
Out of Control: A Unified Analysis of Japanese Passive Constructions

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13.1 Introduction

In this paper I develop a unified analysis of the Japanese passive, which provides a uniform syntactic/semantic representation of the alleged varieties of passives (direct, indirect, possessive) as a complex predicate that encodes the triadic relation of “lack of control” among an agent, undergoer and event. Various differences among the direct, possessive, and indirect passives (the adversative effect implicature, the possibility of reflexive binding, the animacy constraint on the subject, etc.) are explained as cooperative effects of the core syntactic/semantic properties of the passive morpheme *-(r)are* and functional/pragmatic factors like conversational implicature and empathy constraints.

13.2 Syntactic/Semantic Representation of the Japanese Passive

In past studies of the Japanese passive (Kuno 1973; Gunji 1987; Kubo 1992; Washio 1993; Uda 1994, *inter alia*), it has been commonly assumed (i) that two or more types of passives (direct/indirect/possessive etc.) must be postulated to explain various facts related to the construction, and (ii) that the “indirect” passive lexically implies an adversative effect caused by the described event on the referent of the (matrix) subject. In this section, I refute both of these two claims, and propose that all instances of passive verbs should be analyzed as single words with nested ARG-ST lists and whose CONTENT values are triadic relations among ACTOR, UNDERGOER and EFFECT, parallel to Manning et al.’s (1999) analysis of the Japanese causative. To defend this claim, I show

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that the differences among the argument realization patterns of the direct/possessive/indirect passives are illusory, and that the “adversative effect” observed in the indirect passive construction can be explained as a conversational implicature based on our knowledge-based inference.

13.2.1 Facts

The argument patterns of alleged varieties of Japanese passives are sketched out below, with corresponding active sentences (if any).

- (1) direct passive
 a. Max-ga Pat-ni nagu-rare-ta.
 Max-Nom Pat-Dat hit-Pass-Past
 ‘Max was hit by Pat.’
 b. Pat-ga Max-o nagut-ta.
 Pat-Nom Max-Acc hit-Past
- (2) possessive passive
 a. Max_i-ga Pat-ni (zibun_i-no) musuko-o nagu-rare-ta.
 Max-Nom Pat-Dat self-Gen son-Acc hit-Pass-Past
 ‘Max had his son hit by Pat.’
 b. Pat-ga Max-no musuko-o nagut-ta.
 Pat-Nom Max-Gen son-Acc hit-Past
- (3) indirect passive
 Max-ga Pat-ni John-o nagu-rare-ta.
 Max-Nom Pat-Dat John-Acc hit-Pass-Past
 ‘Pat hit John on Max.’

Among these three types, only the direct passive has the basic characteristics of a crosslinguistically canonical passive, involving “promotion” of an object of the stem verb to subject and “demotion” of the subject of the stem verb into a peripheral function marked by an oblique case, *-ni* (cf. Shibatani 1985; Dixon and Aikhenvald 1997). The subject of a possessive passive is not an object of the stem but an individual that stands in some relation (including, but not limited to, the possession relation) with a participant of the core (subordinate) event, and in most cases might be recovered as a genitive NP in the corresponding active sentence (as Uda 1994 observes, there are instances of the possessive passive that do not have a corresponding active sentence with a genitive NP). Indirect passives do not have corresponding active sentences at all, and they usually implicate an adversative effect caused by the core event on the referent of the subject.¹ It is noteworthy that

¹This implicature is cancelable, as shown by the following example:

the Japanese passive has argument patterns that are nearly parallel to those of the causative:

- (4) a. Max_i-ga Pat-ni {zibun_i-o/? ϕ_i } nagur-ase-ta.
 Max-Nom Pat-Dat self-acc hit-Caus-Past
 ‘Max_i made Pat hit him_i.’
- b. Max_i-ga Pat-ni (zibun_i-no) musuko-o nagur-ase-ta.
 Max-Nom Pat-Dat self-Gen son-Acc hit-Caus-Past
 ‘Max_i made Pat hit his_i son.’
- c. Max-ga Pat-ni John-o nagur-ase-ta.
 Max-Nom Pat-Dat John-Acc hit-Caus-Past
 ‘Max made Pat hit John.’

As is pointed out by Washio (1993), the parallelism of passives and causatives in Japanese is not limited to the surface argument patterns; they both represent a relation between the referent of the matrix subject and the event described by the stem verb. To see their commonalities and differences more clearly, let us consider the syntactic/semantic representations of these constructions.

As a representation of the Japanese causative, I adopt Manning et al.’s (1999) lexical analysis, with a minor modification. To capture the “wordhood” of Japanese causative verbs (e.g. *kawaseru* ‘cause to buy’) which is supported by a number of phonological and morphosyntactic observations, Manning et al. (1999) propose an analysis of the Japanese causative verb as a single word, adopting the type-based morphology developed by Riehemann (1993, 1998). They posit the following as the constraints on the type *comp(lex)-pred(icates)* (in Japanese).

