

## Four Types of Passives in Japanese

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### 1. Introduction

(1) The passive transformation (Chomsky 1957:43, cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1977):

$$NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2 \Rightarrow NP_2 - Aux + be + en - V - by + NP_1$$

- (2) a. A passive morpheme is inserted.  
b. An object NP is preposed (object promotion).  
c. A subject NP is postposed (subject demotion).

- Object promotion: the accusative Case is absorbed and the object NP moves to the subject position.
- Subject demotion: the external theta role of a passive verb is suppressed.

(3) English *be*-passives (cf. Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989, Collins 2005, Jaeggli 1986):

- a. John wrote the book.  
b. The book was written (by John).

- Question: Do object promotion and subject demotion independently take place?
- “Spontaneous” subject demotion (Comrie 1977): subject demotion takes place without inducing object promotion in languages such as Spanish, Latin, German, Dutch, Polish, Welsh, and Finish.

--- Four possible “passives”:

- (4) a. Both object promotion and subject demotion take place (English *be*-passives).  
b. Only subject demotion takes place (= spontaneous subject demotion).  
c. Only object promotion takes place.  
d. Only a passive morpheme is inserted: neither object promotion nor subject demotion takes place.

- **The aim of this paper:** to show that Japanese has four types of passives instantiated as in (4).
  - (4b): Doesn't Burzio's generalization (Burzio 1986) hold? Doesn't the EPP (cf. Chomsky 1995) need to be satisfied?
  - (4c): Are there two subject positions available?
  - (4d): Should we still call it “passive”?

## 2. Japanese Passives

- NP-*ga/wa* + (NP-*ni/ni yotte*) + V-*(r)are*

- (5) a. Jiroo-*ga* Hanako-**ni/ni yotte** nagur-**are-ta** (direct passive)  
           -NOM           -DAT/by       hit-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was hit by Hanako.’
- b. Hanako-*ga*       Jiroo-*o*       nagut-*ta*       (active counterpart)  
           -NOM           -ACC       hit-PAST  
           ‘Hanako hit Jiroo.’

- passive constructions with no corresponding active counterpart have been referred to as “indirect passives” (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976) or “adversity passives”.

- (6) a. Jiroo-*ga* Hanako-*ni*       atama-*o*       nagur-are-*ta*  
           -NOM           -DAT   head-ACC   hit-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was affected by Hanako’s hitting his head.’
- b. Jiroo-*ga* Hanako-*ni*       nak-are-*ta*  
           -NOM           -DAT cry-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was affected by Hanako’s crying.’

- (7) a. \*Hanako-*ga*       Jiroo-*o/ni*       atama-*o*       nagut-*ta*  
           -NOM           -ACC/DAT head-ACC   hit-PAST  
           ‘Hanako hit Jiroo’s head.’
- b. \*Hanako-*ga*       Jiroo-*o/ni*       nai-*ta*  
           -NOM           -ACC/DAT cry-PAST  
           ‘Hanako cried to Jiroo.’

- (8) a. \*John was hit his head by Mary  
       b. \*John was cried by Mary.

--- Chinese (Huang 1999, Lin 2009):

- (9) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le naodai  
           BEI           hit-PERF head  
           ‘Zhangsan was affected by Lisi’s hitting his head’
- b. \*Zhangsan bei Lisi ku-le  
           BEI           cry-PERF  
           ‘Zhangsan was affected by Lisi’s crying’

--- Korean (Washio 1993, 1995):

- (10) a. haksayng-i    sensayngnim-eykey    son-ul    cap-hi-ess-ta.  
 student-NOM    teacher-DAT                    hand-ACC    catch-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The student was affected by the teacher’s catching his/her hand.’
- b. \*haksayng-i    ai-eykey    wul-li-ess-ta.  
 student-NOM    child-DAT    cry-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The student was affected by the child’s crying.’

### 3. Japanese *ni yotte* Indirect Passives

- Hiroto Hoshi (1999): there are three types of passives in Japanese (*ni* direct passives, *ni* indirect passives, and *ni yotte* passives).
- *ni yotte* is not a stylistic variant of *ni* (contrary to Kuno 1983).
- intransitive verbs are compatible with *ni*, but not *ni yotte* (Inoue 1976, Kuroda 1979)

- (11) a. Jiroo-ga    hahaoya-**ni**    nak/sin-are-ta  
               -NOM    mother-DAT    cry/die-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by his mother’s crying/dying.’
- b. \*Jiroo-ga    hahaoya-**ni yotte**    nak/sin-are-ta  
               -NOM    mother-by                cry/die-PASS-PAST

- (12) a. Jiroo-wa    ame-**ni**    fur-are-ta  
               -TOP    rain-DAT    fall-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by raining.’
- b. \*Jiroo-wa    ame-**ni yotte**    fur-are-ta  
               -TOP    rain-by                fall-PASS-PAST

- (13) Hiroto Hoshi (1999): Case absorption is obligatory in *ni yotte* passives, which triggers NP-movement of the logical object, and the subject position of *ni yotte* passives is a non-theta position.

- (14) Jiroo<sub>1</sub>-ga    ano renzoku    satsujinhan-ni yotte    t<sub>1</sub>    satsugais-are-ta  
               -NOM    that serial    killer-by                                    murder-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was murdered by that serial killer’

- (15) *ni yotte* passive with the object NP retained:

Jiroo-ga    ano renzoku    satsujinhan-ni yotte    **hahaoya-o**    satsugais-are-ta  
               -NOM    that serial    killer-by                                    mother-ACC    murder-PASS-PAST

‘Jiroo was affected by that serial killer’s murdering his mother.’

