# THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF JAPANESE PASSIVES

By

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## PART I

### 1. PROLOGUE

There has been a great deal of discussion on the relatedness of active sentences and passive sentences since the appearance of Chomsky's *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory* in 1955. In *Syntactic Structure* (1957), Chomsky formulated the passive sentences by the passive transformation. He eliminates the auxiliary *be+en* from the base component so that the auxiliary in the base looks like : Aux-C(M) (have +en)(be+ing), and the passive transformation rule is :

Passive : optional

SA : NP−Aux−V−NP

SC : X1−X2−X3−X4 → X4−X2+*be+en*−X3−*by*+X1

In his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), Chomsky revised his earlier formulation by introducing the manner adverbial−BY PASSIVE−into the base component. Katz and Postal (1964) put it in the following way :

... a preferable treatment of passives derives them, not from corresponding active forms, but rather from underlying P-markers containing an adverb-manner constituent dominating *by* plus a passive morpheme dummy ... (72)

and they assume that :

... it is clear from the character of the semantic component that a particular constituent cannot have a given reading in a sentence context unless that reading is one of that constituent's readings in isolation. (73)

When we follow this model, we will soon find difficulties in treating Japanese. We will illustrate the problems in the following section and then adopt Fillmore's formulation for a better solution of our problems.

### 2. PROBLEMS

#### 2. 1 *Simple Intransitive Constructions*

Structures which do not meet the structural analysis of a type proposed by Chomsky (1965) can also be passivized in Japanese.

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1) boku-no basu-ga ik-u

   I-of bus-subj go-pres 'My bus goes.'

2) boku-wa basu-ni ik-are-ru

   I-topic[1] bus-by go-PASS-pres '(I am gone by (my) bus.) → (My) bus leaves me.'

3) boku-no kodomo-ga ne-ru

   I-of child-subj sleep-pres 'My child sleeps.'

4) boku-wa kodomo-ni ne-rare-ru

   I-topic child-by sleep-PASS-pres '(I am slept by (my) child.) → (My) child sleeps on me.'

The bracketing of sentences 1) and 3) looks like the following :

$$\left[\,\left[\,\left[\text{[NP-no] NP-ga}\right]\,\left[\text{Vint-pres}\right]\,\right]\,\right]$$
$$_{S}\text{ NP } ^{NP} \qquad\qquad VP$$

It is interesting to note that sentence 2) sometimes occurs without the first NP-wa :

   2) a. basu-ni ik-are-ru

and still interpreted as the same way sentence 2) is interpreted. However, the active counterpart is not *basu-ga ik-u*, which we expect to be, but is still sentence 1), whereas the sentence just cited is considered to be different from 1).

   1) a. basu-ga ik-u

       bus-subj go-pres 'A bus goes.'

And the same way, we have :

   3) a. kodomo-ga neru

       child-subj sleep-pres '*A* child sleeps.'

The sentences 1)a. and 3)a. have no passive counterparts, while the sentences 1) and 3) have theirs with or without the deletion of *NP-no*.

 Put differently, the surface sentence 1)a

   1) a. basu-ga ik-u

is ambiguous as to the interpretation of the noun *basu* 'bus'. One interpretation is that of generic, i. e., *a* bus goes, and the other specific, i. e., *the/my* bus goes. When a passive sentence like 2)a is interpreted

   2) a. basu-ni ik-are-ru

it is always the specific interpretation, not the generic one. Furthermore, in the surface structure A-*wa* B-*ni ik-are-ru*, it is A-*wa* and B-*ni* that are taken to have some specific relation between them. Howard (1969) and others do not consider this possibility and were simply puzzled when they "find the frequent presence of an extra NP above and beyond that found in the passive constructions of most other languages, or even in the closest active counterparts to Japanese passives (Howard 1969 : 40)." Howard then gives examples like 5.

   5) a. watasi-wa seNsei-ni kodomo-o sikar-are-ta 'I was adversely affected by the teacher scolding my child.'

     b. *watasi-wa seNsei-$\begin{Bmatrix}\text{ni}\\\text{ga}\end{Bmatrix}$kodomo-o sikaQ-ta

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1 The term *topic* is used to indicate the proposition *wa* following the traditional practice. However, later the term *topic* is reserved to denote the linguistic context, and instead the term *theme* (and *thematization*) is used.

Then Howard proposes that the adversative passive is derived from a deep structure in which the morpheme $(r)$ *are-* is treated as a full verb with a sentential object complement as in (4)c. [2]

4. c.
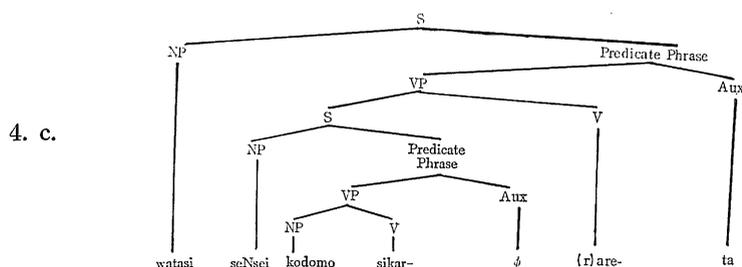


Though the presence of an extra NP may be explained by the proposed analysis, it still fails to capture the particular semantic relationship between *watasi* and *kodomo*. In the following, an attempt is made to explain why certain passives are adversative or MISFORTUNE and others are not.

*2. 2 Interpreting Passive Sentences*

The passive sentences are interpreted in one of the three ways: a) fortune, 2) misfortune, and 3) neutral in respect to fortuneness or misfortuneness. [3] Now observe:

6) a. boku-no haha-ga sin-u
   I-of mother-subj die-pres 'My mother dies.'

   b. boku-wa haha-ni sin-are-ru
   I-topic mother-by die-PASS-pres '(I am died by (my) mother.) → (My) mother
   dies on me.'
   ( = Misfortune)

7) a. boku-no kodomo-ga nak-u
   I-of child-subj cry-pres 'My child cries.'

   b. boku-wa kodomo-ni nak-are-ru        '(I am cried by (my) child.) → (My) child
   I-topic child-by cry-PASS-pres        cries on me.'
   ( = Misfortune)

8) a. boku-ga hoN-o yom-u
   I-subj book-obj read-pres 'I read books.'

   b. hoN-wa boku-ni yom-are-ru
   books-topic I-by read-PASS-pres 'Books are read by me.'