- (5) *comp-pred*:

SUBJ	<	1	>									
COMPS	<	2		3	>							
ARG-ST	<	1	,	2	,	4	<	PRO		3	>	
STEM	[ARG-ST		4]							

PRO designates a placeholder element to be associated with the subject of the base stem and to be co-indexed with some member of the (outer) ARG-ST list (for Japanese causatives, the causee argument), which is motivated by the possible binding patterns illustrated below:

-
- (i) Taro-wa totuzen oogon-ni hutte-ko-rare-te kyookiranbu-si-ta.
 Taro-Top suddenly gold-Dat fall-come-Pass-Gerund extreme joy-do-past
 ‘Taro was wild with joy as gold suddenly fell down.’

- (6) a. *Max-wa Pat_i-ni kare_i-o bengo-s-ase-ta.
 Max-Top Pat_i-Dat he_i-Acc defend-Caus-Past.
 ‘Max made Pat defend him.’
 b. Max-wa Pat_i-ni zibun_i-o bengo-s-ase-ta.
 Max-Top Pat_i-Dat self_i-Acc defend-Caus-Past.
 ‘Max made Pat defend himself.’

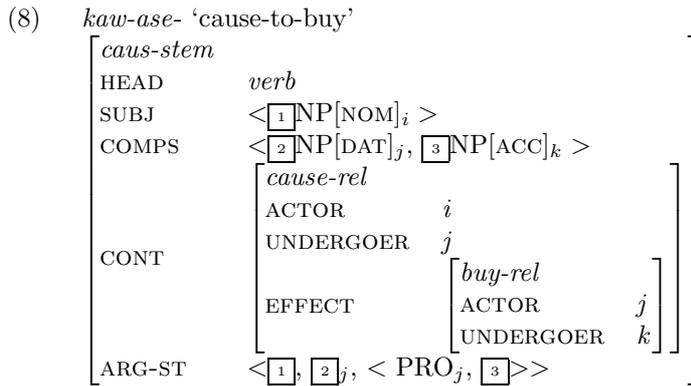
The presence of PRO blocks the coindexation between the causee and a pronoun (e.g. *kare*) in an argument position of the inner predicate, which causes violation of Principle B; it also guarantees that the coindexation between the causee and an anaphor in an argument position of the inner predicate is allowed, maintaining the generalization that Japanese anaphors obey the A-subject principle i.e. must be bound by an entity that is first on some ARG-ST list (Manning 1994; see also Oshima 2002).²

Manning et al. further propose that the following constraints as particular to the type *caus-stem*, which are associated with its supertype *comp-pred*; *cause-rel* is a subtype of *act-und-rel* (which in turn is a subtype of *act-rel* and *und-rel*) and this determines, by the general relation between stem types and semantic relation types, the argument projection of causative sentences (a subsumption-preserving homomorphism), along with the type of semantic relation of the base stem verb (cf. Davis 2001).

- (7) *caus-stem*:
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--|------------------|--|--------|---|------|---|
| PHON | F _{sase} (1) | | | | | | |
| ARG-ST | <NP, NP, ...> | | | | | | |
| CONT | <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;"><i>cause-rel</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">EFFECT</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">3</td> </tr> </table> | <i>cause-rel</i> | | EFFECT | 3 | | |
| <i>cause-rel</i> | | | | | | | |
| EFFECT | 3 | | | | | | |
| STEM | <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;"><i>v-stem</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">PHON</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">CONT</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">3</td> </tr> </table> | <i>v-stem</i> | | PHON | 1 | CONT | 3 |
| <i>v-stem</i> | | | | | | | |
| PHON | 1 | | | | | | |
| CONT | 3 | | | | | | |

The function F_{sase}(X) yields X+sase if X is vowel-final, and X+ase otherwise. The causative formed from the stem *kaw-* ‘buy’, with the constraints presented above, has the representation illustrated in (8).

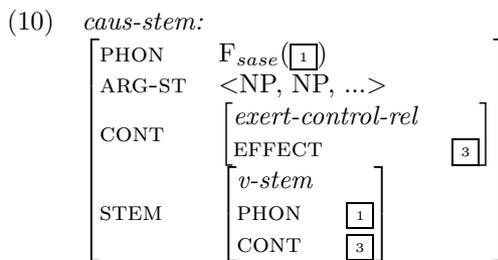
²The use of PRO is obviously not the sole solution. Asudeh (1998: Ch.4) argues against the use of PRO and proposes to have a CONTENT object as a member of ARG-ST, which is structure-shared with the CONTENT value of a member of the non-embedded ARG-ST. Yet another possible solution is, following the line of Uda (1994) (and many others), to adopt a “thematic hierarchy”-based (rather than obliqueness-based) account of Japanese binding facts. Although I adopt Manning et al.’s solution here, I believe that the question is still open which option is most favorable.