- multiple object structure (Hiroto Hoshi 1999, cf. Kuroda 1979):

(16) a. John-ga kokumu-syoo-ni yotte ryoken-o toriage-rare-ta  
 -NOM Department of State-by passport-ACC take away-PASS-PAST  
 ‘John was affected by the Department of State’s revoking his passport.’

b. kokumu-syoo-ga [NP John] [NP ryoken] toriage-ta  
 Department of State -NOM passport take away-PAST

(17) a. \*kokumu-syoo-ga John-o ryoken-o toriage-ta  
 Department of State-NOM -ACC passport-ACC take away-PAST  
 ‘The Department of State revoked John’s passport’

b. kokumu-syoo-ga John-kara ryoken-o toriage-ta  
 Department of State-NOM -from passport-ACC take away-PAST

(18) ano renzoku satsujinhan-ga [NP Jiroo] [NP hahaoya] satsugaisi-ta  
 that serial killer-NOM mother murder-PAST

(19) a. \*ano renzoku satsujinhan-ga Jiroo-o hahaoya-o satsugaisi-ta  
 that serial killer-NOM -ACC mother-ACC murder-PAST

b. \*ano renzoku satsujinhan-ga Jiroo-kara (ni/e/de) hahaoya-o satsugaisi-ta  
 that serial killer-NOM -from (to/to/in) mother-ACC murder-PAST

c. ano renzoku satsujinhan-ga Jiroo-no hahaoya-o satsugaisi-ta  
 that serial killer-NOM -GEN mother-ACC murder-PAST  
 ‘That serial killer murdered Jiroo’s mother.’

- no multiple object is involved in *satsugaisu* ‘murder’: (20) is correct.

(20) ano renzoku satsujinhan-ga [NP Jiroo hahaoya] satsugaisi-ta  
 that serial killer-NOM mother murder-PAST

- Is “possessor raising” involved? (cf. Kubo 1990, Pytkänen 2008)

(21) a. [TP [VP ano renzoku satsujinhan-ni yotte [NP Jiroo hahaoya] satsugais-are-ta]]  
 that serial killer-by mother murder-PASS-PAST

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- b. [TP Jiroo-ga [LP ano renzoku satsujinhan-ni yotte [NP t<sub>1</sub> hahaoya]-o satsugais-are-ta  
 -NOM that serial killer-by mother-ACC murder-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by the serial killer’s murdering his mother.’

- No “possessor-possessee” relation is necessary for licensing indirect passives.

- (22) gakusei-ga gattkoutoukyoku-ni yotte Suzuki-sensei-no meiyoo  
 student-NOM school authorities-by Prof. Suzuki-GEN reputation-ACC  
 kizutsuker-are-ta  
 sully-PASS-PAST  
 ‘The students were affected by the school authorities’ sullying Prof. Suzuki’s  
 reputation.’

- The numeral quantifier (NQ) *san-nin* ‘three-CL’ cannot be floated in *ni yotte* indirect passives (no mutual c-command relation between *gakusei* and NQ):

- (23) a. san-nin-no gakusei-ga gattkoutoukyoku-ni yotte Suzuki-sensei-no  
 three-CL-GEN student-NOM school authorities-by Prof.Suzuki-GEN  
 meiyoo kizutsuker-are-ta  
 reputation-ACC sully-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Three student were affected by the school authorities’ interfering with Prof.  
 Yamada’s lecture.’

- b. \*[gakusei]<sub>i</sub>-ga gattkoutoukyoku-ni yotte **san-nin**<sub>1</sub> Suzuki-sensei-no  
 student-NOM school authorities-by three-CL Prof. Suzuki-GEN  
 meiyoo kizutsuker-are-ta  
 reputation-ACC sully-PASS-PAST

- This contrasts with the *ni yotte* direct passive (Miyagawa 1989):

- (24) a. san-nin-no gakusei-ga nanimonoka-ni yotte satsugais-are-ta  
 three-CL-GEN student-NOM somebody-by murder-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Three students were murdered by someone’

- b. [gakusei]<sub>i</sub>-ga nanimonoka-ni yotte t<sub>1</sub> san-nin<sub>1</sub> satsugais-are-ta  
 student-NOM somebody-by three-CL murder-PASS-PAST

--- Summary (see Hoshi 2011)

- *ni yotte* indirect passives exist.
- *ni yotte* indirect passives are allowed even when there is no syntactic gap: the surface subject position of *ni yotte* indirect passives can be a theta position.
- There are four types of passives in Japanese: *ni/ni yotte* direct passives and *ni/ni yotte* indirect passives.

## 4. Event Structure of Japanese Passives

### 4.1 *Ni Yotte Indirect Passives*

- Why is it that intransitive verbs are incompatible with *ni yotte* indirect passives?

- (25) a. \*Jiroo-ga        hahaoya-**ni yotte**        nak/sin-are-ta  
               -NOM     mother-by                cry/die-PASS-PAST  
               ‘Jiroo was affected by his mother’s crying/dying.’
- b. \*Jiroo-wa        ame-**ni yotte**        fur-are-ta  
               -TOP    rain-by                fall-PASS-PAST  
               ‘Jiroo was affected by raining.’

- Two distinct events are involved in indirect passives (Washio 1993):

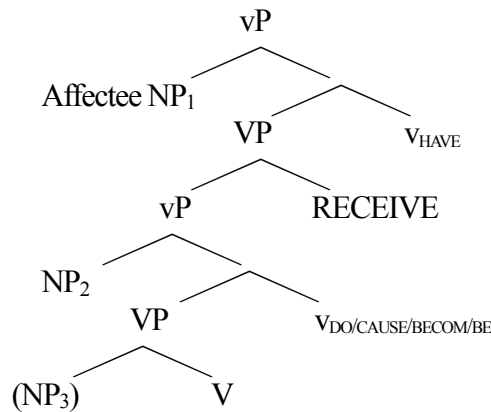
- (26) [Event1 Affectee NP    [Event2 ...]]  


- (27) a. Every clause has a specific eventuality (a causing, an action, a state, an experience, a becoming, and so on).
- b. An eventuality is represented as an eventuality predicate such as HAVE, CAUSE, DO, BE, BECOME, etc.
- c. An eventuality predicate occurs as a light verb (= v) (Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002, Huang 1997, cf. Kratzer 1993 for VoiceP, Harley 1995 for EventP).

- (28) The “affected event” in indirect passives is represented by  $v_{HAVE}$ .

- (29) biclausality: the abstract verb RECEIVE (Makino 1973, AFFECT for McCawley 1972) takes vP as its complement and *-(r)are* is derivationally inserted.