2 Hasegawa (1968) also proposes that the passivization requires a higher S, more precisely he says that "a formulation would be possible if we regard be+En and get+En as elements that take a sentential complement, and derive passives from underlying structures in which the passive formatives are followed by a sentential complement S (232)."

3 These different interpretations of passives have been noticed by many people.  Howard (1969) and Shibatani (1972) summarize it nicely in their articles.

<div align="center">(= Neutral)</div>

9) a. seNsei-ga boku-o home-ru

   teacher-subj I-obj praise-pres 'A teacher praises me.'

   b. boku-wa seNsei-ni home-rare-ru

   I-topic teacher-by praise-PASS-pres  'I am praised by a teacher.'

<div align="center">(= Fortune)</div>

10) a. boku-ga kodomo-no hoN-o yom-u

   I-subj child-of book-obj read-pres 'I read a child's books.'

   b. kodomo-no hoN-wa boku-ni yom-are-ru

   child-of book-topic I-by read-PASS-pres 'A child's books are read by me.'

<div align="center">(= Neutral)</div>

   c. kodomo-wa boku-ni hoN-o yom-are-ru

   child-topic I-by book-obj read-PASS-pres 'A child is read (his) books by me.'

<div align="center">(= Misfortune)</div>

If we want to use such semantic feature as ANIMATE, we will soon find examples like :

11) a. kuruma-ga kooeN-o toor-u

   car-subj park-obj pass-pres 'A car passes (through) a park.'

   b. kooeN-wa kuruma-ni toor-are-ru

   park-topic car-by pass-PASS-pres 'A park is passed (through) by a car.'

<div align="center">(= Misfortune)</div>

While we can argue for sentences 6) and 9) that it is the verbs that decide the specific interpretations, since the verb *sin*-'to die' is to indicate some unfortunate event and the verb *home*- 'to praise' is to indicate some event to be congratulated. In the same way when we take the sentences in 8), we may say that the verb *yom*-'to read' is marked neither by FORTUNE nor MISFORTUNE. However, in 10) we find a sentence with *yom*- which is interpreted as misfortune. 4 This leads us to a suspicion that there may not be any inherent meaning in the passive constructions except that its meaning includes something happens to the surface subject/topic when the surface subject/topic does not initiate the happening or event.   In short, what we are claiming here is that the passive structure is Neutral as to MISFORTUNE/FORTUNE. We further claim that

   1) some verbs explicitly include such features as FORTUNE, MISFORTUNE, etc., though these features should not be taken literally,

   2) some other verbs are Neutral in that they do not include some such meaning as mentioned in 1),

   3) in the case of 2), the specific interpretation is derived not from a single constituent of a sentence, but rather from a combination of two or more constituents,

   4) the fact that we can derive some specific interpretation (whether or not the interpretation is ambiguous) from the relation between/among the sentence constituents allows us to go into some more abstract structure in which the relation between/among constituents is explicitly represented.

The fact that there are different interpretations in the passives motivates us, therefore,

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4 The two interpretations of the passives were first noticed by Daizaburo Matsushita (1961) and he called them regular and misfortune.

to attempt to find some syntactic and/or semantic explanations for that, not to classify Japanese passives according to different interpretations (see Shibatani 1972 : 149−150).

Shibatani, using the terms *direct* and *indirect* passives, reintroduces the notion of the 'point of view'. When the passive sentence is spoken from the subject point of view, it is the direct passive, and when it is spoken from the speaker's/observer's point of view, it is the indirect passive in which case the interpretation is non-adversative. Shibatani, however, denies his statement a few paragraphs later, stating "...the surface subject of the indirect passive is in fact an experiencer, and it is hard to say a sentence with an experiencer without taking his point of view. ...it follows...that the indirect passive intrinsically expresses the psychological state of the surface subject ; however, to call it intrinsically adversative is unjustifiable (p. 152)." Even if what he says is correct, namely the surface subject of the indirect passive is always an experiencer, he will be unable to explain the following unless he postulates something like the *direct experiencer* and the *indirect experiencer*.

12) boku-wa seNsei-ni kodomo-o sikar-are-ta

In sentence 12), according to Shibatani, *boku* 'I' is an experiencer, but *kodomo* 'child' is also an experiencer. Furthermore, an Experiencer implies some creature which is capable of mental/psychological processes. Then *kono mise* 'this store' in

13) kono mise-wa gootoo-ni hair-are-ta

     this    store     thief      enter              'This store had a thief break in it.'

must also be an experiencer, which is hard to accept. Shibatani criticizes Fillmore, stating that "Fillmore relates passivization and the choice of subject. However, it seems to me that he is somewhat vulnerable in implying that the verb feature [+Passive] triggers the 'nonnormal' choice of (surface) subject (p. 158)." Shibatani, however, repeats exactly what Fillmore intends to say when Shibatani states that "the choice of the surface subject seems to determine whether a particular experience is verbalized in an active form or in a passive form (p. 158)." Although Shibatani's criticism of Fillmore is often a misled one, his proposal is as suggestive as that by Fillmore. That is, there are certain relationships between the arguments in the abstract level of syntactic presentation which give rise to a particular interpretation of passives. In the following we propose some such solution in a more formal way.

## 3. SOLUTION

In the previous section, we listed active-passive pairs such as :
1) boku-no basu-ga ik-u   'My bus goes.'
2) boku-wa basu-ni ik-are-ru  'I am left by (my) bus.'
3) boku-no kodomo-ga ne-ru 'My child sleeps.'
4) boku-wa kodomo-ni ne-rare-ru 'My child sleeps on me.'

These examples give us just enough evidence to suspect that the active sentence's constituent *NP-no* is taken out from it and attached to some higher node which triggers the passive-suffix attachment. If so, we can eliminate the passive morpheme from the base component.

