cannot escape

'I can't escape even if I want to, since I am always being watched like that'

(145) Indirect Passive (Vt + Gerundive Aspectual):

a. soko de sooyatte terebi o mi-**te i**-rare-ru to urusakute nerareyasinai
there at like that TV acc watch-PROG-PASS-PRES COMP noisy cannot sleep

'I can't sleep if you keep watching TV there like that.'

b. soko de sooyatte osyaberi o si-**te i**-rare-ru to
there at like that chat-PROG-PASS-PRES COMP

urusakute benkyoodekinai yoo
being noisy cannot study PRT

'I can't study if you keep chatting noisily there like that.'

Recall here the contrast between the useo f mere proper names and that of common nouns discussed in footnote 36, and compare, for example, our acceptable (144a) with (135a) above, a form both Sugioka and Miyagawa deem unacceptable. (135a), again, is filled with semantically as well as pragmatically neutral proper nouns, while our (144a) easily evokes a scene involving the speaker and the addressee in which an utterance of it would be appropriate.

The fact of the matter is basically the same with another gerundive aspect marker *-te simaw* (perfect), as illustrated in (146):

(146) a. Direct Passive:

satuei no zyama ni naru to yuunode kekkyoku kakoi wa
filming gen disturb COMP said eventually fence top

subete honban mae ni toriharat-**te simaw**-are-ta
all actual take before eliminated-PERF-PASS-PAST

'The fence eventually had been all taken away before the actual take, since it would hinder the filming.'

b. Direct Passive:

omae no yoona sitappa yakuza wa osokare hayakare
you like petty gangster top sooner or later

kesi-**te simaw**-are-ru unmei ni attandayo kannensina
eliminate-PERF-PASS-PRES destined give up

'A petty yakuza like you are destined to be cleaned up sooner or later. So long!.'

c. Indirect Passive:

sore o ima zenbu tukat-**te simaw**-are-ru to atode komarundanaa.
that acc now all use-PERF-PASS COMP later troubled

sukosi tottoiteyo.
little save

'If you use it up now, I'll be in trouble later. Please save some.'

d. Indirect Passive:

kimi ni ima kokode mondaiten o zenbu nobe-**te simaw**-are-ru
you by now here problems acc all state-PERF-PASS-PRES

to boku no deban ga nakunattesimau naa
COMP I gen turn nom disappear

'If you have pointed out all the problems now, I won't have anything to say.'

We notice, though, that the sentences (147 a-c) below, in which the order of the passive morpheme and an aspectual marker is reversed from that in (146 a-c), seem to be preferred alternatives at least for some speakers:

(147) a. Direct Passive:

satuei no zyama ni naru to yuunode kekkyoku kakoi wa
subete honban mae ni toriharaw-are-**te simat**-ta
-PASS-PERF

b. Direct Passive:

omae no yoona sitappa yakuza wa osokare hayakare
kes-are-**te sima**-u unmei ni attandayo kannensina
-PASS-PERF

c. Indirect Passive:

sore o ima zenbu tukaw-are-**te sima**-u to atode komarundanaa
-PASS-PERF

d. Indirect Passive:

kimi ni ima kokode mondaiten o zenbu nobe-are-**te sima**-u to
-PASS-PERF
boku no deban ga nakunattesimau naa

A crucial fact to be noted, however, is that the same preference relation seems to persist, or it may be more strongly felt, even in the sentences involving (either uniquely or ambiguously) intransitive verbs:

(148) a. Taroo wa Hanako ni tooku e it-**te simaw**-are-ta [(147)]
top by far away to go-PERF-PASS-PAST

'Taro suffered from Hanako's having gone away.'

b. Taroo wa Hanako ni tooku e ik-are-**te simat**-ta
-PASS-PERF

(149) a. Hanako ga hahaoya ni raburetaa o yon-**de simaw**-are-ta (= (141))**40**
nom mother by love letter acc read-PASS-PERF-PAST

'Hanako had the love letter read by her mother.'

b. Hanako ga hahaoya ni raburetaa o yom-are-**te simat**-ta
-PASS-PERF

We agree with Miyagawa, in other words, that there may in some cases emerge a contrast when a gerundive aspectual marker and a passive morpheme appear in different orders within a complex predicate, but such a contrast seems to have nothing to do with

transitive-intransitive (or Case-marking vs. Case-less) distinction of predicates, contrary to the claim made in the "Case absorption" account. Note also that the account of the acceptability of (141) (= (149)) in terms of optional intransitivity is also subject to our criticism of a similar account of (128) and (129) above.

Questions remain as to the source of the contrast detected in (146)-(149). The same problem arises in a different form when we ask ourselves why (138a), repeated here as (150) below, is felt readily acceptable at least for some speakers, while (135a), repeated here as (151), is not, even though the former is pragmatically just as uninformative as the latter:

(150) Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 mitume-rare-**te i**-ta [(132a)]
top by stare-PASS-PROG-PAST

'Hanako was being stared at by Taro.'

(151) ?Hanako$_1$ wa Taroo ni t_1 mitume-**te i**-rare-ta [(119c), (132b)]
-PROG-PASS

These questions, interesting though they are, relate to a different mental capacity than we are directly concerned with here — how easily can we conjure up, with or without conscious effort, plausible pragmatic contexts for adequate uses of syntactically well-formed sentences given without discourse contexts — a rather artificial mental activity necessitated in the reading of generative linguistic articles. We believe that such differences in acceptability as hinted above arise from the semantics of the auxiliaries involved and how it interacts with that of the passive.**41** This, however, is not a place for us to be engaged in the semantics of the auxiliaries and the passive, let alone with the question of how they influence our acceptability judgments. For our present purposes, it suffices to state our claim: all the relevant structures in the present and the preceding subsections asserted in the "Case absorption" approach as ungrammatical are grammatical, though we might need a little care for pragmatics to see this. The

contrasts in grammaticality pointed out in the "Case absorption" approach are, hence, illusory, and they provide no basis for its support, even if it accounts for them, as is claimed, though we even doubt it does.**42**

8.3 Re-assignment of 'Absorbed' Dative Case:

Finally, let us examine Miyagawa's treatment of dative Case assignment, which plays a crucial role in defending the "Case absorption" approach. First, the contrast in (152) below is made by Miyagawa: (Again the judgments are Miyagawa's.)

(152) a. Direct Passive:

Hanako$_1$ ga Taroo ni [e]$_1$ Ziroo o yob-ase-rare-ta [= (94)]
nom by acc invite-CAUSE-PAST

'Hanako was made to invite Jiro by Taro.'

b. Indirect Passive:

*hahaoya ga [Taroo ni [Hanako ni Ziroo o yob]-ase]-rare-ta [= (97)]
mother nom by dat acc invite-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'The mother suffered from Taro's making Hanako invite Jiro.'

In the "Case absorption" approach, nothing rules out the sentence in (152b), since *rare* can successfully absorb dative Case from *sase* and re-assigns it to the causee NP, and *yob* 'call' can discharge its accusative Case. Miyagawa (Ibid.,174) attempts to account for this counterexample by stipulating that absorbed dative Case cannot be reassigned unlike accusative Case. What is wrong with (152b), according to Miyagawa, is that the absorbed dative Case is reassigned by *rare*, so that the passive subject position be θ-marked. In the grammatical example (152a), on the other hand, reassignment of the absorbed dative Case did not take place and that in turn caused movement of the Case-less causee object to the subject position. Miyagawa points out that the proposed stipulation receives independent motivation, capturing the contrast between *o*-causative

and *ni*-causative in (153) below, and the awkwardness of dative object in (154): (The judgments are Miyagawa's.)

(153) a. *o*-causative:

Hanako ga Taroo ni kodomo **o** ik-ase-rare-ta
nom by child acc go-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Hanako was affected by Taro's making her child go.'

b. *ni*-causative:

*Hanako ga Taroo ni kodomo **ni** ik-ase-rare-ta

(154) *Ziroo ga Taroo ni Hanako ni aw-are-ta
nom by dat meet-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by Taro's meeting Hanako.'

