JAPANESE PASSIVES (KUBO 1992)

1. Kubo’s typology

1.1 Previous treatments

(1) Direct passive (≈ 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 ≈ anaphors (reciprocals);
Binding Theory: Principle A)

(3) Accusative (direct passive)

a. They praised each other.
b. Taro-ga Hanako-ni ti 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-ga Hanako-ni ti 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-pass
‘(*) 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-ga* Hanako-ni [NP t̄ nikki]-o yom-are-ta. (88)
Taro-nom Hanako-by diary-acc read-pass-pass
‘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-pass

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

The problem: [NP [SPEC e_i] N’] –wa [NP t̄ -ga (NP-niyotte/kara) e_i V-rare-…]
(e_i can not be interpreted regardless of its status: trace/pro – by proposing e_i, the ungrammaticality of (5.c) is accounted for)

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

a. They sent letters to each other’s families.

b. *Taro-ga* dokuiri-juusu-o [NP t̄ koibito]-ni okur-are-ta. (89)
Taro-nom poisoned juice-acc sweetheart-dat send-pass-pass
‘(*) Taro was sent a poisoned juice to his sweetheart.’

Family-top Taro-nom (travel agency-from) Hawaii-going-o recommend-pass-pass

Cf: Taro-ga (ryokoogaisha-kara) Hawaii-iki-o kazoku-ni susume-rare-ta. (46=16)
Taro-nom (travel agency-from) Hawaii-going-acc recommend-pass-pass
‘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-pass
‘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-pass
‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gapped Passives (With NP-movement)</th>
<th>Gapless Passives (Adversative Passives)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possessive relation</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>Dative Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct passives</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaps?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omittability of ni-phrase*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replaceability of ni</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate subject possible</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich Context required</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*ni-phrase refers to the agent phrase)

2. The proposal

(10) S-structures

a. Gapped Passives:

```
   IP
   /   \
  NP    I'
     
subject VP I
       
SPEC V'
          
PP V'
            ni-phrase PP V'
                          
LO. NP V D.O. V
                                 rare
```
b. Gapless Passives:

```
IP   (69)
   NP           I'
   VP           I
   SPEC         V'
   VP           V
   SPEC         V'
     |  ni-phrase
     |      PP       V'
     |        I.O.   NP   V
     |            |     |  D.O.
```

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$_i$-ga **Taro$_j$-ni** zibun$_i$/$_j$-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$_i$-ga **shatyoo$_j$-ni** zibun$_i$/$_j$-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$_i$-ga **Taro$_j$-ni** zibun$_i$/$_j$-no heya-de [e$_i$ 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,-ga shicyoo-ni zibun/-j-no ofisu-de hiyoushojyo-o [e, 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,-ga Hanako,-ni zibun/-j-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,-ga Hanako,-ni zibun/-j-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 – V⁰ vs. part of V⁰

(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.’

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° 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))

   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: \textit{rare}, \textit{V}, \textit{+V \_\_ \_} \textit{(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 \textit{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) ))

   ‘Taro had Hanako start believing in a new religion.’

ii). D-Structure:

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

   (18) \textbf{A unified account of Japanese passives}: a single, quite simple lexical entry for \textit{rare} + its interaction with independently motivated principles of grammar + language particular fact
a. The lexical entry for rare:

\[
\text{rare}, V, +V \quad [\text{malefactive}] \\
+VP \quad [\text{malefactive}]
\]

(147)

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

\[
\text{rare}, V, +V \quad [\text{malefactive}] (148)
\]

This means rare is a verb; it subcategorizes for either \(V^0\) or \(V^{\text{max}}\) 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