Fillmore (1966) proposed a case structure of a form : P+V+C1+C2...Cn, where at

least one case category must be chosen and where no case category appears more than once in a simple sentence (p. 24). This is, however, modified in his 1970 article (esp. pp. 116−117), and now one argument can assume one case or simultaneously two. We will simplify and re-order the case structure for the convenience of our discussion.
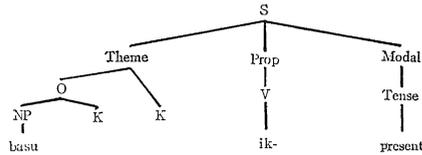
S → Prop + Modal

Prop → (A) (O) (I) (S) (G) (E)

: Where at least one case category must be chosen.

Accordingly, sentence 1)a. has an underlying case structure : [5]

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                                 S
                ┌────────────────┼────────────────┐
             Theme             Prop              Modal
           ┌───┴──┐             │                  │
           O      │             V                Tense
        ┌──┴──┐   │             │                  │
       NP     K   K            ik-              present
        │
      basu
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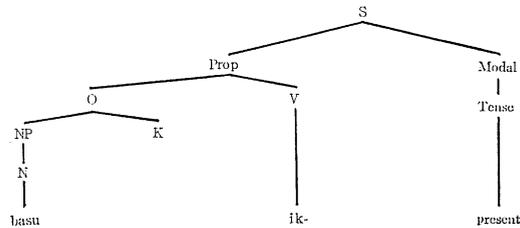
⇒ (i) without any movement

basu-ga ik-u (= 1)a.)