We believe again, however, that the allegedly ungrammatical sentences in (152b), (153b) and (154) are in fact all grammatical. The awkwardness associated with these particular examples can and should be ascribed to the difficulty of establishing the right pragmatics.**43** As a matter of fact, if we can imagine a situation in which the basic interpretation of each construction indicated in (155a)-(157a) below can be rather naturally expressed, the sentences become much more acceptable, if not perfect, as illustrated in (155 b-c)-(157 b-c):

(155) Causative in Indirect Passive (Vi):

a. X is affected by Y's having Z do something (often, though not necessarily, at Z's own will or with Z's consent).

b. Hanako wa [yatotta bakari no otetudai ni arehodo tyuui siteoita noni
top hired just gen maid by that much warned despite

[kodomo-tati **ni** sukikatteni dekake]-sase]-**rare**-te simatte okotte iru
children dat at will go out-CAUSE-PASS-PERF angry

'Hanako is mad, being affected by the newly hired maid's letting her children go out as they like despite her strong warnings.'

c. Tokoya no teisyu dan:
The story told by the owner of the barber shop:

Iyaa, [yatotta bakari no syokunin ni [okyaku **ni** kegas]-ase]-**rare**
Ah hired just gen barber by customer dat get injured-CAUSE-PASS

-tyatte nee, komattendayo
-PERF troubled

'I'm in trouble, having a customer injured by our newly hired barber.'

(156) Causative in Indirect Passive (Vt):

a. X is affected by Y's having Z do something to W (often, though not necessarily, at Z's own will or with Z's consent).

b. Kono mansyon no zyuumin tati wa [ziageya ni [heya no sugu soto de
this condo gen residents top wicked broker by room gen just outside

ookina dooberuman **ni** kodomo-tati o osow]-ase]-**rare**-te obiekitteiru
big doberman dat children acc attack-CAUSE-PASS-COMP scared to death

'Residents of this condominium are scared to death, having suffered from the wicked broker's letting a huge doberman attack their children just outside their residence.'

c. Yamada-san wa [sono otoko ni (kane o tukatte) [mati no
top that man by money acc using town gen

huryoo **ni** musumesan o yuuwakus]-ase]-**rare**-ta
hoodlum dat daughter acc tempted-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Yamada-san suffered from that man's making a hoodlum in town tempt his daughter.'

(157) Dative Object in Indirect Passive:

a. X is affected by Y's doing something to Z.

b. Hanako wa [wakareta danna ni naisyo de musuko **ni** aw]-**are**-te okotteiru
top devorced husband by secretly son dat meet-PASS-COMP angry

'Hanako is angry because her devorced husband saw her son without her permission.'

c. [Kodomotati ni annahuuni izyoonamadeni bideo geemu **ni**
children by like that excessively video game dat

nettyuus]-**are**-ru to oya tositewa tyotto sinpai ni naru ne
be enthusiastic-PASS-PRES if parent as bit become worried

'As a parent, I am a little worried, seeing our kids being obssessed by Nintendo like that.'

The proposed stipulation for dative Case assignment, therefore, seems untenable.

To sum up the entire section, we have examined the three arguments designed to defend the "Case absorption" approach to passive in Japanese, and concluded that none of them can be sustained. It has been shown that they all involve incorrect predictions, some serious theory-internal conflicts and/or incorrect analyses of data, the awkwardness of sentences caused by pragmatic inconsistency often mistaken for ungrammaticality caused by violation of syntactic constraints.

9. Summary, Conclusions, and Theoretical Considerations:

In this paper, we have endeavored to support the so-called Uniform Hypothesis for passive in Japanese by arguing: (i) that direct passive does not involve NP-movement, and (ii) that not only indirect passive but also direct passive involves complementation at the relevant level of representation.

As pointed out in Section 7, once the need for complementation analysis is recognized for both direct and indirect passive, a uniform analysis of both types of passive becomes a null hypothesis, and the burden of proof shifts to those who try to maintain the Nonuniform Hypothesis, in which the movement analysis is called for in addition to the complementation analysis. As we have pointed out in Sections 3, 4, and 8, on the other hand, all the tests we have applied seem to either neutralize the arguments for the movement analysis, or to rather clearly point toward the absence of such movement even in direct passive. We, thus, hope to have shown that the Uniform Hypothesis should be adopted, or at least to have made it clear that a little more caution is called for before applying a widely accepted analysis of passive in languages like English directly to Japanese.

When we place our conclusion above in a perspective of universal grammar, we are naturally led to more critically reevaluate various universal theories of passive offered in the literature, for example, the theories each of which identifies the involvement of (i)-(iv) below, respectively, as a distinctive characteristics of passive: (i) Case absorption (Chomsky (1981)), (ii) θ absorption (or dethematization/valency reduction) (Marantz (1984), Jaeggli (1986), Shibatani (1990)), (iii) Argument affix (Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989)), and (iv) GF changing (and valency reduction) (Perlmutter (1978), Bresnan (1982)). In particular, the major characteristics of passive in Japanese such as involvement of complementation, assignment of an external θ-role (or lack of θ absorption), and lack of Case absorption, at the very least will lead us to conclude that any of the potential universal features of passive listed in (i)-(iii) above cannot be an absolute condition.

What we just stated might provide an impression that passive in Japanese is truly exceptional, and that its treatment necessitates some ad hoc assumptions and/or analyses that do not conform to the universal theory of syntax. We believe, however, that that is not the case. Recall first that we have argued above that all passive sentences in Japanese, which appear at surface to involve a simplex construction, in fact involve a complex construction at the level which feeds into semantics. One plausible assumption, which has been entertained by K. Hasegawa (1968), N. Hasegawa (1988), Kayne (p.c.), and Kitagawa (To appear), among others, then, is that the same is true with passive in other languages, for example, in English. A complementation analysis of passive separates the two notions "θ-marking of an external argument in the matrix" and "absorption of an external θ-role within the complement," and rejects the latter. It,

however, still leaves a possibility for the passive predicates in some languages not to carry an external θ-role, as designated in their lexical specifications.

We can also show that whether a passive predicate in a particular language assigns an external θ-role or not is determined independently of Case absorption. Observe first the contrast between *be*-passive and *get*-passive in English pointed out by Lasnik and Fiengo (1974, 554) and Hoshi (1991, 71-72):

(158) a. *John was arrested by the police **on purpose.**
b. John got (himself) arrested by the police **on purpose.**

(159) a. John was hit by Mary **nude.**
b. John got (himself) hit by Mary **nude.**

(160) a. The parallel postulate was chosen by mathematicians.
b. *The parallel postulate got (itself) chosen by mathematicians.

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

In (158), a subject-oriented adverbial expression *on purpose* can be associated with *John* in *get*-passive but not in *be*-passive. A similar contrast can be observed with respect to secondary predicate *nude* in (159) between the two types of passive. In (160), a selectional restriction such that the subject not denote an immutable entity can be recognized in *get*-passive but not in *be*-passive. All these facts suggest that the subject receives a θ-role as an external argument in *get*-passive, unlike in *be*-passive. The contrast concerning idiom interpretation in (161) also suggests that the subject is moved from the object position in *be*-passive but it is base-generated in *get*-passive. Thus, it seems to be the case that *get*-passive is an instance of indirect passive. Given this conclusion and the interpretation of *get*-passive, we, under the Principles and Parameters Approach, do not have too many choices but to analyze *get*-passive sentences in (162a) and (162b) below as in (163a) and (163b), respectively:

(162) a. John got himself injured by the enemy.
b. John got injured by the enemy.

(163) a. S-str: John$_1$ got [himself$_1$ injured t$_1$ by the enemy]
↑_____|

b. S-str: John$_1$ got [injured PRO$_1$ by the enemy]

The most natural assumption, then, is that *himself* in (163a) has been moved to an exceptional Case-marking position from a Case-less position, and PRO in (163b) remains in-situ, perhaps in accordance with a version of the PRO Theorem defined in terms of Case marking.**44** Thus, a passive predicate may assign an external θ-role even when Case absorption effects are observed.**45**

Absorb Case also may be nothing peculiar to passive. Kitagawa (To appear), for instance, argues that passive and nominalization in English exhibit numbers of common properties including absorb Case, and attempts to derive absorb Case effects from the general theory of morphology.

Finally, recall that we pursued an approach in which the passive in Japanese is characterized as involving a non-valency-reducing two-place predicate with the selectional properties as in (164):

(164) -*rare*: [AFFECTEE [EVENTUALITY __]]

The lexical properties of *rare* in (164) in fact look somewhat similar to those of a causative morpheme in Japanese, as illustrated in (165):

(165) a. [John ga [Bill ni/o yukkuri aruk]-ase]-ta
nom dat/acc slowly walk-CAUSE-PAST

'John made Bill walk slowly.'

b. -*sase*: [AGENT/CAUSER [EVENTUALITY __]]

Kitagawa (1986, To appear), in fact, points out that causative and passive behave basically on a par in many different respects like binding, quantifier interpretation,

adverbial interpretation, and 1 Advancement Exclusive Law effects. Washio (1992) also attempts to assimilate passive and causative in terms of the notion "affectedness," claiming that the two constructions differ only in the directionality of affectedness — in passive, the external argument is affected by the eventuality, while in causative, the external argument (= causer) affects the eventuality. Given such parallelism observed between passive and causative, it seems quite promising to us to attempt to assimilate passive to causative, treating them as coordinative theoretical constructs. The existence of indirect passive as well as parallelism between passive and causative, however, would remain quite mysterious and difficult to handle if one attempts to characterize passive in terms of the notions like GF changing and argument affixes.

