JAPANESE PASSIVES, EXTERNAL ARGUMENTS, AND STRUCTURAL CASE*

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Different instances of the Japanese passive morpheme, –(r)are, show conflicting behaviors, sometimes like the prototypical passive and other times like a predicate taking a clausal complement. As such, they have resisted attempts to achieve a unified analysis. In this paper, I argue that the apparent irreconcilable differences among different instances of Japanese passives can be given a unified account with the following assumptions: i) Japanese passives are functional heads whose projection provides a structure with which an external argument is introduced, ii) only one type of the passives, *Indirect Passive*, is capable of proving structural case to its complement, and iii) external arguments introduced by Japanese passives receive their interpretation compositionally. According to the proposed analysis, the differences among different instances of the passive morpheme are due to a single factor: presence/absence of structural case.

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1   Introduction

Since such seminal works on Japanese syntax as Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973), and Inoue (1979), Japanese passives have been the topic of numerous studies. The challenge in accounting for Japanese passives lies in the striking differences among instances of the passive morpheme -(r)are. Some instances of this morpheme show the characteristics typical of passive, while in other cases they show the characteristics of predicate taking a clausal complement. As such, the different instances of the passive morpheme have resisted attempts to achieve a unified analysis and led many researchers to conclude that such an analysis is untenable (See Shibatani 1990 and Hoshi 1999 for comprehensive reviews of previous analyses of Japanese passives). In this paper, I claim that the attested differences are results of a single factor: only one type of the passive morpheme, *Indirect Passive*, is capable of providing structural case to its complement[1]. This assumption,

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[1] The idea that some instances of Japanese passives are ECM-like has been proposed in Hasegawa (1988).

together with analyzing Japanese passive morphemes to be functional heads which provide structure for an 'extra' argument to be introduced, accounts for the differences and similarities among different instances of Japanese passives.

This paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I review and summarize differences and similarities among different instances of Japanese passives discussed in the literature, and as a point of departure, motivate a tripartite classification of Japanese passives: *Direct*, *Niyotte*, and *Indirect Passive*. Section 3 briefly examines previous analyses of Japanese passives, with special attention to Hoshi's series of work (Hoshi 1991, 1994, 1999), which address all Japanese passives. Section 4 discusses different treatments of passive proposed in *Principles and Parameters* (P & P) as well as *Minimalist Program* (MP) frame work. Here I show that a recently developed concept of a functional projection providing the structure for an extra argument (i.e. external arguments), as well as structural case, offers a more suitable analysis to Japanese passives than the traditional P & P analyses of passive. In section 5, I introduce the proposed analysis and claim that a single assumption, that only one of the passives is capable of providing structural case to its complement, accounts for the differences and similarities among Japanese passives. In section 6, I introduce an account of the differences between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, which maintains that they are instances of the same passive. Specifically, I argue that what make them different are the *by* phrases. Section 7 shows how external arguments of *Indirect Passive* are derived compositionally. Section 8 concludes this paper.

2   Introducing three Japanese passives

Previous studies suggest that Japanese has at least three types of passives. The following (1b), (1c), and (1d) are the three passive counterparts of an active sentence (1a), which are called *Direct Passive*, *Niyotte Passive*, and *Indirect Passive,* respectively, following Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) and Kuroda (1979, 1992).

(1)   a. Koroshiya-ga   Takeshi-o   neraw -da[2]
          Assassin-Nom   T-Acc   target -Perf
          'An assassin targeted Takeshi.'

       b. Takeshi-ga Koroshiya-ni neraw **-are**   -ta
          T-Nom   Assassin-By   target -Pass -Perf
          'Takeshi was targeted by an assassin.' (*Direct Passive*)

       c. Takeshi-ga Koroshiya-**niyotte**   neraw **-are**   -ta
          T-Nom   assassin-By   target -Pass -Perf
          'Takeshi was targeted by an assassin.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

       d. Takeshi-ga   koroshiya-ni inochi-o   neraw **-are**   -ta
          T-Nom   assassin-by   life-Acc   target -Pass -Perf
          'Takeshi had his life targeted by an assassin.' (*Indirect Passive*)[3]

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[2] Abbreviations: Nom = nominative, Acc = accusative, Dat = dative, Gen = genitive, Loc = locative, By = *by* phrase, Pass = passive, Caus = causative, Per = perfective, Imp = imperfective, Vol = volitional, Cl = classifier, Pl = plural

An apparent similarity among the three passives is the morphological shape of what is generally called the passive morpheme, *-(r)are*, which immediately follows the verb in all three examples[4]. Also common among three passives is the fact that the external argument of the "passivized" verb, *neraw*, or target, can be optionally realized as an object of an oblique-like phrase, or *by*-phrase. Despite these similarities, however, previous studies have shown that the three passives have nontrivial syntactic as well as semantic differences. In this section, I review the evidence discussed in the literature to motivate the tripartite distinction, which concern the status of 1) an internal argument of the "pazzivized" verb, 2) the passive subjects, and 3) the *by* phrases.

2.1 Internal argument
The first of the differences concerns an internal argument of the passivized verb. While *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* involve the promotion of an internal argument to be a passive subject, *Indirect Passive* is different from them in that it lacks such a process. In *Indirect Passive,* the internal argument of the "passivized" verb appears in situ.

(2)   Takeshi-ga   koroshiya-ni   **inochi-o**   neraw -are   -ta
        M-Nom   assassin-Dat   life-Acc   target -Pass -Per
        'Takeshi had an assassin target his life.'

In fact, *Indirect Passive* does not even require an internal argument. Thus, it is compatible with an intransitive verb such as *shin-* 'die'.

(3)   Takeshi-ga   petto-no-inu-ni   shin   -are   -ta
        T-Nom   pet-Gen-dog-By   die   -Pass   -Per
        'Takeshi had (his) dog die.'

On the other hand, *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* require the internal argument position of the passivized verb to be null.

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[3] Some apparent instances of *Indirect Passive*, such as (1d), have been argued to have derived subjects (Shibatani 1990, Terada 1990, Kubo 1992). This issue is addressed in section 5.
[4] There are at least two other instances of apparently the same morpheme, which are not discussed in this study. One is the honorific form, as in (i) (Harada 1979, Hasegawa 1988, Kubo 1992) and the other is a middle voice like use, as in (ii).

(i)   Sensei-ga   kodomo-o   shika   rare   -ta
        teacher-Nom   child-Acc   scold   Hon   -Per
        'The teacher scolded the child.'

(ii)   Haru-no-kehai-ga   kanji   rare   -ta
        Spring-Gen-indication feel   ???   -Per
        'Indications of Spring season were apparent.'

These two constructions are different from the passives being discussed in not permitting presence of a *by* phrase. They are not addressed any further in this paper.

(4)   a. Takeshi$_i$-ga koroshiya-**ni** (*jibun$_i$/*kare$_i$-o)   neraw -are -ta
          T$_i$-Nom   Assassin-By (*self$_i$/*he$_i$-Acc)   target -Pass -Per
          'Takeshi was targeted *himself/*him by an assassin.' (*Direct Passive*)

    b. Takeshi$_i$-ga koroshiya-**niyotte**   (*jibun$_i$/*kare$_i$-o)   neraw **-are** -ta
          T$_i$-Nom   assassin-By   (*self$_i$/*he$_i$-Acc)   target -Pass -Per
          'Takeshi was targeted *himself/*him by an assassin.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

The null internal argument, moreover, is interpreted as sharing its identity with the passive subject in (4a) and (4b), creating the "object promotion" effect.

    Some of the justifications for assuming the presence of a null internal argument come from the interpretation of numeral quantifier phrases (NQPs) and resultative phrases. As can be seen below, the NQP in each sentence can only be associated with the NP that is adjacent to it.

(5)   a. **Tomodachi$_i$-ga**   **3-nin$_{i/*j}$**   paatii-ni kodomo$_j$-o tsureteki   -ta.
          friend-Nom   **3-Cl**   party-to child-Acc bring   -Per
          'Friends$_i$, three of them$_i$, brought children$_j$ to the party.'

    b. Tomodachi$_i$-ga   paatii-ni   **kodomo$_j$-o**   **3-nin$_{*i/j}$** tsureteki   -ta.
          child-Nom   party-Loc   **child-Acc**   **3-Cl**   bring   -Per
          'Friends$_i$ brought children$_j$, three of them$_{*i/j}$, to the party.'

    c. ***Kodomo$_i$-ga**   kyo   hon$_j$-o   **3-nin$_i$** yom -da.
          child-Nom   today book-Acc   **3-Cl** read -Per
          'Today, the children$_i$ read the book$_j$, three of them$_i$'

In (5a) and (5b), there are two NPs whose referents are both compatible with the particular classifier in the NQP, *nin*, which is used to count human beings. However, the NQP can only be associated with the NP that directly precedes it in both sentences. Likewise, in (5c), the NQP *3-nin* fails to be licensed, since the NP with an appropriate referent, *kodomo* 'child' is not directly adjacent to it. In order to account for the restriction in association between a NQP and a possible host NP, Miyagawa (1989) proposes that a NQP and the associated NP must c-command each other. However, in a passive sentence like (6), the mutual c-command restriction appears to be violated.

(6)   **Kodomo$_i$-ga** otoko-tachi$_j$-ni/niyotte **3-nin$_{i/*j}$**   yuukais   -are -ta
    child-Nom   man-Pl-By/By 3-Cl   kidnap -Pass -Per
    'Children, by men, three of them, were kidnapped.'

In (6), the same NQP, *3-nin*, is successfully associated with the subject, *kodomo* 'child' despite the fact that a *by* phrase intervenes between the two. Miyagawa argues that this fact can be accounted for if one assumes that there is an empty category (i.e. trace) in the object potion that is co-referential with the passive subject.

(7)   **Kodomo$_i$**-ga   nanimonoka-ni/niyotte   ec$_i$ **3-nin$_i$**   yuukais -are   -ta
            child$_i$-Nom   someone-By/By   ec$_i$ 3-Cl$_i$ kidnap -Pass -Per
            'Children, by someone, three of them, were kidnapped.'

Evidence involving resultative phrases argue for the same conclusion. Only internal arguments can be associated with a resultative phrase, such as *makkuroni* 'black' (Miyagawa 1989).

(8)   Takeshi$_i$-ga   Kenji-no-kao$_j$-o   **makkuro-ni$_{*i/j}$**   nur   -ta
            T-Nom   K-Gen-face-Acc   black   paint   -Per
            'Takeshi painted Kenji's face black.'

The fact that a passive subject in (9), *kenji-no-kao* 'Kenji's face', can be associated with the resultative phrase can be accounted for by assuming that there is an empty category in the object position, which shares identity with the subject.

(9)   Kenji-no-kao$_i$-ga   Takeshi$_j$-ni/niyotte   ec$_i$ **makkuro-ni$_i$** nur -are   -ta
            K-Gen-face$_i$-Nom   T-By/By   ec$_i$ black$_i$ paint-Pass   -Per
            'Kenji's face was painted black by Takeshi.'

These pieces of evidence strongly suggest that *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* involve a null internal argument. The facts that it must be null and that it shares its identity with the passive subject suggest both *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* involve movement of an internal argument to the subject position (i.e. A-movement), leaving a trace in its base-generated position.
   However, there is one important difference between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* with respect to the null internal argument. While both require their subjects to share their identity with a phonologically null internal argument, only *Niyotte Passive* shows reconstruction effects (Kitagawa & Kuroda 1992, Hoji to appear)[5].

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[5] Whitman (2001), citing Yatsuyoshi (1996), claims that apparent cases of *Direct Passive*, in which the subjects must be affected, show reconstruction effects, based on examples like (i):

(i)   Dareka-ga   dono-kyooshitsu-de-mo   nagur   are   ta
          someone-NOM   every-classroom-Loc-also   hit   Pass   -Per
          'Someone was hit in every classroom.'
          {someone > every, every >someone}

The problem with (i) is that it does not have a *by* phrase which disambiguates between *Direct Passive*, in which the subject must be affected, and *Niyotte Passive*, in which it does not have to be. Adding a *by* phrase to (i) makes (i) either unambiguously *Direct Passive* or *Niyotte Passive*, as in (ii) and (iii).

(ii)   Dareka-ga   sensei-**ni**   dono-kyooshitsu-de-mo   nagur   are   -ta
          Someone-Nom teacher-By   every-classroom-Loc-also   hit   Pass   -Per
          {someone >every, *every > someone}

(10) a. **Sannin**-no-gakusei-ga   Ito-sensei-**niyotte**   **maikai**   sas -are   -ta
     Three-Gen-students-Nom Prof.Ito-By   everytime call -Pass -Per
     'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.'
     {Three > every, every > three} (*Niyotte Passive*)

    b. **Sannin**-no-gakusei-ga   Ito-sensei-**ni** **maikai**   sas   -are   -ta
     Three-Gen-students-Nom Prof. Ito-By everytime   call   -Pass -Per
     'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.'
     {Three > every, *every > three} ' (*Direct Passive*)

Thus, among the three passives, both *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* require their subject to share identity with their target verb's internal argument, and only *Indirect Passive* does not involve such a relation[6]. However, between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, there appears to be an important difference in the nature of the dependency between the subject and the internal argument, as only *Niyotte Passive* shows reconstruction effect.

Table 1:

		Indirect Passive	*Direct Passive*	*Niyotte Passive*
Passive subject-internal argument identity		No	Yes	Yes
Reconstruction		N/A	No	Yes

2.2   Passive subjects

While the relation between the passive subject and an internal argument appears to classify *Indirect Passive* in one group and *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* in another (cf. Table 1), the status of passive subjects appears to distinguish *Niyotte Passive* from the other two passives. Specifically, there is evidence that both *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* subjects are subject to selectional restrictions, while *Niyotte Passive* subjects are not. First, *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* are incompatible with NPs that denote abstract notions as their subjects, unlike *Niyotte Passive* (Inoue 1976, Kuroda 1979, 1992).