⇒ (ii) Thematization of O

15

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                                      S
                    ┌─────────────────┴────────────┐
                  Prop                            Modal
           ┌───────┴──────┐                         │
           O              V                        Tense
        ┌──┴──┐           │                          │
       NP     K          ik-                       present
        │
        N
        │
      basu
```

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6 The construction NP$_1$-no NP$_2$ is discussed in detail by Mathias & Yamamoto in "The Syntax and Semantics of Japanese Possession." Briefly the inalienable relation between NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ is derived from (a) and the alienable relation is derived from the structure (b). (See Chomsky 1970b and Mathias & Yamamoto 1973).

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              NP₀
           ┌───┴───┐
          Det      NP₂        (a)
         ┌─△─┐
        NP₁—no
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              NP₀
           ┌───┴───┐
           S       NP₂        (b)
         ┌─△─┐
        NP₁—no
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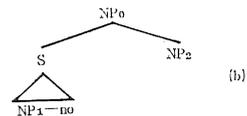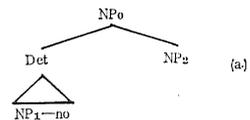
The case marker K which is dominated by O is suppressed, and we get:
1) b. basu-wa ik-u 'As for a bus, (it) goes.'
The underlying case structure for sentence 1) (also for 3)) is:

16
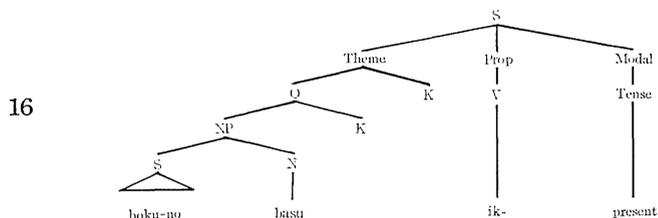
⟹ (i) without any movement[6]
boku-no basu-ga ik-u (= 1))
⟹(ii) Thematization applied on O

17
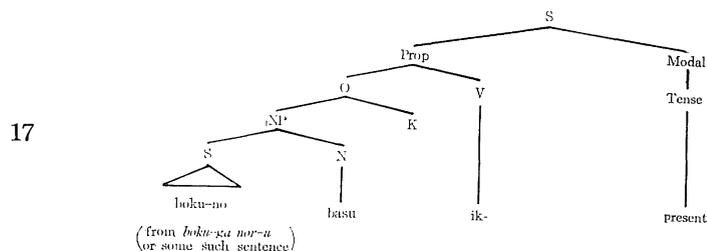
1') boku-no basu-wa ik-u 'As for my bus, (it) goes.'
⟹ (iii) Thematization applied on the *NP-no* under S in P-marker 13).

18
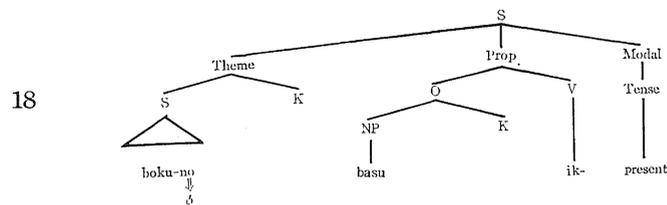
When a case category, other than the left-most case category O immediately dominated by Prop, is moved out, it in turn *optionally* triggers the passive suffix attachment. [7]
⟹ (iii') without passive: (The case marker K under S is suppressed, i. e., *no* ⟹ ϕ)
1'') boku-wa basu-ga ik-u 'As for me, (my) bus goes.'

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7 This is further modified when an underlying representation contains more than one case category. See page 9.

⇒(iii″) with passive :

      **1‴**) boku-wa basu-ni ik-are-ru   'As for me, (I) am gone by (my) bus.'
      (= 2))

Notice that when the passive is chosen, the case marker K dominated by O is realized as *ni* 'by'.

⇒ (iv) optional Theme-suppression

      2) a. basu-ni ik-are-ru '(I) am gone by (my) bus. → (My) bus leaves (me).'
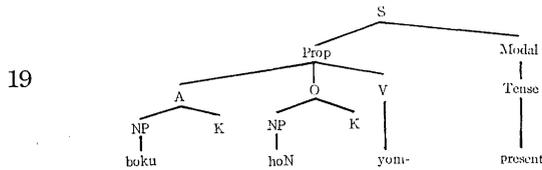
Sentence 6)a. contains a verb which is inherently misfortune, so the passive equivalent is 'misfortune passive'. By the same token, in sentence 9) a. the verb is inherently fortune, and the passive is 'fortune passive'.

Sentence 8)a. is represented by the underlying case structure :

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                                   S
                   Prop              Modal
         A        O   V         Tense
    NP  K   NP  K
    boku     hoN   yom-       present

⇒ (i) without any movement

      8) c. boku-ga hoN-o yom-u 'I read books.'

⇒ (ii) Thematization applied on A

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                               S
       Theme     Prop       Modal
    A   K   O    V     Tense
  NP  K   NP  K
  boku    hoN    yom-     present
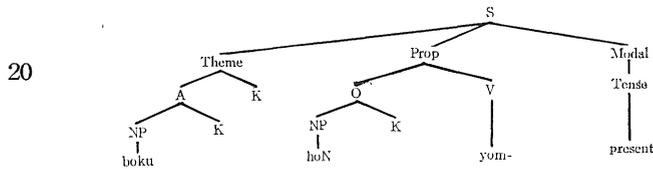
When the Agentive case category is thematized, no passivization takes place. So we get :

      8) a. boku-wa hoN-o yom-u 'As for me, (I) read books.'

⇒ (iii) Thematization applied on O in 19).

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                               S
       Theme     Prop       Modal
    O   K   A    V     Tense
  NP  K   NP  K
  hoN    boku    yom     present

When there are Agentive case category and one or more other case categories immediately dominated by Prop, and when some category other than Agentive is thematized, the movement optionally triggers the passivization.

$\Rightarrow$ (iii′) when the passive is not chosen :

       8) d. hoN-wa boku-ga yom-u 'As for the books, I read.'

$\Rightarrow$ (iii″) when the passive is chosen :

       8) b. hoN-wa boku-ni yom-are-ru 'As for the books, (they) are read by me.'
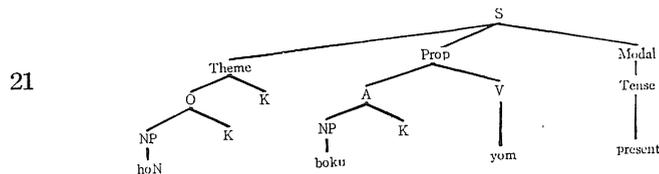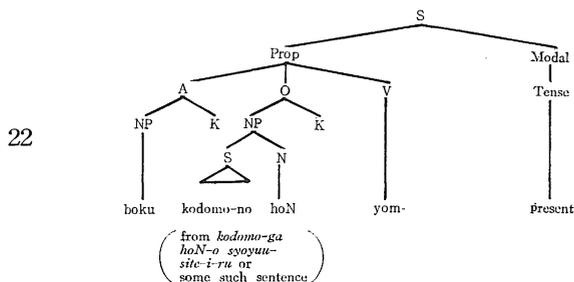
The resultant passive sentences thus formed are neutral in respect with fortuneness or misfortuneness just in case when the verbs are not marked with either FORTUNE or MISFORTUNE. The underlying case structure for 10) is :

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$\Rightarrow$ (i) without any movement

      10) a boku-ga kodomo-no hoN-o yom-u 'I read a child's books.'

$\Rightarrow$ (ii) Thematization applied on O

  $\Rightarrow$ (ii′) when the passive is not chosen :

      10) d. kodomo-no hoN-wa boku-ga yom-u   'As for a child's books, I read (them).'

  $\Rightarrow$ (ii″) when the passive is chosen :

      10) b. kodomo-no hoN-wa boku-ni yom-are-ru 'As for a child's books, (they) are read by me.'

The passive sentences thus obtained are interpreted as neutral in respect to fortuneness or misfortuneness.

$\Rightarrow$ (iii) Thematization applied on *NP-no* under S which is immediately dominated by NP in 23). [8]

      9) e. *kodomo-wa boku-ga hoN-o yom-u

      9) c. kodomo-wa boku-ni hoN-o yom-are-ru 'As for a child, (his) books are read by me.'

The passive sentences thus obtained are interpreted as misfortune.

We will summarize the discussion so far.

1) The passive construction in Japanese can be interpreted one of the three ways : a) the surface subject is adversally affected, which we have called here MISFORTUNE

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8 When there are two or more case categories immediately dominated by Prop in the underlying case structure, the thematization of *NP-no* under S which is immediately dominated by NP *obligatorily* triggers the passivization.

passives, b) the surface subject is non-adversally affected, which we have called FORTUNE passives, and c) neither of the above, i. e., Neutral.