Thus, passive in Japanese and issues related to it would remain recalcitrant under all of the universal theories of passive mentioned above. Our analysis postulating lexical specifications of the passive predicate as in (164), on the contrary, will not only permit us to capture passivization in Japanese without postulating any specific theory of passive, but also provide us with a means to capture it in a larger context involving causative constructions.

10. Appendix 1: Semantic Function of Quantifier Float:

In Section 3, we pointed out that the Q-float argument presented by Miyagawa (1989) to motivate the movement analysis of direct passive is at best inconclusive. Let us elaborate on this point, looking into the semantic function associated with Q-float somewhat more in detail.

To begin with, Q-float permits two different types of construals — distributive and non-distributive. The distributive construal necessarily implies the occurrence of

multiple events while the non-distributive construal implies the occurrence of only a single event, as illustrated by the contrast between (166a) and (166b):

(166) a. Distributive:

kono issyuukan no aida ni **syuuzin** ga **san-nin** nigedasita
this week during prisoner nom three-people escaped

'There have been three jailbreaks this week.'

b. Non-distributive:

sono toki totuzen **syuuzin** ga **san-nin** abaredasita
then suddenly prisoner nom three-people started to act violently

'Then, a group of three prisoners suddenly started acting violently.'

Furthermore, both distributive and non-distributive construal of Q-float can be cross-classified with the distinction between partitive and non-partitive construal. The sentence in (166b), for example, can be interpreted either as involving a violent act by 'only three out of many prisoners' (partitive construal) or by 'prisoners, in all three,' (non-partitive construal).

Now, when Q-float exhibits a distributive reading in a passive sentence, a partitive interpretation need not be imposed (unless pragmatics requires it), and this freedom seems to exist whether the floating quantifier is **locally** licensed (i.e., directly associated with a lexical NP) as in (167a) below or **non-locally** licensed (i.e., indirectly associated with a lexical NP via an empty NP) as in (167b):

(167) a. sensyuu, sosite konsyuu to **sooko ni nokotte ita**
last week and this week warehouse in remaining

kuruma$_1$ ga **ni-dai** doroboo ni [e]$_1$ nusum-are-ta
car nom two-vehicles thief by steal-PASS-PAST

'With the break-in that took place last week and this week,
two
{ } cars were stolen from the warehouse.'
two of the

b. sensyuu, sosite konsyuu-to **sooko ni nokotte ita**

kuruma$_1$ ga doroboo ni [e]$_1$ **nidai** nusum-are-ta

'With the break-in that took place last week and this week,
{ two / two of the } cars were stolen from the warehouse.'

If, in contrast, we restrict our attention to non-distributive construal, we see an interesting contrast show up between the local Q-float and non-local Q-float in passive sentences: local Q-float as in (168a) and (169a) below permits either partitive or non-partitive construal, while non-local Q-float as in (168b) and (169b) permits only partitive construal, as the translations indicate:

(168) a. Tyotto syuei ga me o hanasita sukini **sooko ni nokotte ita**
little janitor nom eyes off during

kuruma$_1$ ga **nidai** doroboo ni [e]$_1$ nusum-are-ta

'{ Two / Two of the } cars were stolen from the warehouse while the janitor had his eyes off for a moment.'

b. Tyotto syuei ga me o hanasita sukini **sooko ni nokotte ita**
kuruma$_1$ ga doroboo ni [e]$_1$ **nidai** nusum-are-ta

'Two of the cars were stolen from the warehouse while the janitor had his eyes off for a moment.'

(169) a. **mukoo kara arui-te-kita gakusei**$_1$ ga **huta-ri** boku no
there from came on foot student nom two-people I gen

me no mae de keisatu ni [e]$_1$ taihos-are-ta
in front of police by arrest-PASS-PAST

'{ Two / Two of the } students walking toward me were arrested by the police.'

b. **mukoo kara arui-te-kita gakusei**$_1$ ga boku no meno mae de
keisatu ni [e]$_1$ **hutari** taihos-are-ta

'Two of the students walking toward me were arrested by the police.'

Our observation is further substantiated when we examine passive sentences involving the floating of **non**-numeral quantifiers like *dareka* 'someone' and *nanika* 'something,' as in (170) and (171):

(170) a. **uti no gakusei**$_1$ ga **dareka** asoko de tinpira-domo ni [e]$_1$
our student nom someone over there hoodlums by

nagur-are-teiru yooda
punch-PASS-PROG seem

'A stundent of ours seems to be being punched over there by hoodlums.'

b.***uti no gakusei**$_1$ ga tinpira-domo ni asoko de [e]$_1$ **dareka**
nagur-are-teiru yooda

(171) a. Yuube, kaisya kara **taisetuna syorui**$_1$ ga **nanika**
last night company from important document nom something

doroboo ni [e]$_1$ nusum-are-ta rasii
thief by steal-PASS-PAST seem

'I heard that some important document had been stolen from the office last night.'

b.*Yuube, kaisya kara **taisetu na syorui**$_1$ ga
doroboo ni [e]$_1$ **nanika** nusum-are-ta rasii

Due to their inherent semantic content, *dareka* and *nanika* as floating quantifiers allow only non-partitive construal. We can account for the ungrammaticality of (170b) and (171b) by the conflict arising between the obligatory non-partitive construal of *dareka* and *nanika* and the obligatory partitive construal required of the non-local Q-float.

What implications does this semantic difference between local and non-local Q-float have to the movement analysis of direct passive? The answers differ depending on the theoretical assumptions we adopt. If we assume that floating quantifiers are associated with their licensing NPs at the level of D-structure, we must abandon the movement analysis of passive. Note that local and non-local Q-float are not distinguished at D-structure in any way under the movement analysis, and hence are

predicted to provide completely synonymous interpretations, which is contrary to the fact. If we assume that floating quantifiers are interpreted only after NP movement applies in passive sentences, the movement analysis is motivated only when it is shown that the involvement of a trace, or whatever is pertinent to the application of movement, is responsible for the lack of non-partitive construal in non-local Q-float.**46** The facts, however, indicate that this cannot be the case. Crucially, the contrasts between local and non-local Q-float show up even when base-generated empty NPs are involved without passivization. First, as illustrated in (172) and (173) below, partitive construal is only optional with local Q-float but is obligatory with non-local Q-float:

(172) a. **gosoo-tyuu no syuuzin**$_1$ ga **huta-ri** kansyu ga tyotto me o hanasiteiru
under escort prisoner nom two-people guard nom little eyes off

suki ni, [kuruma kara PRO$_1$ nige-yoo to] sita/kokoromita
during car from escape-COMP attempted

'{ Two / Two of the } prisoners under police escort attempted to run away from the wagon while the guard had his eyes off them for a moment.'

b. **gosoo-tyuu no syuuzin**$_1$ ga kansyu ga tyotto me o hanasiteiru suki ni, [kuruma kara PRO$_1$ **huta-ri** nige-yoo to] sita/kokoromita

'Two of the prisoners under police escort attempted to run away from the wagon while the guard had his eyes off them for a moment.'

(173) a. **tamatama sonoba ni iawaseta sindesi**$_1$ ga **huta-ri**
accidentally there present new wrestler nom two-people

[Tiyonohuzi-zeki ni pro$_1$ keiko o tuke-te] moratta
-champion by give training received

'{ The two / Two of the } new sumo wrestlers who happended to be there received training from Tiyonohuzi, the champion.'

b. **tamatama sonoba ni iawaseta sindesi**$_1$ ga [Tiyonohuzi-zeki ni

pro$_1$ **huta-ri** keiko o tuke-te] moratta

'Two of the new sumo wrestlers who happended to be there received training from Tiyonohuzi, the champion.'