One modification is needed, however, to capture the meaning of the Japanese causative more precisely; the Japanese causative semantically differs from English causative (factitive/inductive causative) verbs (*cause, make* etc.) in that it covers the meaning of the permissive (permissive causative; *let* etc.) as well:

- (9) Max-wa musume-o nihon-ni ik-ase-ta.
 Max-Top daughter-Acc Japan-Dat go-Caus-Past
 ‘Max made/let her daughter go to Japan.’

The sentence in (9) can be interpreted either as the causative (or factitive causative; i.e. Max forced his daughter to go to Japan) or as the permissive (or permissive causative; i.e. Max allowed his daughter to go to Japan). Thus, the relation between the referent of the subject and the controller (semantic subject) of the core event should be treated as the relation “exert control on (somebody as to do something)”, which subsumes both factitive and permissive causation: one who “caused” an individual to do something might as well not have let him do so, and one who “let” someone do something might have hampered him from doing so; in either case, whether an event happens or not is under the control of the referent of the subject. The representation of the Japanese causative verb is given as the following, where the type of the value of CONTENT is *exert-control-rel* rather than *cause-rel*:



(11) *kaw-ase-* ‘cause/let to buy’

[<i>caus-stem</i>	HEAD	<i>verb</i>	SUBJ	< [1] NP[NOM] _i >	COMPS	< [2] NP[DAT] _j , [3] NP[ACC] _k >	CONT	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 1em;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">[</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>exert-control-rel</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">ACTOR</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>i</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">UNDERGOER</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>j</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">EFFECT</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 1em;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">[</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>buy-rel</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">ACTOR</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>j</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">UNDERGOER</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>k</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">]</td> </tr> </table> </td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">]</td> </tr> </table>	[<i>exert-control-rel</i>	ACTOR	<i>i</i>	UNDERGOER	<i>j</i>	EFFECT	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 1em;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">[</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>buy-rel</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">ACTOR</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>j</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">UNDERGOER</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;"><i>k</i></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">]</td> </tr> </table>	[<i>buy-rel</i>	ACTOR	<i>j</i>	UNDERGOER	<i>k</i>]]]
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[<i>buy-rel</i>	ACTOR	<i>j</i>	UNDERGOER	<i>k</i>]																				
]	ARG-ST	< [1], [2] _j , < PRO _j , [3] >>]																		

Now, let us turn to the analysis of the passive, which is the central interest of the present work. From the crosslinguistic point of view, the canonical passive construction involves “promotion” of the underlying object to subject (function) and “demotion” (or omission) of the underlying subject into a peripheral function which is marked by an oblique case, adposition, etc. (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 1997). Also, a passivizing operation usually does not affect the truth conditional meaning of the sentence. However, among the three types of passives, which are exemplified in (1)-(3), only the direct passive satisfies all of these conditions. The subject of a possessive passive is not an underlying object but a “possessor”, which in most cases might be recovered as a genitive NP modifying one of the object NPs. Indirect passives do not have corresponding active sentences at all, and they usually imply an adversative effect on the referent of their subject.

Given that possessive/indirect passives are so deviant from the “prototypical” passive, it may seem (and it is commonly believed to be) impracticable to give a uniform and consistent account of Japanese passives. However, once we stop adhering to the canonical properties of the passive mentioned above, and consider the Japanese passive to be analogous to the causative, rather than to passives in other languages like English, a rather different picture emerges.

In this regard, Washio’s (1993) analysis is suggestive. It is developed within the theory of thematic roles and argument structure advocated by Jackendoff (1990), where “Action Tier” and “Thematic Tier” are separated: Washio proposes that the Japanese passive shares a basic conceptual structure with the causative, both representing an event of affecting between the referent of the matrix subject and “core” (subordinate) event described by the stem verb. The difference between the passive and the causative, he claims, consists in the directionality of the effect and the suppression of the Instigator (causer) of the core

event; that is, while causatives represent an event where the referent of the subject affects (and causes) the core event, passives represent an event where the core event affects the referent of the subject. The core event may affect the referent of the subject in either of the following three ways, i.e., the referent of the subject (i) is a participant in the event (which corresponds to the direct passive), (ii) is affected by a participant in the event (which roughly corresponds to the possessive passive), or (iii) simply receives some effect from the event (which corresponds to the indirect passive). This analysis, treating the passive and the causative symmetrically, gives a straightforward account of the fact that Japanese passive verbs allow diverse argument patterns (cf. (1)-(3)), and may not have corresponding active sentences.

However, Washio's claim is not tenable as it stands, given counterexamples like the following.

- (12) Max-wa kaseijin-ni hahaoya-o saraw-are-ta. Sikasi,
 Max-Top Martian-Dat mother-Acc kidnap-Pass-Past But
 kare-wa sono koto-o sir-anakat-ta.
 he-Top that fact-Acc know-Neg-Past
 'Max had his mother kidnapped by Martians. But he didn't know that.'