2) Some verbs include some explicit meaning which indicates someone/something is going to undergo some MISFORTUNE, for example, *siN-* 'to die' *koros-* 'to kill', *sikar-* 'to scold', etc. ; while some other verbs include some such meaning as FORTUNE, for example *homer-* 'to praise', *yurus-* 'to forgive', *tasuk-* 'to help', etc.

3) Some of the above mentioned verbs in 2) may include culture-specific semantic features as to FORTUNEness, i. e, depending which culture space a particular verb and other constituents are used, the interpretation may differ.   This point will be discussed in the following section.

4) The MISFORTUNE/FORTUNE passive interpretation is due to the fact that the surface subject/topic has some special relation a) with the *-ni* complement in case of intransitive constructions, or b) with the *-o* complement in case of transitive constructions. These surface relationships between constituents can be explicitly represented in the more abstract level.


## 4. A THIRD SOURCE FOR THE MISFORTUNE

In the previous section, we stated that there are two sources for misfortune passives, 1) from the semantic specification of misfortuneness in the verbs, and 2) from the movement of some element out of NP which is dominated by some case category. But now observe :

23) mise-wa hito-ni kuruma-o ur-are-ru
     store-topic man-by car-obj sell-PASS-pres 'As for a store, a car is sold by a man.'
                                                          ( = Neutral)
                                                          or
                                                          'As for a store, its car is sold by a man.'
                                                          ( = Misfortune)

24) boku-wa kanozyo-ni seQpuN-o s-are-ru
     I-topic she-by kiss-obj do-PASS-pres 'As for me, a kiss is done by her.'

The above two sentences are not given explicit interpretations, but are ambiguous as to fortuneness or misfortuneness. For the sentence 23) we have :

25) hito-ga mise-ni kuruma-o ur-u
     man-subj store-to car-obj sell-pres 'A man sells a car to a store.'

26) hito-ga mise-no kuruma-o ur-u
     man-subj store-of car-obj sell-pres 'A man sells a store's car.'

The underlying case structure for 25) is :

27
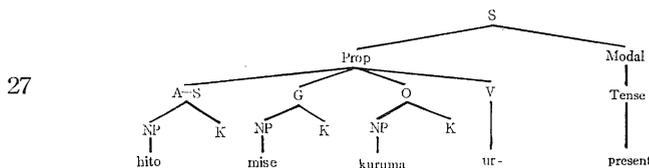
When the Goal is thematized and the optional passive is chosen, we get a neutral interpretation, since the verb *ur-* 'to sell' is not marked with FORTUNE or MISFORTUNE.
   The underlying case structure for 26) is :

28
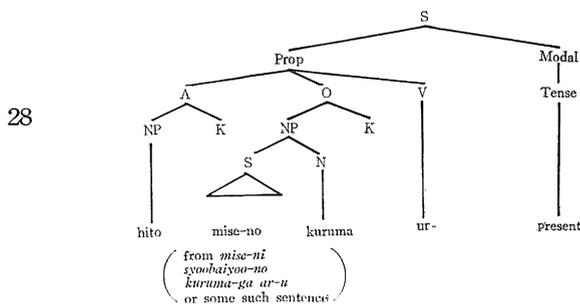


When the *NP-no* is thematized out of NP which is dominated by the O case category, the obligatory passivization takes place and the passive is interpreted as misfortune. While, we have the following for sentence 24) :

   29) kanozyo-ga boku-ni seQpuN-o su-ru

      she-subj I-to kiss-obj do-pres 'She does a kiss to me. → She kisses me. '

   30) *kanozyo-ga boku-no seQpuN-o su-ru

For sentence 24), since sentence 30) is starred, we should not get the misfortune interpretation. The verb or even the VP (*seQpuN-o su-ru*) is not marked with MISFORTUNE. Then, neither of the two sources previously discussed will apply here.

   When we ask native speakers of Japanese how they interpret sentence 24), we find that for some people this is misfortune and for some other people neutral, and for still some other people it is fortune. Furthermore, we find that the same people who interpret the sentence as misfortune claim that at different occasions the same sentence is neutral or it is fortune. In the Firthian term, then, the interpretation depends on the context of situation, i. e., who is talking to whom on what, where and when, which we tentatively call a 'cultural space.' The cultural space super-imposes the selection of topics, the cultural space-specific interpretations for a given sentence, and so on.   Take sentence 24) for example.   In the living room of a suburban family, both parents and *boku* 'I' are present. Then the sentence 24) is starred, i. e., the topic 'seQpuN, etc.' is not the kind of topic to be chosen. However, in the same living room, but when Mother is absent, sentence 24) is not misfortune. When Father is absent, while mother is present, the same sentence is misfortune. At a bar with friends, the sentence is fortune.

## 5. SUMMARY

   One source for the misfortune interpretation of passive is the semantic specification in a verb.  In the deep case structure, it is specified as to which case-category is the recipient of the misfortuneness.

A second source is the movement of some element out of NP which is immediately dominated by some other case category.

A third is the culture space. Without specification of a culture space, [9] some sentences such as 24) become ambiguous as to MISFORTUNE.


## PART II*


Professor Akira Ohta questions whether or not our analysis can explain in the following examples without contradicting ourselves. Sentences Prof. Ohta gives us are the following :

    a. Mary-wa John-ni siN-are-ta

    b. boku-no hoN-ga nusum-are-ta

       boku-wa hoN-$\begin{Bmatrix} ga \\ o \end{Bmatrix}$ nusum-are-ta-ga, kimi-wa nani-$\begin{Bmatrix} ga \\ o \end{Bmatrix}$ nusum-are-ta ka

    c. muriyari-ni gohaN-o tabe-sase-rare-ta

    d. boku-wa Mary-$\begin{Bmatrix} kara \\ ni \end{Bmatrix}$nekutai-o okur-are-ta

       nekutai-ga Mary-$\begin{Bmatrix} kara \\ *ni \end{Bmatrix}$ John-ni okur-are-ta

       boku-wa Mary-$\begin{Bmatrix} kara \\ ni \end{Bmatrix}$ John-no shi-o sir-as-are-ta

       John-no shi-wa Mary-$\begin{Bmatrix} kara \\ *ni \end{Bmatrix}$ boku-ni sir-as-are-ta

    e. John-wa saNzoku-ni osow-arete, koros-are-ta-to siNzirarete-i-ru
       John-ga koros-are-ta koto-wa akiraka-da
    f. Okayama-no meisaN-ga okur-arete ki-ta
       *Okayama-wa meisaN-ga okur-arete ki-ta
    g. Tokyo-no tosika-wa sutoQpu-ga kake-rarete-i-ru
       Tokyo-wa toshika-ga sutoQpu-o kake-rarete-i-ru
    h. kaze-ni huk-arete, yoi-o samas-oo
       iti-niti-zyuu ame-ni hurikome-rare-ta

  In the following, we will examine Prof. Ohta's sentences in the light of our approach.

    1. Mary-wa John-ni siN-are-ta

        '(Mary had a misfortune that John died.) → Mary had John die on her.'
If we follow Howard (1969) and others, we may have an underlying structure like 2.

---

9 Further detailed discussion on culture spaces are found in Yamamoto (1972).

* We wish to thank Professor Akira Ohta (Department of English, Faculty of Humanities, Tokyo University of Education) for his inspiring suggestions and especially for his questions, which motivated us to revise the original manuscript.

2.