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(30) Assignment of external theta-role is carried out by the amalgam of V + v:

- a. amalgam of [ $v_{HAVE}$  + RECEIVE] assigns the “affectee theta-role” to NP<sub>1</sub>
- b. amalgam of V +  $v_{DO/CAUSE/BECOM/BE}$  assigns the external theta-role to NP<sub>2</sub>

(31) Case assignment by v or V:

- a.  $v_{DO/CAUSE}$  assigns the accusative case to NP<sub>3</sub>
- b. RECEIVE (optionally) assigns the dative case to NP<sub>2</sub>

(32) *-(r)are* as an affixal verb that has the following syntactic properties:

- a. the accusative Case is absorbed when *-(r)are* is directly merged with  $v_{DO/CAUSE}$
- b. the external theta-role is suppressed when *-(r)are* is directly merged with V

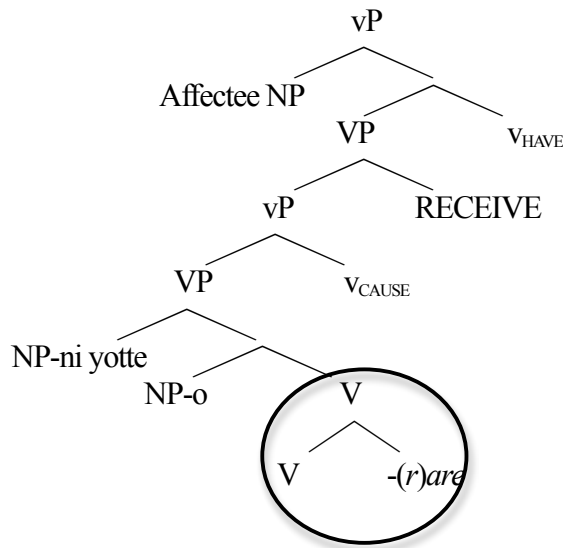
- *-(r)are* is not a main V (contrary to Hasegawa 1964, Hiroto Hoshi 1999 and Kuroda 1965).
- *V-te-moraw* ‘V-COMP-*receive*’ is an instance parallel to indirect passives: non-finite embedded vP ( $[_{vP}$  NP-*ni* NP-*o* V]-*te-moraw*) is also involved.
- *-moraw* is an overt realization of RECEIVE.

- (33) a. Hanako-ga isha-ni mouchou-o zyokyosi-te-morat-ta  
 -NOM doctor-DAT appendix-ACC remove-COMP-*receive*-PAST  
 ‘Hanako received a favor of removing the appendix from a doctor.’
- b. Hanako-ga isha-kara mouchou-o zyokyosi-te-morat-ta  
 -NOM doctor-from appendix-ACC remove-COMP-*receive*-PAST
- c. Hanako-ga isha-ni yotte mouchou-o zyokyosi-te-morat-ta  
 -NOM doctor-by appendix-ACC remove-COMP-*receive*-PAST

- (34) a. Hanako-ga isha-ni mouchou-o zyokyos-are-ta  
 -NOM doctor-DAT appendix-ACC remove-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Hanako was affected by the doctor’s removing the appendix.’

- b. Hanako-ga isha-kara mouchou-o zyokyos-are-ta  
 -NOM doctor-from appendix-ACC remove-PASS-PAST
- c. Hanako-ga isha-ni yotte mouchou-o zyokyos-are-ta  
 -NOM doctor-by appendix-ACC remove-PASS-PAST

(35) **structure of *-ni yotte* indirect passives**: only subject demotion takes place in the embedded clause (= “spontaneous” subject demotion)



- (36) a. The external theta-role is suppressed within the embedded vP due to merger of V and *-(r)are*.  
 b. [<sub>PP</sub> NP-*ni yotte*] is adjoined to VP dominated by vP<sub>CAUSE</sub>.

- *yotte* in *ni yotte* originally comes from the verb *yoru* ‘cause’, which takes NP-*ni* as a complement:

- (37) keisatsu-wa [sono kootsuziko-ga kare-no inshyu unten-ni **yoru** to]  
 police-TOP that traffic accident-NOM he-GEN drunken driving-DAT cause COMP  
 syutyous-ite-iru  
 claim-PROG-PRES

‘The police are claiming that his drunken driving causes the traffic accident.’

- (38) [<sub>PP</sub> NP *ni yotte*], which represents a “causing event” (cf. Kinsui 1997), is a complex postposition licensed by merger of the projection of V compatible with v<sub>CAUSE</sub>.

- Japanese *ni yotte* is different from English *by*-phrases (Jaeggli 1986): the external theta-role cannot be transferred onto the NP in *ni yotte*-phrases



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- (39) a. Bill was killed by Mary. (Agent)  
 b. The package was sent by John. (Source)  
 c. The letter was received by Bill. (Goal)  
 d. That professor is feared by all students. (Experiencer)

(40) The embedded *v* must be CAUSE in *ni yotte* indirect passives.

- (41) a. Intransitive verbs such as *nak* ‘cry’ and *fur* ‘fall’ denote an action while *sin* ‘die’, a change of state.  
 b. Those *vP* structures do not contain CAUSE as a light *v*, but instead have DO (= action) for *nak* ‘cry’ and *fur* ‘fall’ and BECOME (= change of state) for *sin* ‘die’.

- embedded *V* cannot be intransitive:

- (42) a. \*Jiroo-ga hahaoya-**ni yotte** nak-are-ta  
           -NOM mother-by cry-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was affected by his mother’s crying.’  
 b. \*Jiroo-wa ame-**ni yotte** fur-are-ta  
           -TOP rain-by fall-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was affected by raining.’  
 c. \*Jiroo-ga hahaoya-**ni yotte** sin-are-ta  
           -NOM mother-by cry/die-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was affected by his mother’s dying.’

- transitive verbs do not always allow *ni yotte* direct passives (cf. Teramura 1982, Kinsui 1997):

- (43) a. Jiroo-ga Hanako-o nikun-da  
           -NOM -ACC hate-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo hated Hanako.’  
 b. Hanako-ga Jiroo-**ni** nikum-are-ta  
           -NOM -DAT hate-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Hanako was hated by Jiroo.’  
 c. \*?Hanako-ga Jiroo-**ni yotte** nikum-are-ta  
           -NOM -by hate-PASS-PAST

- psychological verbs are also precluded in *ni yotte* indirect passives: *nikum* ‘hate’ cannot have the projection of *V* compatible with *v*<sub>CAUSE</sub>.