Second, as illustrated in (174) and (175) below, *dareka*, which allows only non-partitive construal, is possible only with local Q-float:

(174) a. **gosoo-tyuu no syuuzin**$_1$ ga **dareka** kansyu ga tyotto me ohanasiteiru
under escort prisoner nom someone

suki ni, [kuruma kara PRO$_1$ nige-yoo to] sita/kokoromita rasii

'It seems that some prisoner under police escort attempted to run away from the wagon while the guard had his eyes off them for a moment.

b. ***gosoo-tyuu no syuuzin**$_1$ ga kansyu ga tyotto me o hanasiteiru
suki ni, [kuruma kara PRO$_1$ **dareka** nige-yoo to] sita/kokoromita rasii

(175) a. **tamatama sonoba ni iawaseta sindesi**$_1$ ga **dareka** [Tiyonohuzi-zeki
accidentally there present new wrestler nom someone

ni pro$_1$ keiko o tuke-te] moratta rasii

'It seems that some new sumo wrestlers who happended to be there received training from Tiyonohuzi, the champion.'

b. ***tamatama sonoba ni iawaseta sindesi**$_1$ ga [Tiyonohuzi-zeki ni
pro$_1$ **dareka** keiko o tuke-te] moratta rasii

We have demonstrated a complete parallelism between passive and non-passive constructions involving a base-generated empty NP like PRO and pro concerning the construal of Q-float.**47** At this point, the best generalization we can offer seems to be that, when floating quantifiers are indirectly associated with a lexical NP **via any kind of empty NP**, non-partitive construal is not available. We thus conclude that the Q-float argument fails to support the movement analysis of direct passive, since the empty category involved in passive does not necessarily have to be regarded as an NP-trace but may be assumed to be a base-generated empty pronominal bound by the passive subject.

11. Appendix 2: Affectedness:

In Section 5.2.2 above, we pointed out that the presence of syntactic binding in direct passive permits the speaker-hearer to immediately recognize the source of "affectedness," while the lack of any such overt syntactic relation in indirect passive necessitates the presence of proper pragmatics behind it to establish affectedness relation between the AFFECTEE argument and the EVENTUALITY argument. This distinction between direct and indirect passive, we believe, is the source of the strong tendency for indirect passive to yield negative/positive affectedness interpretations as opposed to neutral affectedness interpretations. The point can be illustrated by the example in (176):

(176) Indirect Passive:

Sigeo ga [Nomura-sensei ni Kazusige o home]-rare-ta
nom -teacher by acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Shigeo had Kazushige praised by Mr. Nomura, his teacher.'

The affectedness interpretations obtained in this indirect passive sentence can be of different types, depending on the pragmatics behind this sentence. If, for instance, *Sigeo* and *Kazusige* are rival students, it may involve negative affectedness, while, if *Kazusige* is *Sigeo*'s son, it can involve positive affectedness. If such "polarized" pragmatics (i.e., rivalry, father-son relation, etc.) is absent from indirect passive, on the other hand, it becomes extremely difficult for the speaker-hearer to perceive the source of affectedness in the EVENTUALITY, simply because there exists no clue to relate the AFFECTEE and EVENTUALITY in any way. For instance, with the pragmatics such that *Sigeo* and *Kazusige* are totally unrelated, the sentence in (176) becomes rather unnatural unless we make efforts to provide a further pragmatic background. As a

result, neutral affectedness becomes rather difficult to obtain in this (and other) indirect passive sentence(s).

In direct passive, in contrast, the presence of syntactic binding between the AFFECTEE and *pro* often makes it unnecessary for the EVENTUALITY to be supplemented by such polarized pragmatics, and permits the resulting affectedness to be of neutral nature. Thus, as illustrated in (177) below, direct passive can exhibit neutral affectedness without much difficulty in addition to negative and positive affectedness:

(177) Direct Passive:

a. Negative:

kare$_1$ wa [pro$_1$ [**pro**$_1$ zinzika ni mawas]-are-te] kusat-teiru
he top personnel dpt by transfer-PASS-COMP depressed

'He is depressed, having been transferred to the personnel department.'

(cf. Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976, 220-221))

b. Positive:

kare$_1$ wa [pro$_1$ [**pro**$_1$ eigyoobu ni mawas]-are-te] harikit-teiru
he top sales dpt to transfer-PASS-COMP spirited

'He is glad to have been transferred to the sales department.'

c. Neutral:

[pro$_1$ hazimete [**pro**$_1$ genba ni mawas]-are-ta] keizi$_1$
for the first time crime scene sent-PASS-PAST detective

'a police detective who has been sent to a crime scene for the first time'

The example (178) below also demonstrates that indirect passive can in fact exhibit neutral affectedness when syntactic binding makes clear the source of affectedness:

(178) syutuensya o syookaisuru-no ga tuneno sikaisya$_1$ ga
performers acc introducing nom usually M.C. nom

[kyoo wa gyakuni **zibun(zisin)**$_1$ o syookais]-are-ta

today top contrary self acc introduce-PASS-PAST

'The M.C., who usually intoroduces the preformers, got introduced today.'

Note that the examples (176) and (178) above as well as (179) below suggest that the following claims made by Shibatani (Ibid., 330) and Kubo (Ibid., 63) are untenable: that the presence of adversity (= negative affectedness) interpretation is a necessary condition for (non-possessive) indirect passive:

(179) [Inu-zuki no hito ga [tatoe sore ga dare no mono de arooto
dog lover nom even if whosever dog it may be

inu o home]-rare-ta toki] no yorokobi
dog acc praise-PASS-PAST when delight

'the delight of dog lovers when dogs are praised whosever dogs they may be'

Note that this non-possessive indirect passive in (179) exhibits positive affectedness rather than negative affectedness (without the presence of overt NP *ni*).

The examples in (180) and (181) below demonstrate that the following claim made by Shibatani (Ibid.) is also untenable: that the degree of adversity involved in the interpretation of direct passive (including possessive passive) is inversely proportionate to the degrees of "physical impingement" involved in the EVENTUALITY denoted by the sentence:

(180) Causative-Direct Passive:

[Taroo$_1$ wa [Ziroo$_2$ ni Δ [[e]$_1$ aruk]-ase]-rare-ta:
top by walk-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

'Taro was made to walk:'

a. Δ = pro$_2$ usiro kara ude o neziage te
behind from arm acc twisting

'with the arm twisted from behind'

b. Δ = udezukude
forcibly

c. Δ = pro_2 senaka ni zyuu o tukituke te
back on gun acc poking

'with a gun poked against the back'

d. Δ = pro_2 hamono o tiratukase te
knife acc showing

'showing off a knife'

e. Δ = pro_2 [yuukoto o kikanai to itaime-ni-awase-ru to] odosi te
order acc follow-NEG if harm COMP threatening

'threatening to harm unless he does what he is told to'

f. Δ = pro_2 umaikoto iikurume te
cleverly persuaded

(181) Direct Passive:

a. Negative:

pro_1 [yotta kyaku ni [e]$_1$ muriyari kisus]-are-ta no kimotiwarui!
drunken customer by forcibly kiss-PASS-PAST disgusting

'I was kissed by a drunken customer against my will. Disgusting!'

b. Positive:

pro_1 [kare ni yasasiku/hazimete [e]$_1$ kisus]-are-ta no siawase!
he by gently/for the first time kiss-PASS-PAST happy

'I was kissed by him gently/for the first time. I'm happy!'

(182) Possessive Passive:

a. Negative:

obaasan$_1$ wa [kotte-mo-inai no-ni] [pro_1 [kodomo ni [e]$_1$ kata o
old lady top not stiff despite child by shoulder acc

tatak]-are-ta node] kozukai o age-nakerabanaranakat-ta
massage-PASS-PAST since allowance acc give-must-PAST

'Poor old lady had to give some money to the kid, having her sholder unneccessarily massaged.'

b. Positive:

obaasan$_1$ wa [pro$_1$ [kodomo ni [e]$_1$ kata o tatak]-are-te]
old lady top child by shoulder acc massage-PASS-COMP

totemo yorokon-da
very glad

'The old lady was glad to have her shoulers massaged by the kid.'

The causative-direct passive sentence in (180) may contain any of the adjunct expression in (a)-(f) where marked by Δ. It is therefore predicted under the "physical impingement" hypothesis that the degree of adversity is highest in (180 f) and the lowest in (180 a) (perhaps with a natural break between (180 a-b) and (180 c-f)), since the degree of physical impingement involved in the act of causation is the lowest in the former and the highest in the latter. There does not seem to exist, however, any such predicted gradation (or natural break) of adversity detected in this paradigm.

The direct and possessive passive sentences in (181) and (182) perhaps can be considered to involve from medium to high degree of "physical impingement." They can, however, clearly exhibit a "polarized" affectedness including adversity. Again, this demonstrates the irrelevance of "physical impingement" in adversity interpretation.