(11) a. **??Kaikai**-ga   shicho-**ni**   sengens   -are   -ta
      opening-Nom   mayor-By   announce   - Pass   -Per
      'The opening was announced by the mayor.' (*Direct Passive*)

(iii)   Dareka-ga   sensei-**niyotte**   dono-kyooshitsu-de-mo nagur   are   -ta
      Someone-Nom   teacher-By   every-classroom-Loc-also hit   Pass   -Per
      {someone >every, every > someone}

As the contrast between (ii) and (iii) shows, the scope ambiguity does not obtain with the -*ni* phrase. Thus, I contend the claim of Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) and Hoji(2004) that *Direct Passive* does not reconstruct still holds.
[6] With a transitive verb as the target verb, the subject of *Indirect Passive* and the internal argument are often interpreted to have a possessor-possessed relation (Shibatani 1990, Terada 1990, Kubo 1992). This issue is addressed in section 5 and 6.

b.**??Taikai-ga**   shicho-**ni**   kaikai-o   sengens   -are   -ta
competition-Nom   mayor- By   opening- Acc announce   -Pass -Per
The competition had its opening announced by the mayor. (*Indirect Passive*)

c. **Kaikai**-ga   shicho-**niyotte**   sengens   -are   -ta
opening- Nom   mayor- By   announce   -Pass -Per
'The opening was announced by the mayor.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

Likewise, only *Niyotte Passive* is compatible with sentential subjects.

(12)   a. [[**shacho-ga**   **yameru]-koto]-**ga kaisha-**niyotte** happyos   -are -ta
[president-Nom   quit]-fact]-Nom   company-By   announce -Pass -Per
'That the president will quit was announced by the company.' (*Niyott Passive*)

b.*[[**shacho-ga**   **yameru]-koto]-**ga kaisha-**ni**   happyos -are   -ta
[[president-Nom   quit]-fact]-Nom   company-By announce -Pass -Per
'That the president will quit was announced by the company.' (*Direct Passive*)

c. *[[**shacho-ga**   **yameru]-koto]-**ga   kaisha-ni   sono-jijitsu-o
[[president-Nom quit]-fact]-Nom   company-By the-fact-Acc
happyos   -are   -ta
announce -Pass -Per
'That the president will quit was a fact announced by the company.'
(*Indirect Passive*)

Moreover, whereas VP idioms, i.e. *senryaku-o toru* 'take a strategy', lose their meaning with *Direct Passive*, it remains intact with *Niyotte Passive* (Kuroda 1979, Hoshi 1999)[7]

(13)   a. Kaisha-ga   atarashii-**senryaku-o tor**   -ta.
Company-Nom   new-strategy-Acc   take   -Per
'The company **took** a new **strategy**.' (*Active*)

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[7] Hoshi (1999) uses an idiom '*chuui-o harau* 'pay attention' to make the same point. I avoided using the same idiom because '*chuui-o harau'* has an optional indirect object which is marked also with *–ni*, as in (i):

(i)   Takeshi-ga   (Keiko-ni)   chuui-o   haraw -ta
T-Nom   (K-Dat)   attention-Acc   pay -Per
'Takeshi paid attention to Keiko.'

Thus, in ii), the *Direct Passive* counterpart of i), the *-ni* phrase is ambiguous between a *by* phrase and an indirect object, and its unacceptable status may be due to such an ambiguity.

(ii)   Chuui-ga   Takeshi-ni   haraw   are   -ta
attention-Nom   T-By/Dat   pay   Pass -Per
'Attention was paid by Takeshi/to Takeshi.'

  b. Atarashii-**senryaku**-ga kaisha-**niyotte**   **tor** -are -ta
   new-strategy- Nom   company- By   take -Pass -Per
   'A new strategy was taken by the company.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

  c. ??Atarashii-**senryaku**-ga kaisha-**ni**   **tor** -are -ta
    new-strategy- Nom   company-By take -Pass -Per
   'A new strategy was taken by the company.' (*Direct Passive*)

Finally, both *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* are compatible with a subject-oriented adverbial, while *Niyotte passive* is not (Kuroda 1979, 1992).

(14) a. Takeshi-ga *orokanimo* teshita-ni   koros -are -ta
    T-Nom   stupidly   subordinate-By   kill -Pass -Per
    'Takeshi was stupidly killed by a subordinate.' (*Direct Passive*)

   b. Takeshi-ga *orokanimo* tsuma-ni   uwaki-o   hakkens -are -ta
     T-Nom   stupidly   wife-By   affair-Acc discover -Pass-Per
    'Takeshi stupidly had his affair discovered by his wife' (*Indirect Passive*)

   c.??Takeshi-ga   *orokanimo* teshita-**niyotte**   koros -are -ta
     T-Nom   stupidly   subordinate-By   kill -Pass -Per
     'Takeshi was stupidly killed by a subordinate.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

Thus, the evidence suggests that the subject of *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* must be of particular semantic types, while apparently anything can be a subject of *Niyotte Passive*.

Table 2:

	Indirect Passive	*Direct Passive*	*Niyotte Passive*
Selectional restrictions	Yes	Yes	No

2.3 *By* **phrases**
The third criterion that motivates the tripartite distinction among Japanese passives is the status of *by* phrases. First, the marking of a *by* phrase distinguishes *Niyotte Passive* from the other two passives.

(15) a. Takeshi-ga keikan-**ni**   tomer -are -ta
    T-Nom   police-officer-By   stop -Pass -Per
   'Takeshi was stopped by the police officer.' (*Direct Passive*)

   b. Takeshi-ga dorobo-**ni** sutereo-o   nusum -are -ta
    T-Nom thief-By   car-stereo-Acc   steal -Pass -Per
   'Takeshi had the car stereo stolen by a thief.'(*Indirect Passive*)

   c. Takeshi-ga keikan-**niyotte**   tomer -are -ta
    T-Nom   police-officer-By   stop -Pass -Per
   'Takeshi was stopped by the police officer.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

As can be seen, a *by* phrase in *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* is marked with *-ni*, while it is marked with *–niyotte* in *Niyotte Passive*[8].

There is another important difference among *by* phrases. Despite the phonological identity of the form of the *by* phrase in *Direct* and *Indirect Passsive*, only the *by* phrase of *Indirect Passive* shows signs of subjecthood. First, the *by* phrase of *Indirect Passive* can host a numeral quantifier phrase (NQP), while the *by* phrase of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* cannot (Shibatani 1977, Kubo 1992).

(16) a. Sono-otoko-wa   **kodomo$_i$-ni   3-nin$_i$**   shin -are -ta.
         That-man-Top   child$_i$-By   3-Cl$_i$ die   -Pass -Per
         'That man had children, three of them, die.' (*Indirect Passive*)

      b. ??Takeshi-ga   **sensei$_i$-ni   3$_i$-nin** homer -are -ta
         T-Nom   teacher-By   3-Cl   praise -Pass -Per
         'Takeshi was praised by three teachers.' (*Direct Passive*)

      c. ??Takeshi-ga   **ishi$_i$-niyotte   3$_i$-nin**   kensa   -are -ta
         T-Nom   docoter-By   3-Cl   examine   -Pass -Per
         'Takeshi was examined by three doctors.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

Second, *by* phrase in *Indirect Passive* can be an antecedent of *jibun*, while that of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* cannot (McCawley 1972).

(17) a. Takeshi$_i$-ga [Jiro$_j$-ni   **jibun$_{i/j}$-no-heya-de**   nak] -are -ta
         T$_i$-Nom   [J$_i$-By   self$_{i/j}$-Gen-room-Loc   cry] -Pass -Per
         'Takeshi$_i$ was affected by Jiro$_j$'s crying in self$_{i/j}$'s room.' (*Indirect Passive*)

      b. Takeshi$_i$-ga [Jiro$_j$-ni   **jibun$_{i/*j}$-no-heya-de nagur]** -are -ta.
         T$_i$-Nom   [T$_j$-By   self$_{i/*j}$-Gen-room-Loc punch] -Pass -Per
         'Takeshi$_i$ was hit by Jiro$_j$ in self$_{i/*j}$'s room. (*Direct Passive*)

      c. Otoko$_i$-ga [nanimonoka$_j$-niyotte **jibun$_{i/*j}$-no-heya-de   osow]** -are -ta.
         Man$_i$-Nom [someone$_j$-By   self$_{i/*j}$-Gen-room-Loc attack] -Pass -Per
         'The man$_i$ was attacked by someone$_j$ in self$_{i/*j}$'s room. (*Niyotte Passive*)

It has been shown in Japanese that the ability to host a NQP is restricted to arguments, specifically subjects and direct objects (Shibatani 1977). Also, the ability to antecede the reflexive *jibun* is generally restricted to structural subjects with few known exceptions (Kuno 1973). Thus, these two diagnostics show that the *by* phrase in *Indirect Passive* behaves like an embedded subject, while *by* phrases in *Direct* and *Niyotte Passives* do not.

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[8] This is a simplification of the actual distribution of *by* phrases, since *Indirect Passive* is also compatible with a *niyotte* phrase under certain conditions (Kuroda 1979). This issue is discussed in section 5.

Table 3:

	Indirect Passive	*Direct Passive*	*Niyotte Passive*
By phrase marking	*-ni*	*-ni*	*-niyotte*
By phrase can host a NQP	Yes	No	No
By phrase can antecede *jibun*	Yes	No	No

2.4 Summary

In this section, we have reviewed the evidence motivating a three partite distinction among Japanese passives: *Indirect, Direct*, and *Niyotte Passive*. The three Japanese passives behave differently with respect to i) presence and absence of the passive subject -internal argument dependency, as well as the nature of such dependency, ii) thematic status of the passive subjects, and iii) whether *by* phrases behave like embedded subject or not. The criteria and the three passives' differing behavior are summarized in the table below. In what follows, we review previous attempts to reconcile these differences.

Table 4:

	Indirect Passive	*Direct Passive*	*Niyotte Passive*
Passive subject-internal argument identity	No	Yes	Yes
Reconstruction	N/A	No	Yes
Subject is thematic	Yes	Yes	No
By phrase marking	*-ni*	*-ni*	*-niyotte*
By phrase behaves like an embedded subject	Yes	No	No

3 Previous analyses

The similarities and differences across the three Japanese passives pose many challenges for attempts to establish a unified account of them and have in fact generated a long standing debate on whether these passives should be treated uniformly or independently (see Shibatani 1990 and Hoshi 1999 for comprehensive reviews of the controversy). In this section, I briefly review previous analyses proposed for Japanese passives, with special attention to a series of work by Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999), which address all three passives under discussion, and identify their advantages and short comings.

3.1 Different ways to classify Japanese passives

Since such seminal works in Japanese syntax as Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973), and Inoue (1979), *Indirect Passive* has always been analyzed as involving clausal complementation. The clausal complementation analysis of *Indirect Passive* appears to be uncontroversial given the facts that 1) *Indirect Passive* adds an extra argument to an already saturated event, thus not requiring an identity relation between its subject and the target verb's
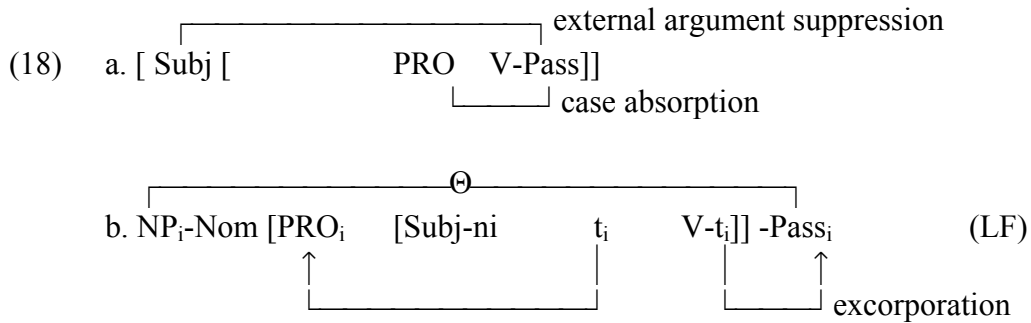
internal argument, and that 2) the *by* phrase of *Indirect Passive* behaves like an embedded subject.

These properties distinguishing *Indirect Passive* from *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* have led studies like McCawley (1972) and Kuno (1973) to propose that only *Indirect Passive* involves clausal complementation, while the other passives involve NP movement of an internal argument. In contrast, studies such as Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) and Kuroda (1979) suggest that both *Direct* and *Indirect Passives* involve clausal complementation, while only *Niyotte Passive* involves NP movement of an internal argument, based on evidence such as thematicity of *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* subjects (Kuroda 1979). Needless to say, simply dividing the three passives into two groups is bound to miss some of the distinguishing properties that have been introduced in the previous section. The type of analyses like McCawley (1972) and Kuno (1973) fails to account for the differences between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* with respect to their subjects and *by* phrases[9]. Whereas the type of analyses like Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) and Kuroda (1979) fails to account for the evidence that only the *by* phrase of *Indirect Passive* acts like an embedded clause. Even among more recent analyses of Japanese passives, only few analyses attempt to account for all three varieties, as many of them do not acknowledge the difference between *Niyotte Passive* and *Direct Passive* (Washio 1989/1990, Terada 1990, Kubo 1992, Watanabe 1993, Nishigauchi 1993, Dubinsky 1997, and Park and Whitman 2004). One notable exception to this general picture is a series of work by Hoshi (1991, 1994, and 1999), to which we now turn.

3.2   Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999)

Hoshi's series of work (Hoshi 1991, 1994, 1999) are some of the few analyses proposed to account for all three types of Japanese passives. Essentially, he adopts the clausal complementation analysis for all three passives. In addition to that, *Niyotte Passive* is analyzed to involve NP-movement with the two traditional assumptions about passive, that it *suppresses an external argument* and *absorbs structural case* from the verb to which it attaches (Chomsky 1981). The most original part of Hoshi's analysis, however, is his account for *Direct Passive*. Recall that *Direct Passive* subjects are constrained by selectional restrictions, while they also share identity with internal arguments of the passivized verbs. Hoshi derives these two facts in the following way. He first assumes that the empty category in the internal argument position in *Direct Passive* is a base-generated PRO, unlike that of *Niyotte Passive*, which is an NP-trace. This PRO moves to the embedded subject position, in order to receive null case (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993). The embedded subject position on the other hand has been vacated for the PRO to move into, by a process of *external argument suppression*, which is induced by the passive. In order for this whole process to take place, the passive first attaches to the embedded verb and suppresses the verb's external argument, and then *excorpotates* from the embedded verb and moves to the matrix to serve as the main verb. There, it discharges the external argument role to the passive subject (Hoshi 1994: 156, and 1999: 225):

---

[9] Both McCawley (1979) and Kuno (1973) do not recognize the differences between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* and they do not address them.

(18) a. [Subj [PRO   V-Pass]]

external argument suppression

case absorption

b. NP$_i$-Nom [PRO$_i$ [Subj-ni   t$_i$ V-t$_i$]] -Pass$_i$ (LF)

Θ

excorporation

The PRO which is now in the embedded subject position is controlled by the matrix subject. This creates the passive subject-internal argument dependency while maintaining that the passive subject position is thematic.