- (44) a. Hanako-ga Jiroo-**ni** musuko-o nikum-are-ta  
 -NOM -DAT son-ACC hate-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Hanako was affected by Jiroo’s hating her son.’  
 b. \*?Hanako-ga Jiroo-**ni yotte** musuko-o nikum-are-ta  
 -NOM -by son-ACC hate-PASS-PAST

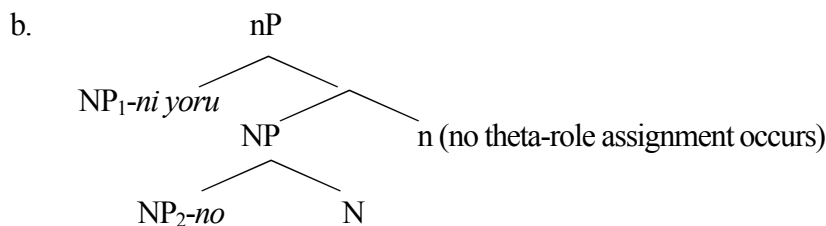
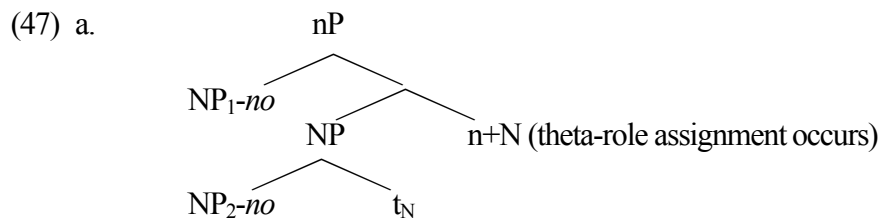
- Why is it that [<sub>PP</sub> NP *ni yotte*] cannot freely appear within vP<sub>CAUSE</sub>?

- (45) a. kaseijin-ga kyouto-o hakaisi-ta  
 Martian-NOM Kyoto-ACC destroy-past  
 ‘Martians destroyed Kyoto.’  
 b. \*kaseijin-ni yotte kyouto-o hakaisi-ta  
 Martian-by Kyoto-ACC destroy-PAST

- SpecvP cannot be projected and the external theta-role cannot be discharged.

- (46) a. kaseijin-no kyouto-no hakai  
 Martian-GEN Kyotoa-GEN destruction  
 ‘Martians’ destruction of Kyoto’  
 b. kaseijin-ni yoru kyouto-no hakai  
 Martian-by Kyoto-GEN destruction  
 c. kyouto-no hakai  
 Kyoto-GEN destruction  
 ‘destruction of Kyoto’

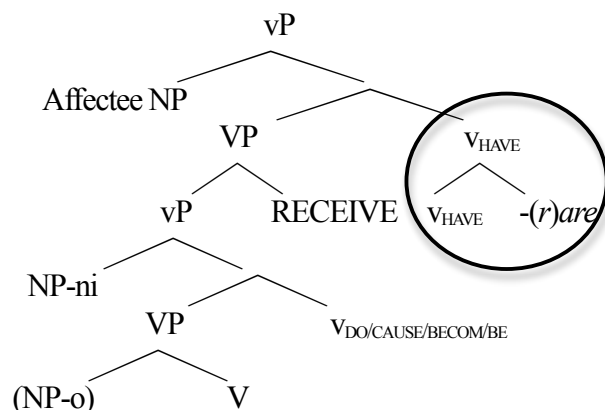
- Assume that nP exists: optional application N-to-n movement is relevant to assigning theta-roles



- (48) a. the destruction of the city by the enemy  
 b. the enemy's destruction of the city
- (49) a. \*[e]/There was destroyed the city by the enemy.  
 b. The city was destroyed by the enemy.

4.2 *Ni-Indirect Passives*

(50) **structure of *ni* indirect passives:** neither subject demotion nor object demotion takes place



- (51) a. *-(r)are* is merged with  $v_{HAVE}$ : neither theta-role assignment nor Case assignment within the embedded vP is affected.  
 b. NP-*ni* is generated at the embedded SpecvP and behaves as a subject (see Kuroda 1965, 1978 and Hoshi 2007 for the subject *ni* raising hypothesis and Shibatani 1978 for Equi-NP deletion).  
 c. *ni* is a dative Case marker assigned by RECEIVE, not a postposition.

- the subject-oriented anaphora *zibun* ‘self’ (McCawley 1972, Kuno 1973):

- (52) a. Jiroo<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-**ni** zibun<sub>1/2</sub>-no heya-de hahaoya-o satsugais-are-ta  
 -NOM -DAT self-GEN room-in mother-ACC murder-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by Hanako’s murdering his mother in his/her room’  
 b. Jiroo<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-**ni yotte** zibun<sub>1/\*2</sub>-no heya-de hahaoya-o satsugais-are-ta  
 -NOM -by self-GEN room-in mother-ACC murder-PASS-PAST

- NQ floating is possible from *ni*-marked NP, but not from *ni yotte*-marked NP:

- (53) Jiroo-ga san-nin-no sensei-ni/ni yotte ronbun-o kyattkas-are-ta  
 -NOM three-CL-GEN teacher-DAT/by paper-ACC reject-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by three teachers rejecting his paper.’