We thus cannot accept the arguments for the Nonuniform Hypothesis based upon the availability/unavailability of adversity interpretation.**48**

One remaining question is if there exists markedness relation between negative and positive affectedness, possibly the former rather than the latter being default affectedness. If such markedness relation exists, we do not have any explanation to offer at this moment. While we leave this question open, the following paradigm seems to suggest that we need not deal with this problem at least in syntax. Note that the indirect passive sentences in (183)-(185) below exhibit negative or positive (or neutral) affectedness without involving predicates with negative or positive connotation. Note also that, whether indirect passive involves "direct experience" or "indirect

experience" interpretations (Harada (1977), Shibatani (1990), Hoshi (1991)) is irrelevant:

(183) Indirect Passive w/ Direct Experience:

a. Negative:

tento-hari no saityuu ni pro [huusoku nizyuu-meetoru no
tent-pitching during wind velocity 20 meters gen

kaze ni huk]-are-ta
wind by blow-PASS-PAST

'We suffered from the wind's blowing at 20 meters per second while we were trying to pitch our tent.'

b. Positive:

kawara o [kaze ni huk]-are nagara kimotiyoku aruita
bank on wind by blow-PASS while pleasantly walked

'(I) walked on the bank feeling a pleasant breeze.'

c. Neutral:

ki kara burasagatta onagazaru ga [kaze ni huk]-are-te yureteita
tree from hanging guenon nom wind by blow-PASS-COMP swinging

'A guenon was swinging in the wind, hanging from a tree.'

(184) Indirect Passive w/ Direct Experience:

a. Negative:

[pro_1 [ame ni hur]-are-te] pro_1 zubunure ni natta
rain by fall-PASS-COMP drenched

'(I) got drenched by rain.'

b. Positive:

[pro_1 [ame ni hur]-are-te] $kusabana_1$ ga seiki o torimodosita
rain by fall-PASS-COMP plants nom vigor acc regained

'The plants were revitalzed with rain.'

c. Neutral:

[pro_1 [ame ni hur]-are-te] mizuumi no $suimen_1$ ga sizukani yureteitu

rain by fall-PASS-COMP lake gen surface nom quietly wavering

'The surface of the lake is tranquilly wavering with rain.'

(185) Indirect Passive w/ Indirect Experience:

a. Negative:

[pro$_1$ [honmee-ba ni korob]-are-te] pro$_1$ arigane zenbu suttimatta
favored horse by fall-PASS-COMP all money possed lost

'(I) lost all the money I had, the favored horse having fallen.'

b. Positive:

[pro$_1$ umaikoto [honmee-ba ni korob]-are-te] pro$_1$ ooana o ateta
timely favored horse by fall-PASS-COMP hit the jack pot

'The timely fall of the favored horse brought (me) the jack pot.'

Assuming that indirect passive must involve adversity interpretation, Kuno (1973,24) attributes lack of a negative connotation in an indirect passive sentence like (186) below to a cultural trait of Japanese, according to which the people feel embarrassed (and hence adversely affected) when complimented:

(186) Taroo wa kodomo o home-rare-ta
top child acc praise-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his child praised.'

Since numerous examples we have observed above permit positive affectedness interpretations without involving such cultural contexts, we also take this claim as untenable.

Notes:

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seminar at the University of Rochester in fall 1991, for their comments and/or judgments.

1 Some of the interesting problems we will not deal with in this paper are: (i) how and where the morphologically complex passivized verbs (eg., *nagur-rare* 'punch-passive') are derived, (ii) whether and how *ni*-passive and *niyotte*-passive syntactically differ from each other, and (iii) how the agent argument in passive is Case marked with *ni*. For the first topic, see Kuroda (1965, 1987), Farmer (1980), Miyagawa (1980, 1989), Kitagawa (1986), Terada (1990), and Kubo (1990), among others. For the second topic, see Inoue (1976), Kuroda (1979, 1985), Kuno (1983), Kamio (1991) and Hoshi (1991). For the third topic, see Kuroda (1965, 1987), Miyagawa (Ibid.), Kitagawa (To appear), among others.

2 We will revise (5) in Section 6 below. The term "EVENTUALITY," which is intended to cover both events and states, has been adopted from Bach (1986).

3 One controversial issue which we will not deal with in this work is if unaccusative verbs in Japanese are compatible with passivization. See Perlmutter and Postal (1984), Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989), Miyagawa (1989), Washio (1990), Kitagawa (To appear), and Kuroda (1993) among others, for discussion. Also, in some cases, we will refrain from examining sentences involving ditransitive verbs, since use of such verbs in certain contexts may invite additional and independent complicated factors. See Kitagawa (1994) for some novel analysis of ditransitive construction in Japanese.

4 The observational fact here was originally brought up by Haig (1980) and Kuroda (1980) to establish the movement status of scrambling.

5 It has been brought into our attention that Oka (1989) also examines direct passive using similar diagnostics. Although we disagree to some of his assumptions, judgments and conclusions, we would like to acknowledge his work here.

6 Some important provisions are in order here. First, focusing of any particular item must be carefully avoided in order to obtain this generalization. For most speakers, if not all, when the subject NP is accompanied by a special prosodic phrasing for focus interpretation marked by a pause and/or emphatic stress, rather clear scope ambiguity becomes available even in the sentences with unmarked word order. Compare (18a) and (19a) with (i) and (ii) below:

(i) (Kono ie no)′ **DAREKA GA //** (kono heya-no) subete-no hon-o yonda

(ii) **[** ′**JOHN KA MARY]-GA //** dono hito mo syootaisita (rasii)

(// indicates a pause.)

Second, many speakers find the allegedly disallowed scope interpretation in (16a) and (17a) somewhat marginally possible even without any such clear focusing. For such speakers, in other words, the contrast in question is that of "strong" versus "weak" ambiguity rather than "presence" versus "absence" of ambiguity. In this paper, however, we will suppress this complication for simplicity of arguments. Kitagawa (1990a) discusses this issue into details.

7 That direct passive does not exhibit clear scope ambiguity has been known for some time. See Kuno (1973, 359) and Hoji (1985, 239), for instance.

8 Saito (1982, 92) argues for a movement analysis of direct passive, pointing out the contrast between (i) and (ii):

(i) kono hon$_1$ ga John ***o*** [e]$_1$ yom-ase-yasu-i
this book nom acc read-PASS-easy-PRES

'This book is easy to make John read.'

(ii) Mary ga John$_1$ **o** damatte Tom ni [e]$_1$ sikar-are-sase-ta
nom acc obediently by scold-PASS-CAUSE-PAST

'Mary made John be scolded by Tom obediently.'

The argument goes as follows. The empty object [e]$_1$ in the "tough" construction (i) is a zero pronoun, which must receive abstract Case from the predicate, and hence *John*, the subject of *yom* 'read', cannot receive accusative Case due to the (abstract version of) Double-*o* constraint (Kuroda (1978), Poser (1981)). In contrast, *John* gets accusative Case in (ii). This fact can be accounted for if we assume that the empty category [e]$_1$ in (ii) is an NP trace, which does not get Case-marked. The contrast between (i) and (ii), therefore, argues for the NP movement analysis of direct passive.

When we examine quantifier scope in such passive-causative sentences, however, the result patterns with what we have already seen with respect to (plain direct) passive sentences in the text (again with the careful avoidance of focusing):

(iii) a. Mary ga **dareka**$_1$ o **daremo** ni pro$_1$ nagur-are-sase-ta
nom someone acc everyone by punch-PASS-CAUSE-PAST

'Mary made someone be punched by everyone.'
--- (∃ > ∀/?*∀ > ∃)

b. Mary ga **dareka**$_1$ ni **daremo**$_2$ o **t**$_1$ pro$_2$ nagur-are-sase-ta
nom someone by everyone acc punch-PASS-CAUSE-PAST

'Mary made everyone be punched by someone.'
--- (Clearly ambiguous)

The contrast between (i) and (ii) above, in other words, seems to have nothing to do with NP movement, and must be accounted for otherwise. See also Hoshi (1991) for relevant discussion.

9 The restriction on scope interpretations observed in (22b) parallels that observed in the English example (i) below:

(i) Some politician$_1$ promised [**PRO**$_1$ to address every rally in John's district]
--- (∃ > promise > ∀ / *promise > ∃ > ∀) (May (1977, 201))

10 Some speakers find weak crossover violation as in (29b) more aggravating than other speakers. We will, however, suppress this variation in this paper for simplicity. Kitagawa (1990a) discusses this variation into details.