```
                                    S
          NP                              Predicate Phrase
           ·                     VP                        Aux
                          S              V
                   NP        Predicate
                              Phrase
                           V        Aux
          Mary    John    siN-          rare-              ta
```
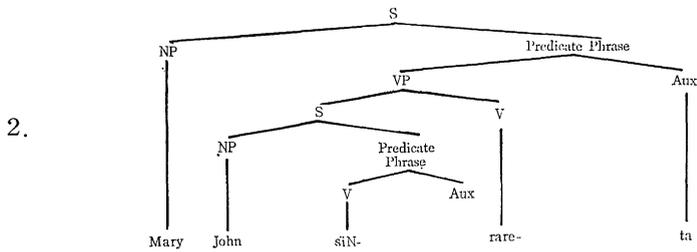
We may be able to succeed in explaining the extra-NP where the corresponding active sentence does not contain it.

   1a. John-ga siN-da 'John died.'

It does not, however, explain why this sentence is interpreted as MISFORTUNE. Shibatani (1972) may say that it is because the sentence is uttered from the point of view of Mary that it has such an interpretation. Here John is the Experiencer, not Mary, so it will be hard to explain why Mary is adversally affected, unless Shibatani claims that all *NP-wa* in the passive is an Experiencer. But observe

  3. mise-wa gootoo-ni hair-are-ta

   store  thief   enter   'The store had a misfortune that a thief broke in.'

The fact that the interpretation of sentence 3 is adversally due to the noun *gootoo* 'a thief'. Observe

   3a. mise-wa okyaku-ni hair-are-ta

       customer

Sentence 3a does not have any adversal interpretation. In our analysis, the relation between Mary and John is explicitly stated in the underlying representation so that the adversal interpretation becomes possible besides the fact that the verb *siN-* 'to die' will be marked with MISFORTUNE.

4.