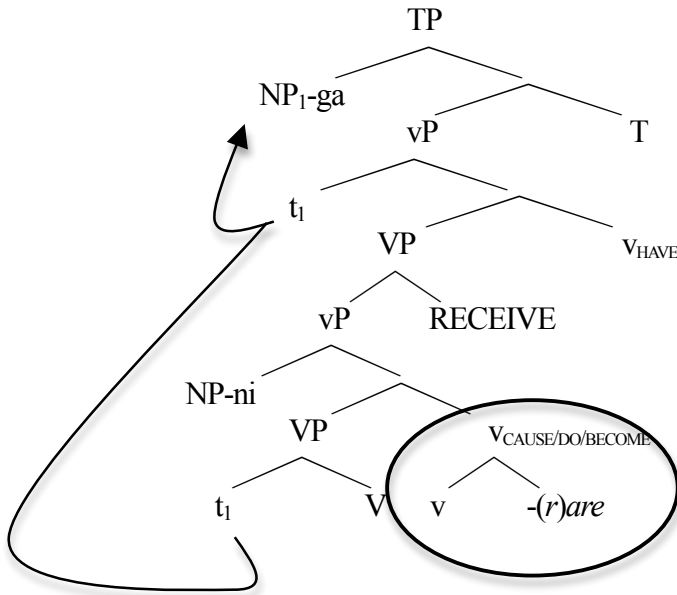
- (54) a. Jiroo-ga [sensei]<sub>1</sub>-ni san-nin<sub>1</sub> ronbun-o kyattkas-are-ta  
 -NOM teacher-DAT three-CL paper-ACC reject-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by three students’ rejecting his paper.’  
 b. \*Jiroo-ga [sensei]<sub>1</sub>-ni yotte san-nin<sub>1</sub> ronbun-o kyattkas-are-ta  
 -NOM teacher-by three-CL paper-ACC reject-PASS-PAST

4.3 *Ni/Ni Yotte Direct Passives*

- (55) a. *ni* direct passives: object promotion occurs without subject demotion.  
 b. *ni yotte* direct passives: both object promotion and subject demotion take place.

- (56) *ni* direct passives: two “subject positions” are available (biclausal)  
 a. merger of *-(r)are* and  $v_{CAUSE}$  can absorb the accusative case.  
 b. [ $v_{HAVE}$  + RECEIVE] assigns an affectee theta-role to the matrix SpecvP.

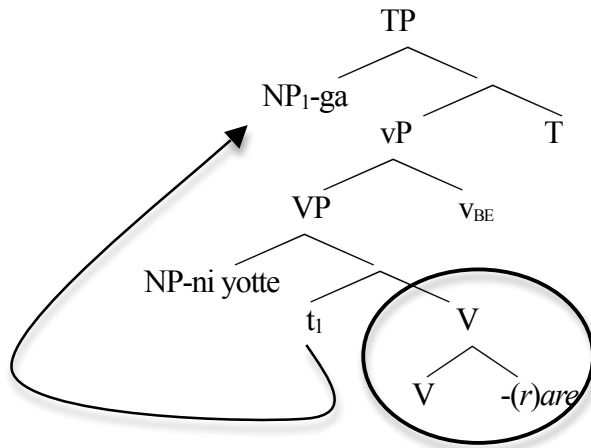
- (57) **structure of *ni* direct passives:** theta-roles can be multiply assigned (Hornstein 1999: no upper bound on the number of theta-roles a chain can have)



- (58) *ni yotte* direct passives: only one subject position is available (monoclausal)  
 a. BE occurs as a light v and takes VP as its complement.  
 b.  $v_{BE}$  assigns neither accusative case nor external theta-role.

- (59) **structure of *ni yotte* direct passives:** no external theta-role can be assigned and  $v_{BE}$  can never assign any Case.

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- $v_{HAVE}$  contributes to the assignment of an affectee theta role, whereas  $v_{BE}$  doesn't: *Ferumaa-no teiri* 'Fermat's Theorem' is not an element that receives an affected theta role (Inoue 1976, Kuroda 1979).

- (60) a. Ferumaa-no teiri-ga Wairuzu-**ni yotte** shoumeis-are-ta  
 Fermat-GEN theorem-NOM Wiles-by prove-PASS-PAST  
 'Fermat's Theorem was proved by Wiles'
- b. \*Ferumaa-no teiri-ga Wairuzu-**ni** shoumeis-are-ta  
 Fermat-GEN theorem-NOM Wiles-DAT prove-PASS-PAST

- Does NP-*ni* in direct passives have the same status as shown in *ni* indirect passives (cf. McCawley 1972, Miyagawa 1989, Washio 1990):

- (61) a. Binding of *zibun*:  
 Jiroo<sub>1</sub>-wa Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni zibun<sub>1/\*2</sub>-no uti-de koros-are-ta  
 -TOP -DAT self-GEN house-at kill-PASS-PAST  
 'Jiroo was killed by Hanako in self's house.'
- b. NQ-floating:  
 \*Jiroo<sub>1</sub>-wa sensei-**ni** futari t<sub>1</sub> sikar-are-ta  
 -TOP teacher-DAT two-CL scold-PASS-PAST  
 'Jiroo was scolded by two teachers.'

- However, see Kitagawa and Kuroda's (1992) uniform analysis of passives: NP-*ni* in direct passives behaves as a subject and *ni* in NP-*ni* is not a postposition.

- (62) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa Yamada-kyoozyu<sub>2</sub>- ni zibun<sub>?#1/2</sub>-no offisu-e t<sub>1</sub> yobituker-are-ta  
 -TOP -Prof. -DAT self-GEN office-to summon-PASS-PAST  
 'Taro was summoned by Prof. Yamada to his office.'

- (63) hannin-wa honno suuhun no aida ni [toori-kakatta tuukoonin<sub>1</sub>-ni] huta-ri<sub>1</sub>  
 culprit-TOP just few minutes during passing-by passer-DAT two-CL  
 mokugekis-are-te-imasu  
 witness-PASS-PERF  
 ‘The culprit was seen by two passers-by during those few minutes.’

## 5. Indirect Passives in East Asian Languages

- (64) a. *ni* indirect passives: [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>HAVE</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> RECEIVE [<sub>VP</sub> NP-*ni* V<sub>CAUSE/DO/BECOME</sub> VP]]]  
 b. *ni yotte* indirect passives: [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>HAVE</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> RECEIVE [<sub>VP</sub> NP-*ni yotte* V<sub>CAUSE</sub> VP]]]

- Chinese *bei* in indirect passives (Huang 1982, 1999, Li 1990, Li and Thompson 1989, Lin 2009, Shen 1992)

- (65) *bei* is also an overt counterpart of RECEIVE that selects a non-finite complement (Hashimoto 1971, Shen 1992, Huang 1999, Sybesma 1999).

- (66) the eventuality predicate must be CAUSE in Chinese: [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>HAVE</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *bei* [<sub>VP</sub> NP V<sub>CAUSE</sub> VP]]]

- (67) Chinese (and Korean) indirect passives pattern with Japanese *ni yotte* indirect passives (see Hoshi to appear).