11 The following contrast suggests, again, that Saito's (1982) argument for the movement analysis of direct passive cited in footnote 8 above cannot be maintained:

(i) ?*Ginzi-Oyabun wa [(pro$_1$ yot-te) pro$_1$ **pro**$_2$ karanda kobun$_1$]$_3$ o
-boss top drunken picked a quarrel henchman acc

dono kyakuzin$_2$ **ni-mo** e$_3$ sikar-are-sase-ta
every guest by scold-PASS-CAUSE-PAST

'Ginzi, the boss, made his henchman apologize to every guest with whom he picked a quarrel.'

(ii) Ginzi-Oyabun wa [(pro$_1$ yot-te) **pro**$_1$ pro$_2$ karanda
-boss top drunken picked a quarrel

kyakuzin$_2$ ni]$_3$ **dono kobun**$_1$ mo t$_3$ sikar-are-sase-ta
guest dat ↑ every henchman | scold-PASS-CAUSE-PAST

'Ginzi, the boss, made every henchman apologize to the guest with whom he picked a quarrel.'

Note that a reconstruction effect is obtained in (ii) but not in (i), which suggests that movement crossing over the quantified expression took place in (ii), but not in (i).

12 We owe example (37) to Peter Sells. It should be pointed out that examples (33c), (35c) and (36c) are acceptable to only those speakers of English who find (ia) below as acceptable as (ib):

(i) a. John seems **to Bill** to be the smartest in the class.
b. It seems to Bill that John is the smartest in the class.

13 The crossover paradigm in (i)-(iii) below is also compatible with our claim that direct passive does not involve movement, although one could defend the Nonuniform Hypothesis just for this case by making an appeal to the distinction between A'-movement in (iv) and A-movement in (v):

(i) a. Active with no Scrambling:

[**John**$_1$ no hahaoya] ga **kare**$_1$ o aisite-iru (koto)
gen mother nom he acc love
'John's mother loves him.'

b. Active with Scrambling:

?*[**John**$_1$ no hahaoya]$_2$ o **kare**$_1$ ga t$_2$ aisite-iru (koto)
gen mother acc he nom love
'He loves John's mother.'

(Saito (1985, 48))

(ii) a. Direct Passive:

[**John**$_1$ no imooto]$_2$ ga syottyuu **kare**$_1$ ni [e]$_2$ izime-rare(te-i)-ru
gen y.sister nom often he by bully-PASS^a-PROG-PRES

koto wa yoku sirareteiru
fact top well-known

'It is well-known that Johns'sister is often bullied by him.'

b. Direct Passive with Scrambling:

?*[**John**$_1$ no imooto]$_2$ ni syottyuu **kare**$_1$ ga t$_2$ [e]$_1$ izime-rare
gen y.sister by he nom

(-te-i)-ru koto wa yoku sirareteiru (No focus intonation)

'It is well-known that he is often bullied by John's sister.'

(iii) a. Direct Passive:

[**John**$_1$ no atarasii paatonaa]$_2$ ga **kare**$_1$ ni [e]$_2$ syookais-are-ta
gen new partner nom he dat introduce-PASS-PAST
'John's new partner was introduced to him.'

b. Direct Passive with Scrambling:

?*[**John**$_1$ no atarasii paatonaa]$_2$ ni **kare**$_1$ ga t_2 [e]$_1$ syookais
gen new partner dat he nom introduce

-are-ta
-PASS-PAST

'He was introduced to John's new partner.'

(iv) *Mary, [**John**$_1$'s picture of whom]$_2$ **he**$_1$ likes t_2.

(v) [**John**$_1$'s father]$_2$ seems to **him**$_1$ t_2 to be a failure.

See Saito (1985, 47-49) for relevant discussion. Kitagawa (1990a) argues that the difficulty of pronominal binding in (i) should be differentiated from that in (iv), which could turn the observations here into supporting evidence for the lack of movement in direct passive.

14 It seems to us that some processing strategy encourages the language users to choose the matrix subject rather than the complement subject as a default antecedent of *zibun* in passive when semantics and pragmatics of the sentence do not require otherwise.

15 If it turns out, on the other hand, that *zibun* does not have an absolute subject-orientation, the test involving *zibun* cannot be used to either argue for or against the Uniform Hypothesis.

Washio (1990) argues that not only direct passive but also indirect passive involves absorption of external θ-role, claiming that NP *ni* in direct passive can bind *zibun* after it moves into a dethematized position and becomes a subject, as illustrated in (i):

(i) Indirect Passive:

a. D-str: NP ga [$_S$ __ [$_{VP}$ NP ni NP o V-PASS-PAST]

b. S-str: NP ga [$_S$ NP$_1$ ni [$_{VP}$ t$_1$ NP o V-PASS-PAST]
↑_____|

While it is not clear what is assumed to trigger this NP-movement, there does not seem to exist any reason under this analysis why NP *o* cannot undergo similar movement. We thus predict that, NP *o* located in its base-generated object position as in (ii a) cannot act as an antecedent of *zibun*, but it can be a legitimate antecedent when it is moved to the dethematized subject position as in (ii b):

(ii) a. Taroo$_1$ ga Ziroo$_2$ ni **okusan**$_3$ o ura-doori ni
nom dat wife acc back street on

tometeatta **zibun**$_{1/2/??3}$ no kuruma de turesar-are-ta
parked self gen car by abduct-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his wife abducted by Jiro in his car parked on the back street.'

b. Taroo$_1$ ga **okusan**$_3$ o Ziroo$_2$ ni t3 [ura-doori ni
nom wife acc dat | back street on
↑_____|
tometeatta **zibun**$_{1/2/??3}$ no kuruma] de turesar-are-ta
parked self gen car by abduct-PASS-PAST

We do not detect, however, any significant difference between these two examples

The restriction we have observed in the examples (43)-(45) above is reminiscent of Kuno and Kaburaki's (1977) "empathy." The following observation by Kuroda (1979) may possibly be also accounted for with such a notion: *zibun* in a sentence like (iii) is not ambiguous in the sense that, when *atama* 'head' is *Taroo*'s, *zibun* must refer to *Taroo*, and when *atama* is *Ziroo*'s, *zibun* must refer to *Ziroo*:

(iii) Taroo wa Ziroo ni **zibun** no heya de atama o war-are-ta
top by self's room at head acc split-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his head chopped by Jiro in his room.'

The examples (46)-(49) above as well as (iv) below, in contrast, demonstrate that such a notion is only partially relevant:

(iv) (When I was a kid, my mother made me deposit some money into my account every month out of my monthly allowance, and she kept my "hankoo" (seal impression) necessary to withdraw that money.)

aru hi Watasi$_1$ wa **Hahaoya**$_2$ ni **zibunde**$_{2/\#1}$ katteni
one day I top Mother by self at will

tyokin$^{1/\#2}$ o oros-are tesimatta
savings acc withdraw-PASS-PAST

'One day I had my savings withdrawn by my mother without my consent.'

Note that *zibun de* in this example must be adjoined to *katteni* 'at will,' which must be associated with *hahaoya* 'mother', but *tyokin* 'savings' must be interpreted as *watasi*'s.

16 See Appendix 1 for more details of semantic functions of Q-float.

17 Hamano (1990, 4) also claims that all instances of Q-float must involve multiple events, which perhaps is true when distributive readings are involved, but obviously is false when non-distributive readings are involved. See Appendix 1.

18 The actual implementation of the idea here differs in the two works cited. For instance, the possessor NP is claimed to be the underlying specifier of the object NP in Kubo's works, but as another (accusative) object in Shibatani's work.

While Shibatani seems to limit this analysis to the case involving "inalienable possession" such as possession of body parts, Kubo expands the analysis to the passive involving "alienable possession" as well. Terada (1990) also proposes a similar movement analysis of possessive passive, broadening the definition of "inalienable possession" to include the relation between the possessor and such objects as her/his family member and diary. Terada's analysis, however, crucially differs from others in that direct passive is assumed to involve CP complementation while NP-*ni* is regarded as a PP (pp. 180-181). Other than the following flashy statement, we do not have any clue as to how this analysis can be justified: "We simply stipulate that pure and

possessor passive *rare* licenses a PP in the subject position of its complement clause. I assume that *rare* of movement passive is an ECM verb. (p. 208)"

See also Kuroda (1979) for the earlier claim that a passive with an unexpressed possessor count as a direct passive, in connection with his claim that the *niyotte*-passive, but not "direct" *ni*-passive, involves movement.