Although Hoshi's analysis neatly accounts for the behavior of *Direct Passive* subjects, there are nontrivial problems in his proposal. First, his analysis of *Direct Passive* is quite complex and requires a lot of extra machinery. Besides traditional external argument suppression and case absorption, Hoshi assumes a process called *extercorpotation* to play an important role in the derivation of a *Direct Passive* sentence. Moreover, a *Direct Passive* complement has to have a PRO base-generated in its object position. These assumptions lack any empirical support or motivation other than being needed to account for the theory internal problems presented by *Direct Passive*. Also, Hoshi's PRO movement analysis of *Direct Passive* vs. NP-movement analysis of *Niyotte Passive* does not provide an account for the lack of reconstruction effect with *Direct Passive*. If *Direct Passive* indeed involves movement of PRO from the internal argument position to the dethematized embedded subject position, it is not clear why movement of PRO should not yield reconstruction effects. It also fails to make a connection between the different passive types and their corresponding *by* phrases. Finally, his account of *Direct Passive* complicates his analysis of Japanese passives as whole. Because he relies on external argument suppression and case absorption to account for *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, he is forced to explain why these mechanisms are not at work with *Indirect Passive*. This leads him to assume a two binary feature classification system which derives the three passives.

Table 5:

	+ experiencer	- experiencer
+ passive	*Direct Passive*	*Niyotte Passive*
- passive	*Indirect Passive*	--------------------

However, this binary feature system essentially restates the generalizations in terms of interaction of features and does not derive from any mechanisms or principles that are independently necessary and motivated.

3.3   Summary

In sum, reviewing the previous analyses of Japanese passives has shown that the majority of previously proposed analyses fail to address all three varieities being considered here. One notable exception, Hoshi (1991, 1994, 1999), proposes a unified analysis of all three Japanese passives with an ingenious solution for the peculiar behaviors of *Direct Passive*.
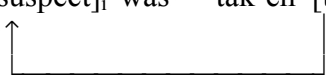
Although ingenious, Hoshi's analysis of *Direct Passive* involves extra assumptions whose justifications are not immediately clear, and it still leaves unaccounted for the apparent connection between *by* phrase marking and the difference in the themeticity with *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*. Lastly, his attempt to achieve a unified analysis of Japanese passives while adopting the classic *Principles and Parameters* (P & P) approach suffers from the fact that *Indirect Passive* is diametrically different from the prototypical passive.

4   Different approaches to passive

In this section, I consider different approaches that have been proposed to account for passive within the *Principles and Parameters* (P & P) and the *Minimalist Program* (MP) tradition. First I briefly review the history of the most widely received analysis of passive in P & P, which assumes two mechanisms mentioned earlier play central roles in passivization: *external argument suppression* and *case absorption*, and I show that these assumptions are not only inadequate but also unnecessary to account for Japanese passives. Then I introduce analyses of external arguments and structural case developed more recently in MP, which divorce these two properties from lexical verbs and assign them to a functional head above a VP. I argue that the later option to deal with external arguments and structural case is suitable for analyzing Japanese passive.

4.1   Passive and external argument suppression and case absorption

Some of the defining properties of the prototypical passive are that it has i) non-thematic subject position, ii) no structural case to license an internal argument of the passivized verb, and iii) the logical subject of the embedded verb as an object of an oblique phrase. Chomsky (1981) proposes an ingenious account for passive which associates these generalizations to two mechanisms that play central roles in P & P: case and theta role. In his analysis, the English passive morpheme *–en* "absorbs" a verb's ability to assign structural case and suppresses its external theta role (ibid 125 – 127). Together, these two assumptions create passivization: an internal argument of a passivized verb must move to the non-thematic matrix subject position to get nominative case.

(19)   [The suspect]$_i$ was   tak-en [t$_i$]   (to the police station).

Subsequent analyses of passive in the P & P framework, such as Jaeggli (1986), Roberts (1987), and Baker et al (1989), all follow the intuition explored in Chomsky (1981), and focus on figuring out why and how the passive morpheme suppresses the external argument and absorbs a case from a verb. In Jaeggli (1986), the theta role for the external argument is assumed to be transmitted to the *by* phrase by the passive morpheme. Roberts (1987) and Baker et al. (1989), on the other hand, propose that the passive morpheme is an argument of the target verb realized as a clitic, which is base-generated in INFL and receives the external theta role as well as accusative case from the verb.

   The problem with applying the P & P style analysis of passive to Japanese passives is that external argument suppression and case absorption are applicable only to one type of passive, namely *Niyotte Passive*. Subjects of *Direct* and *Indirect Passive* are subject to selectional restrictions, and *Indirect Passive* can license an internal argument in situ.

Thus, the two assumptions do not play 'core' roles in Japanese passives[10]. Therefore, trying to account for all three Japanese passives while maintaining these two assumptions is not only unmotivated, but it makes one's analysis unnecessarily complicated.

4.2   Functional head that introduce extra arguments & structural case

Around early 90s', there emerged a school of analyses advancing the idea that a functional head above VP is responsible for licensing external arguments and structural case (Marantz 1984, 1997, Pesetsky 1989, Spears 1990, Mahajan 1990, Johnson 1991, Hale and Keyser 1992, 1993, Travis 1992, Koizumi 1993, Noonan 1993, Bowers 1993, Collins and Thráinsson 1993, Kratzer 1993, 1996, Borer 1994, Chomsky 1995, Harley 1995). This analysis divorces both external argument and structural case from lexical verbs and assigns them to this functional head. Since passive is an operation that affects the status of external argument and structural case, under this analysis, passivization can be derived from properties of this functional head. Kratzer (1993, 1996), for instance, proposes that the functional head *Voice* comes in two flavors: one with external argument and structural case, and the other without them (Kratzer 1996: 123). The former realizes the case of base-generated external arguments, while the latter realizes the case of derived external arguments, i.e. passive.

(20)   a. Active voice:
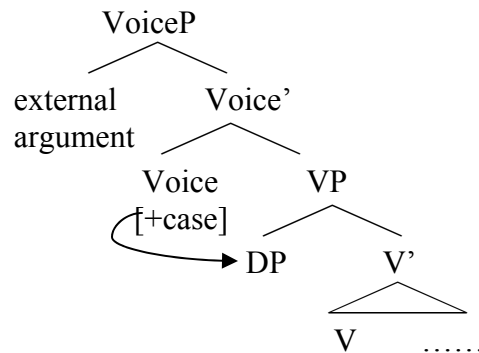
b. Non-active voice:

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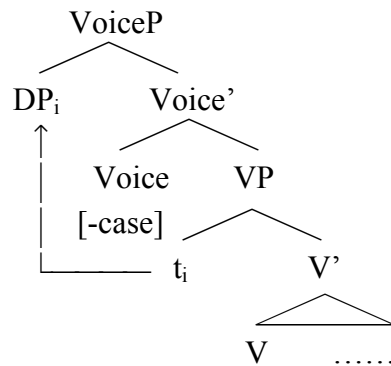
[10] There also are a number of studies which question the role of these two assumptions in analyses of passives in different languages, such as Sobin (1985), Marantz (1991), and Goodall (1993, 1999).

The other property also ascribed to the functional head under discussion is the ability to provide structural case. Pesetsky (1989), Johnson (1991), and Collins and Thráinsson (1993) are some of the first authors to claim that the adjacency restriction of structural case marking (Stowell 1981) can be accounted for by assuming that there is a functional head above VP which is responsible for structural case marking. Kratzer (1993, 1996) argues to link the introduction of external arguments with the presence of structural case, using English gerundives and participles as her evidence. She shows that the types of gerundives that can license internal arguments with accusative case also include external arguments in their structure, while the types of gerundives that cannot license internal arguments with accusative case (thus requiring *of*) do not seem to include external argument in their structure.

(21)　　a. Maria's reading of *Pride and Prejudice* received better reviews than Anna's.
　　　　b. We remembered Maria's reading *Pride and Prejudice*.
　　　　c. We remember Maria reading *Pride and Prejudice*.

Kratzer claims that in (21a), the agent of the reading event does not have to be *Maria*, with the right circumstances[11]. In (21b) and (21c), however, the agent of reading must be interpreted as *Maria*. As can be seen, the internal argument requires the preposition *of* only in (21a). In Kratzer's analysis, the obligatory interpretation of the agent implies the presence of a functional head that introduces external argument (*voice*), and the fact that the obligatory interpretation of external argument coincides with the availability of accusative case marking of internal arguments suggests that the functional head also provides structural case to these sentences.

So far, our discussion of functional heads has been limited to ones that are phonologically null. However, phonologically overt predicates have also been analyzed to serve the same functions. For instance, the English verb *have* has been argued to provide structural case. Cowper (1989) argues that the past participles and passive participles in languages like English are essentially the same thing[12], and the difference in case licensing of an internal argument between the past participles and the passive participles are due to the properties of two different auxiliary verbs, *be* and *have*. The fact that only with past participles, which are combined with *have,* are internal arguments licensed in situ suggests that either only *have* can provide accusative case or only it can appear in the structure providing accusative case. The main verb *have* has also been linked to presence of accusative case. Noonan (1993) attempts to account for the difference between languages like Irish, which do not have stative transitive predicates, and languages like English, which do, by alluding to the difference in availability of *have* in these languages. In Irish, stative verbs with two arguments are never realized in the transitive frame. Instead, the usual external argument of a stative predicates, the *holder* argument, is realized as an object of an oblique phrase (ibid. 355).

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[11] i.e. Maria and Anna went to two different evens where *Pride and Prejudice* was read by someone.
[12] For an analysis of participles with very different assumptions, see Kayne (1993).

(22) a. Tá   gaeilge   ag   Fliodhais
          is   Irish   at   Fliodhais
          'Fliodhais knows Irish.'

      b. Tá   eagla roimh an   bpúca ag   Ailill
          is   fear   before the   Puca   at   Ailill
          'Ailill fears the Puca.'

Taking Irish as the default case for realizing stative predicates, Noonan assumes that stative verbs are inherently unaccusative. She also assumes that accusative case licensing is carried out in a functional projection above VP, following Pesetsky (1989) and Johnson (1991), which she calls *Predicate Phrase*. Finally, she adopts Larson's single argument hypothesis (Larson 1988), according to which each argument is introduced to a structure by a corresponding verbal head[13]. Given these assumptions, the fact that accusative case is available only in the transitive structure, which must involve two verbal heads by this hypothesis, leads her to conclude that accusative case is available only when 'case checking category is governed by a verb at D-structure', as in (23) (Noonan 1993: 339)

(23)
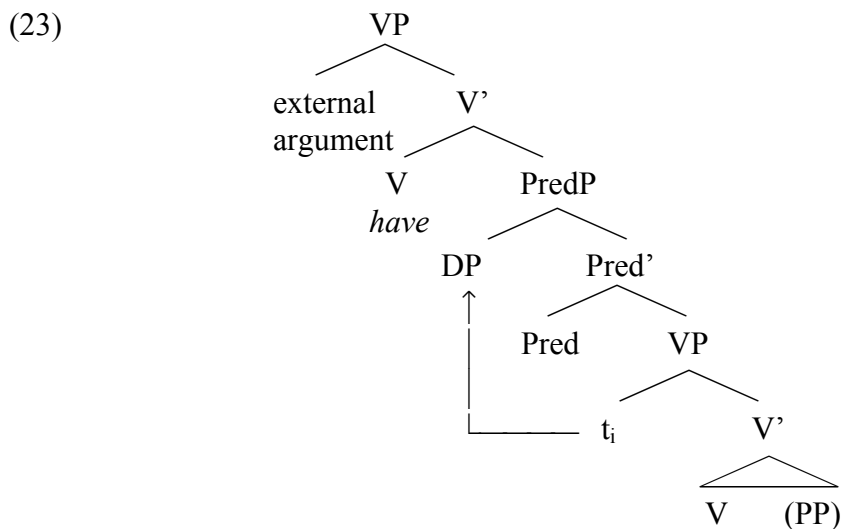
In (23), *have* occupies the position above *Predicate Phrase*, satisfying the structural condition mentioned above. In this structure, the internal argument of the VP moves to [Spec, PredP], and there it is accusative-case licensed. In her analysis, therefore, the English *have* provides normally unaccusative stative predicates with the transitive structure in which accusative case is available. Since Irish does not have a counterpart to *have*, whether overt or covert, stative verbs must remain unaccusative, consequently there are no transitive stative predicates in Irish (Noonan ibid. 341).

   The last piece of evidence that indicates a link between functional heads and structural case comes from Japanese. In Japanese, there is a handful of verbs whose apparent internal argument shows up with nominative case (Kuno 1973, Tada 1991, Koizumi 1993). These are usually stative predicates, such as *waka* 'understand'.

---

[13] Bower (1993), as well as Kratzer (1994), assumes the same restriction.

(24)   Takeshi-wa   Keiko-ni-kimochi-ga/*o   waka   -ru
        T-Top   K-Gen-feelings-Nom/*Acc   understand   -Imp
        'Takeshi understands Keiko's feelings.'

However, when embedded under *sur* 'try', the same verb's internal argument now must show up as accusative case marked (Sugamoto 1982: 436).

(25)   Takeshi-wa   [Keiko-no-kimochi-*ga/o   waka   roo]-to   shi -ta
        T-Top   [K-Gen-feelings-*Nom/Acc   understand   Vol]-Comp   do -Per
        'Takeshi tried to understand Keiko's feelings.'

Here, it is important to note that the matrix verb *sur* 'try' requires its embedded verb to have a particular suffix, (*y*)*oo*, volitional form (Kuno 1973). It is called volitional, because subjects must be volitional with this morpheme.

(26)   a. **Watashi-ga**   kyo-no-yuuhan-o   tsuku   **roo**.
            I-Nom   Today-Gen-dinner-Acc   make   Vol
            'I will cook today's dinner.'

        b.*Kyo-no-ban-wa   **ame-ga**   hu   **roo**
            Today-Gen-night-Top   rain-Nom   fall   Vol
            'Tonight, it will rain.' (intended)

The fact that the availability of accusative case in the complement of *sur* 'try' is parasitic to the presence of the volitional suffix (*y*)*oo* strongly suggests the suffix is somehow responsible for or closely related to the presence of accusative case. One simple way to account for such a relation is to analyzing the volitional suffix as a functional head that creates the structure into which an external argument (agent) is introduced, and is also responsible for providing structural case to an internal argument.