- intransitive verbs cannot be “passivized” in Chinese:

- (68) a. \*yeli wo bei yinger ku-le  
 night I BEI baby cry-PERF  
 ‘In the night I was affected by the baby’s crying.’  
 b. ?\*wo bei haizi chao-le  
 I BEI child make a noise-PERF  
 ‘I was affected by the child’s making a noise’

- “causing event” must be involved in Chinese indirect passives: “agentive” NP must be a causer.

- (69) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi tou-le qianbao  
 BEI Lisi steal-PERF purse  
 ‘Zhangsan was affected by Lisi’s stealing his purse’  
 b. \*Zhangsan bei Lisi kanjian-le qianbao  
 BEI Lisi see-PERF purse

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‘Zhangsan was affected by Lisi’s seeing his purse’

- (70) a. Jiroo-wa Hanako-**ni** saifu-o mir-are-ta  
           -TOP                  -DAT  purse-ACC  see-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiroo was affected by Hanako’s seeing his purse.’
- b. \*?Jiroo-wa Hanako-**ni yotte** saifu-o mir-are-ta  
           -TOP          -by      purse-ACC  see-PASS-PAST

- Chinese *V-de* (Li and Thompson 1989, Li 1995, Huang, Li and Li 2005, Shen 1990): *V-de* is a complex verb that undergoes a head movement to a light *v* (= *v*<sub>CAUSE</sub>).
- intransitive verbs can be passivized in *V-de* constructions (Nakajima 2007):

- (71) a. yeli wo bei yinger ku-de shui bu zhao jiao  
           night I BEI baby cry-DE cannot sleep  
           ‘In the night I was affected by the baby’s crying so that I was unable to sleep’
- b. wo bei haizi chao-de tou tong-le  
           I BEI child make a noise-DE head ache-PERF  
           ‘I was affected by the child’s making a noise so that my head ached.’

- Taketomi dialect (spoken in Taketomi island in the southern Yaeyama District of Okinawa, Japan): intransitive verbs cannot be passivized as in Chinese (Taketomi data are based on my field notes).

(72) [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>HAVE</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> RECEIVE [<sub>VP</sub> NP-*i* ‘DAT’ v<sub>CAUSE</sub> VP]]]

- (73) a. ban-na jinji-i tsuburu-ju kuras-ari-taru  
           I-TOP teacher-DAT head-ACC hit-PASS-PAST  
           ‘I was affected by his teacher’s hitting his head’
- b. ban-na nuhitu-i dzinjuro-ju kaitr-ari-nenu  
           I-TOP thief-DAT wallet-ACC steal-PASS-PAST  
           ‘I was affected by a thief’s stealing his wallet’

- (74) a. \*ban-na a.mi-i pur-ari-nenu  
           I-TOP rain-DAT fall-PASS-PAST  
           ‘I was affected by raining’
- b. \*ban-na jumi-i na-ri-nenu  
           I-TOP wife-DAT cry-PASS-PAST  
           ‘I was affected by my wife’s crying’
- c. \*ban-na nuhitu-i pingir-ari-nenu

I-TOP thief-DAT run away-PASS-PAST  
 ‘I was affected by a thief’s running away’

## 6. Indirect Passives and Impersonal Passives

- *ni yotte* indirect passives: only subject demotion (= “spontaneous” subject demotion) takes place.

--- Comrie 1977: Welsh (VSO language) data

- (75) a. Lladdodd draig ddyn  
 killed dragon man  
 ‘A dragon killed a man.’
- b. Lladdwyd dyn (gan ddraig)  
 was-killed man by dragon  
 ‘A man was killed (by a dragon).’

- In Welsh the particle *fe* is followed by the clitic form *i* of the pronoun, which occurs only in the position of direct object:

- (76) a. Fe’i lladdwyd (gan ddraig)  
 him was-killed by dragon  
 ‘He was killed (by a dragon).’
- b. Fe’i lladdodd draig  
 him killed dragon  
 ‘A dragon killed him.’

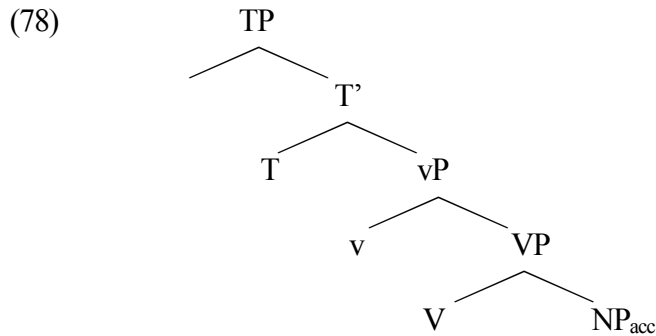
- instead of *i*, *ef* is used in the pronoun of subject:

- (77) Lladdodd ef ddraig.  
 killed he dragon  
 ‘He killed a dragon.’

- How can spontaneous demotion be licensed in Welsh without overt subject (no subject position is generated)?



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- *pro* is disallowed: *pro* does not bear any theta role in SpecTP.

(79) \*<sub>[TP *pro* T [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>v</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> lladdwyd dyn] gan ddraig]]]</sub>  
 was-killed man by dragon

- The EPP does not hold in Welsh (Roberts 2005): impersonal passives and existential constructions do not require overt subject.

(80) a. Gwelwyd plant  
 see-PASS children  
 ‘Children were seen.’  
 b. ?Mae yn yr ardd blant  
 is in the garden children  
 ‘There are children in the garden.’

- The element occupying the matrix subject is definite:

(81) a. Mae(r) plant ynyr ardd  
 is (the) children in the garden  
 ‘(The) children are in the garden.’  
 b. Mae yna blant yn yr ardd.  
 is there children in the garden  
 ‘There are children in the garden.’

(82) \*Mae yna’r blant yn yr ardd  
 is there the children in the garden  
 ‘There is the children in the garden.’

- SpecTP can be empty (=  $\emptyset$ ) in Welsh:

(83) [TP  $\emptyset$  [VP [<sub>V</sub> V [VP lladdwyd dyn] gan ddraig]]]  
 was-killed man by dragon

- no expletive *pro* (= *pro*<sub>EXP</sub>) is allowed in UG (Roberts 2005): it has no interface property (both phonetically and semantically null).