19 We will elaborate on this point in Appendix 2 below.

20 Again, the following contrast concerning crossover is also compatible with this conclusion:

(i) Crossover:

a. Possessive Passive:

[John$_1$ no otooto]$_2$ ga **kare**$_1$ ni [[e]$_2$ kao] o nagur-are-ta
gen y.brother nom he by face acc punch-PASS-PAST

'John's brother had the face punched by him.'

b. Possessive Passive with Scrambling:

?*[John$_1$ no otooto] ni **kare**$_1$ ga **t**$_2$ [[e]$_1$ kao] o nagur-are-ta
gen y.brother by he nom

'He had his face punched by John's brother.'

See also Section 6 below for the evidence that possessive passive as well involves complementation (e.g., (95) vs. (97b)).

21 Kubo (Ibid., 26-29), ascribing the original observation to Akira Watanabe, points out that the object of possessive passive cannot be topicalized, while it can be scrambled, as illustrated by the contrast in (i):

(i) a. Possessive Passive with Topicalization:

*[[e]$_1$ inu]$_2$ **wa** [Taro$_1$ ga kuruma ni pro$_2$ hik-are-ta]
dog top nom car by run over-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his dog run over by a car.'

b. Possessive Passive with Scrambling:

[[e]$_1$ inu]$_2$ **o** [Taro$_1$ ga kuruma ni t$_2$ hik-are-ta]
dog acc nom car by run over-PASS-PAST

'Taro had his dog run over by a car.'

Kubo argues that the contrast here follows if we assume that the sentence-initial NP in both (i a-b) contains an empty category bound by the possessor NP, and that such binding is prohibited in the topicalization construction (ia) due to the lack of c-command relation between the binder and bindee, while such binding is permitted in (ia) due to a reconstruction effect achieved by scrambling as an instance of movement.

We believe that the contrast illustrated in (i) above is real. We also agree that the presence of an empty category indeed is the source of the contrast here, as can be demonstrated by the possibility of topicalization as in (ii) below, in which the topicalized NP does not involve any possessor interpretation:

(ii) [sono toki boku ga tot-ta syasin]$_1$ wa [zannennagara Taroo ga
then I nom took photo top regrettably nom

Sensei ni [e]$_1$ toriage-rare-te simatta]
Teacher by confiscate-PASS-PERF

'Unfortunately, the photo I took then has been confiscated by the teacher.'

It should be also made clear, however, that the empty category in question does not necessarily have to be analyzed as an NP-trace, since a similar restriction on topicalization can be observed in a sentence like (iii) below, which involves a possessive relation but not passive:

(iii) *[[e]$_1$ ude]$_2$ **wa** [Taroo$_1$ ga [e]$_2$ otta]
arm top nom broke

'As for his arm, Taro broke it.'

One complication that arises in our *pro* analysis of possessive passive is that *pro* now must be assumed to require a c-commanding antecedent. Kitagawa (1990b) offers such an analysis of *pro*.

22 While we will examine only the so-called subject-oriented adverbs below, essentially the same arguments can be constructed using non-subject-oriented adverbs as well. We will, in fact, regard subject-orientation only as a specific type of "modifier licensing."

23 The example in (77a) is acceptable with the interpretation "reluctantly agreed to pretend to be sick," in which an agent θ-role (what we will refer to as 'direct agency' below) is assigned.

24 Again, (80a) becomes grammatical with the 'direct agency' interpretation "reluctantly agreed to pretend to be sick," as expected in the proposed analysis.

25 This example perhaps needs some context to be properly interpreted, for example, as in (i):

(i) yosebaiinoni kantyuu-suiei nankasite zibunde **katte ni**
stupidly did winter swimming voluntarily

byooki-ni-nat-ta kusesite, hito no seeni suruna!
became sick while out the blame on others

'Don't put the blame on others, since you asked for it to become sick by swimming in the middle of winter.'

26 It is well-known that different location of an adverb within a sentence may affect its interpretation in a complex predicate construction. In this paper, we will avoid placing an adverb in a sentence-initial position, which, as pointed out by Kitagawa (1986), is crucially distinct from other positions with respect to adverbial interpretation. See also Miyagawa (1980) for discussion.

27 Our assumption, which we will not attempt to motivate in this paper, is that ambiguity of adverbial scope in passive stems from syntactic derivation of morphologically complex passive verbs. See, Kitagawa (1986, To appear) and Kuroda (1965) for such analyses, though they are totally distinct from each other.

28 One exception is Miyagawa's (1989) version of the Nonuniform Hypothesis, in which indirect passive may be also analyzed as involving a simplex structure throughout the syntactic derivation. (See Section 8 below for discussion.) Miyagawa, however, offers no argument for adopting this particular analysis, nor does he offer any account of various facts supporting the complementation analysis of indirect passive.

Sugioka (1984) also proposes a version of Nonuniform hypothesis, in which the complement in direct passive is claimed to be V' while that in indirect passive is claimed to be V".

We will examine both these versions of Nonuniform Hypothesis in Section 8 below in regard to the issue of "Case absorption."

29 See Saito (1982) and Marantz (1984) for the idea that optionality of Case absorption in Japanese is responsible for the existence of indirect as well as direct passive.

30 Allen's Adjacency Condition, which is a generalized version of Siegel's (1974) condition on affixation, is stated as in (i):

(i) The Adjacency Condition: (Allen (Ibid., 49))

No WFR can involve X and Y, unless Y is uniquely contained in the cycle adjacent to X.

31 Recall that Burzio (1986, 185) assumes that intransitive verbs are potential accusative Case assignors, although they are not subcategorized for a direct object.

Burzio's generalization in its original advocate's mind, in other words, holds for not only transitive verbs but also intransitive verbs, paying attention to the potential Case assigning property of predicates.

32 It seems obvious to us that the so-called Burzio's generalization is offered as a mere descriptive generalization to be derived from more general aspects of grammar rather than as a principle of grammar. In this theoretical respect, we are opposed to Miyagawa's "Case absorption" approach, in which derivation of syntactic representations is claimed to be constrained by Burzio's Generalization (Miyagawa (Ibid., 107, 168)). We will, however, suppress this theoretical point in our investigation below, for the sake of arguments.

33 We choose to refer to Miyagawa's "uniform approach" as the "Case absorption approach" lest it should be confused with the "Uniform Hypothesis," a standard term in Japanese generative syntax. On the contrary, whenever we refer to "Burzio's Generalization" in the remainder of this paper, we have Miyagawa's version of this generalization in mind, unless otherwise specified.

34 Miyagawa (Ibid., 192), in fact, claims that Case absorption is involved when the object is marked with *ga* in (117). This account, however, contradicts with Burzio's generalization, causing a theory-internal conflict in his Case absorption approach to passive.

35 Miyagawa does not offer any explanation, however, why these examples are not regarded to be fully acceptable.

36 Lack of attention to how pragmatics may affect acceptability judgment is highlighted by the contrast presented in (120) (repeated below as (i)). In the unacceptable form (i a), all the arguments are actualized by proper nouns, while the acceptable form (i b) has appropriately chosen common nouns as arguments. Mere

proper nouns do not help us imagine any pragmatically plausible context of use, while the predicted semantics comes with plausible pragmatics with properly chosen common nouns. Simply substitute *rokudemonai otoko* 'worthless guy' for *Taroo*, and *musume* 'daughter' for *Hanako* in (i a), as in (ii) below, and the intended illusory contrast between (i a) and (i b) immediately evaporates:

(i) a. Vt-ta-gar (Indirect Passive): (= (108a))

#Ziroo ga Taroo ni Hanako o sasoi-ta-gar-are-ta
nom by acc invite-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by Taro's showing his desire to invite/tempt Hanako.'

b. Vi-ta-gar (Indirect passive): (= (108b))

hahaoya ga kodomo ni daigaku ni iki-ta-gar-are-ta
mother nom child by college to go-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'A mother was affected by her child's showing his/her desire to go to college.'

(ii) Ziroo ga rokudemonai otoko ni musume o sasoi-ta-gar-are-ta
nom worthless guy by daughter acc invite-desirous-display-PASS-PAST

'Jiro was affected by some jerk's showing his desire to invite/tempt his daughter.'

37 This is a simplified statement of the following generalization and stipulation Miyagawa actually offers:

(i) Characterization of a "Transparent" Morpheme: (p. 186)

A productive morpheme is transparent for the purpose of adjacency if it does not alter the fundamental lexical properties of its base (i.e., lexical category, case and thematic roles).

(ii) Stipulation on Gerundive Morphology: (p. 188)

Gerundive morphology (*-te*) is an absolute barrier to adjacency.