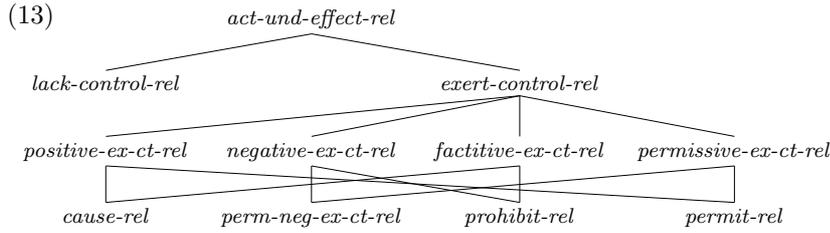
In the example above, where the first sentence is an instance of the possessive passive, the effect of the core event on the referent of the subject is not implied: i.e. the first sentence can be a true statement even in a situation where Max's mother left him when he was a baby, and is kidnapped by Martians some years later, and Max does not know this fact until the end of his life. This poses a serious problem for Washio's analysis, where the core meaning of the passive consists of a physical or mental effect on the referent of the subject.

Another drawback of Washio's analysis is that, like many other approaches, it provides no explanation as to why only the indirect passive, where the core event itself affects the referent of the subject, implicates an "adversative" effect.

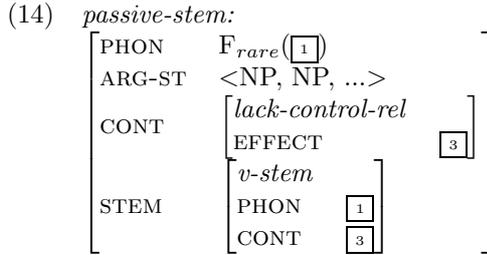
13.2.2 Proposal

To explain cases like (12) and to provide an account of adversative effects implicated by the indirect passive, I propose that the Japanese passive is antonymous to the causative in terms of the presence/absence of the controlling force, rather than the directionality of the effect. That is, whereas the Japanese causative represents the triadic *positive-exert-control-rel*, which is an immediate supertype of *cause-rel* and *permit-rel*, the passive represents *lack-control-rel*, which is a sister type of *exert-*

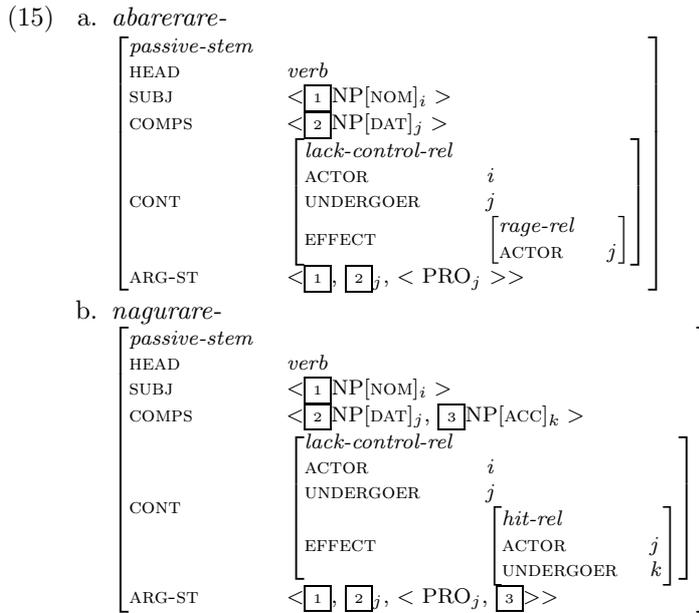
control-rel (the immediate supertype of *positive-exert-control-rel*).



Below, I show the format of passive stems.



The function $F_{rare}(X)$ yields $X+rare$, if X is vowel-final, and $X+are$ otherwise. The lexical representations of passivized verbs, where the stem verb is intransitive and transitive, are exemplified below.



This characterization (“lack of control”) of the meaning of the passive may sound odd, as it is so loose a relation that it holds for almost any triple of two individuals and an event in the world. However, this very generality is the key factor in explaining how the adversative effect implicature of the indirect passive arises. Observe the following English example:

(16) That dinosaurs became extinct was out of Tiger Woods’ control.

The sentence (16) sounds pragmatically odd, though it is doubtlessly a true statement. Intuitively the source of this oddness is clear: Tiger Woods has nothing to do with the extinction of dinosaurs, and there could not be any “control” relation between them. This observation suggests that, for a sentence of the form “the event P is out of *x*’s control” to be a pragmatically felicitous statement, there must be a significant relation between the event and the individual. But what exactly counts as such a relation? For an individual to be related to an event, it seems that either of the following conditions must be satisfied: (i) direct involvement, i.e., *x* is a participant in P, (ii) indirect involvement, i.e., some individual that stands in a pragmatically salient relation (ownership, kinship etc.) with *x* is involved in P, and (iii) affectedness, i.e., P physically or mentally affects *x*. Each of these cases is exemplified below.

- (17) a. That Patricia nominated him_{*i*} as her heir was out of Max’s_{*i*} control.
 b. That Patricia nominated his_{*i*} son as her heir was out of Max’s_{*i*} control.
 c. That Patricia nominated John as her heir was out of Max’s control.