(84) \*[TP *pro*<sub>EXP</sub> [VP [<sub>V</sub> V [VP lladdwyd dyn] gan ddraig]]]  
 was-killed man by dragon

- Soft mutation applies in Welsh wherever a category is immediately preceded by an XP that c-commands it (Roberts: 2005):

(85) a. Gwelwyd  $\emptyset$  **plant**  
 see-PASS children  
 ‘Children were seen.’  
 b. Mi welais *pro* **blant**  
 Prt saw-1sg children  
 ‘I saw children.’

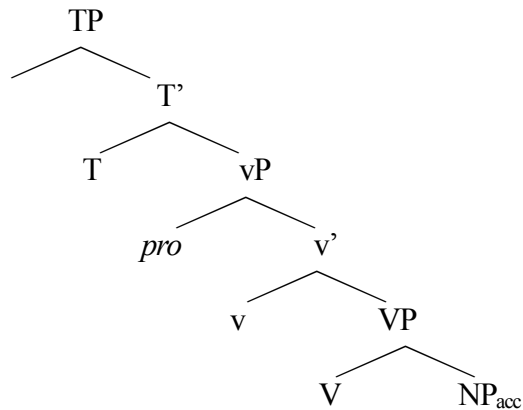
- “Spontaneous” subject demotion in Polish and Finnish cannot occur with the overt expression of the underlying subject (Comrie 1977, Blevins 2003, Kibort 2004, Lavine 2005, Holmberg & Nikanne 2002).

--- Comrie 1977: Why is the occurrence of “by-phrase” excluded in Polish and Finnish?

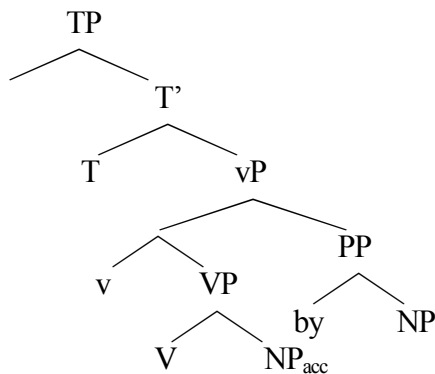
(86) a. Dokonuje się prace (\*przez uczonych). (Polish)  
 is-completed refl works by scientists  
 ‘The works are being completed (by the scientists).’  
 b. Hänet jätettiin kotiin (\*äidi- liä-nsä). (Finnish)  
 him was-left home mother by his  
 ‘He was left at home (by his mother).’

(87) no spontaneous subject demotion occurs in Polish and Finnish: *pro* can appear in SpecvP and the EPP must be satisfied.

FOUR TYPES OF PASSIVES IN JAPANESE



(88) “spontaneous” subject demotion: no subject position is projected within the matrix vP and the EPP can never be satisfied.



• Blevins 2003: Polish *-no/-to* impersonal construction (cf. “new” impersonal constructions in Icelandic discussed by Maling and Sigurjónsdóttir 2002):

- (89) a. Gazeta była czytana (przez dzieci)  
 newspaper.FEM.SG.NOM be.FEM.SG read.FEM.SG by children  
 ‘The paper was read by children.’
- b. Gazetę (\*była/\*był) czytano (\*przez dzieci)  
 newspaper.FEM.ACC was.FEM.SG/NEUT.SG read.PAST.IMP by children  
 ‘One/they read the paper.’

• The EPP holds in Polish on the basis of the data concerning agent-oriented adverb and binding: *pro* exists in SpecTP (Krzek 2010, PRO<sub>arb</sub> for Lavine 2005)

--- agent-oriented adverb:

- (90) a. Budowano tutaj autostradę celowo.  
 built.IMP here motorway.ACC on purpose

‘One/they built a motorway here on purpose.’

- b. Jadło się celowo dużo malin.  
 ate.3SG.NEUT REFL on purpose a lot of raspberries.ACC  
 ‘One/They/We ate a lot of raspberries on purpose.’

--- binding facts:

- (91) a. Czytano swoje książki.  
 read.IMP own.REFL.ACC books.ACC  
 ‘One/They read one’s/their books.’  
 b. Słuchało się swojej muzyki.  
 listened.3SG.NEUT REFL own.REFL.GEN music.GEN  
 ‘One/They/We listened to one’s/their/our music.’

- The EPP also holds in Finnish (Holmberg 2005, Holmberg & Nikanne 2002):

- (92) \*Leikkii lapsia kadulla.  
 play children in. street  
 ‘Children are playing in the street.’

- (93) a. Sitä leikkii lapsia kadulla.  
 EXPL play children in. street  
 b. Kadulla leikkii lapsia  
 in. street play children  
 c. Lapsia leikkii kadulla.  
 children play in. street

- (94) biclausality of *ni yotte* indirect passives: subject demotion takes place only in the embedded vP and the EPP can be satisfied in Japanese.

[<sub>TP</sub> Affectee NP<sub>1</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> V<sub>HAVE</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> RECEIVE [<sub>VP</sub> NP-*ni yotte* V<sub>CAUSE</sub> VP]]]]

## 7. Concluding Remarks

- (95) Four types of passives in Japanese:

types of passives	Subject demotion	Object promotion
<i>ni</i> indirect passives	---	---
<i>ni yotte</i> indirect passives	✓	---
<i>ni</i> direct passives	---	✓
<i>ni yotte</i> direct passives	✓	✓

FOUR TYPES OF PASSIVES IN JAPANESE

(96) Three factors for distinguishing Japanese passives: (i) timing of merger of *-(r)are*, (ii) matrix v, and (iii) embedded v

types of passives	merger of <i>-(r)are</i>	matrix v	embedded v
<i>ni yotte</i> direct passive	V+ <i>-(r)are</i>	BE	---
<i>ni yotte</i> indirect passive	V+ <i>-(r)are</i>	HAVE	CAUSE
<i>ni</i> direct passive	V <sub>CAUSE/DO/BECOME</sub> + <i>-(r)are</i>	HAVE	CAUSE/DO/BECOME, etc
<i>ni</i> indirect passive	V <sub>HAVE</sub> + <i>-(r)are</i>	HAVE	CAUSE/DO/BECOME, etc

- *ni yotte* indirect passive (only subject demotion): “spontaneous” subject demotion might be possible unless the EPP is violated, and Burzio’s generalization must be stated from a different perspective (cf. Burzio 2000, Marantz 2000, Woolford 2003).
- *ni* direct passive (only object promotion): two “subject” positions (the matrix and the embedded SpecvP) are ensured due to biclausality of *ni* direct passives, and multiple theta-role assignment takes place.
- *ni* indirect passive (only *-(r)are* is inserted): no longer a “passive” construction.