4.3   Summary
Summarizing, whether the functional head providing the structure with which an external argument is introduced is overt or covert in a particular language or in a particular syntactic environment, it appears to be strongly linked to the availability of structural case for an internal argument. As has been mentioned earlier, the apparent connection between these two factors makes the functional head analysis of passive an attractive option. In the following sections, I pursue this option in order to achieve a unified analysis of Japanese passives.

### 5.   The proposal: Japanese passives as the functional heads
Given the evidence suggesting there is a functional head above VP which i) provides the structure with which an extra argument (i.e. an external argument) is introduced and ii) provides structural case to an internal argument, it is a logical step to expect that this functional head plays a key role in accounting for passive, which is an operation

involving exactly these two factors. In this section, I advance an analysis of Japanese passives as functional heads with such functions[14].
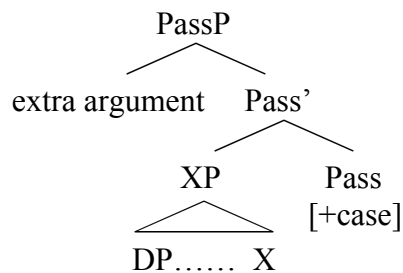
5.1 An outline

Although Japanese passives are not devoid of meaning like the English *have* has been argued to be, they seem to do what *have* and the phonologically null verbal elements in the aforementioned discussions do: provide the structure to host an extra argument.

(27)

```
            PassP
            /    \
extra argument   Pass'
                 /    \
               XP      Pass
              /__\
```
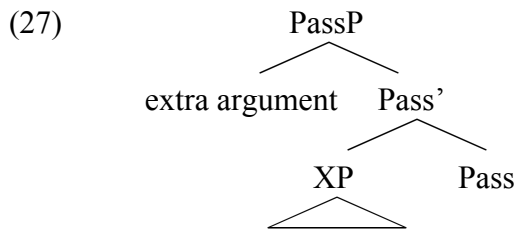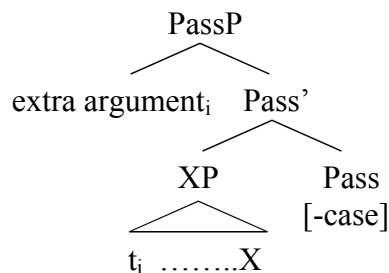
In fact, I argue that all three passives provide the structure to introduce an extra argument, which serves as external arguments of the resulting clauses, but how they end up in [Spec, PassP] crucially differs between *Indirect Passive* and *Direct* or *Niyotte Passive*. The difference is due to a single factor: only *Indirect Passive* is capable of providing structural case to an argument in its complement. As a result, the external argument of *Indirect Passive* is always base-generated, while that of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* is always derived.

(28)   a. Passive with case: b. Passive without case:

```
            PassP                                        PassP
            /    \                                       /    \
extra argument   Pass'                     extra argument_i   Pass'
                 /    \                                        /    \
               XP     Pass                                   XP     Pass
              /__\    [+case]                               /__\    [-case]
           DP...... X                                    t_i ........X
```

I also argue that XP in (28), in principle, can be either with or without a functional projection of its own (VP or vP[15]). However, for an independent reason, *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* are generally restricted to taking VP complement, while *Indirect Passive* may take either VP or vP complement. This analysis of the complement structure, together with the assumption introduced above (i.e. only *Indirect Passive* can provide structural case to its complement) accounts for the differences between *Indirect Passive* on the one hand versus *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* on the other. It also accounts for so-called "possessive passive" as a variant of *Indirect Passive* with no NP-movement, contra Shibatani (1990), Terada (1990), and Kubo (1992).
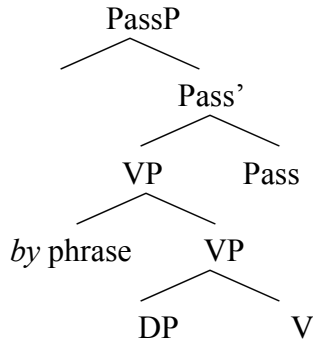
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[14] Thus, the current proposal shares the same intuition with an analysis of Japanese passives as applicative heads (Pylkkänen 2000), although the details of the analyses differ significantly.

[15] Following Chomsky (1995), I use v for the notation of the functional head.

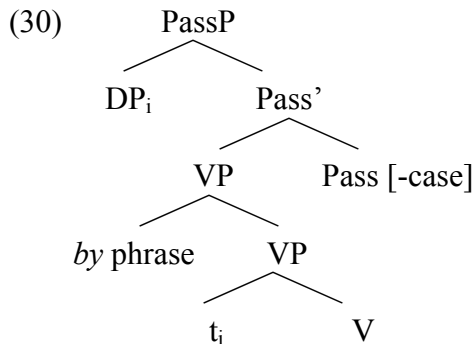### 5.2   *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* **with VP complement**

When *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* take VP complement, they the following structure is realized:

(29)   *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* with VP complement:

```
              PassP
             /     \
                  Pass'
                  /    \
              VP        Pass
             /  \
      by phrase   VP
                 /  \
               DP    V
```

Since the *by* phrase in *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* does not show any sign of subjecthood, as we have witnessed, I assume *by* phrases are adjoined to the VP complement, leaving an account of their differences to section 6.

Since there is no structural case available in this structure, the internal argument of the VP complement must move to the specifier position provided by the projection of passive and eventually moves to [Spec, TP] to bear nominative case.

(30)
```
              PassP
             /     \
          DP_i       Pass'
                    /     \
                VP        Pass [-case]
               /  \
        by phrase   VP
                   /  \
                 t_i    V
```

This movement of the internal argument accounts for the passive subject-internal argument identity, as well as the obligatory null status of the internal argument with *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*.

5.3   *Indirect Passive* **with *v*P complement**

Now, let us consider one case of *Indirect Passive* that has a complement with a functional projection (*v*P) of its own. With its own functional projection, the complement is self-sufficient in terms of case-licensing its internal argument. However, it also has an extra argument in [Spec, *v*P] and this DP needs to be case-licensed. I argue that *Indirect Passive* is capable of providing structural case to it. Under this analysis, the DP which we have been calling the *by* phrase in *Indirect Passive* is in fact an embedded subject (an external argument of the complement). This enables us to trivially account for the fact

that the *by* phrase in *Indirect Passive* shows signs of subjecthood (i.e. the ability to license a numeral quantifier phrase and the reflexive *jibun*) unlike that of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*. Thus, the combination a case-licensing passive, and a complement with its own functional projection accounts for the two unique properties of *Indirect Passive*: its complement's internal argument is licensed in situ and its *by* phrase behaves like an embedded subject[16].

(34)   *Indirect Passive* with an FP complement:
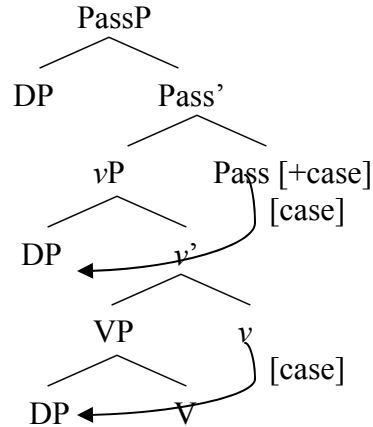
5.4   *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* with VP complement

So far, we have examined only two of the four possible complement structures for passives: the passive with case, or *Indirect Passive*, and *v*P complement, and the passive without case, or *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, and VP complement. Yet in principle, there appears to be nothing that should prevent the other two possibilities.

In fact, evidence suggests that, one of the two other combinations, *Indirect Passive* with VP complement, is possible. I argue that this combination realizes what has been called "possessive passive" (Shibatani 1990, Terada 1990, Kubo 1992).

(35)   a. Taro-ga   kaze-ni   booshi-o   hukitobas   are   -ta
              T-Nom   wind-By   hat-Acc   blow   Pass   -Per
            'Taro had the wind blow his hat off on him. (Kubo 1992: 237)

         b. Taro-wa   man'in densha-de   (otoko-ni)   asi-o   hum -are   -ta
              T-Top   crowded train-Loc   (man-By)   leg-ACC   step -Pass   -Per
            'Taro had his food stepped on (by a man) in a crowed train.' (Shibatani 1990:327)

In both cases, the external argument is interpreted to be the possessor of the internal argument: *the hat* and *foot* are interpreted to belong to *Taro*. What is interesting is that, in these examples, *by* phrases fail to show the signs of subjecthood (Terada 1990).

---

[16] Here, I simply stipulate that the embedded subject of *v*P complement shows up with dative case, while the internal argument shows up with accusative case. I leave this issue for future research.

(36) Takeshi$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni   jibun$_{i/*j}$-no-heya-de   nikki-o   yom -are   -ta
      T$_i$-Nom   H$_j$-By   self$_{i/*j}$-Gen-room-Loc diary-Acc read –Pass -Per
      'Takeshi$_i$ had Hanako$_j$ read the diary in his$_i$/*her$_j$ room.' (Terada 1990: 186)

The fact that the *by* phrase in (36) cannot serve as an antecedent of the reflexive *jibun* suggests that it is an adjunct and the complement is likely to be VP. Primarily because of this observation, previous studies classify the possessive passive with *Direct Passive*, and claim that the external argument in (36) is derived by movement (the references cited above). Nonetheless, there is evidence that argues against such an analysis.

     First of all, if the external argument is assumed to derive from movement, its original position is most likely to be the possessor of the internal argument, given the interpretation. However, the problem is that the alleged original position can be "filled" with an overt element.

(37) Taro$_i$-ga   kaze-ni   **kare$_i$-no-boosi-o**   hukitobas   -are   -ta
      T$_i$-Nom   wind-By   **he$_i$-GEN-hat-Acc**   blow   -Pass   -Per
      'Taro$_i$ got his$_i$ hat blown by the wind.'

This is unexpected if in fact the subject of the possessive passive derives from the possessor position of the internal argument. Moreover, there is evidence suggesting that the subjects of the "possessive passive" behave like base-generated possessor and unlike raised-possessor. Takehisa (2003) proposes two diagnostics for distinguishing a raised possessor from a base-generated possessor: the reflexive *jibun* and relative clause formation. He argues that only the base-generated possessors such as *Tanakasan-ni* 'to Tanaka' and *Nihon-ni* 'to Japan' in (38) are compatible with being an antecedent of the reflexive or in the relative clause formation, as in (39).[17]

(38)   a. **Tanaka-san-ni**   kodomo-ga   i   -ru
          T-Mr.-Dat   child-Nom   be   -Imp
        'Mr. Tanaka has children.' (*base-generated* possessor)

        b.   **Nihon-ni**   tera-ga   takusan   a   -ru
          Japan-Dat   temple-Nom   many   be   -Imp
         'Japan has many temples.'

(39)   a. **Tanaka $_i$-san-ni**   **jibun$_i$-no-kodomo-ga**   i   -ru
          T-Mr.-Dat   self-Gen-child-Nom   be   -Imp
        'Mr. Tanaka has his own children.'

        b. [**Nihon-ni**   pro$_i$ takusan   a   -ru]   tera$_i$
          [Japan-Dat   pro$_i$ many   be   -Imp]   temple$_i$
        'These temples that are numerous in Japan'

---

[17] Following Kuno (1973), Takehisa assumes that relative clauses in Japanese involve *pro*, not an operator.

Raised possessors, *Tanaka-san-ga* 'Tanaka' and *Nihon* 'Japan', in (40) cannot do the same, as in (41).

(40)   a. **Tanaka-san-ga**   se-ga   taka   -i
          T-Mr.-Nom   height-Nom   high   -Imo
          'Mr. Tanaka is tall (Lit. Tanaka's height is high)' (*raised* possessor)
       b. **Nihon-ga**   tera-ga   oo   -i
          Japan-Nom   temple-Nom   many -Imp
          'Japan has many temples.'

(41)   a.***Tanaka$_i$-san-ga**   **jibun$_i$-no-se-ga**   taka   -i
          T-Mr.-Nom   self-Gen-height-Nom   high   -Imp
          'Mr. Tanaka's own height is tall' (intended)

       b. *[**Nihon-ga**   pro$_i$ oo   -i]   tera$_i$
          [Japan-Nom   pro$_i$ oo   -Imp] temple$_i$
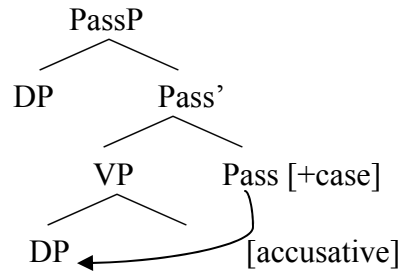   'These temples that are numerous in Japan' (intended)

Takehisa applies these diagnostics to the possessor passive and concludes that the subject of the possessor passive is base-generated, rather than raised.

(42)   a. **Taroo$_i$-ga** Hanako-ni   **jibun$_i$-no-ashi-o**   ker   -are   -ta
          T-Nom   H-By   self-Gen-leg-Acc   kick   -Pass -Per
          'Taroo was affected by Hanako's kicking his leg.'

       b. [**Taroo-ga** Hanako-ni   pro$_i$ ker   -are   -ta]   ashi$_i$
          [T-Nom   H-By   pro$_i$ kick   -Pass -Per] leg$_i$
          'The leg that Taroo got kicked by Hanako'

Clearly, these observations are problematic to the derived subject analysis of cases like (35a) and (35b). For the proposed analysis of *Indirect Passive*, these observations are unproblematic. Under the analysis in which the possessor passive is a case of *Indirect Passive* with VP complement, the passive subject is not derived but base-generated. Thus, it is compatible with the fact that the possessor position of the internal argument in the possessor passive can be filled with an overt pronoun as well as with the results of Takehisa's diagnostics. Given the conclusion that the complement in a possessor passive sentence is VP, structural case that *Indirect Passive* provides is now assigned to the internal argument[18]. Therefore, the fact that the internal argument (the possessed) is accusative-case-licensed in situ is unproblematic.

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[18] Again, we must somehow account for the generalization that structural case is realized as dative with an embedded subject, and accusative with an internal argument.