38 Miyagawa (Ibid., 182) seems to imply that a stem aspectual may not appear outside the passive morpheme, describing Sugioka's (1984) example in (i) below as "extremely awkward, if not ungrammatical" (p. 182):

(i) Hanako wa Taroo ni nikum-are-**dasi**-ta [= (122a)]
top by hate-PASS-start-PAST

'Hanako started to be hated by Taro.'

It is not difficult, however, to come up with a perfectly grammatical and acceptable sentence with a similar complex predicate as in (ii):

(ii) mura no hitobito ga konna huuni ookami ni osow-are-**dasi**-ta
village gen people nom like this wolf by attack-PASS-start-PAST

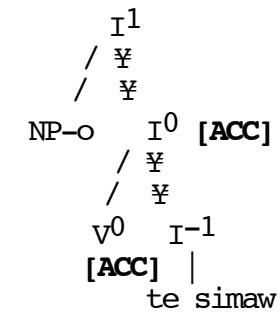
no wa tui saikin no koto da
incident top just recently

'The people of the village started to be attacked by a wolf only recently.'

The possibility of such a construction, in fact, should be predicted even in the "Case absorption" approach, given the "transparent" nature of stem aspectuals (see (i) in footnote 37 above).

39 The point will remain the same even when one represent (142b) as in (i):

(i)



40 Here, the agent NP *sensei* 'teacher' in the original example has been replaced by *hahaoya* 'mother' in order to eliminate the honorific interpretation of the passive.

41 Note, for instance, that *-te simaw* (perfective) seems to provide only a "purely perfective" interpretation when it appears inside a passive morpheme, while it

may additionally provide some negative connotation expressing "regret, fault and/or inadvertence" when it appears outside of a passive morpheme. This may suggest that *-te simaw* has different (or at least more or less restricted) interpretations depending upon the scope relation it has with the passive morpheme. An observation which points toward such a possibility is that, for those who detect the preference relation in question, the example (149a) seems to become more natural when an expression which makes the "purely perfective" interpretation of *-te simaw* more felicitous is added, as in (i):

(i) Hanako wa hahaoya ni raburetaa o **saigo-made** yon-**de simaw**-are-ta
to the end

Second, in an example like (ii) below, slight difference in interpretations can be detected when *-te simaw* has different scope relations with the passive morpheme:

(ii) a. sono sakana wa **omoikitte** tabe-**tesimaw**-are-ta
that fish top dare to eat-PERF-PASS-PAST
'That fish was dared to be eaten.'

b. sono sakana wa **omoikitte** tabe-**rare**-tesimat-ta
-PASS-PERF

At least the preferred interpretations here seem to be that, in (iia), the eater "dared" to bring about the event denoted by *tabe-te simaw* 'eat-perfect,' but in (iib), the fish "dared" to bring about the event denoted by *tabe-rare* 'eat-PASS.'

42 Recall here Sugioka's (1984) version of the Nonuniform Hypothesis, in which *rare* for direct passive is analyzed as a V'-suffix, while that for indirect passive is analyzed as a V"-suffix, V" being regarded as a category containing V' and an aspectual marker (see footnote 28). The mere observation that any aspectual marker may precede a passive morpheme either in direct or indirect passive ((134)-(137), (144)-(146)), then, also goes directly against this approach or its possible variation.

Sugioka (Ibid., 226-227) also points out the contrast between (i) and (ii) below concerning honorification as motivation to distinguish direct and indirect passive:

(i) Indirect Passive:

soo nanimokamo o-mitoosi-ni nar-**are**-te wa ... (Kuno (1983, 65))
like that everything see through-HONOR-if

'If you can (honorably) tell everything we have in our mind like that,...'

(ii) Direct Passive:

*kodomo wa tennoo ni o-home-ni-nar-**are**-ta
shild top Emperor by praise-HONOR-PASS-PAST
'The child was praised by the honorable emperor.'

Note, however, that the passive in (i) can be interpreted only as so-called "honorific passive," which is parallel to the use in (iii) below. (See N. Hasegawa (1988) for interesting discussion on honorific passive):

(iii) sensei wa moo kaer-**are**-ta yo
teacher top already went home-HONORPASS-PAST

'Our respectable teacher already went home.'

In fact, when indirect passive interpretation is forced, as in (iv) below, the sentence becomes unacceptable:

(iv) *watasi wa sensei ni nanimokamo o-mitoosi-ni-nar-**are**-ta
I top teacher by everything see through-HONORPASS-PAST

'I had everything in my mind told by our respectable teacher.'

The indirect passive counterpart of (ii) also is clearly unacceptable:

(v) *watakusidomo sonoyooni sensei ni musuko o
we like that teacher by son acc

o-home-ni-nar-**are**-te-wa kaette kyoosyuku-itasite-simaimasu
praise-HONORPASS-of rather be obliged

'We feel uncomfortable if you praise our son like that.'

It seems to be the case, therefore, that both direct and indirect passive reject embedding of honorification, which in turn suggests that Sugioka's argument for the Non-uniform Hypothesis cannot be maintained.

43 Possibly, there also is some negative effect of sequential *ni*-phrases.

44 Note that PRO cannot be moved to the exceptional Case position. One problem, for which we have no solution, is that idiom interpretations is much more difficult than expected in *get*-passive involving an overt internal argument:

(i) a. ?*John failed to get **heed** paid to his warning.

b. ?*John wanted to avoid getting **advantage** taken of his sister by other people in the group.

45 Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese (Shibatani (1990, 328-329), See footnote 48 below) and early stage of Mongolian (Ryuichi Washio (personal communication)) are also reported to have indirect passive.

46 The movement analysis also owes us the explanation why the trace left behind by the movement involved in passive fails to function on a par with the moved element, unlike in other instances of movement.

47 Scrambling, on the other hand, exhibits somewhat puzzling behaviors with respect to non-distributive readings of Q-float in question. First, long-distance scrambling as in (i) below seems to behave basically on a par with passive and control constructions (with PRO or pro), and prohibits non-partitive interpretations with non-local Q-float, though the judgments involved are not as clear as we expect them to be:

(i) Long-distance:

a. **arui-te-kita gakusei** o, buku wa [keisatu ga kimi no
came on foot student acc I top police nom you gen

me no mae de **huta-ri** taihosita to] kiiteiru
eye gen front at two-people arrested COMP heard

'I heard that the police arrested two of the students who walked toward you.'

b. ?***uti no gakusei*** o, buku wa [keisatu ga naimituni
our student acc I top police nom secretly

dareka sirabeteiru to] kiiteiru
someone investigating COMP heard

'I heard that the police is secretly investigating one student of ours.'

Such restrictions, however, seem to be somewhat (but not completely) loosened up with short-distance scrambling as in (ii) below, permitting non-partitive interpretations at least marginally:

(ii) Short-distance:

a. ***arui-te-kita gakusei*** o keisatu ga buku no me no mae de ***hutar-i***
came on foot student acc police nom in front of me two-people

taihosita
arrested

'The police arrested under my nose { two of the ?the two } students who had approached on foot.'

b. ??***uti no gakusei*** o keisatu ga asokode ***dareka*** sirabeteiru yooda
our student acc police nom there someone investigating seem

'It seems that the police is investigating some student of ours over there.'

If it turns out that scrambling behaves completely on a par with passive and control constructions (with PRO or pro) with respect to the Q-float interpretations in question, that merely will be compatible with our conclusion that any empty NP can locally license Q-float, and that direct passive need not be analyzed as involving movement. If it turns out, on the contrary, that scrambling behaves in a completely different way from passive and control constructions, it will provide us with a basis to treat the empty

categories involved in direct passive and control structures alike as opposed to the trace involved in scrambling. It thus could lead us to the conclusion that direct passive **cannot** be analyzed as involving movement. Unfortunately, however, the fuzziness of judgments involved precludes us from drawing any definite conclusion at this point. See Kitagawa (1990a), Mahajan (1990), Saito (1992), Webelhuth (1989), among others, for discussion on the distinction between long-distance and short-distance scrambling.

The semantic distinction between local and non-local Q-float also has non-trivial implications to the movement analysis of unaccusative predicates in Japanese proposed by Miyagawa (1989), although we will refrain from going into this topic in this paper.

48 Shibatani (Ibid, 328) reports that languages like Korean and Chinese permit possessive passive, while they do not permit non-possessive indirect passive. Obviously, then, affectedness in passive must be established syntactically rather than pragmatically in these languages.

Shibatani (Ibid., 328-329) also reports that indirect passive in Japanese is quite marked in that a passive morphology expresses adversity, and obviously regards this observation as a theoretical basis to support the Nonuniform Hypothesis. As we have seen, however, direct passive also exhibits adversity interpretations.

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