```
                                    S
                    Prop                          Modal
               E              V
          NP        K
       S        N
     Mary—no   John         siN-                 ta
```
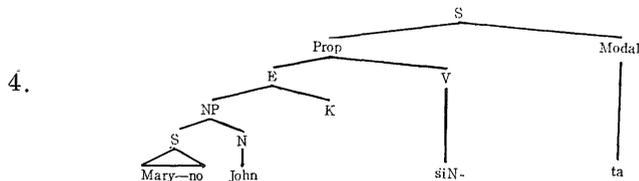
The lower S may have been : *Mary-wa John-no tuma-da* 'Mary is a wife of John.' or some such sentences. The lower sentence is reduced to the expression *NP-no*.

 5. a. boku-no hoN-ga nusum-are-ta 'My book was stolen.'

   I   book  steal

  b. boku-wa hoN-$\begin{Bmatrix}ga\\o\end{Bmatrix}$ nusum-are-ta-ga, kimi-wa nani-$\begin{Bmatrix}ga\\o\end{Bmatrix}$nusum-are-ta ka.

            you   what

Sentence 5a involves several transformations. The underlying sentence seems to be

    6. someone-ga boku-no hoN-o nusum-ta 'Someone stole my book.'
                 I           book    steal

Sentence 6 can be shown in still a more abstract level as in 6a.

6. a.



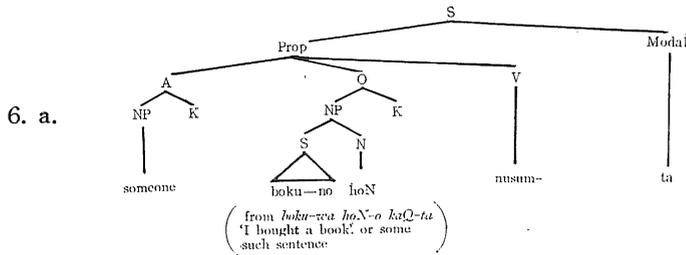Transformations may include : 1) The Object case category is thematized, 2) Passivization is applied, 3) Focusization is applied to the thematized O, so in the surface the case marker K is -ga, and finally 4) The Agent case category is deleted.

    In sentence 5b, the surface second *NP-ga* seems to be odd, but *NP-o* is not. It may be the case where the sentence is hyper-corrected, i. e., the speaker is trying to be so highly correct in generating sentences that he may have resulted in generating 5b with *NP-ga* which ordinarily does not occur. This phenomenon is well known in the field of sociolinguistics. Sentence 5b with *NP-o* is derived from 6a by the *NP-no* (*boku-no*) movement out of NP to the S node. Then the near-surface representation will be : *boku-wa someone-ni hoN-o nusum-are-ta* 'I had my book stolen by someone.' Then the Agent case category is deleted and the resulting sentence is

    6. b. boku-wa hoN-o nusum-are-ta
        I         book    steal           'I had my book stolen.'
                                        (= Misfortune)

Another possible explanation for 5b with *NP-ga* may be the following. The Agent case category is deleted first. Then the Object case category becomes the left-most node dominated by Prop. When the *NP-no* (*boku-no*) is moved out of NP and attached to the higher S node, the now remote Agent-deletion is forgotten and the case marker K of the Object case category may have assumed the surface -ga, and the resulting sentence is 5b with *NP-ga* : ? *boku-wa hoN-ga nusum-are-ta*.

    7. muriyari-ni gohaN-o tabe-sase-rare-ta

      forcefully    meal      eat                    'I was forced to eat the meal.'
                                          (=Misfortune)

This sentence involves 1) causativization, and 2) passivization in that order. The underlying sentence is 7a.

    7. a. boku-wa gohaN-o tabe-ru  'I eat the meal.'

The causativization of 7a may look somewhat like 7b.

7. b.
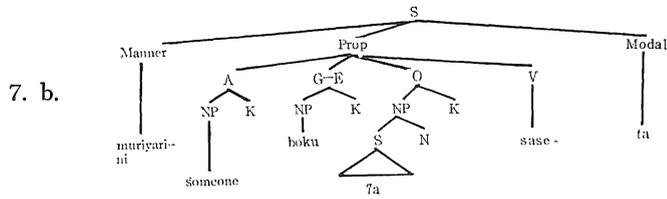


Transformations involved among others to get a surface sentence may be :

1) The equi-NP deletion. (7a becomes *gohaN-o tabe-ru*). After this transformation, the sentence looks like 7c.

 7. c. muriyari-ni someone-ga boku-ni gohaN-o tabe-ru koto-o sase-ta
   forcefully       I    meal    eat    NOM   made
   'Someone forcefully made it come about that I ate the meal.'

2) The nominalizer deletion or some such rule will give us 7d.

 7. d. muriyari-ni someone-ga boku-ni gohaN-o tabe-sase-ta
   'Someone forcefully made me eat the meal.'

3) The Goal is thematized and the obligatory passivization applies, and we will get 7e.

 7. e. muriyari-ni boku-wa someone-ni gohaN-o tabe-sase-rare-ta
   'I was forcefully made to eat the meal by someone.'

4) The Agent case category deletion will give us 7f.

 7. f. muriyari-ni boku-wa gohaN-o tabe-sase-rare-ta
   'I was forcefully made to eat the meal.'

5) Finally the topic deletion is applied and we will get 7.

The fact that this sentence is interpreted as MISFORTUNE lies in the manner adverb *muriyari-ni* 'forcefully'. If the adverb is absent, the interpretation of the sentence is neutral.

 8. a. boku-wa Mary-ni nekutai-o okur-are-ta
   I     Mary    necktie    send     'I had a necktie sent from Mary.'

  b. boku-wa Mary-kara nekutai-o okur-are-ta 'I had a necktie sent from Mary.'

The difference between *Mary-ni* and *Mari-kara* is merely a surface phenomenon peculiar to Japanese. In the underlying representation, $Mary\text{-}\left\{{ni \atop kara}\right\}$ is represented as Agent-Source.

9.
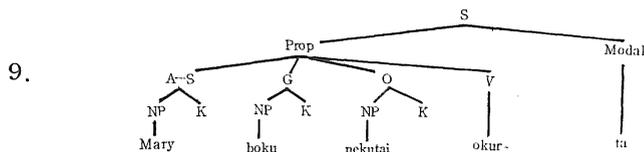
When no transformation is applied, the normal subject is the left-most node and we will get in the surface 7c.

    7. c. Mary-ga boku-ni nekutai-o okur-ta 'Mary sent me a necktie.'

When the Goal case category is thematized, we will get 7a where the A-S case marker is realized either as *-ni* or *-kara*. The similar *-ni* and *-kara* alteration occurs in

    10. a. boku-wa kare-ni NihoN-go-o naraQte-i-ru

          I        he       Japanese     learn        'I am learning Japanese from him.'

    11. a. *nekutai-ga Mary-ni John-ni okur-are-ta

      b. nekutai-ga Mary-kara-John-ni okur-are-ta

The non-occurrence of *Mary-ni* can be explained simply as follows. The most typical surface particle for the Goal case marker is *-ni*. The Source case marker has the surface *-ni* and *-kara*, and the former is homophonous with the surface Goal case marker. When both the Source and the Goal show up in a sentence, the Source case marker is not *-ni* but *-kara*.

    12. John-wa saNzoku-ni osow-arete, koros-are-ta-to siNzi-rarete-i-ru

                bandit      attack      kill          believe

        'It is believed that John was attacked and killed by a bandit.'

This sentence involves an embedding and a conjoining transformations. The underlying representation can be shown in the following manner.

13.
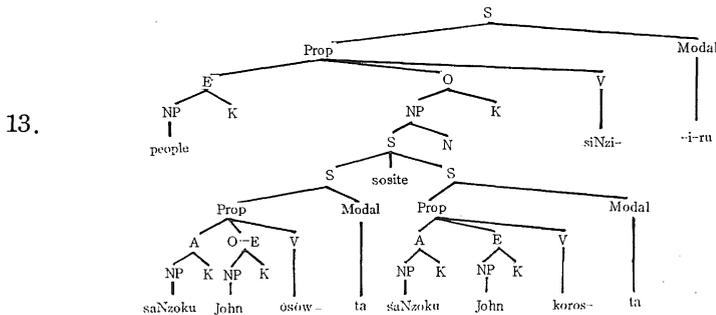


When no transformation is applied, we may get a little odd, but not unacceptable sentence 12a.

    12. a. people-ga saNzoku-ga John-o osow-ta, sosite saNzoku-ga John-o koros-ta-

               bandit              attack   and                  kill

        to siNzite-i-ru

          believe

        'People believe that a bandit attacked John and the bandit killed John.'

As Fillmore proposes (1970), we may have to specify the verb *siNzi-* 'to believe' as having some idiosyncratic requirement for the co-occurring particles ; namely, when the NP in the Object case category dominates S, the Object case marker is realized in the surface as *-to*, otherwise *-o*. When the Experiencer case category in 13 (*people-K*) we will get a little better sentence 12b.

    12. b. people-wa saNzoku-ga John-o osow-ta, sosite saNzoku-ga John-o koros-ta-to

siNzite-i-ru

When, in lower sentences, transformations such as the equi-NP deletion, the conjunction-reduction are applied, we will get 12c.

12. c. people-wa saNzoku-ga John-o osoQte koros-ta-to siNzite-i-ru

When the Object case category in 13 is thematized and the passivization is applied, we will get 12d.

12. d. saNzoku-ga John-o osow-ta, sosite saNzoku-ga John-o koros-ta-to people-ni
siNzi-rarete-i-ru

When the Experiencer is deleted in 12d, we will have 12e.

12. e. saNzoku-ga John-o osow-ta, sosite saNzoku-ga John-o koros-ta-to siNzi-
rarete-i-ru

When the transformations such as the equi-NP deletion, the conjunction-reduction are applied, we will have 12f.

12. f. saNzoku-ga John-o osow-te koros-ta-to siNzirarete-i-ru

It may also be the case where the lower sentences are passived by the non-normal subject choice and we may have 12g.

