

## JAPANESE PASSIVES (KUBO 1992)

### 1. Kubo's typology

#### 1.1 Previous treatments

(1) **Direct passive** ( $\approx$  English passive) (Kubo 1992: (1)) - *henceforth, numbers only*

Taro-no yuuki-ga ookuno hito-ni tatae-**rare**-ta. (cf. Ookuno hito-ga Taro-no yuuki-o tatae-ta.)  
Taro-gen courage-nom many people-by praise-pass-past  
'Taro's courage was praised by many people.'

(2) **Indirect passive** (no active counterparts)

Watashi-ga kinou Jiro-ni nak-**are**-ta. (2)  
Me-nom yesterday Jiro-dat cry-pass-past  
'I had Jiro cry on me yesterday.'

#### 1.2 Kubo's re-categorization: gapped vs. gapless passives

1.2.1 Gapped passives (with NP movement; "Gaps" = NP traces  $\approx$  anaphors (reciprocals):-  
Binding Theory: Principle A)

(3) **Accusative** (direct passive)

- a. They praised **each other**.
- b. **Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga** Hanako-ni **t<sub>i</sub>** oikake-rare-ta. (86)  
Taro-nom Hanako-by chase-pass-past  
'Taro was chased by Hanako.'
- c. \***Kono bijutsukan-ga** yuumeina kenchikuka-ni **kono toshokan-o** tate-rare-ta. (27.b)  
this museum famous architect-by this library-acc build-pass-past  
'(\*) This museum had a famous architect build this library on it.'

(Lexicalized objects render ungrammaticality - Carefully designed: not gapped possessives – no possessive relationship can be established; not gapless passives, either – they require animate subjects)

(4) **Dative** (direct passive – they have active counterparts, like (1) and (3))

- a. They gave presents **to each other**.
- b. **Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga** Hanako-ni **t<sub>i</sub>** nayamigoto-o soudans-are-ta. (87)  
Taro-nom Hanako-by problem-acc consult-pass-past  
'(\*) Taro was consulted her problem by Hanako.'

- c. \**New York-ga* Furansu-kara *Tokyo-ni* jiyuu-no megami-o okur-are-ta. (30)  
New York-nom France-from Tokyo-dat the Statue of Liberty-acc give-pass-past  
'(\*) New York was given the Statue of Liberty to Tokyo from France.'

(5) **Accusative possessive** (indirect passive)

- a. They described **each other's** lives.  
b. *Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga* Hanako-ni [<sub>NP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* nikki]-o yom-are-ta. (88)  
Taro-nom Hanako-by diary-acc read-pass-past  
'Taro had Hanako read his diary on him.'  
c. \*Koudoo-wa Hanako-ga (keiji-kara/niyotte) ayashim-are-ta. (**Topicalization**: (45.d) )  
behavior-top Hanako-nom (police-from/by) suspect-pass-past

Cf: Hanako-ga (keiji-kara/niyotte) *koudoo-o* ayashim-are-ta. (45.a)  
Hanako-ga (police-from/by) behavior-acc suspect-pass-past  
'Hanako had the police have a suspicion of her behavior on her.'

The problem: [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>SPEC</sub> *e<sub>i</sub>*] N']<sub>j</sub> –wa [**NP<sub>i</sub>**-ga (NP-*niyotte/kara*) *e<sub>j</sub>* V-rare-...] (*e<sub>i</sub>* can not be interpreted regardless of its status: trace/pro – by proposing *e<sub>i</sub>*, the ungrammaticality of (5.c) is accounted for)

(6) **Dative possessive** (indirect passive)

- a. They sent letters **to each other's** families.  
b. *Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga* dokuri-juusu-o [<sub>NP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* koibito]-ni okur-are-ta. (89)  
Taro-nom poisoned juice-acc sweetheart-dat send-pass-past  
'(\*) Taro was sent a poisoned juice to his sweetheart.'  
c. \*Kazoku-wa Taro-ga (ryokoogai-sha-kara) Hawaii-iki-o susume-rare-ta. (46.e)  
Family-top Taro-nom (travel agency-from) Hawaii-going-o recommend-pass-past

Cf: Taro-ga (ryokoogai-sha-kara) Hawaii-iki-o *kazoku-ni* susume-rare-ta. (46=16)  
Taro-nom (travel agency-from) Hawaii-going-acc recommend-pass-past  
'Taro had a travel agency recommend Hawaii-going to his family on him.'