(97) RECEIVE contributes to the assignment of an affectee theta role.

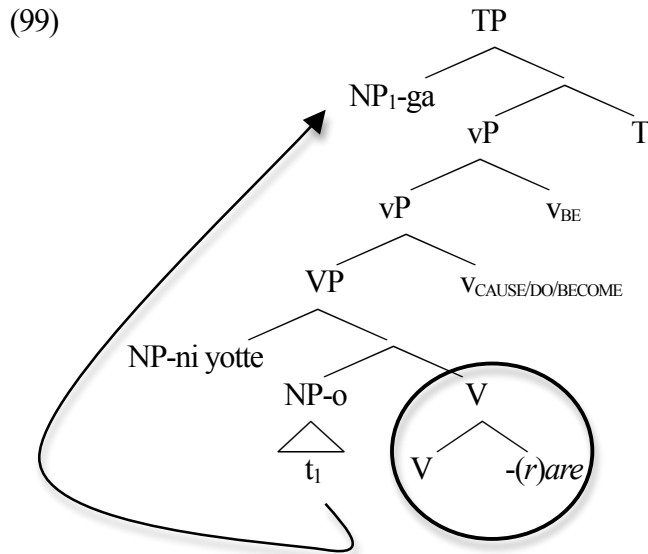
types of passives	matrix v	RECEIVE	dative <i>ni</i>
<i>ni yotte</i> direct passive	BE	---	---
<i>ni yotte</i> indirect passive	HAVE	✓	---
<i>ni</i> direct passive	HAVE	✓	✓
<i>ni</i> indirect passive	HAVE	✓	✓

- It is not necessarily the case that RECEIVE always assigns the dative case *ni* in indirect passives: *ni yotte* indirect passive

(98) Suppose that v<sub>BE</sub> occurs in the matrix v with *ni yotte* indirect passives: v<sub>BE</sub> can also take vP as its complement (biclausality): neither can affectee theta role assignment nor dative *ni* case assignment be motivated.

types of passives	matrix v	biclausality	RECEIVE	affectee theta-role	dative <i>ni</i>
<i>ni yotte</i> direct passive	BE	---	---	---	---
<i>ni yotte</i> indirect passive	BE	✓	---	---	---
<i>ni</i> direct passive	HAVE	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>ni</i> indirect passive	HAVE	✓	✓	✓	✓

- Surface subject can be a “non-affected” element in *ni yotte* indirect passives: v<sub>BE</sub> might be able to occur with *ni yotte* indirect passives (possessor raising might be a possible option)



- (100) a. Jiroo-ga      Wairuzu-ni      Ferumaa-no      teiri -no      tadashisa-o  
           -NOM      Wiles-DAT      Fermat-GEN      theorem -GEN      validity-ACC  
 shoumeis-are-ta  
 prove-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiroo was affected by Wiles’s proving the validity of the proof of Fermat’s Theorem.’
- b. \*Ferumaa-no      teiri-ga      Wairuzu-ni      tadashisa-o  
           Fermat-GEN      theorem-NOM      -DAT      validity-ACC  
 shoumeis-are-ta  
 prove-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Fermat’s Theorem had its validity proved by Wiles.’
- c. ?Ferumaa-no      teiri<sub>1</sub>-ga      Wairuzu-ni yotte [e<sub>1</sub>]      tadashisa-o  
           Fermat-GEN      theorem-NOM      -by      validity-ACC  
 shoumeis-are-ta  
 prove-PASS-PAST

--- Chinese (Huang, et al 2009)

- (101) zhuozi<sub>1</sub>      bei      wo      da-duan-le      yi-tao [e<sub>1</sub>]      tui.  
 table      BEI      I      hit-break-PERF      one-CL      leg  
 ‘The table has one of its legs broken by me.’

--- Korean: Yeon 1991

- (102) \*chayksang<sub>1</sub>-i      John-eykey [e<sub>1</sub>]      tali-lui      cap-hi-ess-ta  
 desk-NOM      -DAT      leg-ACC      grasp-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The desk had its leg grasped by John.’

--- Korean (Sun-Hee Bae, p.c.):

- (103) a. \*kempyute<sub>1</sub>-ka Mayli-eykey [e<sub>1</sub>] deyite-lul ciwe-ci-ess-ta.  
 Computer-NOM Mary-DAT data-ACC delete-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The computer had its data deleted by Mary.’
- b. \*kempyute<sub>1</sub>-ka Mayli-ey uyhay [e<sub>1</sub>] deyite-lul ciwe-ci-ess-ta.  
 Computer-NOM Mary-by data-ACC delete-PASS-PAST-DECL

--- Japanese counterpart of (103):

- (104) a. \*konpuuta<sub>1</sub>-ga Jiroo-**ni** [e<sub>1</sub>] deita-o sakuzyos-are-ta  
 computer-NOM -DAT data-ACC delete-PASS-PAST  
 ‘The computer had its data deleted by Jiroo.’
- b. ?konpuuta<sub>1</sub>-ga Jiroo-**ni yotte** [e<sub>1</sub>] deita-o sakuzyos-are-ta  
 computer-NOM -by data-ACC delete-PASS-PAST

--- See Kim 1994 for judgment of Korean:

- (105) cha<sub>1</sub>-ka thulek-ey [e<sub>1</sub>] pemphe-lul pat-hi-ess-ta.  
 car-NOM truck-DAT bumper-ACC butt-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘The car had its bumper crashed into by the truck.’

- (106) a. Chinese and Korean: BE and HAVE can occur in the matrix v in indirect passives  
 b. Japanese: BE and HAVE can occur in the matrix v with *ni yotte* indirect passives, while only HAVE occurs in the matrix v with *ni* indirect passives.

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