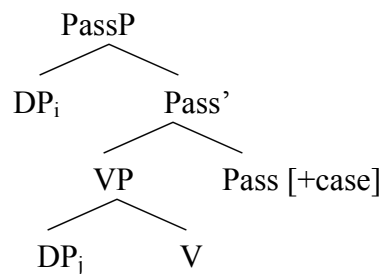(43)   *Indirect Passive* with VP complement (a.k.a. the possessive passive):

```
                    PassP
                   /     \
                 DP       Pass'
                        /      \
                      VP        Pass [+case]
                     /  \           )
                   DP ←———— [accusative]
```

What is left in providing a complete account of the "possessive passive" is the fact that the subject and the internal argument are interpreted to be in the possessor-possessed relation. Here, it is important to point out that, given the complement is VP, the argument *Indirect Passive* provides is not an *extra* argument added to a thematically complete event, as in the case of *v*P complement. It is the external argument of the event denoted by VP complement. Thus, the structure of (43) is just like that of regular transitive predicates[19]. In a sentence with a syntactically simple transitive predicate, the external argument and the internal argument can be interpreted to have a possessor-possessive relation, without any syntactic process that relates them:

(44)   a. Takeshi-ga ashi-o or   -ta
             T-Nom   leg   break   -Per
            'Takeshi broke (his) leg.'

         b. Takeshi-ga boshi-o   nakushi   -ta
             T-Nom   hat-Acc   lose   -Per
            'Takeshi lost (his) hat.'

Thus, I argue that the possessive relation between the subject and the internal argument in so-called possessive passive is established due to the fact that they are in the same clause, and it has nothing to do with movement or any other syntactic operation.

(45)
```
                    PassP
                   /     \
                 DP_i     Pass'
                        /      \
                      VP        Pass [+case]
                     /  \
                  DP_j    V
```
                                   (where DP$_i$ = possessor and DP$_j$ = possessed)

---

[19] However, extra arguments introduced by *Indirect Passive* are always interpreted as experiencers, and never as agents or causers. The different interpretations of external arguments of Japanese passives are addressed in section 7.

Of course, the possessive relation would not be established if the embedded predicate specifically precludes such a relation, as in (46).

(46) Takeshi-ga   atarashii-kuruma-o   kaw   -ta
      T-Nom   new-car-Acc   buy   -Per
      'Takeshi bought a/*his new car.'

The verb *kaw* 'buy' by its very semantics entails that an object prior to the buying event is not in the subject's possession. If our analysis of the "possessive passive" is on the right track, it predicts that, with verbs like *kaw* 'buy' as an embedded verb of *Indirect Passive*, the possessive relation would not hold. The example (47) shows that the prediction is borne out.

(47) Takeshi-ga   (Hanako-ni)   atarashii-kuruma-o   kaw   are   -ta
      T-Nom   (H-By)   new-car-Acc   buy   Pass   -Per
      'Takeshi had Hanako buy a new car.' (Takeshi ≠ the possessor of the car)

In contrast, the possessor-raising analysis of (46) wrongly predicts that there can be a possessor-possessed relation between *Takeshi* and *atarashii-kuruma* 'new car', since there is nothing that prevents Takeshi from originating as the possessor of the internal argument. In addition, the VP complement analysis of the "possessor passive" also predicts that *by* phrases can be either a *ni*-phrase or *niyotte*-phrase, since these are analyzed to be adjuncts adjoined to VP complement. Indeed, examples of the "possessor passive" with *niyotte*-phrase are attested (Kuroda 1992: 214).

(48) Watashi-wa   Hanako-*niyotte*   akanbo-o   tasuke   -rare   -ta
      I-Top   H-By   baby-Acc   save   -Pass   -Per
      'I had Hanako save my baby.'

Thus, I contend that the alleged possessive passive is a case of *Indirect Passive* with VP complement.

5.5. *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* with *v*P complement
The last combination to consider is *Direct* and *Niyotte* Passive with *v*P complement. If *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* take a complement with a functional projection of its own, the external argument of the embedded *v*P fails to get case-licensed in situ, since these two passives lack the ability to provide structural case. The only option for the external argument of *v*P complement is to move to the specifier position of the passive phrase, just like an internal argument has to do in VP complement of these passives. Thus, our analysis predicts that there should be cases of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* with an internal argument licensed in situ, as in (49) below:

(49)
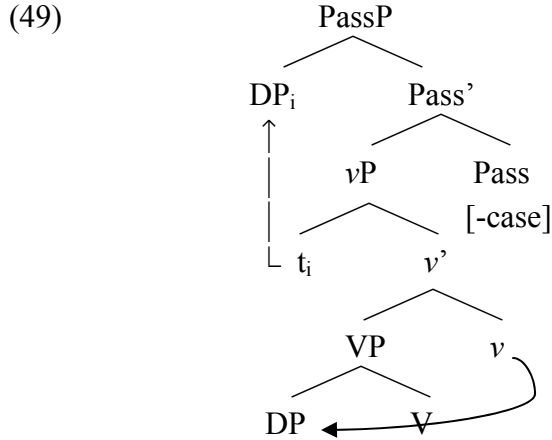
The structure in (49) entails an interpretation in which an external argument of the FP complement is interpreted to be the same as the passive subject, as in (50):

(50)　*Takeshi$_i$-ga　dareka-ni/niyotte $[_{FP}$ t$_i$ $[_{VP}$ kuruma-o　　nusum]]-are　-ta
　　　T$_i$-Nom　　someone-By/By　$[_{FP}$ t$_i$ $[_{VP}$ car-Acc　　　steal]] -Pass -Per
　　　'*Takeshi$_i$ had himself$_i$ steal (his$_i$) car by someone else.'

Such an interpretation is clearly inconsistent with the contribution of the *by* phrase adjunct, which indicates that some unknown person caused the stealing event[20]. The only possible case of a grammatical sentence with this structure is the case where *by* phrase also refers to the same individual:

(51)　Takeshi$_i$-ga　　jibun(-jishin)-ni/niyotte $[_{FP}$ t$_i$ $[_{VP}$ kuruma-o nusum]]-are　-ta
　　　T$_i$-Nom　　　self(-self)-By/By　　　$[_{FP}$ t$_i$ $[_{VP}$ car-Acc steal]] -Pass　-Per
　　　'Takeshi$_i$ had himself$_i$ steal (his$_i$) car by himself$_i$.'

Although (51) denotes a highly implausible scenario, it is not impossible to imagine such a situation (i.e. Takeshi has had his car stolen yesterday. He watches surveillance video in order to find out who stole his car. However, it shows that he himself was stealing his car, although he has no memory of doing such a thing.). In so far as (51) is acceptable, we must conclude that the structure in (49) is admissible. However, in all other cases, it yields ungrammatical sentences. Thus, I conclude that *v*P complement of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* is ruled out for an independent reason.

5.6　Summary

In this section, I have pursued an analysis of Japanese passives as the functional heads which provide the necessary structure to introduce an extra argument. I have shown how a single assumption, that only *Indirect Passive* is capable of proving structural case, enables us to account for a number of differences between *Indirect Passive* on the one hand and *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* on the other.

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[20] Although the *by* phrase is an adjunct with *Direct* and *Niyotte Passives*, a given instance of these passives can be diagnosed to be either *Direct* or *Niyotte Passive* only with presence of a *ni*-phrase or *niyotte* phrase.

As *Indirect Passive* can assign structural case to its complement, arguments are always case-licensed within the complement whether it takes a complement with or without a functional projection of its own (*v*P or VP). Thus, a subject of *Indirect Passive* is never derived. The combination of *Indirect Passive* and FP complement accounts for the properties that are unique to *Indirect Passive*: i) subjects of *Indirect Passive* show no sign of being derived subjects and are not directly involved with the event denoted by the passivized verb but are rather extra participants, ii) *Indirect Passive* can license an internal argument of the passivized verb is situ and iii) the *by* phrase of *Indirect Passive* shows signs of subjecthood. I have also argued that the possessive passive, which has been argued to involve a derived subject (Shibatani 1990, Terada 1990, Kubo 1992), is in fact a case of *Indirect Passive* with VP complement. This analysis accounts for the observations that i) the *by* phrase of a "possessive passive" does not show signs of subjecthood and ii) the internal argument of the passivized verb in the "possessive passive" is accusative-case licensed in situ. The possessive relation between the passive subject and the internal argument is argued to derive from the structure of *Indirect Passive* with VP complement, in which the argument introduced by passive and the internal argument belong to the same simplex clause, i.e. are mono-clausal, just like the subject and the object of a sentence with a simple transitive predicate.

Since *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* cannot provide structural case to their complement, whether they take VP or *v*P complement, there is always an argument of the complement that is not case-licensed within the complement itself. It is an internal argument in VP complement, and an external argument in *v*P complement. This argument must move to [Spec, PassP] and eventually to [Spec, TP] to get licensed with nominative case. In case of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* taking VP complement, this movement of an internal argument accounts for the properties that are associated with these two passives: i) their subject is always identified with the internal argument of the passivized verb, ii) the internal argument of the passivized verb must be null, and iii) their *by* phrase acts like an adjunct. The combination of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* and *v*P complement, on the other hand, is argued to be ruled out due to an incompatibility of an interpretation in which the external argument of *v*P complement and the *by*-phrase independently introduce the agent and the causer of the same event. Table 6 below summarizes all the combinations between each of the passives and two possible complement structures, *v*P and VP:

Table 6:

Complement/Passive	*Indirect Passive*	*Direct Passive*	*Niyotte Passive*
VP complement	✓ (possessive passive)	✓	✓
*v*P complement	✓	✗	✗

6.   Accounting for the differences between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*

Our analysis so far has accounted for most of the differences and similarities among Japanese passives with two key assumptions: i) Japanese passives are functional heads which provide a structure with which an extra argument is introduced to an existing structure, and ii) only one type of Japanese passive is capable of also providing structural case to its complement.

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Yet so far, our analysis does not distinguish *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* from each other. Under the proposed analysis, these passives have the same structure except for the marking of the *by* phrase. Recall that there are two key observations that distinguish *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* from each other. The first one is the *by* phrase marking and the second one is that only *Direct Passive* imposes selectional restrictions on its subjects. Thus, the challenge in accounting for the differences between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* lies in connecting these two seemingly unrelated factors.

In this section, I first defend the proposed analysis in which *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* are derived in essentially the same way. The only difference, I argue, is that subjects of *Direct Passive* receive two semantic roles by moving from one argument position to another argument position. This is an apparent violation of the theta criterion (Chomsky 1981); nonetheless, I defend this analysis following a recently developed analysis of control as NP movement (O'Neill 1995, Hornstein 1999, 2003) [21]. The lack of reconstruction with *Direct Passive* is also argued to be a direct consequence of movement involving two semantic roles, following Hornstein (1998). Second, I develop an account for the difference in the interpretation of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* which enables us to connect the interpretation of subjects and the difference in the *by* phrase marking. I argue that the *by* phrase for *Direct Passive*, the *ni* phrase, creates an eventive interpretation of VP complement, which in turn enforces the affected interpretation of *Direct Passive* subjects. In contrast, the *by* phrase for *Niyotte Passive*, *niyotte*-phrase, only adds a causer argument to VP complement and does not imposes an eventive interpretation. Thus, *Niyotte Passive* sentences do not enforce affected interpretation of their subjects.

6.1 Movement of NPs with multiple semantic roles:

In the proposed analysis, subjects of both *Direct* and *Niyotte Passives* derive via movement from their base-generated internal argument position. Yet the crucial difference is the subjects' interpretation: only *Direct Passive* imposes selectional restrictions on its subjects. This contrast is directly analogous to well-known control/raising dichotomy. In Government and Binding and P & P tradition, control and raising predicates have been analyzed to involve two distinct mechanisms. In control, an argument of a control verb is base-generated and it shares its identity with or controls an argument in its complement, which is an obligatorily null element, PRO.

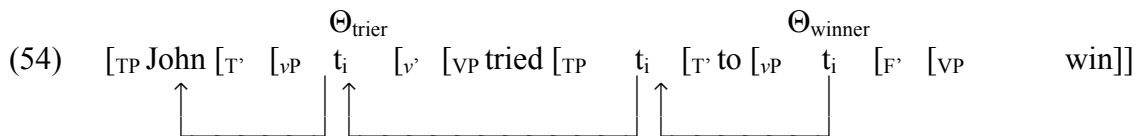(52)   John$_i$ tried   [PRO$_i$ to   win]

In raising, raising verbs are analyzed to be basically unaccusative verb, whose external argument position is non-thematic. An argument of its complement moves to occupy this position. Therefore, its original position is occupied with an NP trace.

(53)   John$_i$ seemed [t$_i$ to   care]

This dual analysis is necessitated primarily by the theta criterion, which requires a single argument to bear only one semantic role. Yet a recent development in the *Minimalist Program* (MP) has offered an alternative to the traditional PRO vs. NP-trace analysis of control and raising. O'Neill (1995) and Hornstein (1999, 2003) independently propose that control should be analyzed to involve NP (DP) movement, just like raising, and the only difference between control and raising is whether the higher argument position is theta marked or not. Such an analysis of control has become possible within MP, due to the abandonment of D-structure, which effectively eliminated theta-criterion from the theory (see Hornstein 1998, 1999, and 2003 for the details of the arguments). It has also been argued, independently of an analysis of control, that movement into a theta-position must be possible (Gonzales 1990, Boškovic 1994)[22].

   The movement analysis of control is argued to enjoy conceptual advantages over the PRO analysis for several reasons. Most notably, it eliminates theory internal formatives such as 1) PRO, which has been proposed sorely to account for control phenomena, and 2) null case, which has been proposed to account for PRO's limited distribution as subject of a non-finite complement (Chomsky and Lasnik 1995, Boškovic 1997, Martin 2001). It also avoids stipulating a control module that accounts for the interpretation of PRO. The phonological covertness, locally bound distribution, and specific interpretation of PRO are all accounted for under the assumption that it is an instance of NP-movement. Since PRO is now identified as an NP-trace, it is not pronounced, is locally bound, and is identified with the closest possible c-commanding antecedent[23]. Combining the movement analysis of control with the theory of functional projection that we have adopted, we have the following (54) for the derivation of an English sentence with a control verb, i.e. *try*, as in (52).

(54) $[_{TP}$ John $[_{T'}$ $[_{vP}$ t_i $[_{v'}$ $[_{VP}$ tried $[_{TP}$ t_i $[_{T'}$ to $[_{vP}$ t_i $[_{F'}$ $[_{VP}$ win$]]$

with Θ_{trier} and Θ_{winner} marked above the derivation.

John, starting out from the embedded [Spec, *v*P], receives the first argument role, *winner*, then it moves to [Spec, TP] presumably due to the EPP. It then moves to the matrix [Spec, *v*P] in order to receive the second argument role, *trier*, eventually landing in the matrix [Spec, TP] to be case-licensed there.