12. g. John-ga saNzoku-ni osow-arete koros-are-ta-to siNzi-rarete-i-ru

Notice that when the thematized Experiencer is not deleted the previously mentioned sentence 12c is acceptable. In 12c, when *saNzoku-ga* 'a bandit' is also thematized, we will have 12c'.

12. c'. people-wa saNzoku-wa John-o osoQte koros-ta-to siNzite-i-ru

'People believe that the bandit (not the car or anything) attacked and killed John.'

In 12c', the first *NP-wa* is interpreted as Topic and the second *NP-wa* is interpreted as Contrastive. In the same token, *John-ga* in 12g is thematized (in 12g, the Object case category is already thematized), it will get the Contrastive interpretation. The resulting sentence is 12.

Sentences 12d−12f are interpreted as Neutral as our analysis shows. In sentences 12 and 12g, the matrix sentence is interpreted as Neutral, but the embedded sentence *John-ga/-wa saNzoku-ni osow-arete koros-are-ta* is MISFORTUNE simply from the fact that *saNzoku* 'bandit', *osow-*'to attack' and *koros-*'to kill' are MISFORTUNE.

14. John-ga koros-are-ta koto-wa akiraka-da
        kill          NOM     evident     'It is evident that John was killed.'

The predicate *akiraka-da* 'to be evident' has the case structure $\begin{bmatrix} O \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix}$. It means that the surface sentence may always be either *NP-ga akirara-da* or *NP-wa akiraka-da*. The embedded sentence *John-ga koros-are-ta* 'John was killed' has the identical case representation as the lower sentence in 13. The embedded part of 14 is interpreted as MISFORTUNE.

15. a. Okayama-no meisaN-ga okur-arete ki-ta
        Okayama      noted       send        come      'The noted product of Okayama
                      product                            was sent (to us).'

    b. *Okayama-wa meisaN-ga okur-arete ki-ta

Sentence 15a involves the conjoining transformation and it is derived from 15c and 15d.

15. c. someone-ga someone else-ni okayama-no meisaN-o okur-ta

15. d. someone-kara someone else-ni Okayama-no meisaN-ga ki-ta

When the Agent-Source category 'someone-ga' and the Goal case category 'someone else-ni' in 15c are deleted after the Object thematization and the obligatory passivization has been applied, sentence 15c becomes 15e.

    15. e. Okayama-no meisaN-wa okur-are-ta

When no thematization is applied (i. e., the passivization is not applied either), we will have 15f.

    15. f. Okayama-no meisaN-ga okur-are-ta

While the equi-NP deletion is applied to *Okayama-no meisaN* in 15d as well as the Source and the Goal are deleted, the resulting sentence together with 15c is 15a. In sentnece 15d, by the simple fact that it does not contain the Agent, the movement of any of its constituents or deletion of its constituents will not trigger the passivization.

    15. d′. *Okayama-wa meisaN-? k-rare-ta

    16. a. hito-ga boku-no tokoro-e ki-ta

          person   I      place     come     'A person came to my place.'

    16. b. boku-no tokoro-wa hito-ni k-rare-ta

          'I had a person come to my place.'

Sentence 16a contains the Agent case category and the Goal case category. This bit of evidence shows that the verb *kuru* 'to come' may have a case structure of a form $\left[ (A\mbox{\textsmaller{X}}O)X\_\_\_ \right]$ where the reading should be "we must select either A or O and also X."

Sentence 15b, although starred by Prof. Ohta, seems to be acceptable. Suppose a group of people are talking about big cities. Each city has received some kind of present from its sister city in the U. S. A., and someone asks "What did Okayama get?", then 15b may be the answer to the question. Even if 15b is not unacceptable, we must not judge 15a and 15b are related from the surface resemblance. In fact, 15b has a different underlying structure from 15a.

    15. a. (someone-ga) (someone else-ni) Okayama-no meisaN-o okur-ta (sosite S)

    15. b. (someone-ga) Okayama-ni (some place's) meisaN-o okur-ta (sosite S)

    17. a. Tokyo-no tosika-wa sutoQpu-ga kake-rarete-i-ru

         Tokyo    urbanization   stop     put        'Urbanization of Tokyo has been put a stop to it.'
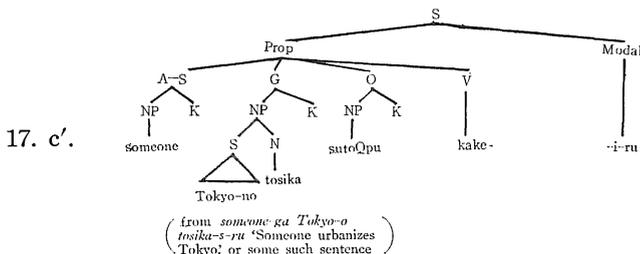
       b. Tokyo-wa tosika-ga sutoQpu-o kake-rarete-i-ru

Sentence 17a is derived from 17c.

    17. c. someone-ga Tokyo-no tosika-ni sutoQpu-o kakete-i-ru

       'Someone has put a stop to urbanization of Tokyo.'

In sentence 17c, the NP *Tokyo-no tosika* contains the embedded S as in many other



17. c′.

cases such as *boku-no hoN* in sentence 1, *Okayama-no meisaN* in 15, etc. Thus sentence
17c is shown in 17c'.

If the Goal is thematized, the passivization is applied and the A–S is deleted, then
we will get 17a. The interpretation of 17a is Neutral. When *Tokyo-no* is moved out of
NP and the Agent-Source is deleted, we will get 17b. In this case the interpretation of
the sentence is MISFORTUNE, as we expect it to be.

   18. kaze-ni huk-arete, yoi-o samas-oo

      wind      blow     drunk-  sober up       'I shall sober up in breeze.'
                        enness

Sentence 18 is derived from the conjoining of the two sentences 18a and 18b.

     18. a. kaze-ga boku-no $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{karada} \\ \text{kao} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ – $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{o} \\ \text{ni} \end{Bmatrix}$ huk-u

            wind     I     $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{body} \\ \text{face} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$     blow  'The wind blows my body/face/etc.'

   18. b. boku-wa yoi-o samas-oo

      I         drunk- sober up      'I shall sober up.'
              enness

Sentence 18a can be represented in the following way.

18. a.



When the Instrument case category is thematized, we will simply get sentence 18c.

     18. c. kaze-wa boku-no $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{karada} \\ \text{kao} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ – $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{o} \\ \text{ni} \end{Bmatrix}$ huk-u

But when the Goal is thematized, the optional passivization may apply, and we will
get 18d.

     18. d. boku-no $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{karada} \\ \text{kao} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ -wa kaze-ni huk-are-ru

       'My body/face/etc. is blown by the wind.'

When *boku-no* is moved out of NP in 18a, the passivization must be applied and we
will get 18e.

     18. e. boku-wa $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{karada} \\ \text{kao} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ – $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{o} \\ \text{*ni} \end{Bmatrix}$ kaze-ni huk-are-ru

Sentence 18d is interpreted as Neutral, while sentence 18e is MISFORTUNE. When the
Goal is altogether deleted, we will get 18, and the interpretation of the sentence is
ambiguous. If it is taken to be derived from 18d, the interpretation is Neutral, but if it
is taken to be derived from 18e, the interpretation is MISFORTUNE. However, the very

fact that the 18b is present in 18 permits us only one interpretation, namely Neutral. The non-occurrence of *-ni* in 18e is the same phenomenon discussed in 12a.

In summary, we may conclude that all these examples support our approach to the Japanese passives and our claim holds to all these sentences. What is needed now is the lexical information of verbs, nouns and other major classes of words.

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