In case (iii) (e.g. (17c); suppose John does not stand in a pragmatically significant relation, e.g. parenthood, with Max), the implicated effect is usually construed as an adversative one, due to the knowledge-based inference: “when an uncontrolled event has some effect on an individual, that effect tends to be a bad one”. Crucially, such an adversative effect implicature is absent in (17a) and (17b), where the direct/indirect involvement guarantees the felicity of a statement about the “out of control” relation between the event and the individual.

Now, under the assumption that Japanese passive verbs have the lexical content shown in (14), a passive sentence has a semantic schema comparable to that of the sentences in (17), (17a), (17b) and (17c) corresponding to the direct, possessive and indirect passives respectively. The only substantial difference is the number of arguments involved; while the sentences in (17) encode a two-place relation between an

individual and an event, passive sentences, like causative sentences, represent a three-place relation among two individuals and an event.

One question remains to be answered: why is the argument coreferential with the subject suppressed in the direct passive, unlike in the corresponding causative (compare (1a) and (4a))? My analysis predicts that such an argument can be realized (with an anaphor *zibun*, for instance) just like it can be with the causative. I assume that this indeed is a correct prediction, based on the following two facts. First, the argument coreferential with the subject of the direct passive must be present (i.e. cannot be suppressed) in certain contexts, as in the following example where the relevant argument is contrasted:

- (18) Sono tetugakusha_i-wa desi-o hihan-s-are-ta
 that philosopher-Top apprentice-Acc criticize-Pass-Past
 node-wa-naku, {zibun_i-o/* ϕ_i } hihan-s-are-ta noda.
 it is not the case self-Acc criticize-Pass-Past it is the case
 ‘It is that philosopher himself, but not his apprentice, who was criticized.’

Second, in Japanese, the ellipsis of an argument that is coreferential with the pivot argument (subject) of a superordinate event is quite common and often preferred, if not required. See the examples below.

- (19) a. Max_i-wa Pat-ga { ϕ_i /?zibun_i-o/?kare_i-o} mihatte-i-ru
 Max_i-Top Pat-Nom self_i-Acc he_i-Acc watch-Asp-Pres
 aida, zutto benkyoo-suru huri-o-site-i-ta.
 while constantly study pretend-Asp-Past
 ‘Max pretended to do his lessons while Pat kept a watch on him.’
 b. Max_i-wa Pat-ga { ϕ_i /?zibun_i-o/?kare_i-o} yusutte-mo,
 Max_i-Top Pat-Nom self_i-Acc he_i-Acc shake-though
 me-o-samas-anakat-ta.
 wake up-Neg-Past
 ‘Max did not wake up though Pat gave him a shake.’

The degree of preference for ellipsis varies depending on the type of relevant connective/complementizer. It seems reasonable to assume that the same effect obtains in the case of the passive construction too, which involves two events, one superordinate and one subordinate.

The facts mentioned above suggest that argument suppression in the direct passive is an outcome of quite a broad phenomenon attested in other constructions as well, rather than of a peculiar syntactic or lexical operation. But why doesn’t the same thing happen to causative verbs with *-sase*? The answer to this question is again a pragmatic

one. As we saw above, the Japanese passive can be used felicitously only if the referent of the subject is directly or indirectly involved in the subordinate event (direct/possessive), or is affected by that event (indirect). Among these three cases, the “direct” one can be shown to be canonical in terms of its frequency of use (Heo 1999), which makes it highly predictable that the subordinate event of the Japanese passive involves an argument that is coreferential with the subject. To conclude, nothing syntactic or semantic forces suppression of the argument of the core event bound to the subject, but its phonetic realization (with an anaphor *zibun*, for instance) is pragmatically anomalous and strongly disfavored, except within marked (e.g. contrastive) contexts.

13.2.3 Coercion

Examples like the following may appear to pose a problem for the proposal that the core meaning of the Japanese passive is “lack of control”:

- (20) Alice-wa Pat-ni wazato/umaku yuuwaku-s-are-ta.
 Alice-Top Pat-Dat intentionally/aptly seduce-Pass-Past
 ‘Alice was intentionally/aptly seduced by Max.’
- (21) Otonasiku ore-ni nagur-are-ro.
 obediently I-Dat hit-Pass-Imp
 ‘Be hit by me obediently.’ (lit.)