   Adopting the movement theory of control allows us to straightforwardly account for the differences and similarities between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, while maintaining that both types of the passives involve the same mechanism: A-movement. Moreover, it also enables us account for one of the contrast in *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* for which we have not provided an account. Recall that only *Niyotte Passive* shows reconstruction effects with its subject (Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992, Hoji to appear).

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[22] Boškovič (1994) analyses cases of restructuring and root modals to involve NP movement from a theta-position to another theta position of a different predicate.
[23] For discussions of potential problems in the movement analysis of control with respect to the Minimal Distance Principle (Rosenbaum 1968), see Landau (2000, 2003), Culicover and Jackendoff (2001), and Boeckx and Horsntein (2003).

(55)   a. Sannin-no-gakusei-ga   Ito-sensei-niyotte   maikai   sas   -are   -ta
        Three-Gen-students-Nom Prof.Ito-By   everytime call   -Pass -Per
        'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.'
        {Three > every, every > three} (*Niyotte Passive*)

        b. Sannin-no-gakusei-ga   Ito-sensei-ni   maikai   sas   -are   -ta
        Three-Gen-students-Nom Prof. Ito-By   everytime   call   -Pass -Per
        'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.'
        {Three > every, *<u>every > three</u>} ' (*Direct Passive*)

As is well-known, control verbs fail to show reconstruction effects, unlike raising verbs (Burzio 1986):

(56)   a. Someone seemed to show up for every class meeting.
        {someone > every, every > someone}

        b. Someone tried to show up for every class meeting.
        {someone > every, *every > someone}

In the traditional PRO/NP-trace account of the control/raising dichotomy, the difference in the availability of scope ambiguity is attributed to the lack of NP movement in control structure. In other words, scope ambiguity obtains only with raising because the matrix subject is assumed to originate in the embedded subject position, where it can be under the scope of the other quantifier in the complement.

(57)   a. Someone$_i$ seemed [t$_i$ to show up for every class meeting].
        b. Someone$_i$ tried [PRO$_i$ to show up for every class meeting].

If both control and raising involve NP-movement, as argued by the movement analysis of control, how could this contrast in reconstruction effects be accounted for?

    Hornstein (1998) argues that this difference can be captured by assuming that all theta roles must be overtly expressed (i.e. cannot be deleted) (ibid 109). With a raising predicate, since the matrix subject does not receive a theta role, it can be deleted and create reconstruction effects (56a). In contrast, with a control predicate, deletion of the matrix subject results in deletion of the matrix external theta role, which is deemed as impossible. Therefore, reconstruction effects are not obtained.

(58)   a. ~~Someone$_i$~~ seemed someone$_i$ (Θ) to show up for every class meeting.
        {every > someone}

        b. *~~Someone$_i$~~ (Θ) tried someone$_i$ (Θ) to show up for every class meeting.
        {*every > someone}

If *Direct Passive* involves the movement of an internal argument of a VP complement to [Spec, PassP], where it receives a second semantic role, it makes *Direct Passive* just like

a control verb. Therefore, adopting Hornstein's account, we expect reconstruction effects with *Niyotte Passive*, but not with *Direct Passive*.

6.2 Interpretation of external arguments of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*

I have maintained that *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* involve the same derivational process. The only difference, apart from the interpretation of the subjects, is the *by* phrases.

(59) a. Takeshi$_i$-ga Koroshiya-**ni** t_i neraw -are   -ta
         T$_i$-Nom   Assassin-By t_i target -Pass -Perf
         'Takeshi was targeted by an assassin.' (*Direct Passive*)

      b. Takeshi$_i$-ga Koroshiya-**niyotte** t_i neraw -are   -ta
         T$_i$-Nom   assassin-By t_i target -Pass -Perf
         'Takeshi was targeted by an assassin.' (*Niyotte Passive*)

Thus, the null hypothesis is that the interpretation of the external argument comes from differences in the two *by* phrases. In fact, evidence suggests that the *by* phrases of the two passives differ with respect to their contribution to the interpretation of passive sentences as a whole. Although both *by* phrases are adjuncts, in *Direct Passive* the *by* phrase contributes an eventive interpretation, in a similar way as the English *by* phrase and other appropriate adjuncts contribute the eventive interpretation to the passive form of certain verbs, which would otherwise be unacceptable (Grimshaw and Vikner 1993). In fact, I argue that the eventive interpretation provided by the *by* phrase in *Direct Passive*, the *ni* phrase, is responsible for creating the affected interpretation of external arguments of *Direct Passive*. In contrast, the *by* phrase in *Niyotte Passive*, the *niyotte* phrase, contributes an *agent/causer* as an adjunct but does not impose an eventive interpretation of the passive sentence as a whole. Therefore, a subject of *Niyotte Passive* does not receive an extra argument role.

   Grimshaw and Vikner (1993), henceforth G & V, discuss cases of adjuncts providing an eventive interpretation to passive sentences. First, G & V point out that there are English verbs which require the presence of a *by* phrase when they are passivized[24].

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[24] G & V also discuss cases where the progressive and perfective save otherwise unacceptable passive sentences without the presence of any adjunct (G & V 1993: 151).

(i)   a. *This film was developed.
         b. This film was developed *in Geneva*.
         c. This film *has been* developed.
         d. This film *is being* developed.

Interestingly, the same effect can be seen with Japanese passive.

(ii)   a. Kono-ie-wa   itabei-**ni**   kakom   -are   -***ta/te**   **-iru**
            This-house-Top   wooden_fence-by   surround   -Pass   -*Perf/TE -Imp
            'This house is surrounded by a wooden fence.' (Inoue 1976: 84)

         b. Sono-hako-wa   shiroi-nuno-**ni**   oow   -are   -***ta/te**   **-ita**
            that-box-Top   while-cloth-By   cover   -Pass   -*Perf/TE   Per
            'That cloth was covered with white cloth.' (Kuroda 1992: 204)

(60)   a. *This house was built/designed/constructed.
       b. This house was built/designed/constructed by a French architect.
       c. *(The best) tomatoes are grown.
       d. (The best) tomatoes are grown by organic farmers.

Interestingly, (60a) and (60c) can also be saved by other kinds of adjuncts which can be of a variety of semantic types, such as temporal, spatial or manner:

(61)   This house was built yesterday/in a bad part of town/only with great difficulty.
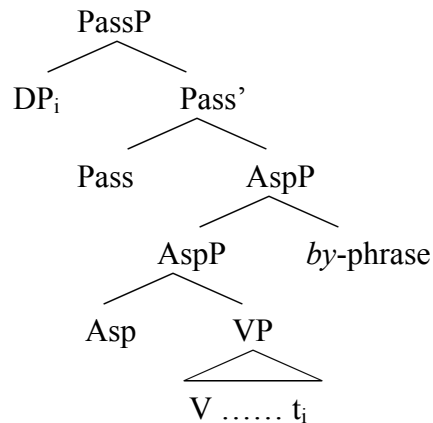
G & V claim that verbs requiring an adjunct in their passive form are accomplishment verbs, which can be analyzed to have a complex event structure, in the sense of Pustejovsky (1991). In Pustejovsky's analysis of event structure, accomplishment verbs have a structure consisting of both *process* and *state* components. Adopting Pustejovsky's analysis of accomplishment verbs, G & V propose that all parts of an event must be "identified", and this requirement accounts for the ungrammaticality of (60a) and (60c). Specifically, when an accomplishment verb is passivized, only the theme argument of the verb is structurally identified, and the process part of the event goes unidentified. However, the adjuncts in (60b), (60d), and (61) identify the *agent*, *time*, *space*, and *manner* of the process, respectively, helping "identify" the process part of the sub-events structurally. As a result, "both aspectual components are identified" (ibid. 144).

  Based on G & V's analysis of *by* phrase and other "event identifying" adjuncts, I propose a structural implementation of their proposal by adopting the syntactic representation of event structure advanced in a number of studies (Travis 1992, 2000, Ramchand 1993, 1997, Borer 1994, Ritter and Rosen 1997, 1998, among others). Specifically, I argue that these adjuncts help identify the level of projection where event structure is encoded, or *aspect phrase*, by being adjoined to such a projection. Under this analysis, an English passive sentence with an appropriate adjunct has the structure in (62a), while one without such an adjunct has the structure in (62b)[25].
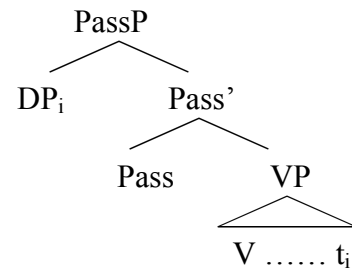

(iia) and (iib) with the *te-iru* form are cited as apparent counterexamples to the generalization that un-affected entities can only be the subject of *Niyotte Passive*. Notice that these examples have a *ni*-phrase as their *by* phrase (Kuroda 1992). However, with these examples, it is crucial that the passive is in the *te –iru* form, which denotes either the progressive-state or a result state. With the perfective form, -*ta*, the subjects must be interpreted to be affected by the *events* of surrounding or covering; thus, these sentences are unacceptable, as indicated. In both English and Japanese, therefore, the progressive morpheme, which is generally analyzed as a viewpoint aspect marker, in the sense of Smith (1991), appears to alter the interpretation of passive subjects. I leave this issue of progressive and perfective and their relation to interpretation of external argument for future research.

[25] For the sake of simplicity, I ignore the more complex issues with the participle form in English passive.

(62)　a. Eventive passive　　　　　　　　b. Non-eventive (stative) passive

PassP
├─ DP$_i$
└─ Pass'
　　├─ Pass
　　└─ AspP
　　　　├─ AspP
　　　　│　├─ Asp
　　　　│　└─ VP
　　　　│　　　V …… t$_i$
　　　　└─ *by*-phrase

PassP
├─ DP$_i$
└─ Pass'
　　├─ Pass
　　└─ VP
　　　　V …… t$_i$

I argue that the difference between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* in Japanese is basically the same as the difference between the eventive and non-eventive passives in English illustrated above. The crucial difference between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, I argue, is that the *by* phrase in *Direct Passive* is an event-identifying adjunct, while the *by* phrase of *Niyotte Passive* is not. One piece of evidence for such an analysis comes from the differing behavior of these *by* phrases in nominal environment. It is well-known within the literature on Japanese lexical semantics that there is a class of verbs in Japanese with a unique aspectual property. This group of verbs is characterized as always requiring the *–te iru* form (Kindaichi 1976, Jacobson 1984, Yanagita 1998).

(63)　a. Biru-ga　　　　　　eki-mae-ni　　　　　sobie　-*ta/*ru/te-iru/te-ita
　　　　Building-Nom　　　station-front-Loc　　tower　-*Per/*Imp/TE-Imp/TE-Per
　　　　'The buildings are/were towering in front of the station.'

　　　b. Anote-no-kuruma-wa　　　arihure　　　-*ta/*ru/te-iru/te-ita
　　　　That_kind-Gen-car-Nom　　be common　-*Per/*Imp/TE-Imp/TE-Per
　　　　'That kind of car is/was commonplace."

For the sake of the current discussion, I simply assume that aspectual properties of these verbs somehow resist perfective (*-ta*) and imperfective (*-ru*). What interests us with these verbs is that their aspectual restriction is suspended in the nominal domain:

(64)　a. [eki　mae-ni　　　　subie　**-ta**]　biru
　　　　[station-front-Loc　tower　-Per]　building
　　　　'These buildings that are towering in front of the station"

　　　b. [arihure　　　　　　**-ta**]　kuruma
　　　　[be-common　　　　　-Per]　car
　　　　'(a type of) car that is commonplace'

As can be seen above, in a relative clause, these verbs can appear without the *te-iru* form. I take this lack of aspectual restriction in the nominal domain to be due to the absence of the event structure in the nominal environment. If this assumption is on the right track, and our proposal about the difference between the two *by* phrases is correct, together these two assumptions predict different distributions of these *by* phrases in nominal environment: the *by* phrase in *Direct Passive*, the *ni*-phrase, would be incompatible with nominal environments, whereas the *by* phrase of *Niyotte Passive*, the *niyotte*-phrase, should be indifferent to the difference between the verbal and nominal environments. In fact, this is exactly what we find. The *niyotte*-phrase can appear inside of an NP and interpreted to denote a *causer* or *agen*, whereas the *ni*-phrase cannot (Gouro 2004).

(65)   a. [$_{NP}$ teki-**niyotte**   -no   koogeki]
               enemy-By   -Gen   attack

         b.*[$_{NP}$ teki-**ni**   (-no)   koogeki]
               enemy-By   -Gen   attack
          'An attack by the enemy'

As an event-identifying adjunct, the *ni*-phrase enforces an eventive interpretation of a VP complement of *Direct Passive*, which in turn enforces the "affected" interpretation of its external argument. On the other hand, a n*iyotte*-phrase contributes nothing but an *agent/causer* as an adjunct. It does not create an eventive interpretation of the complement; thus, the external argument of *Niyotte Passive* does not receive the "affected" interpretation.

(66)   a. *Direct Passive* = eventive   b. *Niyotte Passive* = stative
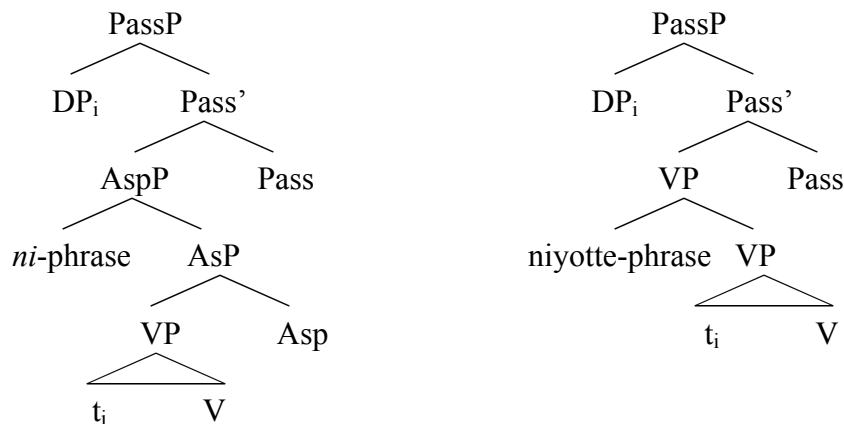
Under the proposed account of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, therefore, the difference between the two *by* phrases occurring with two types of passives creates a difference in the aspectual interpretation of their complements: the complement of *Direct Passive* is interpreted as eventive, while the complement of *Niyotte Passive* is interpreted as stative. The particular aspectual property of the complement in turn determines the interpretation of their external arguments. Thus, the proposed analysis enables us to make a connection

between two key observations which distinguish *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*: 1) the difference in *by* phrase marking and 2) the interpretation of the passive subjects.