1.2.2 Gapless passives (without NP movement): indirect passive + no possessive relationship

- (7) Hanako-ga Taro-ni iedes-are-ta. (*Intransitive*) (17.b)  
Hanako-nom Taro-dat run-away-pass-past  
'Hanako had Taro run away from home on her.'  
(8) Taro-ga Hanako-ni *shinkou-shuukyoo-o* hajime-rare-ta. (*Transitive*) (18.a)  
Taro-nom Hanako-dat new religion-acc start-pass-past  
'Taro had Hanako start believing in a new religion.'

1.3 Some empirical criteria to differentiate gapped vs. gapless passives and further conceptual clarifications

(9)

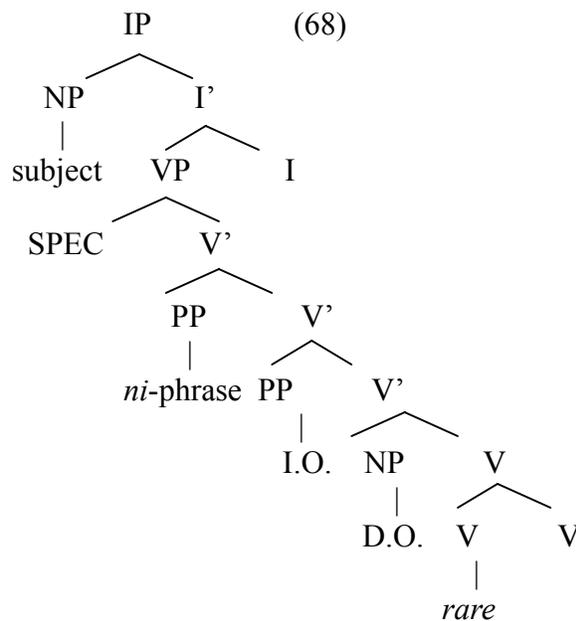
	<b>Gapped Passives</b> (With NP-movement)				<b>Gapless Passives</b>
	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Dative</i>	<i>Accusative Possessive</i>	<i>Dative Possessive</i>	(Adversative Passives)
Direct passives?	+	+	-	-	-
Gaps?	+	+	+	+	-
<i>Possessive relation required</i>			+	+	-
<i>Omittability of ni-phrase*</i>			+	+	-
<i>Replaceability of ni</i>			+	+	-
<i>Inanimate subject possible</i>			+	+	-
<i>Rich Context required</i>			-	-	+

(\* *ni-phrase* refers to the agent phrase)

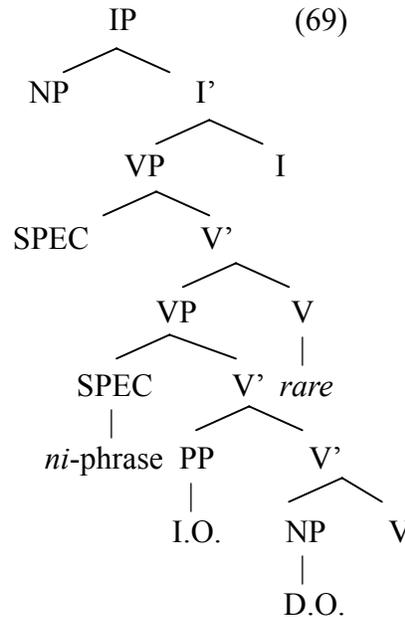
**2. The proposal**

(10) S-structures

a. Gapped Passives:



b. Gapless Passives:



- Something crucial: 1). **ni-phrase**: adjuncts vs. arguments  
 2). The status of **rare**:  $V^0$  vs. part of  $V^0$

### 3. Empirical evidence for the proposal

#### 3.1 The agent (ni-) phrase: adjuncts vs. arguments – evidence w.r.t. the LD-anaphor zibun

(11) Gapped passives: adjuncts – cannot be the antecedent for *zibun* (*zibun* is co-indexed only with the matrix subject)

a. Accusative:

Hanako<sub>i</sub>-ga **Taro<sub>j</sub>-ni** zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya-ni tozikone-rare-ta. (56.a)

Hanako-nom Taro-by self-gen room-to shut-up-pass-past

‘Hanako was shut up by Taro in her room.’ (Kuno, 1973:213 (71))

b. Dative:

Hanako<sub>i</sub>-ga **shatyo<sub>j</sub>-ni** zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no ofisu-de sono-niyuusu-o tsutae-rare-ta. (56.b)

Hanako-nom president-by self-gen office-at that-news-acc announce-pass-past

‘Hanako was announced that news by the president at her office.’

c. Accusative Possessive:

Hanako<sub>i</sub>-ga **Taro<sub>j</sub>-ni** zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya-de [e<sub>i</sub> shashin]-o tor-are-ta. (56.c)

Hanako-nom Taro-by self-gen-room-at picture-acc take-pass-past

‘Hanako had her picture taken by Taro in her room.’

d. Dative Possessive:

Hanako<sub>i</sub>-ga **shicyoo**<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i</sub>/<sub>\*j</sub>-no ofisu-de hiyoushojyo-o [e<sub>i</sub> buka]-ni okur-are-ta.  
Hanako-nom Mayor-by self-gen office-at prize-acc subordinate-to send-pass-past  
'Hanako had the Mayor give a prize to her subordinate on her.' (56.d)

(12) Gapless passives: arguments – can be the antecedent for *zibun* (*zibun* is co-indexed with both the matrix subject and the agent phrase)

a. Intransitive:

Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i</sub>/<sub>j</sub>-no heya-de nak-are-ta. (57.a)  
Taro-nom Hanako-dat self-gen room-at cry-pass-past  
'Taro had Hanako cry in self's room on him.'

b. Transitive:

Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i</sub>/<sub>j</sub>-no heya-de uta-o utaw-are-ta. (57.b)  
Taro-nom Hanako-dat self-gen room-at song-acc sing-pass-past  
'Taro had Hanako sing a song in self's room on him.'

3.2 Do-support: The test of the status of *rare* – V<sup>0</sup> vs. part of V<sup>0</sup>

(13) Japanese *do-support*: triggered by emphatic elements such as *sae/mo/saemo* 'even' or *wa* 'at least'

a. Taro-ga sushi-o tabe-ta. (58.a)  
Taro-nom sushi-acc eat-past  
'Taro ate sushi.'

b. Taro-ga *sushi-o tabe-sae/mo/saemo/wa shi*-ta. (58.b)  
Taro-nom sushi-acc eat-even/at least do-past  
'Taro did even/at least eat sushi.'

c. *Sushi-o tabe-sae/mo/saemo/wa* Taro-ga **shi**-ta. (scrambling) (58.c)  
Sushi-acc eat-even/at least Taro-nom do-past  
'Even/at least eat sushi, Taro-did.'

(14) Gapped Passives: *do-support* cannot occur between the verb stem and *rare* (but OK between *rare* and tense)

a. Accusative:

i). Hanako-ni oikake-*rare*-sae Taro-ga **shi**-ta. (59.a)  
Hanako-by chase-pass-even Taro-nom do-past  
'Get chased by Hanako, Taro did.'

ii). \*Hanako-ni *oikake*-sae Taro-ga **s-are**-ta. (59.b)  
Hanako-by chase-even Taro-ga do-pass-past  
'Chased by Hanako, Taro did get.'

b. Dative:

- i). Hanako-ni suiei-o susume-*rare*-sae Taro-ga **shi-ta**. (60.a)  
Hanako-by swimming-acc recommend-pass even Taro-nom do-past  
'Get recommended swimming by Hanako, Taro did.'
- ii). \*Hanako-ni suiei-o *susume*-sae Taro-ga **s-are-ta**. (60.b)  
Hanako-by swimming-acc recommend-even Taro-nom do-pass-past  
'Hanako recommend him swimming, Taro did have.'

c. Possessive accusative:

- i). Hanako-ni nikki-o yom-*are*-sae Taro-ga **shi-ta**. (61.a)  
Hanako-by dairy-acc read-pass-even Taro-nom do-past  
'Get read his diary by Hanako, Taro did.'
- ii). \*Hanako-ni nikki-o *yomi*-sae Taro-ga **s-are-ta**. (61.b)  
Hanako-by dairy-acc read-even Taro-nom do-pass-past  
'Read his dairy by Hanako, Taro did get.'

d. Possessive dative:

- i). Hanako-ni manga-o seito-ni kubar-*are*-sae, Yamada-sensei-ga **shi-ta**. (62.a)  
Hanako-by magazine-acc student-to deliver-pass-even Y.-Prof.-nom do-past  
'Get delivered magazines by Hanako to his students, Prof. Yamada did.'
- ii). \*Hanako-ni manga-o seito-ni *kubari*-sae, Yamada-sensei-ga **s-are-ta**. (62.b)  
Hanako-by magazine-acc student-to deliver-even Y.-Prof.-nom do-pass-past  
'Delivered magazines by Hanako to his students, Prof. Yamada did get.'