In (20), a passive verb co-occurs with adverbs entailing volitionality; this is predicted to cause a semantic inconsistency, as “lack of control” denotes a state (where the control force is absent). For instance, the sentences below where adjectives and adverbs entailing volitionality co-occur are unacceptable:

- (22) a. *Max-wa wazato kanemoti-da.
 Max-Top intentionally rich-be:Pres
 ‘Max is intentionally rich.’ (lit.)
- b. ?Max-wa wazato Pat-ni reitan-da.
 Max-Top intentionally Pat-Dat cold-be:Pres
 ‘Max intentionally treats Pat coldly.’ (intended)

This prediction does not conform to the data shown in (20). In (21), *-rare* is followed by the imperative morpheme *-ro*, which again ought to make the sentence unacceptable.³ However, in Japanese, some state-denoting predicates can be construed as an agentive action roughly

³Incidentally, Japanese adjectives (verbal adjectives) do not have an imperative inflection, corresponding to the verbal imperative ending *-ro*.

characterizable as “keep oneself ϕ ”, when they co-occur with expressions like imperative markers and adverbs entailing volitionality. See the examples below:

- (23) a. Otonasiku hon-o yonde-i-ro.
obediently book-Acc read-Asp-Imp
‘Keep reading the book obediently.’
- b. Alice-ga soozi-site-i-ru aida, Max-wa wazato terebi-o
Alice-Nom clean-Asp-Pres while Max-Top intentionally TV-Acc
mite-i-ta.
watch-Asp-Past
‘While Alice was cleaning the room, Max did not stop watching TV.’
- (24) a. Koko-ni i-ro.
here-Dat be-Imp
‘Stay here.’
- b. Kare-wa wazato soko-ni i-ta.
he-Top intentionally there-Dat be-Past
‘He stayed there on purpose.’

Given the data above, it seems reasonable to assume (20) and (21) are also instances of this type of semantic coercion, where a passive verb is interpreted as “keep oneself lacking control on”.⁴

13.3 Alleged Differences among the Direct, Possessive and Indirect Passives

In this section, I examine several phenomena which are commonly regarded as evidence for syntactic/semantic differences among the direct, possessive and indirect passives, and I provide functional/pragmatic accounts of all of them.⁵

13.3.1 Restriction on the Matrix Subject

Kuno (1973) and Uda (1994) claim that the matrix subject of the indirect passive is restricted to animate NPs, showing examples like the

⁴Similar phenomena are observed in other languages too: for example, some English adjectives allow such coercion; interestingly, however, the appropriate paraphrase is “make oneself ϕ ”, rather than “keep oneself ϕ ” (cf. Pollard and Sag 1994: 308-14).

- (i) a. Be optimistic! / Be careful! / ?Be allowed to go! / *?Be tall!
b. He is intentionally nice right now.
c. He is trying to be nice.

⁵An extensive list of such phenomena is given by Uda (1994: 67-80), to which the present work owes much data.

following.

- (25) *Sono hon-wa syuppansha-ni betu-no hon-o
 that book-Top publisher-Dat other book-Acc
 syuppan-s-are-ta.
 publish-Pass-Past
 (cf. Sono hon-ga yatto syuppan-s-are-ta.)
 that book-Nom finally publish-Pass-Past
 ‘That book was finally published.’

This claim is incorrect. An indirect passive with a non-animate subject is possible, if information is supplied which explains how the referent of the subject is affected:

- (26) a. Kono sinseihin-wa kaigaibumon-ni akazi-o
 this new product-Top overseas dept.-Dat deficit-Acc
 das-are-te kaihatu-ga
 make-Pass-Gerund development-Nom
 chuusi-ni-nat-ta.
 suspension-become-Past
 ‘The development of this new product was suspended because
 the overseas department ran into the red.’
- b. Kono eiga-ga kookaichuusi-ni-nat-ta-no-wa, kantoku-ni
 this movie-Nom recall-become-Past-Comp-Top director-Dat
 husyoozi-o okos-are-ta-kara-da.
 scandalous affair-Acc cause-Pass-Past-because-be:Pres
 ‘The release of this movie was cancelled because the director
 caused a scandalous affair.’

Indirect passives with an animate subject do not require such supplementary information; importantly, however, the effect on the referent of the subject is construed as a mental one unless specified otherwise by the context:

- (27) Max-wa Pat-ni oogoe-o das-are-ta.
 Max-Top Pat-Dat loud voice-Acc make-Passive-Past
 ‘Pat gave a loud cry (on Max).’

The default interpretation of (27) is that Max was annoyed or surprised by Pat’s yelling, but not that Max was physically affected (e.g. his eardrums were broken). When the referent of the subject is inanimate, this option (mental effect) is not available, hence the acceptability of the sentence degrades unless the specification of the effect is supplied.

13.3.2 Possibility of the *Ni/Niyotte*-alternation

It has been often claimed that the case particle of a “*by*-phrase” can alternate with an agentive postposition *-niyotte* only in cases of the direct passive (Terada 1990; Kubo 1992; Uda 1994):

- (28) Kyoko-ga Syota-ni/*niyotte* izime-rare-ta.
 Kyoko-Nom Syota bully-Pass-Past
 ‘Kyoko was bullied by Syota.’
- (29) a. Syota-ga ame-ni/**niyotte* hur-are-ta.
 Syota-Nom rain fall-Pass-Past
 ‘It rained on Syota.’
 b. Syota-ga musuko-ni/**niyotte* gakkoo-o yame-rare-ta.
 Syota-Nom son school-Acc quit-Pass-Past
 ‘Shota’s son quit school on him.’
 c. Syota-ga Kyoko-ni/**niyotte* oogoe-de uta-o
 Syota-Nom Kyoko loudly song-Acc
 utaw-are-ta.
 sing-Pass-Past
 ‘Kyoko sang a song loudly on Syota.’