6.3   Summary
In this section, I have proposed an analysis of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* which allows us to account for their differences while maintaining the assumption that their structure is basically the same. In terms of their derivation, I have maintained that both *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* involve NP-movement of an internal argument to the external argument position.   The only difference is that the external argument receives an additional interpretation in [Spec, PassP] with *Direct Passive*. As such, the movement of the internal argument in *Direct Passive* realizes control relation, which is analyzed as NP-movement from one argument position to another argument position (Honstein 1999, 2003). The same movement realizes a raising relation with *Niyotte Passive*, since the external argument position of *Niyotte Passive* is non-thematic. By analyzing their difference as due to the presence/absence of an additional argument role in the landing position, the proposed analysis can also offer an account of the lack of reconstruction effects observed by Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) and Hoji (to appear) by adopting Hornstein (1998). The proposed analysis also successfully accounts for the apparent connection between the difference in *by* phrase marking and the interpretation of external arguments with *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*. While the *by* phrase in *Direct Passive*, the *ni*-phrase, creates an eventive interpretation of the complement, *by* phrase in *Niyotte Passive*, *niyotte*-phrase, does not. The eventive interpretation of the complement created by the *by* phrase of a *Direct Passive* enforces an eventive interpretation of a *Direct Passive* sentence as a whole, in which the external arguments receives an "affected" interpretation.

7   Interpretation of external arguments of *Indirect Passive*
In this last section, I address the specifics of the mechanism by which an external argument of *Indirect Passive* receives its interpretation. First, following studies of the English verb *have*, which allows different interpretations of its subjects depending on the content of its complement (Belvin 1993, Harley 1995, 1998, Ritter and Rosen 1993, 1997), I argue that *Indirect Passive*'s external arguments receive an *experiencer* interpretation in two different ways: i) when there is a readily conceivable relation between the passive subject and an embedded argument, it provokes an *experiencer* interpretation of the external argument, and ii) when there is no such relation, the *experiencer* is due to the fact that the complement denotes atelic situation, either activity or state, a property which appears to distinguish *Indirect Passive* from the causative – (*s*)*ase*. In light of this discussion, I address an implication of the proposed analysis in comparison to analyses of external-argument-introducing functional heads in general. I argue that the compositional analysis of the external argument's interpretation advanced in this study is superior to analyses which assume different functional heads introduce different semantic types of external arguments (e.g. *agent*, *causer*, *experiencer*, etc.). The former reflects the intuition that semantic roles of external arguments are determined by the content of VP and not by the V alone (Marantz 1984) and also avoids potential complications due to selectional restrictions between a particular external-argument-introducing head and its VP complement.   The latter, in contrast, faces selectional restriction problems which may complicate accounts positing functional heads.

7.1   Interpretation of external arguments of *Indirect Passive*
I have argued so far that external arguments of *Indirect Passive* are always base-generated in [Spec, PassP]. Although this is invariant, the structure of the rest of a sentence with *Indirect Passive* may differ, and thereby contribute differently to the interpretation of the external argument. First, when an instance of *Indirect Passive* contains a readily conceivable association between the passive subject and an embedded argument, as in the possessor-possessed relation, I assume that such an association by itself is enough to provide the *experiencer* interpretation to *Indirect Passive* subjects. This analysis is inspired by the analyses of the English verb *have* and its *experiecer* subject interpretation, proposed in Belvin (1993), Rosen and Ritter (1997) and Harley (1998). As is well-known, an external argument of *have* can bear a variety of different thematic role, such as *causer*, *experiencer*, *location*, and *possessor* (Belvin 1993).

(67)   a. John had his students read three articles. (causer)
          b. John had his car stolen. (experiencer)
          c. John has his had on. (location)
          d. John has a sister. (possessor).

It has been pointed out by the above authors that the *experiencer*-subject *have* often involves a binding of an embedded element by the subject (Harley 1998).
(68)   a. Asterix$_i$ had the Romans capture Obelix on him$_i$.
          b. Asterix$_i$ had Obelix step on his$_i$ foot.

There are examples of *experiencer*-subject *have* that do not involve a pronoun co-indexed with the matrix subject, such as (68). Even in these examples, however, there is an association implied between the subject and an internal argument (Harley 1998)

(69)   a. The provost had all the alumni retract their donations today.
          b. The Speaker of the House had the congressmen walk out yesterday.

Thus, what seems important is a readily conceivable connection between the matrix subject and an argument in the complement. I assume the same with *Indirect Passive* when there is a readily conceivable association between the relevant arguments. It is important to note that examples with no association between the passive subject and an internal argument are rare. Examples cited in the literature as *Indirect Passive* more often than not require an association between the subject and an argument in the complement.

(70)   a. Hanako-ga   Taro-ni   iedes   -are   -ta
             H-Nom   T-By   run_away   -Pass   -Per
             'Hanako had Taro run away from home on her.'

         b. Taro-ga   Hanako-ni   shinkoshukyo-o   hajime -rare   -ta
            T-Nom   H-By   new_cult-Acc   begin -Pass   -Per
            'Taro was affected by Hanako's joining a new cult.' (Kubo 1992: 238)

    c. Taro-wa   tsuma-ni   doku-o   nom -are -ta
      T-Top   wife-By   poison-Acc drink -Pass -Per
      'Taro was affected by his wife taking poison.' (Dubinsky 1997: 16)

All of the above are cited as examples lacking a possessor-possessed relation. Nevertheless, an association clearly exists between the subject and an embedded argument in these examples. The content of the complement in (70a) strongly suggests that *Hanako* also lives in the same home. In (70b), the *experiencer*-subject interpretation would not make sense if they (*Taro* and *Hanako*) were complete strangers. In (70c), the *experiencer*-subject reading of the subject, *Taro*, obtains precisely because it is his wife who took poison, although the poison does not have to be his.

  There are, however, cases of *Indirect Passive* which do not involve any relevant association between the subject and an internal argument.

(71)   a. Taro-ga   ame-ni   hur   -are   -ta
          T-Nom   rain-By   fall   -Pass -Per
          'Tar had rain fall on him.'

        b. Hanako-ga noraneko-ni hitobanjuu   nak   -are   -ta.
          H-Nom   stray_cat-BY all night   cry   -Pass -Per
          'Hanako had a stray cat cry all night on her.' (Kubo 1992: 238)

Both *rain* and *a stray cat* by the very nature of what they are resist having an applicable association with the subjects of these sentences. Thus, the *experiencer* interpretation of the subject in these cases clearly does not derive from the binding of an embedded element by the subject. A close examination of these examples reveals that their complements share a common property, which is particularly illuminating in light of the analyses of English *have* cited above. The studies of *have* introduced earlier claim that the complement of *experiencer*-subject *have* is always non-eventive or stative, in contrast to *causative*-subject *have*, whose complement must be eventive [26]. Examining the complements of *Indirect Passive* in (71a) and (72b) reveals that there is an interesting restriction with aspectual property of these complements. The verbs in these complements, although they are not lexically restricted to be so, can only be interpreted as atelic, either state or activity, in this particular environment. First of all, the embedded predicates in (71a) and (71b), *hur* 'fall' and *nak* 'cry', can normally be interpreted as either an achievement or an activity, depending on what co-occurs with them.

(72)   a. Ame-ga   *tsuini*   hur   -ta
         Rain-Nom finally   fall   -Per
       'It finally rained.' (accomplishment)

        b. Ame-ga   *ichi-jikan*   hur   -ta
         rain-Nom one_hour   fall   -Per
       'It rained for one hour.' (activity)

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[26] Harley (1998) claims that the causative-subject *have* obtains with a stative complement as well.

(73)   a. Neko-ga   *tsuini* nak   -ta
          Cat-Nom   finally cry   -Per
          'The cat finally meowed.' (accomplishment)

       b. Neko-ga   *ichi-jikan*   nak   ita
          cat-Nom   one_hour   cry   -Per
          'The cat cried for one hour.' (activity)

In (72a) and (73a), the adverbial implying a change of state, *tsuini* 'finally', contributes to the achievement interpretation of these verbs. In (72b) and (73b), in contrast, the durative adverbial, X-*jikan* 'for X amount of hour', contributes to the activity interpretation of the same verbs.   What is interesting is that when these predicates are embedded under *Indirect Passive*, as in (71) above, they can only be interpreted as activity (or state). Thus, *tsuini* 'finally', the adverbial only compatible with the accomplishment interpretation of these verbs, makes a whole sentence with *Indirect Passive* unacceptable.
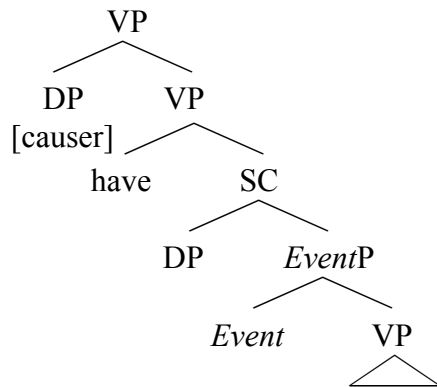
(74)   a.*Taro-ga   ame-ni ***tsuini*** hur   -are   -ta
          T-Nom   rain-By finally fall   -Pass -Per
          'Taro had rain finally fall on him.'

       b. Taro-ga   ame-ni   *ichi-jikan*   hur   -are   -ta
          T-Nom   rain-By   one_hour   fall   -Pass   -Per
          'Tar had rain fall on him for one hour.'

(75)   a.*Hanako-ga noraneko-ni   ***tsuini***   nak -are -ta.
          H-Nom   stray_cat-BY finally   cry -Pass -Per
          'Hanako had a stray cat finally cry on her.'

       b. Hanako-ga noraneko-ni   *ichi-jikan*   nak   -are   -ta.
          H-Nom   stray_cat-BY one_hour   cry   -Pass   -Per
          'Hanako had a stray cat cry one hour on her.'

This property of *Indirect Passive* should be contrasted with lack of the same behavior with the causative morpheme, -(*s*)*ase*, which is compatible with *tsuini* 'finally'.
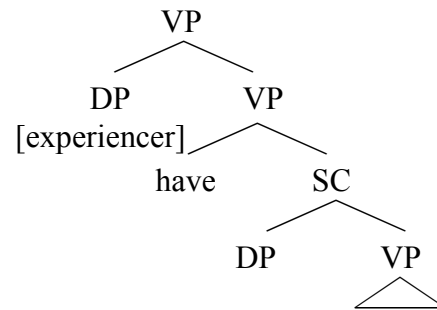
(76)   a. Taro-ga   ame-o   *tsuini* hur   -ase   -ta
          T-Nom   rain-Acc   finally fall   -Caus -Per
          'Taro caused it to finally rain.'

       b. Hanako-ga noraneko-o   *tsuini*   nak -ase -ta.
          H-Nom   stray_cat-Acc finally   cry -Caus -Per
          'Hanako caused a stray cat to finally cry.'

These observations suggest that the *experiencer*-subject interpretation of *Indirect Passive* is likely due to the aspectual property of its complement, as with *experiencer*-subject of the English *have*. While an exact compositional semantics of *experiencer*-subject interpretation of *Indirect Passive* subjects is beyond this paper's scope, in structural terms, there are at least two potential accounts in the literature on *have*. To Harley (1998), the difference in the structure of a stative and eventive complement of *have* is the presence of an *event* head in the complement of the *causer*-subject have, which introduces an event argument to a structure.

(77)   a. eventive complement: b. stative complement:

```
           VP                                    VP
          /  \                                  /  \
        DP    VP                              DP    VP
     [causer] / \                        [experiencer] / \
          have    SC                          have    SC
               /  \                                  /  \
             DP   EventP                           DP    VP
                  /  \                                   /_\
              Event   VP
                     /_\
```
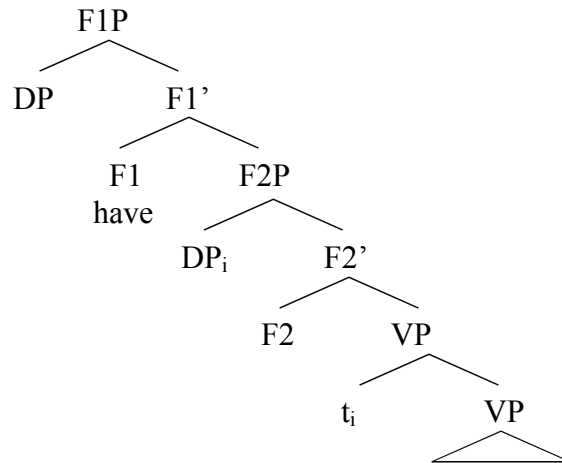
If we assume Harley's *event* head were equivalent to our functional head, and assign the structure in (77b) to sentences with *Indirect Passive,* there would be no case-licenser for an internal argument of the complement. This leads us to an empirically testable claim: *Indirect Passive* without any association between the subject and an embedded argument would not have its complement's internal argument case-licensed in situ, if (77b) is the right structure. However, the prediction is not empirically supported.

(78)   Takeshi-ga   shir-anai-otoko-ni   seki-o   s   are   -ta.
        T-Nom   know-Neg-man-By   cough-Acc   do   -Pass -Per
        'Takeshi had a stranger cough (on him).'

In (78), there is no association between the subject, *Takeshi*, and either the embedded subject, *the stranger* or the internal argument, *cough*. Thus, by hypothesis, the complement should not be able to have its internal argument licensed in situ. Still, the internal argument is case-licensed in (78). This suggests that the structure in (77b) is not appropriate for *Indirect Passive* sentences like (71a) and (71b).