(15) Gapless Passives: *do-support* can occur both between the verb stem and *rare* and between *rare* and tense

a. Intransitive:

- i). Hanako-ni *naki*-sae Taro-ga **s-are-ta**. (64.b)  
Hanako-dat cry-even Taro-nom do-pass-past  
'Hanako cry, Taro did have.'
- ii). Hanako-ni nak-*are*-sae Taro-ga **shi-ta**. (64.a)  
Hanako-dat cry-pass-even Taro-nom do-past  
'Have Hanako cry, Taro did.'

b. Transitive:

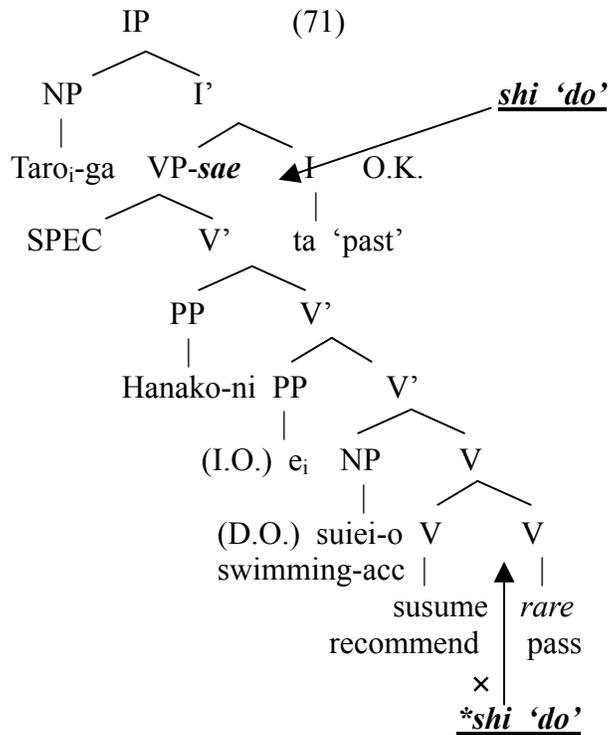
- i). Hanako-ni koukoo-o *yame*-sae Taro-ga **s-are-ta**. (63.b)

Hanako-dat high school-acc drop out-even Taro-nom do-pass-past  
 ‘Hanako drop out the high school, Taro did have.’

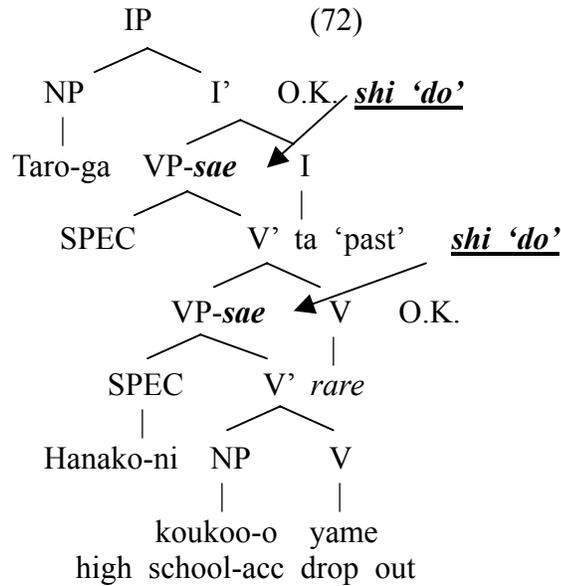
- ii). Hanako-ni koukoo-o yame-*rare*-sae Taro-ga **shi-ta**. (63.a)  
 Hanako-dat high school-acc drop out-even Taro-nom do-past  
 ‘Have Hanako drop out the high school, Taro did.’

(16) The explanation:

- Assuming S-Structures in (10)
  - *sae* can only be attached to phrasal constituents (Kuroda, 1965) - The fact that *sae* cannot be inserted between the verbal stem and *rare* means the verb stem and *rare* constitute a smaller unit than a phrase.
  - Bound morphemes like the passive morpheme in Japanese gapped passives must be attached to a stem. - Inserting *do-support* in the gapped case between the verb stem and *rare* will render the passive morpheme having no stems to be attached to. Hence, the ungrammaticality follows.
  - *rare* in gapless passives seems to behave more than a passive morpheme, a  $V^0$  instead?
- a. Gapped Passive (e.g. The Dative: (14.b))



b. Gapless Passive (e.g. The Transitive: (15.b))