However, the *ni/niyotte*-alternation is possible for indirect passives if the stem verb is with a high degree of transitivity (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980). Observe the following sentences:

- (30) a. Batman-ga Joker-ni/*niyotte* mati-o hakai-s-are-ta.
 Batman-Nom Joker city-Acc destroy-Pass-Past
 ‘Joker destroyed the city on Batman.’
 b. (Context: Max and Pat are rival investors.)
 Max-wa Pat-ni/*niyotte* orenzi-o kaisime-rare-ta.
 Max-Top Pat orange buy up-Pass-Past
 ‘Pat bought up oranges on Max.’

On the other hand, the *niyotte*-marking of the UNDERGOER argument of a direct passive is not allowed when the stem verb is one with low transitivity, like verbs that denote mental states or contact:

- (31) a. Max-wa Pat-ni/**niyotte* sonkei-s-are-teiru /ais-are-te-iru.
 Max-Top Pat respect-Pass-Past love-Pass-Past
 ‘Max is respected/loved by Pat.’
 b. Alice-wa Pat-ni/??*niyotte* kami-o sawar-are-ta.
 Alice-Top Pat hair-Acc touch-Pass-Past
 ‘Pat touched Alice’s hair on her.’
 (cf. Alice-wa Pat-ni/*niyotte* kami-o hikkonuk-are-ta.)
 pull off-Pass-Past

From the data above, it is clear that the possibility of the *ni/niyotte* alternation (at least partially) hinges on the degree of transitivity of the stem verb, rather than the distinction between the direct and indirect passives.

13.3.3 Optionality of the Agent Phrase

Another common claim about *ni*-marked agent NPs is that they can be omitted only in direct passives (Miyagawa 1989; Kubo 1992; Terada 1990):

- (32) a. Kyoko-ga izime-rare-ta.
Kyoko-Nom bully-Pass-Past
'Kyoko was bullied (by somebody).'
- b. Sensei-ga hihan-s-are-ta.
teacher criticize-Pass-Past
'The teacher was criticized (by somebody).'
- (33) a.*Syota-ga sin-are-ta.
Syota-Nom die-Pass-Past
'Syota had someone die on him.'
- b.*Syota-ga gakkoo-o yame-rare-ta.
Syota-Nom school-Acc quit-Pass-Past
'Shota had someone quit school on him.'

This generalization, however, does not hold for sentences like the following, which implies that the optionality of *ni*-marked (matrix) UNDERGOER arguments cannot be attributed to the distinction between the direct and indirect passives.⁶

- (34) Max-wa (kare-ga kirai-na) tetugaku-no giron-o
Max-Top he-Nom dislike philosophy-Gen discussion
s-are-ta.
do-Pass-Past
'(They) discussed philosophy (which Max hates) on Max.'
- (35) Max-wa (tanosimi-ni-site-i-ta) konsaato-o
Max-Top look forward to-Asp-Past concert-Acc
chuusi-ni-s-are-ta.
cancel-Pass-Past
'(They) canceled the concert (that Max was looking forward to) on Max.'

I assume that the omission of the matrix UNDERGOER argument of the sentences in (33) is blocked by the pragmatic condition on the

⁶A similar remark is made by Kuroda; see Uda (1994:158).

indirect passive, i.e., the (implied) effect on the referent of the matrix UNDERGOER argument: the core events described in (33) are, being underspecified as to their participants, too vague to be construed as affecting a particular individual.

Another factor that favors the omission of the *ni*-marked agent NP of a direct passive is the presence of a corresponding active sentence. Although the Japanese direct passive has syntactic and semantic properties dissimilar to ‘canonical’ passives, its primary discourse function is similar to that of passives in other languages, i.e. it involves defocusing of the subject subcategorized by the stem verb and focusing of the promoted argument. The choice of the direct passive rather than the active indicates that the agent of the base verb is not prominent in the discourse context, which makes its omission natural. On the other hand, indirect passives, lacking corresponding active sentences, do not have such a defocusing effect, so that suppression of the agent of the base verb is less motivated.

13.3.4 *Zibun* Binding

The possibility of *zibun* binding is often counted as a piece of evidence for syntactic differences between the direct and indirect passives (Kuno 1973 *inter alia*):

- (36) a. Max_i-ga Alice_j-ni zibun_{i/j}-no heya-kara
 Max_i-Nom Alice_j-Dat self_{i/j}-Gen room-from
 dete-ik-are-ta.
 go out-Pass-Past
 ‘Alice went out of Max’s room on him./Alice went out of her room on Max.’
- b. Max_i-ga Alice_j-ni zibun_{i/j}-no heya-de
 Max_i-Nom Alice_j-Dat self_{i/j}-Gen room-Loc
 benkyoo-s-are-ta.
 study-Pass-Past
 ‘Alice worked in Max’s room on him./Alice worked in her room on Max.’
- (37) a. Max_i-ga Alice_j-ni zibun_{i/?*j}-no ie-de
 Max_i-Nom Alice_j-Dat self_{i/?*j}-Gen home-Loc
 home-rare-ta.
 praise-Pass-Past
 ‘Max was praised by Alice in his/?*her house.’