  Ritter and Rosen (1997) also argue that an external argument of *have* is interpreted as *causer* when *have* takes an eventive complement. But details on their structural assumptions are different from Harley's. Following Borer (1994), who proposes functional projections of aspect, Ritter and Rosen assume that a sentence containing *have* with a *causer* subject consists of two functional projections: a higher projection which identifies the *originator* of the event (F1), to which *have* belongs, and a lower projection which '*measures out*' the event (F2) (ibid. 301):
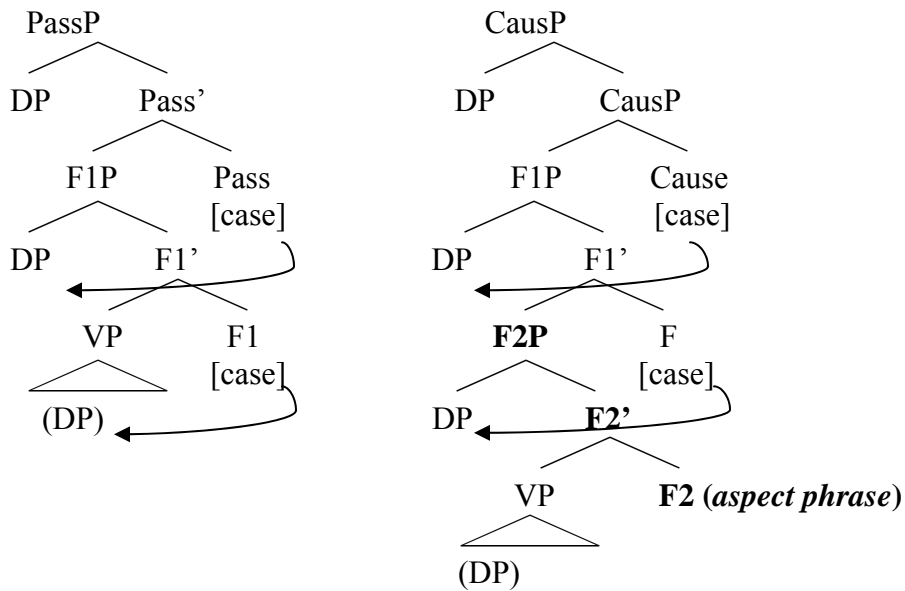
(79)

```
                        F1P
                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                  DP          F1'
                          ┌────┴────┐
                         F1         F2P
                        have      ┌──┴───┐
                                 DPᵢ     F2'
                                      ┌───┴───┐
                                     F2       VP
                                          ┌───┴───┐
                                         tᵢ        VP
                                                  △
```

For the case of *experiencer*-subject *have*, Ritter and Rosen suggests the identical structure with a *pro* in the complement that is co-indexed with the *experiencer* subject. Since we are dealing with cases of *Indirect Passive* with no association between the subject and the complement, such a solution obviously does not apply. Instead, I argue that the complement of *Indirect Passive* lacks the F2, (80a), unlike the causative (80b)[27].

(80)   a. *Indirect Passive*   b. *Causative*

```
         PassP                                    CausP
      ┌────┴────┐                              ┌────┴────┐
     DP        Pass'                          DP        CausP
          ┌────┴────┐                              ┌────┴────┐
         F1P       Pass                           F1P       Cause
      ┌───┴──┐    [case]                       ┌───┴──┐    [case]
     DP     F1'                               DP     F1'
         ┌───┴───┐                                ┌───┴───┐
        VP       F1                              F2P       F
        △       [case]                        ┌───┴───┐   [case]
       (DP)                                   DP      F2'
                                                  ┌───┴───┐
                                                 VP       F2 (aspect phrase)
                                                 △
                                                (DP)
```

If we assume that telicity is encoded with functional projections devoted for such a purpose (Borer 1994, Ritter and Rosen 1998), the observation that the complement of *Indirect Passive* cannot denote a telic event follows from the lack of such a projection.

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[27] For analyses of Japanese causatives as functional head introducing an external argument and structural case, see Hasegawa (2001, 2004).

7.2   Implications of the proposed analysis

I have advanced an account of external argument introducing heads, in which interpretation of the external arguments are determined compositionally. Thus, there is nothing substantially different about Japanese passives, except for their ability to provide structural case. In fact, *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* are one and the same functional head; they are both instantiations of the same external argument introducing head, but one which does not provide structural case. Under the proposed analysis, both *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* subjects are derived by movement. The difference in the interpretation of their subjects derives from the *by* phrase adjuncts. Apparently different instantiations of *Indirect Passive*, on the other hand, are instances of an external-argument introducing head with structural case. Whether the external argument is interpreted to be the possessor of the internal argument or not, I have argued that all the external arguments are base-generated in [Spec, PassP]. The external arguments are interpreted based on the rest of the sentence, especially on the aspectual properties of the complement.

However, this compositional view is obviously not the only possible analysis of the interpretation of external argument. An alternative analysis is that external arguments have different semantic roles, such as *agent*, *causer*, *experiencer*, and *holder* (for stative), depending on the heads that introduce them, just like lexical verbs introduce internal arguments with different semantic roles. Kratzer (1996), for instance, discusses *agent* and *holder*, suggesting that there may be two different active *voice* heads, "one adding the *agent* argument to an action verb, and the other one adding the *holder* argument to a stative verb" (Kratzer 1996: 123). In other words, there are more than two active *voice* heads for *causer* and *experiencer* and so on.

Folli and Harley (2005) also discuss an interesting case of alternation in the selectional restrictions of external arguments in English.

(81)   a. The gloom ate the wedding cake.
        b. #The sea ate the beach.
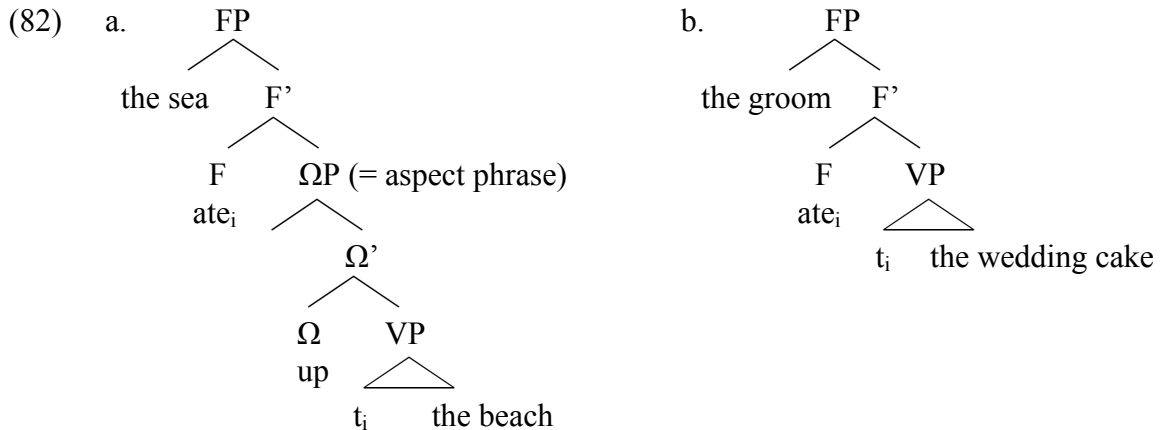   c. The sea ate up the beach.

The contrast between (81a) and (81b) shows what we already know intuitively, that external argument of *ate* must be some entity capable of performing the action of eating. Thus, while *the gloom* is an acceptable external argument of *ate*, *the sea* is not[28]. However, once *ate* is replaced with *ate up*, the otherwise same sentence (81c) becomes acceptable. Folli and Harley argue that there are two types of phonologically null verbal elements, which introduce either *agent* or *causer* as its external argument. They also argue that the verbal element which introduces the *causer* external argument, V_{CAUSE}, is subcategorized for a complement that represents a result state, as in (81c), while the verbal element which introduces agent, V_{DO}, is subcategorized for a complement which represents an accomplishment event.

As Folli and Harley's discussion shows, one potential problem with the Kratzer (1996) style of the external-argument-introducing functional heads analysis is that it complicates the picture by creating problems with selectional restrictions among different types of

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[28] It is also true that *the wedding cake* is an acceptable internal argument of *ate*, *the beach* usually is not. Thus, it appears that *ate* in (24c) is used to mean something like '*consumed*'.

functional heads and their complements. In other words, Kratzer (1996) has to somehow guarantee that an activity/process verb is embedded under a *voice* head which adds an *agent* argument, but not, for instance, one that adds a *holder* argument, as Folli and Harley (2005) explicitly do.

In contrast, the proposed analysis compositionally derives the interpretation of a particular external argument based on the content of the rest of the clause. For instance, the crucial difference between (81a) and (81c) is that (81c) is unambiguously telic (accomplishment), because of the particle *up*, while (81a) can be either telic or atelic (activity). Another important difference is that the object, *the beach*, which is not a typical object of eating. Therefore, it can be assumed that the telic interpretation of the event together with the unusual object, *the beach*, contributes to the interpretation of *ate up* in (81c) as something like 'consumed', resulting in the acceptability of *the sea* as the external argument. In structural terms, the complement of the functional head in (81c) obligatorily includes the projection of the particle, (cf. *ΩP* in Koizumi 1993), or the projection of aspect which encodes telicity, as in (82a), while (81a) may have a simple VP as the complement, as in (82b):

(82)   a.

```
              FP
             /  \
      the sea    F'
                /  \
               F    ΩP (= aspect phrase)
             atе_i   /  \
                    Ω'
                   /  \
                  Ω    VP
                 up   /__\
                    t_i   the beach
```

b.

```
              FP
             /  \
    the groom    F'
                /  \
               F    VP
             atе_i  /__\
                  t_i   the wedding cake
```

In other words, instead of assuming that external arguments with different semantic roles are introduced by different functional heads, we can think of external argument introducing functional heads as providers of extra structure with which an external argument can be introduced to existing structure. The introduced external argument receives its interpretation depending on what is underneath the functional head (i.e. the content of its complement). Such an analysis is consistent with Marantz (1984)'s original observation that the semantic role of an external argument appears to be determined by the verb and its internal argument and not by the verb alone, while also avoiding the need to account for selectional restrictions among functional heads and their complement.

7.3   Summary

In this section, I have discussed specifics of how external arguments of *Indirect Passive* receive different interpretations. External arguments of *Indirect Passive* are always base-generated, and they receive an *experiencer* interpretation in two ways: either by means of an association between the external argument and an embedded element or by means of having a complement with atelic interpretation.

Our proposal of Japanese passives, therefore, allows us to achieve a simple picture in which there are only two types, contrary to the tripartite distinctions presented earlier in this paper. One type of passive, *Indirect Passive*, is able to provide structural case to its complement. It also enables an extra argument to be base-generated in [Spec, PassP] by providing the additional structure with which it is introduced into an existing structure. The other type of passive, *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* also provides the structure for introducing an extra argument, which must always be derived as a consequence of this passive's inability to provide structural case to its complement. Whether a particular instance of passive, or an external argument introducing head, is with structural case or without, interpretation of the external argument introduced is determined compositionally. In other words, its interpretation depends on the content of the rest of the clause, or specifically, the aspectual properties of the rest of the clause.

Having argued for a compositional account of the interpretation of external arguments with different instances of Japanese passives, I briefly considered the proposed analysis's implication to the theory of external-argument introducing functional heads in general. In order to do so, I compared the proposed analysis with the type of analysis in which different semantic types of external arguments are introduced by different functional heads (Kratzer 1996, Folli and Harley 2005). I argued that the proposed analysis is superior, since the other type creates a problem with selectional restrictions among different functional heads and different type of the complement, while the proposed analysis does not face such a problem.

8. Conclusion

This paper first reviewed and summarized the observations about Japanese passives presented in a number of studies and motivated a tripartite distinction among Japanese passives: *Direct*, *Niyotte*, and *Indirect Passive*. Our review suggests that the traditional P & P analyses of passive, which assume *external argument suppression* and *case absorption* as the main forces behind passivization, are not suitable for analyzing Japanese passives.

Instead, an analysis in which functional heads are responsible for introducing an external argument and structural case is adopted for Japanese passives. Specifically, I have argued that all three Japanese passives are instances of functional heads whose projection provide a structure in which an extra argument is introduced. However, only one of them, *Indirect Passive*, is capable also of providing structural case to its complement. This single difference leads to the crucial distinction between *Indirect Passive* on the one hand and *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* on the other: external arguments of *Indirect Passive* sentences are always base-generated in [Spec, PassP], and arguments found in its complement are always case-licensed within the complement, whereas external arguments of *Direct* and *Niyottte Passive* sentences are always derived, since there is always one embedded argument which needs to be case-licensed by moving to [Spec, PassP].

The proposed analysis simplifies the picture of Japanese passives as it classifies all the instances of Japanese passives into two types: ones with structural case (*Indirect Passive*) and ones without such structural case (*Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*). A subject of *Indirect Passive* is always base-generated, whether it is interpreted to be the possessor of an internal argument or not. Thus, so-called the 'possessor passive', which has previously

been analyzed separately from *Indirect Passive* proper, is analyzed to be an instance of *Indirect Passive* as well. Also, the proposed analysis derives the difference between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* from a single factor: the difference in their *by* phrase adjuncts. Only *by* phrase in *Direct Passive* contribute eventive interpretation, enforcing the "affected" interpretation of the subjects. By associating the difference between *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* to the nature of the *by* phrase adjuncts, the proposed analysis lets us make a connection between the two apparently unrelated factors that distinguish *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*: the *by* phrase marking and the interpretation of the passive subjects. It leads us to conclude that *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive* are two different instances of the same functional head. Finally, just like the case of *Direct* and *Niyotte Passive*, external arguments of *Indirect Passive* are also assigned their interpretation based on the rest of the clause, just like English *have* is interpreted differently depending on the rest of a given sentence.

  With this study, I hope to have accomplished two goals. First, I tried to establish a unified analysis of Japanese passives, which is capable of making connections between previously unconnected observations. Second, I tried to show that the analysis of passive as functional heads, which provide the structure necessary for extra arguments (i.e. external arguments) to be introduced, is consistent and compatible with Japanese passive data. Thus, rather than assuming that there is such a functional projection in Japanese because other languages appear to have one, we now have language-specific observations that support an idea that such a functional projection also exists in Japanese. Finally, I hope to have raised an interesting research question from studying Japanese passives in detail. That is, if there are functional heads which introduce external arguments to an existing structure, do they determine the interpretation these external arguments? Or is their interpretation determined by other factors? In this paper, I have argued for the latter, assuming that functional heads are capable of providing merely the structure but not the semantic content of external arguments. In order to establish a fully developed analysis of interpretation of external arguments under this approach, we have to understand and make clear what aspects of a given clause affect the interpretation of external arguments. This preliminary study suggests that the event structure or aspectual property of a given clause, i.e. whether it is telic or atelic, appears to be one of the determining factors in interpreting external arguments. As such, this study suggests that understanding syntactic and semantic roles of *aspect* is an important area of inquiry.

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