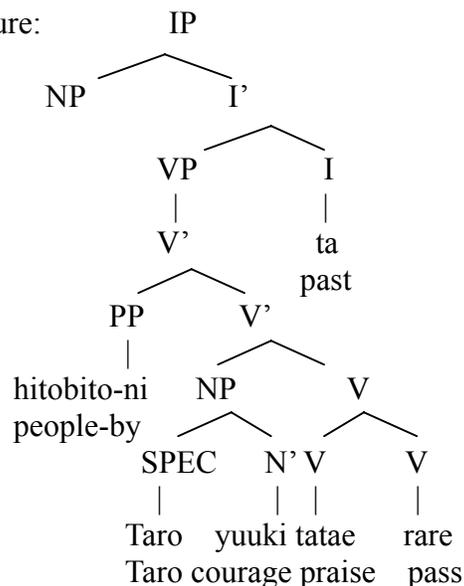
**4. A unified analysis of Japanese passives and the lexical entry for rare**

(17) Two D-Structures (where we consider the argument structure/theta role assignment):

a. Gapped Passive: (e.g. The Possessive Accusative (cf. (1) )

- i). S-Structure: Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga hitobito-ni [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>SPEC</sub> t<sub>i</sub>] yuuki-o][<sub>V</sub> tatae-rare]-ta. (125)  
 Taro-nom people-by courage-acc praise-pass-past  
 'Taro was praised his courage by people.'

ii). D-Structure:



Compare this with (10.a) and (16.a). The crucial thing is the SPEC (VP): which  $V^0$ 's (suppose we have two  $V^0$ 's here) external theta role should get realized in the SPEC (VP)? Hint: Assume the Right-hand Head Rule (Williams 1981).

In this case: *rare*, V, +V \_\_\_\_ (cf. *-ed* passive morpheme in English – but it does not absorb case, nor does it absorb an external theta role – it simply does not have any external theta roles)

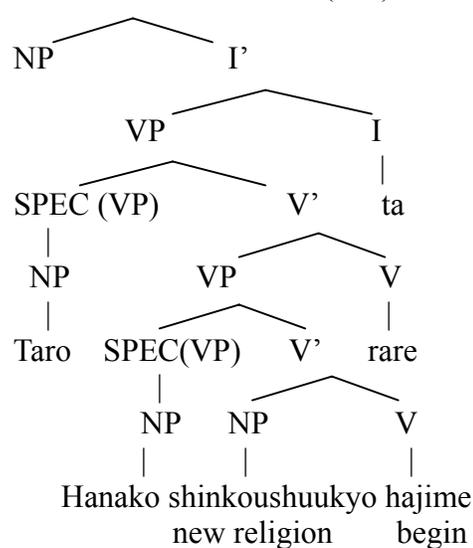
Since *rare* has no external theta role to project, SPEC(VP) is omitted (Nothing can be moved from here to SPEC(IP)). What can be moved later is then not driven by Case\*, but decided by Binding Theory Principle A.

\* Case assignment is optional (but Case Filter still requires that just one case be assigned to a chain) (Morikawa 1989).

b. Gapless Passive: (e.g. Transitive (= (8) ) )

i). S-Structure: Taro-ga [<sub>VP</sub> Hanako-ni shinkou-shuukyoo-o hajime]-[<sub>V</sub> rare] -ta. (18.a)  
 Taro-nom Hanako-dat new religion-acc start-pass-past  
 ‘Taro had Hanako start believing in a new religion.’

ii). D-Structure: IP (143)



In this case: *rare*, V, +VP \_\_, [**malefactive**] (cf. *get*-passive/*undergo* in English; Chinese *bei*- construction)

(18) A unified account of Japanese passives: a single, quite simple lexical entry for *rare* + its interaction with independently motivated principles of grammar + language particular fact

- a. The lexical entry for *rare*:  
*rare*, V, +V \_\_\_\_\_ (147)  
                   +VP \_ [**malefactive**]

Or we can have an even more simplified version, assuming no difference between  $V^0$  and  $V^{\max}$ :

- rare*, V, +V \_\_\_\_, (**malefactive**) (148)

This means *rare* is a verb; it subcategorizes for either  $V^0$  or  $V^{\max}$  and it has an optional external (malefactive) theta role to be discharged.

- b. Principles of grammar involved in interpreting Japanese passives: (145)
- i). VP-internal Subject Hypothesis
  - ii). Right-hand Head Rule
  - iii). External theta role can be realized as an adjunct as a last resort
  - iv). The Theta Criterion
  - v). Principle A of the Binding Theory
  - vi). Case Filter
  - vii). Extended Projection Principle/Projection Principle
  - viii). Economy Principle

- c. Language particular fact: (146)

Japanese does not have any expletives.

**The End**