- b. Max_i-ga Alice_j-ni zibun_{i/?*j}-no syasin-o
 Max_i-Nom Alice_j-Dat self_{i/?*j}-Gen picture
 mise-rare-ta.
 show-Pass-Past
 ‘Max had his/?*her picture shown (to him) by Alice.’

In the sentences in (36), which are instances of the indirect passive, either the matrix subject or the *ni*-marked agent NP can be the antecedent of *zibun*, while for the direct passive sentences in (37), the coreference of the *ni*-marked agent NP and *zibun* is awkward. However, this fact can be explained in terms of the interaction between two independently attested factors, namely, (i) the presence/absence of a corresponding active sentence, and (ii) the empathy-loaded character of *zibun* (in its perspective use). As observed by Kuno and Kaburaki (1977), the direct passive indicates that the referent of the surface subject is more empathized with than that of the *ni*-marked agent NP by the speaker. On the other hand, as Kuno (1978) and Oshima (2002) observe, the genitive *zibun* also indicates that its referent is empathized with by the speaker. In the sentences in (37), the use of the direct passive implicates that the speaker empathizes with Max, rather than Alice; this makes the latter inappropriate as the referent of *zibun*. On the other hand, indirect passives have no bearing on empathy relations, because they lack corresponding unmarked actives.

13.3.5 Subject Honorification

Kuno (1973) observes that the *ni*-marked agent NP of an indirect passive qualifies (though marginally) as the trigger of subject honorification, while that of a direct passive does not:

- (38) a. Sensei-ga Hanako-o o-tasuke-ni-nat-ta.
 teacher-Nom Hanako-Acc help-Hon-Past
 ‘The teacher helped Hanako.’
 b.*Hanako-ga sensei-ni o-tasuke-rare-ni-natta.
 Hanako-Nom teacher-Acc help-Pass-Hon-Past
 ‘The teacher was helped by Hanako.’
- (39) a. Sensei-ga hon-o o-kaki-ni-nat-ta.
 teacher book-Acc write-Hon-Past
 ‘The teacher wrote the book.’
 b. Hanako-ga sensei-ni hon-o o-kak-are-ni-nat-ta.
 Hanako-Nom teacher-Dat book-Acc write-Pass-Hon-Past
 ‘The teacher wrote the book on Hanako.’

This disparity can be again explained in terms of empathy constraints. Observe the following examples:

- (40) a. Max_i-wa, [Pat-ga kare_i/zibun_i-o sikat-ta node],
 Max_i-Top Pat-Nom he_i/self_i-Acc scold-Past because
 hara-o-tate-ta.
 get angry-Past
 ‘Max got angry because Pat scolded him.’
- b. Max_i-wa, [sensei-ga kare_i/??zibun_i-o o-sikari-ni-nat-ta
 Max_i-Top teacher-Nom he_i/self_i-Acc scold-Hon-Past
 node], hara-o-tate-ta.
 because get angry-Past
 ‘Max got angry because the teacher scolded him.’
- (41) a. Max_i-wa, Pat-ga [kare_i/zibun_i-o home-ta toki],
 Max_i-Top Pat-Nom he_i/self_i-Acc praise-Past when
 uresiku-omot-ta.
 feel happy-Past
 ‘Max felt happy when Pat praised him.’
- b. Max_i-wa, sensei-ga [kare_i/??zibun_i-o o-home-ni-nat-ta
 Max_i-Top teacher-Nom he_i/self_i-Acc praise-Hon-Past
 toki], uresiku-omot-ta.
 when feel happy-Past
 ‘Max felt happy when the teacher praised him.’

Occurrences of *zibun* that are long distance-bound within adverbial clauses are, like the genitive *zibun*, empathy-loaded (see Oshima 2002 for more detailed discussion). The badness of (40b) and (41b) with *zibun* suggests that the honorific auxiliary (*g*)*o*-V-*ni-naru* too is empathy-loaded and indicates that the speaker’s empathy is with the referent of the honorified subject. As mentioned above, the *ni*-marked agent NP of a direct passive is “empathically demoted” and thus is not eligible as the honorified subject of (*g*)*o*-V-*ni-naru*.

13.4 Summary

In this paper, I proposed a uniform analysis of the Japanese passive as a triadic “lack control over (someone as to doing something)” relation, and argued (i) that the apparent discrepancy of argument realization patterns among the three types (direct, possessive and indirect) of passives is illusory, and (ii) that the adversative effect implicated by the indirect passive is given a natural account in terms of conversational implicature. I also argued that phenomena which have been commonly

regarded as evidence for syntactic/semantic differences among the three types of passives can be given independently motivated pragmatic accounts, maintaining the proposed uniform analysis.

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